

2008 ISPP ANNUAL MEETING SECTION CHAIRS

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A Common Language to Build Bridges between Politics and People Worldwide

**Maryse Touboul, School of Aliveness and Adulthood, George Washington University*

[Panel] 6U Psychoanalysis and Political Psychology

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Building bridges between politics and psychology implies that the political mind and the people's mind go in the same direction. This can only be done through the learning of a new language common to all, but not necessarily at the same time for all the cultures and countries. Only then will we be able to speak of interaction and regulation rather than power and counter-power. The world is getting smaller; people travel more; and they have greater access to information worldwide. As a result, people are also becoming more conscious of their needs, and the universal concept has become: democracy, meaning the need for people to have and to respect the same values, through a common language. But what common language can build the bridge between politics and people, between the symbolic and the real languages? Topics to answer these questions: I—The Unconscious' Symbolic Language: J. Lacan's Theory II—The Language of Democracy 1) What does Democracy mean? 2) What could a Democratic Language be? III—A Real Language Building the Bridge between the People's and the Political Minds The Symbolic Language obeys the Laws of the Other and therefore represents the enemy of Democracy. Only a Real and Adult Language, which obeys the Laws of Life, can allow for the maturity needed to bring people and politics closer. Maturity means passing from the power of the Symbolic Language of Lack to the power of a Real Language of Desire to make the Laws of Life the priority.

A Dysfunctional Nation and Its People (Workshop)

**Dr. Raymond H. Hamden, Human Relations Institute*

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

There are four realities that are present in the stressed out or very injurious nation. People do not know who they are or they have a false picture as to who they are, they do not sustain their relationships through deep friendliness, defenses are used repeatedly, and contentment skills are minimal. Contentment skills are those abilities to sustain long-term

relationships, intra-community and inter-community. When a nation is in pain and stress, psychological defenses will arise. Psychological defenses have two purposes: to give pleasure and to avoid pain. In Political Psychology, professionals want to walk through pain so that citizens can discover a true positive identity. Oftentimes leadership comfort can go deeper than the pain. The principles of an unhealthy nation: *Trust is at a lower level of suspicion. *Belonging is blind loyalty. *Joy is having a life preoccupied with activity. *Peace is absence of emotion. *It is your leader's job to make happiness in the Ti'fy. *It is the other person's fault. *If they change, we will be happy. *Don't know what others feel! *Become emotional or cold and callous! *Ignore difference of opinions. *Talk about the person, not dialogue. *Bring up past failures to help the other person understand how wrong he/she is. *Confront, don't negotiate! *Use addictions to lessen pain. These principles are not painted on the walls, but they are the implicit assumptions that govern relationships between people of a nation. As these assumptions work themselves out, the relationships become more and more strained. Due to the pain and stress, often as not, addictive behaviors will arise to kill the pain. The nation cannot endure pain.

A Look at the Images Higher Level Narcos and U.S. Law Enforcement Have of Each Other

**Martin Meraz Garcia, Eastern Washington University*

[Panel] 2Q Political Conflict and Images of the "Other"

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Most studies conducted on the drug war have taken a top down approach and few have been undertaken from the bottom up to explore the effectiveness of theories in explaining higher level drug trafficking. In this paper, image theory is used to explore the images drug trafficking groups of Latin American descent and U.S.-Mexican law enforcement have of each other. Image theory contends that both individual actors and aggregate groups assign cognitive characteristics to other entities and perceive them either as a threat or an opportunity. Using content analysis, hypotheses are tested to determine the accuracy of these claims. The empirical evidence based on court transcripts, police reports; personal letters, observations of pre-trial and sentencing hearings as well as interviews with high level drug traffickers and government officials accurately predict these hypothesis. This data suggest that the rogue image the U.S. government have of drug traffickers is the driving force behind the implementation of drug policies and the imperial image held by drug traffickers is what has deterred drug cartels from unleashing violence against U.S. law enforcement.

A Matrix of Analysis for Decision Making in Foreign Policy.

**Anya Astavina, Université Paris 8 St Denis*

[Panel] 7E Political Decisions by Voters and Elites

[Section] Political Decision Making

It's one of the most ambitious project I have yet taken up: a dissertation on the psychological aspects of political decision-making. Refusing to just adopt the rational actor model & the utilitarian approach, I explored the entire corpus of cognitive & social psychology to find relevant approaches. Despite the progress in this field & the degree of cumulative research, one will be struck by the number of conflicting models, propositions, and inconclusive empirical findings. Although it has been more than half a century that my colleagues are trying to elaborate an analysis technique, an instrument, a (simulation) model, for now we are not close to finding one valid combination of factors to be able to classify and analyze decision-making in foreign policy. After a 30 year period of scattering stones—propositions' explosion, we are now in the state of collecting stones—searching for a compilation of valid theories, if not for a multiple dimension analysis model. So this is what I'm now attempting to do in my third year of PhD in Political Science. Although intelligence analysis, group dynamics, the theories of perception, value conflict, personality studies, polarization, "groupthink" and "risky shift" are all fruitful in decision-making analysis, for several reasons I particularly favor the concept of heuristics (Tversky & Kahneman) & biases, as well as post-decisional rationalization: these concepts allow multilevel analysis (at the micro- & macro-level, from individual to mass decisions), can be decomposed into several types & integrate bureaucratic, situational, group & cognitive approaches.

A New 30-Item Measure of Authoritarianism Endorsement as a Trait of Political Leaders

**William McConochie, Political Psychology Research, Inc.*

[Panel] 2M New Developments in Authoritarianism Research III: Cognitive and Affective Processes

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Authoritarianism Endorsement is measured with a new 30-item questionnaire and found via factor analysis to have many

facets, supporting initial theory by the author: 1. Dependence on authority and simple moral rules, 2. Dependence on authority for safety and comfort, 3. Simple good guy/bad guy social worldview, 4. Loyalty to authority, 5. Blind obedience, 6. Endorsement of reinforcement and punishment to control followers, 7. Trust in divine authority over own judgment, 8. Trust in elected officials more than in civilians. 9. Reassured by political leader speeches. Cronbach alpha reliability is .90. Validity is evident in correlations as expected with antisocial traits (warmongering .56**, violence-proneness .36*, religious fundamentalism .57**), and with pro-social traits (endorsing a positive foreign policy -.38*). The author's Authoritarianism Endorsement scale includes a few contrait items. However, response bias concerns, which motivated years of tedious effort by Bob Altemeyer to develop contrait items for his Right Wing Authoritarianism scale, are found to be spurious. In a study of a 44-item warmongering endorsement scale, including con-trait items created a scale that is no more valid or reliable than an all pro-trait item scale and is less user-friendly for persons completing the questionnaire than an all pro-trait scale. Authoritarianism Endorsement is postulated to be a facet of a species survival mechanism designed to reduce excess population via warmongering when stress on life-support resources gets too great. References: Politicalpsychologyresearch.com, Publications Section, items 8, 11 and 16.

A Psychoanalytic Reading of Adam Smith's "The Wealth of Nations"

**Sule Ozler, University of California at Los Angeles*

[Panel] 1Z Contemporary Politics, Conflicts, Trauma, and Healing: A Psychohistorical Approach

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Contemporary mainstream (Neoclassical) economics has been called the "dismal science" by many social scientists; the masculine value based modeling of human behavior known as "homo economics" has been criticized by many feminist economists as well as heterodox economists of all persuasions. In this research program we aim to bring economics back to life, ironically, by first, psychoanalytically analyzing a text written by a "dead man" more than two hundred years ago. The text, "The Wealth of Nations" (WN) by Adam Smith, was published in 1776. We choose this text because Adam Smith is widely recognized as the father and founder of economics as a science and the "Wealth of Nations" as a seminal text. Our approach of chapter-by-chapter listening to WN leads us to identify several themes in the text, such as relatedness, difference and power, the meaning of money, conceptualization of women and gender in the economy, and relatedness. In this paper we focus on relatedness. In WN, dependency is seen as a central problem of the human condition. This goes with a strong stress of the importance of independency and freedom. There is no explicit discussion of dependency relations and the variety of ways people deal with this in practice. Instead Smith addresses this issue at the theoretical level assuming that these dependency problems will be resolved by the market. It is the market mechanism that takes care of that in the realm of the natural idealized world where the forces of demand and supply are left to regulate behavior and bring about justice and increased wealth. Appealing to the self-love of others is proposed as the primary mechanism to have one's needs met. Otherwise it is silent on aspects of relatedness such as reciprocity, love, benevolence. We propose a new way of doing economics by allowing for human relatedness beyond the market mechanism. To this end we highlight the potential roles empathy and reciprocity may play in economic life.

A Theory of Dual Partisanship

**Martin Rosema, University of Twente*

Jacques Thomassen, University of Twente

[Panel] 4Q The Psychology of Partisanship (Part A: The Nature of Partisanship)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

In this paper we contrast two approaches of conceptualising and operationalising partisanship. The first defines partisanship as a social identity, following the original conceptualisation by the Michigan scholars. The second defines partisanship as a configuration of attitudes or party evaluations. We discuss the differences between both approaches and present empirical analyses using cross-national survey data to show that both approaches lead to different conclusions regarding (1) the number of partisans, (2) the stability of partisanship, and (3) the relationship between partisanship and vote choice. Building on these findings, we present a conceptualisation that comprises both elements; that is, partisan identity and party evaluations. We put forward a view on how these elements relate to each other and which one is most relevant in which context.

A Three-Factor Authoritarianism Scale

**Philip T. Dunwoody, Juniata College*

Rachel Oakley Hsiung, independent scholar; Dennis L. Plane, Juniata College; Kate Arnold, Juniata College; Daniel Bowser, Juniata College; Jill Gifford, Juniata College; Shelby Hodgkins, Juniata College; Dayle Shehan, Juniata College; Megan Showvaker, Juniata College; Chelsea Winder, Juniata College

[Panel] 2L New Developments in Authoritarianism Research II: Conceptual and Methodological Issues

[Section] Intergroup Relations

While there have been efforts to reconceptualize authoritarianism, the vast majority of research on authoritarianism utilizes Altemeyer's RWA scale. In developing new theories of authoritarianism, it is important to maintain a link with the body of research previously generated using the RWA scale. We have created a new scale based on Altemeyer's theory of authoritarianism that addresses the limitations in the RWA scale. The RWA scale suffers from several problems. First, although Altemeyer has always claimed that there are three factors (authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism), his RWA scale confounds the three constructs. It is unclear which construct is being tapped by many of the statements. This ambiguity is theoretically and psychometrically unsound. Second, statements on the RWA scale are specific attitude statements rather than abstract statements of the underlying construct. Third, many of the items on the RWA scale are dated and linguistically loaded. We propose a three-factor model of authoritarianism designed to deal with these limitations. Our measure has sub-scales for each of the three factors, uses language that is focused on the abstract construct instead of specific attitude targets, and is less linguistically loaded. The separation of the three factors allows for greater explanatory power when examining the correlation between authoritarianism and other constructs such as Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). The new measure was survey tested in two samples. It has good internal reliability. Validity was assessed by showing that it correlates well with RWA and SDO scales, support for war, and measures of ethnocentrism.

A Tribute to the Architects: Eleanor Roosevelt, Charles Malik, Peng-chun Chang, John Humphrey, and René Cassin.

**Sam McFarland, Western Kentucky University*

[Panel] Celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Roundtable)

[Section] Other

Dr. McFarland will discuss these architects of the Declaration and their part in its preparation. (Part of Roundtable)

A comparative analysis of integration policies in Bologna and Malmö through the lens of an ethic of care

**Sarah Scuzzarello, Dept. Political Science, Lund University*

[Panel] 6J Historical narratives, collective memory and ethics

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper examines and compares the policy papers adopted by the municipalities of Bologna (Italy) and of Malmö (Sweden) to develop a coherent approach for the integration of migrants resident in each municipality. Policy documents reproduce dominant narratives on how a society ought to be organised, which values are to be honoured, and what characterises a well-integrated and socioeconomically "fit" political agent. I aim to identify which narratives are articulated in these policy documents and to highlight their normative underpinnings. A further scope of this paper is to identify how majority society and migrant minorities are constructed in the policy documents examined and to single out their gendered impacts. The analysis is informed by a feminist understanding of ethics—known as an ethics of care. Theoretically, this paper aims at suggesting how a feminist understanding of ethics and politics can contribute to a critical analysis of the policies of integration of migrants. The paper adopts a cross-city, diachronic comparative approach. Comparison over time will show if a normative and narrative shift has taken place in the policies of integration, especially in the aftermath of the attacks of September 11, 2001. A cross-city comparison will show the potentially different approaches to integration policy of two cities embedded in very different national contexts.

A group authoritarianism related to national group. The moderating role of ethnic threat.

**Piotr Radkiewicz, Institute for Social Studies, Warsaw University*

[Panel] 2A Authoritarianism: Extensions and Applications

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The paper concerns the concept of group authoritarianism defined as the belief about the appropriate relationship between groups and their members. More specifically, it will refer to the research depicted by Stellmacher & Petzel (2005) showing the interaction effect of RWA, group identification and social threat on group authoritarianism. The analyses depicted in this paper has been performed in order to check, whether such interaction might be also confirmed, when a national group is a reference category. It includes a claim that in certain cases (e.g., ethnic threat) a particular role of the social threat is not so obvious. Two regression models have been performed on a data coming from a random sample of adult Poles. Both models include group authoritarianism (related to national group) as dependent variable, as well as RWA, national identification, threat, and interactions as predictors. The only difference was in respect to the measures of threat used in both models: general social threat and ethnic threat, respectively. In general, both models revealed the same structure of main effects as Stellmacher & Petzel analyses, and substantial differences as for interaction effects. In the second model the three-way interaction turned out to be significant; however, the sign of the effect, contrary to expectations, was negative. Such reversed effect means that, in case of ethnic threat, instead of reinforcing impact of simultaneous high levels of main predictors, one should rather expect weakest authoritarian reaction for most threatened individuals who are low on RWA and low on national identification.

A lab-based investigation of the social and political symbolism of animal-based foods

**Keith Rozendal, California State University-Channel Islands*

[Panel] 10F New Insights Into Imagination, Social Symbolism, and Value Judgments

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

A laboratory test of several potential symbolic associations to animal based foods was conducted, utilizing a cognitive priming research design. Many sources suggest that meat (animal flesh-derived food) is a symbol for wealth, power, masculinity, and social status/dominance (Adams, 2000, 2003, 2005; Fiddes, 1991, 1994; Spencer & Spencer, 2002). The consumption of meat is also argued to be an expression of certain attitudes and values that support inequality, domination, competition, power, and /machismo/ (Adams, 2000; Adams & Donovan, 1995; Allen, Wilson, Ng, & Dunne, 2000; Fiddes, 1991, 1994; Spencer & Spencer, 2002). This may be underlie the unique patterns of attitudes and social/political behaviors shown by those adopting a vegetarians diet (Allen, Wilson, Ng, & Dunne, 2000; Rozendal, 2007), as this diet is often adopted for the values that it expresses and defends (Curtis & Comer, 2006; Dundas, 1992; Friedman, 1994; Mullaney, 2006). I report whether pictures or words representing meat evoke thoughts of power, dominance and masculinity more than pictures or words representing plant-derived foods. I predict that meat will indeed lead to priming thoughts of power, dominance and masculinity, leading to quicker responses to such test stimuli and biased processing of ambiguous stimuli. Self-identification as a either a health or ethically motivated vegetarian may moderate these effects, such that only ethically motivated vegetarians will show different associations to meat than non-vegetarians.

A political psychology analysis of suicide bomber radicalization:

**Paul Gill, University College Dublin, Ireland*

[Panel] 1M Radicalization and the Terrorist

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Suicide bombing is becoming increasingly the tactic of choice for terrorist groups. There have been more suicide bombings in the past two and a half years than the 25 years prior, accounting for 48% of the total deaths worldwide through terrorism (Ricolfi 2005). Suicide bombing poses a problem for traditional political science research because it violates almost every predominant ethical norm in societies in which it takes place (i.e. not to kill innocents and not to commit suicide), and also because it is hard to capture in a rationalist means-ends framework that most political scientists ultimately rely on. My underlying hypothesis is that this approach reveals a dialectic of individual and organisational processes which ultimately produce suicide terrorism: extremist groups recruit individuals who (conditioned by particular environmental and psychological factors) are attracted to them. Once they have joined, these individuals are subjected to group-dynamics which socialise them into the group's ethos and thereby reproduce it. Under certain circumstances (which political psychology and the available empirical data help us to specify), inter-personal dynamics among their members can further radicalize these groups, with individuals and the group acting upon one another to enhance the group's preparedness to carry out acts of suicidal political violence. Moreover, this spiral can potentially kick in regardless of the group's ideological or religious background and regardless of the ultimate aims it claims to espouse.

A step into the mind of the political extremist: The measurement of extreme attitudes and ideology through

**response latencies and
event-related brain potentials (Poster)**

**Kristof Dhont, Ghent University*

Sven Pattyn, Ghent University; Els Severens, Ghent University; Alain Van Hiel, Ghent University

[Panel] 7P Poster Session: Decision Making

[Section] Political Decision Making

Theories about political extremism have typically been based on findings obtained in samples of adherents of moderate ideology. In the present studies the validity of extrapolating results obtained with moderates to true extremists is investigated with respect to implicit political attitudes. Two studies were conducted using a modified oddball paradigm based on the evaluative inconsistency effect elicited by stimuli embedded in a sequence of contextual stimuli with an opposite valence. In Study 1 (N = 31), we were able to show an extremism effect of specific political attitudes on response latencies among moderates. In Study 2, a similar extremism effect at the level of political ideology was obtained. In particular, distinct event-related potential patterns (i.e., Late Positive Potentials) were observed in a sample of politically moderate (N = 13) and radical (N = 13) participants. Given that extremeness of attitudes (obtained among politically moderates, Study 1) as well as ideology (Study 2) yielded increased inconsistency effects, it can be concluded that it is legitimate to extrapolate findings obtained with moderates to extremists, at least for implicit attitudes.

Accessibility and the Utility of Partisanship and Ideology

**Danna Basson, UW-Madison*

[Panel] 7D Ideological Thinking

[Section] Political Decision Making

In this paper, I examine whether the level of political knowledge and the cognitive accessibility of that knowledge influence the way citizens make political evaluations. I use survey data from a statewide public opinion poll to examine whether respondents with more accessible political knowledge arrive at their judgments differently than those for whom political knowledge is inaccessible. I consider the accessibility of political knowledge to be an indicator of political skill. Just as the level of political knowledge is one dimension of skill, namely of how much political information the respondent is aware and can use when forming judgments, the accessibility of that knowledge may be another dimension of skill indicating the ease with which respondents are able to recall and use their political knowledge. I also compare the accessibility of partisan identification and ideology with the accessibility of political knowledge to examine the relative influence of these cues on evaluations of the president and on issue positions. Differences in how much people can recall and in how accessible their knowledge is both explain how well individuals are able to use constructs such as partisanship when they make judgments or report attitude statements. For many issues, the more proficient individuals are with political information, the more they rely on partisanship in their judgments. Though party affiliation is often considered a shortcut for making judgments, it does not appear to be a mere crutch for the less sophisticated voters.

Affirmative Action and Immigration: Anger's Ability to Prime Whites' Racial Attitudes

**Antoine Banks, University of Michigan*

[Panel] 2E Emotions and Intergroup Attitudes

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This paper examines the role emotions play in Whites' racial attitudes. I argue that Whites' racial attitudes towards Blacks and Hispanics are linked to anger early in life. This happens, at least for recent generations, because the public debate surrounding race is filled with attributions of blame and control. Public policies designed to reduce the racial gap in quality of life, trigger thoughts about the deservingness of the primary benefits of these policies. Therefore, experiencing anger (even unrelated to race or politics) should bring racial attitudes closer to the surface in memory. My prediction is that anger will trigger Whites' racial attitudes and increase its application to such policies, as affirmative action and immigration. Utilizing a nationally representative sample collected through an Internet survey (Polimetrix), I explore whether priming anger, fear, or disgust boosts the impact of various forms of racial attitudes: racial resentment, negative stereotypes, group conflict and others as well. This paper demonstrates that anger and not fear or disgust is undergirding Whites' attitudes toward Blacks and Hispanics.

Age identity and ageism

Joanna Weir

**Clare Cassidy, University of St. Andrews*

[Panel] 2Y. Trauma, aging and giving: individual or group level phenomena?

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Relative to the social categories of gender and race, age has not received much research attention in social psychology. This paper reviews a small but growing body of research which examines age identity in older adulthood. We also note that social gerontologists are declaring chronological age a defunct variable (Bytheway, 2005), some turning their attention instead to the subjective experience of age and how age identities are managed and negotiated. This paper then focuses on the usefulness of a social identity perspective for understanding how older adults experience the ageing process. Finally, we draw on interviews with older adults who are politically active. We identify the ways in which older adults construct and negotiate group identity in the face of ageism.

Alexander L. George's Research Program on Deterrence and Coercive Diplomacy

**Jack S. Levy, Rutgers University*

[Panel] 9B The Management of International Conflicts and Crises: Perspectives from Political Psychology

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

In a career that spanned nearly six decades, Alexander George made a number of pioneering and enduring contributions in the fields of political psychology, international relations, and social science methodology. In this paper I focus on George's closely related research programs on coercive diplomacy and deterrence, including his arguments about the impact of the asymmetry of motivation, strategies for "designing around" a deterrent threat, the controllability of risks, the importance of images of the adversary, and the need for actor-specific models of the adversary. In the process, I highlight other elements of George's theoretically and methodologically integrated research program: his conceptions of the proper role of theory; his emphasis on the infeasibility of a universal theory and the need for conditional generalizations that are historically grounded, sensitive to context, bounded by scope conditions, and useful for policymakers; and the indispensability of process-tracing in theoretically-driven case studies.

All Information in Politics is not Equal: Asymmetries in Belief Perseverance

**Michael Cobb, NCSU*

[Panel] 7H Information, Asymmetry, and Ambivalence

[Section] Political Decision Making

Recent studies by several political scientists have confirmed what psychologists found long ago: misinformed individuals who learn the truth do not appropriately adjust their beliefs. More precisely, we and others have found that even credibly discredited misinformation continues to affect opinions. Yet, past studies only manipulate exposure to negative information. It is well known, however, that negative information is typically weighed more heavily in information processing than positive information. Therefore, our study relies on multiple experiments to explore whether exposure to positive but false information about a politician equally results in belief perseverance effects. In addition, past studies examined evaluations about a single individual, so we manipulate the number of politicians that participants learn about to test whether belief perseverance effects persist in comparative evaluative contexts more similar to real world conditions. Our initial results suggest positive but false information that is retracted does not result in belief perseverance; instead, it causes a backlash effect where the politician is actually viewed more negatively after the retraction. Our second study that varies the type of information (negative/positive) and the number of politicians participants learn about in the scenario (one or two) is currently underway.

An Experimental Study of Democratic Deliberation

**Shawn Rosenberg, University of California at Irvine*

[Panel] 8D Dialogue and Deliberation

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

The paper centers on experimental study of student deliberation on ethnic tensions at their home university. They deliberated with the aim of making recommendations to the administration as to how to handle the problem. There were 11 deliberative groups and involved a total of 240 students. Groups met 9 times for one hour as part of class on social

psychology. Deliberations occurred under four different conditions of facilitation: competitive debate, largely unfacilitated consensual decision-making, minimal facilitation focusing on the given of reasoning, maximal facilitation focusing on reflection, effective communication and group processes. The effect of treatments was assessed both by looking at collective outcomes (the quality of the discourse, the recommendations made) and individual outcomes (effect on cognitive sophistication, political efficacy, identification with the larger community).

An attempt to get to know the historical narrative of the other (Workshop)

**Dan Bar-On, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev*

**Shoshana Steinberg, Kaye Academic College of Education*

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

A group experience in creating Israeli and Palestinian narratives around important dates in the history of both peoples. After creating the two narratives, we will read from the narratives that Israeli and Palestinian teachers developed around these dates using the PRIME textbook. We will discuss the difficulties in recognizing and relating to the other's narrative, and ways to deal with these difficulties.

An empirical study of the trauma of forced evacuation and resettlement of the Jewish settlers from Gaza, 2005

**Nitza R Nachmias, Haifa University*

[Panel] 1N Political Violence, Trauma and Coping

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

During August 2005, about 50,000 Israeli military and policemen evacuated over 9000 Jewish settlers who, since 1967, lived in Gaza. The forced evacuation was perhaps, the most traumatic event in the history of the Jewish state. Thousands of families became uprooted refugees, fearful and anxious about "the day after". While the Israeli society at large was traumatized and deeply divided, the settlers and their supporters used various forms of violence to protest the evacuation. Unfortunately, the Disengagement authority ignored the severe traumatic situation, did not prepare the necessary psychological and social services, and the consequences of this in action were devastating. A government report issued in December 2007 revealed that at present, 85% of the evacuees are still living in temporary housings, unemployment is at 23%, violence and drug use among the youth is on the rise, and children have an almost psychotic fear of policemen and soldiers. Because the evacuation was based on misperceptions, social and economic consequences were either underestimated or ignored. In cases when social workers and psychologists were added to the regular staff they were hired on a temporary, intermittent basis. Future similar circumstances must address (a) processes of transitions and integration of children and their families in schools and society, relocation of businesses, need to adjust to new social environments, technical support for changes of professions, loss of income, loss of friends and neighbors, etc. Finally, under no circumstances should citizens experience the sense of abandonment and loss of faith and trust in their government.

Analyzing Global Terrorism Trajectories

**Gary LaFree, University of Maryland*

[Panel] 1B Approaches to Terrorism Research

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Using the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), we use trajectory analysis to describe and classify patterns of terrorism events at the country level from 1970 to 2004. Trajectory analysis is a semi-parametric group based modeling approach that is useful for identifying and classifying long term patterns or trends. The GTD is an open source data base of all known transnational and domestic terrorist attacks from 1970 to 2004. We analyze a total of 67,114 incidents for approximately 201 countries. Our results indicate that there are five unique patterns of country level terrorism activity over time. The vast majority of countries in our data are characterized by a relatively low number of terrorism events which remain stable over time. A relatively small group of countries accounts for over half of all incidents in the data and exhibit a "boom-bust" style distribution during the 35 years spanned by the data.

Anchoring the Partisan Ship: The Attitude Dimension that Stabilizes Party Identification

**Eric Groenendyk, University of Michigan*

[Panel] 4Q The Psychology of Partisanship (Part A: The Nature of Partisanship)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Political scientists have long debated whether partisanship is better characterized as a stable identity or a running tally of issue preferences and evaluations. Most previous research on partisan dynamics asks whether partisans update their identities. I turn the question around and ask what processes allow partisans to maintain stable party identities. If we can understand how partisans defend their identities, predictions can be made for when these defenses will break down and give way to partisan updating. One potent method of partisan defense is referred to as “identifying with the lesser of two evils” (Groenendyk 2008). This paper presents results from a national experiment administered in the United States that stimulates disagreement between subjects and their party while also manipulating the accessibility of attitudes relevant to partisan defense. Previous work suggests that, in the face of disagreement with their own party, partisans justify maintaining stable identities on the basis of negative attitudes toward the opposition party. In other words, they use a “lesser of two evils” justification to maintain stable identities. This national experiment manipulates the accessibility of attitudes toward the favored party versus attitudes toward the opposition party. In doing this, I attempt to isolate the impact of each of these two attitude dimensions on partisan stability. Again, I am particularly interested in the insulation effect of opposition related attitudes on party identification. Additionally, I assess the impact of each of these two attitude dimensions on various types of political behavior. Implications for democratic accountability are discussed.

Anger, guilt and acting on impulse: Psychological factors that motivate activists (Poster)

**Sarah Elizabeth Knight, University of Portsmouth*

Aldert Vrij, University of Portsmouth; Kim Bard, University of Portsmouth

[Panel] 1P Poster Session: Political Conflict, Violence and Crisis

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Activism is defined as “...intentional action to bring about social or political change. This action is in support of, or opposition to, one side of an often controversial argument” (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Activism). The ESRC’s Non-Governmental Action Programme is at present examining the internal politics and structures of established organisations such as Friends of the Earth International and Oxfam. The aim of the current project is to understand activism at an individual level. We examine the psychological antecedents of activism relating to human rights, animal rights, and environmental issues. Traditional models that adopt a rationalist framework to study the cognitive processes underlying attitudes, judgments and behaviour are de-emphasised: Instead, we apply Haidt’s innovative Social Intuitionist Theory (2001; 2007) to highlight the role of emotion (specifically, anger and guilt) in motivating support for activist organisations (i.e., attitudes) and participation in activist events (i.e., behaviour). We distinguish between non-activists (i.e., laypersons), those who support activist organisations but do not take part in activist activities (‘non-active activists’), and members of activist organisations who do participate in activist activities (‘active activists’). Also examined is whether individual differences in the tendency to seek and engage in emotional and cognitive experiences influence involvement in activism. Findings will be applicable to real-world problems such as how to strengthen communities, encourage tolerance for outgroup members, and reduce ingroup-outgroup conflict, and will inform psychological theory seeking to understand attitudes, emotions, moral judgment, and behaviour. The project is at present at the design stage and we seek comments and feedback from political scientists.

Antisemitic Fairy Tales?

**Steven K. Baum, College of Santa Fe*

[Panel] 2X Social Influences on the Development of Prejudice and Understanding of Intergroup Relations

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Folk legends are thought to have evolved from rituals celebrating the cycles of nature or as a means to reinforce societal values. Some of those societal values are of concern. Folklorist Bill Ellis is quick to remind us that “legend telling is often a fundamentally political act.” Little has been acknowledged regarding folklore’s antisemitic themes but there are plenty of examples. For instance, prior to 1939 Mother Goose’s Jack and the Beanstalk explained that “Jack sold his gold egg to a rogue of a Jew, who cheated him out of the half of his due.” Multiple examples of the Grimm’s Brothers tales viz., Jew in the Thorns, The Jews Stone, The Girl Who Was Killed by Jews, The Good Cloth, will be presented. The implications for promoting antisemitic beliefs through fairy tales will be addressed.

Applying profiling methods in counter terrorism: Learning from the Mohammed Atta-Case

**Max Vittorio Metselaar, Department of Defense (DOD) (Netherlands)*

[Panel] 1O Responses to Activism, Criminality and Terrorism
[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The application of interdisciplinary profiling techniques in order to identify, analyse, and predict state of minds and behaviour of individuals or small groups (i.e. terrorist cells) who are in a radicalization process and may become or are involved in terrorist acts forms a—in various ways controversial—method in Counter Terrorism (CT). The risk and costs of a “creep” to ethnical profiling is regarded as relatively high. The variety of so-called terrorist personality traits (if such traits can be distinguished at all) and changes in radicalization characteristics and terrorist modus operandi appears to be so high that applying profiling appears to be less useful. Furthermore, its predictive value is regarded as rather low. The paper discusses the application of various profiling techniques on Mohammed Atta, the leader of the Cells who executed the 9/11 terrorist attacks. By demonstrating and systematically evaluating the application of various profiling techniques on the Mohammed Atta-case, the requirements, benefits and limitations of each of these techniques for CT will become more explicit. The profiling techniques which will be applied are based on various disciplines and practices, including Criminology (FBI methods), Sociology (Nesser’s Cell Role approach) and Political Psychology (e.g., Profiling methods from Millon). In conclusion, the paper discusses several ways to improve the usefulness of applying profiling in Counter Terrorism.

Are Conservatives More American than Liberals?

**Matthew S Hirshberg, Lesley College*

[Panel] 4D: Parties, Party ID, and Elections

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

This paper takes seriously claims made by political conservatives in the United States that their beliefs and actions are more quintessentially American than those of politically liberal Americans. Public opinion data are used to identify pervasive beliefs, attitudes and opinions that are held more typically by Americans than by nationals of comparable countries. Conservatives and liberals are compared on their tendencies to think in these particularly American ways. Findings suggest that conservatives are orthodox Americans while liberals are moderates. This insight explains a variety of differences in the the ways American conservatives and liberals express themselves and behave politically.

Arousal, Emotions, and the Differential Learning of Political Facts in the 2005 German Televised Debates

**Jürgen Maier, U of Kaiserslautern*

[Panel] 5G Campaign Communication in Democratic Countries

[Section] Political Communication

There is much empirical evidence that citizens learn from televised debates. Nevertheless, the level of learning is different from citizen to citizen. Most of the literature discusses these differences in the context of the so-called knowledge gap hypothesis. The results are mixed: Some studies find that televised debates further increase knowledge gaps between high and low educated citizens while other studies support debate-induced reductions of knowledge gaps. In contrast to this, we argue that learning of political facts is rather a consequence of psychological processes than the result of different cognitive resources: On the one hand, differential learning might occur because of different levels of arousal during a televised debate. On the other hand, direction and strength of attitudes toward a candidate might be responsible for what is learned from his/her statements. Of course, there might also be an interaction between arousal and emotions. In order to analyze these hypotheses we use data from an experimental pretest-posttest design collected from 49 East German citizens during the 2005 German televised debate. Immediately before and immediately after the debate the participants of our study filled out a questionnaire including political attitudes and political knowledge. In addition, the participants were asked to make computer-based real-time judgments during the course of the debate. In the context of this paper, we use these real-time responses as an indicator for the individual level of arousal. To explain learning of political facts, we analyze the causal relationships between real-time responses, political attitudes and political knowledge.

Assessing Social Desirability Effects in Opinion Measurement: Problems in Randomization and Rotation Strategies

**Christopher Muste, University of Montana*

[Panel] 2U Prejudice: Measurement and Conceptual Issues

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Social desirability effects in opinion surveys pose problems in accurately measuring political attitudes. These problems are particularly acute in research on attitudes concerning social group cleavages, especially race. Social desirability may distort assessments of group-relevant attitudes, including the degree of social group conflict and prejudice, and misspecification of the relationships that underlie group-relevant attitudes. Researchers typically employ question order rotation to minimize social desirability, but have not directly measured the magnitude of the effects. This paper generates estimates of these effects by using data drawn from a TESS survey experiment, which employed a two-factorial nested-design varying the social group cues of race, sex, and class, for questions tapping both individuals' psychological affiliation (closeness) with social groups and their perceptions of social groups' influence, and NES data on group closeness. Preliminary data analyses show significant question order effects in some but not all experimental conditions, with wide variation in the effects of group stimuli on survey responses. Question type (closeness versus influence) has almost no effect on responses. Asking about racial groups first has stronger effects on subsequent responses than asking about sex or class groups first, and the effects are strongest on subsequent questions asking about racial groups, especially blacks. Multivariate analysis of the racial stimulus effects indicates enduring black-white differences in responses to the stimuli, but no sex or class differences. These findings call into question the efficacy of rotating or randomizing question order to deal with response effects, and support further research to minimize social desirability effects.

Assimilation, Racial Identity and Political Attitudes among Diverse American Immigrant Groups

Cara Wong

Vincent Hutchings

**Rosario Aguilar-Pariante, University of Michigan*

[Panel] 2I Immigration, Identity, and Religiosity Effects on Political Beliefs, Attitudes and Behaviors of American Ethnic Groups

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Research on assimilation and racialization in the U.S. has focused largely on black Caribbeans and the extent to which they perceive themselves as Americans, Black Americans, or hold a national origin identity. However, the question of how racial identity, linked fate, and assimilation interrelate applies more broadly to immigrants of all race and ethnic groups. Just as research on race and politics is often limited to the study of only white racial attitudes, research on racial identity and linked fate needs to move beyond a focus on nonwhite identity to include whites, and also to take into account how immigrants are socialized and incorporated into American politics, oftentimes via race. In this paper, we examine the determinants of perceptions of racial identity and common fate among immigrants, utilizing the 2004-2005 National Politics Study (NPS); its broad national sample of Americans, including Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Afro-Caribbeans, allows us to study immigrants of different racial groups and also compare their opinions to those of native-born Americans. We also analyze the effect of these identities on political attitudes and the extent to which they motivate political actions.

At your service? Public Opinion, Parliament, and Representatives in the case of the Netherlands

**Joop Van Holsteyn, Department of Political Science, Leiden University*

Christel Koop, European University Institute

[Panel] 4H Attitudes toward Public Policy

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

In the run-up to the general elections of May 15, 2002, the late Pim Fortuyn presented himself as the new leader to the party members of his then party, Livable Netherlands, with the phrase: 'At your service'. According to many, Fortuyn was simply a populist political entrepreneur, but the idea that democratic politicians and public policymaking should in a way be affected by public opinion and the people's will has been widely accepted. For representative democracies, this basically means that elected officials are expected to pay attention to—among other things—public opinion. Elections form the conventional major communication channel between citizens and their representatives, and through general elections the will of the people can be expressed. The extent to which and the way in which representatives should obey the people's voice, however, has for a long time been a subject of discussion. Some (e.g., Edmund Burke) argue that politicians should not pay attention to public opinion, others (e.g., George Gallup) emphasize that the focus in public policy-making should always be on public opinion, and still others believe that some sort of balance between the two is best. The choice one makes in this respect impacts on the role one might play as an elected representative in Parliament. The rise of sophisticated public opinion polls in many western democracies has complicated the role selection of

representatives. Nowadays not only elections are considered to be the expression of the will of the people, but also, and according to some more so, opinion polls are treated as manifestations of public opinion. According to for example John Geer, the flourishing opinion polling industry provides politicians nowadays with relatively accurate readings of public opinion. This raises new (normative and empirical) questions for politicians in general and elected representatives in particular. Is Burke still the ideal of contemporary representatives, or is public opinion, as communicated through opinion polls, authoritative? In this paper two related questions will be addressed: What does the idea or concept of public opinion mean for contemporary Dutch parliamentarians? And to what extent does public opinion affect their behavior in Parliament? The data are collected in two different ways. Firstly, an exploratory study on the basis of in-depth face-to-face interviews with a small sample of former parliamentarians is performed. Secondly, in order to empirically find out whether parliamentarians use public opinion, one important parliamentary debate is analyzed, the debate on the war in Iraq. How did the various manifestations of public opinion impact upon their position and behavior in this debate, and what does that mean to their role as representatives? Although our paper is on the Dutch case and does not employ a comparative approach, we think that the research undertaken is interesting in its own right, since it zooms in on the actual behavior of contemporary (Dutch) representatives. In future research this approach, if fruitful, can and should be undertaken from a more comparative perspective.

Attitude toward Language and its Impact on the Institution of Negotiations in Arabic-Speaking Islam

**Ilai Alon, Tel Aviv University*

[Panel] 6B Language, Culture and Group Identity

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Language in negotiations must be viewed as more than a mere tool for accurately transmitting messages. This is particularly true for Arabic, which is a central institution in Islamic culture. Besides being a chief mark of identity, it aims, in many cases, at establishing relations among interlocutors. This paper will point to some idiosyncracies in this language and to cultural differences between it and English, which court misunderstandings.

Austria 1918: National Trauma of Defeat and Fragmentation

**Peter Loewenberg, University of California at Los Angeles*

[Panel] 1Z Contemporary Politics, Conflicts, Trauma, and Healing: A Psychohistorical Approach

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

This paper presents the history of how the leadership of the new First Austrian Republic coped with the collapse of the Habsburg state in 1918 and adapted to new small state circumstances, as well as those areas where the leadership did not or could not adjust well enough to the postwar situation. No issue was more critical to the life of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy before World War One than the issue of nationality. The House of Habsburg postulated a dynastic loyalty which was pre-national and which could not compete with the ascendant new nationalisms of the Czechs, Croats, Slovenes, Slovaks, Serbs, Jews, Ruthenians, Rumanians, Italians, Germans, and Poles. These modern nationalisms eventually tore the Austro-Hungarian state apart. The Austro-Marxists, led by Karl Renner (1870-1950) and Otto Bauer (1881-1938) proposed solutions of divided sovereignty to the problem of nationalism. Austria-Hungary, a great dynastic empire, one of the major European powers of the nineteenth century, came out of World War One defeated, fragmented, with a small Alpine state which was characterized as hydrocephalic—having an enlarged head (Vienna) on a shrunken body pasted together from the leavings of the succession states (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and enlarged Italy) of the dismembered monarchy. What had been an empire of 52 million in population was now a new minor European state of 6.2 million people. Vienna, the capital, decreased from 2.1 million to 1.8 million inhabitants. Yet, in this atmosphere of political uncertainty, the new republic achieved major social reforms of municipal housing, taxation, electoral law, unemployment and sickness insurance, an eight-hour day, restrictions on female and child labor, paid vacations, and labor laws.

Authoritarian background impact on political and national identities of ex-Soviet and Turkish citizens within expanding European Union.

**Olena Korniyeyeva, Jacobs University Bremen*

[Panel] 6C Post-Communist Nationalism and National Identities

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Migration processes all over the world include many people from those societies historically under communist rule. Within these processes social maladaptation or marginalization of migrants can occur as well as Authoritarian Political Attitudes in their political behavior. Immigrants from religion- or tradition-defined societies represent a great part of emigrants. In such societies, instead of secular idea of communism/one-party political system, religiosity and sharply defined traditional patriarchy serve as mechanisms of authoritarian managing. Therefore these socio-political systems seem to carry many similar authoritarian characteristics of political culture and political practice. The reason for consideration of post-communist and traditionalist societies as similar by their nature is their similar impact on identity formation and the conception of Citizen: such milieus have many similar characteristics in regard of national identity (emphasized patriotism, ethnocentrism, intolerance to out-groups), hierarchical social structure (vertical, unequal, with non-questionable authorities), patterns of relationships (paternalistic/submissive) and the idea of civil society and political participation (weakly self-expressive individual, emphasis on human constraint). There are more questions to be answered within my PhD research, e.g. in which measure authoritarian cultural background affects acculturational patterns of emigrants in democratic societies and what exactly impedes development of democratic political culture in countries with the Soviet past? The psychological roots of political identity and political culture of people with authoritarian background are of great interest for me as for a researcher, since I am, as a Ukrainian, I had many opportunities to observe and analyse the phenomena during transition period from authoritarian to democratic state structure in my country. With this topic I would like to make my contribution into the current discussion, since an adequate solution to the problem can be developed through synthesized approach of political psychology taken together with cross-cultural and developmental psychology. My quantitative research is taking place at Jacobs University Bremen, Germany and now on its middle stage.

Authoritarianism and Contextual Effects: A Longitudinal Study

**Susanne Rippl, Institute for Sociology, Technical University Chemnitz (Germany)*

Christian Seipel, Institut für Sozialwissenschaften, University Hildesheim

Angela Kindervater, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Jacobs University Bremen

[Panel] 2N New Developments in Authoritarianism Research IV: Threat and Authoritarianism

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Theoretical considerations about the influence of contextual factors on authoritarianism is an important further development in authoritarianism research (e.g. Oesterreich, Feldman, Rickert). Several authors dealt with the relation of contextual threat and the activation of authoritarianism. Whereas the question if authoritarianism is a personality factor as prerequisite for the development of e.g. prejudice or if authoritarian attitudes arise just in a threatening context stays unclear. The empirical evidence for these mechanisms is small. To analyse the proposed causal effects it would be necessary to examine longitudinal data. This is done in the present study. Using data from a survey on attitudes towards the EU Enlargement—gathered before and after the real expansion—the present paper will examine the relation between threat referring to the consequences of the expansion and authoritarianism. Competing models regarding the causal relations are tested.

Authoritarianism and Social Dominance: Differences in Cognition and Temperament

**Edward J. Rickert, Department of Psychology, Georgia State University*

[Panel] 2M New Developments in Authoritarianism Research III: Cognitive and Affective Processes

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This study examined the processing and remembering of information and differences in temperament between authoritarians and social dominators. Cognitive strategies employed by them was assessed with (a) the Deese-Roediger-McDermott false memory paradigm and (b) judgments concerning the veracity of false, highly salient statements promulgated by government and establishment authority. Zuckerman's (1994) sensation seeking scale evaluated whether authoritarians and dominators differ in the extent to which they avoid risk. The results showed that dominators are much more likely to falsify memories than authoritarians; presumably, their coding of information is more concept- than data-driven than either equalitarians or authoritarians. By contrast, authoritarians' recall of information is heavily influenced by its source: false information is more likely to be retained when emanating from powerful institutions. Although no association was found between sensation seeking and social dominance, strong negative correlations exist between authoritarianism and total sensation scores and with two of the four subscales.

Authoritarianism is Good for You: Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation as Health

Protective Factors

**Alain Van Hiel, Ghent University*

[Panel] 2M New Developments in Authoritarianism Research III: Cognitive and Affective Processes

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Although common knowledge seems to agree that authoritarianism is ‘bad to the self’, previous studies yielded inconclusive results with respect to the health consequences of authoritarianism. In the present research it is studied whether the impact of dispositional and situational health threats depend on level of authoritarianism. In Study 1 conducted in a sample of 132 adults it was revealed that D-Type personality had less negative consequences on depression with high rather than low levels of authoritarianism. Study 2 conducted in a sample of 109 elderly revealed that the effects of negative stressful life events were curbed by higher levels of authoritarianism. It is concluded that while previous studies have amply shown that authoritarianism has adverse consequences for other people, these negative effects do not seem to be particularly present for the self.

Authoritarianism research with different value judgments: the case of Erich Rudolf Jaensch

**Sven van de Wetering, University College of the Fraser Valley*

[Panel] 10F New Insights Into Imagination, Social Symbolism, and Value Judgments

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

The construct of authoritarianism appears to have been adumbrated by Erich Jaensch’s work on the distinction between the J-type and the S type in the 1930s. The two most important differences between Jaensch’s work and the more famous authoritarianism research program begun by Adorno and colleagues in the 1940s were, first, that the psychological orientation of Jaensch’s program was rooted in psychophysics rather than psychoanalysis, and second, that for Jaensch, an ardent Nazi, the authoritarian pole of this construct was positively rather than negatively valued. The present paper seeks to briefly describe Jaensch’s work, partly because of its intrinsic interest, but partly in order to cast some light on the role of value judgments in authoritarianism research. The tentative conclusion of this inquiry is that, although it is unlikely that the value judgments of current authoritarianism researchers bias their conclusions to anything like the degree that Jaensch’s value judgments appear to have biased his, value judgments nevertheless constitute a fairly powerful implicit heuristic that guides the type of hypotheses modern researchers choose to test.

Authoritarianism vs Democratic Authority: How can True Democracy Take over Dictatorship?

**Maryse Touboul, School of Aliveness and Adulthood, George Washington University*

[Panel] 10D New Developments in Psychoanalysis and Psychodynamic Approaches to Political Psychology

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

A psychoanalytical definition of authoritarianism The roots of authoritarianism are parental; they are based on a symbolic and absolute language of fear and guilt. Thus, authoritarianism is based on the Laws of the Other, meaning the Laws of the One: which One? The leader, who is the “Father.” Why move away from authoritarianism? One man cannot save all others. History proved that the result of authoritarianism is always the power of one over the others; thus: oppression. The authoritarian way of functioning is so deeply inscribed in our societies that, even in the name of democracy, politicians justify authoritarian actions. Our so-called democratic language can be as inhuman as the authoritarian language, as it is still based on values of violence and hate, which always regard the Other as the enemy. What is the alternative? To make democratic authority prevail over authoritarianism. The authoritarian language must be replaced with a new truly democratic language, which we have to learn. It will be based on human values of peace and the desire to do for, not against. These laws of democracy are rooted in the laws of life and in the consciousness of all that our desire is to build a new way of thinking, a new adult civilization, in which people will be able to put all their energy in the same direction: that of managing to live together, side by side. To believe in humanity is to build it one by one; not One for all the others.

Authoritarianism: A Concept Still Relevant for Understanding the Genesis of Right-Wing-Extremism in Germany

Marliese Weißmann, University of Leipzig; Elmar Brähler, University of Leipzig;

Norman Geißler, University of Leipzig; Oliver Decker, University of Leipzig

**Katharina Rothe, University of Leipzig*

[Panel] 2K New Developments in Authoritarianism Research I: Personal Roots and Development of Authoritarianism

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Our research project on the genesis of right-wing-extremism in Germany is a qualitative follow-up study after a quantitative representative survey on the distribution and influencing factors of right-wing-extremist attitudes in 2006. Following amongst others the classic studies of Adorno et al. authoritarianism was considered as one of the key-concepts in understanding the genesis of right-wing attitudes still today. Besides the Leipzig version of a right-wing-attitude questionnaire, the study included questionnaires on authoritarian orientations and other psychological and sociological concepts. Strong correlations between the results of the right-wing-attitude questionnaire and the questionnaire on authoritarianism were confirmed. By means of a methodological triangulation we have raised group discussions with some participants of the former study in different areas of Germany in 2007. Based on the former categorisation we organized groups with participants approving right-wing extremist ideas, with participants who agreed with parts of these ideas and with participants who rejected them in order to deepen the comparative analysis of the groups. The qualitative data is analyzed both according to the reconstructive approach and psychoanalytical methods in social research. In our analysis we will discuss the impact of authoritarian educational experiences (described by many of the participants) on the development of a right-wing attitude as well as authoritarian relationship patterns that are acted out in the group discussions between some of the participants, mainly in the groups with participants affirming or partly affirming right-wing ideas.

Automatic Evaluation of Political Candidates

**Brad Verhulst, Stony Brook University*

Milton Lodge, Stony Brook University

Charles S. Taber, Stony Brook University

[Panel] 4G Political Cognition

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

This paper focuses on the automatic cognitive processes that are employed when people learn new information about a candidate and how automatic processes influence candidate evaluations. In two experiments, we present information about a hypothetical politician's issue positions on a range of issues that are manipulated to be either similar to or dissimilar from each participant's previously measured attitudes, while at the same time subliminally priming with positive or negative affective stimuli representing incidental information in the political environment. In line with typical spatial models of voting behavior, we find that people presented with a similar candidate evaluate that candidate more positively. However, we also find that incidental information augments or attenuates this effect, with negative incidental information leading to a more negative evaluation and positive incidental information leading to a more positive evaluation of the candidate. Furthermore, we find that inducing people to think deeply about the candidate actually increased the probability that people would be influenced by the incidental information, which they were unaware that they were exposed to in the first place.

Behavioural Structures in Political Assassination

**Margaret Ann Wilson, University of Surrey*

[Panel] 1B Approaches to Terrorism Research

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

This paper examines the underlying psychological dimensions that distinguish between the conduct of a sample of political assassinations carried out during the 1980s and 1990s. Descriptive accounts of assassinations are taken from the series of books published by Mickolus and colleagues, augmented by quality newspaper coverage where possible. The accounts are content analysed and the similarities and differences between the accounts represented using Multidimensional Scalogram Analysis (MSA). Two key related dimensions are illustrated; the specificity of the targeting and the level of interaction with the victim.

Being or becoming an Immigrant? Understanding adolescents' contextualized identities

**Leticia Braga, Harvard Graduate School of Education*

[Panel] 6V Social change, values, and the management of 'positioning'

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper focuses on how the identity development of a sample of Brazilian immigrant adolescents must be understood as being contextually grounded. The perspectives voiced by participants illustrate how a narrative is constructed around their past, present, and future experiences of immigration between Brazil and the United States. In using positioning as an analytic tool, participants' statements provide examples of how national categories like 'Brazilian' are transformed into

ethnic ones, and documentation status can be interpreted in multiple ways. The analyses indicate that youths who look similar demographically can still have vastly different experiences of becoming and being an immigrant.

Belligerent Peaceniks and Hippie Warmongers: the Dimensionality of Attitudes Towards, and Social Representations of, War and Peace (Poster)

**Nicolas Van der Linden, Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB)*

Boris Bizumic, The Australian National University (ANU); Rune Stubager, University of Aarhus; Scott Mellon, Ricoh Professional Services

[Panel] 1P Poster Session: Political Conflict, Violence and Crisis

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

A cross-cultural investigation was conducted with the aim of testing two common assumptions in the political and social psychological literature: (1) attitudes towards peace and attitudes towards war can be conceived of as polar opposites along a single dimension (see Wagner, Valencia and Elejabarrieta, 1996); (2) people or groups holding different attitudes towards peace/war draw on a different social representation of peace/war (see Sarrica and Contarello, 2004). Respondents from the United States and Denmark participated to the study which also aimed at: (3) exploring the relationship of attitudes towards peace/war with variables that are usually shown to be reliable predictors of attitudes towards war (e.g. social dominance orientation); and (4) investigating the extent to which attitudes towards peace/war predict behavioural intentions in favour of peace or war. Results show that a two factor model better fits the data than a one factor model: positive attitudes towards peace co-exist with positive attitudes towards war. Overall the results suggest that a proper understanding of the formation of public opinion demands to move beyond a purely psychological analysis and stress the importance of linking the study of social attitudes to social representations.

Belonging to the Conflict: Collective Identities among Israeli and Palestinian Émigrés to the United States

**Julia Chaitin, Sapir Academic College*

[Panel] 1J Identity and Conflict

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

This talk will explore how Palestinian and Israeli émigrés to the United States understand their sense of collective identity and belonging in relation to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Results of the qualitative study found that these immigrants 'belong' to the conflict and that the violence between the two people continues to impact them, even years after their emigration. For all of first generation immigrants, among the 20 people who were interviewed, the Middle East conflict was perceived as being a major anchor for their life stories. The participants organized their recollected memories around the conflict, as well as their understandings of self and "other." I present two examples, one from a Palestinian and one from an Israeli, which demonstrate this tendency, and offer ideas for conceptualizing collective identity and belonging among immigrants fleeing the war-torn Middle East.

Beyond Dual-Process Theory: Authoritarianism, Social Dominance, and Other Roots of Generalized Prejudice

**Sam McFarland, Western Kentucky University*

[Panel] 2A Authoritarianism: Extensions and Applications

[Section] Intergroup Relations

A decade ago, two large studies found that, of the more than twenty individual differences known at the time to predict ethnocentrism (the tendency to hold many prejudices), only right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and the social dominance orientation (SDO) contributed substantial variance in regression analyses (Altemeyer, 1998; McFarland and Adelson, 1996). Altemeyer concluded, If you want to explain the many kinds of prejudice, only two kinds of personality are basically involved: the social dominator and the right-wing authoritarian@ (1998, p. 60). Based on these results, Duckitt (2001) introduced a dual-process theory of prejudice. Almost one hundred studies of these dual processes have now been reported. The present paper reports studies that identified two additional substantial contributors to generalized prejudice: dispositional empathy and principled moral reasoning. Using regression analyses on separate samples of students and adults, both RWA and SDO positively predicted ethnocentrism, whereas empathy and principled moral reasoning did so negatively. Structural equation modeling, conducted on these same data, led to three conclusions: (1) The effects of authoritarianism upon generalized prejudice are partially mediated through reduced principled moral reasoning; (2) The

effects of social dominance upon generalized prejudice are partially mediated through reduced empathy; and (3) The contributions of principled moral reasoning and empathy to generalized prejudice are only partially explained by their associations with authoritarianism and social dominance, respectively. In short, two individual differences beyond the dual processes are now known to contribute to generalized prejudice.

Beyond ‘who leads matters’: reinventing the psychology of political leadership

**Paul 't Hart, Australian National University*

Katherine Jane Reynolds, Australian National University

Emina Subasic, Australian National University

[Panel] 3E Towards a Broader Framework for Leadership Analysis

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

This project seeks to innovate the comparative study of presidential and prime-ministerial leadership in Australia and the United States. The currently dominant approaches in Political Psychology focus almost exclusively on the explanatory power of leader-centered factors (personality and style). In directing their energy almost exclusively to these tasks, scholars risk ignoring the central problem of political leadership: how to acquire, maintain and wield authority vis a vis followers, mass audiences, and key actors and institutions in their political operating environment. In this paper we develop an alternative approach, drawing on social identity theory (Turner et al), political capital theory (Breslauer, Skowronek), and political ensembles theory (Little)

Biases and Errors in Counter-terrorism Decision Making: a Computerized Process Tracing Experiment

**Alex Mintz, Lauder School of Government, IDC*

Steven B. Redd

[Panel] 7A Decision Making Processes

[Section] Political Decision Making

We report results of a computerized process tracing experiment with high-ranking officers in the U.S. DoD, which uncovered biases and errors in decision making on combating terrorism. The biases of “locking in” on a single, preferred alternative, assigning weights to the military dimension and less so to economic considerations, and post-decision rationalization were found using the computerized experiment and the Decision Board software. The results supported the theory that even high ranking officers addressing issues of national security, are susceptible to cognitive biases in decision making.

Both Sides Now: A Field Experiment with Competing Messages

**Daniel Rubenson, Ryerson University*

Peter John Loewen, Universite de Montreal

[Panel] 4L Democratic Values, Socialization and Attitude Formation

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

What happens when voters receive direct mail from both sides of a political campaign? Prior field experiments have examined the mobilization capacity and, less so, the persuasive capacity of direct mail. However, most studies have randomized and tested only one campaign’s message. Accordingly, very little is known about the conditionality of direct mail effects. The purpose of this paper is to answer questions about whether the persuasion and mobilization capacities of direct mail are conditional on the opposing side of a message also being received. We present results from a direct mail experiment conducted during a province-wide referendum on major electoral reform held in the province of Ontario, Canada in October 2007. Using a treatment group of approximately 6000 households and a control group of more than four million, our experiment randomized the reception of direct mail from both the Yes and No sides of the referendum. We randomly assigned precincts to receive a message from one campaign, others to receive a message from both and the vast majority to receive no messages. By comparing turnout and referendum results in treated and untreated polling precincts, we determine the mobilization and persuasion capacities of direct mail. More importantly, we are able to ascertain how competitive messages cancel one another out, and whether they increase or decrease turnout.

Brazilian Health Councils: the problematic relationship between Participation and Accountability

**Cornelis Johannes van Stralen, Brazilian Association of Political Psychology/ Federal University of Minas Gerais*

[Panel] 8A Citizen Participation Networks
[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

The 1988 Brazilian Federal Constitution sanctioned the decentralization of public policies and established mechanisms for participation in the formulations and management of these policies. This legal foundation fostered the development of management councils of public policies. The health sector was pioneer in this process and nowadays all Brazilian municipalities have founded health councils. These councils are permanent bodies, joining state managers and public and private producers of health services (25% of its member), health professionals (25%) and users of the public health system (50%). Underpinning the foundation of health councils is the premise that they will foster democracy and made the health system more responsive to the health needs of the citizens and also warrant a transparent and accountable management of the health services. While the legislation focuses both on participation and accountability, health care managers, as well as the very health councils, privilege increasingly accountability and “social control”. A case study of the health council of Belo Horizonte, capital of the Minas Gerais State, suggest that this focus is the outcome of two underlying processes: the fact that the great part of the public health managers are not strongly interested in the promotion of public participation and also from the construction of the social identity of health council members in the context of a disengaged and hierarchical civic society. Under such circumstances, the health councils become increasingly bureaucratic instances, not rarely co-opted by the health care managers.

Britishness: Components of British identity among majority and minority group members (Poster)

**Peary Brug, St. Mary's University College*

**Conan O'Brien, St. Mary's University College*

[Panel] 2P Poster Session: Intergroup Relations

[Section] Intergroup Relations

In the wake of terrorist attacks in Britain, carried out by British citizens, as well as rising public discourse over the impact of immigration, there has been discussion about the need to cultivate a British identity and instil in the British public a sense of “British pride”. This idea relates to Tajfel and Turner’s (1979) Social Identity Theory and intends to create and maintain positive intra-group relations. Is it possible to have a single British identity across the United Kingdom (UK) and if so, what would its properties be? The poster will present the results of an investigation to identify the components that are most important in the formation of a British identity; a precursor to creating a British Identity Scale. Data is being collected across the UK from a diverse sample of Sixth Form students regarding their notions of British identity and what they consider to be the key properties of Britishness. While Prime Minister Gordon Brown’s idea for trying to instil a sense of oneness amongst the nearly 61 million residents of the UK is noteworthy, the task may be difficult. Regional divisions (e.g., Scotland-England) may present similar problems to those faced in countries like Belgium, with its geo-linguistic division (e.g., van de Craen, 2002). This investigation should highlight common and divergent notions of Britishness, with respect to the UK’s ethnically and geographic diverse population. In addition, the investigation will be the first step in creating a British identity scale that can be used in future studies.

Brussels Residents Hanging Out the Belgian Flag: Social Identity, Intergroup Attributions and Political Protest (Poster)

**Nicolas Van der Linden, Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB)*

Laurent Licata, Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB)

[Panel] 8P Poster Session: Democracy and Civic Development

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

During the political crisis that followed the last national elections, many Belgian flags appeared at Brussels’ windows and balconies, as a protest against the possible dismantling of the country in two linguistic entities. In order to test the assumption that strength of national identity, intergroup attributions and collective emotions stimulate participation in these acts of political protests, 300 questionnaires were mailed to Brussels’ residents living in buildings where at least one flag was hung. Results provide new insights into the distinct roles played by intergroup attributions and ingroup identification on the affective responses produced by a social identity threat.

Bulgarian Militant Nationalism: Volin Siderov and the Attack Party

**Benedict Edward DeDominicis, American University in Bulgaria*

[Panel] 6G Nationalism, Patriotism and Electoral Politics
[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

The Attack Party exploits the romantic, anti-Muslim symbols of Bulgarian nationalism in what many compare to Jen LePen's National Front movement in France and other "far-right" movements in Europe. Bulgaria is the European Union member state with the largest Muslim proportion of its population. The Bulgarian case provides an opportunity to test EU responses to the so-called "clash of civilizations" bordering on Serbia and Turkey, states which are targets for EU integration strategies. The Bulgarian case therefore poses as an appropriate case for addressing the meaning of separation of church and state as a component of the peace strategy of the European Union for identity-based conflict resolution.

Can Campbell's Experimenting Society Concept be Modified for Foreign Policy?

**Charles Hermann, Bush School Texas A&M University*

[Panel] 7G Political Psychology of Foreign Policy Decision Making
[Section] Political Decision Making

One of the numerous creative ideas of the distinguished psychologist, Donald T. Campbell, envisioned the application of the experimental method to public policy (e.g., 1969 *American Psychologist* 24, 4 409-429; 1991 *Evaluation Practice* 12, 3 221-260). By rigorously constructing and evaluating a policy initiative in accordance with the requirements of experimental design, Campbell argued that it should be possible to evaluate the impact attributable to that policy. Moreover, a political system that adopted an "experimental perspective" toward the conduct of policy might avoid the decision maker's trap of unwavering commitment to a prior policy despite mounting evidence of its failure. Even if the demanding requirements for an experimental design could be introduced, the competitive nature of politics in most systems makes the approach extremely unattractive to politicians. Nevertheless, the frequently staggering costs of escalating policy commitments to an initiative gone bad, invites a new review. The question is whether some variation of the Campbell approach might be viable. This paper examines this issue from the perspective of foreign and security policy.

Can biology make the United States gay-friendly? The social constructionist alternative to attribution theory

**Peter Hegarty, University of Surrey*

[Panel] 6Q Changing the political landscape: Personality, attitudes and actions
[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

In the early 1990s biologists and psychiatrists argued that new studies on the biology of sexual orientation would bring about tolerance for lesbians and gay men. They claimed that biology implied that sexual orientation was not a personal 'choice' or anyone's 'fault' in national print media, on television, and in popular science books consumed by gay and straight Americans. Social psychologists agreed, and used Wiener's attributional theory of stigma to interpret evidence of correlations between biological essentialist beliefs and tolerance towards lesbians and gay men as evidence of a causal effect of the former on the latter. More than a simple correlation-causation error, social psychologists' over-reach from correlational data contributed to a social construction of biological determinism as a pro-gay ideology in the 1990s. In support of this claim I will present evidence that (1) there is no correlation between tolerance and biological determinism among heterosexual people who are unsure if biology implies tolerance or not; (2) that textual analysis of the biological models of sexual orientation prevalent during this period show that they are anything but pro-gay, but needed to be constructed as such; (3) that where medical knowledge presumes that sexual orientation is genetic that stigmatization is increased rather than decreased; (4) that heterosexist attitudes develop independently of beliefs about the causes of sexual orientation. The social constructionist alternative can only be squared with attribution theory by remembering Weiner's assumption that a person must view a stigmatized target negatively before beginning to think in attributional terms. Consistent with this idea, content analyses, educational studies, and laboratory experiments all show that people who are most prejudiced against lesbians and gay men are most interested in the nature/nurture question. Qualitative studies of natural discourse show that Americans of all sexual orientations readily construct a range of pro-gay and anti-gay implications of biological determinism. Biological determinism will not make people gay friendly, but American social psychology has contributed to the myth that it will.

Can observing discrimination be harmful?

**Nicole Kronberger, Johannes Kepler University Linz*

[Panel] 2H Groups, Discrimination, and Oppression
[Section] Intergroup Relations

This contribution investigates the situation of students in engineering where women are highly underrepresented. For women, being a member of a minority group entails being perceived to a heightened degree as a member of this group; gender inevitably becomes an influential identity category. When this identity furthermore is related to stereotypes about inferior performance, women's academic achievements can be impaired; a plethora of laboratory experiments have demonstrated the effect of stereotype threat. However, there are few studies that consider both long-term consequences and effects not only on those stereotyped but on persons perceiving discrimination of others. Based on two samples of engineering students, this contribution sets out to address this lacuna. Both in a retrospective sample (N = 380) and in a prospective sample (N = 431), former and active engineering students indicated, among other things, the degree of perceived discrimination against women. The results indicate that perceived discrimination not only is detrimental to women's likelihood to graduate, but also is related to lower success rates for (some) men. This finding holds both for former students (who already had graduated or dropped out at the time of filling in the survey) and for students being actively involved in their studies at the time of the study. For this latter group (the prospective sample), perceived discrimination was related to graduation, and drop-out respectively, 18 months after the survey, even if controlling for a number of relevant variables. This contribution discusses the implications of witnessing discrimination in a natural setting.

Can we believe in a just world in the aftermath of war?

**Rachel Fasel, University of Lausanne*

Dario Spini, University of Lausanne

[Panel] 1S Political Violence, Trauma and Coping II

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Studies on the belief in a just world that take into account the victim perspective come to the conclusion that this belief is a resource that remains stable across time and situations (Dalbert, 2001). In this study, we challenge this vision of belief in a just world as a stable resource. The hypothesis we followed is that there are victimisation situations in which the belief in a just world can no longer be sustained. The recent conflicts in ex-Yugoslavia as well as economic difficulties created a particularly torn universe in which the individuals were strongly victimised. Indeed, results showed that the belief in a just world of young adults (N = 598) residing in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH), Croatia, former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), and Slovenia was varying systematically. Having been a victim of a traumatic event affects individuals' belief in a just world in the two less economically favoured contexts. In BiH, war victims less believed in a just world than non-victims. In FYROM, this is the case for victims of negative events. Victimisation partly explains why the mean levels on the belief in these two countries were inferior to the two others. A deleterious effect of cumulative negative events on belief in a just world was also identified. Finally, an effect of the temporal distance to the event showed that the more recent the events, the more deleterious the effects. These results are more in line with the conception of fundamental assumptions developed by Janoff-Bulman (1992).

Career Development Roundtable

**David Redlawsk, University of Iowa*

**Leonie Huddy, Stony Brook University*

[Panel] Junior Scholars Committee Career Development Roundtable: Getting the most from academic conferences

[Section] Other

Scholars share advice on maximizing experience at academic conferences in Roundtable.

Caste Border Crossings in Personal Relations: Challenges to a Political Culture of Identity Politics

**Meena Dhanda, University of Wolverhampton*

[Panel] 6H Political narratives and social change

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper will reflect upon the findings of my current project on Dalit Identity—based upon in-depth interviews with college students in a town in Punjab and with youth (17-29 year olds) in Wolverhampton. My aim is to track, analyse and understand caste border-crossings involving dalits. Mapping the narratives of dalits is aimed at capturing the aspirations to

relate to 'other' caste groups, the fears of doing so and the rejection or acceptance of potential caste-border crossings. Recent autobiographies tell stories of a period inspired by the political culture of challenging caste identities in the immediate post-independence India (Moon 2002). The political culture now is one where caste identities have rigidified in the political sphere. My endeavour is to find out if this rigidity is also present in the sphere of interpersonal relations. My doctoral work on identity (Dhanda 2003) critically analysed the concept of identity developed by political philosophers, Charles Taylor and Richard Rorty, by showing the limitation of their philosophical vocabulary in understanding the identity-concerns of marginalised and denigrated groups such as the dalits. The philosophical vocabulary of 'negotiation' that I developed in my thesis, in the twin senses of 'bargaining for the better' and 'finding one's way', will hopefully find a correspondence in the self-reflection of my dalit respondents. If not, then a revision in this vocabulary in the light of my empirical research would be called for. Dhanda, Meena (2003) *The Negotiation of Personal Identity*, Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford: University of Oxford. Moon, Vasant (2002) *Growing Up Untouchable in India: A Dalit Autobiography*, translated from Marathi by Gail Omvedt, New Delhi: Vistaar Publications.

Catalysts of Change: The Women's Movement and Older Women's Return to the Workforce

David O. Sears, UCLA

**Cary Funk, Virginia Commonwealth University*

Gail Sahar, Wheaton College, Massachusetts

[Panel] 4F Women and Politics

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

The women's movement is often thought to have influenced younger, but not older women. And, partisan and ideological orientations of younger adults are thought to be more susceptible to change than those of older adults. We examine a unique longitudinal study of older, well-educated individuals collected between 1940 and 1977. We see evidence among these adults of substantial movement to the left after 1960 among older women, but not older men, and thus a widening gender gap in political orientations over time. We seek to explain the sources of this gender gap. After reviewing a number of possible explanations, we show that the change occurs primarily among "back to work" women, those who had spent many years of their early adult lives as homemakers and mothers, and who returned to the work force when the children were grown. We show change among this group of women appears to stem more from the change in their work lives than from any changes in their family lives. We review the extent to which this phenomenon seems rooted in a historical point in time and unique sample.

Changing Hands or Changing Sides: How Ideals and Oughts Motivate Voter Preferences for Ideological Change

**Margarita Krochik, New York University*

John Jost, New York University

Edward Tory Higgins, Columbia University

[Panel] 4T The Psychology of Partisanship (Part C: The Dynamics of Partisanship and Ideology)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Although they approach the problem differently, both social psychologists and political scientists investigate the conditions under which people endorse the status quo or seek to change it. Given that the status quo is known to exert powerful effects on decision-making and voting behavior (e.g., the incumbency effect), we sought to identify motivational and linguistic frames that would reverse status quo bias. Drawing on Regulatory Focus Theory, which distinguishes between the motivation to maximize positive outcomes (i.e., promotion focus) and the motivation to minimize negative outcomes (i.e., prevention focus), we suggest that the risk aversion associated with a prevention focus should decrease when change is reframed as a necessary prerequisite to relief from a negative status quo. In terms of voting behavior, this reversal may manifest as change in preference for incumbents (vs. challengers), conservative (vs. liberal) candidates, or one's own party (vs. the opposing party). In a natural experiment during the 2006 midterm elections, Congressional candidates represented different combinations of incumbency, ideology, and party membership. We manipulated regulatory focus and linguistic framing negativity before asking respondents to report liking for candidates and their parties. Results indicated that couching prevention focus in negativity led to increased liking for progressive candidates but had no effect on preference for conservative challengers. Additionally, we found that respondent partisanship changed the definition of the status quo: ratings of the parties were differentially affected by the manipulation, in line with the way Democrats, Republicans, and Independents are expected to conceptualize their party-level and system-level status quo.

Changing Their Minds? The Role of Persuasion in Presidential Leadership

**George C Edwards, Texas A&M University*

[Panel] 5E Leadership Communication

[Section] Political Communication

Leadership is perhaps the most commonly employed concept in politics and a core concern in disciplines ranging from the classics, history, and philosophy to law, sociology, and psychology. In democracies, we are particularly attuned to efforts to persuade. Commentators routinely explain historic shifts in public policy in terms of the extraordinary persuasiveness of chief executives such as Franklin D. Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson, and Ronald Reagan. For half a century, the dominant view among presidents and scholars alike has been that presidential power is the power to persuade. Underlying this argument is the premise that political leaders can persuade if they have the will and skill to do so. Yet the lack of evidence in support of the persuasive power of leaders is striking. There is not a single systematic study that demonstrates that U.S. presidents can reliably move the public to support them. Thus, there is good reason to think that the premise of leaders' persuasiveness—and thus our fundamental understanding of leadership—is mistaken. I will show that presidents, even skilled presidents, cannot reshape the contours of the political landscape to pave the way for change by persuading members of the public to change their minds. Instead, their success as leaders depends on recognizing the nature of the opportunities their environments present them and effectively exploiting these circumstances. Such a finding fundamentally changes our understanding of leadership and our expectations of leaders.

Character Assassination: a Cross-Cultural and Interdisciplinary Approach

**Eric B Shiraev, George Mason University*

**Fred Bemak, George Mason University*

**Rita Chung, George Mason University*

[Panel] 3A Lessons Learned from Scandal, Corruption and Political Defeat

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

Character assassination is a deliberate attempt to damage the reputation, status, or achievements of a person. Character assassination is rooted in the attackers' desire to harm this person psychologically or destroy his or her chances to succeed professionally or politically. Our research reflects an initial effort to compare various character assassination attempts that took place in history and most recent times in various countries and spheres of activities. We based our work on historic facts and a series of interviews with scientists, entrepreneurs, and former politicians. The research describes the most typical situations where character assassination takes place. We provide a comparative analysis of the "assassins" motivation. We create a typology of character assassinations, which appears to have a remarkable cross-cultural consistency. Most attacks emphasize the victim's alleged or actual "deviant behavior", which is defined according to specific cultural traditions and laws. On the other hand, a comparative analysis of available to us facts yields distinct differences in the ways attacks on a person's reputation or achievement are conducted in various cultures and different historic periods.

Choice, Attention, and Reception in Political Communication Research: The Experimental Study of Selective Exposure

**Kevin Arceneaux, Temple University*

Martin Johnson, University of California, Riverside

[Panel] 5D The Impact of Negative Communication

[Section] Political Communication

Experimental political communication research focuses on understanding media effects given reception. Theoretically, persuasion is a function of the probability an individual receives a given communication and their probability of yielding to what is received (Zaller 1992). However, experimentalists have paid little attention to whether people attend to political information, especially given the availability of so many choices in our complex media environment. Political scientists with observational research designs recognize that new media choices allow people with less interest in politics to tune out political information (Prior 2005). Nonetheless, it is difficult to use observational designs to discern the effects of media choice because people select what they consume based on preferences that may be related to their political views or shape reactions to political stimuli. We investigate the political implications of media by revisiting the Videomalaise hypothesis (Mutz and Reeves 2005), which asserts televised incivility reduces trust in officials. Our experimental design allows subjects in one treatment group to change the channel, giving them the option to watch rancorous political debate or

something else. The availability of alternatives to political information mutes its effects via at least two mechanisms: Individuals who choose to watch political debate are unaffected by incivility, while those who opt out of watching simply do not see the incivility in question. In addition to this pilot study, we discuss additional research that we will undertake in the late summer, which extends our theoretical model and experimental design to the study of media priming and attitude polarization.

Choosing and evaluating solutions to the Cyprus conflict: Are they emotional or cognitive judgements?

**Dimitra Pahis, University of Surrey*

Evanthia Lyons, Queen's University Belfast

[Panel] 1T Peace Building and Conflict Transformation

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Distinguishing between one's preferred solutions and one's choice for realistic and feasible solutions to inter-group conflict has been described as an important prerequisite for acceptance of the "other" and reconciliation (Kelman, 1978). There is some empirical research on the factors influencing individuals' evaluations of different solutions which shows that education, religiosity and locality had a predictive power of the solutions people supported in terms of preference and acceptance (Inbar & Yuchtaman-Yaar, 1989). The present study examined the role played by social and political trust, emotions and various cognitive factors relevant to intergroup conflict resolution in Greek Cypriot adolescents' choices of preferred solutions and evaluations of their relative feasibility. It involved administering self-completed questionnaires to 354 15-19 years olds in Cyprus. The results revealed that the most frequently mentioned preferred solution was the creation of a federal state dominated by Greek Cypriots and the least preferred solution was the creation of a federal state with two equal communities. The latter was also considered to be feasible least often whilst maintaining the status quo was perceived as a feasible way forward by the majority of the sample. Participants who chose more radical solutions in terms of preference, in their majority chose the maintenance of the status quo in terms of feasibility. Discriminant Function analyses showed that the preferred and feasible solutions were predicted from different cognitive, emotional and trust factors. The findings are discussed in relation to theories of conflict resolution and the social psychological theorising of trust and emotions.

Citizenship and integration of immigrants in Germany

**Debora Beatriz Maehler, University of Cologne*

[Panel] 2D Correlates of Attitudes towards Immigrants

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The scope of the longitudinal study is the process of acculturation and identification of naturalized immigrants (N=287) within Germany as the host country. This research mainly addresses the question if integration within the German society is promoted by the process of naturalization, or if the passport is merely a piece of paper, and the "new German" remains a "Turk with a German passport". This presentation deals with the acculturation orientations of "new Germans" (first wave in 2007). Acculturation is based on the concept of Berry (1997), and is assessed by a two-statement method and analysed by a cluster-analytic and discriminant procedure. The analysis classifies three clusters: an integrated, an assimilated and an indifferent oriented group. The results do not exactly agree with Berry's assumption, rather a new profile is suggested. The outcome of the study can provide an important contribution to the German "National Integration Plan".

Civic activities of citizens in social and political process (experience of Azerbaijan)

Samed Seyidov, Azerbaijan University of Languages

**Ahad Kazimov, Azerbaijan University of Languages, Chair of Psychology*

[Panel] 8F Justice and Moral Reasoning

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Philanthropy nowadays plays the role of catalyst in activities in nonprofit sector and already became as an important component of Civil Society. The true meaning of philanthropy is not only giving financially, it is also includes volunteering, as many people devoting their time and efforts in order to make social changes in places where they live, work or somehow committed. Development of Civil Society in Post-Soviet countries is one of the central elements in the way of full transformation to democracy. Civil Society is a product of partnership among government, nonprofit and business sectors. In true democratic countries, these major stakeholders successfully cooperate in various social programs,

because their main goal is to serve the interests of the society. In many countries of former Soviet Union due to government failure to address social problems of citizens, non-governmental organizations started to play crucial role in civic life. Existence of NGO sector generally contributed to the process of democratization on the region. However, in some former Soviet Union republics nonprofit sector flourished, while in others nonprofit organizations are almost under control of government. Unfortunately, there is a little chance that civil society will grow in the countries, which govern by authoritarian regimes. Civic activities in those countries are limited; citizens cannot influence on social and political process their own states.

Civic participation as an empowerment factor in children and adolescents with chronic diseases

Sofia C. Pais

**Isabel Menezes, Porto University*

[Panel] 8A Citizen Participation Networks

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Chronic diseases impose major challenges in the life of children, adolescents and their families, whose needs and rights are frequently at risk and must be systematically advocated on a daily basis in their interaction with various institutions (educational, health care ...). Specific associations related to chronic diseases have an important role in exposing discrimination, claiming for specific rights ... and generally affirming that equality "requires differential treatment based on differential needs to achieve the same relative capacity for participation and citizenship" (Stainton, 2005, p. 291). In this sense, associations are extremely relevant both in improving the lives of people with chronic diseases as they foster autonomy and quality of life, and as mediators between families, society and State. This poster explores the role of chronic disease associations in Portugal and their contribution to the empowerment and citizenship of children and adolescents with chronic diseases and their families based on interviews and focus groups with associations' leaders and members. Special attention will be given to the role of participation in chronic disease associations in the process of reframing personal problems into political issues that is associated with empowerment and conscientization.

Civic responsibility through the view of social representations (Poster)

**Elena de Preville, University Paris Descartes*

[Panel] 8P Poster Session: Democracy and Civic Development

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

This work examines the civic responsibility through the view of social representations. As the first step, a comparative research among the young French and Russian students (N=300) is being implemented at the Universities of Moscow and Paris. Why have France and Russia been chosen? To compare a stabilized democratic society of France with the globally-changing Russian society to a democracy and market economy. In the society where for more than 70 years the State had been totally controlling the civic society, the people's concept the civic responsibility differs.

Civility: an empirical study of democratic ethos

**Martina Klicperova-Baker, Institute of Psychology, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic*

**Ivo K Feierabend, San Diego State University*

[Panel] 8F Justice and Moral Reasoning

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Civility along with civic political culture and civic/cultural patriotism is key for development and sustaining of democracy. Democratic principles are mutually exclusive and challenge each other (e.g., freedom vs. equality; rights of the majority vs. minority or individual rights). So, liberal democracy without civility is not achievable. Its meaning can be illustrated by Prague Velvet Revolution of 1989 or attempts at democratization of Iraq. Civility was analyzed both theoretically (dimensions, levels, types of civility) and empirically (observations, content analyses, questionnaires). Questionnaire administered to representative samples of countries with various levels of democracy (Belarus, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Czech Republic) yielded significant differences and types (post-communist syndrome, traditional virtues, tolerant hedonistic liberalism, risk-taking egoism). Variance was also detected between samples at American universities. Data suggest that traditional virtues and tolerant hedonistic liberalism provides the strongest correlation with democratic civic culture. Civility is not just an important psychological but also political factor and its decline or tendencies toward its superficiality are worrisome.

Cognition, Inference, and Projection: Citizen of Congressional Roll Call Votes

**Paul Gronke*

James Matthew Wilson, Southern Methodist University

[Panel] 4M Memory and Knowledge

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Considerable work on political cognition suggests that individuals absorb and accept more information consistent with their political predispositions than information at odds with those predispositions. In other words, people tend to retain facts and messages that reinforce their existing opinions and to discard those that would force them to reevaluate. This process, termed the “resistance axiom” by John Zaller (1992), is an important psychological tool that people use to minimize cognitive dissonance. As we have argued in previous work (Wilson and Gronke 2000), these tendencies have important consequences for constituent knowledge of representative voting behavior. When citizens view a representative favorably, they should be more likely to recall his or her vote on a bill if it is in agreement with their own preferences (“concordance”); in addition, if they do not recall his or her vote, they will tend to assume that it was in accord with their own position (“projection”). When citizens view a representative negatively, the opposite patterns should hold. Thus, the interaction of attitude toward the representative and agreement/disagreement on the issue should substantially drive citizen perceptions of congressional roll-call voting. New data from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study allow us to examine these effects. This paper will explore how citizens’ attitudes towards their representatives and their own positions on the issues shape their “recall” of member votes on the Iraq War, stem cell research, immigration, and other issues. We will be able to determine whether concordance and projection effects are constant, or whether they vary by issue type, salience, partisan split, representative tenure, etc. The paper should significantly enhance our understanding of how citizens acquire “knowledge” about their representatives’ actions, and thus about the likelihood that those representatives will be held accountable for the votes that they cast in Washington.

Collective Narratives and Political Understandings: A Theoretical Framework for Peace Education in the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict

**Shai Fuxman, Harvard Graduate School of Education*

[Panel] 1K Memory, the Construction of the Past and Political Violence

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

For the past several decades, educators on both sides of the Israeli/Palestinian divide have worked together to promote peace and reconciliation by engaging adolescents from both sides in peace education programs. While the hope for the success of these programs is high, the research basis for the programs is scarce. An important step to ensure the success of these programs is to develop a theoretical framework that can drive the design, implementation, and evaluation of these programs. This paper aims to develop such a framework by reviewing three areas of literature: intractable conflicts, collective narratives, and development of adolescents’ political understandings. The literature on intractable conflicts was selected to describe the socio-cultural context in which these programs operate, as well as offer approaches to promote reconciliation. The literature on collective narratives was selected to explain how societies shape and transmit messages to promote their beliefs and values, including those that perpetuate conflicts. Finally, the literature on the development of adolescents’ political understandings was selected to consider how youth living amidst the violent reality of war develop their understanding of conflict by negotiating personal experiences and societal messages. The review and analysis of these spheres of literature provide a framework with which to understand the role that educational approaches can play in promoting reconciliation in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The paper concludes with specific recommendations on how the field of political psychology can collaborate with other fields to inform peace education efforts in the context of intractable conflicts.

Collective memory and democratic values: historical pessimism and nation-centered preference

**Hélène Feertchak, Université Paris Descartes*

**Michel-Louis Rouquette, Université Paris Descartes*

[Panel] 5R Democratic values and political communication (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Communication

Hélène Feertchak and Michel-Louis Rouquette explore some aspects of the relations between democratic values and collective memory. In this purpose, a questionnaire has been applied to a sample of French students (N=300) about the main events having impacted, either positively or negatively, the values of equality and liberty. The results show that

students' answers display: 1) an important historical pessimism—more events which happened during the XXth century have been found among negative events than among positive ones. 2) an important ethnocentric preference—more national events have been found among positive events than among negative ones. Such a result is compared with another one, owing to a secondary study: in a similar population, European heroes are most frequently national characters ; otherwise, they do not belong to political and democratic figures, but to artistic, cultural and scientific famous people. (Part of Roundtable 5R.)

Collective participation, collective experience and processes of change

**Stephen Reicher, University of St Andrews*

[Panel] 6Q Changing the political landscape: Personality, attitudes and actions

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

There exists, by now, a wealth of evidence which demonstrates the importance of social identities for collective participation and the shape of collective action. There is far less which addresses the nature of experience within these events or upon the impact of participation upon individuals and society. In this paper I draw upon a range of theoretical arguments and empirical studies (including such diverse phenomena as football matches and religious festivals) in order to propose a model of the relationship between participation, experience and impact. The model has four steps. First, for those who identify with the relevant social category, social relations are transformed towards intimacy, support and acceptance. Second, this creates the conditions of co-action and empowers group members to transform the social world in line with their collective norms and values. Third, such 'collective self-realisation' (CSR) results in powerful positive affect. Fourth, both directly, and as mediated through positive affect, CSR impacts both upon the well-being of participants and upon their identification with the social group. In concluding I shall discuss the implication of this analysis for understanding the way individual, collective and societal levels of explanation inter-relate. More specifically, I shall address (a) the connection between social and clinical/health factors, and (b) the connection between collective performance and the categories which structure society.

Colonial pasts and northeast Asian security today: A China-Japan-Korea experimental analysis

**Peter Gries, University of Oklahoma*

[Panel] 1K Memory, the Construction of the Past and Political Violence

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Historical controversies continue to plague northeast Asian politics today, with Chinese and Koreans protesting Japanese history textbooks and Japanese politicians' visits to Yasukuni Shrine, and Koreans protesting Chinese claims that the ancient Kingdom of Goguryo was Chinese, not Korean. Yet there is little empirical research exploring what, if any, impact these historical controversies have on threat perception and foreign policy preferences. Based on a large scale survey of over 900 Chinese, Japanese, and South Korean university students, this project manipulates historical accounts of shared pasts (specifically their valence and source) to explore their impact on a variety of dependent measures, including beliefs about the past, prejudice, threat perception, and foreign policy preferences. Results and their implications for northeast Asian security are discussed.

Comment (on papers in Roundtable 1R)

**Russell Spears, Cardiff University*

[Panel] 1R Toward an integrated understanding of intergroup conflict: Debating the contributions of social identity and social representations approaches (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

A comment on position papers in Roundtable 1R, grounded in a social identity research perspective.

Comment (on papers in Roundtable 1R)

**Dario Spini, University of Lausanne*

**Alain Clémence, University of Lausanne*

[Panel] 1R Toward an integrated understanding of intergroup conflict: Debating the contributions of social identity and social representations approaches (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

A comment on position papers in Roundtable 1R, grounded in a social representational research perspective.

Compassion and a psychology of buddhist peace work: some findings from Cambodia

**Eilís M. Ward, Department of Political Science and Sociology, NUI, Galway, Ireland*

[Panel] 1T Peace Building and Conflict Transformation

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

While a sine qua non of buddhist spirituality is non-violence, buddhist societies/states have also experienced extreme political violence—modern Cambodia being one example. In the current post-conflict era there, buddhist practice and the structure of the sangha (the community of monks and nuns) have the potential to provide both the institutional and ethical basis for the development and growth of a culture of peace. Such Buddhist peace work is profoundly psychological in that its first step is towards ‘inner peace’ which is, in fact, inseparable from ‘outer peace’. The practice of mindfulness not only brings a recognition that all of us carry the potential for great compassion and great violence (Thich Nhat Hanh, 2003: 1-10) but that the ‘enemy’ is not separate from the ‘self’. This paper will present a qualitative exploration of the peace-work of a number of buddhist affiliated Cambodians (including monks and nuns) based on interviews to be conducted in the field. Its focus will be on how buddhist ideas about non duality (the non-separability of ‘self’ from the world or from others) can be channelled into peace work in a society recovering from extreme political violence. Of particular interest will be how compassion can be a tool for transformation. The paper will also address the not-inconsiderable problems facing such buddhist activists today in Cambodia—not least of all the long history of the use of violence as a solution to problems in Cambodia and the virtual destruction of the buddhist sangha during the Khymer rouge era (Ubasak Ros Sotha, undated).

Compatibility of Identities and Political Participation among Young Europeans: The case of the Basque Country

**Jose Francisco Valencia, University of the Basque Country*

Idoia Valencia, University of the Basque Country; Evanthia Lyons, Queen’s University Belfast

[Panel] 8G Multiple identities, Political Trust and Political Participation amongst Young People from Different Ethnic Origins in Europe

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Social movement research (NSM) and the social identity approach (SIT) have long coexisted in relative isolation from each other. Several attempts have been made to bring these approaches together so that there exists now a growing body of theoretical and empirical work which renders a more integrative perspective on social movement participation possible. Interestingly at a theoretical level, the relation between identity (identity frame), illegitimacy (injustice frame) and instability (efficacy frame) parallels the processes posited by the NSM theory. To date, these assumptions of SIT have been mainly tested in laboratory studies where it is difficult to simulate political protest realistically. Therefore evidence from field studies is needed. Despite a growing literature on the relationship between group identification and political protest, few studies examined the role that the compatibility vs incompatibility of identities plays in the relationship between illegitimacy and protest. This paper uses data obtained from young people from the Basque Country to model the relationships between measures of perceived injustice, perceived compatibility of ethnic/religious and national identities, political efficacy and political protest. Results show that 1) political protest appears to be a separate dimension from conventional participation. 2) the relation between perceived injustice and political protest is mediated (sobel test) by perceived compatibility of identities, and 3) using structural equation modelling it was shown that the perceived injustice and compatibility of identities are related to political efficacy which in turn leads to political protest. The theoretical and applied implications of the findings for understanding political participation of young Europeans are discussed.

Conflict, Narrative, and Identity: The Societal Beliefs of Israeli Youth

Andrew Pilecki, University of California, Santa Cruz; Neta Caspi, University of California, Santa Cruz;

A. Alexander Strauss, University of California, Santa Cruz; Nicol Ruber, University of California, Santa Cruz

**Phillip L Hammack, University of California, Santa Cruz*

[Panel] 1J Identity and Conflict

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Multiple fields of scholarship have converged to recognize the role of narrative in the maintenance and reproduction of political conflict (e.g., Rotberg, 2006). Conflicts are characterized by narratives between rival groups that compete for

legitimacy and recognition (Rouhana & Bar-Tal, 1998). While significant advancement in theory has occurred in this area, less is known about the ways in which youth in conflict zones engage with narratives and internalize their ideological content. This series of studies examined the process of narrative reproduction through both interview and survey methods with young Jewish Israelis. Using Bar-Tal's (1998) framework of "societal beliefs," a theoretical sample of Israeli youth underwent life story interviews to examine internalization of a polarizing ingroup narrative. A survey was then constructed based on this interview study and administered in three secondary schools in Israel. Results lend empirical support to Bar-Tal's theoretical framework and to narrative perspectives on conflict, suggesting that youth endorse beliefs that, if maintained in adulthood, are likely to reproduce conflict. In particular, Israeli youth endorse beliefs related to security, victimization, and delegitimization of the outgroup (i.e., Palestinian) narrative. These beliefs comprise the core of the collective Israeli narrative that maintains the conflict. Given the tendency of youth to reproduce the content of this narrative, we suggest that the ideal target for intervention in intractable conflict is the "master" narrative that constructs conflict between groups. Public policy and social structural interventions are likely necessary to reposition the Israeli narrative toward ideological content that favors the amelioration of conflict.

Consensual status differences and attributions of uniquely human emotions

**Tillemachos Iatridis, University of Crete*

[Panel] 2E Emotions and Intergroup Attitudes

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Past research on infrahumanization suggests that members of all groups tend to infrahumanize outgroup members by attributing more uniquely human emotions to the ingroup rather than to the outgroup irrespective of status differences. This research has addressed status differences in the form of national, ethnic, or regional differences, usually involving some form of social competition. The present paper suggests that infrahumanization may in fact depend on status differences provided that these differences stem from a consensual status system. Four studies conducted in Greece addressed consensual status differences such as those emerging from the structural division of labour into manual and mental, and from the social-prestige ordering of concrete occupational groups. The results showed that lower-status groups either were not biased in attributions of uniquely human emotions, or were biased in favour of the higher-status outgroups. On the contrary, high-status groups always attributed uniquely human emotions more to their ingroup than to lower-status outgroups. What is more, when faced with an also high-status outgroup, high-status group members were not biased in favour of their ingroup. These results suggest that the attribution of uniquely human emotions may be moderated by social structural variables more than it has been suggested so far. The paper advances the general hypothesis that the attribution of uniquely human emotions might relate with in-group favouritism and out-group derogation rather than with system justification biases, as the literature on infrahumanization suggests, unless consensual status systems are at work.

Constructing the Perception of Reality and Terrorism

**Cynthia A. Karaffa, Carlow University*

[Panel] 1K Memory, the Construction of the Past and Political Violence

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

My study explores the expansion of reality regarding the issue of terrorism. A human being constructs reality on every level: with the self; in one-on-one interactions; in small and large groups; with their own culture; and with other cultures. My interest is in the interplay between self, society, and the world. How do we as citizens view ourselves, the actions of our government, and other governments and groups, concerning individual and societal injustices, risks, uncertainties, and nationalist statements of legitimacy and power that are caused by and at the root of terrorism? Reality is projected to us by our government, media, schools, and significant others. Nations (and cultures) have their own preferred version of the world, and this usually dismisses competing versions. Not only do we construct our realities, we then institutionalize these realities into structures, these structures then subject us to them. My belief is that through active participation in a democracy and education that truly opens the mind; we accomplish the task of managing the risk of unstable structures and realities, also comprehending the uncertainty of our actions and future. This study focuses on my Honors class in Politics of Terrorism at Carlow University. Carlow is a private, Catholic, women-centered, liberal arts university in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. My study utilizes the student's written and verbal personal reflections, class discussions and open-ended interviews as the analysis and discussion of constructing social and psychological realities. In this class, students discuss terrorism, genocide, construction of reality, political leaders, media, globalization and more.

Constructive Patriotism in wartime: Criticism is not Enough

**Eyal Lewin, University of Haifa, Israel*

[Panel] 6G Nationalism, Patriotism and Electoral Politics

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

As opposed to blind patriotism, a moderate form of constructive patriotism had been depicted in previous researches and empirically observed. The major distinction between blind patriotism and constructive patriotism lies in the latter's capacity for criticism. Our research suggests, however, an additional distinction dividing constructive patriotism into one form concerning practical judgment (hence political constructive patriotism) and another form criticizing on grounds of ethical issues (hence moral constructive patriotism). This study then seeks to examine which sort of patriotism prevails within society during wartime, and of special interest, for this matter, are the suggested different variations of constructive patriotism. Two diverse cases have been chosen in order to examine the reactions within a democratic society: The American case of the 2003 invasion to Iraq and the Israeli case of the 2006 war in Lebanon. A substantive content analysis has been employed, surveying social process through a variety of articles in an American and in an Israeli daily newspaper. The findings reveal that in both cases amongst expressions of constructive patriotism those of political constructive patriotism form a vast majority and only few of them express moral constructive patriotism. It therefore seems that constructive patriots are not necessarily as moral as they might seem to be at first glance, even though they criticize state and society. The case of war in particular proves how on moral grounds criticism is important, but not enough.

Consuetude in vote choice: How the act of voting makes party choice a habit

**Elias Dinas, European University Institute*

[Panel] 4D Parties, Party ID, and Elections

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

The role of habit in voter turnout has become a prominent research question in the study of electoral politics. Observational and experimental studies alike have shown that the decision in the previous election is not only an important determinant of the decision to vote in the current election but it also conditions the effects of other important predictors of turnout. Drawing on the insights from this literature we shift our attention from vote turnout to vote choice. Starting from the assumption that there is an inertial element among so-called identifiers that merits the shorthand of habit, the basic question that is examined is how these habits are formed. The hypothesis that is tested here is that the act of voting for a particular party contributes substantially in the process of habit formation. We test this hypothesis in the US, the Netherlands and Britain. The findings reveal a significant effect of vote on habitual voting behavior and they do so even when some rather stringent assumptions in the estimation of the models are relaxed. However, evidence is still mixed about the extent to which this effect is stronger among young voters.

Contesting the American Racial Identity: The Support for Senator Barack Obama

**Darren Davis, University of Notre Dame*

[Panel] 2Z Minorities and Public Opinion in a cross cultural comparison

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This research presents a different take on the role of identity in American politics. Instead of examining the different dimensions of American identity, this paper examines the adherence to identity indirectly through the support for Senator Barack Obama for the 2008 Democratic Presidential nomination. That an African American can seriously contend for the highest and most powerful office in America challenges the formal notions of American identity. In this paper, I am able to address the role of social desirability and threat in the reaction to Senator Obama. Recent elections involving deracialized black candidates reveal a propensity among whites to voice support for black candidates, but privately abstain or vote for someone else. Therefore, instead of accepting the validity of political attitudes toward deracialized candidates, this research explores the extent to which support for Barack Obama and a hypothetical black presidential candidate is tainted by socially desirable responses. Working under the axiom that deracialized candidates purposely avoid racially divisive issues, threatening and confrontational images, and positions challenging the whites' group and self interests, we argue that whites, more than African Americans, should experience greater internalized pressure to voice support for Obama. However, when a deracialized candidate is perceived as more threatening to white's group interests, their support for should decrease, at the same time they become sensitive to social norms. Our analysis of race of interviewer effects (surrogate for social desirability bias) and racial labeling (surrogate for threat) of Obama and a hypothetical black

candidate supports our expectations. Specifically, while blacks do not show signs of social desirability bias concerning Obama, whites are more likely to voice support for Obama when interviewed by a black interviewer. Moreover, under high threat or when Obama is labeled as “African American” (as opposed to “Black”), whites’ support for Obama decreases overall, but Obama’ support significantly improves when interviewed by a black interviewer. We take this to mean that whites overcompensate for their support for Obama when he is made to appear more threatening.

Contributions of values, European identity and ethnic nationalism to xenophobia: A cross-cultural analysis

**Hector M. Grad, Dept. of Social Anthropology, Universidad Autonoma de Madrid*

Alberto Sanz, Dept. of Political Science, Universidad Autonoma de Madrid

[Panel] 2D Correlates of Attitudes towards Immigrants

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This research analyzes the impact of personal values, European and national identities, and the social representation of the nation on xenophobic attitudes. Classical research has established the contribution of universalist values and supranational (vs. national) identities to prevent xenophobia. Nevertheless, these relationships maybe challenged, firstly, because the development of European identity would paradoxically lead to new xenophobia towards non-European foreigners and, secondly, because the social representation of the national group as an ethnic or a civic community would qualify the relation of national identity to xenophobia. Random samples of 400 young adults (18-24 years old, 50% female) were surveyed at the Czech Republic (Prague), Slovak Republic (Bratislava), Germany (Bielefeld and Chemnitz), and Spain (Madrid and Bilbao) to test these hypotheses. A cross-cultural analysis by means of structural equation models shows that higher xenophobia is related to: 1) The importance of Conservation and Self-Enhancement (vs. Self-Transcendence) personal values, 2) National (vs. European) identification, and 3) the ethnic representation of the nation. Furthermore, the contribution of values is enacted both directly and by their impact on social identities and representations of the nation. Finally, an ethnic representation of the nation predicts xenophobia even better than the national identity itself. The implications of these findings for current theory and research on intergroup relations, and for the European Union building process.

Coping strategies among adolescents: Comparing Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs in the Second Lebanon War

Orna Braun-Lewensohn, Ben Gurion University

**Shifra Sagy, Ben-Gurion University*

[Panel] 1D Coping with stress resulting from an intractable conflict

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Background & Aims: The study examined and compared use of coping strategies among groups of Israeli Jewish and Israeli Arab adolescents who faced missile attacks during the Second Lebanon War (July-August 2006). Relationships between the different coping styles and psychological outcomes of anxiety, anger and hope levels were also examined in the two groups. Methods: Data were gathered from 303 Israeli adolescents (231 Jews and 72 Arabs) 12-19 years old that filled out self reported questionnaires among which demographics; Adolescent Coping Scale (ACS); State Anxiety; State Anger; Psychological Distress (SPD) and index of Hope. Results: Both Jewish and Arab adolescents used mostly positive and active social coping strategies to deal with the war. Similarities were indicated on most of the coping styles as well as in some relationships between different coping styles and stress reactions. Coping styles of ‘mental and behavioral disengagement’ and ‘external locus of control’ were linked with more negative stress reactions while ‘positive growth’ was negatively linked to anger. Besides these significant similarities some differences were also emerged as Arab youths used more collectivist oriented strategies. The Hope index was linked only in the Arab sample to ‘positive growth’ and ‘social active’ coping styles while ‘venting emotion’ was linked to anxiety, anger and SPD among Jewish adolescents. Conclusions: The results indicate that the two groups, belonging to two different cultures but facing the same stress situation, used mostly similar coping styles. These styles however found to be some differently linked to the psychological outcomes. The results will be discussed on the background of the interactional approach to stress and coping. Cultural, social and situational factors will be considered as well.

Coping with Political Violence in Northern Ireland: A Dissociation Perspective

**Eve Binks, Liverpool Hope University*

[Panel] 1N Political Violence, Trauma and Coping

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Given the social and political unrest by which Northern Ireland has been characterised in recent times, it has often provided a natural environment for assessment of responses to trauma (Cairns & Darby, 1998). It has been suggested (Wilson & Cairns, 1992) that as a result of the strong community ties that exist in Northern Ireland, the psychological effects of violence “extend far beyond the immediate relatives of the victims” (p.247). Consequently, it is possible that most, if not all, people in Northern Ireland are affected psychologically by ‘the Troubles’ there and by the societal instability (e.g. Wilson, & Cairns, 1996). Research has identified two mechanisms which are commonly employed within the Northern Irish population: denial and distancing (Dorahy & Lewis, 1998). Dorahy et al. (2003) have further determined that in the Northern Irish population, higher dissociation scores were correlated with direct exposure to political violence. The present research aims to assess coping strategies and defence mechanisms utilised by individuals from Northern Ireland and will address to what extent individuals from Northern Ireland are psychologically affected by the unrest in the province.

Counterfactuals in political interviews: The effects of attacking and self-defending through “if only...” thoughts

**Patrizia Milesi, Department of Psychology, Catholic University of Milan, Italy*

Venusia Covelli, Department of Psychology, Catholic University of Milan, Italy?

Maurizio Agnesa, Department of Psychology, Catholic University of Milan, Italy

Patrizia Catellani, Department of Psychology, Catholic University of Milan, Italy

[Panel] 5L Language, Humor and Power: Analyzing the Politics of Common Expressions

[Section] Political Communication

Pre-electoral interviews to incumbent politicians often focus on negative events they are expected to account for. Both attacks and self-defence may imply the use of counterfactuals, for example stating that things might have gone better if given conditions had been different or if someone had acted in a different way. Two studies investigated the effects of counterfactuals used in question-answer exchanges between a journalist and the leader of an exit government on the audience’s perception of the leader. In both studies, participants were presented with different versions of a fictitious pre-electoral interview. In Study 1, the journalist attacked the incumbent leader by evoking or not evoking counterfactuals focused on the leader’s controllable behaviours. In Study 2, the leader answered a threatening question by evoking counterfactuals that focused on different targets and mentioned either controllable or uncontrollable behaviours. In both cases the influence of counterfactuals on participants’ perception of the leader’s characteristics (e.g., competence and integrity) was assessed. Participants’ political sophistication and their sharing vs. not sharing the same political orientation as the leader were also taken into account as possible moderators. Discussion will focus on the links between counterfactuals and responsibility attribution, and more specifically on how counterfactuals may be effectively used as an attack or a self-defence device in political interviews.

Creating commitment to action: Group-based interaction and the formation of pro-environmental social identities

**Renata Bongiorno, Murdoch University*

Craig McGarty

[Panel] 8H Political Mobilization

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Participation in collective action relies upon the formation of identities which are compatible with that action. We argue that the formation of identities based around a shared opinion (i.e., opinion-based groups) provides a crucial link for understanding when individuals are likely to engage in collective action. Two studies explored the power of group-based interaction to strengthen people’s commitment to act in line with a pro-environmental opinion-based group. Both studies engaged participants in a group-based planning session where they were asked to develop strategies to reduce the impact of global warming. However, it was only when groups were provided with a clear achievable local goal, along with clear information concerning the causes and potential solutions to the problem of global warming, that the group-based interaction increased identification with the pro-environmental opinion-based group and subsequent commitment to engage in collective action. Together, these studies highlight some of the elements important for the formation of opinion-based groups oriented towards social change. The results are especially interesting for two reasons. First because they suggest that a straightforward social psychological intervention can produce large increases in commitment to mobilise to address the 21st Century’s most pressing social issue (including, as shown in our other research, boosting commitment for international development and anti-racism). Second, a renewed methodological focus on group processes in social psychology may allow a useful window for studying the fractious and complex processes of social conflict and consensus

for social scientists in many disciplines.

Cultural Contestation in Ethnic Conflict: Some Working Hypotheses

**Marc Ross, Bryn Mawr College*

[Panel] 1C The Dynamics of Political Conflict

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

A challenge to psychocultural analyses of politics is to articulate specific hypotheses about how and when culture affects political action. This paper offers a series of hypotheses about how psychocultural dynamics frame interests, structure demand making, and shape ethnic conflict that help explain how, and why, some conflicts escalate towards long-term violence while in others opponents find common ground to produce constructive outcomes to long-term disputes. It argues that the evaluation of psychocultural hypotheses requires examination of the narratives, metaphors and analogies that frame a group's analyses of ethnic conflict. In addition, it is necessary to explore the multiple functions that psychocultural group narratives serve as reflectors of a group's core assumptions about a conflict and what it needs to make a good enough agreement with an adversary; as exacerbators or inhibitors of conflict when they heighten or diminish tensions, and as causes of conflict when they make certain action possibilities more plausible, and hence more probable, than others. Finally, culture is centrally linked to political action through the expression and enactment of narratives that define and direct the action possibilities that parties utilize to achieve their goals. In these dynamics, performance and passionate expression are strategic political acts that reiterate each party's positions, assert group interests, promote selective drive demand making, mobilize ingroups, and provide political support for increasing or decreasing the common ground between the parties and their willingness to engage in cooperative actions. To illustrate these hypotheses, examples are drawn from diverse recent ethnic conflicts.

Cultural and economic conservatism: Relationships with epistemic beliefs and motives, death anxiety, and dogmatic aggression

**H. Michael Crowson, The University of Oklahoma*

[Panel] 3F Dimensions of Personality

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The question guiding this research was: "Do cultural and economic conservatives differ in terms of cognitive rigidity, death anxiety, perceived threat, and dogmatic aggression?" Research suggests that cultural and economic conservatism are empirically distinguishable, as measures (e.g., Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale and Social Dominance Orientation Scale—see discussion by Duckitt (2001, pgs. 46-47); Middendorp's Cultural and Economic Conservatism Scales) incorporating these themes have correlated differently with measures of personal values (e.g., Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002), dogmatism (Crowson et al., in press), Big Five personality traits (e.g., Ekehammar et al., 2004), and personal worldviews (Sibley et al., 2007). This study sought to further address questions about empirical distinctiveness by examining correlations between Middendorp's Cultural and Economic Conservatism scales and cognitive rigidity, death anxiety, perceived threat, and dogmatic aggression. Data was collected on a community sample (N=248) in the Southwestern U.S. during fall, 2007. Cultural and economic conservatism correlated at .22 (p=.001). Zero-order correlations between cultural conservatism and the remaining measures were: belief in certain knowledge (r=.60), dogmatism (r=.51), perceived threat (r=.40), dogmatic aggression (r=.40), need for structure (r=.27), need for cognition (r=-.24), and death anxiety (r=.18). All of these relationships remained statistically significant after controlling for economic conservatism during partial correlation analyses. Economic conservatism exhibited significant zero-order correlations with belief in certain knowledge (r=.24) and dogmatism (r=.21), but not when controlling for cultural conservatism. These results support the empirical distinctiveness of economic and cultural conservatism, as cultural conservatives appeared to be more cognitively inflexible, fearful and aggressive than economic conservatives.

Culture, Education, and Prejudice: The Political Socialization of Students in Collectivist Societies

**Armand Chatard, University of Geneva, Switzerland*

Leila Selimbegovic, University of Paris Descartes, France

[Panel] 2S Power, dominance and intergroup conflict: Psychological, political and cultural perspectives

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Social dominance theory predicts that higher education would promote egalitarianism in some academic majors

(hierarchy-attenuating or HA) more than in others (hierarchy-enhancing or HE). Classically, two main hypotheses have been proposed to explain students' different egalitarian attitudes as a function of academic majors: self-selection and socialization. Past research provides support for both. Nonetheless, in more recent research, evidence for socialization was not always found. This line of work, using both cross-sectional and longitudinal designs, documented clear differences between HE and HA students at low levels of education (in line with self-selection), but these differences remained quite stable across years in college (at odds with socialization). We present three cross-sectional studies testing, for the first time, SDT predictions in two collectivist societies: Albania (Eastern Europe) and Ivory Coast (Africa). It was expected that the collectivist background of Albanians and Ivorians would make them especially receptive to socialization influence. In contrast, individual factors (self-selection) were expected to be less important in such a cultural context. Consistently, the findings indicate that students in HA majors were more egalitarian and less prejudiced than students in HE majors, but only at high levels of education. These results are generally consistent with cross-cultural differences in individualism and collectivism: self-selection seems to prevail in individualistic societies, while socialization appears to play a more prominent role than self-selection in collectivistic societies. These findings' implications for the political socialization of students in collectivistic societies are discussed.

Dark Areas of Ignorance Revisited: Comparing International Affairs Knowledge in Switzerland and the U.S.

**Heinz Bonfadelli, University of Zurich*

Kyu Hahn

**Shanto Iyengar, Stanford University*

Mirko Marr

[Panel] 7F Political Knowledge

[Section] Political Decision Making

An important consequence of the difference between market-based and public service-oriented media systems is the level of coverage accorded international news. The market-based model is associated with the rise of soft and domesticated news. The public-service model, on the other hand, is characterized by a greater commitment to the substantive and global content of news programming. The research described here tests the hypothesis that cross-national differences in public awareness of international affairs are attributable to both differences in the supply of international news and differences in citizens' demand for information. We focus on Switzerland and the United States as representative of the public service and market-based media systems respectively. We measured public awareness of both hard news and soft news subject matter. Simultaneously, we compared the level of news coverage accorded specific target subjects in major Swiss and US news organizations and the level of attentiveness to news among Swiss and US nationals. Our results revealed significant cross-national differences in the supply of hard news, the demand for news, and public knowledge. Swiss media provided more hard news coverage than US media, Swiss citizens reported using the news media more extensively than Americans, and the Swiss were considerably more informed than the Americans on questions of hard news. Using a multi-level model, we demonstrate that the effects of hard news supply on hard news knowledge are stronger in Switzerland and that the greater availability of international news has the effect of reducing the knowledge gap between more and less attentive Swiss.

Data on US Presidential Primary Voter Preferences and Behavior from a 2008 Online Candidate Calculator

**Ravi Iyer, University Of Southern California*

Suzanne Soule, Center for Civic Education

Jennifer Nairne, Center for Civic Education

Doug Stenstrom, University of Stouthern California

[Panel] 4J Values, Partisanship, and the Vote

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

From October 2007 to May 2008, VoteHelp.Org helped over 200,000 people match their political preferences to those of 12 leading republican and democrat presidential candidates. This paper details the effort that went into the creation of the website, including analysis of presidential candidate positions and a brief survey of other 'candidate calculators' which were used by millions of people during the 2008 political primary process. This paper then presents data on how people were able to find VoteHelp.org and how our traffic grew as the news cycle moved through the primary season. Lastly, the results of a cluster analysis of data from visitors to the website to empirically determine the types of voters who used this particular candidate calculator are presented. Clusters are determined both by issue position and issue importance on 28 topical issues. Within each cluster, we present linked data on the values/morals of subjects using the Moral Foundations

Questionnaire (Haidt & Graham 2007) and on appraisals of the personalities of various presidential candidates, as stated using our optional personality module. An analysis of how visitors from within each cluster found our website is also presented along with concluding thoughts on the future of online candidate calculators as interactive tools to inform voters.

Defending human rights: Do attitudes mediate the influence of political orientations and values?

**Serena Fasulo, University of Bologna*

Lucia Botindari, University of Bologna

Augusto Palmonari, University of Bologna

[Panel] 4L Democratic Values, Socialization and Attitude formation

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Recent research has analysed the influence of political orientations and human values on attitudes and behaviour toward human rights. However, the way in which such attitudes and behaviour interact among them is still unclear. Our study, primarily, explores the specific relationships between these two psychological dimensions of orientations toward human rights. In the second place, we investigate whether human rights attitudes mediate the influence of values and political orientation on the behavioural intention to defend human rights. In order to achieve the aims, 337 Italian people (18-60 years old) were asked to fill in a questionnaire composed by four scales measuring values, political orientation, attitudes and behavioural intentions toward human rights. Regression analyses were conducted. Results showed that political orientation and the value system predict human rights behaviour through the mediation of human rights attitudes. Left political orientation and self-transcendence values affect positively human rights endorsement attitudes and negatively human rights restriction attitudes. On the contrary, right political orientation and self-enhancement values increase restriction attitude. In turn, endorsement attitudes drive behavioural intentions to defend human rights, whereas restriction attitudes negatively affect this intention.

Deliberative quality across time and gender: An introduction to the Effectiveness of Deliberation Scale (Poster)

Meghan McGlohen, St Edward's University; Pamela Ryan, Issues Deliberation Australia/America

Jennifer Durham-Fowler, University of Texas; Toulia Skiadas, Issues Deliberation Australia/America

**D. Conor Seyle, Issues Deliberation Australia/America*

[Panel] 4P Poster Session: Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Political theorists have characterized deliberation as a specific form of political discussion. While specific definitions vary, in general deliberation is seen as a form of public decision making involving a conscious, effortful engagement with the various arguments put forth by all sides with the goal of collectively identifying an optimal answer to the issue (e.g. Gastil 2000). High-quality deliberation is argued to result in significant benefits in areas such as perceived procedural legitimacy, reduced stereotyping, and perceived outgroup homogeneity. However, empirical research on these topics has been somewhat limited, and there is no consensus on the development of deliberation or its long-term impacts. The current research contributes to this field through two studies conducted on 178 participants (92M, 81F, 5 no response) in an Australian state-level Deliberative Poll, which ran over the course of two days. The first study introduced the development of the Effectiveness of Deliberation Scale (EDS). A pool of twelve items assessing deliberative quality was reduced through reliability analyses to a shorter, more psychometrically sound measure. The second study used the EDS to assess the levels of deliberation across duration of the poll and across genders. Hierarchical linear modeling found a significant main effect for time of day such that deliberative quality drops over the course of each day, and an interaction such that that this drop is sharper in women than in men. These findings are consistent with the theory that deliberation may unintentionally privilege male forms of discourse (Young, 1996).

Democracy From the Grassroots: A Psychoanalyst Joins the Fray

**Joseph Isaac Abrahams, University of California at San Diego School of Medicine*

[Panel] 8K Youth, Civic Engagement, and Democratic Participation

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Democracy from the Grassroots: A Psychoanalyst Joins the Fray This presentation is an account of several decades of experience in the bridging of political psychology and psychoanalysis, through work at the grassroots. At its inception the author had pioneered in work with alienated individuals—psychopathic and the severely disordered—utilizing advances in

individual and group analysis. He then applied innovations developed there, operational and theoretic, to crucibles of local politics, in Southern California and on the Central Coast. Central to both disciplines is dyadic and larger group engagement in depth evocation of personal and group initiative, employing Freudian free association, applied to the interpersonal sphere, towards taking counsel with self in decision making. Both experience regression and progression to deeper awareness and surfacing of motivational capacity in dealing with issues in the present. Central there was identification of transference or carry over from the past. Application of prior experience with the alienated enabled the groups to mobilize populations previously unreachable, but even more, alter leadership to the better by engaging their underlying political passion and intuitive capacity. The author discusses the alienation incident to our culture of narcissism, its relevance to current political trends, and application to training and campaigning at the grassroots.

Democracy and Civic Participation

**María Julieta D'Avirro, CONICET, Buenos Aires University*

Alicia María Lenzi, National University of La Plata, Buenos Aires University

[Panel] 8K Youth, Civic Engagement, and Democratic Participation

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Nowadays, the democracy models and the consequent civic practices are in full debate, because of the repercussions that a group of contemporary complex international phenomena has on both of them, as the social exclusion, the xenophobia and the political apathy, among others. From such state of affairs, some democracy models and the diverse expectations of civic participation that those models propose are examined in this text, as well as the controversial relationship between civic participation and political knowledge. In particular, certain significant contributions about political knowledge acquisition from different psychological perspectives are analyzed, especially those referred to ideas of democracy. With that purpose, empirical research antecedents from different countries about political ideas are reviewed and the divergences and coincidences found among the results are distinguished. This way, some differentiations among the data of such studies are established, between common sense ideas and values, which although relevant, don't imply specific political knowledge. Finally, the political notions' process of conceptual formation is examined, with the intention to suggest a theoretical frame to study the cognitive reconstruction of the democracy notion. From the empirical data that have been raised and certain positions which have been outlined, it arises the conclusion that for the citizen it is necessary a basic knowledge about political matters, since that a better comprehension of the underlying processes to political events that condition its life, would allow to him/her a greater political participation, active and critical.

Democratic atmosphere in the family and democratic values during adolescence

**Vilmante Pakalniskiene, Mykolas Romeris University*

[Panel] 8I Political Socialization and Participation

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

The developmental psychology literature suggests that democratic ideals are the primary guiding principle of most Western nations. It is often said that democracy and civic education starts at home, meaning that if the family leadership is democratic, and children in the family will adopt democratic attitudes or values such as responsibility, civic activity and democratic behaviors toward others such as tolerance. Surprisingly, this is not completely supported by developmental research. It seems that democratic climate in the family could play a big role in democratic way of life for example, civic engagement or in teaching tolerance for young people. Drawing on the ideas from the literature, it seems that open atmosphere in the family could be the base for some democratic values such as tolerance towards other people. 300 Lithuanian youths' (15-18 years) data were used to test this idea. Even though democratic and open atmosphere and open communication in the family are related some democratic values and activities during later adolescence, latent profile analysis suggested some variation in this relation. Thus, it seems that there could be several ways how democratic atmosphere in the family is related to democratic values or civic engagement during adolescence and in the long run civic development, as well.

Democrats Are Still Democrats and Republicans Are Still Republicans: Partisan Attribution in Nonpartisan Elections

**Beth Miller, University of Missouri-Kansas City*

[Panel] 4D Parties, Party ID, and Elections

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Much of the research on voter decision-making in American politics focuses on the partisanship of the individual voter. While federal elections in the US, and most state-level elections, continue to be conducted in a partisan environment, local elections are increasingly conducted in nonpartisan environments. Proponents of nonpartisan elections envision a world in which voters abandon their “standing decisions” and make decisions based on careful consideration of the issues. The appeal of nonpartisan elections relies on the assumption that voters in nonpartisan elections do not frame their choice in partisan terms, but instead cast ballots in nonpartisan elections in a different manner than they do in partisan elections. In this paper, I ask whether voters in a nonpartisan campaign environment recast the election in partisan terms. To answer this question, I review the research on voter decision making in a nonpartisan electoral environment. My general thesis is that certain types of voters in a nonpartisan environment behave as if they were in a partisan environment. To test the hypotheses stemming from this argument, I use an experimental design explicitly exposing subjects to a nonpartisan mayoral candidate. I find certain types of individuals, such as political sophisticates, strong partisans, and ideologues, have little trouble attributing a partisan affiliation to a nonpartisan candidate based only on his positions on a given set of issues. These findings suggest that nonpartisan elections likely matter most for those least likely to vote in nonpartisan elections: political non-sophisticates, weak partisans or independents, and moderates.

Developing a Unifying Framework of Pluralistic Ignorance to Address Identity Issues among American Ethnic Groups

**Ishtar O. Govia, University of Michigan*

Tiffany M Griffin, University of Michigan; Raymond Baser, ISR, University of Michigan; James S. Jackson, University of Michigan

[Panel] 2I Immigration, Identity, and Religiosity Effects on Political Beliefs, Attitudes and Behaviors of American Ethnic Groups

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Ishtar O. Govia Tiffany M. Griffin Raymond Baser James S. Jackson This paper addresses multiple conceptualizations of pluralistic ignorance —self versus in-group under- and over-estimations of in-group attitudes. It utilizes data from the National Survey of American Life, a nationally representative sample of African Americans, Black Caribbeans, and European Americans, to explore theoretical perspectives and accompanying analytic models that have been developed to examine discrepancies between individual attitudes about out-groups and perceptions of broader group sentiments among in-groups. Three main definitions and analytic models of pluralistic ignorance have been used in the literature: a) the misreading of the majority position; b) the perception of the modal opinion, i.e. not of the exact distribution; and c) the focus of most empirical studies in which people perceive the minority opinion on an issue to be the majority and vice-versa and the more moderate case in which people misperceive the distribution of opinion but not to the point of misconstruing the mode. This paper highlights the implications for group identity of adopting these different conceptualizations and measurements of pluralistic ignorance within three social distance domains (romantic relations, marriage, and boss-employee). It will also explore how ethnic specific group norms affect these diverse conceptualizations of pluralistic ignorance and the group differences in the three domains. The paper concludes with suggestions for next steps in the development of the pluralistic ignorance construct and ensuing empirical research.

Dialogue, Democracy and Differences of Multiculturalism

**Christine Kulke, Berlin University of Technology and Science*

[Panel] 8D Dialogue and Deliberation

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

The context of my presentation is the ongoing discourse on multiculturalism, cultural identity and civic engagement. On a theoretical level the paper includes and discusses the analytical political ambiguity of dialogues; debates on communicative competence in the sense of Habermas and those on recognition of civic identities (C. Calhoun 1995) which are characterizing and forming the ‘Culture of Dialogue’. On an empirical (qualitative) level the paper explores experiences with an ongoing dialogue project as an initiative among students and teachers from different cultural background for understanding intercultural diversities and learning about cultural conflicts. The project is based on experiences with groups of migrants (with Arabic and Turkish background) in Berlin, especially with a youth theater project (theater for Peace and Justice—against Antisemitism and Islamophobia).

Differences in the hierarchy of identities in Moscow adolescents from ethnic majority and minority groups

Evanthia Lyons, Queen's University Belfast

**Tatiana Riazanova, Orthodox St-Tichon Theological Institute*

Theti Chrysanthaki, School of Psychology, Queen's University Belfast

Rauf Garagozov, Baku Centre for Psychosocial Studies

[Panel] 6C Post-Communist Nationalism and National Identities

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

The present paper examines the relative salience of civic, religious and ethnic identities amongst different ethnic groups (majority and minority) living in Moscow and Azerbaijan. The analysis focused on differences in identity salience between majority and minority groups in Russia and explored also whether the relative salience of identities of the minority group differed significantly from that of Azeri adolescents living in the country of ethnic origin. A total of 129 adolescents of Russian and Azeri ethnic origin participated in the present study. The results revealed that the relative position of identities differed between majority and minority groups. In particular, for the Russian sample civic identity was considered the most important followed by gender, local ethnic, religious and European identities. However, the Azeri sample living in Moscow (minority) enlisted religious identity as the most important whilst their civic identity was the least important of all. The hierarchical representations of identity structure of the Azeri living in Azerbaijan (majority) also differed from the Azeri sample living in Moscow with respect to the relative importance allocated to gender, ethnic and national identities. The supremacy of civic identity evinced in the Russian majority group may be explained by the sense of dirigisme and centralism, traditional for Former USSR and contemporary Russia. This social phenomenon was also mirrored in the studies of basic values where serving the State revealed to be one of the core ideals of Russians (Byzov, 2003). Differences in the hierarchical order of identities between the Azeri samples are also discussed.

Dimensions and typologies of national identity in Germany and Poland

**Mariola Olesniewicz*

**Thomas Blank, Institute of Sociology, University of Münster*

[Panel] 6D European, National, and Migrant Identities

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Germany and Poland are countries with an incriminated history between them. Furthermore Poland and Germany are border neighbours and many job hunting Polish people come to Germany, because of the different economical situations in both countries. Finally there is a latent degree of prejudice on the Polish people among the Germans. Therefore in our paper we will deal with two questions which consequencenses this special relationship may have on building up national identity on the attitudinal level of Polish and German people. Firstly, using data from the ISPP 2003 we conducted factor analyses and multiple group comparison technics to compare dimensions of national identity among Polish and German people in general, taking into account concepts like nationalism or patriotism. Secondly by using clusteranalytic technics we try to identify different types of national identity (e.g. patriotic, nationalistic). In general we assume for different reasons (e.g. history, technical advance, role of family, possibilities of individualization inbetween the society, anomia, relevance of religion) that Polish people have a stronger and more emotional national identity than German people and that differs German and Polish national identity as typology. Finally we will discuss our results critical.

Discourse Groups: Violence, Identity and the Power of Ideology

**James M Glass, University of Maryland, Dept of Government and Politics*

[Panel] 1J Identity and Conflict

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

This paper will look at the role of discourse in constituting groups; it will also examine the ways in which discourse constitutes differing kinds of group identity and how these identity-clusters affect the nature and structure of the political process. From this point of view, discourse groups exercise a significant role in the development of state policy. And the identity fulfilling functions of discourse groups may possess a vital part in deciding how political action (particularly violence) is deployed in any given cultural environment. I will use as a case example the structure of discourse groups during the Nazi period in Germany and will argue that it may be useful to rethink the concept of 'totalitarianism' in light of the many plural voices exercised by discourse groups in the Third Reich. In this sense ideology, understood as the deployment and popularization of 'knowledge' through discourse, drives the political process, sets boundaries around group identity and creates 'ethics' (or forms of moral conscience) to justify the uses of political violence.

Discourse on Hegemony and Radical Democracy: Gender and Mass Culture within the Context of Globalization

**Olena Oleksandrivna Prykhodko, Kharkiv Center for Gender Studies*

[Panel] 6L Gender, power and discourses

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Mass culture socializes and disciplines people even when it seems to serve to entertain and amuse its recipients, oriented to formation of commonly fixed images of men and women, their behavior, fate, images, sexuality, nationality and ethnic belonging. Provoking a conflict between the local and the global, the globalization brings into local cultural pattern new challenges: on the one hand, it serves to spread democratic values and ideas, on the other hand it tries to gain a new market and, thus, new customers through reinforcing new cultural identities or changing the existent ones. My special interest in mass culture development is connected with cultural production and ideological construction of gender identity, since historical development of the society and qualitative transformations within inner structure of the culture under conditions of globalization have caused transformations in the traditional system of differentiation of gender roles and associated with them gender-based stereotypes. However to analyze mass culture the research focuses not exclusively on ideology, but rather on hegemonic relations within mass culture and different gender identities and on mass culture and gender identities within hegemonic relations. The paper will focus on the way globalization imports ways of cultural construction of men and women, stimulating gender identities transformations, and how (and whether) democratization through mass culture is possible and what ways it can take, and whether there could be found ways for radical democracy (in its interpretation by E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe). The analysis involves a discourse analysis of cultural texts and their interpretation.

Discriminations in name of equality: the attribution of sexism to the Other (Poster)

**Lavinia Gianettoni, University of Lausanne*

[Panel] 2P Poster Session: Intergroup Relations

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This poster analyzes some obstacles to the implementation of equality between men and women, and between nationals and foreigners, in a context where egalitarian norms and discourses are increasingly valued and highlighted. Two survey studies (N1= 329; N2=167) were conducted in the french part of Switzerland to investigate racist and sexist attitudes. Our results show that modern racism is correlated with the perception that foreigners are more sexist than nationals and with the minimization of the sexism in Switzerland. The attribution of sexism to the Other, the “foreigner”, reinforces modern racism and sexism that structure western societies and increases the support for traditional forms of western sexism. Our results suggest that the attribution of a higher sexism to foreigners is a process that legitimizes both racist and sexist discrimination.

Dissuasive Elite Source Effects And Citizens’ Attitudes. Evidence From Experiments In A Multi Party System

**Lene Aaroe, Department of Political Science, University of Aarhus*

[Panel] 5O Persuasive and Dissuasive Effects of Communication

[Section] Political Communication

Political elite sources are a ubiquitous part of representative democracy. Contrary to common democratic ideals, this suggests that political influence is both a question of the message and of the source. However, following a classical understanding of the notion of elite opinion leadership previous studies have especially focused on the capacity of political elite sources to attract support for a message—i.e. persuasive source effects. In contrast, studies of failed persuasion have been surprisingly lacking. This paper therefore investigates dissuasive party leader effects—that is the case in which a party leader source decreases support for the message put forward. Drawing on the insights of theories of motivated reasoning, I argue that party leader cues—in addition to the traditional expectation of persuasive effects on political supporters—can be expected to have dissuasive impact on political opponents. Based on data from two laboratory experiments (N = 447 and 704) conducted in the context of the Danish multi party system, I find that party leader cues have dissuasive effect on recipients who perceive the party leader’s likeability to be low or who do not share the party attachment of the source. Furthermore, I show that the strength of the dissuasive source effect depends on the extent to which the receiver perceives the party leader as non-likeable as well as on the degree of political opposition between the receiver and the source in party political space. The democratic implication of the findings is an accentuation of the limits to elite opinion leadership.

Distinguishing Authoritarianism and Conservatism

Christopher Weber, Louisiana State University

**Stanley Feldman, Department of Political Science, Stony Brook University*

[Panel] 2L New Developments in Authoritarianism Research II: Conceptual and Methodological Issues

[Section] Intergroup Relations

One of the long standing issues in the history of research on authoritarianism has been the relationship between authoritarianism and conservatism. In the major research studies (Adorno et al.; Altemeyer) the two have been confounded both conceptually and empirically. This has led to concerns that authoritarianism is nothing more than (social) conservatism or that those who are principled conservatives are being labeled authoritarians for their ideological views. In this paper, we draw on new theory and measurement to show that authoritarianism and conservatism can be reliably distinguished. First, we use new measures of authoritarianism that are not confounded with conservative ideology (Feldman 2003; Feldman & Stenner 1997). Second, we analyze question wording experiments embedded in a telephone survey to show how the effects of authoritarianism on political attitudes vary predictably by context relative to those of conservatism. Our results show that attitudes on social/moral issues are a function of both authoritarianism and conservatism and that a combination of better theory and measurement allows their effects to be clearly distinguished.

Distinguishing Partisan Ambivalence from Partisan Strength

**Christopher David Johnston, SUNY-Stony Brook*

Howard Lavine, SUNY-Stony Brook

Marco Steenbergen, University of Bern

[Panel] 7H Information, Asymmetry, and Ambivalence

[Section] Political Decision Making

A growing literature focuses on attitudinal ambivalence as being an important aspect of American public opinion and electoral behavior. Recently, much of this literature has begun to focus on ambivalence toward the political parties. While studies of partisan ambivalence have yielded important insights about the foundations of political judgment and choice, a skeptical view holds that partisan ambivalence is merely the flip-side of partisan strength. As an empirical matter, this skepticism seems misplaced: while negative, the correlation between partisan strength and ambivalence is at best modest. As a theoretical matter, however, the weak correlation raises the questions of how partisan strength and ambivalence are different and of why even strong partisans can become ambivalent. In this paper, we take up these theoretical questions. Relying on social identity theory, we maintain that partisan strength is rooted in a motivational process leading to in-group favoritism and out-group derogation, which is reflected in stable levels of positive evaluation toward one's own party and negative evaluation of the other party. Ambivalence, in contrast, is largely based on an assessment of contemporary party performance, captured by variation in negativity toward one's own party and positivity toward the other party. Based on this framework, we predict and find that partisan ambivalence is both less stable and more responsive to environmental conditions than partisan strength. Finally, we find that ambivalence and strength produce largely additive (and independent) effects on political behavior, indicating that the effects of ambivalence are as evident for strong partisans as for weak partisans and independents.

Divergence and Convergence in Cross-National Deliberation: New versus Old Member-States in the Pan-European Deliberative Poll

**Robert C. Luskin, University of Texas at Austin*

**James S. Fishkin, Stanford University*

Stephen Boucher, Notre Europe; Henri Monceau, Notre Europe

[Panel] 4I Democratic Deliberation

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

On October 12-15, 2007, some 350 randomly drawn Europeans from the 27 EU member states gathered in the EU Parliament building in Brussels to discuss a number of policy issues confronting the EU member states with the help of simultaneous translation. They discussed both what should be done and at what level (the individual member states versus the EU) that should be decided. This paper focuses on the differences in the ways in which participants from new versus old members states responded to the discussion, particularly with respect to issues of enlargement. We consider the extent to which their views converged versus diverged, and why.

Do We Still Need the Concept of Right-Wing Authoritarianism?

**Thomas Petzel, Leuphana University of Lüneburg, Germany*

[Panel] 2L New Developments in Authoritarianism Research II: Conceptual and Methodological Issues

[Section] Intergroup Relations

(Right-wing) Authoritarianism (RWA) is a widely used concept in social psychological research. Its contribution to the explanation of individuals' attitudes, above all toward ethnic outgroups and social minorities, has been demonstrated in countless empirical studies. It is regarded as one of the two main predictors of ethnic prejudice, the second being Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). One of the main questions in modern authoritarianism research is how varying degrees of authoritarianism can be explained. Recent theoretical and empirical developments have led to a decomposition of RWA: A variety of variables (authoritarian predispositions, e.g. evolutionary, genetic, personality, cognitive and motivational factors) contribute to individual authoritarianism. Furthermore, it has become widely accepted that perceived threat fosters authoritarian attitudes and behaviour. Consequently the question has emerged whether there is a unique contribution of RWA to the explanation of social attitudes or, alternatively, whether the impact of RWA on attitudes and behaviour may be fully explained by authoritarian predispositions, threat perceptions and interactions between these variables. To date there is only indirect evidence that RWA might be replaced as a predictor of social attitudes. In this contribution, results of a study are presented that was conducted to give some first direct evidence for—or against—this assumption.

Does Personality Matter? Personality factors as determinants of legislative recruitment and legislators' policy preferences

**Heinrich Hugo Best, University of Jena, Germany*

[Panel] 3B Leader Personality & Its Consequences

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The paper inquires into the impact of personality-factors on the selection and self-selection of recruits for parliamentary mandates by comparing the personality profile of German MPs with a matching sample of the general population (matching in terms of education, gender, age and party preferences). It further determines whether MPs personality has an impact on their policy preferences (expansionist vs. restrictive budget policies, expansion vs. restriction of welfare state benefits, limitation vs. extension of civic rights etc.). Party affiliation of MPs will be used as a control variable. The paper will make use of data from the Jena Parliamentarians study which have been collected under direction of the author and provide information on a broad spectrum of issues like MPs family backgrounds, recruitment and career experiences and policy preferences. The second wave of the Jena Parliamentarians study was carried out in 2007 and also included a shortened version of the 'Big Five' (identical to a version used in general population studies) for about 1500 actual (1100) and former (400) German MPs at federal, state and European level.

Does The System Care About What I Think About Injustice? The effects of expressing 'voice' on procedural justice appraisals and system justification

**Patrick Kingsborough Martens, Queen's University Belfast*

[Panel] 2C Contested policies: Winning the acceptance of the public

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This study examined the system justification effects of granting people the opportunity to express 'voice' when exposed to instances of systemic injustice. Allowing people to express 'voice' and to thereby transmit their idiosyncratic perception of specific events evidencing the injustice generally constituting social and political structures is posited to moderate system justification by satisfying procedural concerns pertaining to the general need of being considered a valued and respected contributor to systemic decision-making processes. Voice effects were examined in the context of the failings and shortcomings displayed by Scotland Yard immediately following the unwarranted killing of Jean Charles de Menezes on the 22. July 2005, committed as part of Scotland Yard's implementation of its shoot-to-kill policy. It was hypothesised that allowing people to express 'voice' in response to Scotland Yard's refusal to admit that Jean Charles de Menezes had been unjustly killed even days after his innocence had been firmly established would accentuate procedural evaluations of fairness and transparency, and, consequently, system justification. Specifically, it was predicted that this accentuation would manifest itself by not only increasing support for Scotland Yard, and the implementation of its shoot-to-kill policy, but also by amplifying people's propensity to rationalise and justify the prevalent status quo, in as far as people's perceptions of governmental authorities and social institutions have been shown to significantly affect legitimacy

appraisals of the system as a whole. Participants comprised 232 students of the University of Surrey. The effects of the experimental manipulation on system justification was measured explicitly through the use of self-report measures, and at an unconscious, implicit level of awareness by employing a lexical decision task. Results corroborated this hypothesis by showing that voice procedures did function to amplify system justification processes in the form of increased support for specific governmental measures and social authorities, and for the system as a whole.

Donations following humanitarian disasters: What motivates people to help?

**Hanna Zagefka, Royal Holloway, University of London*

[Panel] 1S Political Violence, Trauma and Coping II

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Two hundred nineteen participants filled out questionnaires about their willingness to donate (i.e. 'donation proclivity'—DP) to victims of humanitarian disasters. Half the participants answered questions about the 'Tsunami' disaster; half answered questions about the 'Dafur' disaster. The questionnaire contained a range of hypothesised antecedents of 'DP'. A model was specified which incorporated 'classic' variables found in the prosocial behaviour and helping literature such as 'empathy', as well as 'intergroup relations' variables and variables measuring how participants saw the victims. 'Perceiving the victim state as an enemy' and 'inclusion of the victims into the ingroup' were predicted to affect the way in which victims were perceived, specifically on the extent to which victims were perceived to 'help themselves', and to which victims were 'blamed' for their misfortune. The way in which victims were perceived, in turn, was predicted to affect the extent to which participants felt 'positive emotions' towards and 'empathy' with the victims. These variables, in turn, were predicted to impact on DP. In other words, the model proposed that 'intergroup relations' variables would have an indirect effect on DP, mediated—in two steps—by perceptions of and emotional dispositions towards the victims. Strong support for the model was found using Structural Equation Modeling techniques. The model fitted the data well in both the 'Tsunami' and the 'Dafur' conditions, speaking to its generic qualities. Findings are discussed in terms of their theoretical value for our understanding of helping, and in terms of their applied value.

Economic and Political Values in Northeast Mexico

**José M Infante, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León (Mexico)*

[Panel] 8E Ideologies and Values in Tension

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

The citizens of the western democracies usually adjust their political behaviors with relationship to their ideological values. The political subsystems and the economic subsystems of more extension in this time propose the assimilation of opposed values: while the democracies look for the equality, the economic of the globalized capitalism demand a conflicting competition and it produces certain forms of inequality. A Scale of Economic and Political Values (EVEP—in Spanish) was built, the one that was applied to a random sample of the population of the metropolitan area of Monterrey (Mexico). The preliminary conclusions indicate that the citizens seem to accept the contradictions in an unconscious way.

Education, Migration and the Citizenship of "post-Diasporic" Muslim Children

**Pauline Stoltz, Global Political Studies, Malmö University*

[Panel] 6T Post-Diaspora politics: psychological challenges for minority and majority communities in the West

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper discusses the ways in which "post-diasporic" Muslim children (second and subsequent generations) in western European welfare states (with examples from Sweden, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands) are perceived as individuals with rights and responsibilities—or as so called 'citizen-beings'—and as citizens of the future—or so called 'citizen-becomings' in educational political discourses. It addresses current shifts in discourses on the rights and responsibilities of individual (such as different categories of children and parents) and collective actors (such as states) in welfare state policies and the ways in which a globalization of rights and responsibilities can or cannot contribute with solutions to inequalities and injustices which, amongst others, "post-diasporic" Muslim children encounter.

Effective Persuasion to Prevent Genocidal Policies: Denmark and Bulgaria's Debates Over the Fate of National Jews

**Kristina Emma Thalhammer, St.Olaf College*

[Panel] 6K Political Rhetoric and Political Communication

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

During the Holocaust, only two European states occupied by or aligned with Hitler's Reich effectively protected Jews within their national borders from export to death camps. The case of Denmark has been lauded analyzed, and recently become the center of debate about motivations for courageous resistance/rescue activities. In contrast, the case of Bulgaria, which had even greater success in terms of saving the lives of Jews within the nation's historic boundaries, has been relatively unexamined and the two cases have never been systematically compared. With primary documents, only recently available in translation, we conduct a closer examination of what messages political, religious and community leaders (i.e. the King, members of Parliament, religious leaders, civic actors and organizations, Jewish actors and organizations and foreign leaders and actors) were using as they tried to influence responses to Nazi pressure. We look at how protecting Bulgarian Jews was framed in speeches and documents, categorizing responses in terms of orientations to authority (using Kelman and Hamilton's rule-, role- and value-orientations, with some refinement of their value orientation categorization) and of nationalistic and pragmatic orientations (perceived view of the national way of behaving, national reputation in the international community, future consequences of acquiescing or resisting Nazi requests, and perceived risk from the targeted group). Somewhat surprisingly (especially considering the marginal international human rights regime of the time), our analysis suggests that the perceived power of international norms and consequences was the most powerful and common framework employed in the Bulgarian debates, echoing new Danish analysis of their own history.

Effects of Media Control in Shaping People's Attitudes Towards US: Evidence from Surveys

**Tianjian Shi*

[Panel] 5M Political Communication in China

[Section] Political Communication

The regime in People Republic of China uses its substantial political power to control public access to the free flow of information. What effects does such control have on people political orientation? This is a crucial issue in communist societies that has received little notice by western scholars. Even if scholars now can get information on political attitudes of ordinary people in Chinese societies, they do not know if such attitudes were shaped by the controlled-media. Fortunately, the blockage of the media had some consistent degree of leakage as an unintended result of reform and modernization. Residents in Xiamen, Fujian Province can now regularly pick up radio and TV signals from Taiwan. Such a leakage provides researchers with a nearly perfect quasi-experimental setting to study effects of media control on people political orientation and political behavior. Taking advantage of these national experimental settings, I conducted two independent surveys, one in Xiamen and the other in Chengdu, a city with roughly equal level of economic development. The samples are reasonably closely matched on such important variables as economic development, freedom of movement, education, urbanization, but vary in a key independent variable, access to free information. Using data collected from these two surveys, we examine impacts of state-controlled media on people's attitudes towards the United States. The paper shows that people's attitude towards the US is a multi-dimensional phenomenon—people in these two cities can clearly distinguish US foreign policy from its domestic political institution, culture, and technology. Further analysis shows that while accessing to foreign media plays a positive role in shaping people's attitudes towards US on non-foreign policy dimensions, such an access has no statistical significant impacts on people's attitudes towards US foreign-policy. Taking together, the finding of the paper suggest students of Chinese politics has overestimated the effectiveness of media control in helping regime to forget nationalism in China to consolidate its power.

Elite Polarization, Partisan Ambivalence, and a Preference for Divided Government

**Howard Lavine, SUNY-Stony Brook*

Christopher David Johnston, SUNY-Stony Brook; Marco Steenbergen, University of Bern; David Perkins, SUNY-Stony Brook

[Panel] 4D Parties, Party ID, and Elections

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

We examine how party polarization at the elite level influences the structure of partisan attitudes at the mass level. If elite

party polarization has clarified party conflict for the mass public, we might expect polarization to decrease ambivalence toward the political parties. There are several reasons, however, to doubt any simple relationship between party polarization and partisan ambivalence. First, by increasing the clarity of party positions, polarization may heighten citizens' awareness of discrepancies between their party identifications and other political preferences. Second, although initial increases in polarization may indeed reduce partisan ambivalence, continued polarization may outpace the univalence of most citizens' party-related attitudes, thereby increasing ambivalence. This suggests the occurrence of both a nonlinear (quadratic) effect of polarization (i.e., polarization squared), as well as an interaction between the nonlinear polarization component and inconsistency. Using NES data from 1972-2004, we test both possibilities. We find that the effect of polarization is both non-linear (quadratic), and conditional on the consistency between voters' party ID and other political preferences. Among the strongest partisans, polarization exerts a negative linear effect on ambivalence: increasing polarization leads to increasing univalence in partisan attitudes. The effect among partisan leaners and independents is exactly the opposite: polarization heightens ambivalence in a positive linear manner. Finally, among "weak" partisans polarization exerts a strongly quadratic effect on ambivalence. As we expected, initial levels of polarization dampened ambivalence, but past the polarization tipping point, it produced increases in ambivalence toward the parties.

Emerging theoretical aspects of mediation in community environments

Ana Maria Osorio

[Panel] 8A Citizen Participation Networks

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

The study talks about the relevance of mediation concept looking at comprehension of citizen organizations and the construction of collective spaces ready to satisfy citizens' social and cultural demands. Based on the characteristics of the present topic, the core of the mediation concept focuses on transdisciplinary perspective, which allows the comprehension of complexity for everyday political knowledge of community organizations, as well as the existence and conditions of emerging conflicts, opposite points of view and exclusions found in human relations context. Valuation and comprehension of such "daily political knowledge" complexity and the process involved in administrative practice of community organizations redefines the epistemological dimension and the mediation theory in order to state the dynamics of such organizations, recognizing the functional character of politics in the construction of citizen participation networks needed to co-manage with justice and equity the local government.

Emotion, Attribution, and Attitudes towards Crime

**Erin Cassese, West Virginia University*

**Christopher Weber, Louisiana State University*

[Panel] 7C Emotions, Politics, and Policy

[Section] Political Decision Making

Increasingly, political scientists are rejecting the notion of citizens as cold, rational actors and recognizing the ways emotion shapes public opinion and political behavior. Research on the political implications of emotion have linked emotional experiences to perceptions of candidates and vote choice (Taber and Lodge, 2006; Brader, 2005), media consumption and learning (Marcus and MacKuen, 1993; Lau and Redlawsk, 2001; Huddy and Feldman, 2005) and policy attitudes (Huddy, Feldman, and Cassese, 2008). Much of this work draws on cognitive appraisal as a theoretical framework. Cognitive appraisal theories argue the evaluation of one's environment serves to differentiate emotional responses. Perceptions of uncertainty, agency, pleasantness, novelty, and legitimacy produce discrete patterns of emotional response such as anxiety, anger, disgust, embarrassment, pride, or enthusiasm. For example, anger is commonly associated with appraisal of human agency, while fear is associated with appraisals of uncertainty. Some theorists have also suggested that appraisals are also the proximal consequence of one's emotional experience. From this perspective, emotions influence downstream processing by shaping causal attributions and coloring attitudes towards people and events (Small and Lerner, 2008). In this study we assess the relationship between emotion, cognitive appraisals, and attitudes towards crime and the criminal justice system. We manipulate discrete emotional states with an experiment to determine whether they are in fact associated with distinct patterns of cognitive appraisals and causal attributions. We expect anger to result in individual attributions for criminal behavior, such as laziness or incompetence. Alternatively, we expect sadness to correspond to attributions of systematic factors, such as poverty and discrimination. These emotions and the related causal appraisals should influence attitudes towards crime policy and the criminal justice system. If angry respondents do make individual causal attributions, they are perhaps more likely to favor punitive criminal justice practices and perceive the criminal justice system as too lenient. Fearful respondents, on the other hand, are perhaps more

favorably inclined towards rehabilitative programs and view the criminal justice system as harsh. This study will afford insight into the relationship between emotion and cognition and their relative contributions to attitudes towards crime.

Emotional Barriers to Peace: Negative Emotions and Public Opinion about the Peace Process in the Middle East

**Eran Halperin, Stanford University, USA and IDC, Israel*

[Panel] 1V Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Its Resolution—Part 2

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

It is well established today that the psychological barrier is one of the most prominent factors operating against efforts to promote peace. Yet most studies along these lines have concentrated on the cognitive aspect and neglected the emotional. Hence, the main goal of the current study is to create a deeper understanding of how emotions towards an adversary (e.g., fear, anger and hatred) serve as an important barrier to potential public support for peaceful resolution of a conflict. To that end, an experimental survey was conducted in the week prior to the Annapolis peace summit among a representative nationwide sample of Jewish-Israelis (N=501). Negative emotions were stimulated and different variables reflecting support for peace or violence were measured. Results obtained via paths analysis using structural equation modeling draw a comprehensive map both of the development of emotions in the face of the event, and of the distinct impact of each emotion on specific aspects of public opinion towards the peace process.

Engagement and Disengagement with Armed Loyalist Paramilitary Groups in Northern Ireland

**Neil Ferguson, Liverpool Hope University*

[Panel] 1M Radicalization and the Terrorist

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Northern Ireland faces the difficulty of coming to terms with the pain, suffering and guilt caused by over 30 years of inter-ethnic violence. In particular, the victims of violence, those who perpetrated it and those who lived in this culture of violence have to deal with the reasons underlying past violent actions. We conducted a series of in-depth, semi-structured, interviews with individuals who had engaged insurgency in Northern Ireland. Interviewees were all members of former members of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). We describe the decision processes involved in initiating a variety of defiant activities, chart identity shifts during the transformation from individual discontent to collective action and highlight the self-perceived similarities and differences between those who “cross the rubicon” (in one participant’s words) to violent activity and also explore the reasons behind their disengagement from violence to enter community development and local politics.

Essentialist beliefs about national identity: The role of national symbolism

**Jennifer Whelan, University of Melbourne, Australia*

[Panel] 6E Beliefs about Identity: national symbolism, trust and religion

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

From the perspective of psychological essentialism, we tested the proposition that people may construe their national identity in terms of its fundamental nature or essence, and that this essence may be construed in terms of biological heritage (e.g., ethnicity), or symbolism (e.g., national symbols and icons). In Study 1, we established and validated distinct measures of symbolic and biological essentialism in an Australian sample, and showed that symbolic essentialism predicted stronger patriotism, while biological essentialism predicted stronger nationalism and more negative attitudes towards migrants and multiculturalism. In Study 2, we replicated our findings and tested them in a more ethnically homogeneous nation (the Republic of Ireland) and showed that while mean levels of symbolic essentialism were similar across both nations, biological essentialism was higher among Irish people. In Study 3, we manipulated essentialist beliefs about national identity by using national narratives containing symbolic or biological essentialist concepts. The results showed that biological essentialism, but not symbolic essentialism, can be manipulated by exposure to national narratives containing both symbolic and biological essentialist concepts, such that biological essentialism increased after reading some national narratives. The importance of essentialist beliefs, and the way in which national groups are construed, in understanding national identity is discussed.

Ethnic Identity and Support for Multiculturalist Ideology

**David O. Sears, UCLA*

Jack Citrin, University of California, Berkeley

[Panel] 6R Political Identity and Political Change

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper identifies three dimensions of multiculturalism—ethnic identification, cultural recognition, and ethnic representations and compares the attitudes of major American ethnic groups on these issues, testing hypotheses regarding the role of political socialization, group consciousness, and national identity across whites, blacks, and Latinos. The results indicate a consensus favoring an amalgam of assimilation and pluralism with minority groups more in favor of maintaining cultural differences. Age but not education has significant effects on public opinion.

Ethnic and religious tolerance in Poland

**Ewa Golebiowska, Wayne State University*

[Panel] 2U Prejudice: Measurement and Conceptual Issues

[Section] Intergroup Relations

In the course of its transition to democracy, Poland has made great strides in offering institutional protections for its national, ethnic, and religious minorities. Yet, institutional protections alone cannot convey a complete picture of tolerance in Poland. It is important, in addition, to investigate how well or poorly minority groups fare in Polish public opinion, particularly in the period following Poland's accession to the European Union and resultant increases in the number of national, ethnic, and religious minorities traveling to and occasionally settling in Poland. Taking advantage of recently collected survey data (September 2006 survey conducted by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion located in Warsaw, Poland), I will examine the levels and sources of Poles' attitudes toward a number of ethnic (e.g., Russian, German, or French) and religious (e.g., Evangelical, Muslim, or Jewish) minorities. My dependent measures will consist of a series of social distance questions asking Poles about their willingness to support an inter-ethnic or an inter-religious marriage involving a close family member. My independent variables will include psychological (e.g., interpersonal trust), political (e.g., perceptions of threat to Poland's autonomy) and socio-demographics (e.g., education) predictors.

Ethno-linguistic Identity as a Factor of Political and Ideological Clearance in Ukraine

**Vadym Oleksandrovych Vasyutynsky, Institute of Social and Political Psychology, Kyiv*

[Panel] 6C Post-Communist Nationalism and National Identities

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Social and political events of the last years in Ukraine indicated a significant division of Ukrainian society into two opposing camps. Such an opposition coincides with a regional division according to the preferential language of communication. Advantageously Ukrainian-speaking Center and West vote for the right-wing and pro-European parties, whereas principally Russian-speaking East and South prefer the left-wing and pro-Russian ones. Thus a devotion to Ukrainian or Russian language became a determinative for the citizens' electoral choice. Generally language doesn't contain any ideological substance itself, but on current conditions it attains obvious ideological tinge and differentiates the citizens according to their political and ideological preferences. It's necessary to be mentioned that language question doesn't dominate in the public-opinion polls: as a whole 7-10% respondents point out its importance. However, from a psychological point of view these problems are very significant and stirring, they comprise a potential danger of mass consciousness perturbation. The results of the large-scale psycho-semantic investigations demonstrate that ethno-linguistic identity of the Russian-speaking persons or better to say their fear of its deprivation is the most influential reason of a mentioned mass consciousness status. Present fear acts as a powerful motive for the resistance to a real or assumed ukrainizational pressure. Such a resistance widens to the sphere of broad social interactions, where they inevitably take language shape. Thus language becomes an exponent of deep identity. That is why defense of Russian language has become a center of a struggle for identity in the South-East regions of Ukraine.

Ethnocentric Voting in 2007 France: when political psychology meets electoral sociology

**Nonna Mayer, CEVIPOF-Centre de Recherche Politique de Sciences Po*

[Panel] 2S Power, dominance and intergroup conflict: Psychological, political and cultural perspectives

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This paper deals with a paradox. In the last twenty years there has been a decline in the open expression of anti-immigrant sentiments in France. But this issue is taking a growing importance in electoral decision, and no more only among the voters of Le Pen's party, the Front national, in a multicultural context where the classical voting structures (class, religion)

are eroding. We propose to combine the insights of political psychology and electoral sociology to show the growing influence of ethnocentric-authoritarian attitudes on votes and its consequences, taking the French case as an example and drawing from the Cevipof National Electoral Surveys (1988-2007).

European Attitudes to Ethnic Diversity's Management: Concepts, Dimensions and Individual Factors

**Guillaume Roux, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, IEP de Grenoble / UMR Pacte (France)*

[Panel] 2J Inter-group Relations in Multi-cultural Contexts

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Ethnic diversity resulting from large scale immigration is one of the most prominent challenges facing West European democracies. In recent years, the political management of this diversity raised such major issues as the wearing of Islamic scarf in French public school, the pitfalls of British Multiculturalism, or the limits of the Dutch model as regard to the socioeconomic integration of migrants. Though precise debates remained country-specific, West European governments faced common questionings, from the extent to which cultural specificities should be tolerated and sustained, to institutional provisions aimed at preventing ethnic exclusion and discriminations. How should ethnic diversity be managed, i.e. what should be the political options governing the coexistence of different ethnic groups within a same nation-state? Despite there exists an impressive bulk of research about attitudes towards ethnic minorities and related issues, few attitudinal studies have focused on what we refer to as the management of ethnic diversity. In reaction, this article is an attempt to conceptualize, measure and explain West European attitudes towards the management of ethnic diversity. It first deals with conceptual issues, emphasizing the distinction between issues related to individual equality on one hand, and cultural differentiation on the other. Based on the unpublished pre-test of the GFE (Group Focus Enmity) European survey (N=1150), we then ask whether attitudes to ethnic diversity management break into several dimensions. Do, in particular, indicators related to individual equality on one hand, and cultural differentiation on the other hand make up differentiated dimensions? Hypotheses are then made about the individual factors or attitudes preferentially impacting each previously identified dimension. Attitudes towards the management of ethnic diversity turn out to be a multidimensional phenomenon, each dimension being preferentially impacted by theoretically related factors. In particular, attitudes to cultural differentiation are specifically influenced by cultural threat feeling, as well as the perception of Islam as antithetic with the values of Western democracies.

Everyday politics in favelas of Brasil

**Christiane Coelho*

[Panel] 10J. Societal Political Psychology and Everyday Politics

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

The importance of everyday politics in favelas of Brasilia

Experiments in Surveys. The Example of Public Opinion Formation on Ethnic-Targeted School Policies in the Netherlands

**Marieke van Londen, Radboud University Nijmegen, department of social science research methods*

**Marcel Coenders, Utrecht University*

Peer Scheepers, Radboud University Nijmegen, department of social science research methods

[Panel] 5H Framing Opposing Views

[Section] Political Communication

In this article, we discuss the results of a survey experiment designed to examine the impact of issue framing on the level of aversion to ethnic-targeted school policies in the Netherlands in 2000 and 2005. Emphasizing the costs for Dutch children increased the level of aversion to these policies, compared to the level of aversion expressed by respondents in the unframed, control group. Emphasizing the benefits for ethnic minorities did not alter the level of aversion. Moreover, when respondents were confronted with both the cost and benefit frame—a situation which closely resembles the political and public debate—they still showed less support for ethnic-targeted school policies. We also found that aversion to ethnic-targeted school policies is driven by negative considerations such as a preference for hierarchical societal relations and perceptions of ethnic threat. Emphasizing out-group benefits did not decrease the impact of these negative considerations on the level of aversion to ethnic-targeted school policies.

Explaining Parliamentary Party Cohesion: Can Psychology Help?

**Meg Russell, University College London*

[Panel] 3B Leader Personality & Its Consequences

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

Parliaments in most established democracies are characterised by high levels of political party cohesion in voting. Political scientists tend to explain this behaviour in terms of individual incentives, implicitly or explicitly applying a logic of rational choice. Cohesion is linked to discipline, and the powers available to party whips: for example control over resources, reselection opportunities, and positions in government. This analysis has however been questioned through a study of the British House of Lords conducted by Philip Norton. The House of Lords provides an example of 'cohesion without discipline', as parties vote almost uniformly together despite whips enjoying none of the aforementioned powers. Since members gain seats in the chamber for life, cannot be removed, and are often nearing the end of their careers, rational self-interest provides little reason to vote together. Alternative explanations are therefore needed. This paper makes some first attempts to provide such explanations. Drawing on data from a survey of numbers of the House of Lords, it tests alternative reasons for cohesion based on psychological theories. First, it tests whether birth order and family background have any explanatory power. Second, it tests the effect of members' attitudes of 'groupishness'. Preliminary results suggest that elements such as fondness for the group, sense of duty and fear of stigma may play an important role. Through testing in the (perhaps uniquely) discipline-free arena of the House of Lords, these results provide the foundations for a future research agenda to explain cohesion in parliaments more widely.

Exploring Uncle Sam: The Role of Family Metaphors in Political Attitudes

**Grace Deason, University of Minnesota*

Brad Lippmann

Marti Hope Gonzales, University of Minnesota; Jennifer Filson, University of Minnesota

[Panel] 10B Messages, Meaning, and Content

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Americans do not tend to think in ideological terms (Converse, 1964; Lavine, Thomsen, & Gonzales, 1997) and are generally uninterested in political news and events (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996). As a result, politicians search for new ways to capture citizens' attention and support. One technique is the use of metaphors to frame discussions of political issues. Metaphors serve to simplify complex or abstract ideas and act as a tool to interpret incoming information (Hartman, 2007). Here we examine George Lakoff's (1996) claim that a metaphor of the nation as a family guides individuals' moral and political attitudes. Lakoff posits two independent orientations toward the family that underlie political liberalism and conservatism: Strict Father Morality and Nurturant Parent Morality. The Strict Father, or conservative, belief system presupposes a competitive world and views self-discipline and self-reliance as tools for survival. The Nurturant Parent, or liberal, belief system instead considers nurturance the path to success, including self-nurturance and facilitating the development of others. We constructed scales to measure beliefs about the ideal family, beliefs about ethics and morality, and attitudes toward contemporary social and political issues. We find that our measures of Lakoff's moral orientations are related to, but distinct from existing measures of political and moral value orientations. In addition, beliefs about morality partially mediated the relationship between beliefs about the family and attitudes toward social and political issues, suggesting that citizens' conceptions of morality connect their ideas about the family to the world of politics.

Extending Voice and Vote: Conflict Recipes Embedded in Universal Participation

**Tamra Pearson d'Estrée, University of Denver*

[Panel] 1J Identity and Conflict

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

One of the primary catalysts for group mobilization and group conflict is around the experience of injustice. Perceptions of injustice may stem from outcomes, e.g., from what is perceived as an unfair division of resources. However, a sense of injustice may also result from what is perceived to be an unfair process for making a decision or achieving an outcome. Examples of this include exclusion from participation in a particular decision making process, such as an election, or

systemic/structural barriers to participation. Such exclusion is often based on social identity markers, such as race or ethnicity. Past history of procedural injustices, such as a denial of voice, may remain as fault lines that quickly polarize when power is up for redistribution in elections. In bicomunal societies, as well as in multicultural and multiethnic societies, providing voice to formerly excluded minorities is seen as critical to national reconciliation and integration. However, such extension of voice and vote comes with a paradox for the narratives and identities of all groups. As group boundaries and dominant narratives appear to become negotiable, core separate group identities reassert, and this for both the dominant and dominated groups. A model for this dynamic will be ventured, and used to examine conflict and challenges in electoral politics in multicultural societies, with examples from Trinidad & Tobago and the United States.

Extremeness-Moderateness of Attitude and Behavior in the Conflict Situation

**Nana Guram Burduli, Institute of Psychology named by D. Uznadze*

[Panel] 2B Changing Cognitions and Practices as Strategies of Peace Building

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Much of the conflict in the world today appears to arise in multi-ethnic societies. Within Georgia there are various nationalities and ethnic groups. It was interesting to investigate the relations between majority (Georgians) and minority (Russians) groups living in Georgia. The aim of the research was to study and clarify the connection of Extremeness-Moderateness of Attitude and features of personality and strategies of behavior in the conflict situation. We used the following measures: The scale of attitudes toward other ethnic and national groups based on Thurstone method; the modification of Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument and the scales of estimate according Dembo-Rubinstein. There were established that the extreme and moderate attitudes towards nations are definitely connected to the self-estimate of a personality, to the national identity—the estimate of one's own nation, to the estimate of the other nation and to the strategies of behavior in the conflict situation. Namely, it was found out, that the Georgians with the moderate attitudes towards the own nation and the Russians are feeling themselves less happy and firm; They consider Georgians more conflicting nation and the Russians—warmer, emotional nation, than the Georgians with the extremely positive and negative attitudes. These moderate Georgians reveal higher tendency of avoidance in the conflict situation with the Russians, than those having extremely positive and negative attitudes. The Georgians with the moderate positions only towards Russians are characterized with higher tendency of compromise, than the Georgians with the extremely positive or with the extremely negative attitudes.

Face for Victory: Ratings of Losers' and Winner's Faces at zero acquaintance

Claus Christian Carbon, University of Vienna

Andreas Olbrich-Baumann, University of Vienna, Austria

**Stefan Binder, University of Vienna*

[Panel] 3I Successful Politicians: From theories of Plato, Machiavelli, Weber to empirical findings of today

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

In the past ten years some scholars postulated that the facial appearance does matter for electoral decision processes (e.g. Riggle, 1992, Todorov, 2005, Little, 2007). They presented their participants photos of politicians, which have to be rated on e.g. competency and attractiveness. Most of these studies used well known politicians (presidents, chancellors, prime ministers). Although many scholars asked their participants if they know the persons, it seems very unlikely that they have not seen them before. Because of these shortcomings we conducted a study with unknown politicians for our participants. (the politicians come from another federal state of Austria than the participants). 61 subjects rated 36 pairs of politicians (the winner and the loser), who were running for election in different villages and cities in Burgenland, Austria, a half year ago on the scales attractiveness, competency, leadership, intelligence, sympathy, charisma, honesty, considerate. The subjects were not aware which politician was the winner of the election. Results: The winners were rated more intelligent, charismatic, competent, and had more leadership. The losers were rated more honest, considerate and likeable. There was no difference in the attractiveness ratings.

Factors influencing Participation in Collective Action: An analysis based on students and immigrants in Greece

Katerina Goula, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences

**Xenia Chrysochoou, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences*

Electra Diakolambrianou, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences

Myrto Kakkou, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences; Sandra Marinou, Panteion University of Social and

Political Sciences

Dimitris Barkas, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences; Artemis Griva, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences

[Panel] 8G Multiple identities, Political Trust and Political Participation amongst Young People from Different Ethnic Origins in Europe

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

This paper aims to investigate factors influencing the intention to participate as well as actual participation in political actions of protest. Based on the theoretical models of Simon et al. 1998, Simon and Klandermans 2001, we hypothesize that perceptions of effectiveness of particular actions, identification with the social categories and identification with the activists are the main factors influencing both intention and actual participation. Two studies are presented. The first study concerns students (N=85) during a period of protest (spring 2006) and the second immigrants (N= 85) in Greece. Factor analysis showed 4 main categories of actions: traditional unionism, radical actions, collection of signatures and participation in NGOs (for students) or in immigrant organizations (for migrants). A series of regressions revealed that perceived effectiveness of the particular actions is, in both samples, an important factor for explaining intention and participation. However, there are also important differences. In the case of students, the main factor is identification with the activists both in terms of intention and participation, whereas for immigrants this factor plays only a role in the intention to participate in radical actions or actions of unionism. Actual participation of immigrants is mainly explained by perceived discrimination and identification with “Greece as a homeland”. Other identifications, including ethnic or student identification, play only a small role. Results and their consequences are discussed in relation to the theoretical frameworks presented. In addition, their political implications are drawn within the Greek political context.

Fair or Efficient Political Decision-Making? Measuring Citizens Process Preferences in Surveys

**Daniela Spranger, University Zurich, IPMZ*

[Panel] 4H Attitudes toward Public Policy

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

This paper focuses on the operationalization of citizens preferences regarding how political decisions should be made. Recent research suggests that process preferences are a relevant predictor of the confidence that citizens have in political institutions. In line, other studies built on discrepancy theory from cognitive psychology and argue that the relationship between preferences and perceptions explains variances in confidence levels. Survey research, so far, has focused on the study of policy preferences; less attention has been paid to the analysis of processes preferences. Hence, there is no standardized scale for the measurement of such preferences. The aim of this paper, thus, is to present the development and validation of a multi-dimensional scale measuring citizens’ process preferences. Based on the literature, a theoretical derived model with 11 items is developed and tested with data from surveys with college students in Germany (n=220) and Switzerland (n=156). The items were evaluated using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in structural equation modeling (SEM). Whereas the first sample (German students) did indicate modification on the model, the second sample (Swiss students) was used to validate the modified model. The results indicate that process preferences consist of two factors with three items each. The factor efficiency includes indicators that relate to the decisiveness of politicians, the role of directive orders, and the complexity of decisions. The factor fairness encompasses variables that relate to the respectfulness of political behavior, the consideration of the views of different groups, and the role of compromise-seeking behavior.

Familism as a form of system justification: A cross-cultural study of the USA and Italy

**Maria Giuseppina Pacilli, Department Istituzioni e Società, University of Perugia*

John Jost, New York University

[Panel] 8I Political Socialization and Participation

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

The present study investigated the relations among “familism,” system justification, and family justification, that is, between familism and the rationalization of the large-scale social system and of the family as a small-scale social system. Familism is a cultural value that describes a strong attachment and loyalty to one’s family; it has been shown to include two main types of value orientations: (a) perceptions of relatives as behavioral referents (family norms), and (b) reliance on relatives for emotional help (family support). Familism as the justification of family norms fits Jost and Banaji’s (1994) definition of system justification insofar as familistic rules apply not only to the family as a system but also to the family

as an institution that is linked to the broader society. In a familistic culture, the norms and traditions of the family are transmitted to the younger generation: this can happen only if people perceive these norms to be fair and legitimate. We hypothesized that the stronger the familism, the greater the tendency to endorse system justification. Two hundred and forty-three students (129 American and 114 Italian) completed a system justification scale, a family justification scale, and a familism scale. As hypothesized, American participants with high system justification scores perceived family norms to be especially strong, but no relationship emerged with respect to the perceived importance of family support. A different pattern emerged in the Italian context, where a stronger perception of family norms was related to a greater tendency to engage in family justification.

Family influence on the democratic orientation of adolescents (Poster)

Marta Miklikowska, Åbo Akademi

**Helena Hurme, Åbo Akademi, Unit of Developmental Psychology*

[Panel] 8P Poster Session: Democracy and Civic Development

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Democracy must ensure that new generations of citizens identify with the common good and become engaged members of communities. Recent studies point to the increasing materialism, declining participation and social trust among contemporary adolescents. Therefore it is of interest to examine youth's civic and political orientations and their developmental antecedents. Adolescence is a period when youths become aware of their place in the society, develop values and begin to take stands on issues. In order to understand development of their attitudes and engagement the personal experiences in which their ideas are rooted should be examined. Research has indicated the family as an important context for political development. Family values are proved to be the foundation for youths' political views and the society they will create. Democratic family climate, based on the family members' cooperation and respect of each other's rights, makes adolescents more attentive to the feelings and perspectives of others. It is also suggested that social trust is a value youth learn from their families. We would like to further advance these suggestions concerning family influence on adolescents' political development by examining a hypothesized link between family democracy and democratic orientation of youths. We expect a higher pro democratic orientation and more engaged vision of citizenship among adolescents from democratic functioning families. Both adolescents (16-17 year olds) and their parents are going to participate in the study by filling in the questionnaire. Initial results from the pilot study in April will be presented on the poster.

Fear of Crime as a Moderator of Authoritarian Attitudes

**Gareth Norris, Department of Law and Criminology, Aberystwyth University (UK)*

[Panel] 2N New Developments in Authoritarianism Research IV: Threat and Authoritarianism

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Levels of authoritarianism have been shown to be related to real or perceived threat, for example, from terrorism or economic hardship. There is already a large body of literature which suggest that fear of crime is a reflection of a range of personality and demographic characteristics, of which authoritarianism might feature as a correlate. This study examines this potential relationship in relation to crime and, more specifically, how fear of crime could impact upon levels of authoritarianism. In condition 1, participants completed a shortened version of Altemeyer's RWA scale and provided some additional demographic information. Condition 2 divided the sample into two groups matched as closely as possible for age, gender, education level and socio-economic status. Group A watched a short video clip showing images of criminal activity with subtitles indicating that crime was rising out of control, whereas group B viewed the same clip but with textual information suggesting that crime was under control and rates were falling. Both groups then completed the same authoritarianism measure and scores were collated. A control group also completed both questionnaires but without any visual material. Results discuss the way in which authoritarianism is influenced by perceived levels of crime and the importance for this construct in relation to fear of crime more generally.

Feeling Different: Racial Group-Based Emotional Response to Political Events

**Tasha Philpot, University of Texas at Austin*

**Ismail White*

[Panel] 2E Emotions and Intergroup Attitudes

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The racial divide in American politics is a large and enduring one. To be sure, attitudes about race can determine which policies, parties, and candidates get supported by American voters. Why do these racial divisions persist? Previous research on the racial divide has identified material interests, sympathy and resentment toward social groups, political principles and audience as sources of the racial divide. But how do these factors get actualized? What are the causal mechanisms that link things like social group and self-interests to political evaluations? We attempt to address these questions in the current project by illustrating how emotions moderate the connection between race and politics. We argue that political events that highlight and exacerbate racial group differences will yield divergent emotional responses. Consequently, these responses drive black-white differences in support for policies and political officials.

Fight or Negotiate? Effects on Public Support for Military Versus Diplomatic Conflict Resolution Strategies

**Bernhard Leidner, New School for Social Research, New York City*

Patricia Natally Slawuta, New School for Social Research, New York City

Jeremy Ginges, New School for Social Research

[Panel] 5A Policy and Opinion Formation

[Section] Political Communication

Based on research on decision making (Hsee, 1996; Kahnemann, 2003) we investigated the impact of question mode on support for military versus diplomatic strategies to resolve foreign policy crises. In three studies in representative samples from two different countries (Israel, U.S.), we found that preferences against military action in response to minor crises, and preferences for military action in response to severe crises were invariant to evaluation mode. However, as predicted, overestimation effects of support for military conflict resolution strategies emerged in responses to moderate crises: when asked in form of a “yes/no” question, military actions were more popular than diplomatic actions, while diplomatic options were more popular when people were given two alternative strategies. This gives strong evidence to the possibility of misleading results of public opinion polls (when using no alternatives) regarding conflicts and their resolutions. These studies address issues not only important for political psychology, but also important for the fields of political science, sociology, and survey methodology. In a real world context, our findings have important implications for governmental decisions on conflict resolution strategies and the implementation of policies based on public opinion. Possible explanations for the overestimation of support for military force will be discussed.

Fighting the ‘Climate Change Election’: A discursive analysis of Australian political rhetoric around climate change

**Tim R Kurz, Murdoch University*

[Panel] 6K Political Rhetoric and political communication

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

The release of the fourth UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report in February 2007 prompted a flood of responses from political leaders around the globe. Perhaps nowhere was this more apparent than in Australia, which (under the incumbent conservative government) had remained one of only two developed nations (along with the USA) not to have ratified the Kyoto Protocol. The release of the IPCC report also coincided with the first sitting week of the Australian Parliament, in an election year. This election would be ultimately won by the opposition Labor Party, with ‘action on climate change’ as one of their key platforms. The current study involves a discursive analysis of climate change rhetoric produced by politicians from the major Australian political parties in the period between the release of the IPCC and the November 2007 Federal Election. Data include both transcripts of parliamentary debate and statements directly broadcast in the media. The analysis focuses on the various ways in which the issue of climate change was invoked and rhetorically managed by each of the two parties in the lead up to the election. In particular, it focuses on the extent to which this issue represented something of a difficult ideological dilemma for both sides of politics, with both parties needing to strategically manage their positions with regards to discourses of ‘national interest’ and ‘economic management’. Implications will be discussed in terms of the potential roles that global environmental issues may play in ‘electioneering’, at national levels, in coming years.

Focusing on commonalities: how Appreciative Inquiry fosters the human potential for peace (Poster)

**Sabina E Nasser*

[Panel] 10P Poster Session: New Developments

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is an emerging subfield of psychology that focuses on the enhancement of human strengths and qualities as a force for change. In business and organizational settings, where AI has most commonly been used thus far, positive change stems, first and foremost, from the ability to “see the mighty oak in the acorn”. It encourages a shift of perception in organization members articulated by vision, hopes and dreams that lead to transformative positive change in their reality. This paper will explore the potential of the principles of AI in their application to the fields of Peace and Justice and Conflict Resolution. I will begin my analysis by illustrating how, in a world where human survival and wellbeing constantly face both threat and violence, be it physical or structural, helplessness and hopelessness reigns. The psychological effects of such reality can be devastating as demonstrated by recent research that records rates of clinical depression at an all high. AI can be taught to communities with the goal of creating a more positive and optimistic outlook on the world, reversing negative perceptions of perceived threats and enemies; and, by empowering members to work collaboratively for the common goals of peace and justice.

Foundations and Trends of Brazilian Political Psychology

**Cornelis Johannes van Stralen, Brazilian Association of Political Psychology/ Federal University of Minas Gerais
Robson Nascimento da Cruz, Federal University of Minas Gerais*

[Panel] 10C New Directions in Political Psychology and Its Relation to Other Fields

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

In Brazil, there is an increasing interest in political psychology, as witnessed by the foundation of the Brazilian Association of Political Psychology and its Journal *Psicologia Política* in 2001, as well as by the efforts to start a Latin American Summer Institute of Political Psychology at the Federal University of Minas Gerais. Reviewing the articles published by the journal *Political Psychology*, it seems difficult to characterize Brazilian political psychology as the subjects range from social movements, participatory democracy and gender studies to discussions about psychological practices in health centers. Nevertheless, there is an underlying thread: the concern with social and political transformation. From our viewpoint, this concern is not the outcome of the first meetings on political psychology, hold in the nineties, which privileged political behavior, particularly electoral behavior, and to some extent social movements, but it results from the very roots of Brazilian political psychology. In contrast with Maritza Montero’s viewpoint that the authoritarian military government restrained the development of political psychology, we argue that it opened the door for its emergence, producing a politization of psychology with a focus on “conscientization” and community psychology. The focus on conscientization and community psychology laid the foundations of a political psychology, in several aspects distinct from mainstream political psychology and lacking an institutional dialogue between psychology and political science, but strongly marked by the concern with social and political transformation.

Framing Effects Over Time

**Dennis Chong, Northwestern University
James Druckman, Northwestern University*

[Panel] 5H Framing Opposing Views

[Section] Political Communication

Experimental studies of framing have concentrated on the effect of one-sided communications and paid little attention to competition. In the few studies of competition between frames that have been conducted, researchers have examined the effects of concurrent exposure to competing messages (e.g., Sniderman and Theriault 2004, Chong and Druckman 2007). However, these one-shot studies have not examined framing effects when individuals receive streams of competing messages over time, as they would in an actual political campaign. We found in an earlier study (Chong and Druckman 2007) that communications containing opposing views stimulated individuals to deliberate over alternatives and consider the applicability of contending positions. Individuals in competitive contexts were less likely to be unduly biased by the selective considerations raised in a one-sided communication. But what form must competition take for individuals to benefit from exposure to opposing positions? Must competing positions be juxtaposed in the same communication to allow individuals to compare their merits? Or is it sufficient for individuals to encounter each side’s rationale separately, over the course of the campaign? In short, what role does time play in conditioning the effects of competition and repetition on framing? We explore the effects of competition over time systematically using an experimental design. Our experiment addresses whether the impact of a series of frames depends on whether they are received simultaneously or across time, and whether earlier or later frames are more effective in moving opinion? We also analyze how knowledge

and information processing styles moderate framing effects.

Framing Organizational Change: The NGO Leader's Perception

**Lorena Vinuela, Department of Political Science, Syracuse University*

[Panel] 9R Bridging Disciplines and Methods: The Contributions of Transnational NGO Governance and Leadership Studies to Political Psychology (Roundtable)

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

This presentation examines NGO leaders' framing of organizational structural changes for various impacts.

Framing and the acceptance vs. rejection of Gender Equality: Social representations and normative regulations

**Jose Francisco Valencia, University of the Basque Country*

[Panel] 2W Representing Gender: Implications for Political Cognitions and Actions

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The analysis of the central and peripheral elements of social representations has not been until recently (Sibley et al 2006) related to the theories of framing (Tversky & Kahneman, 1984; Iyengar 1991). In the area of gender equality, Quattrone & Tversky (1988) found (studies 7 and 8) that the Equal Rights Amendment was differently accepted when presented to “eliminate discrimination” than to “improve the rights of women”. In the two studies presented here the role of the core and peripheral elements of the social representations are analyzed in function of both a) the induction of implication of the self vs. not implication and b) the restorative versus equalitarian framing of the message (to eliminate discrimination vs. implementing equality) in case of the Law of Gender Equality in Spain. The first study, manipulating the context normal (you your-self) versus substitution (society in general), produced a differential acceptance of the law in general: higher acceptance in the normal condition and lower in the substitution one. The second study, adding the condition of framing—restorative vs. equalitarian—found that the framing did not influence the acceptance of the general aspects of the law, but it does, however, in the specific aspect. Finally, the pertinence and relevance of the theory of Social Representations to explain the different logics that the meta-system induces in the cognitive operations are discussed as well as their implications to the implementation of the Law of Gender Equality in Spain.

French Suburbs Riots of Fall 2005: The Impact of News on Rome University Students (Poster)

Gilda Sensales, Dip. 38, Faculty of Psychology 2, Sapienza University of Rome

**Angela Angelastro, Sapienza University of Rome, Department of Social and Developmental Psychology*

Alessandra Areni, University of Rome

[Panel] 5P Poster Session Political Communication

[Section] Political Communication

Theoretical approach of this research belongs to the tradition of Social Representations. Following recent evidences in SR literature—focused on the use of free associations in experimental studies—this study explored the role played, in the political communication performed by the mass media (i.e., the press), by identity labels and causal attributions on short-term memorability and on different politics and collective action representations, the hypotheses being: Left-wing forget denigratory identity labels and allows ideological causal attributions; Right-wing recall better denigratory identity labels. Data were collected using a questionnaire prefaced by a news agency where both identity labels referred to the actors of the riots (categorical vs. denigratory), and the causal attributions used to explain the reasons of the riots (individual, descriptive vs. political, abstract) were manipulated. Four versions of the questionnaire were so obtained (corresponding to the 4 experimental conditions), plus a version without the preface (corresponding to the control condition). The questionnaire included the request of 3 free associations raised both by reading the press text (or, for the control condition, just by recalling the event) and by reading 5 stimulus words (i.e., PARTIES, PROTEST, MOVEMENTS, ELECTIONS, POWER). The questionnaires also included the re-transcription of the press text or—for the control condition—free evocation of the news about the riots. Participants consisted in 201 Sapienza University of Rome students. Lexicographic data were analyzed with SPAD-T VOSPEC step to detect typical terms of each of the five groups. Specific lexical productions are discussed in relation to the psychological processes observed.

French terrorism : the clues of a descriptive analysis

**Lorraine Tournay du Clos, Institut national des hautes études de sécurité*

[Panel] 1B Approaches to Terrorism Research
[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Using strength and terror to influence political decisions, terrorism weakens societal balance and leads to specific political responses. Conversely authorities implement policies that impact terrorist activity. These interactions between authorities and terrorism cannot be understood without an in-depth knowledge of actors' strategies and operating modes. Descriptive statistics give concretely additive cases in the debate allowing political decision-makers to discover, confirm or measure existing interactions. This presentation studies multifaceted French terrorism to show how much a simple descriptive approach (using GTD during the last 30 years of the 20th century) is able to enlighten knowledge on existing interactions between terrorism types and geographical areas, between terrorist groups, between terrorism and public policies. It provides a few clues as to reasons behind the mutations and threats France has been subjected to since then. Using time series analysis methods, trends were created using simple descriptive statistics of terrorism over time and place. Through correlation analyses, we compare groups' trends and geographical distribution over time. We also isolate monthly impacts by using a smoothing model with a moving average order of 12 to examine the seasonality of Corsican activity. By using Principal Component Factor Analysis (PCA) we highlight affinities between groups by crossing information regarding operating modes between the principal groups. The results demonstrate that separatist violence is one of the keys themes in French terrorism and that it is highly geographically centralized. Chronologically, the Corsican, terrorist organizations showed trends in seasonality. The Principal Component Analysis (PCA) revealed interesting affinities among the groups.

From Hot Button to Law: Controversy follows a RAND study of Peace-making in WWII

**Helena Meyer-Knapp, The Evergreen State College*

[Panel] 10A Violence, Identity, and Altruism
[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Fifty years ago in August 1958 a hot-button word, "surrender" suddenly surged into congressional debates. Within weeks Congress had passed and Eisenhower signed legislation to outlaw spending Federal money on the study of ways a war might end. Other events converged on Congress at the same time. Less than a year earlier the Cold War had intensified as Soviet success with Sputnik made the US feel backward and vulnerable for the first time. Sen. John Kennedy, in launching his Presidential campaign, chose that moment to make his key speech on "missile gaps," accusing Republicans of being soft on defense. Meanwhile the Arctic transit of the submarine Nautilus demonstrated for all, especially the Soviets, that their northern coastline was no longer fortified against US warships. As military confrontations intensify, talk of peace making can seem unpatriotic or worse. This paper will explore the language and accusations made during the Congressional debates. It will lay out the step by step process by which the impetus for the ban followed the publication of RAND scholar Keckskemeti's book on peace-making in World War II, and it will discuss evidence that the Federal ban had an actual impact on further discussions and research into ways wars come to an end.

From Mothers to Martyrs

**Farhana Ali, RAND Corporation*

[Panel] 1F Perspectives on Contemporary Terrorism
[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Al-Qaeda in Iraq is increasing its efforts to recruit Muslim women to support its operations and its strategic goal in Iraq. The rate at which women in Iraq are chosen to detonate is alarming. These attacks have occurred throughout the country, and symbolize the right of women to defend Iraq; numerous other women have been arrested for supporting terrorist groups. The use of Muslim women by Sunni insurgents linked to al-Qaeda and Shia militias should come as no surprise, even though it is a relatively new tactic. Though the overall number of female bombers is low, as compared to men, male terrorists increasingly recognize that women yield an enormous tactical benefit. Protected by cultural and traditional norms that disallow male security services to search, much less look at, Muslim women, it is no wonder that al-Qaeda and affiliated groups view female suicide bombers as an attractive option to weaken the present Iraqi government and drive out coalition forces. It is this "invisibility" of female bombers in Iraq that poses a grave security concern and makes it difficult for authorities to profile them. So long as the Iraq war continues, more women will be affected by factors such as psychological stress, grief, humiliation, and rage, making them vulnerable to recruitment by terrorist groups. This paper will explore the steady rise of female bombers in Iraq as well as the impact of the war on women as victims of terrorist groups.

From collective experiences to shared interpretations of social antagonisms: A social representational approach to intergroup conflict

**Willem Doise, University of Geneva*

**Guy Elcheroth, University of St Andrews*

[Panel] 1R Toward an integrated understanding of intergroup conflict: Debating the contributions of social identity and social representations approaches (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

In this first position paper (in Roundtable 1R), we will address ten specific issues, with the purpose to propose a comprehensive picture of the contribution of Social Representations Theory (SRT) to the understanding of intergroup conflict: (1) What type of theory is SRT? (heuristic vs. falsifiable...) (2) How central is the problem of intergroup conflict to the formulation of the overall theory? (3) What fundamental psychological motives are assumed by SRT, which are relevant to the understanding of both intergroup conflict and conflict resolution? (4) What kind of relationship does the theory propose between the structural component of intergroup relations and the risk of overt violent conflict? (5) In the perspective of SRT, what place should the analysis of intergroup conflict or conflict resolution give to the framing of these processes by specific collective experiences (i.e. the historical dimension of intergroup relations)? (6) In a SRT perspective, what are the important dimensions of human agency that are critical to the outcome of intergroup conflicts? (7) Does the conceptual perspective of SRT facilitate the construction of a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach to the phenomenon of intergroup conflict? (8) Are there fundamental theoretical incompatibilities between the explanatory frameworks developed by SIT on the one hand and SRT on the other hand? (9) What can researchers studying intergroup conflict in a SIT perspective learn from SRT? (10) What can researchers studying intergroup conflict in a SRT perspective learn from SIT? Taking the original formulation of the theory by Serge Moscovici as a starting point, we will point out some key conceptual and empirical developments throughout the research literature that it has inspired for almost half of a century. Seeing SRT as a complement rather than an alternative to a social identity approach to intergroup conflict, we will notably argue that shared norms and values are constitutive elements of group identities, that these identities become part of social reality throughout temporally and spatially located collective experiences, and that, therefore, SRT offers a series of relevant heuristic tools for studying the social construction (by both violent and non-violent means) of shared identities and structuring antagonisms.

Fromm's concept of social character revisited and applied

**Gerd Johann Michael Meyer, University of Tuebingen, Institute of Political Science, Germany*

[Panel] 10E New Perspectives on Agency and Culture in Political Psychology

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

In an empirical study we used Erich Fromm's concepts of social character and productiveness to study the relationship between the formative forces of (post-)modern society and personality structures. Fromm (1900-1980) described the dynamics and the result of this relationship by the concept of "social character". He combined revised Freudian psychoanalysis with a critical, mainly Marxist analysis of capitalism. His interest was to study the mechanisms of alienation in order to pave the way for a more productive life in radically transformed social and political structures in modern societies. The research team, i.e. a team of four social scientists from various disciplines (political/social psychology, sociology, psychotherapy) combined this approach with contemporary studies on changing social milieus. In particular, we wanted to find out *how we can use Fromm's concepts and where they needed some "updating"; *whether there is a new type of (post-) modern personality structure; and *what kind of (non-)productiveness we can observe today. Well aware of some methodological limitations, we developed three new scales for the empirical study on what we called the emerging "postmodern I am me orientation". The representative survey was carried out in Germany in June 2005. Gerd Meyer will (1) discuss critically Fromm's concept of social character and (2) present some empirical findings on "modern productiveness". Rolf Frankenberger will present the concept, the scales and major empirical findings of our field study. He will also discuss the relevance of the results for politics in advanced industrial societies. (cf. Rolf Frankenberger/Gerd Meyer: Postmoderne und Persönlichkeit. Theorie - Empirie - Perspektiven (Postmodern society and personality. Theory, empirical research, perspectives) Nomos Verlag/Publ.s Baden-Baden 2008)

Future scenarios; a key to young people's civic engagement?

**Helen Haste, University of Bath*
Amy Hogan, University of Bath
[Panel] 8K Youth, Civic Engagement, and Democratic Participation
[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Several researchers have argued that perceptions of the future reflect a general positive or negative perspective of the democratic process. Four scenarios recur in data; the future is little different from the present, the future will be worse than the present, the future will be a great improvement due to technological innovations especially for health and the environment, the future will be a great improvement because people will have learned how to cooperate and avoid disputes. It is argued that such scenarios affect motivation for civic engagement, and are an organising element in civic and ethical values. Data from the author's earlier research on the peace movements also found a relationship between different scenarios, types of affect, and action responses to perceived nuclear threat. This paper reports data from 1136 British young people aged 11-21. Quantitative material explores the relationship between responses to the four different future scenarios, a range of value items relating to ethical and civic issues, sense of personal efficacy and responsibility, and recent and projected future civic activities. Qualitative material demonstrates the patterns of perceptions of the future and the dominant preoccupations; gender and age effects are discussed. The findings demonstrate a relationship between perceptions of future scenarios, trust, and efficacy, mediated by whether respondents report being frequently upset by events in the news. There are gender effects; females show greater interest in health issues, and males in technological issues. The paper will discuss the implications of these data for discourses around optimism and pessimism, and the extent to which civic engagement and moral responsibility are responses to difference discourses.

Gender Reinforcing vs Gender Bending: The Effects of Gender-based communication

**Monica C Schneider, Miami University of Ohio*
[Panel] 5F Gender
[Section] Political Communication

How does a candidate's gender affect voters? Prior research on the effects of gender (e.g., Shapiro 1982; Huddy and Terklidsen 1993) fails to take into consideration campaign rhetoric that strategically attempts to persuade and prime voters. Yet, advances in technology give candidates new opportunities for approaches to marketing themselves in political campaigns. In particular, gender takes on a different role in the modern campaign because candidates make use of their gender strategically by employing the following types of rhetoric: issues commonly stereotyped as areas where a male or female candidate is competent, personality characteristics typical of men or women, and endorsements from women's or men's groups. In this way, candidates use strategies congruent with their own gender identity to reinforce voters' expectations or candidates use strategies incongruent with their gender identity to bend gender stereotypes. I have found evidence of the use of these techniques in both candidate websites and direct mail (Schneider 2007). A theory of campaign strategy predicts that candidates do best by emphasizing issues consistent with pre-existing stereotypes (Petrocik 1996). However, stereotyping theories from psychology are inconclusive as to how voters' stereotypes will change as a female candidate pursues rhetoric incongruent with her gender (Brewer 1988; Fiske and Neuberg 1990; Kunda and Thagard 1996). Thus, to answer the question of how gender-based strategies influence voters, I conduct an original experiment using a fictional female candidate. Participants saw and evaluated my candidate's website, which varied according to her party and gender-based rhetoric. The experiment allows me to examine how strategies affect voter evaluations and trait perceptions. My results suggest that candidate rhetoric which reinforces current stereotypes is particularly persuasive to voters. Inconsistent rhetoric is less persuasive and sometimes damaging to the areas where female candidates traditionally succeed. This study is one of the first to offer a detailed look at gender-based strategies in a new technology era. As more women who defy traditional stereotypes run for office, gender may become a more ambiguous cue than in the past; thus, this research will lead to a better understanding of how gender impacts elections.

Gender and Candidate Information Processing

**David Redlawsk, University of Iowa*
Richard Lau, Rutgers University
[Panel] 7A Decision Making Processes
[Section] Political Decision Making

This study examines the roles gender of candidates and gender of voters play in how voter search for and process information about candidates. Using dynamic process tracing to simulate a presidential election campaign we find that

candidate gender is another piece of information to be accounted for by the voter during the information acquisition process. Obviously it is a potentially critical piece of information—in an environment where women are not routinely thought of as candidates for high office, voters encountering female candidates are likely to respond to this information. What we find is that these responses are clearly delineated in the information search process—that is, information search is different for female candidates, compared to male candidates, especially female candidates from the out-party. These differences, even small ones, lead to potentially differing levels of familiarity with male versus female candidates, as well as different on-line evaluations and memories. Candidate gender, potentially interacting with voter gender, may drive differential information search patterns, but once those patterns are taken into account there are no direct effects of candidate gender on evaluation or the vote itself.

Gender and Political Discussion Networks

**Erin Cassese, West Virginia University*

[Panel] 5F Gender

[Section] Political Communication

The gender gap in many forms of political participation began to narrow in the 1980s. In some cases, such as voting in national elections, the gender gap has even reversed—with women voting at higher rates than men. Proponents of resource theories of political participation attribute this change to greater gender equity in educational attainment, income, and professional status. Yet, it is puzzling that while women have become more politically active, average levels of political interest, political knowledge, and political efficacy among women still lag behind those reported by men. Several theories have been put forth to explain persistent gender differences in these areas. Some suggest gendered patterns of childhood socialization depress women's political engagement. Others contend men and women are typically embedded in qualitatively different social networks by virtue of diverging social and occupational roles. Recent work on social networks—particularly political discussion networks—points to the importance of interpersonal communication on opinion formation and opinion change (Huckfeldt, Johnson, and Sprague, 2004; Mutz, 2006). This work demonstrates how the characteristics of political discussion networks—primarily their heterogeneity—impact mass opinion. However, little attention has been paid to whether network characteristics vary systematically as a function of gender or whether the impact of these networks extend beyond mass opinion—influencing factors such as knowledge, interest, and efficacy. Here, I evaluate whether women are embedded in 'impoverished' political discussion networks and consider whether differences in these networks account for the persistent gender gap observed in political knowledge, interest, and efficacy. Employing data from 2000 and 2006 National Election Studies, I find evidence of significant gender differences in political discussion networks. I also examine the manner in which network characteristics mediate the effects of gender on political knowledge, interest, and efficacy. The results suggest network properties account for a significant portion of the gender gap in these constructs. Beyond this, the characteristics of discussion networks contributing to knowledge, interest, and efficacy tend to differ as a function of gender. For instance, heterogeneity in the partisan composition of networks depresses efficacy, knowledge, and interest among men but has virtually no effect on women. Ultimately, the results make an interesting contribution to the growing literature on political discussion networks.

Gender and War Support: An Experimental Investigation

**Mary-Kate Lizotte, Stony Brook University*

[Panel] 4F Women and Politics

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Gender is an important source of influence on foreign policy attitudes, but has received less research attention than it deserves. Public opinion research shows that gender differences on support for the use of force average around 8 percent and are twice the size of differences on non-force issues (Shapiro and Mahajan, 1986). Evidence shows that the gap has hovered around seven to nine percentage points in response to World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War (Brandes, 1992; Shapiro and Mahajan, 1986). Similar findings have also been found in public opinion on recent conflicts such as the Gulf War (Bendyna et al, 1996; Conover and Sapiro, 1993) and the military campaign in Afghanistan (Huddy et al, 2005). The existence of a large and persistent gender difference in support of the use of military force thus arouses considerable interest. Work on public opinion and support for military interventions has found that the context surrounding the call for force is the most important determinant of public support. Using experimental methods, I look at how context affects the gender gap as well as investigate the gap's origins. I examine two previously tested explanations including feminist consciousness as well as economic and political marginalization. In addition, I test a promising and previously untested explanation for the gap, personality; specifically I test the explanatory power of three subcomponents of the Big

Five Personality Traits including empathy, dominance, and anxiety.

Gender differences in political role satisfaction among German legislators

**Verona Christmas-Best, University of Jena*

[Panel] 3C Age and Gender Issues in Leadership

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The latter part of the 20th century witnessed major developments in the numbers of women elected to national legislatures and as such engendered a great deal of research focussing on the question of gender parity and on factors supporting or hindering developments to that end. This paper starts from the observation that, although women in Germany have been increasingly successful at being elected, in West Germany, female political careers seem to be significantly shorter than those of their male counterparts. Therefore, assuming that political role satisfaction (PRS) is an important factor in political career stability, this paper investigates gender differences between reported levels of PRS and career stability among German legislators. The study uses data from the 2003/2004 wave of the Jena Parliamentary Study, which contains about 1500 interviews with active and former members of the German Bundestag and various Länder parliaments: for the present paper, only data from active legislators are used (n=936). The relation between PRS and career stability can be studied because the 2003/2004 data are supported by information about legislators' candidatures and electoral success in subsequent elections. In addition to gender differences, the study considers the possible relationship between PRS and East/West differences in socialisation, particularly with regard to gender-role attitudes and political experiences, prior to German reunification. The association between level of PRS, party affiliation, and psychosocial factors such as ambition, fulfilment, and efficacy, is also investigated.

Gender differences in the self presentation of politicians

**Martina Zandonella, University of Vienna, Faculty of Psychology, Department of Psychological Basic Research, Social Psychology*

[Panel] 5F Gender

[Section] Political Communication

One main part of our research project on the self presentation of Austrian politicians was to examine gender differences. The first approach focused on the differences between men and women in answering the Self Presentation Tactics Scale we have developed. In a further step we then compared those findings with the results of a content analysis of their speeches. The Self Presentation Tactics Scale includes 16 self presentation tactics, based on the theory of Laux & Schütz (1996) concerning the self presentation of politicians. Statistical analysis show that these 16 tactics can be subsumed to the 3 factors positive- (39.52% of total variance, $\alpha = .94$), negative- (17.88% of total variance, $\alpha = .63$) and protective self presentation (15.48% of total variance, $\alpha = .78$). The scale was therefore answered by 86 Members of Austrian Parliament, 45 men and 41 women. As far as gender differences are concerned, the tactics I'm your man and supplication are reported to be used significantly more often by women than by men, while the tactics denial and intimidation are reported to be used significantly more often by men than by women. In addition we conducted content analysis of all speeches, the 86 participating politicians made in parliament during a one year session-period. The speeches were analysed in terms of appearance and frequency regarding the 16 self presentation tactics, and these findings were then compared with those of the self reports given in the Self Presentation Tactics Scale. Regarding gender differences, the results show that women actually use the tactic supplication significantly more often than men do. This is not only consistent with their self reports on the scale, but also with current gender stereotypes, according to which women (compared to men) are more allowed (and expected) to ask for help and to share responsibility. Interestingly, in every other self presentation tactic women and men do not differ in their actual frequency of use.

Gender, power, and meat consumption: Vegetarian political identity in a cross-national survey

**Keith Rozendal, California State University-Channel Islands*

[Panel] 6L Gender, power and discourses

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Individuals voluntarily restricting their consumption of meat for health, moral, or environmental reasons are a significant (6 to 30 million in the U.S.) and distinct social category deserving scientific study. Nearly universally across cultures and societies, meat is symbolically tied to wealth, power, political coalitions, and dominance (Patton, 2005; Spencer, 2004),

and consistent with this association, vegetarians in the U.S. hold social and political attitudes consistent with low authoritarianism and low social dominance orientation—even after controlling for their reliably liberal political views (Allen, et al., 2000; Allen & Baines, 2002; Rozendal, 2007). Ethically or morally motivated vegetarianism is a political identity that women adopt at nearly double the rate of men (Kalof, et al., 1999), and this may be related to the way in which masculinity and other gender roles are also nearly universally involved and expressed through the rituals of meat production, preparation, and consumption (Adams, 2000; Dahlberg, 1981; Fiddes, 1992). The current study replicates many of these quasi-experimental findings in data gathered in 20 other nations by the International Social Survey Program supporting several hypotheses generated after a previous analysis of U.S. General Social Survey data (Rozendal, 2007). Discussion focuses on preliminary statements of a social and political psychology of vegetarianism and proposes survey and experimental studies to test hypotheses derived from the provisional theory.

Globalisation, Protest, and Democracy: Trade Justice Movements in Southeast Asia

**Jewellord Tolentino Nem Singh, Lund University*

[Panel] 9A Globalization, Change, and Resistance

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

What is the relationship between globalisation and social protests against WTO? While there is much literature written on the nature of anti-globalisation movements, few studies have focused on the specific conditions brought about by globalisation that leads to protests. Using the anti-WTO campaigns in 2003 and 2005, the paper looks at how neoliberal globalisation has shaped resistance in Southeast Asia, particularly activism in the Philippines and Thailand. It argues that globalisation both as a process and as an ideological apparatus signify important constructions of ideas among activists that translate to concrete campaigns. Furthermore, social protests have various implications to democracy, whether in the national political environment upon which activism is embedded or in the everyday operations of social movements where internal democracy is being practiced. The paper is structured in three steps. First, it maps out the nature of framing—the construction of goals, strategies and motivations within social movements—in Southeast Asian anti-free trade movements to illustrate the “real” and “perceived” impacts of globalisation to social mobilization. Second, it demonstrates the competing conceptualisation of development between states committed to the market model and activists using global social justice frame. It posits that the unique position of Southeast Asia in the global economy prevents the spread of systematic protests against WTO and free trade, therefore, making the social justice frame resonate less in public and policy-making circles. Finally, the paper draws upon some of the implications of social protests against neoliberalism to democracy in Asian contexts. If indeed Southeast Asia’s limited democratisation is not conducive to activism, how do activists working on anti-globalisation promote democracy? Overall, the paper contributes in integrating social movements theories and globalisation studies in the analysis of global justice movements.

Group Effects and Deliberation: The Deliberative Justice Experiment

**Christopher Karpowitz, Brigham Young University*

Tali Mendelberg, Princeton University

Lisa Argyle, Brigham Young University

[Panel] 4I Democratic Deliberation

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Deliberation is touted as a remedy for democracy’s ills, but to date, no systematic study containing sufficient numbers of groups has been conducted on the group-level characteristics that promote deliberative discussion. Our approach to deliberation holds that groups and group-level processes are central to understanding deliberative dynamics and outcomes: the group is a necessary and defining feature of deliberative interaction. In previous work, we found tantalizing evidence that group-level factors such as the group’s gender composition and its decision rule substantially shape the nature of the discussion as well as group and individual outcomes. These preliminary findings were limited, though, because the data were collected for another purpose and did not include all the features needed for a full test of our hypotheses. The present paper reports the results of a major new research effort, the Deliberative Justice Experiment, that remedies the shortcomings of our pilot study results. The current study includes a fully random process for assigning individuals to group conditions, and it includes a dramatically expanded number of groups—approximately 112 in total (560 individual participants), with experimental sessions divided between locations in Utah and New Jersey. Because participants in the present study are asked many more questions about themselves, their worldviews, and their attitudes towards their group’s discussion, we are also able to control for an increased number of other factors that may influence group-level deliberative processes. In short, the Deliberative Justice Experiment represents the first rigorous experimental investigation of group-

level processes on deliberation and its outcomes.

Group Interests and Voting Behavior in U.S. Urban Elections

**Thomas M. Holbrook, UW-Milwaukee*

**Kathleen Dolan, UW-Milwaukee*

[Panel] 4E Group Identity and the Vote

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

This paper utilizes a new survey-based data set of 2300 respondents from thirteen different U.S. cities holding mayoral elections in 2007. The focus of the paper is on the intersection of group identity and group interests in voting behavior in U.S. cities. Separate batteries of questions tapping group identity and perceived likelihood of candidates representing group interests are combined to explore this complex relationship. In the context of a broader model of voting behavior the group-based question help us gain a more thorough understanding of the urban voter.

Hate Speech American Style

**Neal Rosenberg, Zachor Society, Inc*

[Panel] 5K Hateful Words: Is it Free Speech or Free Advertising?

[Section] Political Communication

The United States Supreme Court is the final arbitrator of individual case law which interprets and elaborates the constitutional protections regarding the “free speech” provisions of the First Amendment of the United States Constitution. The case of *Whitney v California* 274 US 357 (1929) sets out the court’s rationale for free speech. This paper will present the American perspective and First Amendment Rights in the context of growing hate speech transmission in a global network.

Hate Speech In The United Kingdom

**Maggi Eastwood, Edge Hill University*

[Panel] 5K Hateful Words: Is it Free Speech or Free Advertising?

[Section] Political Communication

To regulate hate speech, the United Kingdom has drawn upon Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR). The ECHR principles are now incorporated into law by the Human Rights Act 1998 (HRA). It exists where statute or common law rules have no restriction. In the UK, there have always been some limits to freedom of expression contained within legislation against libel and incitement to violence. Prior to the adoption of the HRA, courts in the UK had addressed restricted speech via common and case law. This suggests that there never was absolute ‘freedom of speech.’

Hegemony, Ideology and the Politics of Fear in Divided Societies (Poster)

**Herbert Preiss, Department of Political Science, Vienna School of Governance, University of Vienna*

[Panel] 9P Poster Session: International Relations

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

This paper analyses the significance of ideology and fear in conflict-ridden societies with regard to their impact on democratic conflict resolution. As will be shown, the particular meaning and significance of ideology and fear in societies whose members are deeply divided by conflicting national allegiances challenge the ability of both identity-based and materialist approaches to explore the causal processes at work in conflict scenarios. Based on the analyses of three case studies—Northern Ireland, the Basque Country and the Kosovo—it is claimed that a striking feature of conflicts in divided societies is that inter-group conflict is most intense and violent between those who are particularly deprived in terms of access to, and possession of vital socio-economic resources, and who belong to the lower working classes. The particular concentration of inter-group conflict in working class areas highlights the interrelatedness and interdependency between national identity and material inequality. Therefore, as it is argued, both issues—and their interrelations and manifestations—need to be analysed to explore the potential for democratic conflict resolution. Depending on their actual position in the struggle for political power, the ruling political elites of the rival nationalist camps strive for creating and maintaining a hegemonic or counter-hegemonic system, in which ideology and fear play a substantial role. Drawing on a

neo-Gramscian approach to hegemony, Levy's conception of 'the multiculturalism of fear' and Duckitt's cognitive-motivational model of ideology and prejudice the paper argues that the interrelations between national and socio-economic issues are 'instrumentalised' by the nationalist elites. Furthermore, the underlying processes that maintain the national divisions of the working classes are fundamentally defined through the dominant, fear-based elite ideologies. References Duckitt, J. (2003) Prejudice and Intergroup Hostility, in Sears, D.O., Huddy, L. & R. Jervis (2003) Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology. New York: Oxford University Press. Gramsci, A. (2000) The Antonio Gramsci Reader. Selected Writings 1916-1935. Edited by David Forgacs. New York: New York University Press. Levy, J. (2000) The Multiculturalism of Fear. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hollywood as Method

**Diana Gonzalez*

[Panel] 10J Societal Political Psychology and Everyday Politics

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Use of Film Language and Reception Studies in Societal Political Psychology.

Hot and Bothered: The Relationship between Anxiety about Politics and Increased Partisan Thinking

**Corrie Valentine Hunt, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities*

Damla Ergun, University of Minnesota

[Panel] 7C Emotions, Politics, and Policy

[Section] Political Decision Making

Of all the emotions that can show up in public reactions, campaign rhetoric, and media representations, fear and anxiety represent the most controversial and most commonly discussed emotions (see Mack, 2004). Despite the media attention ravished on fear-mongering politicians and anxiety-provoking political events, political researchers know little about the actual consequences of fear and anxiety on the public. Surprisingly, little or no research in political psychology has investigated the relationship between fear or anxiety on attitude structure. With this paper, we begin to bridge the gap between emotion research and attitude structure by examining how anxiety from different sources (i.e., the political climate or everyday life) relates to the organization of political attitudes. We hypothesize that because anxiety tends to narrow focus to threat-related information (Oatley & Jenkins, 1992) and increase reliance on relevant heuristics (Sengupta & Johar, 2001), anxiety related to politics will increase attitude consistency along party lines. Using data from a survey experiment, we found that when participants reported feeling anxious about politics in general, they showed more evaluative consistency in their written thoughts about their own and the opposing party. These results fit nicely with the functional approach to emotions, which also posits that anxiety directs attention towards threat-related stimuli producing tunnel vision and restricting cue-utilization (Oatley & Jenkins, 1992; Izard, 1993). Implications for research in political psychology, public opinion and the real world are discussed.

How Emotion Mediates the Effect of Party Identification on the Person's Vote in Presidential Elections

**Michael Wilson Gillespie, Department of Sociology, University of Alberta*

[Panel] 4C Cynicism, Emotion, and Voting

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

This paper uses the 1980-2004 versions of the ANES to study the role of emotion in the effect of party identification on a person's vote in US presidential elections. Rather than adopting the usual procedure of dividing the emotion measures into separate dimensions of positive and negative affect, I treat each emotion as a complex measure of two dimensions: the degree of emotional energy aroused by a candidate and the extent to which this energy is positively or negatively valenced towards that candidate. The theoretical antecedents of my position lie in early work in the psychology of emotion and in the current manifestation of this work in "circumplex" approaches to emotion in psychology and sociology. Operationally, my position represents my preference for the unrotated over the rotated representation of the two-dimensional solution that typically emerges in exploratory factor analyses of emotion reports. Empirically, my preference stems, first, from the fact that the valence and arousal dimensions of emotion correspond to valence and arousal components that appear in the person's party identification and his or her vote and, second, from the support provided by the correlations of valence and arousal with criterion variables in the ANES that one can interpret as "pure" measures of either valence or arousal. As well, a comparison of the mean and variance of valence and arousal across the fourteen candidacies in the seven elections

highlights distinctive features of the different campaigns.

How are citizen assemblies perceived and received? (Poster)

**Patrick Fournier, Université de Montréal*

André Blais, Université de Montréal; R. Kenneth Carty, University of British Columbia

Henk van der Kolk, University of Twente; Jonathan Rose, Queen's University

[Panel] 4P Poster Session: Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

For the first time since Athenian democracy, political authorities allocated decisive policy-making power to the people. Recently in British Columbia, the Netherlands, and Ontario, a group of randomly selected citizens was asked to design the next electoral system. Instead of simply voting, sanctioning or being consulted, they had the chance to develop a new political institution. These three citizen assemblies were organized similarly: each unfolded over an almost year-long process where participants learned about electoral systems, consulted the public, deliberated, debated and decided. The three assemblies came up with three different solutions. However, none has yet resulted in electoral reform. The two Canadian proposals were rejected by the public in referenda, while the Dutch recommendation was submitted to cabinet and mostly ignored. This paper analyzes reactions to the unprecedented and exceptional democratic experiments. It deals with how the assemblies and their proposals were received by political actors (governments, political parties, interest groups, media, and citizens). Empirically, it draws on media content analyses and public opinion surveys. First, a content analysis of the quantity and tone of newspaper coverage was conducted in British Columbia and Ontario throughout the assembly proceedings and the referendum campaign. Second, a rolling cross-sectional survey captured the opinions of a random sample of the population of each province during the campaign. We use this evidence to document the views of both elites and masses toward the assemblies and the electoral systems they proposed, and to explain the failure of all three citizen assemblies to get reform implemented.

How can group-based victim consciousness lead to positive rather than destructive intergroup relations?

**Johanna Vollhardt, University of Massachusetts-Amherst*

[Panel] 2H Groups, Discrimination, and Oppression

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Victim beliefs play an important role in violent intergroup conflicts around the world, and pose a clear risk to peace by inciting revenge and legitimizing harmdoing against other groups (e.g., Rouhana & Bar-Tal, 1998; Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003). However, very little research to date has examined the important possibility that victim consciousness may in fact diminish rather than fuel cycles of violence (see Staub, 2003, 2005; Vollhardt & Staub, 2008). I propose that this constructive effect can result from an inclusive form of victim consciousness that acknowledges similarities in the experiences of different groups targeted by ethnopolitical violence. Thus, whereas exclusive victim consciousness may predict revenge and hostility toward the perpetrator group and other victim groups, inclusive victim consciousness is expected to increase prosocial attitudes and behavior towards other groups that endured group-based violence. Two studies are presented that provide preliminary evidence for a proposed model of group-based victim consciousness and examine processes as well as facilitating conditions that can contribute to inclusive victim consciousness. In Study 1, the initial development of a measure of individual differences in victim consciousness (among a diverse sample of groups that experienced ethnopolitical violence in the past) is presented, and the variables that affect the personal salience and construal of ingroup victimization are assessed. In a quasi-experimental study among Vietnamese-Americans, Study 2 tests a potential way of achieving a more inclusive construal of ingroup victimization through a focus on perceived similarities with other victimized groups' experiences.

How existential motives influence reactions to threatened liberty (Poster)

**Carlos Alberto Rivera-García, University of Essex*

Philip J. Cozzolino, University of Essex

[Panel] 8P Poster Session: Democracy and Civic Development

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

A recent model of why individuals adopt certain political ideologies has focused, in part, on the satisfaction of existential motives (Jost et al., 2003). Accordingly, terror management theory (TMT; Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986)

states that fears of death generate existential crises that individuals assuage by adopting ‘cultural worldviews’ and by adhering to dictates of those worldviews; this is typically demonstrated via an experimental manipulation called ‘mortality salience’ (MS). A new perspective suggests that individuals considering mortality in a more specific and individuated manner, via a manipulation called ‘death reflection’ (DR), are less likely to defend worldviews and more likely to pursue paths that promise autonomy (Cozzolino, 2006, 2008). Desires for autonomy as a function of this dual-existential perspective, then, should reflect in reactions to policies that threaten personal freedom. Consequently, we predicted that—to the extent that individuals express pride in their nation’s ideals (i.e., patriotism)—we would observe greater concern for threats to civil liberties among participants in a DR condition, but not an MS condition. Participants (N=90) were exposed to a mock BBC news article that suggested Governmental policies were restricting UK citizens’ liberty; we then assessed the participants’ disapproval of those policies. As predicted, moderated regressions revealed a significant, positive relationship between patriotism and disapproval of the policies among DR participants, not among MS or control participants. We will also present findings with implications for epistemic motives (i.e., need for closure) and for reduced trust in the State as a function of threatened liberty.

How voters combine or mix information strategies: the case of the 2007 French presidential election.

**Thierry Emile Vedel, CEVIPOF, Center for Political Research at Sciences-Po*

**Pascal Marchand, LERASS/University of Toulouse 3*

[Panel] 7E Political Decisions by Voters and Elites

[Section] Political Decision Making

To make political decisions, voters may follow a variety of paths, ranging from the systematic processing of as much information as possible to the application of political framing derived from partisan affiliations to “fast and frugal” decision making (Gigerenzer et al., 2002) to the use of heuristics. While these different strategies have been widely described (see, for instance, Lau & Redlawsk, 2006), we need to study furthermore how, in electoral contexts, they translate into actual practices as well as their impact on voting behavior. How do voters combine different information sources available at election time, including interpersonal conversations and direct contacts with campaign teams? Do “rational voters” and “cognitive” misers exhibit specific patterns of media usage? Can we observe changes in information strategies in the course of a campaign? Finally, do information strategies affect the moment of voting decisions? The aim of this paper is to address these questions based on the case of the 2007 presidential French election. Our analysis will be drawn from the rich data collected all along the campaign by the Center for Political Research at Sciences-po (CEVIPOF), namely the French Political Barometer (4 surveys from March 2006 through Feb 2007 among samples of 5800 individuals), the French Electoral Panel (4 waves from March through June 2007, starting with a sample of 4000 individuals) and a post electoral survey (4000 individuals). These surveys will allow us to analyze more specifically the styles of information processing used by voters all along the campaign and to discuss whether voters may rely alternatively on different strategies as recently found by our Italian colleagues (Baldassari & Schadee, 2005).

Human Rights Education

**Jost Stellmacher, Fachbereich Psychologie, Philipps-Universität Marburg (Germany)*

**Gert Sommer, University of Marburg*

[Panel] Celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Roundtable)

[Section] Other

Human rights have advanced to an important category of peace and international politics in the recent decades. The reference document for human rights is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which emphasizes, among other things, the relevance of human rights education. However, this topic has been largely neglected in empirical research until now. The lack in knowledge of human rights has been shown in several studies. This presentation will discuss effects of human rights education in university seminars on knowledge, attitudes, and commitment concerning human rights. The presented data demonstrate that even short-time human rights education can increase the knowledge of human rights and enhance positive attitudes and commitment concerning human rights. The discussion stresses the importance of further empirical studies on human rights education for a culture of peace.

Human Trafficking, Modern Slavery & Forced Labor

**Claude d’Estrée, University of Denver*

[Panel] 9A Globalization, Change, and Resistance

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

Since the collapse of the Berlin Wall human trafficking, modern slavery and forced labor have been on the rise throughout the world. While chattel slavery was brought to an end in most of the “civilized” world with the demise of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, debt bond slavery and contract slavery began to take its place with little notice from the States, law enforcement, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations. There are more slaves now than at any other time in history. Foremost among the victims of human trafficking are women and girls forced into the commercial sex trade, followed by agricultural slavery and domestic slavery. Individuals and groups at risk are the result of irregular migration due to extreme poverty, internal conflict, natural disaster, and globalization. Victims are kept enslaved through fear, violence and fraud. This paper will discuss the international phenomenon of human trafficking, the various lenses that can be used to analyze it, and report on the partnership between the University of Denver task Force on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking and the International Disaster Psychology Program’s effort to educate the public, law enforcement and legislators and develop therapeutic protocol in the treatment of victims of human trafficking.

Human nature beliefs about values and their influence on the effectiveness of rhetoric

**Paul Bain, Murdoch University*

[Panel] 10B Messages, Meaning, and Content

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Recent research has shown that rhetorical appeals to human values are perceived as more credible when the audience believes those values are more central to human nature. The present research extends these findings by examining whether people’s position on social issues can be influenced by rhetoric using values more central to human nature. For the policy issue of indefinite mandatory detention of asylum seekers, a pilot study identified two values that were rated as similar in personal importance, similar in relevance to the issue, but differing in the extent to which they were believed to be part of human nature: social justice (high human nature), and broadmindedness (low human nature). Participants (n = 102, 65% female) read a newspaper editorial excerpt arguing against indefinite mandatory detention, in which the values used to justify the position were experimentally manipulated. Although those who were already against mandatory detention showed no difference in their position according to value used, those supporting indefinite mandatory detention were significantly less in favor of the position after reading the editorial where the high human nature value was used. This suggests that rhetoric appealing to values believed to be central to human nature can be effective in undermining the position of those with an opposing view on an issue.

Humiliation and the inertia effect

**Jeremy Ginges, New School for Social Research*

[Panel] 1U Israeli-Palestinian Relations

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

We investigated the influence of humiliation on inter-group conflict in three studies of Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza. We demonstrate that experienced humiliation produces an inertia effect; a tendency towards inaction that suppresses rebellious or violent action but which paradoxically also suppresses support for acts of inter-group compromise. In Study 1, Palestinians who felt more humiliated by the Israeli occupation were less likely to support suicide attacks against Israelis. In Study 2, priming Palestinians with a humiliating experience caused fewer expressions of joy when subsequently hearing about suicide attacks. In Study 3, Palestinians who felt more humiliated by peace deals were less likely to support those deals, while Israeli symbolic compromises that decreased feelings of humiliation increased support for the same deals. While the experience of humiliation does not seem to contribute to political violence, it does seem to suppress support for conflict resolution.

Humor in the 2008 American Presidential Campaign

**Michael Alan Krasner, Queens College/Taft Institute*

[Panel] 5L Language, Humor and Power: Analyzing the Politics of Common Expressions

[Section] Political Communication

Drawing on a previously developed model that shows how leaders use humor to defuse threats and promote support by reframing, this paper will attempt to explain why some candidates such as Huckabee were able to use humor effectively

while others, such as Richardson, whose humor appeared equally funny, did not gain political benefits from it.

Identifying Intent and Motivation via Content Analysis: The Case of Aum Shinrikyo

**Marianne Abbott, The MITRE Corporation*

Jill Egeth, The MITRE Corporation

[Panel] 10B Messages, Meaning, and Content

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Our research uses content analysis methods to evaluate texts produced by Aum Shinrikyo, the group that perpetrated the Tokyo subway attack in 1995. We analyze these documents to determine whether we can identify verbal cues that signal intent and motivation to use violence. We have gathered, sampled, and evaluated the major texts produced by Aum in the ten year period (roughly 1986-1995) leading up to this chemical weapons use incident. Since original texts were written in Japanese, we sampled and translated portions of these documents into English. Whenever usable English versions were available, we performed assessments to ensure translation quality. Text assessments follow two content analysis strategies. First, we use coding schemes and typologies that have been developed to identify motives, personality traits, and other verbal behaviors. We supplement these traditional approaches with the introduction of text mining tools that exploit keyword frequency and word co-location information (e.g., Leximancer, LIWC, QDAMiner). We analyze the Aum texts via temporal comparison of the frequencies of words and phrases used to indicate intent and motivation to use violence. Our expectation is that usage of these words and phrases will increase over time, a hypothesis that is supported by our preliminary results. We also investigate whether public and private texts convey different messages vis-à-vis intent and motivation to use violence. Though we do not specify the directionality of this relationship, we expect to find differences in statistical associations between words and violent action in public and private documents.

Identifying allies: Attitudes and actions in cross-identity relationships

**Joan Ostrove, Macalester College*

Gina Oliva, Gallaudet University

Kendrick Brown, Macalester College, Department of Psychology

[Panel] 6Q Changing the political landscape: Personality, attitudes and actions

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

“Cross-identity” or intergroup (e.g., cross-class, cross-race, cross-physical ability, etc.) friendships and alliances can help to illuminate the connections between social systems and individual lives. Studying such relationships necessitates an understanding both of the social structural contexts in which the relationships develop and the qualities of the individuals who navigate them. What facilitates relationships across differences of identity? What do members of non-dominant groups look for in a potential ally from a dominant group? How, in a “world of inequality” (Sennett, 2003), do we build meaningful and effective alliances across differences of social identity? Understanding non-prejudiced attitudes and behavior in any intergroup context is not easy. There is no universal formula for dominant group members to follow that will guarantee being experienced as someone who “gets it” (Gill, 2001, p. 368). Beyond this, particular domains of identity encourage us to conceptualize “allies” in different ways. For example, as Kivel (2002) noted for white people who want to be anti-racist allies, there is no “right way” to be an ally. Effective interaction and alliance building in the disability/deafness context is further complicated by the variability within groups, and by the fact that what one person may find a useful attitude or accommodation may be experienced as condescending or unnecessary by someone else (Ostrove & Crawford, 2006; see Brueggemann, Garland-Thomson, & Kleege, 2005, for a discussion of other apparent contradictions in cross-ability relationships). Drawing on conceptual work on alliance building from a variety of disciplines, and on data from a project about relationships between deaf and hearing people (Ostrove & Oliva) and between people of color and white people (Brown & Ostrove), this presentation will explore the qualities of dominant group members that non-dominant group members identify as particularly desirable and effective for intergroup relationships and social change.

Identity Choice, Immigration and Language

**Jack Citrin, University of California, Berkeley*

David O. Sears, UCLA

[Panel] 6R Political Identity and Political Change

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Immigration and language policies are at the top of multiculturalism's policy agenda. Using LACSS and GSS data, we show how people prioritize their ethnic and national identities affect public opinion on these policies. We also show that this is a domain where black exceptionalism does not appear but that Latino opinions follow a pattern of assimilation with native and foreign-born respondents taking on different perspectives.

Identity Fluidity in the Voting Booth? The role of ethnic group identity and partisanship for Latino Voters

**Victoria Maria DeFrancesco Soto, Northwestern University*

[Panel] 4E Group Identity and the Vote

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Latinos are the largest minority population in the United States and one that continues to grow. A parallel growth has taken place in the electoral arena with Latino elected officials growing over 70% in just one decade, from 1996 to 2006 (NALEO 2005). With the recent advent and increase of both Latino voters and Latino candidates I consider whether ethnic voting will take place. Will ethnic identity rather than partisanship serve as a main predictor of electoral choice? Will the ethnic in-group match be sufficient in determining vote choice? This paper considers whether Latinos prefer co-ethnic candidates and if so, to what degree. I examine how Latinos evaluate co-ethnic candidates—both those who share one's partisanship and who do not. For Latinos, the Latino electoral context may function as a cue that can draw out in-group ethnic identifications and/or bolster present levels of identification. However, in-group identifications are not uniform. As a result, the variance in Latino (in-group) identification must be accounted for. I will test the influence, and more specifically, the moderating effect of the substantive component of Latino identity. In particular, I look at how different dimensions of Latino group identity, together and in isolation, influence the ultimate evaluation of a co-ethnic candidate. I focus on four substantive dimensions of identity: centrality, evaluation, linked fate, behavioral involvement. I use data from an original experiment to examine the role of cued ethnic in-group identity on subsequent political preferences.

Identity, Alterity, Emotion, and Gender in Propaganda : Or How Political Communication Seeks Political Commitment

**Cristian Popescu, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris*

[Panel] 5F Gender

[Section] Political Communication

This empirical paper explores some fundamental features of the complex relationship between political communication and commitment in a communist context. My working hypothesis is that State-controlled and state concerted propaganda in communist Romania attempting to dramatically alter citizens' self-concept did not rely only on content (i. e., ideology), but also form (i. e., pragmatics). In-depth analysis of both is therefore needed indeed in order to better explain how a regime of media monopoly relentlessly and endlessly strives to impact changing identities. The stakes are high without doubt there where identity and the ideal of a "new man" excruciatingly exalted clash; and where alterity goes wrong, terribly wrong, politically and ideologically wrong; and where emotion builds up both; and in the end where gender opens one huge gap in propaganda with man's missing counterpart, and that is: the "new woman". So: what role models are proposed and/or imposed on women in "gender-equal" communist Romania, and how they interact with those that target men; what latent function is devoted to emotion in "scientific-materialistic" State discourse, and how it complements cognition; what villain status is the very essence of alterity in "all people's" Republic propaganda, and how it shapes identity; what possible selves are associated with "disalienated man's" communist identity, and how they cluster with collective selves—these are the questions that I will address progressively throughout this paper, while I will advance a complex comprehensive (metarepresentational) model for discourse analysis.

Ideological Passion in Action: Relating Harmonious and Obsessive Passion to Mainstream and Radical Politics

**Blanka Rip, Université du Québec à Montréal*

Robert J. Vallerand, Université du Québec à Montréal

[Panel] 4B Personality and Politics

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Passion for specific sociopolitical and religious ideologies would appear to energize and direct people's political behavior yet remains an understudied phenomenon. We defined ideological passion as a strong commitment to a loved, valued, and

self-defining sociopolitical or religious ideology in which people invest considerable time and energy. Ideological passion was proposed to operate in two distinct modes: harmonious and obsessive. In both cases, the person feels that the ideology is part of her/his identity. In the case of HP, the cherished ideology coheres with other aspects of the person's life and promotes self-actualization. In the case of OP, the cherished ideology excites and directs the person in uncontrollable ways. In Study 1, HP for a nationalist ideology—the ideal of a sovereign state of Quebec—was found to predict the endorsement of mainstream activism; OP predicted radical activism. Study 2 replicated these findings in the context of passion for a religious ideology and incorporated the role of identity threat into the analysis. In the absence of a salient threat to one's religious identity, HP for Islam predicted advocating intergroup reconciliation and condemning revenge. When the identity threat was made salient, however, HP was associated with disengagement from public dialogue. OP for Islam, in contrast, predicted violent vengefulness whether or not the identity threat was made situationally salient. The ongoing perception of threat to one's identity would appear characteristic of obsessive—not harmonious—passion for an ideology and may account for the relationship between this type of passion and radicalism.

Ideological position and authoritarianism: Evaluating the role of class and education in Chile

**Andres Hays, Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile*

Jorge Manzi, Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile

Carolina Segovia; Roberto Gonzalez, Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile; Hector Carvacho, Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile

[Panel] 2M New Developments in Authoritarianism Research III: Cognitive and Affective Processes

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The paper explores the relationship between ideological position and authoritarianism within Chilean political culture. We tested the hypothesis that authoritarianism decreases with higher education levels in left wingers only. 800 Chilean people were contacted twice, after a 1-year period, and interviewed using similar questionnaires. Participants were differentiated by political preference, educational level, and economic level. Results indicate that authoritarianism, as expected, decreases with higher education levels particularly among left wingers, whereas in right wingers there seems to be no influence of education. Surprisingly, despite the strong association between educational level and economic level, these two factors have independent effects on authoritarianism, being the latter a better predictor. In addition, taking the advantage of the longitudinal design of the study, causal hypotheses concerning the relationship between structural variables and authoritarianism at time two (controlling the effect of the authoritarianism measure at time one) are tested and discussed.

Image Threat, Negative Emotions and Justifying Beliefs as Predictors of Readiness for Collective Action Regarding Occupation

**Eran Halperin, Stanford University, USA and IDC, Israel*

Keren Sharvit, Swiss Center for Conflict Research, Management, and Resolution

[Panel] 1G Psychology of Occupation: Perspectives of the Occupier

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Societies that carry out prolonged occupation of other societies often perform acts of violence that contradict accepted moral norms. Acknowledgement of such acts may pose threats to group members' collective self-esteem and give rise to negative group-based emotions such as guilt, shame and anger at the ingroup, which may motivate group members to act in order to end the occupation. However, we propose that in order to avoid such negative experiences, occupying societies develop shared beliefs that justify the state of occupation, delegitimize the occupied group and portray the ingroup in a highly positive light. By preventing negative experiences, these beliefs undermine group members' readiness to act toward terminating the occupation. To provide support for this proposition, we assessed Israeli Jewish students' acceptance of beliefs that justify Israel's occupation of the Palestinians, then asked them to read a paragraph that described harmful acts by Israelis toward Palestinians during the occupation. One half read a paragraph that threatened their collective self-image by describing the harmful acts as part of an intentional Israeli policy, whereas others read a less threatening paragraph that described the acts as rare exceptions to a general policy of avoiding harm. Within each threat condition, half of the paragraphs attributed the harmful acts to the Israeli nature and culture, whereas the other half attributed them to the difficult circumstances of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. We expected that among individuals who did not accept occupation-justifying beliefs, self-image threat and dispositional attribution would increase negative emotions, which in turn would increase the willingness to act toward ending the occupation, compared to the low-threat and situational attribution conditions. Conversely, acceptance of occupation-justifying beliefs would prevent negative emotions in

response to self-image threat, and consequently diminish the willingness to act. In addition, we expected discrete negative emotions, namely guilt, shame, and anger at the ingroup, to increase the readiness for different types of activities, but only among participants who did not accept occupation-justifying beliefs.

Immigration Attitudes in a Changing Europe

**Eva G. T. Green, University of Lausanne*

[Panel] 6R Political Identity and Political Change

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Immigration is a “hot” political topic in most European countries. Some countries have a long history of immigration, due to a colonial past and labor importing policies, whereas others have remained fairly homogenous until recently. Drawing on social psychological threat and contact theories, this cross-national study using ESS data investigated Europeans’ support for immigration criteria. First, by means of cluster analyses, three groups of individuals with different views concerning the importance of immigration criteria were evidenced: Strict gatekeepers supported the implementation of all immigration criteria (e.g., having an education, commitment to the way of life, being white, being rich), lenient gatekeepers opposed all criteria, whereas individualist gatekeepers supported the implementation of criteria related to individual acquired criteria (e.g., language skills) and opposed ascribed criteria defined by category membership of immigrants (e.g., being white). Next, multilevel regression analyses revealed that among the individual-level predictors, perceived threat had the strongest relationship with acceptance of immigration criteria. The country-level indicators evidenced contrasting results. Low gross domestic product (GDP; high collective threat) and low refugee rate (low collective threat) both predicted approval of ascribed criteria. Cross-level interactions revealed that relationships between perceived threat and approval of acquired immigration criteria were intensified in high GDP and high refugee rate national contexts, suggesting that the relationship between threat perceptions and support for acquired immigration criteria depended on the country context. The results are discussed in terms of different immigration histories and citizenship policies as well as in terms of geographical location.

Implications of Hypodescent for the Assimilation of Asian Americans and “Black Exceptionalism”

**Arnold K. Ho, Harvard University*

James Sidanius, Harvard University

[Panel] 2V Race, Politics, and Society in the US

[Section] Intergroup Relations

In arguing that Asian Americans will readily assimilate to American culture, social scientists note the relatively high rate of intermarriage between Asian Americans and Whites. However, since Asian American females intermarry with Whites at a higher rate than their male counterparts, intermarriage may not be a good index of assimilation for Asian Americans in general, unless children born to Asian-White couples are perceived as either “mixed” or White, rather than as part of the minority group. Historically, the “one drop” rule, or hypodescent, has been used to categorize individuals with any known African American ancestry as Black, for both legal and social purposes. Two studies examine whether such a rule applies to individuals with part-Asian ancestry as well as to part-Black individuals. In both studies, participants were shown family trees in which mixed-race (Asian-White or Black-White) male or female targets were either $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{3}{4}$ Asian or Black, and asked to indicate whether they believed the target was White, minority, or mixed. Study 1, which used verbal labels to reveal racial background, indicates that hypodescent may apply to all mixed-race targets, but more strongly for part-Black targets. Study 2 used photographs to depict racial background, and confirmed findings from Study 1. It further revealed that targets who are $\frac{1}{4}$ Asian might be perceived more as “White” than as “Asian.” Implications for the assimilation of Asian Americans and “Black Exceptionalism” (Sears, Fu, Henry, & Bui, 2003) are discussed.

Implicit Bias, Implicit Closeness, and Explicit Support for Blacks. Representative Survey and Online-Reaction Time Study

**Thomas Craemer, University of Connecticut, Department of Public Policy*

[Panel] 2V Race, Politics, and Society in the US

[Section] Intergroup Relations

When it comes to racial issues, Americans are often suspected of a “split personality” holding different explicit and implicit attitudes. This study goes one step further and suggests that implicit racial attitudes may be split: Implicit word associations

(e.g., Fazio et al. 1995, Greenwald et al. 1998) may betray a culturally shared anti-Black bias, even when people experience an implicit sense of closeness toward Blacks. The study combines a representative RDD-telephone survey (n=1,200) with an online reaction time study (n=1,341) on affirmative action, government aid to Blacks, and reparations for slavery. The telephone survey serves as a baseline for comparison to evaluate the validity of online study. The online study allows comparing explicit racial attitudes to the two types of implicit racial attitudes. Culturally shared implicit word associations are measured using a subliminal priming procedure (Fazio et al. 1995). Implicit closeness to Blacks is conceptualized as cognitive overlap between an individual's self-concept and that individual's mental representation of African Americans as a group. It is measured using a timed self-rating task developed by Aron et al. (1991). The results suggest that implicit closeness toward Blacks plays a powerful and consistent role in predicting support for a broad range of pro-Black policies. In contrast, implicit word associations display a powerful pro-White and anti-Black bias across all racial and ethnic groups. Greater anti-Black word-association bias is associated with greater levels of explicit attitude inconsistency. Political and methodological implications are discussed.

In Huddles of Distress: Psychodynamic Perspectives on Domestic Violence Shelter Workers in Sociopolitical Context

**Robin A. A Robinson, University of Massachusetts Dartmouth*

**Alexia C. Electris, Long Island University*

[Panel] 10D New Developments in Psychoanalysis and Psychodynamic Approaches to Political Psychology

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Domestic violence shelter workers may experience vicarious traumatization--the phenomenon of psychological and somatic symptoms of acute and post-traumatic stress as effects of their close and constant work with those seeking shelter from intimate partner violence. An ethnographic evaluation of a New York-based program of contemplative practices intended to alleviate vicarious traumatization amongst these workers reveals observations and self-reports of feelings of isolation from decision makers in domestic violence and other trauma-related policy, of distance from public discourse and apparent public concern about such abuse and violence. Using psychodynamic theoretical perspectives of attachment and object relations, and grounded in theories and research of trauma psychology, this paper explores the nature and experiences of isolation as expressed by these workers, and speculates about the unconscious distance that policy makers, political actors, and public advocates may create as defense against distress from annihilative fantasies and feelings. The paper suggests how such distance may impact the efficacy of domestic violence shelter workers' efforts to help their clients (and those of other human service workers in work environments that may induce vicarious traumatization). Within a theory-based sociopolitical context, the conclusion suggests policy implications of such a politics-praxis disconnection, and possible remedies toward growth of connections amongst these constituencies.

Incorporating Self-Selection into Experiments to Study Citizen Decision-Making

James H Kuklinski, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

[Panel] 10H Modeling and Measurement in Political Psychology

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

I propose that random assignment experiments alone do not always reveal how the real world works. In particular, such experiments equalize potential selection processes across conditions, which leads the experimenters to ignore them completely. In many cases, however, these selection processes are important phenomena unto themselves, and their consequences can be considerable. Randomly assigning students to public and private schools, if it were possible, would reveal something about the relative educational efficacies of the two school types, but not necessarily what we want to know. For example, by randomly assigning students, we reduce the level of competition that would otherwise exist in private schools and increase the level that would otherwise exist in public schools. I propose using a combination of random assignment experiments and experiments that allow subjects to self-select as a way to determine in what ways and with what impacts selection decisions work in the real world. I view this paper as primarily a proposal to study citizen decision-making from a new angle.

Increasing the effectiveness of student movements by examining Rawls strategies for effective civil disobedience

**Justin Douglas, University of Prince Edward Island*

[Panel] 8F Justice and Moral Reasoning

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

This paper attempts to demonstrate why labor unions are generally more effective at representing laborers than student unions are at representing students. A case study was undertaken in which the policy of the University of Prince Edward Island Faculty Association was compared with the policy of the Student Union of the University of Prince Edward. Next, these policies were compared with John Rawls' conception of an effective procedure for civil disobedience, in his classic work, *A Theory of Justice*. The paper explores the ways in which each uses Rawls' procedure which consists of three stages: 1) Negotiation, 2) Legal Action and 3) Civil Disobedience. It was found that the labor unions, while representing their members, tended to follow Rawls' Civil Disobedience procedure much more closely than the Student Union. Therefore, it was concluded that modern student movements could be much more effective at representing their students if they were to follow the model described in, *A Theory of Justice*.

Individual And Collective Narcissism And Inter-Group Hostility

Agnieszka M Golec de Zavala, Middlesex University

**Aleksandra Cichocka, University of Warsaw*

[Panel] 2U Prejudice: Measurement and Conceptual Issues

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Studies on factors predicting individual aggressiveness indicate a strong relationship between individual narcissism and interpersonal aggression in situations perceived as threat or disrespect (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998). Recent studies indicate that collective narcissism—high but unstable collective self esteem predicts inter-group hostility and aggressiveness (Golec de Zavala et al, 2008). The present studies look at the relationship between individual narcissism and narcissistic group attachment (collective narcissism) and interpersonal and inter-group aggressiveness. The hypotheses are tested that both individual and collective narcissism will be positively but moderately related and that they will predict different forms of aggressiveness: individual narcissism will be related to interpersonal hostility but not to inter-group one and collective narcissism will predict inter-group aggressiveness but not the interpersonal one. The hypotheses are tested in 3 studies. The first, correlational study looks at the relationship in the context of anti-Semitic attitudes in Poland. The second study uses experimental design and looks at inter-group negativity in the context of political parties in Poland. The third study looks at racial prejudice in Great Britain.

Individual Remarks about Ralph White's contributions

**Daniel Bar-Tal, Tel Aviv University*

**Daniel Christie, Ohio State University*

**Richard Wagner, Bates College*

**David Winter, Dept of Psychology*

[Panel] 11R Perceptions, Misperceptions, and Realistic Empathy in Conflict: Ralph White's Legacy (Roundtable)

[Section] Other

Remarks about Ralph White's contributions. Part of Roundtable 11R on Ralph White's Legacy.

Inequality, War, and the Social Contract

**Kenneth Scheve, Yale University*

[Panel] 10A Violence, Identity, and Altruism

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

This paper investigates the possible impact of war on inequality. Scholars in political economy have devoted much attention to institutions and political partisanship as determinants of inequality. Surprisingly, given twentieth century experience, there has been little effort to consider whether much of the decrease in inequality during the first part of the twentieth century may have been caused by war. Piketty has observed that the First and Second World Wars had a significant direct effect on inequality through the destruction and taxation of wealth. We will investigate whether participation in war also had important effects on inequality by altering patterns of political support for progressive income taxation, public education, and other public policies that equalize incomes. We will specifically investigate whether participation in wars that mobilize a significant proportion of the population alter the strength of national political identification and the rights and duties associated with those identities.

Influence of Social Network Members' Prejudice on Durability and Impactfulness of Individual-level Prejudice

**Lindsey Clark Levitan, Stony Brook University*

Penny S. Visser, University of Chicago

[Panel] 2T Prejudice and Authoritarianism in Social Context

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The current research examines the implications of close others' prejudice for the strength and durability of individual-level prejudice. Specifically, this research demonstrates that individuals' own prejudices are more durable and impactful when those individuals are surrounded by social network members with similar levels of prejudice than when they are embedded in networks that are more heterogeneous with respect to level of prejudice. Prior research demonstrates that individuals embedded in social networks whose members hold similar attitudes towards a political issue have stronger attitudes toward that issue than do individuals embedded in more attitudinally heterogeneous networks. Stronger attitudes are more stable, more resistant to persuasion, and more likely to be acted upon. It was hypothesized that a similar relation holds with respect to prejudice: individuals whose network members have similar feelings about a target group will themselves hold that prejudice (or lack thereof) more strongly than individuals whose network includes more divergent views. Two studies support the hypothesized relation between social network composition and prejudice strength. Study one demonstrates that participants whose network members had a level of prejudice toward gays that was similar to their own were more likely to intend to act on their own feelings than individuals embedded in a less congruent network. In study two, participants whose network members had similar feelings about Muslims were less likely to change their feelings about Muslims over the course of three weeks than those embedded in a less congruent network. The same was true with prejudice toward gays.

Integrating First and Second Generation Muslim Immigrant Women in the US and the Netherlands: Effects of Religious and Political Institutions

**Saba Ozyurt, University of California, Irvine*

[Panel] 6R Alienation, marginalization and radicalization of young Muslims in Europe and the US

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

A presumed 'clash of civilizations' has engendered suspicions about the ability and willingness of Muslims to be integrated in western societies. Increasingly, the official discourse in immigrant-receiving societies, particularly in Europe, began to portray Islam as a major obstacle to successful integration of Muslim immigrants. But do these arguments have a basis? What kind of an influence does the religious affiliation of immigrants have on their cultural, social and political adjustment to their host society, particularly when their religious beliefs do not coincide with the dominant religion of the host society? In an effort to tackle this question, paper investigates the conditions under which Islam becomes a hindrance to the integration and full participation of Muslim immigrant women, and the conditions under which it acts as facilitator. Specifically, I look at first and second-generation Muslim immigrant women's integration patterns in the US and the Netherlands. I pay special attention to the ways in which the political institutions (host state's policies toward immigrants) and the immigrant religious institutions (the mosques and Muslim women's associations) in each country shape the immigrants' sense of identity, belonging and participation.

Integration policy and attitudes toward immigration: A comparative analysis across 17 European countries

**Bart Meuleman, University of Leuven, Belgium*

Tim Reeskens, KU Leuven

[Panel] 2J Inter-group Relations in Multi-cultural Contexts

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Recently, studies of attitudes toward ethnic minorities, immigrants and immigration have shown considerable interest in contextual factors that shape these attitudes. Various studies lead to the conclusion that ethnic diversity has a general negative effect on immigration attitudes. Yet, the currently available research has some shortcomings, as most of this research neglects the policy dimension. Potentially, migration and integration policies can mitigate the negative effects of ethnic diversity. The case of Europe offers a unique opportunity to study the relation between integration policy and attitudes toward immigration, since the European countries have adopted specific integration regimes, despite the European Union's attempts toward harmonization of such policies. The data used in this paper are twofold. First, we will use the Migration Policy Index (MIPEX) data (Niessen et al. 2007) to construct a typology of integration policies. This

valuable data set consists of more than 140 indicators covering minority policies in diverse areas (such as labour market access or political participation) for 27 European countries plus Canada. In a second step, the obtained typology is linked to measures of attitudes toward immigrants. These measurements are taken from the third wave of the European Social Survey (ESS - 2006). Merging MIPEX and ESS data allows a comparative analysis across almost 20 European countries.

Integrative and divisive roles of political parties: Partisanship, Ideology and democracy in the Netherlands (Poster)

**Bojan Todosijevic, University of Twente*

[Panel] 4P Poster Session: Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Political parties can be seen as agents of both integration and division. Attachment to political parties may function as an integrating mechanism by channelling political and ideological radicalism away from system-challenging activities towards the regime support and acceptance of the prevailing political (democratic) order. At the same time, parties might also foster radicalism, or even extremism, and dissatisfaction with democratic performance. This paper examines these possibilities using Dutch Election Studies series. Empirical examination of the relationships between ideological extremism, partisanship, and satisfaction democracy triangle provides mixed support for both interpretations.

Intergenerational values and identities transmission among German Christians, German Jews, Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs

**Bilha Paryente, Achva Academic College*

[Panel] 2X Social Influences on the Development of Prejudice and Understanding of Intergroup Relations

[Section] Intergroup Relations

In this research we tested how parental values and children's ethnic identity (Tajfel, 1981; Brewer, 1991) contribute to their children's values (Schwartz, 1992), at the ages of 15-18. 105 Israeli families participated in the research 55 of them were Jewish and 50 Arabic families. In addition 418 German families participated in the research, 368 of them were Christians and 50 Jewish families. The values were divided into four subgroups (according to Schwartz, 1992): conservation values, openness to change, self enhancement and self transcendence values. The dominant variable in predicting children's conservation values was parental conservation values but in predicting children's openness to change values the parental values explained only little of the variance. It is possible that parents try to transmit conservation values in various cultural contexts, in contrast to openness to change values which seem to be less important to parental transmission. In addition we found that children's ethnic identity with orientation of differentiation from their in group reduced parental impact of their self enhancement values on their children's self enhancement values. Finally, we found that conservation and self enhancement values were significantly higher among families belonging to minority groups in Israel and Germany as well.

International Public Opinion on the Environment: Responses to Inequality and Globalization

**Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias, Northwestern University*

So Young Kim, Korea Advanced Institute of Science & Technology (KAIST)

[Panel] 9A Globalization, Change, and Resistance

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

Public concern for the environment has been rising around the globe across cultural and national boundaries. With globalization and fast dissemination of scientific knowledge, public support for environmental protection has increased notably in many countries during the past two decades. While opinion polls show a consistent rise in global environmental awareness and support for more government action, cross-country variation is large. This paper examines how economic and political inequality at both the international and domestic levels affects changing societal attitudes toward environmental protection. To the extent that environmental protection is gradually becoming a norm in many societies, more specific measures are required to investigate the depth of public endorsement of environmental causes. This paper explores public environmental support using cross-national survey questions that illuminate political and economic trade-offs involved in environmental policy-making. The analysis sheds light on the depth and sincerity of support for the environment, contributing to a deeper understanding of why public environmental support varies within and across countries as well as over time. More broadly, looking at both traditional categories of analysis such as state boundaries and social and economic status, and at new paradigms such as globalization and civic activism, we will seek to uncover trends and provide explanations for cross-sectional and longitudinal variations in public support for environmental protection.

Intersectionality, Affirmative Action, and Higher Education: Implications for Policy and Discrimination (Poster)

**Tiffany M Griffin, University of Michigan*

Courtney Cogburn, University of Michigan; Richard Gonzalez, University of Michigan; Tabbye Chavous, University of Michigan

[Panel] 7P Poster Session: Decision Making

[Section] Political Decision Making

In the current research, we integrate intersectionality frameworks with research on affirmative action to investigate how policy decisions are influenced by intersections of the target's race, gender, and social class identities. Research suggests that endorsement of affirmative action depends in part on the targets' social category membership (i.e. race, gender, social class). These studies, however, have examined policy targets' group memberships in isolation of each other. Thus, it is unclear how targets' multiple group memberships interact to shape endorsement patterns (i.e. Black women vs. White women, etc.). Accordingly, our research objective was to examine how social class, race, and gender of the policy target influence policy endorsement. Using online experimental methodologies, we test the hypothesis that individuals will endorse affirmative action less for low SES students who are racial minorities and/or female in comparison to low SES students who are White and/or male. The study used a 2 (gender) x 2 (race: Black, White) x 3 (social class: high, low, no mention) between subjects design. There is also a within subjects factor tapping into different affirmative action framings (i.e. race-based, gender-based, class-based). Using written vignettes, race, gender and SES are subtly manipulated with names of the ostensible vignette author (i.e. Molly, Jamaal, Tynishia, and Brett) and by embedding social class primes in the vignettes. Initial analyses have been conducted and data collection is on-going. Implications for education, education policy and discrimination are discussed.

Intersections in the field of Latin-American Community Social Psychology: Awareness Education and Communitarian Participation

**Maria de Fátima Quintal de Freitas, Federal University of Paraná (UFPR)*

[Panel] 10I Building Bridges between Political and Community Psychology: The Role of Participation and Empowerment

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

In the communitarian interventions field, the challenges and dilemmas that have been more frequent are those related to how to guarantee the involvement and the different participants' commitment (from internal and external agents) in the search of awareness and political participation, both able to promote freedom. In the last years, we have lived an increase of civil society's sensibility and also seen motivation for the accomplishment of communitarian works/projects in the most different areas and issues. However, this doesn't mean that the participation—committed with the social transformation—and the awareness—seen as a political process of citizen formation—are being reached in such communitarian projects. Thus, it is aimed in here: 1) analyzing the awareness and participation processes in the daily life relationships network; 2) looking for understanding the progresses and the backwards of communitarian works starting from the optics of the Latin-American social communitarian psychology. This presentation is based on historical-critical perspective and focuses on some concepts which come from Popular Education field (as in Paulo Freire) and Latin-American community social psychology. In that approach some relationships will be searched: a) according to Paulo Freire's perspective: wisdom-ignorance; love-dislike; hope-despair; b) throughout daily survival strategies: society, culture and life; c) bank awareness, naive awareness versus awareness politicization; d) education, communitarian practices and communitarian mobilization, as transformation and liberation possibilities. When the transformation and radicalization of democracy is aimed (starting from daily relationships) the previous experience in the development of communitarian intervention works has showed that participation and awareness are two fundamental psychosocial processes.

Introduction to Ralph White Roundtable

**Richard Wagner, Bates College*

[Panel] 11R Perceptions, Misperceptions, and Realistic Empathy in Conflict: Ralph White's Legacy (Roundtable)

[Section] Other

Richard Wagner welcomes everyone to this roundtable on Ralph White's legacy.

Investigating the Impact of Politics in the Classroom (Poster)

**Matthew Woessner, Penn State Harrisburg*

April Kelly-Woessner, Elizabethtown College

[Panel] 4P Poster Session: Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Within the past five years, controversies surrounding the alleged politicization of the classroom have led state legislatures to convene special hearings to investigate whether an overzealous professorate actively promotes a political agenda in the classroom. Aroused by high profile stories of professorial misconduct, some critics have gone so far as to accuse professors of deliberately brainwashing students by presenting a one-sided view of the political world (Black, 2004; Kimball, 1998; Kors and Silvergate, 1999; Shapiro, 2004). Yet, despite the serious accusations, there has been little research on the actual effects of a professor's political views on students' experiences in the classroom. Utilizing a nationwide survey of students and professors compiled in the 2006-07 academic year, we intend to investigate two central claims concerning the alleged politicization of the classroom. First, in light of the research that shows that learning tends to decline as a function of perceived differences between the student and professor (See Kelly-Woessner and Woessner 2006 & 2008) we intend to assess whether students can actually identify their instructor's political leanings. Second, given the allegations that faculty indoctrinate their students, is there evidence that students' political views tend to gravitate toward those of their professors over the course of a semester?

Involvement in Mass Political Movements: From Individual Affliction to Organized Public Participation

**Makram Haluani, Simon Bolivar University, Caracas, Venezuela*

[Panel] 8J The Impact of Sociopolitical Forces on Attitudes and Actions

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Citizens' active participation in mass political movements certainly comes of age since the end of the 60's as a visible and quite effective socio-political phenomenon. Such mass public involvement generally starts out on the basis of individual affliction and personal motivation and evolves into collectively change public policies in a more favorable mode. Such political mobilization tendencies represent in effect a lineal consequence of the resentment and even anger, particularly among the middle class, at the nature, direction as well as results of the policy choices made by elected decision makers. Several socio-psychological factors, both on individual and group level, seem to account most for the frequency and intensity of middle class stakeholders' social protest and public participation, such as consternation, frustration and anger at their inability to control those political decision making processes that touch most on their interests. Other factors that equally influence their social protest and public participation agenda are the level of and quality of information available to afflicted citizens, their political consciousness, leadership qualities as well as their civic organizational capabilities, among other factors. The present study aims to elaborate a qualitative-analytical model of the causal and functional relations between the individual as well as collective socio-psychological factors on one hand and the frequency and intensity of their political mobilization effectiveness on the other. It evolves around the hypothesis that three main elements, namely actors, their values and relevant institutions interact in complementary and interdependent operational phases to create successful political mobilization strategies, whereas the failure of any one of them will affect the whole process.

Iran's Nuclear Adventures and the Return of the Mahdi: President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

**Jerrold M. Post, The George Washington University*

[Panel] 3G Political Leaders and Complex Belief Systems

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The answer to a recurrent question concerning the provocative comments of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad of Iran, which seemed designed to produce chaos, may well be that it is exactly his goal. As a twelver Shi'ite there is substantial reason to believe that Ahmadinejad is committed to this belief system which asserts that a period of chaos will proceed judgment day which in turn will lead to an era of eternal peace. Twelver activists believe that by carrying out acts of religious belligerents they can hasten the arrival of the hidden Mahdi (the 12th imam). However the ability of Ahmadinejad to direct Iranian foreign policy is limited by the complex decision making system with most of the major resources being under the direct control of Supreme Leader Khamenei.

Iraq and Afghanistan through the eyes of the US Marine Corps

**Tom Bryder, University of Copenhagen*
[Panel] 5A Policy and Opinion Formation
[Section] Political Communication

Handbooks describing the places where troops are supposed to operate are convenient guides to the knowledge and stereotypes which the military command want the operational forces to believe. During the Korean War, a guide called "The Operational Code of the Politbureau" was written by Nathan Leites, on the basis of a larger study called "A Study of Bolshevism". It was sponsored by the US Airforce and the Rand Corporation. Today the US Marine Corps itself has issued handbooks for the troops participating in the operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. These books are relatively short and concise, and are intended to bridge the gaps the political and military cultures in the United States and the countries where the soldiers are sent. This is a computerized analysis of two handbooks intended for use by US soldiers in the above mentioned countries. The purpose of the paper is to trace and explain attributions by the operational command of the US Marine Corps to these two countries and to survey the extent to which political and military conclusions match alleged psychological and capability conditions

Iraq as Vietnam

**Rudolph Binion, Brandeis University*
[Panel] 1H The Postwar Syndrome: The Politics of Trauma and Disillusionment
[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The role of traumatic reliving in America's current Iraq war is explored. In 2003 Bush's America, after artificially identifying Iraq with al Qaeda, restaged symbolically in reverse al Qaeda's attack of September 11, 2001, on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon. America's subsequent repression in Iraq for its part has replicated in thin disguise America's traumatically lost war against the Vietcong. While this Iraq-Vietnam parallel has been stressed by the current antiwar party in America, the reliving remains fully unconscious in that the antiwar party is unaware of replicating the long-ineffectual antiwar agitation of four decades earlier.

Iraq as a Case Study of Disclaimed Vengeance in the Interaction of Leaders and the Led

**Paul H. Elovitz, Clio's Psyche & Ramapo College*
[Panel] 1H The Postwar Syndrome: The Politics of Trauma and Disillusionment
[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

There is a most complex relationship between the leaders and the led. In democracies leaders who go off in directions their followers reject soon find that they have lost their political viability. The author is a psychoanalyst, historian and presidential psychobiographer who argues that the populace sometimes empowers leaders to go to war when they feel vengeful or threatened and then disclaims their role in the war decision if the military action goes badly. The current war with Iraq is a prime example of this. The motivations of President Bush and the American people will each be explored and then compared with those of Carter and the public during the Iran Hostage Crisis.

Is class dead? Social identification and first time voter choice

**Lucia Botindari, University of Bologna*
Augusto Palmonari, University of Bologna
Stephen Reicher, University of St Andrews
[Panel] 4E Group Identity and the Vote
[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

In recent years much has been made of the decline of 'traditional identities', notably class identity, as a factor that determines voter choices. However the research has generally been conducted on adults. Conversely, while there is much research on the political socialization of young people, there is little work on either first time voter choices or on the role of identity in these choices. In this paper we report on two studies that explore the considerations invoked by young people when they think about how to vote for the first time and which address the extent to which decisions are framed by concerns related to social identity—traditional identity in particular. The first study required 28 young people to complete diaries for two weeks before and one week after the Italian general election of 2006. The second was a semi-structured interview study involving 30 young people just after the European election of 2004. Both data sets were subjected to

thematic analysis and provided convergent findings. These had three principal features. First, there was little evidence of 'traditional' identities being invoked when young people discussed the elections and how to vote. Second, however, considerations relating to social identities were evident throughout the data, however these were 'non-traditional' identities based on such factors as age and citizenship. Third, however, the absence of overt class identities did not mean that class was irrelevant to voter choice. Rather it acted indirectly by shaping the use and meanings of the 'non-traditional' identities that were overtly invoked.

Is the Mission impossible? Inclusion exclusion and stratification within the school system

**Smadar Tuval, Kaye Academic College of Education & Ben-Gurion University*

**Emda Orr, Ben Gurion University of the Negev*

[Panel] 2X Social Influences on the Development of Prejudice and Understanding of Intergroup Relations

[Section] Intergroup Relations

In the paper we describe data from an ethnographic research whose aim was to investigate how the three central representations of a democratic system: Inclusion, Stratification and Exclusion are represented within the Israeli school system. These concepts are derived from three distinct theoretical sources. Inclusion is a central concept in the educational thinking and research; Stratification is a frequently used term in sociology. And Exclusion is derived from individually oriented psychology and from social critic. The Social Representations Theory enabled us to analyze and to discuss the three terms together, as they appear as representations used within the school system. The interpretative analysis revealed a dichotomous reality by which the activity and the discourse of the elementary school life were run. This dichotomy consists of incompatible hegemonic principles: inclusion and stratification. Whereas the verbally declared school ideology was found to represent inclusion and an objection to exclusion and stratification; the daily discourse and the main school activity led to stratification. This dichotomy was not represented as incongruence and was not attributed to pedagogical failure but instead, was attributed to children's self-evident, sad reality of unequal intellectual and psychological potential.

Is the US Winning the Global War on Terror?

**Martha Crenshaw, Stanford University*

[Panel] 1B Approaches to Terrorism Research

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

This paper analyzes US national security strategy for combating terrorism from the perspective of foreign policy and international relations. It considers what victory in the global war on terrorism would represent, how the enemy is defined, and the means that are used to conduct the war. It concludes with an assessment of progress, based on the administration's goals.

Is the researcher's position "political"?

**Ralph Balez*

[Panel] 10J Societal Political Psychology and Everyday Politics

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

The importance of methodological diversity in the study of societal issues.

Islamophobia and its origins.

**Henk Dekker, Leiden University*

Jolanda van der Noll, Utrecht University

[Panel] 8X. Explaining Attitudes towards Ethnic and Religious Groups

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

How can we explain Islamophobia? This is the question that is answered in this paper. We conducted a survey among 581 non-Muslim Dutch youth aged 14-16 year, including seven questions to measure the attitude towards the Islam and Muslims and a variety of questions that are operationalizations of the various independent variables. These independent variables represent the main theories in this field of study: the Direct Contact hypothesis, Political Socialization theory, Realistic Group Conflict theory, and Social Identity theory. Our analyses show that direct contact (its evaluation), the socialization by relevant others (their perceived attitude), and the perception of symbolic threat have most effect on the

attitude towards the Islam and Muslims. Beliefs about the Islam and Muslims and the national attitude also have an effect on this attitude. Direct contact and socialization not only have a direct effect on the attitude but—through beliefs, threat perceptions, and national attitude—also an indirect effect.

Issue Attitudes, Left-Right Identification, and Partisanship

**Kristian Dunn, Michigan State University*

[Panel] 4T The Psychology of Partisanship (Part C: The Dynamics of Partisanship and Ideology)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Currently, there are two alternative sets of theories that explain the causal relationship between issue attitudes, Left-Right identification, and partisanship. These disparate sets of theories generally result in different causal explanations and directions between the three concepts. Rational choice theories argue that Left-Right identification and partisanship act as summary measures of, and are therefore subsequent to, individually relevant issue attitudes. Socialization theories argue that Left-Right identification and partisanship are affective attachments temporally prior to issue positions. This paper theorizes that the applicability of these theories is dependent on individuals' levels of sophistication. Using two-stage least squares regression analysis, this paper examines the causal directionality of the relationships between partisanship, Left-Right identification, and issue positions in the United Kingdom and the United States. I find that this three-way relationship does indeed vary based on both level of sophistication and whether the issues examined are issues traditionally associated with the Left-Right continuum or New Politics issues.

It's All About Status? Authoritarianism, Dominance, and Exclusion

**Andreas Zick, Friedrich Schiller University of Jena*

Beate Küpper, University of Bielefeld

[Panel] 2L New Developments in Authoritarianism Research II: Conceptual and Methodological Issues

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Authoritarianism and social dominance orientation (SDO) are significant predictors of the exclusion of weak societal groups represented by group-focused enmity and discrimination. However, they are conceptualized very differently by theories, e.g. as dispositions, ideologies, generalized orientations or responses to situations. Secondly their conjoint causal link to prejudice and discrimination is unclear. We argue that both constructs represent allied but diverse group-based worldviews which explain various prejudices and discriminatory intentions. They are activated when individuals perceive a group-status threat or their status is destructed. By data of the annual long-term cross-sectional probability survey "Group-focused Enmity" (n = 1.000-3.000, since 2002) and an accompanying panel-survey (n = 800) we present an empirical model on different status legitimization strategies. Whereas authoritarians express prejudices and intend to discriminate outgroups if they feel a status loss within their group, dominance orientated individuals exclude outgroups if they feel the status order to be threatened.

Judicial Activism and the Conduct of Nigeria's 2007 General Elections: A Review (Poster)

**Omololu Fagbadebo, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria*

Adeola Ayodele Akinbuwa, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

[Panel] 4P Poster Session: Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Abstract Preparations for and the conduct of the April 2007 elections in Nigeria were greeted with criticisms and expression of pessimism. This lack of trust in the process at and the outcomes was exacerbated by the overt and covert measures by the government through the electoral body, to subvert the rule of law. Acrimonious intra-class struggle for political power among the various factions of the ruling class led to political scheming to exclude some candidates from participating in the elections. The Nigerian political environment provides the template for such political cauldron as the abuse of the power of incumbency by the ruling political party has become an entrenched political culture. Generally, the judiciary remains the only statutory organ that protects the rights of the citizens against despotism and anarchy by the political branches. The resurgence of judicial activism in the Nigerian judiciary in recent times has raised the optimism that it can reclaim its seemingly lost status as the citizens' bulwark against the invasion of liberty. This paper takes a review of the series of judicial intervention in the preparations for and the conduct of the 2007 elections in Nigeria. Judicial review of the decisions of the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) has shattered the orchestrated plan to

construct a hegemonic structure within the strata of the ruling political party as well as in the national political landscape through the politics of exclusion. It has been discovered that judicial activism has elevated the judiciary from its weak position to the status of a true pillar for democratic consolidation in Nigeria. If this is sustained, the precedents would serve as reference points for further adjudication in the Nigerian political system.

Justice beliefs and collective guilt among the students from Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina (Poster)

**Vera Cubela Adoric, University of Zadar, Department of Psychology*

[Panel] 8P Poster Session: Democracy and Civic Development

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

A study with student samples from the universities of Zadar (Croatia) and Mostar (Bosnia & Herzegovina) explored the relationship between several justice related beliefs and collective guilt. In addition to the measures of the collective guilt acceptance, assignment and accountability, the participants completed also the measures of the belief in a just world, justice centrality and the justice sensitivity from the victim, observer and beneficiary perspectives. The two national groups did not differ on the belief in the justness of the world and the justice sensitivity. However, compared to the Croatian sample, the B&H sample scored higher on the measures of justice centrality and the belief in the unjustness of the world as well as on the collective guilt acceptance and assignment. The samples also differed in the set of significant justice-related predictors of the collective guilt. The results will be discussed in terms of how the justice motive and sensitivity contribute to the perception of collective guilt, and of the role that the contextual as well as individual factors might have in these relationships.

Knowing we, knowing you: A social identity approach to intergroup conflict

**Alexander Haslam, University of Exeter*

**Stephen Reicher, University of St Andrews*

[Panel] 1R Toward an integrated understanding of intergroup conflict: Debating the contributions of social identity and social representations approaches (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

In order to promote an actual dialogue regarding commonly identified stakes, this second position paper (in Roundtable 1R), will address the same ten issues mentioned above and previously defined on the basis of a common agreement between the authors, from a social identity approach (by what we mean social identity theory, self-categorisation theory and their recent developments). Our argument is based on three key tenets. First, the dynamics of social identification shape the ways in which we draw upon social knowledge (social representations) in order to make sense of who we are, the nature of our world and how to act within it. Second, social conflict derives from the way that we interpret the implications of who others are and what they do for our own groups. Third, because of their implications for intra- and inter-group behaviour, the meanings associated with groups will be a focus of contestation. In sum, we argue for an approach to social identity processes which takes social knowledge into account but conversely, we argue for an approach to the creation and use of social knowledge that is rooted in social identity processes.

Lawrence of Arabia and Richard of Israel, Conflict and Deception in the Middle East

**Mary L. Meiners, San Diego Miramar College*

[Panel] 3G Political Leaders and Complex Belief Systems

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

A discussion of the complex history and politics of the Middle East is incomplete without the inclusion of T.E. Lawrence, well known to the general public, and Richard Meinertzhagen, less well known but nevertheless an imposing figure. The psychological portrayal of these two men and their competition contributes an interesting facet to the history of this region and makes us question not only what is history but what do we consider primary and secondary sources. Lawrence and Meinertzhagen were contemporaries, knew one another, and wrote about one another in none too flattering terms. The exploits of Lawrence are well documented in his book, the epic movie, and other sources that generally support his accounts although some historians suggest he may have embellished his role in some events. Meinertzhagen, much less well known to historians, presents an entirely different scenario. Although several books have been written about him, describing him as a soldier, scientist, spy, and diplomat, more recent and thorough investigations have questioned the veracity of his escapades. Of special interest to this region is the “rucksack ruse” at Bethsheba aiding Allenby’s efforts and

his Zionism. This presentation will focus on one aspect of Meinertzhagen and Lawrence; that is their roles in partitioning the lands of the Middle East. Overlooking their strong personalities and examining documents lead to different conclusions. The question becomes what the truth, particularly as one begins to develop a psychobiography of Meinertzhagen.

Learning from Baudrillard and Foucault: Consumer Culture, Social Milieus and the Governmentality of Lifestyle

**Rolf Frankenberger, University of Tuebingen, Institute for Political Science*

[Panel] 10E New Perspectives on Agency and Culture in Political Psychology

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

I will present a theoretical framework based on Foucault and Baudrillard which hopefully offers inspiring insight into what by some authors is called “postmodern consumer society”. The aim is bringing together Jean Baudrillard’s early and groundbreaking analysis of Consumer Culture (first published in 1970) with Michel Foucault’s concept of neoliberal Governmentality in a concept of what I call the “Governmentality of Lifestyle”. Combining Foucault’s concept of neoliberal governmentality, Baudrillard’s analysis of consumer culture and developments in market research etc., one can see new kinds of power relations evolve within and across societies. Governmentality of lifestyle is the pattern of interindividual and intergroup power relations. Especially political and psychological research has to be done to trace the impacts of such a new power relations on individuals as well as on societies. Consumer Culture unfolds to full scale. Today signs and not the good behind the signs are the most important selling factors. The style of everyday life becomes a powerful means of social affiliation in postmodern societies. Social Milieus—large groups of people not only sharing patterns of modern stratification, but also interests, consumer patterns, and even styles of arranging personal relationships—shape postmodern societies, which are characterized by lifestyle-driven segmentation patterns. Social Milieus also became one of the most powerful means to identify target groups in today’s market-research. Data are captured by research, bonus programs and creditcards. This development goes far beyond the discussions referring to the protection of data privacy and surveillance as such techniques are already implemented and, of course, used to create transparent consumers. Taken together, all these developments form a complex of power relations of the Governmentality of Lifestyle.

Learning from Experience? Why Did the “Road Map To Peace in the Middle East” Fail? (Poster)

**Alek D. Epstein, Department of Sociology and Political Science, The Open University of Israel*

[Panel] 1P Poster Session: Political Conflict, Violence and Crisis

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has for decades been one of the driving forces of modern geopolitics. The victory of the Hamas movement in the recent (January 2006) Palestinian elections added more complexity to the situation. This victory was probably the only practical result of the Road Map, which demanded from the Palestinian authority undertaking “free, fair and open elections”: for some unclear reasons, it has been believed that such elections will bring to power liberals willing to live in peace with their neighbors. However, various Middle East countries’ (among them: Turkey, Algeria, Iran, Jordan and Egypt, to name a few) experience shows that the opposite is true, and Islamic radicals are probably the most influential political force, that will be strengthened in the “free, fair and open elections”. Unfortunately, this experience has not been taken into consideration by the Road Map authors, who has been ignored political-psychological distinctiveness of the region’s population. My claim is that the authors of the Road Map fully replicated the mistake made in the 1990s by the diplomats who drafted a Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, commonly known as the Oslo Accords, which Shimon Peres (Israel’s President now) and Mahmoud Abbas (PNA current chairman) signed on September 13, 1993. The Road Map does not provide for any specified solutions—even provisional—to the two most acute problems of Palestinian-Israeli relations, specifically: the status of Jerusalem and the fate of the refugees—and that is this proposal’s real “Achilles heel”. When representatives of the two sides held a summit in Camp David in July 2000, they discussed these issues without any prior preparation at the stage of a “provisional” settlement. Those talks collapsed, triggering the second Intifada. It is not surprising, therefore, that the fruits of the Road Map were even more lamentable.

Legitimizing Ideologies in the Abortion Debate: Social Dominance Orientation, Gender Role Attitudes, and Reproductive Rights

**Danny Osborne, University of California, Los Angeles*

Paul G. Davies, University of British Columbia, Okanagan

[Panel] 2W Representing Gender: Implications for Political Cognitions and Actions

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Though abortion remains one of the most visible topics in American politics, few, if any, studies have addressed the individual-level mechanisms responsible for one's attitudes toward abortion. We believe that social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) can address this oversight. According to this perspective, individuals' attitudes toward social groups are influenced by how much they support group-based inequalities. Individuals high on social dominance orientation (SDO), a scale measuring support for group-based inequality, are more likely than those low on SDO to have negative attitudes toward socially-disadvantaged groups. The theory further posits that individuals adopt legitimizing ideologies to justify their attitudes toward various social groups. To explore this proposition within the context of reproductive rights, we had 242 participants complete a survey assessing their SDO, gender role attitudes (as measured by the ambivalent sexism inventory [ASI]; Glick & Fiske, 1996), and attitudes toward abortion. Results indicated that SDO was significantly associated with attitudes toward both elective and traumatic abortion. The relationships between SDO and attitudes toward both types of abortion were, however, mediated by the ASI. Specifically, hostile and benevolent sexism mediated the relationship between SDO and attitudes toward elective abortion, while only benevolent sexism mediated the relationship between SDO and attitudes toward traumatic abortion. These findings suggest that, while hostile sexism only finds elective abortion objectionable, benevolent sexism feels a woman should always avoid abortion. Such results add to the literature on social dominance theory and suggest that ambivalent attitudes toward women serve as legitimizing ideologies for SDO.

Looking Back to the Future of PTSD Treatment

**Christine Silverstein, The Summit Center for Ideal Performance*

[Panel] 1Z Contemporary Politics, Conflicts, Trauma, and Healing: A Psychohistorical Approach

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Carl Jung stated that the social and political state of things has an enormous influence on the psychic lives of individuals. Therefore, he concluded that a doctor should have responsibility towards his patients and cannot afford to withdraw to the peaceful island of undisturbed scientific research and remain aloof from the tumult and the calamity of his time. With such distancing, patients' sufferings would find neither understanding nor ear. Jung contended that the doctor would be at a loss to know how to talk to his patients or how to help them out of their isolation. "For this reason, the psychologist cannot avoid coming to grips with contemporary history," Jung posited. This psychohistorical perspective on the treatment of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder will look retrospectively at war, specifically the Crimean War (Florence Nightingale) and World War II (Hildegard Peplau), by glimpsing through an open window of the past to show how exemplary nurses and doctors psychologically treated battle-fatigued soldiers. Directly on the battlefield, and not in a remote laboratory, psychological protocol was established that humanely assisted combatants towards healing from the physical, as well as the psychological ravages of war. What were the two essential ingredients used for successful treatment at the "heart" of war? What can psychiatry learn from past war trauma and the treatment of PTSD, as historian William Polk suggested? How can it be applied to the present day Iraqi War? What is the underlying motivation of medical researchers and clinicians who incessantly continue to "blame the brain" for PTSD and focus solely on drug prescriptions to abate a host of symptoms, when suicide rates or combatants are up and patients are down? What are some ways medicine can face its responsibility to patients?

Lyndon Johnson and Robert McNamara and the impending Tet Offensive: Denial and avoidance in political decision-making

**Max Vittorio Metselaar, Department of Defense (DOD) (Netherlands)*

[Panel] 7G Political Psychology of Foreign Policy Decision Making

[Section] Political Decision Making

This paper is focused on the way President Lyndon Johnson and Defense Minister Robert McNamara appraised and have coped with more than 100 threat indications and warnings (I&Ws) in advance of the Tet Offensive (January 30-31, 1968). The paper is focused more in particular on the role dilemmas, distress, denial and avoidance have played in the coping responses from both political decision-makers and to what extent this may have affected four key elements of their state of preparedness at the eve of the Tet Offensive. The theory and methodology that has been applied in this case-study combines various disciplines and perspectives like social-psychological coping theory (especially insights on the use of

avoidance and denial) with concepts, theories and methods derived from political psychology, political science, intelligence studies, disaster studies, early warning research, administrative science, management studies and communication sciences. The case-study indicates that Johnson started to pay more attention on the I&Ws since half December 1967. However, until at least two weeks before the start of the Tet offensive, Johnson and especially McNamara almost completely avoided to mention and discuss most of the I&Ws they were exposed to and/or could have been aware of. Both Johnson and McNamara tended to minimize and even avoid warnings which pointed at the risk that the North Vietnamese and Vietcong were preparing a widespread offensive and a general people's uprising all over South Vietnam. In different ways, both Johnson and McNamara almost consistently avoided and largely denied most of the probable negative political implications of a predicted Winter-Spring Offensive in South Vietnam and at the homefront. Furthermore, they avoided to discuss the option to inform the public, the press and the Congress on the forthcoming enemy offensive. As a consequence, various political decisions and actions which could and should have been taken in order to implement timely additional protective counter-measures and mitigate the political and military risks and costs at home and abroad were not taken and/or delayed.

Making sense of terrorism

**Martha Augoustinos*

Peter Strelan, The University of Adelaide

[Panel] IO Responses to Activism, Criminality and Terrorism

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

This study examines explanations for three international terrorist events: September 11, 2001, the Bali bombings (2002) and London bombings (2005). A sample of 256 Australian undergraduate students completed a questionnaire requiring them to read descriptions of the three events and then on a 5-point scale rate the importance of a range of dispositional, geopolitical, and religious explanations. Overall, participants favoured dispositional over geopolitical and religious explanations for all three events. Whereas geopolitical and religious explanations were strongest for 9/11, dispositional attributions were strongest for Bali. Those who strongly identified as Australian were more likely to endorse dispositional and less likely to endorse geopolitical attributions. Results are discussed in light of other studies examining explanations for terrorism and within the framework of intergroup attributions.

Mature Religiosity Mitigates Inter-Group Aggressiveness In Times Of Existential Threat

**Agnieszka M Golec de Zavala, Middlesex University*

Aleksandra Cichocka, University of Warsaw

[Panel] 1C The Dynamics of Political Conflict

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

In a number of studies we examine the effects of mortality salience on support for various counter terrorism strategies. The moderating effects of individual religiosity—intrinsic and quest (see Batson et al, 1986) are analyzed. Intrinsic religiosity provides individuals with well-defined goals and prescriptions for desired behaviour (Allport and Ross, 1967). Within Christian religiosity the religious message regarding interpersonal situations is that of love and tolerance. The message regarding inter-group situations is also benevolent although less clear (it can be claimed that the love and tolerance regards only the members of own group). Quest religiosity concentrates on search for meaning and treats religion as a domain of questioning and doubting (Batson et al., 1986). It does not provide any clear cut prescriptions for behaviour but it seems to result in interpersonal tolerance since it provides a heuristic in approaching sensitive and difficult social issues: nothing is ever certain. Both intrinsic and quest from mature approach towards one's religion. Results of 3 survey studies show that the quest religiosity (Batson, et al, 1986) mitigates the inter-group negativity and preference for aggressive counter terrorism strategies in mortality salience conditions. The experimental study shows similar effects of priming of intrinsic religious goals in the mortality salience conditions.

Measurement Equivalence of Nationalism and Patriotism in the ISSP: 34 Countries in a Comparative Perspective.

**Eldad Davidov, University of Mannheim, and GESIS-ZA, University of Cologne*

[Panel] 6S National identity in a comparative perspective

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Studies on national identity differentiate between nationalistic attitudes and patriotism as two more specific expressions of

national identity and as theoretically two distinct concepts. After a brief discussion of the theoretical literature, the following questions are examined: (1) Can nationalism and patriotism be empirically identified as two distinct concepts; (2) Is their meaning fully or partially invariant across countries; and (3) Is it possible to compare their means across countries? Data from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) 2003 National Identity Module are utilized to answer these questions in a sample of 34 countries. Items to measure nationalism and patriotism are chosen based on the literature, and a series of confirmatory factor analyses to test for configural, measurement (metric), and scalar invariance is performed. Full or partial measurement invariance is a necessary condition for equivalence of meaning across cultures and for a meaningful comparison of associations with other theoretical constructs. Scalar invariance is a necessary condition for comparison of means across countries. Findings reveal that nationalism and patriotism emerge as two distinct constructs. However, in some countries, some items that were intended to measure one construct also measure the other construct. Furthermore, configural and measurement invariance are found across the full set of 34 countries. Consequently, researchers may now use the ISSP data to study relationships among nationalism, patriotism, and other theoretical constructs across these nations. However, the analysis did not support scalar invariance, making it problematic for comparing the means of nationalism and patriotism across countries.

Measuring Anti-racism in Europe

**Scott Blinder, University of Oxford*

Elisabeth Ivarsson, Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen

Robert Ford, University of Manchester

[Panel] 2U Prejudice: Measurement and Conceptual Issues

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Implicit appeals based in negative stereotypes of blacks, immigrants and other social groups have been reported in both the US (Mendelberg 2001) and in Europe (Ivarsson 2006), although prejudiced responses in many situations violate a strong norm of equal treatment. Building on a “dual process” model of political attitudes, we argue that individuals’ deliberate, thoughtful attitudes toward members of other racial or ethnic groups are distinct from, and potentially quite at odds with, their implicit “gut reaction” to that same group. Furthermore, the link between the two is mediated by the extent to which a respondent is internally or externally motivated to control prejudiced responses. Using data from a series of new studies conducted in the UK and Norway, we validate condensed (and translated) measures of internal and external motivation to control prejudice. We show that the condensed measures are appropriate and internally consistent replacements of the full-length measures, distinct from social desirability, and predict the likelihood of holding both explicitly and symbolically racist responses as expected.

Measuring Gaps and Inequalities of Election Campaigns. Whom Do They Work for?

**Shunsuke Itoh, Keio University*

[Panel] 5G Campaign Communication in Democratic Countries

[Section] Political Communication

I examine the effectiveness of political communication among citizens, media, and parties during election campaigns. Classical literature has surveyed the effects of election campaigns (Lazarsfeld et al. 1944, Robinson 1976, etc.), and much recent research has shown the mechanism of political information processing (Lau and Redlawsk 2006 etc.). Of course, election campaigns play important roles in democracy. In spite of that, Japanese election campaigns are short and restricted. It is said that effects of Japanese election campaigns are limited, but, there is no research that dispute the truth of such declarations. My paper tests whether Japanese campaigns work or not, and, I reveal who is affected. Especially, on the views of political participation, changing people’s cognition and promoting their political learning, I check where gaps and inequalities exist. My hypothesis is that restricted conditions, such as Japan, produce gaps and inequalities during election campaigns. In less regulated systems, information reaches most citizens, but regulated systems function only for more motivated people. This structure leads to gaps and inequalities, political distrust and less political efficacy for example, in democratic countries. I use data from the 2004 Japanese national House of Representatives election (JESIII: Japanese Election Study III); and analyze information processing with game theory approach and multi-agent simulation. This research will show the significance and shortcomings of Japanese election campaigns. References : Lau, Richard R., and David P. Redlawsk, How voters decide, Cambridge University Press 2006; Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard, Berelson, Hazel, Gaudet, The people’s choice, Columbia University Press 1944; Robinson, John P. “Interpersonal Influence in Election Campaigns: Two Step-flow Hypotheses”, Public Opinion Quarterly 1976.

Measuring Subjective Emotional Responses: Contrasting Various Approaches to Measurement

**George E. Marcus, Williams College*

Michael MacKuen, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill

W. Russell Neuman, University of Michigan

[Panel] 10H Modeling and Measurement in Political Psychology

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

As emotions have become more central to the explanatory theories of political psychology, careful measurement with measures of known validity and reliability become critical to the scientific venture. In this paper we report on various alternatives way of measuring elicited emotional responses to stimuli of the sort likely to be used in political psychology research. We contrast labeled radio buttons, Likert formats and sliders (wherein, using on screen computer technology, subjects manipulate a movable slider to a desired value). We report on the reliability and validity of the tested alternatives and make recommendations.

Measuring and Explaining Political Knowledge in a Comparative Context

**Mathieu Turgeon, University of North Texas*

[Panel] 4M Memory and Knowledge

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

A lot has been said about how to measure political knowledge and what factors explain it. But most of the work in the area has focused almost exclusively on the American case, and very few of it is comparative. This paper shows that measuring political knowledge in a comparative context presents its own challenges, and that individual-level factors explaining political knowledge in some countries have considerably less importance in others. Using data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, and a methodology adapted for multilevel modeling with large clusters, I show that part of the country differences can be explained at the institutional level. The results carry important lessons for institutional design and those interested in improving democratic citizenship.

Mechanisms of governmental risk communication

**Stephanie Kurzenhaeuser, Federal Institute for Risk Assessment*

[Panel] 5A Policy and Opinion Formation

[Section] Political Communication

Risk communication is an increasingly productive and dynamic field of psychological research that offers rich scientific know-how to governmental risk communicators. However, this expertise is rarely put into practice. Why? Taking consumer health protection in the domains of food, chemicals and products as an example, I will analyze the mechanisms and requirements of governmental risk communication (e.g., communication addresses multiple stakeholders; must be objective, transparent, precautionous and court-proof; is subject to statutory and legal constraints). By contrasting the questions that arise in this applied context with the answers that psychological risk research provides (e.g., with regard to the presentation of scientific uncertainty, the use of statistical formats and framing, numeracy, cooperative communication and trust), I will show how both sides can benefit from a more effective exchange of their expertise in risk communication.

Media Discourse and U.S. Energy Consumption: Emphasis Frames for Personal Behaviors, 1970-2007 (Poster)

**Toby Bolsen, Northwestern University*

[Panel] 4P Poster Session: Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Citizens perform many actions in their private lives that have public consequences. Prominent examples include various health related decisions (e.g. smoking, exercise, obesity) that may strain the public health system. Importantly, in doing so, there may be private benefits from performing specific actions (e.g. improved health, weight loss, increased life span, etc). However, there are other actions with less clear private benefits but with clear public consequences. Citizens' energy consumption behaviors constitute one such class of actions, which have become increasingly salient as energy costs rise and fears about global warming reach beyond the scientific community. In this paper, I present a theory of individual behavior and an exploration into energy consumption attitudes and behaviors specifically. The theory builds on studies of information processing and planned behavior to explain three primary dependent variables (Fazio, 1990; Ajzen and

Fishbein, 2005; Ajzen, 1991): (1) attitudes toward a behavior; (2) behavioral intentions; and (3) behavior outcomes. In part 2, I present the results of a content analysis of news articles published in *The New York Times* (1970-2007), focusing on personal consumption behaviors, to determine how emphasis frames change in response to fluctuating energy costs and world events, as well as identifying the consequences associated with performing specific actions (e.g. which may influence the availability, accessibility, and applicability of considerations about specific actions). This study contributes to recent efforts to understand the impact of media frames on individuals over time, and how the volume and mix of media frames, sequence of frames, and duration influences attitudes and actions.

Media and International Relations: European Press Coverage of the 2004 U.S. Election

**Gabriele Melischek, Austrian Academy of Sciences*

**Josef Seethaler, Austrian Academy of Sciences*

[Panel] 5B U.S. Election

[Section] Political Communication

In a time of radical changes in both the political world and the communications environment, international relations processes are widely assumed to be moving beyond the interactions of national governments and depending more heavily on public opinion; with public opinion seen as depending more heavily on media coverage. However, as public opinion is less concerned with “hard facts” than with the ways collective identities are formed and related to other collectivities, an appropriate tool is needed for measuring attitudes towards foreign states for crucial constraints of policy-making, especially in cases of intergovernmental cooperation and conflict. The proposed methodological approach draws on both constructivist international relations theory and attribution theory in order to build a framework to examine group perceptions in international relations. While constructivist international relations theory insists that foreign policy is, at its most basic, a process of defining in-groups and out-groups in the modern state system, attribution theory is concerned with how people make explanations for their own and other people’s behaviour, and the sorts of bias that occur in this process. In an international relations context, in-group serving and out-group derogating attributions can be interpreted with regard to the widely researched “group-serving-bias”. Considering the importance of the transatlantic alliance and the differences that have occurred in recent times, the outlined approach is exemplified by an analysis of European press coverage of the 2004 U.S. presidential election. It examines the impact of press-government relationship on framing of U.S. policies (“indexing hypothesis”), controlled for elite consensus and editorial policy. It includes eight leading newspapers from France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom.

Mediated Tolerance: The Impact of emotions, values, and gender on evaluation of Islam

**Tereza Capelos, University of Surrey*

**Dunya van Troost, Leiden University*

[Panel] 6R Alienation, marginalization and radicalization of young Muslims in Europe and the US

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

In this paper we focus on the role of political values and gender on expressions of political tolerance. In an experimental setting with Dutch participants, we manipulate the emotional appraisal of an interaction with a fictional Islamic group, and examine how emotions of anger or fear interact with support for democratic values and gender to determine expressions of tolerance judgments in the Netherlands. We show that support for democratic values mediates the impact of fear but not anger. Specifically, while it reverses the otherwise negative impact of fear on political tolerance, it has no effect under conditions of anger. We also show that women experience significantly more intense negative emotions than men, but their levels of tolerance are indistinguishable from their male counterparts. This research is timely in this era of widespread threat perceptions, where support for tolerance and civil liberties is eroding.

Minimal Effects? Media and UK Elections

**Jeffrey Karp*

Daniel Stevens, University of Exeter

**Jack Vowles*

**Susan Banducci, University of Exeter*

[Panel] 5G Campaign Communication in Democratic Countries

[Section] Political Communication

In the United States the minimal effects orthodoxy has long been overturned, in part due to insights from social and political psychology. In the United Kingdom, however, research continues to indicate that campaigns have little if any impact on the perceived importance of issues, on perceptions of leaders, or on vote choice. In this paper, we re-examine the 2001 and 2005 elections by combining content analysis of newspaper coverage—including topic, amount, and tone—and advertising with British Election Study panel and rolling cross-sectional data. We examine changes in the importance of issues to perceptions of the leaders and to vote choice over time, in total and by subgroup, and explore the extent to which they were connected to exposure to newspaper coverage and advertising.

Minority Voters, Minority Candidates: An Analysis of Race and Gender in the 2008 Democratic Primary

Rachel Welsh, Oberlin College

**Michael Parkin, Oberlin College*

[Panel] 4E Group Identity and the Vote

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

The battle between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama for their party's presidential nomination provides an ideal opportunity to study the effect that race and gender identities have on the decisions made by Democratic voters. In this paper, we use Pew data, collected at multiple stages throughout the primary season, to test hypotheses concerning the way in which racial and gender identities shape voters' support for each candidate. Our findings to date suggest that voters are driven, all else equal, by their primary political identity such that men (regardless of race) tend to support Obama over Clinton while women, and particularly black women, tend to support Clinton over Obama. This suggests that for black women—for whom race and gender identities may conflict in this particular election—their identities as women play a larger role in their vote choice than their racial identities. We plan to investigate if and how this pattern might change throughout the primary campaign as Pew makes additional data available. This research addresses important questions about how voters decide between candidates who represent different aspects of the voter's political self-identity.

Moral Aspects of Prolonged Occupation: Implications for an Occupying Society

Eran Halperin, Stanford University, USA, and IDC, Israel

Daniel Bar-Tal, Tel Aviv University; Amiram Raviv, Tel Aviv University

**Nimrod Rosler, The Conflict Research Management and Resolution Program, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

Keren Sharvit, Swiss Center for Conflict Research, Management, and Resolution

[Panel] 1G Psychology of Occupation: Perspectives of the Occupier

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The present paper derives from the assumption that prolonged occupation of a territory and its people inherently involves violation of basic moral principles by the occupier. Through extensively referring to the prototypical example of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, we offer a conceptual framework that analyzes the moral aspects of prolonged occupation and its harsh implications and costs for occupying societies. In its first part, the paper delineates the legal and socio-psychological aspects of prolonged occupation and introduces the Israeli example. We then outline the occupiers' actions that constitute violations of basic moral principles, and set forth these principles from the international level, the state level, the societal level and the individual level. Based on global assimilation and international codification processes that are specified, we propose that fundamental moral principles are shared today by peoples worldwide. The breach of these principles brings forth socio-psychological challenges to the occupying society which are delineated, followed by possible coping mechanisms. Finally, we specify a few possible severe moral-social prices that occupying societies pay, while providing examples from the Israeli case.

Moral Justification and Feelings of Adjustment to Military Law-Enforcement Situation: The Case of Israeli Soldiers

**Shaul Kimhi, Shaul Kimhi, Department of Psychology, Tel Hai Academic College, Israel*

Shifra Sagy, Ben-Gurion University

[Panel] 1G Psychology of Occupation: Perspectives of the Occupier

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The research examined the use of moral justification as a mediating mechanism of stress, used by compulsory Israeli soldiers who had served at army roadblocks in the West Bank. Employing Bandura's model of moral disengagement, we

expected that the greater the justification of army roadblocks by the soldier, the more he would feel adjusted to army demands. Feelings of adjustment to this situation were examined using three components: cognitive, affective and behavioral. The sample was composed of 170 Israeli ex-soldiers who had served for at least one month at army roadblocks in the West Bank during the Al-Aksa Intifada. The results supported the hypothesis regarding association between moral justification and feelings of adjustment at the end of army service. The mediating hypothesis was partially supported. Significance of moral justification as a mechanism of coping with the enforced situation of military law is discussed.

Moral Obligation and Instrumentality in Political Collective Action

**Xiana Vilas, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela*

Jose Manuel Sabucedo, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela; Lucinda Fernández, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela

[Panel] 8H Political Mobilization

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

The collective action models share the conception that instrumental action and efficacy are very important elements that lead people to political protest. Although there have been some recent efforts to include new variables to explain the collective action field, like identity, emotions and ideology, the concept of efficacy remains in the background of these new theories. We do not deny the importance of instrumental action and perceived efficacy, but even though we consider these variables to be significant in some political actions, in others they are not. In this study we analyze a mobilization against the decision of the Spanish government to negotiate with ETA. Our outcomes show that the ethical imperative to protest against these peace talks is higher than perceived efficacy. These data lead us to question the reduced view of rationality that is generally kept in collective behaviour analysis.

Multiculturalism and Young Muslims in Canada

**Paul Nesbitt-Larking, Huron University College*

[Panel] 6T Post-Diaspora politics: psychological challenges for minority and majority communities in the West

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper is grounded in an ongoing research project on the political psychology of Muslims in the West, notably in Canada. Within the Canadian context, multiculturalism is constitutionally supported, entrenched in foundational federal and provincial legislation, and remains a core value both among Canadian elites and within the broader political culture. In the context of the widespread and broadly successful integration of the principles of multiculturalism it is useful to explore the views of Muslims, notably young Muslims, on this policy. How enthusiastic are they for the structures, discourses and practices that support multiculturalism? The paper reports on the results of a questionnaire and conversations on Multiculturalism conducted among Canadian Muslims in February and March 2008. How Muslims regard multiculturalism, what they know about it, and how they believe it has personally affected them are core questions in the study. The questionnaire also explores what Muslims regard as the principal advantages and disadvantages of multiculturalism, notably on matters of integration and assimilation. The respondents are asked whether multiculturalism has any impact on individual rights, whether it privileges group/community rights, and how far Muslim values are able to be reconciled with broader values in the Canadian constitution, political system, and polity.

Multilevel determinants of cognitive choices in the political game: which level primes?

**Alessandro Nai, University of Geneva*

[Panel] 7A Decision Making Processes

[Section] Political Decision Making

Since the highly acclaimed “cognitive revolution” (Lau and Redlawsk 2001) most researches in (decisional oriented) political behavior cope with the cognitive dimension of choices, which are therefore no more simply viewed as a result of individual or contextual determinants. Between the final choice and these determinants, a cognitive filter (Nai 2007) is most likely to exist: the cognitive strategies chosen by citizens. Do citizens simplify their task by applying some heuristic shortcuts (Sniderman, Brody and Tetlock 1991, Lupia 1992; Bowler and Donovan 1998), or do they really and truly engage in demanding reasoning and systematic treatment of arguments? Given this tension between a good and a simple decision, the question that remains open is to which extend characteristics from different levels of measurement combine together to determine the shape such filter will take. That’s precisely the aim of our paper. Starting from this premise, our paper is turned toward an analysis of the determinants of the cognitive strategies citizens “choose” to put into practice when trying to reach a satisfying decision in a direct-democratic vote. Based on Chaiken’s dual model of opinion

formation, namely the heuristic-systematic model (Eagly and Chaiken 1993), our paper will try to determine the relative importance on the cognitive strategies of individual characteristics (political awareness, need for cognition, motivation) and contextual factors (the intensity of the political campaign, the complexity of the project submitted to the vote), as well of an interaction between individual and contextual determinants. Starting from some major work in the field (Zaller 1992; Kriesi 2005) we expect the individual determinants' importance to be moderated by the contextual variables. In order to answer to our main point, a series of hierarchical linear models (Jones, Johnson and Pattie 1992; Snijders and Bosker 1998) will be conducted on post-ballot Swiss data (VOX) for the 1999-2005 period.

Myths about leaders: a multi-dimensional mapping of social representations of the “ideal political leader”

**Gerasimos Prodrimitis, Panteion University Department of Psychology*

Stamos Papastamou

[Panel] 3F Dimensions of Personality

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

From the beginning of the 20th century, early socio-psychological theorising (especially LeBon and Tarde) has provided many disciplines of social science (as well as common sense) with persistent and strong psychological stereotypes about the “ideal leader”: borderline personality, manipulator of mass behavior, inspirator of collective ideals and symbol of fundamental values. The plethora of theoretical models about the “ideal leader” rooted in the classic persuasion theories and from applied disciplines of Psychology (i.e. Industrial-Organisational Psychology, Political Psychology) generally reproduce the false dichotomy “intrinsic individual trait vs acquired through skills-training.” Our perspective, based in the epistemological tradition of sociocognitive constructivism, uses the aforementioned stereotypes as raw materials in order to evaluate their normative impact on social thinking. In a survey with a representative sample of 1500 Greek voters, a multidimensional questionnaire structured on the central dimensions of social influence processes was used in order to assess the diverse representational contents of the image of the “ideal political leader.” Associations between these representational contents and various axis of political thought and behavior were assessed. The research findings are discussed in light of their significance concerning a sociopsychological contribution to the understanding of political leadership.

NGO Leaders Decision Modes On Resources

**Alejandro Amezcua, Department of Public Administration, Syracuse University*

[Panel] 9R Bridging Disciplines and Methods: The Contributions of Transnational NGO Governance and Leadership Studies to Political Psychology (Roundtable)

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

This presentation explores leaders' choices in addressing resource scarcity issues for governing their NGOs.

NGO Leaders as Policy Entrepreneurs

**Paloma Raggio, Department of Political Science, Syracuse University*

[Panel] 9R Bridging Disciplines and Methods: The Contributions of Transnational NGO Governance and Leadership Studies to Political Psychology (Roundtable)

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

This presentation delves into NGO leaders' preferences, motivations and traits as they express their change agency as policy entrepreneurs.

NGO Leaders' Logics In Governance

**Christiane Pagé, Department of Social Sciences, Syracuse University*

[Panel] 9R Bridging Disciplines and Methods: The Contributions of Transnational NGO Governance and Leadership Studies to Political Psychology (Roundtable)

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

The last talk in this roundtable considers NGO leaders' logics for negotiating the governance configurations of their own organizations.

National Identity and the Democratic State

**Zachary Elkins, University of Illinois*

John Sides, George Washington University
[Panel] 6R Political Identity and Political Change
[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

In this paper we explore the implications of state attachment—understood as a psychological identification with, and pride in, the state—for the consolidation of democracy in multiethnic states. In particular, we are concerned with gaps in state attachment between minorities and majorities. Wide gaps indicate problems of “stateness,” which potentially inhibit the development of democratic political institutions. With repeated cross-sectional data from Iraq, South Africa, and the Baltic states we investigate whether public opinion data can validly capture stateness problems and how these attitudinal measures correspond with more behavioral measures.

National Identity, Perception of Threat and Exclusion of Migrants in Israel and Germany

**Rivka Raijman*

Peter Schmidt, Justus-Liebig-University Giessen
Oshrat Hochman, University of Mannheim, Germany
[Panel] 6S National identity in a comparative perspective
[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

The purpose of the paper is threefold. First, we focus on conceptions of national identity in two ethno-national states: Israel and Germany. We do so by analyzing the way Israelis and Germans evaluate the importance of certain characteristics for making someone a “true Israeli/German.” This issue taps directly into the issue of open or closed membership of the nation and therefore into the voluntaristic/civic and ascriptive/ethnic components of national identity. Second, we identify the socio-demographic and cultural factors that explain conceptions of national identity in each country. Third, we evaluate the ways different conceptions of national identity influence anti-foreigners sentiments and exclusionary attitudes towards migrants in both countries. Our findings suggest that although the ethnic-civic classification is relevant for understanding the different markers of national identity, most respondents in each country do not see the ethnic-ascriptive/civic-voluntaristic dimensions as competing sources of nationhood. On the contrary, the high percentage of respondents in the category of multiple national identity (ethnic and civic) in both countries reflects the simultaneous support for both ethnic and civic elements, tendency which is much more pronounced in Israel than in Germany. We found similarities between the two countries in the extent of support for the civic markers of identity but the percentage of respondents displaying a pure civic identity was higher in Germany than in Israel. In addition, religion (i.e. being Jewish) was viewed as important for being truly Israeli showing that the ethnic-religious component of national identity in Israel is rather strong. By contrast religion was the item with the weakest support in Germany thus suggesting a secular view of national identity. Multiple national identity was found as a significant predictor of both anti-foreigners sentiments and willingness to grant equal rights to legal migrants with this effect being stronger in Germany than in Israel.

National cultural differences in political discussion: Comparison between the French, the British and the Belgians

**Florence Haegel, CEVIPOF Sciences-po, Paris*

Duchesne Sophie, CEVIPOF Sciences-po, Paris
[Panel] 6B Language, Culture and Group Identity
[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Political discussion has long been considered a basic component of democratic systems. In the last decade, there has been a great deal of empirical study on the question. This has been carried out either by means of quantitative surveys which attempt to evaluate and explain the frequency of discussion and the structures of communication networks (Huckfeld, Mutz, Conover & Searing), or by means of qualitative data (seldom comparative) on the processes and resources at stake in political discussions (Eliasoph, Kramer Walsh, Conover & Searing, Duchesne & Haegel). This paper will be based on qualitative comparative research entitled “How discussion becomes political”—following a series of focus groups conducted in Paris, Brussels and Oxford on Europe. Our project aims to analyze the process through which discussions become politicized in various social and national contexts in order to address the way citizens deal with politics. The first part of the paper will broadly differentiate between the three different national patterns of politicisation by comparing the way conflict, competition and deliberation are combined differently in their respective political cultures. We will then give evidence of the impact of these cultural patterns on how people discuss politics in these three countries. Particular emphasis will be placed on the ways in which people take a stand in a discussion, whether or not they actually answer each other, the way they deal with disagreement, etc. Lastly, we will single out the main resources harnessed by individual

participants among those most involved in the process of politicising discussions.

National identity and national narratives

**Molly Andrews, University of East London*

[Panel] 6H Political narratives and social change

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

The collective identity of a nation state can be accessed through the stories it tells about its own history, symbolized for instance in its national monuments which indicate those people and events which are to be remembered and commemorated. The process by which a formal national identity becomes internalised, that is to say 'owned' by an individual in such a way that it becomes part of their self-definition, is complex. Much of my own research has focussed on how individuals make sense of national narratives in relation to their own lives, and to their own sense of self. This paper will explore how individuals communicate their sense of national belonging (or lack thereof) through the stories they tell about themselves, as people who live in particular cultures and who must negotiate their way through particular historical moments. While much literature on national identity of individuals has focussed on explicit talk about national characteristics (ascribing them to one's own group, and to others), this is not the only way in which people communicate their sense of what it means to be a member of their community. Often it is in the parenthetical throw-away lines that an individual will reveal an important aspect of what their national identity means to them, and how this evolves over time. The paper will draw on studies I have conducted in Britain, the United States, East Germany, United States and South Africa, where I have explored how national identity is negotiated by individuals living through times of heightened political change.

National identity and xenophobia: the interplay between economic interests and identity issues in cross-national perspective

**Marcel Coenders, Utrecht University*

Mikael Hjerm, Umeå University

[Panel] 6S National identity in a comparative perspective

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

In this contribution we focus on the opposition to ethnic minorities and immigrants in Europe. The aim of this study is to describe and explain within and between country variation in negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities, as well as some recent changes over time. In particular we focus on the relationships between ethnic and national identification on the one hand and xenophobia on the other hand. Contemporary research on xenophobia is dominated by two theoretical traditions. According to realistic group conflict theories, negative out-group attitudes are rooted in a clash of—mostly economic—group interests. Social identity theory emphasizes considerations of group identity. We bring these two strands of theory together to investigate the interplay between economic group interests and identity issues and test individual level as well as contextual level hypotheses for intra- and international differences in xenophobia among European societies. We use cross-national comparative survey data from two modules of the International Social Survey Program (1995 and 2003). We investigate how the effects of individual circumstances, predispositions and attitudes are moderated by the economic and demographic national context as well as by concerns of national identity among the general public.

Nationalism in Contemporary Russia: Beliefs and Attitudes of Russian Youth

**Svetlana Medvedeva, Moscow State University for International Relations*

Timur Polyannikov, State University Higher School of Economics

[Panel] 6C Post-Communist Nationalism and National Identities

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Nationalism is both a political movement and a political ideology which appeared in Western Europe in the beginning of the Modernity and were interconnected with the processes of brake up of traditional empires (based on religious legitimacy of power) and their replacement with a new world order of modern nation-states. In this sense, nationalism is an ideology, which enables modern states to reproduce themselves. However, the case of Russia demonstrates a deviation from this general scheme. Owing to some concurrence of circumstances in 1917 the process of disintegration of Russian Empire was held up and then replaced with a formation of quasi-imperial unity based on quasi-religious ideology. Only in 1990s, the collapse of the USSR put the nationalistic ideas again in circulation among Russian elites and masses. Actually

contemporary Russia is making the first steps in rebuilding itself into a nation state, and so the problem of elaborating of a relevant ideology has become especially urgent. At the same time, expectedly, in Russian society there is no consensus about the forms and nature of nationalism, which are required and which can evolve here. Thus in the present study, we aimed to reveal at least how these problems (of national identity, relations between different ethnic groups, politics of nation building, etc.) are seen by young Russian citizens (age 18-25). Our research is a qualitative study, based on 40 interviews with open questions on nationalist problematic in contemporary Russia.

Negative Consequences of Extreme In-Group/Out-Group Rhetoric: An Experimental Design

**Anika Cornelia Leithner, California Polytechnic State University*

[Panel] 2C Contested policies: Winning the acceptance of the public

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The verbal delineation of in-group and out-group is generally considered an important step in paving the way to war (Jamieson & Campbell, 1990; Dedaić & Nelson, 2003). Every dispute starts with “othering,” i.e. making distinctions between ‘Us’ and ‘Them.’ Psychological research has documented the need for such in-group/out-group rhetoric in order to lower the psychological and social barriers to killing (Gladstone, 1962; Holsti, 1967; Silverstein & Holt, 1989). To that effect, political rhetoric constructs a social reality that delineates the fault line between friends and foes, while simultaneously providing the verbal justification for killing the ‘Other’ by creating a persuasive enemy image. This study seeks to build on existing research by investigating the—perhaps unintended—consequences of such exclusionary rhetoric. In particular, the author argues that by employing extreme in-group/out-group rhetoric, foreign policy officials run the risk of alienating friends and allies if these are implicitly (or explicitly) relegated to the out-group. As a result, a backlash in the form of feelings of resentment toward the in-group could occur. In order to investigate this problem, the author has constructed a multiple-group, randomized controlled experiment that is designed to test the effects of exclusionary political rhetoric on subjects’ attitudes toward the speakers, the designated in-group as a whole, and specific policies associated with both. The author hypothesizes that manipulating subjects’ perceptions of inclusion in or exclusion from the in-group will impact their opinions—based on emotional reactions—about policy choices of the in-group in a simulated setting of international conflict.

Negotiations in mobilization campaigns: How political psychology can inform activists and social movement scholars

**Marije Elvira Boekkooi, VU University Amsterdam*

[Panel] 8H Political Mobilization

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

This paper focuses on mobilization campaigns for demonstrations. Mobilization campaigns are often initiated by alliances of organizers. This implies that these organizers -often representatives of different social movement groups- need to negotiate about the campaign. The negotiation-process itself has been subject to strong controversies within social movements and has even caused splits within them. It is therefore imperative to understand negotiation-processes, both for scholars to understand social movements, and for activists seeking to accomplish successful campaigns. But, although social psychologists have studied negotiation processes extensively these theories are hardly known or used by social movement scholars and activists alike. Furthermore, these studies have often been conducted in experimental settings and focus on dyads and business-negotiations. The applicability to social movement settings is therefore not yet clear. In this paper I will import the theory on negotiations into the study of mobilization processes, focusing on real-life negotiations in coalitions of social movement groups. I will give a short overview of different negotiation-theories that could be helpful to the understanding of social movements, such as; the impact of negotiation-styles of individuals as well as the impact of group cultures, and the type of negotiation issue. I will also discuss some of the impacts of affect, emotion, status and power. I will subsequently apply these theories to data on several mobilization campaigns. I have conducted in-depth interviews with organizers of an anti-war demonstration in the Netherlands, last summer’s anti-G8-protests in Germany, and a national day of action against Climate change in the US.

No Need to Argue: Why Did the Bush Administration Continue to be Concurrent in the Run up to the Iraq War Despite Receiving Negative Feedback?

**Tobias Van Assche, Rollins College*

[Panel] 7G Political Psychology of Foreign Policy Decision Making

[Section] Political Decision Making

Why did the Bush administration continue to be concurrent and push for the overthrowing of the Saddam Hussein regime, despite receiving negative feedback throughout the case? This study will test two competing theories: it will look whether escalation of commitment (Brockner and Rubin, 1985) and/or expectancies in sequential decision making (Billings and Hermann, 1998) can explain why President Bush and his closest advisors did not use the opposition and disconfirming information that was available to them to start a debate on whether overthrowing Saddam militarily was advisable. Can escalation of commitment, which claims that policy makers continue a course of action despite realizing it was not very likely to succeed, because they felt compelled by social pressures, self-justification, or side-bet pressures, also explain why the group continues concurrence seeking in this case? Or, can the type of decision and level of expectancy (how confident the group is they understand the situation, and that their approach can resolve the problem) better explain why the group ignored disconfirming information, and instead continued to push for military action? This paper uses biographies and recent publications that recount the decision-making process leading to the 2003 war in Iraq. It divides this case into occasions for decision and then applies a structured focused comparison for each of these occasions for decision. At each instance, it will examine whether escalation variables and/or expectancy variables are present (independent variables). The dependent variable is why the group continued to be united despite receiving negative feedback.

Obedience to an Illegitimate Demand: the Effect of Perceived Democracy

**Stefano Passini, University of Bologna, Italy*

Davide Morselli

[Panel] 8E Ideologies and Values in Tension

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Despite the study of obedience to the authority has been experimentally studied for long, few researches have integrated a multidimensional perspective of the relationship with the authority, integrating constructive and destructive aspects of obedience and constructive and destructive aspects of disobedience. Indeed, disobedience and obedience represent the two sides of the same coin, controlling one over the other, and should be studied simultaneously. Controlling the legitimacy of demands of the authority, disobedience helps to prevent the degeneration of authority. According to Kelman (2001) and Kelman and Hamilton (1989), the attribution of legitimacy is processed at three different levels: the legitimacy of the system where the authority relationship takes place; the legitimacy of the authority itself and the forms it assumes (i.e. bureaucratic authority, institutional authority; professional authority, etc.); the legitimacy of the demands that the authority issues to the members of the group. In this research, we investigated the effect of the system/contextual level on the response to an illegitimate demand. An experimental design has been constructed, with democratic vs. authoritarian system as independent variable. Results on 220 subjects confirmed that participants tend to obey to the authority's request more in the democratic than in the authoritarian condition.

On Cliche and Other Bla Bla Bla (nanoka kantoka) in Communicating Politics in Japan

**Ofar Feldman, Doshisha University*

[Panel] 5L Language, Humor and Power: Analyzing the Politics of Common Expressions

[Section] Political Communication

This paper examines selected aspects of political rhetoric in Japan. Focusing on the discourse of high-echelon politicians, news media reporters, and government bureaucrats, the paper details in particular the nature and use of "cliché" in prime ministers' policy speeches, during interview sessions with decision-makers on live televised programs, during deliberations in the National Diet, and in political articles published by leading newspapers. The paper analyzes a small but representative selection of cliché expressions to illustrate the scope and characteristics of this feature of rhetoric and its role in the political culture of this non-Western society.

On Testing and Explaining Invariance in Opinions towards Immigration Policies

**Bart Meuleman, University of Leuven, Belgium
Eldad Davidov, University of Mannheim, and GESIS-ZA, University of Cologne
Jaak Billiet*

[Panel] 2Z Minorities and Public Opinion in a cross cultural comparison
[Section] Intergroup Relations

Anti-immigration attitudes have been investigated quite extensively. Research that focuses on the evolution of attitudes toward immigration, however, is far more scarce. In this paper, we use data from the European Social Survey (ESS) to study the trend of anti-immigration attitudes between 2002 and 2007 in 17 European countries. Anti-immigration attitudes are operationalized by a scale that was designed to measure whether respondents prefer their country to allow many or few immigrants. This scale is included in each of the three ESS rounds held so far, so that we have information on three time points at our disposal (2002/3, 2004/5 and 2006/7). In the first part of the paper, we discuss the critical legitimacy for comparing latent variable means over countries and time. Before valid comparisons can be made, we have to guarantee the cross-country and cross-time equivalence of the variables under study. A multiple-group multiple-indicator structural equation modeling (MGSEM) approach is used to test the hypothesis of equivalent measurements. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study that assesses cross-time measurement equivalence of attitudes toward immigration. In a second step, we also try to offer an explanation for the observed evolutions in the 17 countries, by linking the evolutions to various national context variables.

On Being NGO

**George Mitchell, Department of Political Science, Syracuse University*
[Panel] 9R Bridging Disciplines and Methods: The Contributions of Transnational NGO Governance and Leadership Studies to Political Psychology (Roundtable)
[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

This presentation considers leaders' perceptions about the nature of their own organizations and on "being NGO".

On the Personality Basis of Authoritarianism: The Role of Openness to Experience, Social Conformity, and Personal Need for Structure

*Philipp Jugert, Friedrich Schiller University of Jena
*J. Christopher Cohrs, Friedrich Schiller University of Jena
John Duckitt, University of Auckland*
[Panel] 2K New Developments in Authoritarianism Research I: Personal Roots and Development of Authoritarianism
[Section] Intergroup Relations

Several personality constructs such as openness to experience, social conformity, personal need for structure (PNS), and attachment style have been proposed to underlie right-wing authoritarian attitudes (RWA). This paper attempts to analyze how strongly these constructs overlap or are able to account for specific variance in RWA. We tested this in two samples, a student sample in New Zealand (N = 218) and an adult sample in Germany (N = 271). Prior to analyses, we used factor analytic methods to discard items that involved content overlap between constructs. In Sample 1, social conformity and PNS independently predicted variance in RWA. This finding was replicated in Sample 2, where we also measured openness to experience facets, attachment style, and disgust sensitivity. These constructs did not predict RWA when controlling for social conformity and PNS. The impact of openness to experience on RWA was completely and jointly mediated by social conformity and PNS. Our results help to integrate current alternative approaches to the personality basis of authoritarianism. They suggest that the well-known association between openness to experience and RWA is driven by two distinct processes: a more intrapersonal process related to cognitive style and a more interpersonal process related to social conformity.

On the importance of attribution theory in political psychology

**Gail Sahar, Wheaton College, Massachusetts*
[Panel] 10H Modeling and Measurement in Political Psychology
[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Attribution theory, which was initially applied to the study of academic achievement, has generated a large amount of research in psychology. Judgments of causal responsibility, an important facet of attributions, have since been studied in a

variety of other contexts, revealing that they pervade our understanding of the social world. The present paper considers the many ways in which causal judgments, particularly attributions of responsibility, influence political life. Examining research from the fields of psychology, political science, sociology, and linguistics, I discuss how perceptions of responsibility are linked to ideology and how they influence policy attitudes (welfare, affirmative action, abortion, immigration, gay rights), perceptions of international conflict (beliefs about terrorism and war), and responses to political figures. An argument is made for increased communication among fields and a more systematic application of attributional models to the study of political judgments.

Online Information-Seeking for Military Enlistment Decision-Making

**Douglas Yeung, Rutgers University, Newark*

Brian Gifford

[Panel] 5A Policy and Opinion Formation

[Section] Political Communication

How do people decide to enlist in the military? What information do they seek on which to base their decisions? The Internet increasingly provides a medium for ad campaigns, accessibility to recruiters, and interaction with other potential recruits. However, people behave differently online as opposed to over the phone or face-to-face. For instance, the anonymity afforded by computer-mediated communication may allow for freer discussion and behavior. We employ qualitative methodology to explore the influence of online communication on enlistment decision-making. First, analysis of recent Army new recruit surveys showed that a sizeable proportion of recruits have either encountered Army advertising or sought recruiting information online. However, such personnel surveys necessarily exclude individuals who may have considered or sought information about the military but decided against enlisting. We therefore also examined online discussion forums in which both soldiers and prospective soldiers ask questions, trade insights, and vent frustrations. Two military-focused websites were sampled for postings indicating information-seeking for enlistment decision-making. The sampled posts were categorized after achieving inter-rater reliability on the coding scheme. Potential recruits were most interested in what to expect from a military lifestyle. They sought out opinions and specific details on job functions, duty stations, and benefits. These findings suggest that potential Army recruits may be unable or unwilling to find the information necessary to make their enlistment decisions simply from military websites or talking to recruiters. Online, they may be less reluctant to ask relevant questions, thus receiving more honest opinions.

Oslo and Its Aftermath: Lessons Learned from Track Two Diplomacy

**Esra Çuhadar, Bilkent University*

Bruce Winfield Dayton, Syracuse University

[Panel] 1U Israeli-Palestinian Relations

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

This paper reports the results of a study which has examined the theories of change in a number of track two initiatives carried out during the Oslo peace process concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In this study, the term “theories of change” is borrowed from the program evaluation literature and is defined as the theory underlying the practice of a particular track two initiative concerning the link between the planned activities and the expected outcomes. In other words, the paper explores why the practitioners carry out the track two initiatives the way they do; what the operating assumptions are about achieving social and political change; and how the micro level changes are linked to the macro level. Data regarding these questions were gathered through interviews with track two practitioners and in two separate workshops held with a group of track two practitioners. The data were then coded in the following categories in order to uncover the theories of change: the beliefs held by the practitioners, activities planned, transfer strategies used, and outcomes expected. The paper presents the results regarding these categories and discusses the varieties of theories of change behind the initiatives. Finally, the paper discusses these findings in light of the relevance of the track two initiatives to the Oslo peace process.

Our mother, prince and friend: An analysis of kinship language and national identity (Poster)

**Oliver Lauenstein, School of Psychology, University of St Andrews*

[Panel] 6P Poster Session: National identity

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper reports on a research project concerned with the use of kinship language in the construction of national identity. The overall aim of the project is to examine both the nature and consequences of such usage. In particular, I am interested in whether kinship formulations go some way to explaining Benedict Anderson's classic query as to why people invest more in national symbols (say the tomb of the unknown soldier) more than symbols of other political categories. The first stage of this project, which I report on here, aims at a systematic mapping of kinship language within discourses of nationhood. Based on (a) a study of the national anthems of the 50 most populous countries in the world, (b) an analysis of parliamentary debates in Britain and Scotland relating to national symbols (respectively, on the redesign of the Union flag and on the creation of a national holiday on St. Andrews day), I shall address the following four questions. First, how frequent is the usage of kinship language and are there particular contexts in which it is used more often than others? Second, what are the ways in which kinship is related to nationhood? Third, how is kinship used (in relation to the twin functions of establishing national cohesion and of mobilising people to defend national interest even to the extent of self-sacrifice). Fourth, are there relationships between different types of kinship language and different functions (notably, in the ways of different genderings—e.g. 'motherland' vs. 'fatherland' are used).

Overcoming the Destructive Bugaboo of “Is it Genocide or Not?”: A Multiple Data-Driven Classification of Genocidal Events

**Israel W Charny, Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem*

[Panel] 10A Violence, Identity, and Altruism

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

A classification of genocidal events in multiple subcategories takes advantage of the one word, genocide, that has gained recognition and acceptance throughout the world to refer to events of mass killings of unarmed non-combatant peoples. Lemkin succeeded in giving the world a term which has entered into the everyday language of people, journalists and legal practitioners as no other word has succeeded in doing. A multiple classification combines an overarching generic definition of genocide as mass killing of unarmed civilians with an objective description of the detailed phenomenology of each genocidal event in its specific variations is that it uses the word. A multiple classification of genocides allows for: * placing an event in more than one subcategory * easier shifting of an event to another subcategory as new information comes in * linking classification of an event to empirical data sources * inclusion in a much broader and more detailed classification system

* freeing oneself from the provocative question, “Is it really genocide?” to categorize events differentially in subcategories that stay close to the observable facts of each event * incorporating more easily new and novel means, methods and models of genocide. * incorporating confounding situations where a present or past victim also appears as a perpetrator. No case of masses of murdered dead bodies of unarmed civilians should fail to have a name that places it in a responsible context of genocide. A multiple classification records first of all the FACTS of an event. The category titles chosen for an event grow more out of the facts than out of political or other personal conceptions.

Paris, 1940: A Traumatized City and Postwar Political Reliving

**David Beisel, SUNY-RCC*

[Panel] 1H The Postwar Syndrome: The Politics of Trauma and Disillusionment

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The sudden defeat of France in six weeks in June 1940 was completely unexpected, by the world, by the French, even by Hitler and his generals. All the evidence from events surrounding this defeat—the flood of Dutch and Belgian refugees into France, the exodus from Paris, the bombing and strafing of refugee columns, the collapse of the French government—point to a massive collective trauma. To make matters worse, the humiliation of defeat was followed by the humiliation of military occupation, an additional collective trauma lasting more than three years. This paper explores the notion that some of France's major post-war political and military decisions were the product of an unconscious compulsion to relive these original traumas.

Parties as Brands? Testing a Consumer Model of Partisan Loyalties

**Robert Johns, University of Strathclyde*

[Panel] 4Q The Psychology of Partisanship (Part A: The Nature of Partisanship)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Judging by the research literatures on the two topics, there are important parallels between party identification in political science and brand loyalty in marketing. Both involve an important distinction between the affective and cognitive aspects of loyalty. And both posit a heuristic version of cognitive loyalty, in which voters and consumers stick by parties and brands in order to save themselves the effort of seeking and processing information about the alternatives. In this paper I explore the theoretical connections between party and brand loyalty in some detail. Then I report on a mass sample survey (N=2000, conducted online by YouGov) designed to test the following two hypotheses: i) that there is a general tendency to loyalty that operates in both the partisan and the consumer domains; ii) that the psychological impetus behind this tendency varies across individuals, some being prone to emotional attachments, others using loyalty as a cognitive heuristic. The hypotheses receive only partial support, but the nuanced findings help to extend our understanding of partisan loyalties.

Partisan Identity, Political Threat, and Electoral Mobilization

**Leonie Huddy, Stony Brook University*

**Lilliana Mason, Stony Brook University*

[Panel] 4S The Psychology of Partisanship (Part B: Emotional Foundations and Electoral Consequences of Partisanship)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

We adopt a new approach to the study of mobilization, and focus on its emotional basis tied to one's partisan identity. We blend social identity theory (Tajfel 1981; Tajfel and Turner 1979), group emotions research (Mackie et al 2000; Smith et al 2007), and work on political emotions (Marcus et al 2000), to derive predictions about the impact of specific negative and positive emotions on electoral mobilization. Our research examines the ability of specific emotions to mobilize and demobilize voters, focusing specifically on positive and negative information about a party's electoral prospects. We examine the circumstances under which positive and negative information can mobilize and demobilize voters through the arousal of emotions linked to partisan identity. We predict that a threatened loss will arouse anxiety when this message is delivered by in-partisans and that such a message will depress turnout. In contrast, a threatened loss is expected to arouse anger and mobilize voters when it is delivered by members of the other party. A projected victory will lead to positive emotions and increase turnout when it comes from either the in or the out party. Data are drawn from two web-based surveys of strong partisans recruited from a number of highly partisan political blogs (first study: N=630; second study: N=approximately 600). We find supportive evidence that positive emotions such as the enthusiasm aroused by an expected victory enhance political donations to both one's candidate and political organization. Negative emotions do not directly affect involvement but have other expected effects. A threatened loss from the out party arouses anger and heightens ingroup solidarity; a threatened loss from within one's own party enhances anxiety and promotes ingroup solidarity, but also decreases animosity towards the other party. Moreover, we find strong evidence that emotional reactions to a threatened loss or victory are most pronounced among strong partisans in support of social identity theory (Huddy 2001). Findings thus lend evidence to an emergent view of partisan identity as a social identity.

Partisan versus Ideological Extremity in Voter Perception of Roll-Call Voting

**Everett Young, Stony Brook University*

Matthew Lebo, Stony Brook University

Gregory Koger, University of Miami

[Panel] 4T The Psychology of Partisanship (Part C: The Dynamics of Partisanship and Ideology)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Several studies of congressional elections have focused on the electoral consequences of voting records for members of Congress. Erikson (1971), for example, was among the first to examine the electoral consequences of roll call voting and Canes-Wrone, et al. (2002) looked at the effects of ideological extremism in roll call voting on the likelihood of reelection for members of the House of Representatives. More recently, Carson, Koger, and Lebo (2007) have shown that it is levels of partisanship and not ideology that voters are responding to when evaluating the roll call history of their incumbent legislators. Each of these theories implies a theory of voting in congressional elections and each of these theories remain untested. Using experimental evidence, we evaluate the effects of different types of roll call behavior on voters' voting patterns. We seek to answer the following: to which types are voters most responsive, ideological cues or partisan cues? If in fact voters consider lockstep partisan voting more offensive than consistent ideological voting, we investigate whether all voters do so, or only certain voters, and what psychological mechanisms might be at work. For example, do voters see party as a social identity interpretable in terms of "us" and "them," while ideology is just a way of thinking independent of group membership? Or do voters perhaps view the towing of party lines as a cue indicating political "puppetry," or a lack

of intellectual independence, whereas ideological consistency is exactly the opposite—a sign of a strong intellect? These issues are explored through answers to various survey questions accompanying our experiment. There is aggregate evidence that voters rely on levels of partisanship more than levels of ideological consistency in appraising candidates' roll call votes, in particular punishing candidates who vote in too tight a lockstep with a party. We investigate this phenomenon experimentally, at the individual level, and seek out the perceptual mechanisms by which voters might judge differently candidates who tow a party line than those whose similar levels of voting consistency are framed as ideologically driven.

Partisanship is a Conditional Choice

**Meredith Rolfe, Nuffield College, University of Oxford*

[Panel] 4Q The Psychology of Partisanship (Part A: The Nature of Partisanship)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

In this paper, I develop a formal model of partisanship which draws on the psychological and sociological literatures on social influence, and test its implications against those of a traditional economic or issue space approach. Traditional economic theories of partisanship assume identical actors who choose the party that best matches their issue preferences. I begin with an assumption that choices are made by heterogeneous individuals embedded in social networks. Partisan choice, in this view, is responsive to the choices of others in that social network, but this relationship is moderated by individual differences in information processing. More concretely, the model predicts that strength of partisanship depends on location within social networks, but that entity theorists of personality and low self-monitors can maintain extreme views even in the face of social ties to partisans of another party. The 2006 Pilot American National Election Study is ideal for testing these predictions, as it includes both social network data and individual personality measures.

Peace Movement in the “Golden Cage”—Comparing Public Image Sensitivity in Two Israeli Peace Organizations

**Tamir Magal Magal, School of Political Science, Haifa University, Israel*

[Panel] 1E Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Its Resolution—Part 1

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Peace organizations, operating within the context of intractable conflict, play an innovative role within society, by challenging and undermining societal beliefs which supports and upholds the conflict. This paper claims that different peace organizations adopt different degrees of innovation. This difference can be deduced from the freedom, each organization takes upon him, in expressing dissenting views within public discourse. And so, peace organizations express differing levels of dissention. The main proposition of this paper is that sensitivity to public opinion and the organization's vocational perspective serve as constraining factors which hinders some peace organizations from expressing high levels of dissention. The paper validate these claims by comparing positions taken by two Israeli peace organizations over a 20 years period and showing how these organizations reacted differently to changes within public opinion as a result of these constraining factors.

Perception of national identities through history school textbooks : Comparative case study of Greece and Turkey

**Elif Dorduncu Aydemir, Université de Paris I*

[Panel] 6J Historical narratives, collective memory and ethics

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

The nationalistic discourse offers one of its most pure forms in the school textbooks. Besides teaching several subjects, school is an instrument for creating unity among the new generation and for assuring standardization from the specific ideological point of a given government. According to the curriculum usually set by the State, subjects like history, literature; geography has more power on constructing the student's basic attitudes on political issues. Many times, through simplified narration, students receive their most unquestioned information, almost an absolute “truth” which will form its future prejudices. History lessons, where we observe these implications with great clarity, are an interesting field of political examination. During the twentieth century, which is accepted to be the era of nationalisms more than any other, the history textbooks in Europe contained many detailed definitions about the national foes and allies, stereotypes with in a nation or among other people narrated by a primitive statement of the State ideology carefully integrated to a historical construction of the past and the present which makes references to a commonly desired future. In this paper we would like to emphasize the construction of the national identity of a person and the perception of the “Other” through history school textbooks by comparing the

examples from the Turkish and Greek school books. Through analyzing these texts, while combining the knowledge of Political Psychology and International Relations, we believe to enlighten the roots of the cultural memory and also have a deeper look to an international conflict.

Personality and Distributive Justice: The Impact of the Big Five on Preferences for Justice Ideologies

**Jean-Yves Gerlitz, Humboldt University Berlin*

[Panel] 7D Ideological Thinking

[Section] Political Decision Making

Attitudes concerning distributive justice in a society are usually explained by social structure while individual characteristics are ignored. This paper aims at highlighting the importance of personality for the formation of preferences for justice ideologies. By combining the primary ideology approach and personality research a theoretical framework is set up, predicting internal and external causes for the impact of personality traits. This framework is tested using German data of the International Social Justice Project (ISJP) 2006. The empirical findings show that the Big Five have a crucial impact on preferences for justice ideologies, although different effects for East and West Germany can be observed. Largely, the results support the theoretical framework. However, further fine adjustments are necessary.

Personality and Parliamentary Politics

**Elena Semenova, University of Jena (Germany)*

[Panel] 3B Leader Personality & Its Consequences

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The modern research into elites focuses on legislatures as certain passages to power. The process of socialization and social demographic background of legislators are being taken into account, more specifically, parliamentary recruitment and typical careers are at the core of investigation. In the general legislative research the psychological aspects are underrepresented and, therefore, contributions in filling this gap are welcome. Role perception, legislation and decision-making are well researched, however, the systematic knowledge on the impact of personality on the connection between role perception and patterns of behavior is missing. My focus of investigation is: how personal characteristics (motivation, role perception etc.) affect political careers and attitudes of members of parliament? This proposal focuses on the sub-group of political elites—members of national parliaments in Germany and Russia; and through inclusion of personal factors aims at improving of understanding among parliamentary recruitment, legislative careers and attitudes of MPs. In terms of time-frame this analysis takes into account the 16th term (2005-2009) of the German Bundestag and the fifth term of the Russian Duma which has been elected in 2007. The comparative work employs the design of the most different cases: Germany is an established western democracy with experience of successful East German transformation; Russia, on the contrary, can be seen as a democracy or semi-authoritarian regime. These differences allow to trace the development of different types of legislators. For the purpose of this work two sample groups of MPs will be interviewed (20 interviews for each country).

Personality and electoral choice: An Italian study within the HEXACO model of personality

**Antonio Chirumbolo, University of Chieti-Pescara*

Luigi Leone, University of Rome

Alessandra Areni, University of Rome

[Panel] 4B Personality and Politics

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Many studies have connected personality traits to political attitudes and behaviours. In fact, personality traits often play a relevant role in attitude formation, political decision making or political behaviours such as voting. However, most of these studies have been conducted within the Five Factor Model of Personality. In this contribution we aim to study the relationship between personality traits and electoral choice adopting the six factor model of personality (the so called HEXACO). Participants were 200 University students of Rome who completed a questionnaire containing the HEXACO-PI and measures of political attitudes and behaviours, such as the party voted at the last elections. According to their electoral choice, participants were classified along the left-right dimension into four different orientations: radical left, moderate left, moderate right, radical right. Results pointed out an interesting and complex picture. As regards Honesty and Openness to Experience, it was shown a significant linear trend, radical leftist participants scoring higher than radical

rightist. However, a significant curvilinear trend emerged as regards Emotionality, Extraversion and Conscientiousness. Moderate leftist and moderate rightist did not differ from each other and scored higher than radical participants, both leftist and rightist.

Personality in Belgian Politics: Confronting Political Personalities in the 2007 Government Formation

**Philippe Josepha Johan De Vries, University of Antwerp*

Christ'1 De Landsheer, University of Antwerp

[Panel] 3H Leader Personality and Government Outcomes

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The research domain of political psychology particularly emphasized the important and prominent role played by personality within the political arena. Both candidate and voter personalities are significantly influencing voter decision-making processes. A vast body of literature—emanating from several scientific disciplines—is suggesting that political personality strongly influences political developments and even election outcomes (Bass, 1985; Lord, DeVader, Allinger, 1986; Pierce, 1993; Caprara, Barbaranelli, & Zimbardo, 1999 and 2002). The Belgian federal elections of 2007 emanated into an unprecedented political deadlock. Undoubtedly the ideological, economical, social, and linguistic differences between the Flemish and the Walloon communities made the government formation more difficult. This research is—nonetheless—hypothesizing that the personalities of the key politicians within the negotiations had an even more profound impact on the failure of the government formation. Within the scope of this paper the Belgian political crisis of 2007 will be investigated through confronting political personality profiles. These political personality profiles will be based on reasoning and theory from Immelman. It was Immelman (1998, 1999, 2002, and 2004) who conceived a theory based on Millon's personality theory (1986, 1990, 1994, 1996, and 2000), which is enabling researchers to determine the personality of political candidates and leaders.

Perspectives from Academia and from the Field: Joseph Montville

**Joseph Vincent Montville, George Mason University; American University; Esalen Institute*

[Panel] Combating Genocide: Politics, Psychology and Ethics (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Joseph Montville will discuss his views in roundtable discussion on 'Combating Genocide: Politics, Psychology and Ethics'.

Perspectives from Academia and from the Field: Kristen Monroe

**Kristen Renwick Monroe, Dept of Political Science*

[Panel] Combating Genocide: Politics, Psychology and Ethics (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Kristen Monroe will participate in roundtable discussion on "Combating Genocide: Politics, Psychology and Ethics".

Perspectives from Academia and from the Field: Shimon Samuels

**Shimon Samuels, Simon Wiesenthal Centre*

[Panel] Combating Genocide: Politics, Psychology and Ethics (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Shimon Samuels will discuss his views in roundtable "Combating Genocide: Politics, Psychology and Ethics."

Political Activism: Should Psychologists and Psychiatrists try to make a difference?

**Rael Strous, Beer Yaakov Mental Center, Sackler Faculty of Medicine, Tel Aviv University*

[Panel] 8J The Impact of Sociopolitical Forces on Attitudes and Actions

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

The fields of psychology and psychiatry are characterized by the study of human behavior and mental processes. Their mandated "social contract" with the community is to describe, understand, predict, and modify behavior, particularly with

mental illness. Acting otherwise constitutes abdication of professional responsibility. Thus involvement of mental-health professionals in political activity could be considered a boundary violation. The responsibility of psychology and psychiatry to society should encompass a respect for those arenas of life that supersede medical practice and any temptation to employ training inappropriately should be resisted. It may be argued that mental health clinicians have no more authority than others to command the community's attention with regard to political issues. Mental-health clinicians should engage in political activism only as "concerned citizens" and not as professionals. Several historical illustrations exist demonstrating perils of mental-health involvement in politics including the Nazi era as the most gregarious example. In this manner, psychologists and psychiatrists face challenges to their professionalism and autonomy and subsequently to their ethical standards of conduct. Entering into political activity and discourse would constitute a violation of these standards. Political activism by the profession is too divisive and diminishes the mental health profession's standing and respect in the community. However, political psychology is a very legitimate and respectable sub-affiliate of the discipline which is an interdisciplinary academic field dedicated to the study of the interface between psychology and political behavior. Core principles of the profession should never be abandoned in light of any political activism.

Political Cognition, Power, and Metarepresentation : A New Theory of Thinking, Action, and Communication

**Cristian Popescu, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris*

[Panel] 10E New Perspectives on Agency and Culture in Political Psychology

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

This theoretical paper explores some fundamental features of the complex relationship between power and metarepresentation in a political cognitive context. My working hypothesis is that a coherent and comprehensive model can be built in order to better explain together a fair number of phenomena (both very wide and varied) pertaining to political cognition. This model draws empirical support already for several of its core contentions ; others however lack it for the moment. Its range of applications, actual and potential, is extremely large. To state it very briefly, starting from a relational definition of power as "action upon action" (Foucault, 1983)—and from a recursive definition of metarepresentation as "representation of representation" (e. g., Sperber, 2000): it becomes obvious that their respective basic building blocks (i. e., representation vs. action) are intimately linked. And this essential link between cognitive representation and political action provides a heuristic angle for analyzing the manifold manifestations of belief, behaviour, and discourse within political cognition. Therefrom, my paper has a double purpose : from an extensive standpoint, I explain how in a broad detailed dynamic network of power and metarepresentation people politically interact and cognitively integrate their interaction ; whereas, from an intensive standpoint, I advance two both rigorous and original typologies of power and, respectively, metarepresentation—in interconnection. Indeed, my competition model of power as well as computational model of metarepresentation are best understood together and through one another.

Political Cynicism and Electoral Choice

Aida Paskeviciute, University of Essex

**Martin Rosema, University of Twente*

[Panel] 4C Cynicism, Emotion, and Voting

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Political trust and political cynicism are not key concepts in electoral research. However, if models based on traditional factors (social background, policy preferences, ideological positions, government approval, and candidate images) failed to provide an adequate explanation of the support of a particular party, political cynicism has been put forward as a relevant factor. Electoral support for so-called extreme right-wing and populist parties in Europe are well-known examples. The evidence for the impact of political cynicism on the vote is, however, rather limited and scattered. Moreover, how the concept of political cynicism relates to notions like political trust, political alienation, and political support is not sufficiently clear. The aim of this paper is to take up both issues. Its first aim is to provide some conceptual clarity regarding the meaning of political cynicism, by discussing both political science literature as well as the psychological foundation of the concept. The second aim is to provide a more systematic analysis of the impact of political cynicism on the vote (both electoral participation and party choice), by focusing on a wide range of European countries and a wide range of parties. This will be done on the basis of survey data from the European Social Survey (ESS) and the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES). Findings indicate that political cynicism affects voters' preferences for some parties but not for others. Furthermore, findings indicate that whereas in some countries political cynicism leads to abstention, in other countries it leads to support for particular parties. We conclude by discussing the implications for the functioning of democracy.

Political Kynicism, Cynicism and the duality of Emotion and Cognition

**Sanne Rijkhoff, Leiden University*

[Panel] 4C Cynicism, Emotion, and Voting

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Scholars provide evidence of increasing political cynicism in the Netherlands and other European countries. Although some warn about its alarming implications others see a moderate and healthy critical type of cynicism, or distrust, as facilitator of democracy modernization. However no conclusions about the consequences of cynicism can be made beyond dispute. In this paper I investigate the nature of cynicism in Dutch politics. I borrow the notions of cynicism and kynicism from philosopher Sloterdijk (1984/20056) and identify as kynics the cynical citizens that remain hopeful and have political knowledge, and as cynics, the cynical citizens that lack hope. On the basis of this distinction, I test for differences of kynics and cynics regarding interest in politics, participation and involvement. Kynics are expected to remain political active even though they are cynical, whereas cynics are expected to retract from the political life and its activities. I collect data with three web-surveys which include a cynicism scale and questions regarding respondent's emotions towards politics, educational level, political sophistication, political participation and voting behavior. This study is original because the element of emotion is for the first time used to identify how cynical citizens react towards political parties and candidates. Moreover, the distinction between kynical and cynical citizens has not yet been statistically explored.

Political Leaders' Role and Rhetoric in Intractable Conflict and Its Settlement Process: A Preliminary Model

**Nimrod Rosler, The Conflict Research Management and Resolution Program, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

[Panel] 1E Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Its Resolution—Part 1

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The paper offers an original interdisciplinary model for the role of political leaders in intractable conflict and commencing its settlement process, and for the rhetoric they will use in order to create mobilization and legitimation for the conflict and the transition process in their society. On the basis of the existing literature regarding intractable conflicts and their resolution, the challenges that each context sets before the society, political leaders and their means for persuasion, the model offers four fundamental roles of political leader during intractable conflict, and another four roles for the beginning of a peacemaking process. In addition, the model offers corresponding rhetorical themes that he is expected to employ in each context. Examples from different leaders in conflict and peace process, such as the Israeli-Palestinian, Northern Irish, and French-Algerian, will be provided.

Political Psychology and Criminal Justice: The Potential Impact of Street Gang Identity and Violence on Political Stability

**Martha Cottam, Washington State University*

Joe Huseby

Faith Lutze

[Panel] 1O Responses to Activism, Criminality and Terrorism

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Studies of ethnicity and nationalism have found that strong identification with the national community can produce political stability, even in time of national crises. It is, therefore, particularly important that a country's youth be socialized to identify with the national community. However, in large and even medium sized urban areas in the United States, and in Central America, street gangs are composed of large numbers of young men and women whose primary identity is with their gangs, and whose perception of the legitimate political system is negative and associated with coercion by authority. Their behavior is extremely violent and uses tactics (such as ethnic cleansing) reminiscent of conflict between states and in civil wars. This paper explores the unique identity and violent behavioral patterns in street gangs in Central America and urban United States (some of which are transnational, with units in Central America and the US), on the prospects for political stability in times of crisis. It is argued that gangs, commonly the subject of the Criminal Justice discipline, exhibit patterns of behavior and identity well-understood in political psychology, with important implications for political stability. This is increasingly important as the size of gangs grows and their reach becomes transnational. They are a tinderbox that, under the right conditions, can produce unanticipated threats to political stability.

Political Trust, Political Participation and Social Identity among Young immigrants and nationals: The case of

Spain

**Santi Perera, University of Girona*

Maidar Larrañaga

Rayco Suarez, University of the Basque Country

Carla Rodriguez, Complutense University of Madrid

[Panel] 8X Explaining Attitudes towards Ethnic and Religious Groups

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

This paper is concerned with understanding two of the basic components of citizenship in young people from different ethnic groups: the relationship between trust in the political system, and willingness to participate in the political process. In particular, the paper focuses on understanding the role played by social psychological factors such as patterns of ethnic, national and religious identifications, the perception of injustice and perceptions of political efficacy. Using data obtained from young people—nationals and immigrants- from 3 regions of Spain (Basque Country, Catalonia and Canary Islands) measures of perceived injustice, perceived compatibility of ethnic/religious and national identities, political efficacy, political trust and political protest were analyzed. Results showed first several patterns of identity: national versus ethnic identity among the nationals (canarians vs basque and Catalans) and religious identity among the immigrants (maghrebians vs latin-americans). Second, clear relations between political trust and perception of injustice with political participation. Third, the relationship between injustice and political participation was mediated by the compatibility of identifications. Finally, theoretical implications of the differential findings for understanding political participation of nationals vs immigrants are discussed.

Political ideologies and moral reasoning among university students in Republic of Macedonia

**Marijana Vladimir Markovik, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research*

[Panel] 8F Justice and Moral Reasoning

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

The relation between moral reasoning and political ideology were examined in a selected sample of 210 Macedonian university students. Moral reasoning was measured using the instrument constructed by the author. This instrument contains three different types of moral dilemmas and arguments according to the Kohlberg theory. The first dilemma is about basic moral principles-life and health, the second dilemma is about social conventions, and the third one is about political organization of the society. The political ideology is measured with the Morality-Based Political test, which has been validated on the Macedonian population. This test represents different aspects of political ideology, which is described with two dimensions: nonconformance-conformance and interdependence-independence creating four quadrants, or four Political Systems. Factor analyses and Pearson coefficient of the correlation revealed that moral reasoning represent something different from political ideology. Also, the research showed that the connection between moral reasoning and political ideology among the university students in Republic of Macedonia has not been determined by the different social contexts presented in different moral dilemmas.

Political ideology, moral foundations, and beliefs about good and evil

**Girts Dimdins, University of Latvia*

Irina Skupele, University of Latvia

[Panel] 7D Ideological Thinking

[Section] Political Decision Making

The study examined the relationship between political orientation, beliefs about good and evil, and endorsement of five moral foundations. 224 respondents completed the Moral Foundations Questionnaire from their own perspective, as well as imagining the perspective of an evil individual and a good individual. The endorsement of moral foundations differed between liberal and conservative respondents, partially replicating the findings of Haidt (2007). Liberal respondents rated the moral foundations of harm and fairness as more important than conservative respondents did; for the moral foundation of purity the ratings were reversed, while the ratings of in-group and authority did not differ significantly between both groups. The pattern of responses from both imagined perspectives were almost identical in both groups, although conservatives showed stronger ceiling and floor effects than liberals did when imaging the responses of the good and evil person respectively. The strongest differences between the good and the evil perspectives were on the moral foundations of harm and purity. The results suggest that although individuals with different political views have different priorities regarding the foundations of moral judgments, there is an agreement on societal level what it means to be a good (moral)

person and an evil (immoral) person. Implications for political communication are discussed.

Political leadership in practice: A pilot study

**Magnus Larsson, Department of Psychology, Lund University*

**Robert Holmberg, Lund University*

**Malena Rosén Sundström, Lund University*

[Panel] 3E Towards a Broader Framework for Leadership Analysis

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

Based on pilot field work in the form of shadowing a political leader in Sweden, this paper discusses varieties of theorizing political leadership with the purpose of engaging in critical dialogue around the everyday practice of political leaders. The fieldwork has been conducted as ethnographically inspired shadowing of a politician from the political majority in a regional administration in Sweden. Preliminary findings point to substantial complexity of practice on a great variety of arenas, including working with multiple simultaneous time horizons, constant negotiation of collaboration on core issues, and management of the administrative organizational apparatus, while securing political support from the political party and political groupings. Using material from this study, we critically engage with the existing research on political leadership. These have focused on a variety of aspects of leaders and leadership processes, ranging from an almost exclusive focus on the person (i.e. personality, motivation) to a focus on interaction and outcomes in political contexts where for instance degrees of deliberation and dialogue within a party or an administration have been a central concern. In the paper, we critically examine the capability of some of these existing research paradigms to address both the level of concrete practice, and the complexity found there, and identify important areas that are in need of conceptual development. Finally, we outline an analytical lens, attempting to bridge the disciplines of political science, organizational psychology, and organization and management studies, through the concepts of identities, relationships, emotions, and sensemaking.

Political parties and procurements: connections and challenges

**Kristine Beinarovica, University of Latvia*

[Panel] 3A Lessons Learned from Scandal, Corruption and Political Defeat

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

Corruption and interest conflicts can influence the process of making decisions and rules and a wide range of illegitimacies connected to state and local government procurement where an important role is assigned to public procurement commission members. Proposals submitted by tenders are evaluated by procurement commission basing on procurement regulation and specifications developed in it, as well as select the vendor. Process of public procurement is full of corruption and potential corruption risks and not always presence of these risks in procurement process testifies about corruption. Strong rules are applied to public procurement system that define selection of goods or services and prescribe independent state order supervision mechanisms however often state and local government officials have opportunity to take decisions concerning big amount of money in public procurement. If officials are dishonest and public procurement system is incomplete there is high potential for illegal channel of power and local government money to private needs. As well in public procurement practise can be divided in cases when commission comes to contradictions with certain application of specification. In these situations needs of state or local governments should be taken as a base and procurement commission should act on the base of its honour.

Political tolerance in Eastern and Western Europe: Social and psychological roots

**Bojan Todosijevic, University of Twente*

Zsolt Enyedi

[Panel] 4K Race, Religion, and Tolerance

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

According to Sullivan et al.'s (Sullivan et al. 1979, 53-55, Sullivan et al. 1985) theory, social and psychological factors play different roles in political tolerance. Target-group selection is shaped by socio-demographic characteristics, since in this way people try to adjust themselves to their social environment. On the other side, the degree of tolerance is a function of personality and other psychological factors. The paper examines whether the causal model proposed by Sullivan and his co-workers is able to account for individual differences in the degree of political intolerance in Eastern and Western Europe. The main emphasis is on their hypothesis about different effects of socio-economic and psychological variables.

The research is based on World Values Survey data, which include the so called ‘least liked’ method to operationalize political tolerance. The findings indicate that psychological factors play an important role in the choice of target group, and not only in determining the degree of intolerance, contrary to Sullivan et al., hypothesis. Socio-economic status variables displayed rather complex pattern of influence on political tolerance. In general, the findings suggest that intolerance of different groups is not uniformly related to social and psychological explanatory variables. Not only intolerance is pluralistic, but the mechanisms behind intolerance seem to be pluralistic too.

Politics as dialogue: what concepts to use?

**Magioglou Thalia*

[Panel] 10J Societal Political Psychology and Everyday Politics

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

The author proposes a theory of lay thinking that is based on questions and answers; she considers that it fits a conception of politics as dialogue in everyday life

Positioning in the process of deliberating controversial ethical and political issues

**Angela Bermudez, Harvard Graduate School of Education*

[Panel] 6V Social change, values, and the management of ‘positioning’

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Angela Bermudez will present analyses of an online-discussion amongst high school students about the Rodney King incident and the “L.A. Riots” of 1992. She will discuss how the varied ways in which students position themselves and others in terms of ethnicity, social background, and place of origin prescribes their understanding of the incident and proscribes alternative interpretations. In particular, Angela will illustrate how students’ arguments regarding the role of historic legacies, memory, and social and personal responsibility are shaped largely by how participants in the forum position themselves, how they position their co-discussants, and how they presume other students position themselves

Post-colonialism, perceived conflicts and prejudice between Portuguese and Africans: A psychosocial study of luso-tropicalism

**Joaquim Pires Valentim, University of Coimbra*

[Panel] 2Q Political Conflict and Images of the “Other”

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Luso-tropicalist theory has been brought forward since the thirties by Brazilian sociologist G. Freyre stressing the idea of a hypothetical special skill Portuguese people would have to peaceful and benevolent relations with other People and the absence of prejudice among the Portuguese. Linked with colonial ideologies, between 50’s and 70’s these ideas were broadly disseminated on Portuguese society where, nowadays, they still shape social knowledges and social practices as we can see in the study that will be presented. This empirical study was carried out with university students (Portuguese and African students living in Portugal). The data analysis on perceived conflicts in Portugal, on the similarities of Portuguese with other national groups and on Portuguese colonial history, clearly reflects the permanence of luso-tropicalist ideas. However, there is an opposition in answer patterns: Portuguese participants answers are compatible with luso-tropicalist conceptions, whereas the contrary occurs with African respondents. Besides, data also show a mutual prejudice between Portuguese and Africans and, contrary to luso-tropicalist assumptions, African participants express a great prejudice towards the Portuguese than towards the Europeans in general. Regarding the results of Portuguese participants, luso-tropicalism is linked both to nationalism—which corroborates historians’ and anthropologists’ analysis—and to a negative attitude towards Africans, which opposes luso-tropicalist assumptions on the inexistence of prejudice. The discussion claims for the pertinence of studying the issue of luso-tropicalism as a social representation about the Portuguese, namely its actual repercussions on the fields of national (or European) identity, social justice and prejudice.

Post-traumatic stress: groups, power and social identity

**Robert Lowe, University of Limerick*

Orla Muldoon, University of Limerick

[Panel] 2Y Trauma, aging and giving: individual or group level phenomena?

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The circumstances of the recognition of PTSD within DSM-III have lead several commentators to discuss it in terms of social construction (e.g. Summerfield, 2001). This review argues that PTSD research has been particularly informed by individualistic constructions of social phenomena. We contend that social identity analysis can inform incidence, diagnosis and expression of post-traumatic symptoms. PTSD fails to attend to the social reality for many of those affected.

Traumatic experience is not distributed evenly across the population; it is related to group membership. Whilst PTSD is often constructed as a response to an acute trauma, in reality it is the least powerful members of any society that are most likely to meet with (chronic) traumatic events. Minority and economic group membership therefore structures the likely exposure and subsequent resources available to deal with trauma. The value of repositioning the group as central in trauma processes is considered through social identity theory (e.g. Haslam, 2006). Examples of the relationship between trauma and group processes are reviewed by attending to situations where the traumatic event forces conflict with group norms and therefore militate against social support. We argue that the current individualistic designation of PTSD removes the traumatised individual from the social context in which their trauma is experienced. This emphasizes individual pathologies and exonerates societal practices contributing to the generation of trauma-inducing events. Post-traumatic stress can only be understood by attending to the reciprocal relationship between social identification and the social and structural power relations that contribute to group processes.

Power and the limits of psychological theory

**Gal Gerson, Political Sciences, University of Haifa*

[Panel] 6I Theorizing Self: dialogue, passion and psychological theory

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

In this paper, I would like to examine the relations between the language of psychological theory, particularly psychoanalysis, and political thought. While psychology may offer critical insights for political theory, there are significant limitations to its contribution. Since the 17th century, political theory in the West concerned itself with questions of power and mediation under conditions of intense disagreement. Psychology, on the other hand, always assumes a notion of health which is all too easily projected on to the social level in the form of social harmony, thus preempting political theory by referring it to the realm of the pathological.

Predicting Political Inactivity and Participation of Young People from Different Ethnic Origins in Europe

**Evanthia Lyons, Queen's University Belfast*

Theti Chrysanthaki, School of Psychology, Queen's University Belfast; Michael Verkuyten, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Utrecht

Vladimir Selivanov, Smolensk Humanitarian University; Pavlenko Valentyna, Kharkiv National University

[Panel] 8K Youth, Civic Engagement, and Democratic Participation

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Increasingly, in many European countries, researchers have reported a decline in conventional forms of political participation and an increase in levels of political apathy and distrust in politicians and political institutions, especially amongst certain groups of young people. There are also concerns that political disengagement and feelings of disempowerment may lead to a decline of the legitimacy of democratic and other political processes. This paper examines levels of participation in different types of political activity and disengagement and their predictors. It uses data collected from 1327 15-18 year olds from the majority and different ethnic groups in four European countries; England, Netherlands, Ukraine and Russia. Findings showed that across countries and irrespective of ethnic origins, young people report low levels of different types of activity. However, there were also some differences in the level and type of activity members of the majority and some minority groups engaged in. In addition, different factors seemed to predict levels and forms of political participation in different countries; with perceived effectiveness being the best predictor of political participation across all groups and forms of activity and perceived compatibility of national and ethnic or religious

identities often being good predictors in the case of minority groups. The pattern of relationship between trust in political figures and institutions played a lesser role in explaining political participation, albeit the pattern of findings varied across national contexts. The findings are discussed in relation to current models of political participation and social psychological theories of trust.

Predicting support for racial transformation policies: Intergroup threat, racial prejudice sense of group entitlement and strength of identification.

**Kevin Durrheim, University of KwaZulu-Natal*

[Panel] 2C Contested policies: Winning the acceptance of the public

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Policies and programs designed to challenge the effects of racial discrimination (such as affirmative action) are typically hotly contested. A number of factors have been proposed to explain sources of support for or opposition to these policies, including racial prejudice, intergroup threat and self-interest, and a range of ideological factors related to perceptions of intergroup justice. This paper reports the results of two random national telephone surveys which tested a theoretically based model of the predictors of policy support in post-apartheid South Africa. The results showed that threat and prejudice have unique unmediated effects on policy support for both the black and white samples, but in opposite directions. Policy support is associated with low prejudice and low threat among whites but high prejudice and threat among blacks. Sense of group entitlement and ingroup identification did not predict policy support among the black sample, and the effects of these two variables were mediated by threat for the white sample.

Predictors and manifestations of the dimension Social Conformity—Personal Autonomy

**Eleonora Serafimovska, Institute for sociological, political and juridical research*

[Panel] 4A Personality, Authority, and Politics

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

In November 2007 a National Study about Political Identities in Republic of Macedonia with a representative sample was conducted. The questionnaire included the following: measure of the dimension of social conformity-autonomy (revised and short form), liberal-conservative values as well as left-right ideology, questions about several important social and political issues and problems in Macedonian society and sociological variables. The findings support some of the proposed implications: People who value social conformity over personal autonomy have a desire to limit diversity in the society, they are afraid of “too much” democracy, they support respect of traditional values and following political leaders; they try to limit the civil liberties; they also support ideology of socialism, significance of national property and importance of elections in the country. Variables as gender, nationality, age, level of education and urban/rural differences are shown as good predictors of the of social conformity-autonomy dimension. Personal autonomy values are connected with urban areas, with males, younger participants, high percentage of minority group and with higher level of education; People who value personal autonomy over social conformity also accept the social differences as reality, they support the idea that everyone must fight for own survival and among them are those who never vote in the national and local elections.

Predictors of Trust and Mistrust—Mutual Perception of Israeli and Palestinian Adolescents

**Hilke Rebenstorf, University of Hildesheim*

[Panel] 1U Israeli-Palestinian Relations

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Social sciences offer different approaches to explain how the other is perceived: with trust or mistrust, with openness or hostility, as a friend or a foe. Sociology focuses on parameters of social stratification like income, education but also belonging to specific cultural groups determined by religion or ethnicity. Political science also uses these approaches, however, it focuses additionally on geopolitical parameters as well as on power structures (also a sociological topic) and system parameters. Psychology uses concepts like well being, self concept in different areas, and personally traits like authoritarianism, anxiety and the like to explain the probability of friendly or hostile perception of others. In this paper some of the concepts mentioned are tested against each other, based on a longitudinal study with Jewish Israeli adolescents and Palestinian youngsters from the West Bank conducted between April 1998 and 2001. Social status, well being, self concept, general hostility, anxiety etc. measured before the outbreak of the so called Al-Aksa-Intifada are used as

predictors for trust and mistrust afterwards. Findings show that hostility is predicted by different parameters than trust or goodwill. And the structure of prediction also differs widely between the two groups. While among the Israeli youngsters at least at the level of bivariate correlation there is some connection between socio-economic status and attitude towards the Palestinians we do not find this in the Palestinian sample. This difference also holds on the level of regression. However, the strongest predictors are feelings of life threat.

Predictors of wide social identities

**Katarzyna Hamer, Institute of Psychology, Polish Academy of Science and University of Finance and Management*

[Panel] 6E Beliefs about Identity: national symbolism, trust and religion

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Why do some people have wide social identities and others feel connected mainly with their families and small social groups? The aim of the study was to look for an answer to this question. The author checked what emotional (like e.g. trust, empathy) and cognitive (like e.g. need for closure, need for cognition) characteristics caused such individual differences in strength of wide social identities, focusing especially on identification with humanity. 85 subjects were tested. The best predictor of having strong identification with humanity was empathy (it was also the best predictor of having other wide social identities like strong identification with EU and nation). Strong identification with humanity was also connected with high self esteem, and (weaker) with trust. No cognitive variable was connected with strong identification with humanity.

President Clinton's Political Rhetoric

**Jose J. Sanmartin, University of Alicante*

[Panel] 5E Leadership Communication

[Section] Political Communication

The American dream as an ideal where freedom and opportunities blessed a promised land was a matter of faith in President Clinton's political speech. Indeed, faith in itself has been a growing and powerful presence in presidential rhetoric: faith in the American people, faith in the future that we make, and faith in every person that conforms to a political utopia called America. For this reason, Clinton had to appear not only as a practitioner but also a believer in a shared faith. His personal belief that American society needed a new sense of social responsibility worked as a political rule. Values, feelings, even emotions that were deeply rooted in the national political culture. The President appeared like the genuine embodiment of the best American ideals: defender of citizenship, leader of democracy, protector of families, civic virtue hero, and negotiator between different interests (interest groups). Clinton was both practitioner and believer of a political religion where the President represented the most qualified position. Nevertheless, Clinton improved his performance. The President looked for his place in history as a real conqueror: to attain new territories, to win the future—as a metaphor of freedom—for Americans; all Americans. This is the institutional sanctuary's achievement that each President needs to carry out. Clinton "sold" the profits, advantages, and benefits that could be obtained during his Administration. The President also acted as an effective and modern manager. There was hardly time for historical justifications. His speech was basically focused on present day topics, devoted to resolve the day-to-day problems. In the hands of President Clinton, American idealism also had to attain efficacy and closeness to citizens.

Presidential Personalities and Democratic Transformation: case of Russia

**Vassily Anatolyevich Zorin, Chelyabinsk State University*

[Panel] 3H Leader Personality and Government Outcomes

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The consequences of transition to democracy in the post-Soviet states are manifold. The evolution of political systems brought new types of actors into play. The strengthening of presidential power in post-Soviet states has become apparent in the recent period. The presidentialization of politics manifests itself in rebalancing executive and legislative powers, initiating massive PR-campaigns. The presidents become the core element of political system, they tend to accumulate power, taking the responsibility for everything in the country, hence demanding the loyalty of other political actors. Only constitutional system of «checks and balances» cannot provide stable development of the democracy. The representatives of the psychological approach to presidential research strive to conceptualize the modes in which a personality of an incumbent favors sustaining of democratic regime. Erwin Hargrove uses concepts developed by Harold D. Lasswell, who

identified such types as ‘political man’ and ‘democratic character’. In our paper we discuss both institutional changes and evolution of leadership dynamics among three Russian presidencies. We presume that each of them represents a special type of presidential leadership. Yeltsin’s presidency was based on strong personal influence, Putin’s—on elite consensus. We look forward to examine the trend of the third Russian presidency starting at March 2008.

Prisons’ Memory Archive

**Cahal McLaughlin, University of Ulster*

[Panel] 6H Political narratives and social change

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

The Prisons’ Memory Archive (PMA) is an audio-visual collection of narratives from those involved with prison sites in Northern Ireland (www.prisonmemoryarchive.com). Over 200 recordings have been made from prison staff, probation officers, prisoners, chaplains, teachers and visitors, reflecting PMA core values of collaboration, co-ownership and inclusivity. Recorded on location at Armagh and Maze/Long Kesh Prisons, which held prisoners at different times during the Troubles in Northern Ireland (1968 to 2000), the PMA uses space as a stimulus for memory. Key themes of the paper include the significance of the acknowledgement of authorship—the material is owned by the individual participants and copyright is ‘leased’ to the PMA; the negotiation of recording politically sensitive material—it took several years to receive the cooperation required from organisations and institutions; the affect of location on the structure and performance of memory telling—how the materiality of the site of the memory informs what is remembered and how it is articulated; the nature of an archive that allows multiple and contested versions of the recent past in a post conflict society—audiences will be offered stories that challenge a linear and authoritative version of the past; and the technological possibilities of a digital archive that offers, but regulates, access—the archive will be capable of unlimited copying, but in order to protect ownership by the authors, access may be limited to key centres, such as museums.

Privatization of public education: Consequences for citizenship and citizenship education.

**Orit Ichilov, Tel-Aviv University*

[Panel] 8I Political Socialization and Participation

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Democratic societies assign public schools a prominent role in the development of citizenship virtues, values, and skills. . Broadly defined, public education is provided in government-run schools and funded by government, while private education takes place in schools operated by a variety of for-profit organizations, or others, and funded by parents. Public schools are expected to do more than private schools to deliver common goods and to address social problems. By the early 1990s privatizing public education became a credible policy in many countries. I argue that the introduction of “market” ethos and practices in public education represents a drift away from the collective mission of public schools in democracy. The invasion of the education public space by market-related educational policies subverts the democratic purposes of education. By imposing market terminology and practices, a new epistemology emerges, transforming education from a public good into a commodity, eroding state accountability for education, and redefining the essence and contents of citizenship education. To develop my arguments I draw on several intellectual traditions such as democratic theory and citizenship education literature, as well as the literature on the privatization of education. Special attention is given to education as a human right and as citizenship right. The ethos and practices of privatization in education is analyzed to demonstrate how education becomes a commodity; how democratic deliberation and decision making processes are obliterated; how the right to quality education is marginalized; how inequality of educational opportunities becomes more intense, and how the democratic purposes of education are being trampled.

Processing terror: U.S. and Canadian students’ cognitive and emotional reactions in the aftermath of 9/11

**Rajiv Jhangiani, University of British Columbia*

[Panel] 1Q Reactions to Terrorism

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Previous case studies of political leaders and television and radio newscasters demonstrated and replicated a sequential and curvilinear relationship between negative emotion and integrative complexity in their speeches or statements during and immediately following terrorist attacks in the United States in 2001, Britain in 2005, and Bombay in 2006 (Jhangiani & Suedfeld, 2005; Jhangiani, 2007). At low levels of stress, an increase in negative emotion predicted an increase in

information-processing complexity, while at high levels of stress, an increase in negative emotion predicted a decrease in complexity. Furthermore, the subjects' psychological distance to the victims was found to act as an important moderator of this relationship. The present study seeks to test these same hypotheses with adequate statistical power among two large groups of students (from Vancouver, Canada and Rochester, New York), whose open-ended reactions to the 9/11 attacks were gathered within 48 hours of the attacks. Data on relevant personality variables additionally enable a test of the individual and interactive effects of personality (e.g., Neuroticism) and situational factors (e.g., psychological distance) on the students' proximal cognitive and emotional reactions to 9/11.

Progressive Law, Opressed Lives: the case of the LGBT community in Kosovo

**Paola Paoletti, IMT School of Advanced Studies, Lucca, Italy*

**Hana Klimesova, Charles University, Prague*

[Panel] 2H Groups, Discrimination, and Opression

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Kosovo has a very progressive legal infrastructure: it is one of the very few countries in the post war Yugoslavia where the Anti-discrimination Law, which includes sexual orientation in its Mechanisms of Implementation, has been approved. Notwithstanding these progresses, mediated by the influence of the international community, discrimination, human rights violations and hate crimes against the LGBT community still constitute a serious problem. This research examined the relationship between perceived discrimination and internalized homophobia, while at the same time assessing the attitude of the general Kosovar population toward the LGBT community. A measure of internalized homophobia (IHP) was administered to a community sample of lesbians and gay men, along with a measure of perceived discrimination. In order to assess the attitude of the general community, a measure of knowledge and attitude toward the LGB individuals (LGB-KASH) was administered to a random sample of Kosovar residents. Data analysis is in progress and results will be presented at the Conference. Possible guidelines for policy makers regarding the actual implementation of the Anti Discrimination Law will also be discussed according to the results.

Prototypicality, ideology and utopia: A Social Identity approach.

**Annarita Celeste Pugliese, University of Bari*

[Panel] 2B Changing Cognitions and Practices as Strategies of Peace Building

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This paper attempts to understand how individuals give meanings to social categories they belong to in the context of super-ordinate groups' memberships, and how such cognitive mechanisms could be meant to have a 'political' role in defining social exclusion and inclusion. In recent years it has been suggested that the elicitation of more inclusive identification may lead to an increase of social discrimination, if it is implied that the inclusive prototype is the projection of the distinctive features of one of the subgroups onto the overinclusive category, and it is meant to have a normative role for the group as a whole (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel & Weber, 2002; Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber & Waldzus, 2003). Moreover the ethnocentric construction of the inclusive identity's prototype seems to be a crucial strategy to determine collective subjectivity, social consensus and social action (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001; Pugliese, 2005). The questions are: How does super-ordinate identification affect individual's intergroup relations perception? And how does super-ordinate prototype shape both social inclusion/exclusion mechanisms and related behaviours? In order to explore these issues I analyzed discursive materials (political speeches, class discussions transcripts, computer mediated discussions, etc.) through a qualitative/quantitative methodology including discourse and content analyses, and focussed on manifold contents and levels of the categories 'Us' and 'Them'. Findings are discussed with reference to the multidimensionality of both contents and levels of collective self-categories, and how they might be used to define social worlds and political positioning, and more general attitudes towards ideology and utopia.

Psycho-Political Awareness and Desire for Political Power

**Olukunle Olusina-Daniel Oluwatula, Redeemer's University*

Oduwayo Tunde Arogundade, Redeemer's University

[Panel] 3F Dimensions of Personality

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The study examines the relationships between psychological and political awareness and desire for political power among

university students in Nigeria. McClelland Needs Theory was adopted in discussing the research objectives. The major hypothesis tested was that the level of psychological and political awareness will correlate positively with the need for political power among the participants. 250 university students participated in the study. Data were collected with Political Need Questionnaire and were analysed with Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient. The results show some strong relationships between levels of psychological and political awareness and need for personal power and need for institutional power among the participants. The study concludes that the university students do have need for political power. The implications of the study are, (i) longitudinal design may need to be adopted in later studies in order to identify the long term implication of the findings., (ii) there is a need to develop career development programmes for participants as they prepare to join the labour market and (iii) there is a need to help shape those that have need for personal power in a way that they will be of benefit to their society.

Psychoanalysis and the Psychology of Genocide

**Steven K. Baum, College of Santa Fe*

[Panel] 6U Psychoanalysis and Political Psychology

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Psychoanalysis has had a relatively minor role regarding the psychology of genocide. To that end, Jacques Semelin's work regarding purity has been instrumental in opening up a new conceptualization. Mass killings in Bosnia, Rwanda and the Holocaust serve as primary sources for his explorations. Blending social psychology and object relations theory, the why of genocide becomes more understandable in the context of normal and ordinary psychopathology.

Psychological Aid to Victims of Terrorism (Poster)

**Pietro Angelo Sardi, CEPLIS, the European Council of Liberal Professions*

[Panel] 1P Poster Session: Political Conflict, Violence and Crisis

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The European Commission, Dg Justice, Freedom and Security, has approved a project presented by the British Psychological Society, in partnership with EFPA, the European Federation of Psychologists Associations, and CEPLIS, de European Council of Liberal Professions (which also has a Standing Committee on Disasters and Crises), in order to provide quick response to the needs of victims of terrorist acts, especially some particular categories, like children. The project gathers experts and organisations from different Countries, not only in order to share good practice, but also to establish criteria for expertise evaluation, as a basis for future professional cards, devoted to specific professional fields, starting from rare diseases, like this particular kind of PTSD.

Psychological Illness in Presidents: The Case of Lyndon B. Johnson

**Robert Emile Gilbert, Northeastern University*

[Panel] 3D The Good, the Bad and the Ugly in Leader Personalities

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

Fred Greenstein, in *The Presidential Difference* (2004), writes that of all the evaluative criteria that he applies to U.S. presidents, the most important is that of emotional intelligence. This refers to the president's psychological health. Presidents who suffer from severe psychological perturbations inevitably see their presidencies negatively impacted and perhaps even turn to ashes. This paper proposal centers on the emotional intelligence of three U.S. presidents: Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and Calvin Coolidge. The evidence suggests strongly that all three were psychologically handicapped and that their presidencies suffered greatly as a result. Both Johnson and Nixon exhibited behavioral characteristics that conform to the American Psychological Association's description of a paranoid personality disorder. Their suspiciousness, siege mentality, overpersonalization of issues and mistrust were pervasive and debilitating. As a result, both of their presidencies were damaged—and one even ended by resignation. The case of Calvin Coolidge is quite different but just as dramatic. As will be discussed here, Coolidge demonstrated after July, 1924 all the symptoms of clinical depression as specified by the American Psychological Association after the sudden death of his 16 year-old son. He withdrew from politics and from his own Administration and lost himself in unending grief. The result for both the president and the country was severe.

Psychological assessment at a distance: Values and integrative complexity of the 2008 U.S. presidential candidates
Lindi Cassel, University of British Columbia; Ryan Cross, University of British Columbia; Viktoria Ivanova, University of British Columbia

Katya Legkaia, University of British Columbia; Peter Suedfeld, University of British Columbia

**Rajiv Jhangiani, University of British Columbia*

[Panel] 3H Leader Personality and Government Outcomes

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The practice of assessing the personalities of political elites “at a distance” has been shown to have great predictive validity, including with criteria as important and sensitive as election outcomes, the successful resolution of international crises, the outbreak of war, and surprise attacks (Thoemmes & Conway, 2007; Conway, Suedfeld, & Tetlock, 2001; Suedfeld & Bluck, 1988). With the application of reliable thematic content analysis techniques, it has become possible to study the motivations and cognitive structure of political leaders, both of which are important influences on their decision-making. In the present study, the values and integrative complexity of six candidates for the United States presidency (3 Democrats: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, & John Edwards, and 3 Republicans: John McCain, Mitt Romney, & Rudy Giuliani) were assessed via analyses of the candidates’ early campaign speeches. The results showed significant differences between the two political parties, as well as among individual candidates, some of which were expected (e.g., Democrats valuing universalism and benevolence more than Republicans) and others that were not (e.g., Republicans valuing security less than Democrats).

Psychology And The Unencumbered Self

**Michael Arfken, University of Prince Edward Island*

[Panel] 6I Theorizing Self: dialogue, passion and psychological theory

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

In the opening pages of *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls suggests that justice “is the first virtue of social institutions, as truth is of systems of thought.” The remainder of his work is devoted to expanding on many of the far reaching consequences of his contractarian approach to establishing and evaluating social institutions. Yet, as truth has increasingly come to be identified with the concrete practices of a community, it is clear that Rawls’ privileging of the right over the good may require substantial revision. In this paper, I draw attention to the way Rawls’ views on psychology and subjectivity inform his theory of justice. Drawing on communitarian critiques of liberalism, I hope to show that Rawls’ reliance on an “unencumbered self” fails to address the way subjects emerge against the background of concrete social and cultural practices. Finally, I discuss some of the implications of a revised understanding of intersubjectivity with a particular emphasis on political and psychological theory.

Psychology of Terrorist: 4 Types (Workshop)

**Dr. Raymond H. Hamden, Human Relations Institute*

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

COURSE DESCRIPTION: Detailed study of terrorist personalities and terrorist groups, including types, tactics, and trends on a worldwide scale as well as domestically. This course also discusses the issues of prevention and Global Building. **COURSE PURPOSE** This is a workshop in Terrorist Psychology using a clinical, psychoanalytical, and social psychology framework for studying terrorist groups and individuals, terrorist origins, goals, dynamics, ideologies, counterterrorism, and homeland security. Work in this course involves examination of the structure and dynamics of terrorists in North America, South America, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Australia. Terrorist strategies and tactics, the hot spots from which they evolve, the ways they operate, the use of the media, and theories of counterterrorism or negotiations are all covered. The history, present, and future of terrorism are indicated. Participants will review definitions and typologies of terrorism, analyze specific concepts in context, discuss thoughts about terrorism. Everyone will actively look at various terrorist individuals and groups to demonstrate abilities and capabilities to research a terrorist problem, profile, or scenario in-depth, and argue for an effective counterterrorism policy or negotiations strategy. **COURSE OBJECTIVES:** 1. Understanding of terrorism against the world, its allied governments, and global interests 2. Develop knowledge of clinical, psychoanalytic, and social psychology as frameworks for analyzing terrorism and terrorists 3. Enhance knowledge and understanding of the historical, psychological, and sociological explanations of

terrorism 4. Better acquaintance with the patterns and trends of terrorists, including methods, modes of attack, tactics, and strategies 5. Better acquaintance with the theories on negotiations, including scholarly controversies relating to the media 6. Learn the 4 types of terrorists: definition, assessment, categorizing, and counter-action

Psychosocial Resources Shape Threat Perception in Political Conflicts (Poster)

**Douglas Yeung, Rutgers University, Newark*

Kent Harber

[Panel] 1P Poster Session: Political Conflict, Violence and Crisis

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Inherent in political conflict is the threat of violent harm. How people perceive such potential threats may shape risky decision-making as well as political attitudes. Psychosocial resources (e.g., social support, self-worth) provide the means to cope with perceived threats, which may affect how one perceives a range of uncertain situations. Using degraded visual displays of menacing human figures, we show that people with fewer resources may be biased when making perceptual judgments, exaggerating potential danger. Conversely, people who feel equipped to take on stressful, ambiguous situations may be less likely to perceive potential threats in an exaggerated fashion. Four studies tested whether resources influence detection sensitivity to angry human figures. Fearful participants with either depleted, boosted, or unchanged psychosocial resources judged the presence or absence of moving figures expressing one of five emotions—angry, happy, sad, fearful, or neutral. Overall, fearful participants were more likely to perceive an angry figure when in fact none was present. Resources, however, moderated the relationship between fear and impaired detection of angry figures. These findings could provide additional insight into how people make everyday yet risky decisions. For instance, a lasting distortion of threat perception (i.e., paranoia or insecurity) in persistent violent conflicts might in turn exaggerate perceptions of risk, with significant implications for population health as well as political behavior and attitudes. Another harmful effect might be to interfere with the ability to develop social capital.

Public Reactions to Torture in Interrogation of Enemy Combatants: Emotional Underpinnings of Moral Dilemmas

**Nehemia Geva, Texas A&M University*

**Catarina P Thomson, Texas A&M University*

[Panel] 1Q Reactions to Terrorism

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

While international, as well as intra-national conflicts often exhibit the destructive nature of humans, a certain category of such behavior obtains a particular public treatment—torture during interrogation of enemy combatants. This category of behavior is usually less visible to the public eye. However, at times incidents such as the events in the Abu-Ghraib prison or Guantanamo detention center penetrate into the public discourse. The core issues at that discourse relate to the morality and utility of such torture procedures during interrogations. We claim that public reaction to this category of torture can be understood within the broader theoretical framework that addresses the mechanisms at work in moral dilemmas. Traditionally research in the area has studied the relationship between intuitive and reasoning processes. Our study complements the available literature by focusing on the specific role of emotional components in such quandaries. This issue is explored in our paper using an experimental design that focuses on (a) the agent of torture and its target (“us versus them”), (b) the gender of the target and (c) a manipulation of the degree of the emotional component present in order to generate affective reactions in the public. This selection of experimental factors will help identify the relative cognitive (reasoning) versus emotional and intuitive factors present in the process.

Public Support for European Integration of Health Care

Miriam Laugesen, University of California, Los Angeles

**Susan Banducci, University of Exeter*

[Panel] 4H Attitudes toward Public Policy

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

In this paper we ask why citizens would prefer EU integration of social welfare and health policy. Using an attribution of responsibility model, we consider the individual differences in support for preferred level of government (EU or national) handling social welfare and health policy and the impact of national-level health care differences on support for

integration. We hypothesize that while attitudes to responsibility for social and health care policy are mainly determined by beliefs about the efficacy of the EU, attitudes are also influenced by utilitarian ideas regarding individuals' perception and satisfaction with the quality of health care in their country, and generosity of the national health insurance program in their country. Data and Methods: We use individual level data from the Eurobarometer 60.1 from 15 EU countries (n=16,082). Contextual or national-level variables include total health expenditure per capita, public health expenditures as a proportion of total expenditures, gross domestic product per capita, and infant mortality rates. We also include measures of individuals' left-right ideology such as support for equality, solidarity, individual rights, and self-sufficiency, in the model. To understand how the salience of health policy influenced attitudes (i.e. if health policy was something the individual was particularly concerned about), we also included a variable that measured the importance of health care policy to the individual. Using the individual's preference for joint national and EU health and social policy responsibility as a binary dependent variable, we performed logistic regression with robust standard errors.

Publishing Roundtable Sponsored by Junior Scholars

**Christopher Weber, Louisiana State University*

The roundtable will consist of a short presentation made by the editors and editorial assistants of *Political Psychology*, as well as time for questions and comments. Instructions and suggestions will be made about *Political Psychology's* manuscript submission guidelines, the peer review process, and how editorial decisions are made. Following this brief presentation, participants will be able to ask questions and obtain advice regarding publication in *Political Psychology*.

Putting Media Back into Measures of Media Exposure

**Erika Franklin Fowler, University of Michigan*

**Ken Goldstein, University of Wisconsin*

[Panel] 5B U.S. Election

[Section] Political Communication

Accepting the arguments of Carl Hovland, scholars universally agree that media impact is a function of three discrete steps: exposure, reception, and acceptance. Yet scholarly focus has tended to concentrate on reception and acceptance rather than exposure. Some believe media exposure cannot be measured with adequate precision and favor asking factual questions about politics and current affairs (Zaller 1992, 1996; Price & Zaller 1993). Others concerned about the reliability of self reports of media exposure have stayed in the experimental lab where they can be certain of and manipulate exposure to different sorts of messages (Ansolabehere & Iyengar 1995, Iyengar & Kinder 1987, Lodge et al. 1995, Valentino et al. 2004). In short, because of concerns about the reliability of survey measures of exposure and the challenge of identifying causal effects when endogeneity rears its head, important camps in the study of media effects have tended to ignore theoretical and empirical issues revolving around the substantive importance and measurement of media exposure in the real world. We argue that understanding whether and how media matter requires understanding all the steps—exposure, reception, and acceptance—that Hovland first outlined over fifty years ago. Further, in examining more explicitly the step of exposure and what people have the potential to receive, we must also acknowledge the importance of differences in both content and audiences of different media sources. In this paper, we demonstrate how differences in media and in consumers matter and provide a test of the reliability of television exposure measures.

Putting voters' successive decisions in context: an analysis of the 2007 French Panel Survey

**Anne Gwendoline Jadot, Université Nancy 2 & Sciences Po Paris*

[Panel] 7E Political Decisions by Voters and Elites

[Section] Political Decision Making

In 2007, French voters were asked to make several decisions over a few weeks, from the 1st round of the presidential contest to the 2nd round of the General Election. In these 4 rounds, the offer, the media framing of the contest, the intensity of the mobilization process and the institutional setting (electoral rule and constituency) varied. This case is thus especially suited to assess how voters adapt their behavior to the context of the election, taking as the output of their successive decisions both whether to vote and whom for. In the French Panel Survey (March-June), 1,846 registered voters were interviewed 4 times. A long face-to-face interview in the weeks prior to the presidential 1st round explored several long and short-term potential factors of voting behavior, including socio-economic background, political attitudes, politicization, partisanship, affects towards candidates, evaluation of their ideological standing and promises, media

consumption and campaign activities. The paper's first part will thus analyze the cognitive, affective and evaluative components of the presidential choice, measured while it was still in the making and the outcome unknown to respondents. Thanks to 3 shorter phone-interviews scheduled within the electoral sequence (including a between-presidential-rounds wave), the paper's second part will monitor voters' reactions to the successive results and the impact on their later behavior. Some questions specifically explored the decision-making process (e.g. vote probabilities and intention, firmness, timing and motivation of the choice, expectations and wishes about the outcome). This enables a fertile integration of political psychology questioning into electoral sociology research.

RWA and SDO as mediators of worldview beliefs and need for structure on post-9/11 attitudes (Poster)

**H. Michael Crowson, The University of Oklahoma*

[Panel] 1P Poster Session: Political Conflict, Violence and Crisis

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Since the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States, studies have been conducted in order to test empirical relationships among right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), social dominance orientation (SDO), and post-9/11 attitudes and beliefs. Only two of these studies (i.e., Cohrs, Moschner, Maes, & Kielmann, 2005; Heaven, Organ, Supavadeeprasit, & Leeson, 2006) have attempted to test path models depicting the mediating role that RWA and SDO may play in predicting post-9/11 outcomes, this despite the fact that these variables have been identified previously as mediators of a number of antecedent variables (e.g., need for closure, openness to experience, values, worldview beliefs) on socio-political attitudes and racism. The purpose of this study was to test an integrative model designed to take into account previous thinking and research on the (a) relationships between worldview beliefs and personal need for structure, on the one hand, and RWA and SDO, on the other, and (b) relationships between RWA and SDO and post-9/11 attitudes. The model being tested included RWA and SDO as mediators of the effects of worldview beliefs and need for structure on post-9/11 attitudes (i.e., support for the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq; endorsement of policies that would restrict human rights. Dangerous and competitive world beliefs significantly predicted RWA and SDO, respectively, during structural equation modeling, whereas RWA and SDO both predicted attitudes toward military aggression and human rights/civil liberties attitudes. RWA and SDO appeared to mediate the effects of dangerous and competitive world beliefs, but not need for structure, on the outcome variables.

Race and Religious Threat in the 2004 Election

**Brian Krenz, University of Michigan*

Antoine Banks, University of Michigan; James S. Jackson, University of Michigan

[Panel] 2I Immigration, Identity, and Religiosity Effects on Political Beliefs, Attitudes and Behaviors of American Ethnic Groups

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Brian Krenz Antoine Banks James S. Jackson This paper re-examines Campbell's (2006) "religious threat" effect. Campbell found that as the percentage of secularists in a county increased, white evangelicals in that county were more likely to support the Republican candidate. We extend Campbell's work by examining the effect of religious threat on black evangelicals. Our prediction is that secularists do not pose a religious threat to black evangelicals because of the relatively similar political views of these groups. Alternatively, white evangelicals serve as the religious threat to black evangelicals. Thus, we predict that the more white evangelicals are in a county the more likely black evangelicals in that county will be to support the Democratic candidate. We compare these findings with non-evangelical whites to examine if these effects are the result of a religious threat or merely a racial one. We utilize the 2004 National Politics Study, conducted by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. The religious contextual variables are taken from the 2000 Glenmary Religious Congregations & Membership data.

Race, Religious Activity, and Identity Politics

Ronald Brown, Wayne State University; Wassim Tarraf, Wayne State University

**James S. Jackson, University of Michigan*

[Panel] 2I Immigration, Identity, and Religiosity Effects on Political Beliefs, Attitudes and Behaviors of American Ethnic Groups

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Ronald E. Brown Wassim Tarraf James S. Jackson This paper explores the influence that religious activity has on American national identification, racial-group identification, and support for interracial coalitions among African Americans, Caribbean blacks, Asians, Hispanics, and Whites using the 2004-2005 National Politics Study. Our major thesis is that the racialized nature of American society continues to trump the powerful and prospectively universalizing forces of religion. We recognize, however, that group identity is a product of both in-group socialization as well as out-group stigma. Considering the important role that religion and religious institutions play in shaping racial and political attitudes, and recognizing the segregated nature of religious participation in the United States (Emerson, 2000) we explore the effects that religious culture, as an in-group socialization experience, has on national identity, group identification and inter-group cooperation in our ethnic/racial subgroups. First, we posit that high levels of church-based political dialogue will increase the propensity of self-identified American born and immigrant blacks to support interracial coalitions, and moderate the level of in-group identification. Secondly, we expect White Americans' involvement in highly politicized churches to inflate the level of national American identity at the expense of support for interracial coalitions. Finally, we maintain that politicized religious dialogue will have a positive effect on both national identification and support for interracial coalitions among Asian and Hispanic respondents.

Radicalism in Context: Bringing Cognitive Anthropology to Political Psychology

**Jennifer Sheehy-Skeffington, Defence Science & Technology Laboratory*

[Panel] 10C New Directions in Political Psychology and Its Relation to Other Fields

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Political psychology research has recently converged on the realisation that any evaluation of 'political radicalism' cannot be undertaken in isolation, but must be done so with reference to specific social and cultural contexts (e.g. Haste, 2004; Marugesan, 2007). Meanwhile, developments in the field of cognitive anthropology offer a theoretical framework for capturing the interaction between universal cognitive modules and specific cultural contexts, the latter loaded with sets of ideological beliefs that can be taken on to differing degrees (Sperber, 1996). This paper presents the results of an attempt to utilise the lens of one such anthropological theory of belief maintenance, to analyse the arguments of those adhering to contextually radical beliefs: members of the UK Socialist Party. A combined qualitative and quantitative analysis of results reveals the negotiation of differing implicit and explicit beliefs, in a manner which sheds light on previous debates in cognitive functioning and socio-political ideology (e.g. Tetlock, 1984; Sidanius, 1985). It is concluded that useful theoretical insights can be garnered from the linking of political psychology and cognitive anthropology, while contemporary understandings of 'radicalism' will be enlightened by a sensitivity to differing socio-cultural contexts.

Radicalization at the Schoolyard

**Bert Klandermans, Sociology, VU, University of Amsterdam*

**Jacqueline van Stekelenburg, VU University Amsterdam*

[Panel] 6R Alienation, marginalization and radicalization of young Muslims in Europe and the US

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

A major threat for the Dutch society is an atmosphere of frustration about the Dutch multi-cultural society. This frustration, experienced both by allochthoneous and autochthoneous people, provokes interethnic confrontations (Dutch General Intelligence and Security System [AIVD], 2006). Although frustration about the multi-cultural society seems to be widespread, outbursts of interethnic confrontations appear especially under youngsters. Dramatic events such as 9/11, the murder of Theo van Gogh and the attacks in Madrid and London influence the social and political "agenda" on the schoolyards. Muslim youngsters and Dutch youngsters both take more extreme positions in discussions and group loyalty is fiercely discussed. Muslim youngsters develop anti-Western sentiments and Dutch youngsters develop anti-immigrant sentiments. Due to these interethnic tensions high schools are confronted with polarization of ethnic groups and radicalizing students both in the direction of Muslim radicalization and extreme right. Little is known about these social psychological dynamics of polarization and radicalization. We will conduct a study on Dutch high schools meant to further explore and elaborate on how radicalization develops within a polarizing intergroup context. We conceptualize radicalization as a collective process that evolves within a polarizing intergroup context. People do not radicalize on their own, but as part of a group in which a collective identity is developed. Some members of the group take an activist route to promote or prevent change. Their interactions with their opponents intensify, while their ideas and beliefs and their action intentions sharpen. Indeed, we conceive of radicalization as a dual process of identity transformation on the one side and cognitive and affective change on the other. We will employ insights from social psychology on prejudice, conformism, social distance and group-based emotions (f.i. anxiety, hate, disgust, anger) and social movement theory on

collective action frames (injustice, identity and agency) as our theoretical framework to describe dynamics of polarization and radicalization among Muslim and Dutch youngsters.

Radicalization in the Muslim Diaspora

Gabriel Sheffer, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

**Jerrold M. Post, The George Washington University*

[Panel] 1F Perspectives on Contemporary Terrorism

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Some 80% of the new recruits to the global Salafi jihad are from the Muslim diaspora. In Europe in particular the radicalization of alienated Muslim youth whose parents emigrated in search of a better life but who have not found acceptance in the recipient society is alarming. The Madrid train station bombing of March 2004 was conducted by Muslim émigrés from North Africa. In Great Britain, most of the émigrés are of South Asian origin, especially Pakistan. The London transport bombings of July 7, 2005 were carried out by Muslim youth from an immigrant community in Leeds, raising concerns about “homegrown terrorists.” But the investigation of the thwarted August 2006 major terrorist plot to hijack and detonate multiple U.S.-bound airliners out of Heathrow revealed several of the Pakistani British terrorists received explosives training from al-Qaeda specialists. So “homegrown” is too simple a characterization, and there is definite al-Qaeda involvement. The riots in Marseilles and Paris were not terrorism, but assuredly represented the frustration and alienation of the Muslim émigrés who had not found acceptance in French society. Many Muslim immigrants suffer from a sense of alienation and loss and are vulnerable to radicalization and recruitment into militant groups. Because of this growing internal threat, it is recommended that Western governments support programs that foster incorporation into the culture of Western democracies, while accepting the cultural integrity of the immigrants. The paper also discusses similarities and differences with the United States, which but has been remarkably free of radical Islamist terrorism.

Reassessing the Role of Anxiety in Information Seeking Behavior (Poster)

**Christopher James Williams, University of North Texas*

[Panel] 4P Poster Session: Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Previous research holds that anxiety in individuals causes learning behavior. This new information will cause each individual person to cease acting habitually and begin acting in a manner in line with rational choice models. Yet, scholars have not explored process of information gathering undertaken by those who feel anxiety. I will seek to answer the question of where anxious individuals seek information? Anxiety will cause individuals to seek information. However, their political experience will hinder their ability to gather useful information. When seeking information, individuals, due to their political knowledge and experience, will return to sources of information which have been useful in the past, such as unions or churches. This will in turn reinforce a person’s habitual behavior, therefore insulating the individual against party/candidate support change. I hypothesize that anxious individuals will not be any more inclined to switch support for their habitual party than those who are not anxious. Further, those who move from a feeling of calm to a feeling of anxiety will not change their habitual support substantially. Finally, I hypothesize that anxiety will only have a substantial impact upon those who spend large amounts of time engaged with news media sources. I use the 1996, 2000 and 2004 ANES datasets and basic OLS regression as well as the 2000-2002-2004 ANES Panel Study and Box-Jenkins time-series analysis to demonstrate that anxiety causes rational choice behavior only in cases when individuals seek out information from news media sources, which is not often.

Reconsidering the effects of group status and societal threat on political support

**Guy Elcheroth, University of St Andrews*

[Panel] 4A Personality, Authority, and Politics

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

When and why do people trust and support institutions, groups or individuals that exert power over them? An increasingly prominent set of answers to this question has been developed within the perspective of system justification theory (SJT). A core assumption underlying this theoretical approach is that people are intrinsically motivated to justify and rationalize existing social or political arrangements, even if these arrangements contradict their personal or collective interests. Two

hypotheses that have been formulated in this theoretical perspective will be critically examined: (1) the disadvantaged would (sometimes) be even more motivated to support existing authorities than the privileged, and (2) conservative motives would (generally) be exacerbated under societal conditions of system threat. To underpin this conceptual reconsideration, outcomes from multilevel analyses of the first two waves of the European Social Survey will be presented. They reveal a strong negative relationship between national social exclusion rates and political support, as well as cross-level interactions between social exclusion rates and group status on political support. Contrary to a SJT perspective, these findings suggest that when a fundamental social and moral order is threatened, i.e. when generalised vulnerability becomes a collective experience, politically relevant social representations are reframed and overall support to authorities is likely to diminish. Further, members of privileged groups appear to express stronger support to authorities than the disadvantaged as long as system instability is unlikely, but the relationship between group status and political support becomes more negative with increasing vulnerability of the system to moral contestation and change.

Reducing discrimination by blurring intergroup boundaries

**Richard Crisp, University of Kent*

[Panel] 2S Power, dominance and intergroup conflict: Psychological, political and cultural perspectives

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Social classification, the psychological division into “us” and “them” is a significant contributor to prejudice and intergroup discrimination, whether this be the persistent negative stereotypes held of minority groups or violent intergroup conflict. Correspondingly, social psychologists have focused on reducing the extent of this differentiation in efforts to improve intergroup relations. A great deal of work has now supported the idea that blurring intergroup boundaries, for example, reclassifying one's own group and other groups into a superordinate category, can have beneficial effects for intergroup relations. Under some conditions, however, this approach to improving attitudes can have unintended negative consequences, prompting even greater bias between groups. In this paper I discuss research that has identified underlying motivations related to inclusion, belonging and uniqueness as determinants of negative reactions to reclassification, and the solutions offered in the form of intervention strategies that simultaneously address fundamental psychological needs, while at the same time optimizing conditions conducive to harmonious intergroup relations.

Reflective Structures of the Participants' Discourse during Mass Political Actions (Poster)

Mykhaylo Naydonov

**Lyubov Antonivna Naydonova, The Institute of Social and Political Psychology UAPS*

Lyubov Grigorovska; Lyubov Mykhaylivna Naydonova

[Panel] 4P Poster Session: Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Research of the creative personification from protest mass was conducted with Reflective Interview, which previously used in organisation psychology at the organisation culture development domain. This investigation started in the style of the psychological documentation with its main purpose to fix emotional, intellectual, personal and inter-group components of participants' consciousness. A method of video (audio) interview was applied. The matter of the investigation were participants of mass events from 22.11.04 — 16.01.05 (in Kyiv and Donetsk). The subject was the participants' personal reflection of the event which named Orange Revolution. The re-spondents were taken out of the “Maydan” context through a suggestion to participate in a public self-investigation. A semantic background of the interview structure were the following questions: In the present events context, what NEW appeared in Your knowledge, experience, relationships, feelings? If you could be plunged in thoughts and feelings of the opposite camp representatives (blue / orange)? What do they think about you, what do you want to tell them as to people? The Investigation was held both in the camp of “power” (n=54 in Kyiv, +72 in Donetsk) and in the opposition camp (n=254). The content analysis of participants' reflection demonstrates the mechanism of the creative personification from protest mass. Reflective structure in the participants' discourse was distinguished by special linguistic frequency analysis. No difference of intellectual reflection was found for participant of different political camp. The causal reflective structures are most frequent. The difference in personal reflective structures (collective or individual identification) was significant.

Regulatory focus, voting intentions, and political message persuasiveness

**Jennifer Mary Boldero, The University of Melbourne*

Edward Tory Higgins, Columbia University

[Panel] 4B Personality and Politics
[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Motivational factors are important in political decision making. Regulatory focus theory (RFT; Higgins, 1997; 1998) proposes that there are two distinct self-regulatory systems. Promotion-focused regulation serves nurturance needs, is concerned with advancement, and fits “eager” ways of attaining goals. Prevention-focused regulation serves safety needs, is concerned with avoiding mistakes, and fits “vigilant” ways of attaining goals. Research has shown that when individuals make decisions in a manner that sustains or “fits” either their chronic or situationally-induced regulatory focus, the value of decision outcomes (positive or negative) is intensified (Higgins, 2006). Similarly, reactions to persuasive messages (positive or negative) are intensified when messages “fit”. In two studies we examined the persuasive impact of chronic (Study 1) and induced regulatory focus (Study 2), and regulatory fit, by presenting a persuasive message that either did or did not fit participants’ regulatory focus. We investigated the effects on message persuasiveness, voting intentions (Studies 1 & 2), and reported disappointment if the candidate was not elected (Study 2). Intentions were predicted by persuasiveness and a message focusing on prosperity and advancement (a promotion-focused message) (Study 1) and the extent to which the speech dealt with important issues and persuasiveness (Study 2), which was predicted by a promotion-focused message. Regulatory fit effects occurred for disappointment; those who read a message that fit (vs. did not fit) their induced focus indicated they would be more disappointed (i.e., it increased the intensity of their negative reaction). Together, these results highlight the importance of motivational factors in voting decisions.

Relationships, narratives and identities

**Brian Schiff, The American University of Paris*
[Panel] 6H Political narratives and social change
[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

How do persons tell their identity? What are the dynamics that are involved in entering new identities? In this paper, I argue that social identity is not the result of persons directly interacting with cultural resources broadcast by the media, educational systems and governments. Rather, researchers also need to consider an intermediate step between sociocultural discourses and persons; close relationships are essential in understanding how cultural discourses become usable identities. Relationships help to configure narratives of arriving at particular conceptions of self operating in the cultural world. They are the point of contact for encountering cultural meanings and introducing possible avenues for being a person. Although relationships are not the only means of encountering culture, they are a powerful instrument for sharing meanings and validating, or invalidating, options for self understanding. My account of relationships and identity entails a close analysis of the life stories of young American adults claiming a biracial identity. These narratives suggest that biracial identity is discovered and nurtured within a network of social relationships, including lovers, teachers, friends, and siblings. However, parents occupy a central place in their children’s identity claims. In the stories of biracial persons, the act of rebalancing parental relationships in young adulthood appears to have substantial consequences for racial identity. Feelings of affirmation and closeness or bitterness and distance become significant to the structure of one’s identity story.

Relative deprivation and income evaluation

**Ingolf Boettcher, Humboldt University Berlin, Department of Social Science*
[Panel] 2H Groups, Discrimination, and Oppression
[Section] Intergroup Relations

According to the theory of relative deprivation evaluations of one’s own income are not only triggered by objective criteria like income level but also by subjective processes of comparison. The paper analyses profession, working position, and industry sector as potential reference groups. Using data from the International Social Justice Project (ISJP) 2006 and income means drawn from the German Sozio-oekonomische Panel (GSOEP) it can be demonstrated that income is regarded as a relative as well as an absolute reward. Supporting the theory of relative deprivation the empirical findings show that income evaluation depends partly on the income level of the group of profession and working position.

Religion and the Racial Prism: Race, Religious Interpretation, and Political Attitudes

**Eric Leon McDaniel, University of Texas at Austin*
[Panel] 2V Race, Politics, and Society in the US

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The religion and politics literature has repeatedly demonstrated that, while Black and White Evangelicals both hold the Bible in high regard, they do not necessarily see the political world the same. These differences in worldviews have prevented the formation of coalitions and provided a puzzle in explaining partisanship. Why do Black and White Evangelicals differ in terms of support for political issues, political parties and candidates? The explanation given for these disparities is that Whites and Blacks diverge in regards to their religious interpretation. Due to the development of religious understandings in dissimilar contexts, Blacks and Whites see the religious world differently. While scholars have been able to demonstrate the outcomes of perceived differences, however, no one has been able to demonstrate the exact nature of these differences in religious interpretation. The purpose of this paper is to fill this gap in the literature by examining the extent to which religious interpretation differs by racial groups and the political ramifications of these differences. Using focus groups and survey data, this project will examine how differences in religious views are formed and how these views enter the decision making calculus of Evangelical Christians.

Religiousness and political strategy in 21st Century Socialism

**Maritza Montero, Universidad Central de Venezuela*

[Panel] 6E Beliefs about Identity: national symbolism, trust and religion

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

“Socialism of the 21st century” has been announced and presented in Venezuela as the ideological proposal of President Hugo Chavez. In that sense it is supposed to be the doctrine directing militants and sympathizers of the Socialist Unique Party of Venezuela (PSUV by its Spanish acronym), which recently replaced the Fifth Republic Movement (MVR by its Spanish acronym), the party that has supported Chavez since 1999. In this paper, the relation between political discourse and religious ideas is analyzed in the context of the current Venezuelan political process, in which the President relationships with Christian churches has gone from cordiality to strong insults in presidential discourses that may go from selected adaptations from quotes taken from the New Testament, to scatological insults. The analysis is based on public interviews of high rank militants of the PSUV, describing and explaining the structure and application of the 21st century Socialism, and on presidential discourses. The construction of the relation between 21st century socialist ideology: religious ideas and religiousness is presented, showing the mode of employing them, and the political range and value of that relationship.

Repertoire of Contention: A Lesson from the Israeli Settlement Movement

**Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler, University of Antwerp, Belgium*

[Panel] 8J The Impact of Sociopolitical Forces on Attitudes and Actions

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

This study integrates insights and theories from political science, psychology and sociology to answer key questions about the mechanisms behind the process of strategy action of contention—mechanisms through which political opportunities, resources and identities translate into collective action. Though a wide range of theories have been adduced to explain collective action, these say relatively little about the mechanisms, and the accompanying variation among different subgroups or organizations within the same social movement, mainly the role of fragmentation in the process of collective action and its influence on tactical repertoire. Hence, the aim of the study is to look “inside the black box” of collective action with special attention on a comparison between moderate and radical fractions within the movement. To this end, I drew on the Israeli settlement movement which illustrate the process of collective action not only between challengers and authorities (in this case the Israeli government) but between the challengers themselves (i.e., the moderate vis-à-vis the radical fractions of the movement), as both are forms of contention which intersect and influence one another. A field study among Israeli settlers in Gaza and the West Bank provide evidence that internal movement process and factors (e.g., contextual, background and organizational factors) along with external sociopolitical factors shape differentiation in a movement’s selection of tactical repertoire. This implies the need for an integrative approach that looks at the process of collective action as a multi-stage phenomenon and not as a single-static- unidirectional. These findings are understood and discussed with regard to theoretical implications.

Resistance to Political Psychology in French Political Science: How to Fight Path Dependency

**Yves Raymond Schemel, Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Grenoble*

Jean-Louis Marie, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Lyon

[Panel] 10C New Directions in Political Psychology and Its Relation to Other Fields

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

French Political science is mainly grounded on political sociology. For scholars trained to relate attitudes to positions within the social structure, psychology seems far too atomistic to explain aggregate behavior. Historical controversies such as the Durkheim/Tarde one are still influential. Bourdieu is therefore more important in our discipline than Moscovici and Piaget. In this paper, we discuss the roots and consistency of such sociological reluctance towards psychology: at the methodological level individual data are collected through interviews, focus groups, and experimental samples; simultaneously, at the epistemological level “psychologism” is assumed to be a fallacy. We shall turn this latent contradiction into a manifest conflict of scientific statements, and suggest solutions to accommodate the micro and the macro levels. Political psychology is also plagued by its proximity with neuroscience. Rational choice raises fewer concerns in France than cognitive approaches, since the latter are not only actor-oriented, as RC is, they are nature-friendly as well. In France, Political Psychology as practiced in recent years by English speaking scholars looks more and more naturalistic. This may add a new challenge to the enduring lack of confidence in “non sociological” research. Taking political reasoning as an example, it is obvious that neurones, the cortex, and reflex behavior are “objects” to be explained as well as “citizens”, “voters”, and “demonstrators”. Consequently, political sociology and political psychology must be combined to provide more complete explanations of political judgments: public choice is the global outcome of multiple decisions built by individuals in private discussions and public debates.

Resurgent Nationalism or Effective Rhetoric: A Psychological Examination of the Scottish Nationalist Party's Electoral Success.

**Ryan Keith Beasley, Baker University*

[Panel] 6G Nationalism, Patriotism and Electoral Politics

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

The recent success of the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) in Scottish Parliamentary elections represents an opportunity to further understand the roots and causes of nationalism in the European context. In 2007 for the first time, the SNP enjoys a plurality of seats in the Scottish Parliament, substantially improving on its electoral showing of 2003. Despite relative consistency in its party platform between elections, the SNP managed to make significant gains in parliamentary seats. There are several extant explanations for this electoral change, including shifting party loyalties, increasing desire for EU integration, a changing local electoral climate, and dissatisfaction with the Labour Party. This paper will examine the rhetorical strategies employed by the SNP to effectively capitalize on Scottish nationalist sentiments, focusing in particular on calls for Scottish independence. Additionally, we will examine the ways in which those strategies resonated with the psychology of the Scottish electorate. Interviews with high level SNP members as well as data collected regarding Scottish citizens' attitudes will be used to test the impact of electoral strategy on citizen support for the SNP.

Return visits among young Pakistanis in Scandinavia

**Sidsel Hansson, Centre of Asian Studies, Lund University*

[Panel] 6T Post-Diaspora politics: psychological challenges for minority and majority communities in the West

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper explores the relationship between second and third generation migrants and their real or imagined, parental country of origin, with a focus on the conceptions of self, inclusion, rights, and citizenship that inform these identity formations. The unit of analysis is young Scandinavians who have Pakistan as their (grand)parental country of origin, and regularly visit this “ancestral” homeland. The analysis highlights the tremendous pressures which surround transnational identity formations among young Muslims, and the ways in which their return visits become ways of forging ties across multiple local contexts, and channeling social and cultural practices between the country of residence and the country of origin.

Review of NGO Studies

**Jesse Lecy, Department of Social Sciences, Syracuse University*

[Panel] 9R Bridging Disciplines and Methods: The Contributions of Transnational NGO Governance and Leadership Studies to Political Psychology (Roundtable)

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

The second presentation in this roundtable will review the state of NGO studies and the literatures that frame it. The talk examines research questions that have interested other NGO scholars, dependable variables that have been used, how NGOs have been categorized and current debates in NGO studies.

Russian Hegemony and Islamic Resistance in the North Caucasus

**Robert Bruce Ware, University of Southern Illinois Edwardsville*

[Panel] 2Q Political Conflict and Images of the "Other"

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This paper analyzes the historic, three-way struggle among indigenous, Islamic, and Russian approaches to social organization in the North Caucasus. Indigenous North Caucasian social organizations are highly localized. Historically, these indigenous forms have come into conflict with a series of hierarchical, or otherwise absolutist, forms of social organization that have provided for the geographical expansion of great empires across the lowlands to the north and south of the Caucasus Mountains. Arabs, Mongol, Persian, and Russian empires have expanded by means of social organizations designed for lowland societies until they have reached the Caucasian highlanders. The history of these contacts has been characterized by periods of antagonism and periods of compromise. For the last two centuries, Russian and Islamic forms of expansive social organization have competed in their efforts to control or co-opt the highlanders. Today, quasi-traditional forms of Russian hierarchical domination are competing in the North Caucasus against the expansive absolutism of Islamist extremism. Neither form is compatible with the traditional localism of the North Caucasus. The winner in the current struggle between Russia and the Islamists will be the side that most successfully appeals to the traditions of North Caucasian social organization.

Scale of conflict between firms, communities, new social movements and the role of government

**José G. Vargas-Hernández, Instituto Tecnológico de Cd. Guzmán*

[Panel] 9B The Management of International Conflicts and Crises: Perspectives from Political Psychology

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

This paper is aimed to review the different levels of scale of conflicts between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government. Globalization and technological change is provoking a conflict of feelings within and between people. A global economy is characterized by economic and political asymmetries and dependency relationships, which restrict cooperation and conflict resolution. Structures of societies and politics reflect the processing of conflicts and problems. Structures of societies and politics reflect the processing of conflicts and problems. The confluence of situational, structural and contextual factors produced violent political conflicts at the level of the national state. NGO's activists and advisors, etc, eager to intervene in solution of conflicts have split social movements provoking more confusion and other conflicts. Agencies also have different and sometimes conflicting responsibilities.

Scapegoat identity: A Jungian read of a Romani narrative

**Alexandra Fidyk, National-Louis University*

[Panel] 6F National identity and xenophobia: the social construction of threat

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

"Strangers, gods and monsters," writes Kearney (2003) "represent experiences of extremity which bring us to the edge. They subvert our established categories and challenge us to think again" (p. 3). Through this interpretation of "stranger" and "scapegoat," I consider the European Roma, a people who have been the most discriminated against and yet excessively romanticized (Cooper, 2001), as a group that challenges our way of thinking. Mostly confined to shantytowns, often denied formal education, without almost any prospect for social mobility, Roma are subjected to extremely demeaning stereotypes. And yet, they are admired as musicians, dancers, and free spirits. Roma often symbolize "the very epitome of freedom" (Hancock, 1999, par. 6, emphasis in original), a popular sentiment expressed in novels, poems, songs, and public imagination. The Roma as named are those who "threaten the known with the unknown" and so are "exiled to hell or heaven; or simply ostracized from the human community into a land of aliens" (Kearney, 2003, p. 3). Through a Romani narrative I consider how the psychology of a group that has been deeply identified with the role of the scapegoat, suffer negative inflation, exile and splitting. The practice of scapegoating is evidenced in many different

cultures: most human cultures have deployed myths of sacrifice to scapegoat strangers. It means holding certain aliens or strangers responsible for the ills of society—finding the one or ones who can be identified with evil or wrong-doing, blamed for it, and isolated or cast out from the community in order to leave the remaining members with a feeling of guiltlessness, atoned (at-one) with the collective standards of behaviour (Perera, 1986).

Schoolmaster of the Emotions: Michel de Montaigne and Political Ethics

**Adam Martin*

Daniel R Brunstetter, UC Irvine

[Panel] 6I Theorizing Self: dialogue, passion and psychological theory

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Recent work in political psychology (McDermott 2004, MacGinty & Du Toit 2007, Skitka & Bauman 2008, Smith 2008) has highlighted the importance of the emotions in political affairs, especially their contribution to human rationality, acquiring a self-concept, and the salience of worldviews about the human condition. Recent illustrations of this approach have yielded insights into motivated reasoning, identity formation, and self-Other dichotomies and polarization, applied to such thorny issues as resistance to immigration, nationalism, prejudice, xenophobia, religious dogmatism, and suicide terror. In light of these insights, political ethics can be plausibly conceived as the moral education of the emotions. It is the contention of the present essay that the work of the 16-century French philosopher and statesman Michel de Montaigne, particularly his *Essais*, provides a prescient anticipation of present insights into the political psychology of the emotions, and also provides an approach to encouraging pro-social emotions and defusing socially maladaptive ones. In particular, he emphasizes the critical role of self-monitoring and perspective-taking, contributing to ethical behavior and vis-à-vis the self and the Other. Similarly, he also works on diminishing the salience of emotion-laden habits and customs left over from our political socialization, achieving a greater sense of moral agency and greater autonomy from the weight of dogma, ideology, and tradition.

Science and Psychoanalysis

**Jean-Christian Delay, Psykoanalytisk Kreds, Inter-Associatif Européen de Psychanalyse*

[Panel] 6U Psychoanalysis and Political Psychology

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Science—in the modern appreciation of the term—is the sovereign novelty of the past half a millennium. It introduces into human experience a new form of rationality, a new form of authority. On the one hand, science is everywhere in our lives, in the form of its innumerable technological results. Here, the authority of science rests on its practical efficiency. On the other hand, science also has another authority, an authority derived from its way of asking questions of nature and of making nature an authority, its authority. At the same time, science tends to cultivate knowledge cleansed of subjective elements. More radically, science carries in its heart the dream of an objective and complete mapping of the workings of nature, including human nature. Unfortunately, putting subjectivity in parentheses in this way makes us forget that knowledge is fundamentally (constitutively) incomplete. What does this portend, at a time in our history when technological thinking sometimes gives the impression of harboring the pretension to surpass scientific thought? Science promotes knowledge. Psychoanalysis, on the other hand, promotes the truth of the subject. What does this mean? What does it mean to know something, that something is true, true in science or true in psychoanalysis? What implications do these considerations have for the appreciation of our difficulties?

Searching Under Stress: Anxiety and Selective Information Exposure

**Melissa Kathryn Surawski, Penn State Erie, The Behrend College*

[Panel] 5D The Impact of Negative Communication

[Section] Political Communication

For centuries, political philosophers have argued that emotion clouds rational judgment and should be avoided at all costs. In light of advances made in the fields of social cognition, political science, and social psychology, however, the question of how affective states work in conjunction with cognitive processes has been approached anew, and interesting patterns have emerged in the data. The theory of affective intelligence (Marcus, Neuman, & MacKuen, 2000) posits that emotional arousal, particularly anxiety, alerts organisms to gather and evaluate information from the environment that could be used for self-protection. On the other hand, terror management theory (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 2002) predicts that anxious individuals will protect themselves from further information that could be potentially threatening to the

individual's worldview. The primary purpose of this study was to determine participants' preferred level of exposure to further information about a threat. Participants' anxiety was manipulated through faux online news articles about nuclear terrorism. After reading the articles, participants spent time exploring a website that contained links to further information about terrorism, some of which reassured the participants of their safety, some of which further threatened their sense of well-being. The order in which the links were clicked and the amount of time each participant spent on each website was recorded. Overwhelmingly, participants preferred to read threatening information—regardless of their anxiety manipulation condition. Participants with a high need for evaluation read less material; other personality variables did not exert an effect. Participants did not seem to protect themselves against mortality salience.

Searching for Left Wing Authoritarianism

Michael Brady, Duke University; Brendan Nyhan, Duke University; Jason Reifler, Georgia State University

**John Transue, University of Illinois at Springfield*

Ian McDonald, Duke University

[Panel] 2A Authoritarianism: Extensions and Applications

[Section] Intergroup Relations

We argue that past efforts to seek, measure, and understand left-wing authoritarianism (LWA) were flawed. First, we argue that the values scales in past research do not resonate with the contemporary left and that the threat measures and manipulations do not sufficiently threaten today's liberals and leftists. Second, most attempts that we are aware of have modeled LWA as a product of an additive relationship between values and threat as seen in Altemeyer's work on RWA. Far fewer have employed the interactive framework posited by Feldman and Stenner. We create new values and threat scales and compare their performance to some of the measures from past work. We also use an experiment to manipulate threat. Using these measures and experimental treatments we test for left-wing authoritarianism using the two competing frameworks (additive versus interactive). We also compare and contrast results from experiments run in two different contexts: a relatively conservative and affluent private university in the southeastern United States and in a larger and more liberal public university in the northwestern United States.

Seeing red (and blue): Effects of Electoral College depictions on political group perception

[Panel] 5O Persuasive and Dissuasive Effects of Communication

[Section] Political Communication

Maps depicting election results by coloring states red and blue display a starkly polarized America. We propose that this electoral depiction may cause or exacerbate the perception of political polarization rather than merely reflect it. We presented participants with one of four maps of the United States representing two crossed factors (Electoral versus Proportional and data versus no data). In the Electoral condition, each state was shaded either bright red or bright blue, depending on whether the state was won by Bush (red) or Kerry (blue) in the 2004 presidential election; in the Proportional condition, each state was shaded an intermediate color between bright red and bright blue that matched the proportion of voters who supported Bush and Kerry. In addition, half of the maps also displayed the percentage of voters in each state who supported Bush and Kerry; half of the maps only labeled the states and did not display this information. Relative to those who viewed Proportional maps, participants who viewed Electoral maps perceived the nation as more politically divided, stereotyped the political beliefs of residents of various states to a greater extent, and saw people holding views in the political minority within a state as less politically agentic and less likely to vote. Moreover, these differences occurred even in the presence of objective numeric data. The implications of these findings and alternatives to the red-blue depiction are discussed.

Self Searching for the Lost Story

**Khansaa Diab, David Yellin College of Education*

[Panel] 1E Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Its Resolution—Part 1

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

This study describes an educational initiative that employs methods from critical pedagogy with Palestinian-Israeli students in their first year of teacher training. Analyses were conducted by the students on family and personal narratives in order to incorporate life stories into teacher training which would impact the personal and professional development of

young teachers-in-training. Life stories allowed the teachers-in-training to connect to themselves and assisted them in connecting with the inner and outer world of their pupils. The students embarked on a personal journey in search of their roots and the life story of their families. From the wide variety of Palestinian student's narratives that underwent a journey in search of their roots it is clear that they wonder, investigate, contemplate, and criticize, and know how to successfully express themselves quite well. What comes out of this study is that the time has come to undergo a self-search for the missing narrative of the Arab Palestinians living in Israel. An attempt was made to illustrate the Arab-Palestinian myth that was created by the War of Independence and even beforehand, as told by the Palestinian grandparents themselves who tell it to the generation of sons and grandsons. The other issue of nationality was raised and the meaning of its historical narrative as opposed to the Zionist narrative. There is room to accept the narrative of the other side and what is implied from it as legitimate without necessarily agreeing with it or its implications. This step, for example, requires students to accept the definition of the events of 1948 as "Nekba"—the Palestinian disaster as is perceived by Palestinians, even if there are those who dispute the extent of how they were exiled and expelled. They are also compelled to understand that the collective Palestinian pain is comparable to a national disaster in the eyes of the Palestinians. The results of the study draw a self-evident conclusion that in order to aspire to education for peace in the words of Solomon (2002), in an area in which there is such an ethno-political conflict between Arabs and Jews in Israel there must be a preceding stage that is the search for the personal and collective Palestinian narrative. This narrative is missing from the consciousness of many Palestinians today, especially among the younger generation (the third generation since Nekba), and the policies of the Israeli-Jewish establishment are responsible.

Sense of economic threat, political alienation and authoritarianism in comparative studies (Poland-USA)

**Anna Bronowicka, Department of Psychology, Opole University (Poland)*

[Panel] 2N New Developments in Authoritarianism Research IV: Threat and Authoritarianism

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The purpose of the study was to understand cultural similarities and differences in political attitudes and behaviors of young people. This research verifies the mediating model, which uses political alienation as a mediating variable to explain the influence of economic threat on authoritarianism. in American and Polish context. Moreover, the study answers the questions about the differences in the levels of political alienation, authoritarianism and economic threat. Sense of economic threat is understood as fear relating to individual's perception of personal and country's economic situation. The political alienation is understood as a syndrome of the political inefficiency (internal and external) and cynicism and distrust towards the world of politics, what effects on the sense of estrangement from the functioning political system (Southwell, 2003). Authoritarianism (RWA, Altemeyer, 1981) has been defined as unitary dimension which is the covariation of conventionalism, authoritarian submission and aggression. The interactive models of authoritarianism assume that the authoritarian attitudes depend not only on personality predispositions, but also on the situational factors which activate them. The links between threat and authoritarianism were confirmed by many researchers (Feldman, Stenner, 1997, Duckitt, Fisher, 2003, Doty, Peterson, Winter, 1991, Peterson, Gerstein, 2005, Perrin, 2005, Lavine, 2005). The recent researches conducted in Poland (Bronowicka, 2007) have confirmed that the fear of unemployment is a significant predictor of political and social alienation. The questionnaire's research was conducted in spring 2007 on a sample of the Opole University students (Poland, N= 141) and a sample of the Indiana University students (USA, N= 100).

Sensitizing Muslim Leaders to the Abuse of Islam for Incitement to Hate and Violence

**Shimon Samuels, Simon Wiesenthal Centre*

[Panel] 2B Changing Cognitions and Practices as Strategies of Peace Building

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The C100(50 Muslim/50 nonMuslim leaders) of the World Economic Forum is media mapping perceptions in the West-Islamic World dialogue I am examining three threads: 16 Islamophobic websites;18 antisemitic/Holocaust denial/terrorism glorification sites that abuse the name of Islam;13 sites where Muslim figures present the debate within Islam to the West Impact is measured by backlinks and visits The preliminary findings by a Jewish organization have resulted in best practise cooperation with unexpected Muslim quarters.The powerpoint will conclude with early results of the Wiesenthal Centre's new outreach website. AskMusa addresses,interactively,questions in Arabic,Farsi,Urdu and Indonesian on Judaism,Holocaust,Zionism,antisemitism,Jewish perceptions of Islam etc These projects would benefit from guidance in the ambit of Political Psychology

Sexist Harassment... An Invisible Problem? (Poster)

**Emily Ann Bune Leskinen, University of Michigan*

Lilia M. Cortina

[Panel] 2P Poster Session: Intergroup Relations

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Sexist harassment, as articulated by legal scholars (e.g. Schulz, 1998), and recently by psychologists (e.g. Langhout et al, 2005), involves sexist comments or treatment such as abusive language or gender related jokes (e.g. a supervisor telling his employee she “didn’t have the right parts” to do certain tasks). It can be distinguished from sexual harassment, which involves erotic or sexualized overtures (such as requests for sexual favors in exchange for a tangible work benefit). This study examines data of 9725 women in all branches of the US military who filled out a Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ). Sexist hostility (harassment without explicit sexual overtones) is much more frequent than the more commonly recognized forms of sexual harassment (such as quid pro quo harassment). Furthermore, it has many of the same deleterious consequences for the women who were harassed (e.g. decreased psychological well-being, negative health effects on work, decreased work satisfaction and organizational commitment). This study also considers the implications of these findings within a broader socio-political context, examining the harassment policies of Fortune 500 companies, and exploring how these formal organizations make sense of sex-based harassment. This study suggests broadening how sexual harassment is conceptualized and indicates a different way that male power can be expressed.

Sexual prejudice, perceived biological differences, and the limits of the anti-discrimination norms (Poster)

**Juan M. Falomir Pichastor, University of Geneva*

[Panel] 2P Poster Session: Intergroup Relations

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Past research suggests that the ideological system that focuses on the primacy of heterosexuality and masculinity accounts for sex differences in sexual prejudice (i.e. heterosexual men show more sexual prejudice than heterosexual women). We will present a first series of studies showing that sexual prejudice increased as heterosexual men’s gender self-esteem increased. This link was not significant for women nor when men believed in biological differences between heterosexual and homosexual men. A second series of studies showed that the pro-equality and anti-discrimination normative principle does not contribute to reduce men’s sexual prejudice but when they believed in the biological differences between heterosexual and homosexual men. Overall these findings support the hypothesis that heterosexual men’s sexual prejudice is motivated by maintenance of a positive and distinctive gender identity. Furthermore, enhancing equality and no-discrimination norms (i.e. which means that group boundaries are not guaranteed) may underpin motivation to intergroup differentiation, specifically in context of threatening intergroup similarity.

Social Class Influences on Black American Ideological Beliefs from 1980 to 2003 (Poster)

**Mesmin Destin, University of Michigan*

**Tiffany M Griffin, University of Michigan*

[Panel] 2P Poster Session: Intergroup Relations

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Social class differences in the ideological orientations of Black Americans have been examined empirically over the past fifty years (e.g., Frazier, 1957; Hwang, Fitzpatrick, & Helms, 1998; Kilson, 1983; Pettigrew, 1981; Wilson, 1978). Several researchers have investigated Wilson’s (1978) controversial declaration of a declining significance of race in the ideological beliefs of Black Americans. In the current analysis, we apply Wilson’s hypothesis to an investigation of Black Americans’ social psychological and structural conditions from 1980 to 2003. We use representative samples of Black Americans in the National Survey of Black Americans (1980) and the National Survey of American Life (2003). Findings support the prediction that the increased mobility for some Black Americans, along with persistent poverty for others, has translated into heightened economic inequality, increased social distance, decreased cohesiveness, and systematic distinctions in political ideology among Black Americans over time. Although the generally liberal political orientations among Black Americans continues to receive both theoretical and empirical support (e.g. Tate, 1994), social class also appears to significantly contribute to secular trends in political beliefs. Changes over this twenty-five year period do not overwhelm the consistent liberal orientation of Black American populations toward social policies, but upper class Black

Americans do show a significantly more conservative general political orientation. Together these analyses suggest that the qualitatively different experiences of relatively high and low socio-economic status Black Americans over the last quarter of the 20th century may have contributed to a growing significance of social class in demarcating different ideological positions among the population.

Social Construction of security relations of India and Pakistan: Ideology as a key to understand Identity

**Muhammad Shoaib Pervez, Leiden University Netherlands*

[Panel] 6F National identity and xenophobia: the social construction of threat

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

The rivalry between India and Pakistan is deeply rooted in the divergent cultural settings of the two states right from the start of their nation building process. The security relationship is mostly explained on strategic lines with its emphasis on traditional neorealist approach. Its explanation on constructivist model by keeping culture as an important repository of identity formation of the two states is often ignored. This relationship with cultural aspects cannot be underestimated. It is this aspect of relationship which I want to emphasise in my paper. Based on the application of the term “chosen trauma” used by Kinwall in the identity formation of the Hindus and the identity theory of social psychology, I want to develop a casual relation between ideology and identity. Furthermore how these ideologies are transformed or manipulated by the elites of the two states so as to bring a change in state’s identity. Thus the two states change their state preferences or interest under such an identity leading to a new intersubjective understanding. In the end the argument will culminate with the assertion that the identity developed by the founding fathers of the two states through ideology is in stark contrast to the identity now acquired by both the states which is precisely the reason of dismal security relations.

Social Desirability and Racial Framing of Barack Obama and the Hypothetical Black President

**Darren Davis, University of Notre Dame*

[Panel] 4K Race, Religion, and Tolerance

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Recent elections involving deracialized black candidates reveal a propensity among whites to voice support for black candidates, but privately abstain or vote for someone else. Therefore, instead of accepting the validity of political attitudes toward deracialized candidates, this research explores the extent to which support for Barack Obama and a hypothetical black presidential candidate is tainted by socially desirable responses. Working under the axiom that deracialized candidates purposely avoid racially divisive issues, threatening and confrontational images, and positions challenging the whites’ group and self interests, we argue that whites, more than African Americans, should experience greater internalized pressure to voice support for Obama. However, when a deracialized candidate is perceived as more threatening to white’s group interests, their support for should decrease, at the same time they become sensitive to social norms. Our analysis of race of interviewer effects (surrogate for social desirability bias) and racial labeling (surrogate for threat) of Obama and a hypothetical black candidate supports our expectations. Specifically, while blacks do not show signs of social desirability bias concerning Obama, whites are more likely to voice support for Obama when interviewed by a black interviewer. Moreover, under high threat or when Obama is labeled as “African American” (as opposed to “Black”), whites’ support for Obama decreases overall, but Obama’ support significantly improves when interviewed by a black interviewer. We take this to mean that whites overcompensate for their support for Obama when he is made to appear more threatening.

Social Movements and Community Involvement in Latin America: Analysis from Social Community Psychology

**Jorge Mario Flores Osorio, Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos*

[Panel] 10I Building Bridges between Political and Community Psychology: The Role of Participation and Empowerment

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

The paper does an analysis of social movements and community participation in the context of neo-liberal society, considering that the concept of “class struggle” was not their motivational basis and therefore it is not possible to interpret them based on that concept, especially because recent experience shows that there are other variables that bind popular movements together, where people from different classes (workers, peasants, intellectuals, the unemployed, women, children, indigenous people, etc..) come together in the defense of the environment, electoral processes, protests and fight against free trade treaties with the USA and / or defense of the earth. The interpretation of the social movements is made

from the theoretical and methodological construction of Community and Social Psychology as a transdisciplinary construction directly linked to the conditions of exclusion / oppression under which “different” people live in the region. This will take inputs from liberating pedagogy, psychology and philosophy, as well as fundamentals of the theory of dependency as epistemological conceptions of Latin America origin.

Social Networks and Vote Choice

**Elif Erisen, Stony Brook University*

Cengiz Erisen, Stony Brook University

[Panel] 4I Democratic Deliberation

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Social networks literature has long debated the role of social ties for the individual's political attitudes and behavior. Early studies of political behavior suggested that individuals learn and share political information within social networks to clarify their preferences and make citizenry decisions (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee 1954; Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955). Accordingly, research motivated by Huckfeldt and his colleagues (Huckfeldt and Sprague 1988, 1991, 1994; Huckfeldt, Beck, Dalton, and Levine 1995) has investigated the contextual and discussant influences on vote choice, social communication, accessibility of perceived discussant preferences, political expertise, and disagreement and social ties. In addition, research has shown that the social context influences attitude formation on presidential policies (Mondak, Mutz, and Huckfeldt 1996). In this paper, we explore voter turnout and presidential vote choice conducting analyses in both the 2004 ANES Time Series Study and the 2006 ANES Pilot Study, which solicited information regarding the respondents' self identified networks of political discussion. In addition, we explore the predictive potential of several new item formats in the pilot study for voter turnout and presidential vote choice. In our paper we present bivariate and multivariate analyses, predicting voter turnout and presidential vote choice by the social network battery items and other confounding variables. We conclude by reviewing the empirical evidence on the predictive potential of the new networks battery for voter turnout and presidential vote choice.

Social antagonisms and the contested legitimacy of social order

**Christian Staerklé, University of Geneva*

[Panel] 1R Toward an integrated understanding of intergroup conflict: Debating the contributions of social identity and social representations approaches (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The present comment brings together social representations theory and social identity theory based on the notion of ‘social order’. We will suggest that regulation of social order is a key motivation of individuals, shaped by their position in the social hierarchy and by their various category memberships. It is argued that any form of social order requires representations of social cleavages and antagonisms to legitimise itself, but that the meaning of these antagonisms is object of political debate and contestation. Representations of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ people, ‘winners’ and ‘losers’, ingroups and outgroups, and dominant and subordinate categories are described as generic forms of social knowledge which organise social order.

Social representations conveyed by the political communication in TV news

**Aurélie Delcros, Faculté des Sciences humaines et sociales, Sorbonne*

[Panel] 5R Democratic values and political communication (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Communication

This lecture will deal with the social representations perceived by the audience of TV News. First, I will present some polls to set a preliminary quantitative scope before presenting the qualitative aspect of my research work. Secondly, I will outline the paradoxical perception the viewers have of the TV News and political communication. Indeed, this perception seems to go between confidence and suspicion. Actually, studying the reception of the « 20 heures » TV News broadcast leads to the outlining of some specific issues : 1. This broadcast is the most criticized but still the most consumed news media; 2. Concerning political informations (especially during Presidential elections), the impact of TV News is the most crucial according to what viewers think about the potential influence of political communication. But, paradoxically, the viewers interviewed tend to consider themselves as little influenced whereas they consider other viewers as noticeably influenced in their votes (« the third person effect », according to Davidson and Schudson)

The specific problem to be addressed is then to understand the links between the distrust towards TV News on the one hand, and the democratic function it seems to have on the other hand. Especially we will try to bring to light the fact that those who are most critics are those who grant it an effective part in a democratic regime and want it to play ideally a counterpower function, that is to say they want this media to become a real fourth power. (Part of Roundtable 5R)

Social representations of responsibility for crimes in the past

**Ivana Markova, Striling University*

**Birgitta Orfali, Paris Descartes University Paris France*

[Panel] 5R Democratic values and political communication (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Communication

Using focus groups with young students in their late teens and early twenties in France (8 groups with 4-5 participants), we explored social representations of responsibilities for crimes committed by an individual in the past (Nazism or communism in one of the countries of the past Soviet bloc) and the question concerning justice and punishment of those who supported and sustained totalitarianism. Dialogue in focus groups displays, as well as conceals, multifaceted forms of symbolic interactions. For example, dialogical participants may implicitly assume that their interlocutors possess certain kinds of knowledge and therefore, they explicitly elaborate only on selected issues. They may expose certain ideas and strategically hide others; they can defend attitudes that they do not hold; they contradict ideas which they proclaimed only some minutes ago; and so on. And these dialogical processes contain continuities as well as discontinuities in discussing topics. They involve interpersonal tension and relaxation, repetition and creative activities, conformity and innovation, explicit expressions and implicit thoughts; and they adapt to assimilate strangeness. Moreover, participants carry dialogues not only with their co-present participants but also with 'third parties' who may report the speech of others. Given these multiple relations, what can we discover about social representations of responsibility in and through dialogues in focus groups? Analyses of interactions, of dialogical features of language and contents of discussions enabled to identify conventional and reflective social representations of responsibility. Conventional social representations are 'general truths' and common moralities that are presupposed in public discourse but rarely thematised. Reflective social representations are theories of knowledge in which participants incur concrete interactions with their past social experience, and they call upon collective memories, commitments and loyalties. Both types of representations are marked linguistically, dialogically and by their contents. We designed focus groups as part of an international project in the late nineteen nineties on responsibilities and entitlements in post-Communist Europe. We shall refer here to two corpuses, each consisting of eight focus groups, one carried out in Paris, France and the other in Brno, the Czech Republic. We want to emphasize that the study of these representations does not compare the two corpuses. Rather, it illustrates how different histories, political circumstances and interactions bring out different kinds of the dialogical Ego-Alter interdependencies and presuppositions about responsibilities. Their thematizations show, accordingly, different social representations of responsibilities. (Part of Roundtable 5R)

Socio-Psychological Implications of Prolonged Occupation for the Occupying Society

**Daniel Bar-Tal, Tel Aviv University*

Eran Halperin, Stanford University, USA and IDC, Israel; Amiram Raviv, Tel Aviv University

Nimrod Rosler, The Conflict Research Management and Resolution Program, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Keren Sharvit, Swiss Center for Conflict Research, Management, and Resolution

[Panel] 1G Psychology of Occupation: Perspectives of the Occupier

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Although prolonged occupation of a nation is no longer a common phenomenon, where it does exist, it bears harsh implications for all parties involved. This article examines the socio-psychological implications of occupation on the perceptions and belief system of the occupying society, using the case of the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip since the 1967 war as an example. The paper first delineates the concept of occupation from a socio-psychological perspective, which supplements the legal-formal aspect. We then propose a conceptual framework that analyzes the psychology of the occupying society. Within this framework, we describe the psychological challenges that the occupation poses to the members of the occupying society. Next, two types of mechanisms that members of an occupying society may use in order to cope with these challenges are introduced: a psycho-dynamic mechanism and a socio-psychological mechanism involving a system of societal beliefs. Finally, we offer a number of ideas regarding the relationship between these mechanisms and the process of ending the occupation.

Spoiling for a Fight: Empire, Masculinity, and the Fragmentation of American Military Identity

**Aaron Belkin, University of California San Diego*

[Panel] 6L Gender, power and discourses

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

In this paper, I interrogate the institutional production of one particular set of masculinities—those which have been forged and performed in the U.S. armed forces over the past century—as an opportunity for questioning a conventional wisdom about the relationship between masculinity and non-normativity and for offering an argument as to how that relationship gets implicated in the exercise of American military power and the maintenance of empire. My argument is that scholars have been under-attentive to self-soiling, in other words the multiple dimensions along which the military itself induces all service members to contaminate themselves, not just during boot camp, but throughout their careers. The military can only establish blind conformity if service members understand themselves to be feminine, weak, dependent, etc., and if, in turn, they fear that such shameful traits could burst out into plain view if their conformity were to become less blind. The production of docile service members depends on their disavowing not just despised traits in general, but non-normativity which they believe to be particular to themselves and which could emerge at any time.

Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush from Governor to 2nd Term President

**Jonathan Renshon, Harvard University*

[Panel] 3H Leader Personality and Government Outcomes

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

Cognitive frameworks and belief systems are the primary lenses through which presidents view the world. They help to determine how situations are framed, which information is utilized and ultimately, what decisions are made. One important question, though, is whether these beliefs ever change significantly, and if so, what causes these changes? This paper develops empirical data on the strategic beliefs of President George W. Bush as a means of examining the theoretical basis for how and why core beliefs change. I analyze the foreign policy operational code of President George W. Bush in four separate phases of his political career: the immediate pre-presidential phase; his nine months in office prior to September 11th, 2001; the six months immediately following the 9/11 terrorist attacks; and his last year in office as a second term president. These four phases constitute a natural experiment, allowing us to closely examine the effect of a number of variables on his strategic beliefs, including: the effect of becoming president, the effect of a dramatic, unexpected shocks like the 9/11 attacks and the effect of dealing with the consequences of multiple foreign policy setbacks. The empirical data developed in this paper allows us to address several recurring questions that concern the Bush administration, and presidents more generally. The results challenge traditional interpretations of the Bush presidency and provide some insights into the theoretical mechanisms that underlie belief change.

State Violence, coup d'état and religion in Argentina during the 1970 (Poster)

**David Gregorio Rosman*

[Panel] 1P Poster Session: Political Conflict, Violence and Crisis

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

State Violence, coup d'état and religion in Argentina during the 1970 During the 1970, 30,000 people were reported as “missing” in Argentina, tens of thousands were tortured and killed in Chile and in countries like Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia and Peru, and the governments consisted of dictatorial and brutal military regimes. Argentina’s Dirty War is one of the worst massacres of civilians in the contemporary history. Today, the trial of members of the Catholic Church who participated in the repression in Argentina’s concentration camps continues. The trial of the 1994 terrorist bombing of a Jewish community center in Buenos Aires, AMIA, where 85 people were killed and more than 300 wounded, ended in 2004 in the acquittal of all the defendants, and in 2006 Juan Jose Galeano Judge was removed for being corrupt. The declassification of documents in the 1990s reveals new findings that may explain the ideology of the coups in Argentina since 1930. Anti-Semitism may be the connecting thread that explains the mass killings and torture committed by the armed forces. The thread of anti-Semitism may have also inspired the attacks against the AMIA in 1994. The “evil” of a big sector of the armed forces was the fascism-Nazism discovered in the documents that were issued with the name of “Never Again”.

Stereotyping Gender and Sexual Orientation: Media Coverage's Impact on Voters' Evaluations

Joanna M. Everitt, University of New Brunswick, Saint John

[Panel] 2W Representing Gender: Implications for Political Cognitions and Actions

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This article will explore how the public responds to stereotypical depictions of gender and sexual orientation in the news media's coverage of mainstream political candidates in Canada. In approaching this question, we designed a study of non-student participants which analyzes the manner in which key pieces of information about the candidates are evaluated and assimilated by men and women of differing social backgrounds. The experimental design required subjects to respond to a series of simulated news reports about candidates who share similar abilities, experiences and policy positions, but who differ in their gender and sexuality. After each new story participants were asked to respond to a questionnaire asking them to evaluate the political candidate on a series of character traits. In the analysis of their impressions, the study will address the question of whether the media creates, or merely perpetuates, existing stereotypes of gender and sexual orientation. Furthermore, the study seeks to determine the degree of influence that the media may have in triggering stereotypical perceptions of political candidates. Our results will contribute to the general study of gender and identity in politics, with particular attention to the question of how these stereotypes have a damaging or marginalizing effect on gays or lesbians seeking electoral office.

Steven Spielberg's "Munich": A Film for Our Time

**Jacques Szaluta, US Merchant Marine Academy*

[Panel] 1Z Contemporary Politics, Conflicts, Trauma, and Healing: A Psychohistorical Approach

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Spielberg's film "Munich" is relevant for our time for it deals with the question of terrorism in the last several decades. As this film opens, Arab terrorists are shown to stealthily attack and capture, as hostages, obviously innocent Israeli athletes, while they are sleeping, and soon thereafter murder them. This story takes place during the Olympics, in 1972, an international athletic event devoted to fostering peace among nations. The attack is sadistic and poignantly overwhelming. It is a carefully planned terrorist act, which leads to the murder of eleven Israeli athletes. The central dilemma of this film: how do you respond to such a deed? The hero in this film and the other operatives are shown to have a conscience, are humane, as some of them question the morality of the task of retaliating by assassinating the perpetrators. Psychically, because of the perilous life the heroic Mossad operative led, where he constantly faced death and for an extended period of time, he began to suffer from what is now known as post-traumatic stress disorder. This paper will look at the controversy, the pros and cons of "Munich", then touch on Spielberg as a cinematographer, and in the last part examine the psychohistorical aspects of the film, or explore what Spielberg is seemingly conveying about himself and to the audience. "Munich" was released in 2005, but it was produced in the shadow of the terrorist attack against the United States on September 11, 2001. Films deal with people's fears, anxieties, hopes, and wishes, or may reflect what may be called the "Zeitgeist". Spielberg has an intuitive understanding of emotional conflicts, which resonate with psychoanalytic perceptions. As the film comes to an end, and as the camera panoramically pans the Manhattan skyline, there is a curious and enigmatic sighting of the World Trade Center. What does Spielberg suggest? In the 1970s, the World Trade Center was still standing, which raises the question of how to respond to such a horrific act. Spielberg is well aware of these aggressive acts and of constant threats by Muslim militants.

Strategic Policy Reform: Policy Resilience, Learning, and Change

**Yaacov Y.Y.I Vertzberger, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

[Panel] 10H Modeling and Measurement in Political Psychology

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

This paper is part of a much larger study, now in progress, that examines systematically the process and outcome of strategic policy reform. It does so by tracing in detail the causal flow from the antecedents, that trigger learning and change, to outcomes that could range from inertia to comprehensive reform of an incumbent strategic policy. Each of these clusters-variables (triggering antecedents, learning, change and outcomes) is problematized, disaggregated to components of its variable-set and treated as contingent. The complex nature of the problem defies parsimony. The author believes that the core arguments and the resulting theory have broad external validity across social issues. The theoretical analysis should travel well and apply to a broad range of policy reforms across societal domains from national security, through health, economic development, social security and other policy issue-areas.

Strategic Voting under Proportional Representation and Coalition Governments: A Laboratory Experiment

**Michael Meffert, University of Mannheim*

Thomas Gschwend, University of Mannheim

[Panel] 4G Political Cognition

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

The theory of strategic voting has been tested in experiments for elections in single member districts with three candidates or parties. It is unclear whether it can explain strategic voting behavior in a fairly common type of political system, multi-party systems with proportional representation, minimum vote thresholds, and coalition governments. In this paper, we develop a formal (computational) strategic voting game and show in a simulation that the model produces election scenarios and outcomes with desirable characteristics. We then test the decision-theoretic model in a laboratory experiment, taking into account both sophisticated and heuristic decision strategies. Participants with a purely instrumental (financial) motivation voted in a series of 25 independent elections. The availability of polls and coalition signals by parties was manipulated. The results show that voters are frequently able to make optimal or strategic vote decisions, but that voters also rely on simple decision heuristics and are highly susceptible to coalition signals by parties.

Struggles Over Symbols: Political Strategies for Expression and Repression

**Eric Dickson, New York University*

[Panel] 10A Violence, Identity, and Altruism

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

A prominent feature of many conflicts between social identity groups is a struggle over symbols or rites that delineate group boundaries. From a variety of perspectives, social identities have traditionally been thought to facilitate collective action within groups; attempts to repress the use of social identity symbols, or participation in social identity rites, can therefore be thought of as strategies for reducing the potential cohesiveness of the targeted group in the sphere of mass political action. The paper presents a behavioral game-theoretic model in which a campaign may be strategically launched in an attempt to weaken the social identity attachments of members of the targeted group. In equilibrium, such campaigns may be successful ex post, or may instead inspire a counterproductive backlash; comparative statics are analyzed, suggesting structural factors which may make such campaigns more or less likely to be launched, and more or less likely to be successful when launched. These comparative statics are discussed in the context of a few real-world cases, including struggles over the use of the hijab (Islamic headscarf) in several countries.

Studying Public Discussion of Policy with Meta-Experiments That Include Randomization and Self-Selection

**James H Kuklinski, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

[Panel] 4N Deliberation, Discussion, and Their Effects

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

This paper examines the difference political discussion and deliberation are currently the subject of a great deal of research. They are claimed to have a significant effect on the participants' policy preferences and attitudes and behavior toward and within the political system. But what difference does the composition of the group that are discussing or deliberating make? In particular, do the results depend on whether the group is self-selected as in most real world contexts, or randomly assigned as in some deliberative experiments? This paper examines the differences in results between two experiments of these two different lines, where the subjects are randomly assigned to self-selection and random assignment condition.

Successful Politicians (1): Plato's Heirs: Prototypes of successful politicians

**Andreas Olbrich-Baumann, University of Vienna, Austria*

Jakob Pietschnig, University of Vienna

Andreas Hergovich, University of Vienna

[Panel] 3I Successful Politicians: From theories of Plato, Machiavelli, Weber to empirical findings of today

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The aim of this study was the identification of intellectual and personal affordances of successful Austrian members of parliament. For this purpose we analysed the interdisciplinary literature (philosophy, political science, psychology,

sociology) and found 17 dimensions, which were postulated most relevant by various political researchers and philosophers (e.g. Plato, Weber, Machiavelli, Simonton, House, Spangler & Woycke,). A short description for each dimension was printed on a card for a q-sort-set. Participants: 29 members (12 males, 17 females) of the Austrian parliament participated in the empirical study and sorted the 17 cards according to their impact on the political success. Results: The affordances most relevant for successful political behaviour according to the members of parliament are: (1) Intelligence, (2) initiative, (3) invulnerability, (4) image of integrity and (5) ability to accept criticism. Discussion: These results confirm the theory of Plato and therefore it seems that the prototypes of successful politicians have not changed since 2000 years. In a follow-up study these prototypes shall be checked on their validity.

Successful Politicians (2): Intelligent, open for new experience and higher need for power

Jakob Lorenc, University of Vienna

Anja Nekes Suhr

Simone Wieser, University of Vienna

**Katja Link*

[Panel] 3I Successful Politicians: From theories of Plato, Machiavelli, Weber to empirical findings of today

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

Over 2000 years ago Plato postulated that intelligence, perseverance and openness for new experience are the most relevant traits for a successful politician. In a recent study Olbrich-Baumann et al. (2007) questioned Austrian members of parliament on this topic and they found the same beliefs and cognitive prototypes of successful politicians. In this study we tested the validity of these beliefs. Our assessment contained of (1) two short intelligence tests (testing verbal intelligence (IST-2000-R), logical thinking (Viennese Matrices Test), (2) personality tests (a short form of the NEO-PI-R-subcales), (3) Life Orientation Test, subscales to assess (4) the need for power, (5) need for achievement, (6) ability to cope with pressure, and (7) self-confidence. The test duration was about 30 to 45 minutes. Participants. 28 members of the Austrian parliament participated in this study. Absolute anonymity for this study was assured because of the sensitive data which was assessed. 5 political scientists, not aware of the hypotheses of the study, rated the political success of the participants (and of some other politicians) on a success-scale ranging from 0 (not successful) to 100 (very successful). Based on this rating the participants were divided in rather successful politicians (mean rating scores above 65 points) and rather unsuccessful politicians. Results. A regression analysis revealed the impact of the independent variables on political success. Intelligence, openness for new experience and the need for power have the highest impact on success. Successful politicians differ significantly in these variables from the unsuccessful. Discussion. This study provided a real validity test for the philosophical theories on political success. Our results confirmed the theory of Plato.

Symbolic Racism and Attitudes toward Immigrant Inclusion and Exclusion

**Christian Staerklé, University of Geneva*

David O. Sears, UCLA

[Panel] 6R Political Identity and Political Change

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

In this presentation, we investigate the role of symbolic racism and its two subcomponents, individual and structural symbolic racism, in the construction of immigration policy attitudes across four European countries. We distinguish two sets of immigration policies, inclusion on the one hand (referring to the presence of immigrants on national soil and to the criteria used to allow or deny their entry), and integration on the other (referring to the treatment of immigrants by way of rights and entitlements, for example affirmative action policies). We argue that attitudes towards inclusion and integration policies rely at least partially on different psychological processes. Findings based on three waves of Eurobarometer surveys show that individual symbolic racism (reflecting perceived deservingness of immigrants) is more predictive of inclusion policies than structural symbolic racism (assessing denial of widespread institutional and social discrimination), whereas both types of symbolic racism are equally predictive of integration policies. Furthermore, individual symbolic racism partially mediates the effects of national identification and of a low level of education on the denial of inclusion and the denial of integration. The results will be discussed in terms of the importance of taking into account the specificities of national immigration histories when studying the psychological processes underlying immigration policy attitudes.

Symbolic and material ‘China threats’: Personality, perception, and US China policy, a two path analysis

H. Michael Crowson, The University of Oklahoma

**Peter Gries, University of Oklahoma*

[Panel] 2J Inter-group Relations in Multi-cultural Contexts

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Does personality influence US China policy? This paper puts this question to the empirical test, finding that individual personality differences do impact Americans’ perceptions of China, prejudice towards Chinese, and their China policy preferences. Specifically, social conservatives and those with more ideological leanings (those high in right wing authoritarianism, RWA) perceive a Communist China that represents a “symbolic threat” to American Christian and democratic values. Military hawks and others with a more competitive orientation (those high in social dominance orientation, SDO), by contrast, perceive a rising China that represents a “material threat” to US global primacy. Based on a national internet survey of 300 Americans, we employ structural equation modeling (SEM) to test a hypothesized two path model connecting RWA, SDO, and CSE to symbolic and material China threats to prejudice against the Chinese people and their government to preferences for as tough China policy of containment. Results and their implications are discussed.

Synthetic Democracy: Associations and Social Capital in Virtual Worlds

**James Fielder, United States Air Force Academy*

[Panel] 8A Citizen Participation Networks

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

My paper examines the connections among the internet, social capital and associations. A significant amount of literature exists examining the impact of the internet on politics in general; however, I extend this research by specifically looking at 2D and 3D representation of the self and its effect on online social interactions. I use Tocqueville as my theoretical foundation for investigating these levels of association. Our democracy is based on association, particularly face-to-face association and communication, which fosters trust and reciprocity. My research indicates that when the self is visually represented online the self-identity is projected in a similar manner as face-to-face communication, unlike other forms of electronic communication that lack non-verbal cues. Online virtual communities establish behavioral norms, develop social hierarchies, and ultimately reinforce self validation, which increases personal commitment. I argue that avatar-based communication via the internet has the potential to not only increase association in the Tocquevillian sense, but also expand the political discourse by pushing the concept of association beyond real-world time and space restraints while at the same time building trust.

Telling people not to vote: Analysis of arguments persuading Muslims not to participate in the UK general election

**William Michael Finlay, University of Surrey*

[Panel] 8G Multiple identities, Political Trust and Political Participation amongst Young People from Different Ethnic Origins in Europe

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Deciding whether or not to participate in the political process is as much to do with argument as anything else. People talk about their rights, their duties, their loyalties. When deciding on any political action, one element in these discussions concerns the extent to which the behaviour is seen as consonant with the person’s identity. Constructions of both group identities and the correct behaviour of group members are of course central to political argument. Whether or not a person should associate with people who are not group members, or participate in joint political activities with them, becomes part of an argument about the nature of the group identity itself. This paper presents a discursive analysis of discussions on an Islamist e-mail list which attempt to persuade readers against participation in the the UK general elections of 2005. Themes discussed includes the construction of Islam and the UK political process as incompatible, the depiction of ‘moderates’ as traitors, and a version of multicultural society as antagonistic

Terrorism vs. War: The Representations of Terrorism and War after September 11th 2001

Laura Palareti

**Stefano Passini, University of Bologna, Italy*

Piorgiorgio Battistelli

[Panel] 1Q Reactions to Terrorism
[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The attacks on the USA on September 11, 2001 emphasized a dramatic issue for intergroup relationships: the role and the meaning of terrorism. In this research, the representations of terrorism and war that emerged after September 11th are investigated. The main aim of the present research is to understand how people define terrorism and how they differentiate it from the concept of war. In particular, we wanted to understand if when people think to terrorism, they think to an action or to a person. From a psychosocial perspective, it's important to underline that ambiguous notions of terrorism and war can legitimate the ingroup/outgroup differentiation that affects intergroup relations. Results on 251 university students confirm that in general terrorism is distinguished from war on the basis of the military or civilian nature of the target. However, there exists another distinction based on the ethnic-cultural identity of the aggressor. This criteria is used more by people with negative attitudes towards outgroups, a political right-wing orientation and an high trust in media information.

The Accessibility of Vote Preference and Variance in the Survey Response

**Danna Basson, UW-Madison*

[Panel] 4M Memory and Knowledge
[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

This paper examines the level of certainty around individuals' vote preference. Using a heteroskedastic probit model, I examine whether the accessibility of respondents' stated vote preference explains the variance in their decision. Some researchers advocate relying on attitude accessibility as an "operative measure" of attitude strength instead of using meta-attitudes because the latter are vulnerable to contextual influences not relevant to the strength of the attitude and are consequently less powerful and more erratic than operative measures (Bassili 1995). Though accessibility has been useful in describing properties of political attitudes, such as how pliable and stable they are, often these models fail to account for other variables that may be correlated with accessibility, such as political knowledge and various dimensions of attitude strength, that may influence information processing and behavior in different ways. Relying on accessibility alone may mask meaningful political differences across individuals. The evidence on how useful accessibility is and under what circumstances needs to be explored further. Using a heteroskedastic probit model of vote preference, I investigate whether the accessibility of respondents' vote preference is related to error in their preference. I then extend this analysis to examine whether accessibility continues to be a useful predictor after other variables are taken into account, including some meta-attitudinal measures of attitude strength and indicators of political engagement. After including other variables in the analysis, I find that it is not accessibility per se that matters. Rather, accessibility is mediated by other important variables.

The Aftermath of Madrid Terrorist Attack: Psychological factors behind political behaviour

**Teemu Sinkkonen, University of Tampere, Finland*

[Panel] 1Q Reactions to Terrorism
[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

After the terrorist attack in Madrid four years ago, there were large social unrests around Spain to protest against the ruling government and its policy. Some days after the attack, general elections were held, and all the prognoses made before the attack failed to come true and the opposition party won. There have been several different hypothesis explaining both the unrests and the electoral turnover, but few of them have taken into account psychological factors typical to traumatic events that were partly motivating people to take action and had an effect on their perceptions and decision-making processes. My intention is to explain the unrests and electoral turnover in Spain by using an approach familiar to the psychology of crises. As a background material I shall use individual testimonies of the people involved in the unrests and electoral results, opinion polls, etc. Through this explanation, I am trying to map the possible political consequences of terrorist action, and the role that leading politicians can play during the course of the events. My paper could also serve as a small contribution to the ignored but often mentioned (psycho-)logic of the "target audience" of terrorism.

The Aftermath of War: Posttraumatic Recovery and Distress among Adolescents One Year After the Second Lebanon War

Yohanan Eshel, Departments of Psychology, Tel Hai Academic College and Haifa University.

**Shaul Kimhi, Shaul Kimhi, Department of Psychology, Tel Hai Academic College, Israel*

[Panel] 1D Coping with stress resulting from an intractable conflict

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

This study focuses on posttraumatic recovery and distress among Israeli adolescents (820) living in Kiryat Shemona, a town situated in close proximity to the Lebanese border, ten months after the Second Lebanon War. Results indicate the following (a) whereas most of the participants did not display traces of prolonged stress symptoms a considerable group retained several symptoms at a high or very high level. (b) 17% to 28% of the participants reported positive posttraumatic recovery, following the war. (c) The main factor affecting stress symptoms was 'sense of danger'. (d) The main determinants affecting posttraumatic recovery were life satisfaction and family cohesiveness.

The American Presidential Election of 1984: The Age Issue

**Anastasia Kucharski, Harvard University*

[Panel] 3C Age and Gender Issues in Leadership

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale engaged in two debates during the 1984 election. In the first, on October 7 Reagan's performance shocked all who saw it. He was confused and fumbling. He recovered for the second debate and quipped that he would not make age an issue in the campaign. He effectively buried questions about his competence under the age issue until it surfaced during the Iran-Contra affair two years later. For Reagan the age issue had been raised since he ran for President. At sixty-nine he was the oldest elected President in 1980. Before he became President Reagan was known for gaffes and remarkable statistics. They were attributed to ideology, isolation, intellectual laziness and a habitual emphasis on appearance over content. His staff dismissed the criticism that he was error-prone as trivial. They contended that he was no worse than other presidents. They nevertheless attempted to restrict his opportunities to speak spontaneously. Reagan was able to deflect criticism by a combination of jokes, rhetorical questions, shoulder shrugs and reiteration. He became the Teflon President. Meanwhile the errors were recorded every week in the Washington Post. Several days after the first debate the major newspapers and television networks finally addressed Reagan's performance as Reagan showing his age. Other explanations were ignored. The most obvious alternative was the long term impact of the 1981 assassination attempt on his health. However, at the time Reagan was thought to have recovered magnificently. Later staff in their memoirs remarked on the strain Reagan showed after he returned to the White House from the hospital. Review of the published reports of Reagan's errors and an examination of his schedule and diary show a change in the level of his activity over the first term, especially when contrasted with his work as governor and public speaker. In his press conferences and debates are characteristics of cognitive decline. Explanations for these changes will be considered.

The Association of Exposure, Risk and Resiliency Factors with PTSD among Jews and Arabs Exposed to Repeated Acts of Terrorism in Israel

**Daphna Canetti-Nisim, Yale University*

Stevan Hobfoll, Kent State University and Summa Health Systems; Robert Johnson, University of Miami

Joseph Varley, Kent State University and Summa Health Systems; Patrick Palmieri, Kent State University and Summa Health System

Brian Hall; Sandro Galea, University of Michigan

[Panel] 1D Coping with stress resulting from an intractable conflict

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Israel has faced ongoing terrorism since the beginning of the Al Aqsa Intifada in September 2000. We examined risk and resiliency factors associated with posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among 1117 Jews and 394 Arab adult citizens of Israel during August and September 2004 through telephone interviews of randomized lists. Probable PTSD was found among 6.6 percent of Jews and 18.0 percent of Arabs. Predictors of probable PTSD in a multivariate model for Jews were unreported income, being traditionally religious, economic and psychosocial resource loss, greater traumatic growth, and lower social support. For Arabs, predictors were low education and economic resource loss. Findings for only those directly exposed to terrorism were similar to those for the overall national sample.

The Cognitive Construct of Intention: A Promising New Computational Methodology

**Newton Howard, Center for Advanced Defense Studies*

[Panel] 10H Modeling and Measurement in Political Psychology

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

The cognitive construct of intention is a unique mental state that distinguishes human agency from those of other systems as argued by philosophers and cognitive scientists. Humans are able to create change in their operating world as well as adjust to change almost real time because they apply the construct of intention as a driver as well as a controller of causality. Two principles that condition human agency when interacting in the operating world that allows this adaptive control. These two principles are: bounded physical non-determinism and selective and control causality. The construct of intent is mathematically described in this paper. Such formalism helps better formulate and anticipate actions of agents. Based on the intent-centric paradigm work established by the author, hypotheses about intentions that produce actions can be feasibly computed. The author in this paper represents a meta model that describes how an agent is capable of accomplishing this computation almost real-time. Assumptions made on agents are general enough that applications on information systems are not only possible but effective.

The Conditioning of Vote Choice by Political Knowledge from Several Perspectives: The Case of France

**Robert C. Luskin, University of Texas at Austin*

**Bruno Cautres*

**Mathieu Turgeon, University of North Texas*

[Panel] 7F Political Knowledge

[Section] Political Decision Making

Casual observation suggests that politics is more polarized, harder fought, and a greater part of the warp and woof of everyday life in many other democratic countries, including France, than in the U.S. There, to the extent this impression is accurate, political knowledge may have a higher (if, as we suspect, still low) mean and a lower (if, as we suspect, still high) variance. Not unrelatedly, its effects may be partially stolen by cues furnished by stronger parties, unions, and other politically relevant organizations, whose guidance may to some degree substitute for knowledge. Does knowledge have a smaller conditioning effect where knowledge levels tend to be higher, as in France? A second question concerns the nature of the relationship debatably conditioned by knowledge. What are the “considerations,” to use Zaller’s (1992) omnibus term, on which the more knowledgeable may be grounding their votes more firmly and accurately? Most of the literature has focused on interests, proxied by socio-demographic variables (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996, Bartels 1996, Althaus 1998). But one can also set the model up closer to the dependent variable. The regressors could instead be values, more subjective than but influenced by interests. Or they could be still more proximate political dispositions like party identification, reactions to the candidates, or policy orientations (as in Luskin and Globetti 2002), in turn influenced by values. The nature and strength of the conditioning may vary with the nature of the model. A third question concerns the mechanics of simulating “fully-informed” vote distributions, as in Bartels (1996). Is it better to use mean differences of probability estimates, à la Bartels, or individual-level probability estimates to forecast individual-level votes? And in the latter case, what should the point of comparison be: actual votes or the votes predicted from actual as distinct from “full” information? This paper examines all three questions, using data from the French presidential election studies of 1995, 2002, and 2007.

The Defeat in Politics. Theoretical Assessment and New Perspectives of Analysis

**Frederic Louault, CSPC, IEP Aix-en-Provence & OPALC, Sciences Po*

[Panel] 3A Lessons Learned from Scandal, Corruption and Political Defeat

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

Marginal object of study in political psychology and political science, the notion of defeat can constitute a precious tool of analysis for the understanding of the political life (political personality of the leaders, reputation, career paths, acceptance of the democratic game’s rules, etc.). How can we conceptualize and study the defeat? What can be the contributions of a detailed analysis of the defeat in politics? In this paper, the author will draw up a theoretical assessment of the works dealing with the defeat in the psychological studies and in the international political science. He elaborates then a definition of the defeat and the failure in politics, building bridges between political psychology and political sociology. Finally, he proposes a typological classification, and raises some research perspectives to study the collective and individual stakes of electoral and political defeat.

The Development of Authoritarianism in Students

**Jost Stellmacher, Fachbereich Psychologie, Philipps-Universität Marburg (Germany)*

Thomas Petzel, Leuphana University of Lüneburg, Germany

J. Christopher Cohrs, Friedrich Schiller University of Jena

[Panel] 2K New Developments in Authoritarianism Research I: Personal Roots and Development of Authoritarianism

[Section] Intergroup Relations

In the last decades authoritarianism has been one of the central concepts to explain antidemocratic beliefs and prejudice against several ethnic and social outgroups. In current authoritarianism research the explanation for the development of authoritarianism is still open and controversial. Previous longitudinal studies with students have found that authoritarianism declines during college or university time (Altemeyer, 1988; Peterson & Lane, 2001; Stellmacher, 2004). However, these studies offer only limited explanations for this effect. A sound explanation of the reduction of authoritarianism during college or university time would yield important insights into the development of authoritarian beliefs. Therefore, a three-wave longitudinal study of about 200 students was conducted between November 2006 and December 2007 at three German universities (Jena, Lüneburg and Marburg). While this study again shows a decline in students' authoritarianism between the first and third waves, its main aim was to look for mediating and moderating effects for this decline, based on recent conceptualizations of authoritarianism that stress the interaction between dispositional and situational factors as an explanation of authoritarianism (vgl. Duckitt, 2003; Feldman, 2003; Oesterreich, 2005, Stellmacher & Petzel, 2005). Specifically, it analyzed the explanatory role of perceived threat, contact experiences, and cognitive style. The study took into account different forms of authoritarianism (right-wing authoritarianism and two forms of group-based authoritarianism). The result of the study will be presented and its implications as to the development of authoritarianism will be discussed.

The Development of Political Attitudes

**Pete Hatemi, Virginia Commonwealth University*

**Cary Funk, Virginia Commonwealth University*

Lindon Eaves, Virginia Commonwealth University

[Panel] 4L Democratic Values, Socialization and Attitude formation

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Political attitudes become solidified in the mid-20's, and the assumption that attitudes are acquired socially has justified their use as a model system for testing theories of intergenerational cultural transmission in family studies. However, the assumption that the transmission of attitudes is purely cultural has been challenged repeatedly over the last thirty years by examinations in the life sciences. Although there is no definitive interpretation of these data, the larger phenotypic correlation between monozygotic twins compared with dizygotic twins and other first degree relatives establishes a strong prima facie case for some role for genetic differences in the transmission and maintenance of variation in adult political attitudes. In apparent contrast to the widely-publicized findings of adult twin studies, we present longitudinal twin data on the adolescent development of social attitudes that are consistent with a purely social learning model. There is no evidence for genetic effects. The effects of the shared family environment are marked and accumulate tenfold between ages 9 and 17. Family influences are continuous, age-specific, persistent and cumulative throughout adolescence. However remarkably, the age at which genes influence political preferences is also the point at which political values become stable over one's lifetime. Whatever consensus finally emerges about the roles of genes in adult attitudes, future models have to explain the sharp transition from purely social determination in late adolescence to the expression genetic differences in young adulthood.

The Differential Nature of Realistic and Cultural Perceived Threat of Immigration

**Pazit Ben-Nun-Bloom, Stony Brook University*

Stanley Feldman, Department of Political Science, Stony Brook University (USA)

Gallya Lahav, Stony Brook University

[Panel] 2D Correlates of Attitudes towards Immigrants

[Section] Intergroup Relations

As immigrant populations rapidly grow in many countries, bringing about major political, economic and cultural changes, studying attitudes toward immigration is particularly interesting. The current literature overwhelmingly supports perceived threat as key explanation for attitudes on the matter, and often contrasts the effect of two types of threat: realistic and

cultural. We argue and demonstrate, building on ESS data, three points. First, realistic and symbolic considerations generate two distinct yet closely related threat perceptions, and this bi-dimensional structure emerges above and beyond different political contexts. This hypothesis is studied by exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses establishing the emergence of two factors across four countries with dissimilar immigration conditions: Austria, Spain, Denmark and Greece. Second, the two types of perceived threat hold differential antecedents: more stable, enduring personal characteristics for the cultural type, and more practical situation-contingent for the realistic type. Third, while both types of threat are influential in policy preferences formation, the two types hold differential influence on decision for the type of immigrants that should be allowed in the country: culturally threatened prefer allowing in people like them, and the realistically threatened prefer allowing in people different from them (whom will not compete for the same resources). The last two hypotheses are investigated by structural equations model inspecting the determinants and consequences of the two latent variables. By disentangling the two types of perceived threat we reveal effects of threat otherwise masked.

The Dynamics of External Threats and Israeli Political Tolerance, 1980-2005

**Mark Peffley, University of Kentucky*

Michal Shamir, Tel Aviv University

Marc Hutchison, University of Rhode Island

[Panel] 8J The Impact of Sociopolitical Forces on Attitudes and Actions

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Research on political tolerance over the years has clearly demonstrated the central importance of threats from disliked groups -whether perceived or real—in motivating political intolerance among the mass public. We know, for example, that individuals who perceive greater threats from groups they dislike are much less willing to extend basic civil liberties to such groups (Sullivan et al 1982, Gibson 1988). And experimental studies manipulating threats from groups with a history of violence find such threats to be a strong deterrent to public expressions of political tolerance (Marcus, et al 1995). What has been lacking in this research, however, is an ability to observe how changing real, objective threat levels in a society influence the degree of tolerance among the citizenry. Although individual survey studies conducted in presumably threatening contexts abound (e.g., the Stouffer survey in the U.S. during the McCarthy era), what is lacking is a sufficient time-series of tolerance surveys in a context where real international and domestic threat levels are changing dramatically over time. Fortunately, scholars in Israel have been measuring political tolerance toward citizens' least-liked groups in some twenty national surveys over a 25 year period, from 1980 to 2005, when fluctuations in both external and internal threat levels in Israeli society have been quite dramatic. Armed with a full complement of individual-level survey measures (e.g., of religiosity, ideology, and demographic characteristics, as well as political tolerance toward least-liked groups) and country-level measures of threat levels (e.g., militarized disputes and internal uprisings), our multilevel, pooled time series analysis of political tolerance in Israel permits a degree of causal inference that has not been possible. Our results show that objective threat levels have a powerful impact on tolerance levels, particularly among certain segments of the Israeli public. In addition, our results complement recent cross-sectional studies in demonstrating how country-level factors interact with individual-level characteristics to influence political tolerance in a society (e.g., Hutchison and Gibler 2006, Peffley and Rohrschneider 2003, Shamir and Sagiv-Schifter 2005).

The Effect of Humiliation on Preferences for Aggressive Foreign Policy

**Vani Murugesan, UCLA*

Vicky Garafola, UCLA

David O. Sears, UCLA

[Panel] 1J Identity and Conflict

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Previous research has likened humiliation to a “nuclear bomb of emotions,” in which the emotion can lead to violent retaliation, genocide, and other extraordinarily violent acts (Lindner, 2002). Study 1, at the interpersonal level, demonstrates that retaliatory aggression is viewed as more acceptable after one has been humiliated, regardless of the level of aggression in the initial provoking event. Study 2 extends this line of research into the realm of foreign policy. Subjects (N=262) read one of two articles about the impact of 9/11 on America's status. Humiliation in the national context was defined as a public loss of status. Both articles mentioned that, despite the horrific attacks, America is still (factually) an internationally dominating country economically, militarily, and culturally. However, one article described how America's perceived status in the international world remained the same after 9/11 (no humiliation condition), the other article discussed how (facts aside), world wide opinion of the US dropped significantly, such that the US was viewed as not being

that powerful after the attacks (humiliation condition). Subjects then indicated their preference for aggressive foreign policy against several relevant targets (e.g., al-Qaeda) and irrelevant targets (e.g., North Korea). Results indicate an interaction effect, in which support for aggressive foreign policy after humiliation depends upon one's political ideology, with conservatives becoming more aggressive and liberals retreating. The interaction highlights a filtering effect for ideology, in which humiliation polarizes, making conservatives more "hawkish" and liberals more "doveish."

The Effects of Collective Memory and Delegitimization on Fear and Hope in Israeli Jewish Society

**Daniel Bar-Tal, Tel Aviv University*

Eran Halperin, Stanford University, USA and IDC, Israel

Rafi Nets-Zehngut, Columbia University

[Panel] 1V Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Its Resolution—Part 2

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The current study explores the influence of collective memory, delegitimization of the rival and personal experiences, on the evolution of personal and collective fear and hope in the context of the Israeli-Arab conflict. A questionnaire was administered to 217 Israeli-Jewish undergraduates from three academic institutions in Israel. The dependent variables were levels of fear and hope on a personal and collective level, while the independent variables were delegitimization of the rival, collective memory of the Jewish past, and personal experiences like contact with Arabs, military service in the Occupied Territories, close relation to terror victim, and family relations with Holocaust survivors. Results show that: 1. Delegitimization of Arabs is the most important determinant of fear and hope, personally as well as collectively. 2. The centrality of Jewish collective memory directly affects levels of collective fear. 3. In addition, we found a combined (interaction) effect of fear with personal contact with Arabs and of hope with political orientation and various elements of life experience. It seems, hence, that the level of centrality of collective memory serves as a moderator for the influence of conflict-related life experiences on personal and collective fear and hope.

The Effects of Empathy Induction and Empathic Predispositions on Perceptions of Deliberation

**Michael E Morrell, University of Connecticut*

[Panel] 7B Emotion and its Role in Politics

[Section] Political Decision Making

Two key claims made by theories of deliberative democracy are that participants should follow the principal of reciprocity and that citizens should be willing to continue deliberation, even when they lose a vote. Empirical evidence on behavioral attributions, outgroup assessment, affective intelligence and motivated reasoning suggests that empathy can likely influence whether deliberation can meet these requirements. I conducted an experiment to test the effects of empathy inductions on participants' evaluations of deliberation. The experiment demonstrated that empathy induction influenced participants' evaluations, but this effect was mediated both directly and indirectly by individual predispositions to empathy. This suggests that that deliberative democratic theory must address the effects of empathy on the possibility of successful deliberation.

The Effects of Identity and Self-Interest on Support for Immigration Policy

**Marie Courtemanche, Stony Brook University*

[Panel] 6D European, National, and Migrant Identities

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Past research demonstrates that individual and government immigration policy preferences are largely influenced by different perceptions of threat. For example, cultural and economic threats posed by immigration often polarize public and elite opinion because they spring from prior political orientations and values. Very little research, however, has attempted to gauge how issue framing affects group attitudes, especially those likely to be influenced by subsequent immigration policy. Assuming that migration threat is multi-dimensional (see Lahav 2002, 2005), I am interested in investigating how various types of threats associated with immigration affect attitudes towards immigration for various group identifiers. Through experimentation this paper will attempt to establish strong inferences about the role of threat in altering levels of support for immigration policies, and influencing political coalitions. Based on framing and attitudinal analysis, I argue that the import of economic or cultural insecurity is enough to generate important variations across relevant identities. In the long term, migration issue-framing has impact on party-public cueing, ideology and strategic opportunity structures

(see Liesbet et al.). I conclude that depending on how the issue is framed, immigration attitudes and political coalitions may vary significantly. These findings are extremely relevant to our understanding of the salience and politicization of the immigration issue in American electoral debates.

The Effects of Online Media on Political Communication and PR Process in 2007 Elections in Turkey

**Ece Inan, Assc.Prof.*

[Panel] 5C Cross-Cultural Communication

[Section] Political Communication

In Turkey, the studies, developments and innovations relating to the case of entering the EU, the use of online communication technologies and news media has been increasing especially in the politics, and mainly in political communications&public relations process. Most significantly this year Turkey has been on the edge of both national general elections and the selection of new state presidents within the parliament. During this competitively active political campaign process, due to the fact that the conventional media in political communications hasn't appeared as being sufficient and efficient, the use of online media in political campaigning and spinning (as political PR) has begun to develop. This paper aims to trace back the early history of political communications in Turkey by giving particular attention to the dynamics of recently emerging media market, and to state and project the newly shaping citizens-s consciousness and usage for political communication with PR techniques under the latest changing environment due to not only national political environment but also other factors in connection with the EU- political force. By doing so, the underpinning aspects and effects of emerging political campaigning and PR industry of 2000s in Turkey, especially in the light of the results taken in 2007 General Elections, can be better evaluated.

The Email Leader: The Obsessive-Compulsive Leadership Style of Dr. Don Brash

**Jon Johansson, Victoria University of Wellington*

[Panel] 3D The Good, the Bad and the Ugly in Leader Personalities

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The Email Leader: The Obsessive-Compulsive Leadership Style of Dr. Don Brash Abstract This paper analyses a highly unusual leadership style, namely the leadership-by-email exhibited by Dr. Don Brash during his brief tenure as leader of New Zealand's main opposition party, the National Party. Dr. Brash led his party for only three years and on the surface was remarkably successful, nearly doubling his party's share of the party vote in the 2005 general election. One year later, however, Dr. Brash was replaced after a book of leaked emails was published in New Zealand (Hager 2006). The emails revealed any number of highly embarrassing strategies discussed amongst Brash's leadership group as well as provide excruciating evidence of Brash's party entanglement with a conservative religious sect. Brash resigned as leader of National within days of the publication of author Nicky Hager's 'The Hollow Men: A Study into the Politics of Deception.' This paper explores the strong links between Brash's lifelong obsessive-compulsive tendencies and a leadership style that substantially evolved around his computer terminal. Despite acute awareness from advisors about the inherent weaknesses of a political leader communicating largely via the medium of emails, Brash was unable to relinquish his fidelity to this mode of communication, with ultimately disastrous consequences, thus his experiences serves as a warning as to the limitations of technological advancement on leadership style.

The Emotional Underpinning of Partisanship and Vote Choice

**Silvia Mari, University of Milano-Bicocca*

Martin Rosema, University of Twente

[Panel] 4S The Psychology of Partisanship (Part B: Emotional Foundations and Electoral Consequences of Partisanship)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

This paper examines the impact of emotions on vote choice and the mediating role of partisanship. According to our model, emotional responses towards political parties and their leaders are key determinants of partisanship, which in turn is the primary determinant of vote choice. In this study we employ a novel series of items to measure partisanship in terms of two components: attitudes towards individual parties (party evaluations) and partisan self-identity (party identification). Analyses using structural equation modeling, which are based on two samples of Italian and Dutch citizens, indicate that emotions have distinct effects on both components of partisanship, which in turn both influence vote choice. Furthermore, the analyses show that the new items are superior to the traditional items used to measure partisanship in election surveys.

We conclude by discussing the implications of this study for modelling electoral choice and measurement of its key concepts.

The European Middle-Class: Six Types of ethical self-constructions in the context of global poverty

**Eri Park, London School of Economics and Political Science*

[Panel] 2Q Political Conflict and Images of the “Other”

[Section] Intergroup Relations

To bring about the required political reforms to tackle global poverty, the support of ordinary citizens of the European Union is essential. Hence, a social-psychological analysis needs to complement an analysis of social structures. In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of an individual’s representation of severe poverty, it is necessary to explore how this issue is interwoven into one’s general worldview and identity construction; for what lies at the heart of this representations, and the question of one’s personal activity, is basically one’s personal response to all big questions of human existence: What do I believe is the meaning of life and how do I want to achieve this in the context of the existing contradictions present in our European societies?—What do we merely acquire because of a psychological need for our self-image, the construction of an ethical self, and how do actually we live? To tackle these questions, I conducted qualitative interviews with 20 members of the European middle class (10 men, 10 women) in London (UK), Berlin (Germany) and Cape Town: political consultants, staff members of NGOs, and ‘ordinary citizens’ (teachers, journalists, lawyers, social workers). All interviewees hold at least a BA and had no financial commitments, in terms of underage children or elderly parents to care for. Every interview session took between 1-2.5 hours and I met up with the interviewees up to 12 times.

The Exposure Effect: Existential Insecurity and Intolerance in Israel and the Palestinian Authority

**Daphna Canetti-Nisim, Yale University*

[Panel] 2Z Minorities and Public Opinion in a cross cultural comparison

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Popular endorsement of democratic political culture is central to democracy. Existing conceptualization and measurement of individual exposure to violence and terrorism, as well as analyses of their influence on intergroup conflict are overly simplistic. A large body of literature suggests that “existential insecurity”—the feeling that survival cannot be taken for granted—is conducive to intolerance of foreigners, strong ingroup solidarity, and an anti-democratic political culture. Not identified thus far is the mechanism that activates intergroup thinking in the face of violence. Past behavioral studies argue that above and beyond other explanations (e.g., religion or the economy) threat perceptions are key to understanding intolerance. They fail, however, to account for the variance in the exposure of people to terror and violence. Drawing on but departing from Janoff-Bulman’s theory of loss of assumptive world (1989), I argue that following exposure to a violent event, people will experience a major shift in the way they view the world. The mere membership in a society that suffers existential threat, I argue, is not a sufficient explanation. Curiously, while political studies have failed to incorporate exposure, psychological studies that have done so fail to ask political questions. This paper surmounts the problem of isolating and measuring the influence of exposure on intolerance by analyzing two recent nationwide panel studies in Israel and Palestine (West Bank and Gaza), where clashes from within and without contribute to the pervasive sense of existential insecurity. The panel studies find that different aspects of exposure—temporal, physical, and emotional—are incongruously crucial for the understanding of intolerance in the face of existential insecurity. Exposure will have an effect on intolerance mainly when some sort of psychological distress (e.g., PTSD, depression) comes into play. Thus, in Israel the most denigrated group is Israeli Arabs and in Palestine, Hamas members. I discuss the broader implications of these findings for assessment of the impact of existential insecurity on the politics of intolerance, and for the viability of democratic regimes in the face of ongoing terror and violence.

The External Validity of Treatments: A Comparison of Natural and Survey Experiments in the Study of Political Learning

**Jason Barabas, Florida State University*

**Jennifer Jerit, Florida State University*

[Panel] 7F Political Knowledge

[Section] Political Decision Making

Survey experiments help establish causality, but scholars do not know how closely the treatments mimic natural phenomena. This study compares survey experiments and a natural experiment on the same topic. In two survey experiments providing information about Medicare, we observe double-digit learning effects. In contrast, most respondents in our contemporaneous natural experiment show little evidence of learning. Consistent with our expectations, the only people who showed comparable levels of learning to respondents in our survey experiment were individuals exposed to Medicare facts in their media source of choice as well as people who were uncertain about the facts from the very beginning. Our conclusion is that the effects of survey experiments, at least on this topic, only generalize to parts of the population that are likely to be exposed or to accept the treatment messages.

The Fort-Da of Insecurity

**John Daniel Cash, Ashworth Program in Social Theory, University of Melbourne*

[Panel] 10D New Developments in Psychoanalysis and Psychodynamic Approaches to Political Psychology

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

This paper addresses the intersecting psychic and cultural dimensions of what may be characterised as the fort-da game of insecurity, as it recurrently plays itself out in the contemporary West. Hence, I will address the ways in which the conditions of late modernity have instituted new structures of subjectivation that amplify ontological insecurity. Both narcissism and the narcissism of minor differences figure, as the fragility of the human subject exposed to the trials of late modernity typically resolves into the denials and defences of, either, presumed autonomy or assumed community; the entrepreneurial self as against the re-traditionalised self. Under such circumstances that third figure of the cosmopolitan self struggles to find purchase within a globalising multi-culture that requires cosmopolitan mentalities, habits and dispositions to realise its promised potential, but is unable to institute the social and cultural conditions that might successfully generate and establish such a cosmopolitan imaginary as a new lingua franca. The burden that this incapacity creates is sloughed off onto individuals and the repertoire of cultural resources that these individuals inevitably rely upon in order to cope with social anxiety and insecurity. When the spectre of insecurity takes up its haunting presence within the available repertoire of cultural resources it tends to constrain and constrict constructions of the field of social and political relations. This spectre of insecurity privileges those versions of the fort-da game that rely on psychic and cultural formations in which processes of splitting and projection predominate, thereby restricting the potential scope for cosmopolitan creativity.

The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: The Quality of Decision-Making by Coalition Cabinets

**Juliet Kaarbo, University of Kansas*

[Panel] 7A Decision Making Processes

[Section] Political Decision Making

This paper will investigate how the dynamics of multiparty decision-making in parliamentary coalition governments affect the quality of policymaking. It will present the various images of the effectiveness of coalition cabinet decision-making and the alternative criteria, both psychological and political, on which those images are based. Specifically, it will argue that while some see the multiple advocacy built into coalition cabinets as ideal, others see conflict among political parties as pathological and defective. The dominant image of coalitions is quite negative: the multiple voices in the cabinet are seen to contribute to non-rational decision-making processes and produce outcomes that, at best, do not effectively address national problems and, at worst, spark political instability. Yet others believe that the conflict arising from the multiple voices found in coalition cabinets is more representative, consistent with democratic principles. Furthermore, social psychological research suggests that the presence of minority dissent in small groups can enhance creativity and indirect attitude change. These alternative views of the quality of coalition decision-making will be assessed in twelve comparative case studies of Dutch, Japanese, and Turkish foreign policy in order to provide an analytical framework on the conditions under which coalition cabinets are effective. The issues raised in this paper relate to the enduring question of how governments should be organized to produce effective policymaking, sound judgment, and successful outcomes.

The Impact of Collective Efficacy on the Relationship between Just World Belief and Political Participation

**Constanze Beierlein, University of Frankfurt/Germany*

Siegfried Preiser; Sonja Wermuth; Christina Werner, Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany

[Panel] 4J Values, Partisanship, and the Vote

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Previous studies consistently demonstrated that a strong belief in a just world was accompanied by the justification of inequality and by low political participation. On the other hand, political efficacy and collective efficacy were found to be positively related to political participation. It is assumed that when political efficacy is high, a strong belief in a just world would lead to participation instead of justification of inequality. Only when political efficacy is low, justification of inequality would increase with the belief in a just world. In a sample of 150 students the expected moderating effect of collective efficacy on the relationship between belief in a just world and justification of inequality could be established empirically: When collective efficacy was high, justification of inequality did not inevitably increase. However, political efficacy did not show the same moderating influence that collective efficacy had. Possible reasons for this discrepancy will be discussed. It is open to question whether the moderating effect of collective efficacy generalizes to political behavior.

The Impact of Everyday Talk on Political Knowledge and Voting Correctly

**Gabor A Toka, Central European University & University of Oxford*

[Panel] 4N Deliberation, Discussion, and Their Effects

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

This paper proposes a normative benchmark and a new empirical method to evaluate one possible contribution of political discussions with peers to democratic processes. While the empirical analysis only studies the impact of everyday interpersonal political discussion, the method can in principle be used for the same purpose in the case of any activity that can possibly lead to knowledge gains. The key idea is to evaluate the contribution of political discussions to the quality of democracy via their ability to assist participants to emulate what their voting behavior would be if they were fully informed. The method of evaluation starts off from Bartels' (1996) simulations of the difference between observed and hypothetical fully informed election outcomes in cross-sectional data. A related technique is proposed whereby a straightforward assessment of functional equivalence in promoting fully informed vote choices between knowledge gains and other variables—like frequency of political discussion in the given analysis—becomes possible. The results suggest that participation in interpersonal political discussions, in the given data, appears to increase one's ability to offer an opinion on political matters and may also lead to gains in factual knowledge. However, the respondents' ability to vote as if they were fully informed is, if anything, negatively affected by their participation in everyday political discussions.

The Impact of Year-Long Deliberative Processes on the Structure and Quality of Opinions

**Patrick Fournier, Université de Montréal*

Henk van der Kolk, University of Twente; André Blais, Université de Montréal; R. Kenneth Carty, University of British Columbia

Jonathan Rose, Queen's University

[Panel] 4N Deliberation, Discussion, and Their Effects

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Abstract: In three recent instances, politicians have let a group of ordinary people decide important public policy. Citizen assemblies on electoral reform were implemented in British Columbia, the Netherlands, and Ontario. Participants were selected through a combination of random draw and self-selection. They spent almost an entire year learning about electoral systems, consulting the public, deliberating, debating and ultimately deciding what design should be adopted. This paper examines the structure and quality of individual and collective decisions reached by citizens during these lengthy deliberations dealing with a complex, technical and unfamiliar issue. Specifically, we ask: To what extent are individual preferences driven by general political values and specific objectives of electoral reform in a logical and coherent way? Did the structure of opinion determinants evolve (increasing or decreasing) over the span of the proceedings? Are there important differences in the decisions made by the (initially) better informed as compared to the less knowledgeable? And were the final collective recommendations to the public and the government reasonable? In sum, this paper evaluates the capacity of citizens to overcome their typical political ignorance and to articulate well-reasoned policy proposals.

The Influence of Perceived Threats & Racial Ambivalence on Attitudes toward Hispanic Immigration

**Todd K Hartman, Stony Brook University*

[Panel] 2D Correlates of Attitudes towards Immigrants

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This study explores attitudes toward Hispanic immigration, as well as three important psychological moderators of these attitudes. One hundred and forty adults living in New York completed a mail-based survey about immigration policies. What makes this study unique is that respondents also answered a battery of items measuring three distinct psychological constructs (i.e., realistic threats, symbolic threats, and racial ambivalence) to examine whether they predict whites' attitudes toward Hispanic immigration. The first half of the paper presents the weighted (via survey raking) public opinion results. The remainder of the paper focuses on the predictors of these attitudes using the three psychological scales as independent variables. All three scales are highly reliable in this sample (scale alpha's > 0.80), and more interestingly, the scales differentially predict attitudes toward Hispanic immigration. For instance, the single statistically significant predictor of attitudes toward government-sponsored hiring centers for day laborers is racial ambivalence—not realistic or symbolic threats, household income, or other demographic controls. Perceived symbolic threats are the sole predictor of attitudes toward allowing local police to routinely check people's immigration status—the probability of support jumps from under 30% at the lowest levels of symbolic threat to well over 85% for those at the highest levels of threat. Realistic threats predict attitudes toward granting undocumented immigrants amnesty—the probability of supporting amnesty drops from 78% for those at low levels of perceived realistic threats to only 2% for participants at high levels of threat. These results (and others) are discussed in terms of understanding the causes of immigration attitudes, as well as finding common ground for future immigration debates.

The Interplay of Emotions and Moral Foundations in Predicting Political Attitudes

**Damla Ergun, University of Minnesota*

Corrie Valentine Hunt, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities

[Panel] 7B Emotion and its Role in Politics

[Section] Political Decision Making

A recent line of research in political psychology suggests that political issue positions systematically vary with differential reliance on moral foundations (Haidt & Graham, 2007). Furthermore, there is evidence that people's reactions to moral issues stem from emotional responses that precede moral reasoning (e.g., Haidt 2001). We asked participants to report how they have been feeling lately about politics in general and how much they endorse moral foundations. Our results show that emotions interact with moral foundations to predict responses to politically relevant dependent variables. We focus on two moral foundations: "purity," or the avoidance of "unclean" people and carnal pleasures; and "ingroup," or upholding values of loyalty and patriotism while discouraging dissent. Analyses revealed that fear strengthens the relationship between "purity" and nationalism and trust in government. Participants who endorse purity morals are most nationalistic and most trustful when they also experience high levels of fear. Similarly, positive affect strengthens the relationship between the "ingroup" foundation and people's outlook on general economic and social issues. For example, liberals report more liberal economic positions when they rely on "ingroup" concerns and feel highly positive, whereas conservatives report more conservative economic positions when they rely highly on "ingroup" considerations and report feeling highly positively. Thus, when positive emotions are coupled with a high reliance on "ingroup" concerns, we see a shift in attitudes in a more ingroup-consistent direction. We discuss the implications of these findings for the interplay of emotions and political attitudes.

The Language of Moral Disengagement: How Individuals Communicate about Collective Misdeeds

**Patricia Nataly Slawuta, New School for Social Research, New York City*

Bernhard Leidner, New School for Social Research, New York City

Emanuele Castano, New School for Social Research

[Panel] 6B Language, Culture and Group Identity

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Based on the theoretical and empirical foundations of moral disengagement in post-violent situations and language use in intergroup contexts, it is investigated whether language and its function of communication can be a means of moral disengagement. An experiment was conducted, confronting American participants with a newspaper article on fictitious incidents of torture and killing of imprisoned Iraqis. Experimental and control condition only differed in the operator of the prison in which the misdeeds happened (U.S. vs. Iraqi Army) and thus in the responsibility of the wrongdoings. Free recalls of the article and potential moderators such as ingroup glorification were measured. Linguistic intergroup bias was found in terms of usage of verbs, and recall was shown to be less abstract in the experimental condition. Computer-based analyses found the experimental group using more negative connectives, and high glorifiers using less positive

connectives, intentional particles, and causal cohesion in the ingroup than in the outgroup condition (low glorifiers showed the opposite pattern). High glorifiers gave more external explanations and described ingroup atrocities as less causal, intentional, and goal-driven than outgroup atrocities, whereas there was no such difference for low glorifiers. These findings support the idea that biased language can effectively function as a moral disengagement mechanism by minimizing ingroup atrocities, justifying them, explaining them away, or lessening their severity, thereby preserving positive self and group images. Our findings contribute not only to social and political psychology but also to political science and mass media/communication research, and to humanitarian issues in real-life intergroup conflicts.

The Limits of Legislative Framing?: A Comparative Analysis of In-State Tuition for Undocumented Students

**Jay Barth, Hendrix College*

Gary Reich, Kansas University

[Panel] 5H Framing Opposing Views

[Section] Political Communication

While most issue framing analyzes the mass public, we have previously shown that framing can also be potent in shaping the attitudes of at least one group of elites, U.S. state legislators. Specifically, we have shown—using qualitative and quantitative data—that different legislative outcomes on granting in-state tuition to undocumented high school graduates in Kansas and Arkansas were driven by differing frames presented during legislative debates (Reich and Ayala 2008; Reich and Barth 2007). In Kansas, advocates succeeded in defining policy targets as “local” and keeping debate focused on supporting their public education. By contrast, in Arkansas in a session a few months later, the focus of debate became the jurisdictional authority of the state legislature to enact such a policy, a frame that effectively killed the legislation. Given the institutional and demographic similarities of these two states, our work suggests the potential power of issue framing when state legislatures are dealing with policy innovations. In this paper, we propose to expand our argument and methods to a case where framing would appear to have less potential to influence legislative outcomes. In 2001, Texas became the first state to offer in-state tuition for undocumented students. Because of the relative size and long history of Latinos in the state, the visible presence of interest groups focused on Latino rights in the state, and the more professionalized nature of the Texas legislature, it is quite possible that forces more conventionally seen as important in policy making at the state level may well explain legislative voting patterns on the issue. Conversely, if legislative framing shows itself even in the case of Texas, we believe it will provide stronger evidence for the power of a traditionally underexamined force in elite decision-making.

The Material Conditions of Identity Construction in a Postnational Environment

**Andrew M Koch, Appalachian State University*

Amanda Gail Zeddy, University of California, Santa Barbara

[Panel] 5N Identity, Dissension and the Internet

[Section] Political Communication

This paper will explore the conflicting messages of political socialization in the contemporary world. In the world of high-tech mechanisms of communication the traditional boundaries of influence over the political socialization have been transformed. In the nineteenth century, with the coming of mass literacy within the borders of the nation-state, the state maintained a monopoly over the political messages that were part of the socialization process. As a result, education contained elements of a political socialization process that were filled with nationalistic and patriotic messages. We will be examining what we term the “material roots of power” in this work, tracing the growth of the central and necessary implements of the nation-state power. Our position is that the nation-state generates loyalty by the creation of a narrative of state power. It creates a national identity through the use of the mechanisms of socialization. These are: mass education, mass media, mass forms of political organizations, and through the maintenance of some level of administrative competence. We will be examining these institutions in both Europe and the United States in the twentieth century as they impact on the rise of state power. We will argue that today, there are two forces at work that are transforming the environment in which political socialization occurs. The economic forces of globalization are eroding the national focus of economic activity. This is coupled with the formation of centralized institutions of economic power on the global level. In addition to this structural trend, the high-tech revolution, global media, and the internet culture have transformed the processes in which identity is disseminated. In this environment, the traditional patterns of identity formation are transformed and the content of the nationalistic messages are weakened.

The Misunderstood Presidency of George W. Bush: A Stylistic Analysis

**Roderick P. Hart, University of Texas*

Jay Childers, University of Kansas

[Panel] 5E Leadership Communication

[Section] Political Communication

A popular understanding of George W. Bush is that of a blind ideologue and one of the most partisan presidents as well. Gary Jacobson's fine book, "A Divider, not a Uniter: George W. Bush and the American People" (2008), provides ample evidence that the Bush presidency has resulted in great divisiveness within the nation's capital and in the U.S. generally. While Jacobson and others may well be right about the effect of the Bush presidency, we disagree about the cause. During the last several years we have been conducting a detailed examination of Bush's rhetoric from his first day in office through 2006. Using the computerized language analysis program, DICTION, we compared Bush to all presidents between 1948 and 2000 on two variables—Hortatoriness and Partisanship. Contrary to popular opinion, Bush was not excessive on either dimension. Instead, his speechmaking was significantly less hortatory and less partisan than most of his predecessors. We found that when speaking from the Oval Office, Bush was generally quite restrained except for a brief period following the 9/11 tragedy and except for certain, fairly predictable topics. Although Bush did become more hortatory and partisan on the stump, that was also true of most of his predecessors as well. In short, George W. Bush used language situationally and strategically making him, well, a politician. The paper examines why Bush-as-ideologue has become a popular image and what such misapprehensions portend for leadership, followership, and life in a mass mediated society.

The Pan EU Deliberative Poll: Design

**Stephen Boucher, Notre Europe*

**Henri Monceau, Notre Europe*

[Panel] 4R Cross-National Deliberation: Lessons and Signposts from the pan-EU Deliberative Poll (Roundtable)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

A brief presentation of the design of the pan-European Deliberative Poll, conducted in Brussels, in the European Parliament building, in October of 2007, with a random sample of roughly 350 participants, drawn from all 27 member states. (Part of Roundtable 4R)

The Pan European Deliberative Poll: Results

**Robert C. Luskin, University of Texas at Austin*

**James S. Fishkin, Stanford University*

[Panel] 4R Cross-National Deliberation: Lessons and Signposts from the pan-EU Deliberative Poll (Roundtable)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

A brief presentation of the results of the pan-European Deliberative Poll, conducted in Brussels, in the European Parliament building, in October of 2007, with a random sample of roughly 350 participants, drawn from all 27 member states. (Part of Roundtable 4R)

The Participatory Personality

**Jeffery Mondak, University of Illinois*

Damarys Canache, university of illinois-urbana

Mitchell Seligson, Vanderbilt University

[Panel] 4B Personality and Politics

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

This paper explores the possible impact of personality on political participation. Using original survey data gathered in Uruguay and Venezuela, we assess the effects of the Big Five traits on various dimensions of participation. Our analyses reveal consistent effects in Uruguay and Venezuela for three of the Big Five traits, openness to experience, conscientiousness and extraversion. Effects are identified for three forms of participation: involvement in community social and political organizations, involvement in school and religious groups, and political/protest activity.

The Political Imagination

**Kristen Renwick Monroe, Dept of Political Science*

**Joanna Scott, Eastern Michigan University*

[Panel] 10F New Insights Into Imagination, Social Symbolism, and Value Judgments

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

The arts and the sciences traditionally exist in different worlds in contemporary academia. Apart from a few notable points of interaction, those concerned with the scientific study of politics frequently ignore advances and contributions that could be made by their more artistic brethren. Political psychology is one of the few academic areas in which meaningful dialogue has occurred. The paper proposed for presentation here argues that political psychologists can play a critical role in increasing the interaction among these diverse groups, and that scholars on all sides of this methodological divide will benefit as a result. The paper proposed here focuses on one area—the importance of the political imagination for political action—to suggest how our understanding of political life would be increased by a more welcoming attitude and informed exchange among scholars with diverse backgrounds. It suggests the unique role political psychologists can play in fostering this dialogue by building intellectual bridges among the land of literary theory, cognitive psychology, political theory, social psychology, political science, history, and neurobiology.

The Political Personality of 2007 French Presidential Candidate Ségolène Royal

**Pascal de Sutter, University of Louvain-La-Neuve*

**Aubrey Immelman, St. John's University (MN)*

[Panel] 3D The Good, the Bad and the Ugly in Leader Personalities

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

This paper will present the results of an indirect assessment of the personality of Ségolène Royal, Socialist candidate in the 2007 French presidential election. The study was conducted from the conceptual perspective of Theodore Millon's model of personality. Information concerning Royal was collected from biographical sources and media reports and synthesized into a personality profile using the second edition of the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC), which yields 34 normal and maladaptive personality classifications congruent with Axis II of DSM-IV. The personality profile yielded by the MIDC was analyzed on the basis of interpretive guidelines provided in the MIDC and Millon Index of Personality Styles manuals. Royal's primary personality patterns were found to be Conscientious/compulsive and Ambitious/self-serving, with secondary features of the Dauntless/dissenting, Dominant/controlling, and Contentious/resolute patterns. The amalgam of strong Conscientious and Ambitious patterns in Royal's profile suggests the presence of Millon's bureaucratic compulsive syndrome. According to Millon, people with this personality composite feel empowered in formal organizations, where group rules provide identity and security. They tend to be officious, high-handed, intrusive, petty, meddlesome, and closed-minded.

The Political Personality of French President Nicolas Sarkozy

**Pascal de Sutter, University of Louvain-La-Neuve*

**Aubrey Immelman, St. John's University (MN)*

[Panel] 3D The Good, the Bad and the Ugly in Leader Personalities

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

This paper will present the results of an indirect assessment of the personality of French president Nicolas Sarkozy. The study was conducted from the conceptual perspective of Theodore Millon's model of personality. Information concerning Sarkozy was collected from biographical sources and media reports and synthesized into a personality profile using the second edition of the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC), which yields 34 normal and maladaptive personality classifications congruent with Axis II of DSM-IV. The personality profile yielded by the MIDC was analyzed on the basis of interpretive guidelines provided in the MIDC and Millon Index of Personality Styles manuals. Sarkozy's primary personality patterns were found to be Ambitious/exploitative and Dominant/controlling, with secondary features of the Conscientious/dutiful, Outgoing/gregarious, Dauntless/adventurous, and Contentious/resolute patterns. The amalgam of Ambitious and Dominant patterns in combination with distinctive Contentious features in Sarkozy's profile suggests the presence of an adaptive, nonpathological variant of Millon's compensatory narcissist syndrome. According to Millon, people with this personality composite seek to counteract feelings of inferiority by creating illusions of superiority.

The Political Psychology of Radical Islam: young Muslims in European cities

**Catarina Kinnvall, Lund University*

[Panel] 6R Alienation, marginalization and radicalization of young Muslims in Europe and the US

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper discusses Islam and young Muslim identity construction in five European societies: Britain, France, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden. Involved in all these settings are the constant struggles and negotiations that young Muslims experience. In many European cities the theme of being other continually echoes in the lives of young post-diasporic Muslims (second and subsequent generations), displacing and deferring their sense of coherence about self. Of interest here is to explore how different multicultural policies have impacted on the extent to which young Muslims turn to radical Islam or search for more moderate alternatives. In particular I focus on how religion discursively constructs and is constructed by young Muslims who experience a sense of alienation and marginalization in regards to the majority community and how this always involves a gendered dimension.

The Political Psychology of Student Exchanges

**I Wilson, Aberystwyth University*

[Panel] 5C Cross-Cultural Communication

[Section] Political Communication

Governments provide considerable support for exchange programmes, sometimes effectively paying foreign students to study in their country or their own nationals to go abroad. The Fulbright Programme is probably the best known example. Programmes designed to facilitate short-term study abroad, including the European Union's Erasmus Programme, also receive significant government support. Central to the case for government support of many of these programmes is the belief that exchangees' attitudes to foreign countries improve as a result, and this will influence their political behaviour and ultimately the policies of their governments and international relations. If these assumptions are correct, exchanges could be a vital tool of foreign policy. However, the evidence that exchangees tend to develop positive attitudes to the foreign countries involved, let alone that this then influences international relations, remains weak. Not only is there reason to doubt studies which claim to show that exchangees who become more favourable generally outnumber those who become more critical, but as yet no comprehensive framework has been developed to explain which students might be most likely to change their attitudes as a result of exchange experiences. Here I present the results of a panel study conducted on exchangees in the 2006-7 academic year to assess what political attitudes and behaviours might change as a result. I then go on to combine a set of plausible hypotheses drawn from post-panel interviews and existing literature to suggest which psychological factors might make students particularly malleable.

The Politics of the Government During and in the Aftermath of Major Disasters

**Rony Berger, Natal*

[Panel] 1T Peace Building and Conflict Transformation

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Recent human catastrophes resulting from either war and terrorism or natural disasters have highlighted the phenomenon of abdication of responsibility by governments to provide support and assistance to affected populations and the attempt by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to fill-up this gap. Manifestations for this phenomenon including the lack of preparedness plan, the slow response of the relief and rescue (R & R) operation and finally the massive neglect of the least fortunate and unprivileged segments of the society will be demonstrated by using two recent case examples of disasters, Hurricane Katrina in the United States and the Lebanon War in Israel. In this presentation I will explore the underlying socio-political climate that have led to this global phenomenon and outline the positive and negative consequences of this growing trend in some Western societies and developing countries. Emphasis will be given to the psychological and social impact of disasters on the society and the differential resiliency often observed among various groups on the society in the aftermath of a major disaster. I will then pose the question as to whether this trend is morally and legally legitimate and whether the government can provide another solution for this complex problem. Finally, I will attempt to offer a more productive approach to assist civilian population during major crises integrating between the advantages of the governmental and the no-governmental sectors.

The Possibility of Dialogue

**Paul Nesbitt-Larking, Huron University College*

[Panel] 8D Dialogue and Deliberation

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

This paper offers a critical assessment of the assumption that the dialogue is a positive component in the evolution of the polis. Three principle critiques of dialogue as political practice are considered. First, the paper turns to the issue of discourse and voice and considers the challenges of dialogue in the context of unequal voices and discursive realms. Free and fair dialogue is inhibited to the extent that the participants must speak in registers and codes that are advantageous to some but not others. The very act of “giving voice” itself can be said to privilege certain participants over others. Second, the paper explores the strategic and tactical appropriateness of political encounter and the question of when it is acceptable for groups and individuals to encounter each other. Is dialogical encounter always in the best interests of the participants? Is it always the best solution to the resolution of conflict or the building of co-operation? Finally, the consensual assumptions inherent in the possibility of dialogue are examined. What role might dialogue play in the encounter of those who are in frankly agonistic relation and therefore for whom the search for consensus is misguided? What is the point of dialogue among those whose core values and expectations are set in contradiction to each other? Within the broader context of recent studies of Muslims in the West, the central conclusion is that despite the need to attend to the complex challenges of dialogical practices, it is vitally important to promote and sustain communication among communities and individuals. There needs to be a dialogical politics of deep and mutual respect in which ethno-religious sensibilities are validated and welcomed in their rich diversity. Such is the basis of a deep or critical multiculturalism that names historical oppressions, recognizes the structural causes of injustice and inequality, and is profoundly open to cultural critique, challenge and change. Appreciation of the limitations and challenges of dialogue helps to structure overtures and encounters in such a way that the process is more thoroughgoing, better grounded, more equitable, and therefore likely to generate more positive outcomes.

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion: A case of political propaganda

**Chiara Volpato, Università di Milano-Bicocca*

Federica Durante, Università di Milano-Bicocca

[Panel] 5C Cross-Cultural Communication

[Section] Political Communication

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion is a relevant example of political propaganda. It is the most influential fake in contemporary history. Despite the discovery of their falsity, the Protocols have known an unstoppable worldwide proliferation. Used by Nazi and Fascist regimes, today the libel continues to play an essential role in the ideological construction of neo-Nazi movements in Western society. At the same time, it circulates all over the world thanks to the Arab, Persian, Chinese and Japanese translations. The text offers a case study of influence that appears to contradict the ideas of common sense as well as some rules of persuasive communication. We argue that the persuasive power of the Protocols comes from the combination of a particular series of stereotypes from secular anti-Semitism, enhanced with contents outlining the “conspiracy”. Therefore, to understand the success of the Protocols, it is necessary to examine the content of the group images and stereotypes conveyed by the text. The text has been content analyzed and results were submitted to correspondence factor analysis. Data were interpreted within the framework of the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) and the Theory of Group Images (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999). We expected to find an envious stereotype content of the Jewish group, which results from their being perceived as low in warmth but high in competence. Moreover, we expected that such a representation fit the image of the ‘enemy.’ Results are in line with our predictions.

The Psychology of Political Disillusionment: Progressives and World War I

**Kenneth Alan Fuchsman, University of Connecticut*

[Panel] 1H The Postwar Syndrome: The Politics of Trauma and Disillusionment

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Certain emotions have an element that is intrinsically political. Disillusion is disenchantment and disappointment following loss of belief. There is an emotional cycle accompanying disillusionment that impacts on behavior, outlook, and

ideas. A quartet of progressive intellectuals associated with the early days of the New Republic had each placed their faith in democratic reform and became disillusioned during or after World War I. This paper traces the emotional-political odyssey of Randolph Bourne, Walter Lippmann, Walter Weyl, Herbert Croly and shows the connection between the psychology of disillusionment and political belief.

The Reconciliation Pyramid—A Narrative-Based Framework for Analyzing Identity Conflicts

**Yehudith Auerbach, Bar Ilan University*

[Panel] 1E Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Its Resolution—Part 1

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The Reconciliation Pyramid is suggested in this paper as a heuristic tool for exploring accomplished or burgeoning reconciliation processes, as well as cases such as the Middle East, where only tentative and mostly failed steps have been taken towards reconciliation. The first part proposes a terminological framework indicating the relationship between meta-narratives, national metanarratives and national narratives. This terminology is used to analyze national narratives and their role in conflict evolution and termination. The second part elaborates the seven stages of the Reconciliation Pyramid: Narrative acquaintance; narrative acknowledgement; assumption of responsibility; readiness for restitution; expressing empathy and; asking and granting forgiveness and narrative integration. The paper concludes with a short case study of the Camp David negotiations and reflects upon the suitability and contribution of the Reconciliation Pyramid to theoretical and empirical reconciliation research.

The Rehabilitation of Militant Jihadis and the Prevention of Terrorism: A Political Psychology Approach

**Anne Speckhard, Georgetown University Medical School*

[Panel] 1F Perspectives on Contemporary Terrorism

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

Reform of extremist militant jihadis in prison and out on the street is a newly tried and mostly untested concept. The author was responsible in the summer of 2006 for designing and pilot testing the detainee rehabilitation program for detainees held in Iraq by US forces. She will review the current programs in use around the world as well as new efforts she is involved with in the UK and Jordan. The author will discuss the factors that motivate individuals to join militant jihadi groups and carry out terrorist acts as well as those factors that may both prevent joining and rehabilitate the same individuals.

The Relationship between Authoritarian Attitudes and Social Capital

**Katarzyna Growiec, Polish Academy of Sciences*

[Panel] 2T Prejudice and Authoritarianism in Social Context

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This paper presents empirical evidence for the existence of a relation between authoritarian attitudes (Altemeyer, 1980, Duckitt, 2002; 2003) and social capital (which we define by social networks following Lin, 2001). Using cross-sectional data on nation-wide representative samples from the Polish General Social Survey 2002 (ISSP 2001) and Social Diagnosis 2007 as well as data from the European Social Survey 2002/2003 for 22 countries, it is shown that individuals who present authoritarian attitudes tend to have a specific kind of social capital: their social networks are either rare or restricted to kin. Specifically, using European Social Survey data we confirm our hypothesis that authoritarian submission—a trait of right wing authoritarianism (RWA)—goes together with rare social contacts. Religiosity and being hampered further increase authoritarian submission. From the Social Diagnosis 2007 data we find that having contact with people from three categories: kin, friends, and acquaintances, reduces authoritarian aggression—the second trait of RWA. The effect of friends is the strongest among all three. In terms of conventionalism—the third trait of RWA—when we control for sex, education, size of the city, and age, it is friends (non-kin) who reduce conventionalism but not kin. Finally, we prove that the impacts of social ties with non-kin and kin on the reduction of conventionalism are not additive: it is either contacts with non-kin or with kin which reduce authoritarian attitudes. The positive impact of non-kin is stronger. In sum, while sociability is crucial for non-authoritarian attitudes, it also matters who—kin or non-kin—we are sociable with.

The Relationship between Voting Obligation and Social Capital in Japan (Poster)

**Yoshinobu Araki, Musashino University*

[Panel] 4P Poster Session: Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

The most important voting incentive in Japan is a sense of voting obligation. This civic-minded sense has been well-developed in Japanese society. The paper reveals that social capital supports such a duty. Although the concept of social capital is very vague, the paper uses it as latent variable. As a result the paper will be able to explain the relationship between voting obligation and social capital clearly through covariance structure analysis. The data sample was collected from both urban area and middle-mountains area in Mie prefecture in Japan in 2001.

The Role of Affect in Political Deliberation

**Cengiz Erisen, Stony Brook University*

Milton Lodge, Stony Brook University

Charles S. Taber, Stony Brook University

[Panel] 7B Emotion and its Role in Politics

[Section] Political Decision Making

In recent decades, several studies conducted in political science discipline focused on the interaction between emotion and cognition within the affect-driven dual process models (Lodge and Taber 2000, 2005; Taber and Lodge 2006). Lodge and Taber (2000, 2005) provide an interactive affective system built on four postulates: Hot Cognition, the Primacy of Affect, Automaticity, and On-line Processing. Experimental results show evidence on how political concepts are affectively charged and evaluations can be activated and changed by mere exposure to the political stimuli. In this paper, we would like to take an additional step and elaborate on the influence of incidental affect on political deliberation and political beliefs. We experimentally test how incidental affect influences individuals' thoughts which in turn impact evaluations of political issues and public policies. We propose to present results of two new experimental studies. The first study examines the influence of affect on individuals' thoughts that are recalled about two political issues. The second study analyses the role of affect on individuals' thoughts and evaluations about public policies associated with these political issues. We are also interested in testing whether affective priming strengthens or weakens political attitude toward the policy and whether thoughts mediate the association between prior and posterior attitude. In summary our goal is to assess the role of affect in deliberation about political issues and public policies. Findings would add to our understanding of how people think when they evaluate a policy and the extent to which incidental emotions intervene into this process and alter their thoughts, evaluations, and political beliefs.

The Role of Deliberation and Attributions in Political Decision-Making on Controversial Issues

Anna Kemdal Pho, Lund University

Malena Rosén Sundström, Lund University

[Panel] 4I Democratic Deliberation

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

In this paper, we discuss the possibilities of, and role for, deliberation in political decision-making in controversial issues. We argue that attribution theory can enhance the conceptualization of deliberation, providing a psychological backdrop to the mechanisms at work, helping us better understand what happens when people argue and debate with each other. Also, these insights can help to identify when deliberation can be successful or not. The empirical focus is the Swedish Social Democratic Party and its handling of two issues related to the European Union. The party has a long history of ambivalence towards the project of European integration, which became evident when the Swedish Social Democratic Prime Minister in 1990 declared the intent to apply for EU-membership. The party was deeply split on the issue, which was finally settled by a referendum in 1994, in which the yes-side won by a small margin. Soon thereafter the issue of whether or not Sweden should also join the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) rose to the top of the agenda, with the Social Democratic Party demonstrating the same division on the issue. Once again, the question was decided by a national referendum. This time the no-side won, with a majority of Social Democrats voting against the official party-line. We analyse the degree of deliberation in the intra-party discussions at the party's Congress (decision-making forum) during the years preceding each decision, by using a quantitative method (Deliberation Quality Index as developed by Steenbergen et al). Was deliberation more prevalent—and successful—in the intra-party debates on EU, when the party managed to “win” the referendum? If so, can this be attributed to more of a “within”-perspective among the party members in regard to the issue of EU-membership, as predicted by attribution theory?

The Role of Party Identification in Spatial Models of Voting Choice

**Romain Lachat, New York University*

[Panel] 4S The Psychology of Partisanship (Part B: Emotional Foundations and Electoral Consequences of Partisanship)

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

This paper analyzes the impact of party identification on voters' choices, in the framework of spatial models of electoral competition. Spatial models are based on the assumption that voting choices depend to a large extent on the relative location of voters and parties in an issue or ideological space. This approach is very frequent in the analysis of individual choices and it is the dominant framework in the comparative analysis of party strategies. Several authors have suggested that party identification can be included in such models, along with other factors that affect voters' traditional loyalties (e.g., Adams et al. 2005). The inclusion of traditional loyalties in spatial models is a positive development, as it results in more realistic models, that combine policy and non-policy factors. Such combined models, however, do not properly reflect the role of party identification. They typically assume that party identification is simply one additional factor influencing electoral preferences. This means that ideological or issue distances between voters and parties should have the same impact among both partisans and independents. This does not seem to fit with a large body of research on party identification, showing that party identifiers tend to have biased perceptions of parties' ideological positions. I suggest instead that the impact of ideological or issue distances is conditional on party identification. The proposed paper justifies this new assumption in more detail on the basis of the literature from political psychology on the nature and impact of party identification. This hypothesis is tested using data from national election studies in West European democracies (most likely in Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland). The paper will also discuss the implications of this modified hypothesis for the optimal positioning of parties, which is a central focus on the current literature on spatial models.

The Role of School Atmosphere on Civic Commitments and Political Interest (Poster)

**Saule Raiziene, Mykolas Romeris University*

**Rasa Pilkauskaite Valickiene, Mykolas Romeris University*

Rasa Barkauskiene, Mykolas Romeris University

Oksana Malinauskiene, Mykolas Romeris University

[Panel] 8P Poster Session: Democracy and Civic Development

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

This study explored the relationship between school atmosphere and adolescents' civic commitments and political interest. According to political socialization theory, for a democratic political system to persist, younger generations have to develop an attachment to it by endorsing the principles on which the system is based and adopting the basic norms and habits of behavior that sustain it (Easton, Dennis, 1967). Flanagan et al. (2007) studies suggest that it may be through youth's relationships with proximate authority figures (for example, teachers at school). Several studies have shown that students' reports of an open classroom climate are related to their knowledge about international affairs, commitment to voting in the future and etc. (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). In this study we aim to verify how perceived school atmosphere (attachment to school, negative school environment, feeling of safety, teacher support, open for discussion classroom climate) is related to adolescents' civic commitment and political interest. Method: A convenience sample of high school students (n=347, age 15-18) from several schools took part in this study. A questionnaire was delivered and collected by research assistants. Questionnaires consisted of School Atmosphere Questionnaire (from SAHA, Ruchkin et al., 2004), Open for Discussion Classroom Climate (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), The Civic Commitment Scale and The Political Interest Scale (developed by authors of this research). Results: Results of the study suggest that certain factors in school environment are related to adolescents' civic commitments and political interests. Suggestions for examination of other factors, not examined by this study, are proposed.

The Role of Side Payments by Terrorist Organizations

**Daniel Masters, University of North Carolina Wilmington*

[Panel] 1M Radicalization and the Terrorist

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The classical interpretation of side payments is they form part of a selective incentive program designed to recruit supporters and militants. Empirical evidence from Northern Ireland and the Israeli Occupied Territories does not support this claim. This finding leaves us with a conundrum. Side payments do not seem to matter, yet they exist. Why would terrorist organizations

spend precious resources to provide side payments that apparently matter very little? One potential explanation is that side payments are part of an effort that combines a violent paramilitary campaign with a socio-political organization. The coordination of these activities generates tolerance in the constituent community towards the seemingly counterproductive actions of the terrorist organization. Higher social tolerance enables the military wing to maintain higher levels of violence to advance their goals. In essence, side payments are part of a “winning the hearts and minds” of the constituents by deepening the connective tissue between constituents and the terrorists. To evaluate this claim, this study compares the terrorist campaigns of the PIRA in Northern Ireland, Hamas in the Occupied Territories, the ETA in Spain, and the Red Brigades in Italy. In the former two cases represent coordinated campaigns between terrorist and non-terrorist factions. The latter two cases represent competition between terrorist and non-terrorist actions. If cooperative efforts matters we should observe higher sustained levels of terrorist action. However, if cooperation and side payments are irrelevant then we should observe no difference in the sustained levels of terrorist activities.

The Science and Human Rights Coalition of the AAAS.

**Arthur James Kendall, Social Research Consultants*

[Panel] Celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Roundtable)

[Section] Other

Dr. Kendall will describe the coalition <http://shr.aaas.org/scisocs/> and his experience with it as a representative to it from the Capitol Area Social Psychological Association. Human Rights researchers and practitioners will be asked to provide feedback to be brought to AAAS on what help physical social and behavioral scientists have given or could give to their efforts. (Part of Roundtable.)

The Social Causes of Patriotic Motivation

**Eyal Lewin, University of Haifa, Israel*

[Panel] 20 Patriotism, Nationalism, and Identity

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Patriotic loyalty has been proved to be an essential force that mobilizes societies to outstanding achievements or to devastating bloodsheds. However, the causes for patriotic motivation have not been fully inquired yet, a task that challenges this research. Israeli society (Jewish and Arab citizens) has been chosen as a study case. In order to identify the comprehension of patriotic actions within the inquired study case, a broad q-methodology inquiry has been launched, utilizing 3,500 written sources, 200 street interviews, 4 heterogenic focus groups and 40 in-depth interviews. Amongst Israeli society as a study case patriotic action has been found to be comprehended as a deed of personal sacrifice in one of three leading fields: pioneer settlements (e.g. establishing a new Kibbutz; promoting immigration amongst remote Jewish communities (e.g. Siberia); taking an active part during an emergency situation of national security (e.g. police or military outstanding activity). The extreme patriotic action within any society is a rare event, therefore once the patriotic action had been defined a case control study was designed, comprising of pairs of matching groups for each patriotic activity. In order to cope with causal complexity, the data of altogether 40 interviews was processed through qualitative comparative analysis, based on Boolean algebra. The effect of 4 variables was tested: (f) fear of a national threat; (r) extent of religiousness; (t) political trust; (i) distinct group identification. The results state clearly that the combination of causes for patriotic motivation is one of two: fear of a national threat and high political trust; religiousness and group identification [$1=ft+ri$].

The Social Transmission of Hate

**Steven K. Baum, College of Santa Fe*

[Panel] 5K Hateful Words: Is it Free Speech or Free Advertising?

[Section] Political Communication

The right to free speech is enshrined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and is granted formal recognition by the laws of democratic nations. But when the right was enacted, it did not anticipate hate speech that incites hate crime and calls to jihad and genocide. A social psychological model of hate transmission will be presented to explain the susceptibility of social beliefs with implications for freedom of speech law.

The Structure of Political Cognition: An Experimental Study of a Chemistry Problem, Causal Attribution, Social Identity and Political Communication

**Shawn Rosenberg, University of California at Irvine*

Ted Wrigley

[Panel] 4G Political Cognition

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Most of research on political reasoning has been informed by the work on social cognition. A small number of political psychologists have explored the same subject, political cognition, but have done so in a way that is informed by developmental psychology. For the most part, the relationship between these two approaches remains unaddressed. In the present paper, we clarify the nature of the differences between these two approaches and then present research that examines the relevance of the developmental approach to the more popular social psychological alternative. The hypothesis tested is that individual differences in the general structure of people's political cognition affect their performance on more typical socio-cognitive studies of political information processing. In a manner consistent with developmental research, subjects participate in a "clinical" experiment to test their problem definition and solving strategies. This is used to assess possible individual differences in the structure of their thinking. Subjects then participate in three classic social cognition experiments, one drawn from work on cognitive dissonance, one from attribution theory and one from schema theory, that have oriented much of the political cognition research. They also respond to standard survey measures of ethnic and partisan identification. Using standard ANOVA techniques, subjects' performances on these social psychological experiments and survey instruments was analyzed to determine if the cognitive structural differences identified in the developmentally oriented research predict to differences in performance of the socio-cognitive tasks. The results suggest that they do. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of this research for the study of political reasoning and cognition.

The development of European identity in the socio-political context of Cyprus conflict

**Nikos Ilia, Queen's University Belfast*

Evanthia Lyons, Queen's University Belfast

[Panel] 6D European, National, and Migrant Identities

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper is concerned with exploring the development of European identity amongst Greek Cypriots soon after Cyprus accession to the EU. Adopting an integrative theoretical framework, it draws on social representations (Moscovici, 1984; Doise 1998, Doise; Clemence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993) and identity theories (Tajfel, 1978; Breakwell, 1986, 1993, 2004) to examine how Greek Cypriots constructed the meanings attached to this new social category of the 'European Cypriot'. The paper reports the findings of an interview study with 16 Greek Cypriot adults: eight 'refugees' and 8 'non-refugees'. It is shown that Greek Cypriots see the EU not only as an economic institution but also as a political institution. As such the meanings participants attached to the new category of 'European Cypriot' and their relative willingness to adopt it depended to a large extent on the role EU played in attempts to find a solution to the Cyprus conflict and on their constructions of the role that perceived powerful EU member states played in the history of the Cyprus problem. Particular constructions of history were framed in emotional language to define who the 'European Other' was as well as the boundaries between 'friends' and 'enemies' in the European Union. It is therefore argued that the socio-political context in which identification with a new category takes place needs to be taken into account to further our understanding of the phenomenon. Furthermore, the socio-political context needs to be placed in its historical context.

The development of classification by nationality: using names as cues

**Iris Zvezlj, Belgrade University*

[Panel] 2X Social Influences on the Development of Prejudice and Understanding of Intergroup Relations

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Although children are usually able to identify themselves as a member of one or more national or state groups at the age of 6 (Barret, 2007), it is only after that they correctly categorize others by their nationality. This self-identification can occur before concepts of nation and state are fully developed (Lambert & Klineberg, 1967), while identification of other

members of the category requires both this cognitive skill and social experience. Our study explored how children determine if others are members of their own or different national group. We developed classification procedure in which children were presented with 12 photographs of people of different sex, age and overall appearance- a modification of race/ethnicity classification photo task (Davey, 1983; Kowalski & Lo, 2001). Names we used represented five different national groups: Serbs, Albanians, Hungarians, Croatians and Bosniaks. 20 adult judges assessed for each name if it was typical for any national group. Only names that were named as typical by at least 90% of raters were included in the study. In this study we interviewed 240 children from Belgrade and Kosovska Mitrovica, aged 8, 12 and 16. Results show that number of children that correctly categorize people (either spontaneously or prompted) in national groups increased through age-stages, and that older children attributed more importance to nationality criterion. As for multi/monoethnic environment effect, children from Kosovska Mitrovica correctly categorized people in national groups at earlier age than those from Belgrade, and they used nationality criterion more frequently than their Belgrade peers.

The emotional chairmanship of the European parliamentary committees within national legislatures

**Olivier Rozenberg, CEVIPOF*

[Panel] 3B Leader Personality & Its Consequences

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

This paper proposes an analysis of the emotional incentives of the chairpersons of the European committees of the House of Commons and of the French National Assembly. The House of Commons created in 1974 a European Scrutiny Committee dedicated to the scrutiny of European Union documents. Likewise, the French National Assembly has developed a European committee called the Delegation for the European Union. Both structures have contributed to the development of a new parliamentary role “the specialist of Europe” also known as “Mister Europe”. Following both D. Searing’s study of parliamentary roles (Westminster’s World, 1994) and James Payne’s analysis of the Motivations of Politicians (1984), we propose a comparative study of the motivations of the last chairmen of those two structures. The interviews realised with two British chairmen and four French ones lead to understand the difficult development of the EU committees as a product of the ambiguity and contradictions of the role of specialist of Europe. The difficulty of this role to act as a ministerial aspirant, as an expert or as an ideologue leads the chairmen to play one of the four following pre-existing roles: the Chairman, the Clubman, the Inquisitor and the Status seeker. We try to demonstrate that both the failure of the role of specialist for Europe and the choice of one of those roles are emotional driven by some particular incentives: the game for the Chairman, conviviality for the Clubman, obligation for the Inquisitor and status for the Status seeker.

The form is the substance in the Mexican politics (Poster)

Manuel Gonzalez Navarro, UAMI

**Gabriela Rico Alba, UAMI*

[Panel] 4P Poster Session: Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

It’s described, with an ethnographic focus, the ways that were adopted by the collective demonstrations, with the purpose of supporting the presidential candidates of the Mexican Republic during their closing of campaign in the year 2006. Each one of the political forces organized its own closing of campaign. In the present research the three most important are taken up again. In them, the qualities that adopted the political culture for each group were observed. Beyond the resemblances, the differences allow us to know the attributes and abilities, as well as the functions, that should perform their candidates. As distinctive feature arises the notion of political authority required by the followers of each one of the candidates. In this way, the work reflects on the importance of the politics for the Mexicans and the need to build a more palpable concept of authority. As part of the work, some photographs that permit to recognize some private aspects of the Mexican’s political culture are presented.

The ideological effects of power: the moderating role of the normative context

**Pierre De Oliveira, University Blaise Pascal*

Serge Guimond, Universite Blaise Pascal

[Panel] 2S Power, dominance and intergroup conflict: Psychological, political and cultural perspectives

[Section] Intergroup Relations

According to the social dominance theory (SDT; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), intergroup dynamics are affected by the

groups' relative positions in a social hierarchy. In particular, the attitudes, values and ideologies of people are expected to be shaped by the extent to which they have power. Indeed, classically, power has had a bad press. Much research suggests that holding a powerful role can generate, almost automatically, negative attitudes and hostile behaviors towards subordinate group (Georgeson & Harris, 1999; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Richeson & Ambady, 2003). However, this previous research did not consider in any systematic manner the normative environment within which power is exercised (see Guimond et al., 2003). Drawing from the distinction between Hierarchy-Attenuating vs. Hierarchy-Enhancing environments proposed by Sidanius and Pratto (1999), we argue that the effects of power vary according the normative context. The results of several studies, in experimental and field settings, do indeed challenge a generic conception of power, and suggest that power and leadership can sometimes generate more egalitarian attitudes and values, not less.

The influence of the characteristics of Russian politicians and their personalities on results of the international negotiations

**Xenia O. Pertsovskaya, Saint-Petersburg State University, Faculty of Psychological sciences, department of political psychology*

[Panel] 9B The Management of International Conflicts and Crises: Perspectives from Political Psychology

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

Negotiation—a process in which one individual tries to persuade another individual to change his/her ideas or behaviour; it is often involves one person attempting to get another to sign a particular contract or make a particular decision. International negotiations contain all of the complexity of domestic negotiations. That's why it demands special skills, tactics and methods from politician to show the art of negotiations. However is not enough just to use them. There always was and always will be the basis of negotiations of deeper level, namely the influence of personality characteristics on process and results of negotiations. Negotiator has to consider, that his stimulus—words, gestures, mimicry etc.—are counted and multiplied by his opponents. These stimuli, are not just information about negotiator's psychological conditions and qualities but also could become a signal to action. This study has been conducted to work out recommendations for international negotiators, so that they are fully aware of consequences of influence of their personal characteristics when they are preparing for negotiations. A combined method for showing up certain personal characteristics from negotiator's production (such as speeches texts, stenography of negotiations etc.) has been developed. These characteristics have been correlated with skills of successful negotiations and by the way they are correlating with cultural traits.

The intergenerational transmission of social dominance: The moderating role of attitudinal congruence within families

**Leila Selimbegovic, University of Paris Descartes, France
Armand Chatard, University of Geneva, Switzerland*

[Panel] 2T Prejudice and Authoritarianism in Social Context

[Section] Intergroup Relations

This study investigated the role of the family in children's political socialization, or, more specifically, in the transmission of social dominance orientation (i.e., the extent to which people support intergroup hierarchical relationships). In this optic, we first examined whether parents and grandparents, as major socialization agents, transmit SDO to children. Second, the congruence between parents' and grandparents' levels of SDO was assessed as a potential moderator of any direct parent-child and grandparent-child association in SDO. Although the influence of parent's political attitudes on children's has been investigated in past research, the role of other family members, such as grandparents, was not taken into account. Similarly, the impact of attitude congruence among family members on the transmission of these attitudes was not investigated to date. It was predicted that both parents and grandparents would pass their social dominance attitudes to children, and more intensely when there is congruence, rather than incongruence, between parental and grandparental social dominance attitudes. These hypotheses were examined in a sample of 93 families including children (in early adulthood), one of their parents, and one of their grandparents. The results supported the predictions. Parents' and grandparents' influence on children's political attitudes was found to be mutually independent, and stronger in congruent than in incongruent families. These results contribute to the extant literature by considering two unexplored factors in children's political socialization: attitudes of family members other than parents and within-family attitudinal congruence. These findings' implications are discussed in terms of their potential to explain previous inconsistent results.

The left-right distinction as a political heuristic: Changes in Italy, 1975-2006

**Michele Roccato, University of Torino*

Nicoletta Cavazza, University of Modena-Reggio Emilia

Piergiorgio Corbetta, University of Bologna

[Panel] 7D Ideological Thinking

[Section] Political Decision Making

The left-right dimension may be conceived as the basis of some very important heuristics used by voters to reduce the complexity of their political judgments. According to the literature, decisions are exclusively based on heuristics when people are in conditions of low cognitive ability and motivation, and both on heuristics and information processing when people are in condition of high cognitive ability and motivation. Which decision rules linked to the left-right counterposition do voters actually use? We hypothesized that different rules are mainly used in relation both to individual (cognitive ability and motivation) and contextual (cultural and political variables) factors. To test such hypotheses, we analyzed the answers given by two representative samples of the Italian population to two open questions about the meaning attributed to the political “right” and “left”, asked in 1975 (N=1,657) and in 2006 (N = 1,377). We detected four main decision rules: They differ according to the level of abstraction of the elements taken into consideration. We discuss the changes occurred between 1975 and 2006 in the use of such four heuristics and their relationships with the main socio-political individual characteristics in the frame of the context changes. We argue that the “right” and “left” political labels are tools suitable to meet a need for simplification which did not change in the 31 years passed between the first and the second survey, even if the level of motivation and cognitive ability of the Italians, as well as their political context, did actually change.

The legitimization of the distributive system—A comparison of Germany and Chile

**Juan Castillo, Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences*

**Simone Schneider, Humboldt University, Berlin*

[Panel] 2C Contested policies: Winning the acceptance of the public

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The legitimization of the distributive system is a central issue for the political stability of a society. Since the allocation of goods and rewards directly affects the lives of the people, consent on this topic is of high relevance for the political sphere. The causes and mechanisms of the legitimization process are highly debated in the current literature, concentrating on psychological, cultural and social explanations. Nevertheless, the empirical analysis of the legitimization process within different societies is scarce, principally due to the absence of comparative data. The International Social Justice Project (ISJP) is one of the few comparative research projects that incorporates topics such as distributive principles and the influence of socio-structural aspects on justice conceptions. Using data from 2006, two countries with different economic and cultural contexts—Germany and Chile—are compared regarding the legitimacy of the distribution system. We ask whether institutionalised inequality, the socio-economic position of the individual and/or other mechanisms like ideological aspects affect the legitimacy of the system. In this regard, internal and external attributions of poverty are considered as the main intermediary factors of legitimization. Multivariate structural equation models show that internal and external dimensions of attribution as well as ideological and structural aspects are related to the legitimacy of the system in both societies. The results indicate further, that the levels of legitimization diverge markedly between societies. Our findings suggest that future research has to be based on larger comparative datasets to determine the influence of those macro-structural aspects.

The linguistic manifestation (and manipulation) of identity

Willem Botha, University of Johannesburg

[Panel] 6F National identity and xenophobia: the social construction of threat

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Identity has to be viewed, first of all, as an introspective cognitive experience. In this regard the awareness of identity relates to the experience of categorization, a basic conceptual action which determines what we do when we become aware of the differences in or between entities, something we do when we “distinguish with the mind” (Oxford Talking Dictionary). But categorization as such results in linguistic manifestations. Consequently, the characteristics of identity have distinct linguistic manifestations, reflecting different related cognitive capacities. Based on the principle of comparison three fundamental cognitive abilities can be distinguished: evaluative, reflective and projective thought. These

processes relate to a very ubiquitous cognitive phenomenon, the metaphor—which is first of all a perception or thought process; and on a secondary level it functions as a linguistic process. Although identity is also revealed by linguistic metaphors, our experience and our judgment of identity is primarily based on conceptual metaphors, which are mostly structured by bodily and spatial experience, but which can also be created by certain linguistic and other contexts. Against this background this paper investigates the interrelated nature of identity and language. Examples to explicate such a relationship will be taken from the current South Africa context. In this regard aspects of the concept AFRIKANER will be scrutinized—and closely linked to it, the framing of Afrikaans, the mother tongue of Afrikaners.

The memories of a dutiful militant

**Csilla Kiss, ISES Szombathely, Hungary*

[Panel] 6D European, National, and Migrant Identities

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Jorge Semprun has lived an extraordinary life both as a political activist and a writer. His writings, while often fictional, are also autobiographical with significant political content. Therefore, besides their literary quality, many of Semprun's books can also be regarded as political writings (both political memoirs and political acts), or historical sources, especially with respect to two particular themes. The first is about life in a Nazi concentration camp, the second is the history of communism in the 20th century, offering an analysis of the communist movement and politics. Semprun's writings are always very personal. As a former militant of the communist movement he had the opportunity to closely observe its operation and even contribute to its development. Through his narrative we do not only learn about historical facts, but also see them through the lenses of an engaged participant, who, as time has passed, is able to reflect on his former self, (re)evaluate his hopes, beliefs and disappointments, evoke this past with nostalgia and deal with the guilt for his own compromises. The books offer a glimpse into the psychology of an engaged militant, following him through the struggles, victories, defeats, hurdles and trials of the 20th century. Exploring this theme through Semprun's works and taking into account the multiple aspects of his writings, the paper will look at his brutally honest account of his own conduct and the analysis he offers of history and those people who participated in it, showing how the personal intertwines with the political.

The multifaceted effects of negative campaigns: Their positive and negative consequences on the perception of politicians

**Luigi Castelli, University of Padova*

Luciana Carraro, University of Padova

[Panel] 5D The Impact of Negative Communication

[Section] Political Communication

Negative campaigns are widespread but there is still a debate about the effects of negative political advertising (see Lau, 1985; Lau et al., 1999). In particular, it has been suggested that the reliance on negative campaigns may backfire against the source (e.g., Matthews & Dietz-Uhler, 1998). In a series of studies we explored two distinct but related issues concerning the perception of politicians who rely on negative campaigns. First, we investigated the effects of different types of negative messages that attack the opposite candidate on the basis of either his/her political program or personal characteristics. Next, we separately assessed the effects on the two basic dimensions of social judgment, namely competence and warmth (Fiske et al., 2002). Results showed that sources of negative campaigns are more negatively evaluated when the attack is built around the opponents' personal characteristics. Most importantly, results from both implicit and explicit measures supported the idea that the reliance on negative messages increases the perception of competence and conformity behaviors, whereas it has a negative impact on both controlled and spontaneous affective reactions.

The normative system of social representations, unemployment and gender asymmetry (Poster)

**Maidier Larrañaga, doctor*

Garbiñe Ortiz

Lorena Gil De Montes

[Panel] 2P Poster Session: Intergroup Relations

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Basing on the Theory of Central Nucleus (Abric, 1976, 1987), this study is aimed at analysing the systems of beliefs that

young students (138 men and 162 women -Apprenticeship School-) elaborate around the issues concerning male and female unemployment. The questionnaire was designed in the form of characterisation (Verges, 1995). In order to analyse the impact that some points of reference have on the social representation of male and female unemployment, the procedure of substitution (Rateau, 2002) was applied. So far, several studies have dealt with the role that normative system plays in the area of the theory of social representation (e.g., Abric, 1976; Abric & Tafani, 1995; Moscovici, 1986; 1993; Flament, 1994; 1999; Moliner, 1995; Guimelli & Deschamps, 2000). The possible correspondence between social representation of male and female unemployment and different normative systems is analyzed here. Concretely, on the one hand, we would like to examine to what degree the referent of employer (one employer) and the referent of trade unionist (one trade unionist) can explain the social representations that subjects have on male unemployment. Moreover, on the other hand, we are interested in analysing to what extent social representation of female unemployment is developed around the referent of feminist (one feminist) and around the referent of employer (one employer). Results show that social representation of female and male unemployment is concerned with the division of roles directed to the protection of the established social order.

The political dimension of dissension

**Ninoska Angela Díaz de Mariña, yes*

[Panel] 5N Identity, Dissension and the Internet

[Section] Political Communication

The study intends to search and to understand dissension from a political point of view on its organizing potential to trigger common actions in collectivities in order to deepen self-liberating processes and self determination in the world of life of such groups or collectivities. Self-liberating potential of dissension implies the breakdown of subjection to dogmatic structures in the inner self of individuals or social groups. Simultaneously, other phenomena take place: the individuals' appropriation of becoming a Social Subject, capable of, when dialoguing with others, reflecting, acting and elucidating rationality to act in the surrounding world and to relate to others. Self-determination refers to the right for self-government, to act over reflection and to select and get advantage of the means to be able to do, in order to assume government affairs which are relevant to social welfare. These leading questions guide the search of this investigation: Which is the role of dissension in the transformation process of the "I" into a "We", expressing the collective pragmatic actions in the world?, Does it emerge from the dissension practice, original social constructions generated from dialogue-discussion-dialogue-discussion process within the groups, in order to give birth to transforming actions from being, doing, knowing and coexisting? The thesis proposed is that dissension in its political dimension is an emancipating political practice and that it is a mean for critical reflection which gives birth to self evaluation of proper ideologies and enables the disclosure of heteronomous forces, which determines the status quo of social systems intended to keep the domination-submission relationships of power. It becomes an instrument for dogmatic structures break down, allowing consciousness to break mechanisms for hegemonic ideas and practice, as well as promoting self determination, in order to assume relevant government affairs, social subject affairs in a social welfare environment.

The postmodern "I-am-me"-Orientation—A representative survey on postmodernity and personality in Germany (Poster)

**Rolf Frankenberger, University of Tuebingen, Institute for Political Science*

[Panel] 10P Poster Session: New Developments

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Theoretically and empirically, the study brings together analysis of the changes often called postmodern (contemporary pluralization of morals, values, norms and styles of life, globalisation and digitalisation of economies and societies) with Fromm's socio-psychoanalytical concept of "social character". Fromm's principal thesis is that character structures—or personality types—are linked with particular social and economic structures. Then changes in social and economic structures should also result in changes in the emergency of new types of personality. As we experienced a fundamental Change in advanced industrial Societies latest since the 1960ies (the so called "postmodern turn"), politicians as well as scientists have to deal with ambivalence. Effects of postmodern change impact statehood as well as social affiliation of individuals and personality structures. Referring to Fromm's concept of social character and findings of "social milieu"-research, an interdisciplinary team designed and conducted a quantitative large-n study to find out, whether—or not—there is a new type of postmodern personality structure, that is formed by "postmodern" socio-cultural and socioeconomic forces: the "I-am-me"-Orientation. With a clear focus on the empirical study, I will present and discuss the strengths and limitations of the concept, methods and scales used, as well as the key findings of the representative field study (Germany,

resident population 18+). We found out that a significant part (more than 20%) of questionnaires showed an I-am-me-Orientation. I also will discuss the relevance of the findings for politics in advanced industrial societies.

The promotion of active citizenship and empowerment of disabled people in Portugal—an organizational analysis

Isabel Menezes, Porto University

**Pedro M. Teixeira*

[Panel] 10I Building Bridges between Political and Community Psychology: The Role of Participation and Empowerment
[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Conceptual views on disability have shifted from biological and medical perspectives to a more social and environmental orientation. This socio-political perspective considers disability as the result of a mismatch between individual and environmental characteristics. Being the environment influenced by public policy and social attitudes and values, disability has been conceptualized as the result of not just biological or individual functional impairments but also as the result of incapacitating environments. In most chronic conditions, after initial medical intervention and biological stabilization, individual needs that enhance quality of life are of social nature such as: access to social settings, independent living support or professional qualification. This new perspective challenges intervention models to aim for individual but also social change focusing on an empowerment perspective. This focus on empowerment goals is visible in policy documents under the influence of the European Union, however, little is known on how organizations in the field of disability (e.g. advocacy groups, service providers, rehabilitation, ...) have integrated empowerment values and practices. From a theoretical point of view, individual empowerment is a result of dynamic processes that involve the interaction of disabled people with their social and political environments. Organizations can fail to implement the empowering processes that might account for empowered results in individuals and families. The result can even be disempowerment and the reinforcement of social de-valorisation. In this paper, we present comparative data from organizational analysis of Portuguese disability service providers and advocacy groups in the development of individual empowerment and active citizenship promotion.

The quest for certainty in wake of threats impacts political preferences

**Hulda Thorisdottir, Princeton University*

[Panel] 7C Emotions, Politics, and Policy

[Section] Political Decision Making

In this talk, research and theorizing will be brought together to establish a causal chain from perceptions of threat to political attitudes. It is hypothesized that threat leads people to experience uncertainty and lack of control, a condition that people find aversive and are highly motivated to alleviate. The quest to re-establish certainty and control results in increased closed-mindedness, or the motivation to reach cognitive closure. Therefore, it is hypothesized that when threatened, people will similarly be motivated to latch onto social and political attitudes that provide means of restoring certainty and control, and that will do so most easily. It is argued that conservatism is more likely than liberalism to offer people the readily available means to restore a sense of control and certainty. This is due to some of the main characteristics of conservative ideology, primarily resistance to change and conformity to authority and conventional morality. These characteristics are reflected in a more certainty oriented language used to communicate conservative policies as opposed to liberal policies. Results from three experiments that assess and provide support for two main hypotheses will be presented: (1) Threat makes people more closed-minded, which in turn leads them to gravitate toward political conservatism; and (2) When people experience threat, they will be more likely to adhere to political ideologies that are characterized by certainty and control, both of which are primary hallmarks of conservatism.

The role of contextual variables on prejudiced behavior: Mexicans and Mexican Americans' evaluation of electoral candidates.

**Rosario Aguilar-Pariente, University of Michigan*

[Panel] 4K Race, Religion, and Tolerance

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

In this paper I discuss the findings of an experiment developed in Mexico City and Chicago, IL. In the experiment I manipulate the phenotypic appearance of an electoral candidate. The purpose is to analyze the effect of both voters and electoral candidates' phenotypes on the voters' evaluation among members of what is considered a single "racial group." Each subject receives a handout with the picture and information of three electoral candidates competing for the gubernatorial position in another state (Yucatán in Mexico, and New Mexico in the USA.) I manipulate the phenotypes of the candidate in

the middle, while the other candidates' appearance remains constant. All candidates and subjects belong to the same "racial group": the Mestizo group. I develop these experiments among Mexicans and Mexican Americans as these two groups share a common understanding of their racial origins while socialized in different racial contexts. I can test for the effect of different social norms regarding phenotypic behavior on people's actions. My research aims to answer the following question: Do people who share the same stereotypical knowledge associated to different phenotypes act politically on those stereotypes, regardless of the social norms regulating their behavior? I have collected and analyzed the data from Mexico that shows that Mestizo and Indigenous looking Mexicans discriminate in favor of White-looking candidates. I am in the process of collecting the data from Chicago where I expect that the electoral candidate's phenotypes will not affect voters' evaluation following the social norm of racial equality (Mendelberg, 2001.)

The role of language abstraction in the acceptance of political opinions

**Michela Menegatti, University of Bologna*

Monica Rubini, University of Bologna

[Panel] 6K Political Rhetoric and political communication

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Political judgments and voting decisions are affected by situational and individual variables that influence acquisition, interpretation, and integration of information about political candidates. However, no studies have examined whether the structural properties of the language used by politicians affect recipients' opinions about ideas and positions expressed in the message. Therefore, the present study was aimed at verifying whether political messages varying in abstraction level are differently effective in influencing different kind of audiences. Previous studies have demonstrated that politicians encode their speeches at higher level of abstraction when communicating to a similar audience than heterogeneous or opposite ones. In order to examine the entire communicative process, in this study we examined how recipients with different political orientations accept the content of political messages worded at different level of language abstraction. Participants were asked to read two messages presented as extracts from speeches given by right or left wing politicians. The extracts were modified to obtain mirror conditions of abstract vs. concrete speeches formulated by left vs. right politicians. Results demonstrated that participants judged abstract messages more effective in influencing an audience similar to the politician who phrased the speech, than concrete messages, that were considered more effective in influencing mixed and opposite audiences. Secondly, participants' agreement with opinions conveyed by politicians of their wing was higher when messages were abstractly phrased than when messages were concretely phrased. Recipients were also relatively more willing to accept opinions of the opposite political wing when they were concretely worded.

The role of social identity in accounting for giving to national vs international charities.

**Clifford Stevenson, University of Limerick*

Rachel Manning, University of the West of England, Bristol

[Panel] 2Y Trauma, aging and giving: individual or group level phenomena?

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The study of helping behaviour in psychology has typically looked at the various factors and decisions that lead individuals to help or neglect others. Scant attention has been paid to the role of group processes in determining the boundaries of our obligations to others. Recently experimental and historical research has accumulated attesting to the impact of shared identity on willingness to help strangers in distress (Levine et al., 2005; Levine and Thompson, 2004) and in particular how national identity forms the basis on which help can be extended or withdrawn from marginal or disadvantaged groups (Reicher et al., 2007) and to other national groups after natural disasters (Levine and Thompson, 2004). The present study aims to examine how people actually account for their charitable behaviour, in relation to a specific national identity popularly associated with generosity as well as national and international aid activities. Exploratory open-ended interviews concerning various aspects of charitable behaviour were conducted with 20 Irish adults, sampled for heterogeneity. Discursive analysis indicated that respondents flexibly extended or contracted Irishness to justify their various decisions and, in particular, national status and international responsibility were used to explain their own and their compatriots' behaviour. In line with research in the Social Identity tradition, the results suggest that national identity can be extended to help others but also that the perceived status relations between different national groups can also facilitate or inhibit international helping behaviour.

The sociopolitical electronic public sphere: a critical approach of internet culture and political psychology.

**Antigoni Katsadima, University of Athens*

[Panel] 5N Identity, Dissension and the Internet

[Section] Political Communication

Political psychology lies on the emergence of both rational and sentimental citizen. The split of the subject into these two attitudes and their latent combination in one body are significant factors in order to shape the nowadays online sociopolitical framework. The electronic public sphere has become an arena of thoughts, emotions and role setting behaviors. Apart from blogs- a form of citizenship journalism- bloogs and online debates mix emotions and arguments to such an extent so that we need to reconsider the internet reality as well as the possible rise of online emotions among individuals despite the fact of their disembodiment and their communication at a distance. To put it clear, there is a real fantasy that takes place. Moreover political psychology can build bridges both with other disciplines- for instance with philosophy- and with the world generally in case we correlate it with trust culture. Internet culture has to be examined regarding trust culture. And then the question is how we can turn political cynicism into political involvement. This paper focuses on the deal and its process that is being developed among individuals who claim different things as competitors. On the other hand, one needs the other to continue and through their communication they both postpone the process of the deal. Deal happens in both social and political terms. Political psychology is another way to add that violence is inherent and founding in society; in politics also. Truth counts less than the rational speech and its convincing force.

The strategic use of language abstraction in political communication: Convincing supporters and opponents

Michela Menegatti, University of Bologna

**Monica Rubini, University of Bologna*

[Panel] 6K Political Rhetoric and political communication

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

In contemporary political communication, politicians simultaneously face multiple goals: consolidate the support of their electorate, achieve the agreement of the undecided, and take votes away from their opponents. In the present research, we suggest that language abstraction is a powerful and subtle “weapon” employed by politicians to attain these goals. In particular, the role of language abstraction in the encoding of political speeches was addressed in two studies. In Study 1 we investigated how Italian political leaders vary the level of abstraction of their speeches to present effectively themselves and their parties to audiences with similar or heterogeneous political orientations. Study 2 conceptually replicated the previous study by asking militants of political parties to formulate messages in order to convince an audience with similar vs. different vs. heterogeneous political orientations. We expected that politicians would encode their messages at a higher level of linguistic abstraction when the audience was politically similar to them, than when the audience was heterogeneous. Results fully confirmed this hypothesis, showing that politicians use language abstraction in a strategic fashion to achieve different simultaneous goals. In fact, abstract language, which connotes that what one is saying is enduring and general, is appropriate to communicate with a similar audience and to strengthen its support. Conversely, when the audience is mixed, concrete language allows satisfying the agreeing audience, while offering a contextualized disagreement with those who disagree. The implications of these findings for the political communication context will be discussed.

The textual accomplishment of social representations of history: coming to terms with the past in an Eastern European context

**Cristian Tileaga, University of East London*

[Panel] 6J Historical narratives, collective memory and ethics

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper is concerned with social representations of history in the context of how post-communist democracies reckon with former regimes. It specifically centres on the textual accomplishment of coming to terms with the past in a recent official Report condemning Communism in Romania. The focus is on how the Report displays and shapes the ideological contours of coming to terms with the past around a particular ‘social representation’ of history. A discursive analysis has identified several constitutive features of the Report that facilitate bringing off a particular ‘representation of history’ as the relevant thing in remembering and coming to terms with the past: a) constructing a practical framework for the inquiry as a matter of public concern and attention; b) producing ‘Communism’ as an empirical category with uniquely bound features; c) bringing together a political agenda and national identity time. The present argument tries to place representations of history (and coming to terms with the past) as something in need of constitution rather than something

simply relied on. It is suggested that a conception of coming to terms with the past as textual accomplishment might lead to a fuller appreciation of the structure, function and salience of social representations of history.

The third age of prejudice ? Islamic and cultural threat in post-9/11 France

**Vincent Tiberj, Sciences Po*

[Panel] 4K Race, Religion, and Tolerance

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

9/11 has reshaped considerably the debates, frames and opinions on immigration in Europe as a whole and particularly in France. Western democracies before the terrorist attacks on the American soil follow more or less the path delimited by the postmaterialist theories (Inglehart, 1977, Kitschelt, 1995): a growing commitment to libertarian values in general and tolerance towards immigrants and multiculturalism in particular fuelled by the increase of the general level of education and the generational renewal. Even racial prejudices were touched by the “silent revolution” transforming itself from a biological perspective to a cultural one (Taguief, 1992), from blatant racism to symbolic racism (Kinder and Sears, 1981). Nevertheless, as Sniderman and Hagendorn points out for the Dutch case (Sniderman, Hagendorn, 2007), 9/11 and the reactions it has produced in the European publics enlighten a more profound political movement which challenge the “multicultural consensus” based on a perceived clash of values between the general public and Muslim minorities (whether of foreign nationality or foreign descent). To a certain extent the various international (London and Madrid bombings, the Mahomet’s drawings controversy) and national events (the suburb crisis and the second veil affair in France) have gathered the necessary components for creating an authoritarian dynamic (Stenner, 2005) on this topic. This paper aims to fulfill three objectives. Firstly, using a set of 6 surveys developed during the 2002-2007 in France, it will demonstrate how the silent revolution on the long run is compatible with a reformulation of racial prejudices through a more acceptable framing produced by political elites and based on cultural and religious arguments. Secondly, it will demonstrate how this framing reshapes the divide on the racial and multicultural issue in the public by displacing the schema used by the public when thinking about the debate. Thirdly it will use the suburb example for describing both how the frame constructed by the elites and the schema used by the general public has modified the political equilibrium in France and creates the conditions for a French authoritarian dynamic.

The understanding of Political Conflict in Schmitt’s and Derrida’s work

**Patrice Cailleba, ESC Pau, IRMAPE*

[Panel] 1C The Dynamics of Political Conflict

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

As Aristotle observed, man is a ζῷου πολιτικού, a political animal. It implies that man is not a priori naturally good and generous. The idyllic picture of men working and agreeing with each other about any topics avoids thinking about the fundamental irrationality of mankind. Not only can men not be allies on all matters, but they are also necessarily competitors in many fields (business, sports, politics...). Because violence is part and parcel of human beings, the political is a polemological activity. In The Concept of the Political Schmitt identifies as the “high points of politics” those moments in which “the enemy is... recognized as the enemy.” Enmity is necessary for the proper functioning of the body politic. For the German philosopher, the progressive historical conjunction of liberalism and democracy has obscured this conception. Indeed, democracy rests on discussion and the compromise of shifting majority rules. By the universalism implicit in its claims for toleration and equality, democracy challenges the very essence of the political, i.e. a struggle for power. In The Politics of Friendship Jacques Derrida strains to distance himself from Schmitt. If the French philosopher understands the irreducible necessity of violence, he offers a new conception of friendship to save our societies from the worst forms of violence. Then Derrida’s New International appears to go beyond all forms of identity and exclusionary binary logic. This paper seeks to explore the political and psychological aspects of Schmittian and Derridean concepts. It will critically evaluate the political implications of both.

The use of Internet and the politicisation of stigmatised identity

**Karyofyllis Zervoulis, University of Surrey, UK*

Evanthia Lyons, Queen’s University Belfast

[Panel] 5N Identity, Dissension and the Internet

[Section] Political Communication

The Internet has been attracting a lot of interest for social psychological research. By bringing together vast numbers of people in new spaces, it is considered to have an effect on the way people think, the way they form communities and on their identities. In these new spaces where some of the traditional boundaries are missing and where everyone with access to them can have a voice, there is a particular interest for the effects the Internet might have on socially stigmatised or marginalised groups. This study was designed to explore whether 'gay Internet' can play the role of the mediator for encouraging men who have sex with men (MSM) to undertake social action for self- and for group-improvement through their identification with the gay category and the gay community. Such a role was examined cross-culturally in order to investigate whether more 'closeted' gay communities benefit more or less or follow a different pattern. An online survey was completed by 225 London MSM and 151 Athens MSM. The survey included scales on evaluation of the online 'gay scene', Internet-initiated sexual behaviour, gay identification and willingness for social action. The relationships between evaluation of the online 'gay scene' and sexual behaviour or willingness for social action via identification were explored. Findings pointed towards the self-serving of MSM rather than the community's good.

The values liberty and equality in the social representations of politics

**Dimitri Gamby, Université Paris Descartes*

[Panel] 5R Democratic values and political communication (Roundtable)

[Section] Political Communication

The present study examines the meaning of the values liberty and equality in the social representation of politics. Through the Basic Cognitive Schemas (BCS) model and the empirical procedure associated to it, we look up to understand what the values liberty and equality refer to when referred either to "politics as it is" ("real politics") or "politics as it should be" ("ideal politics"). (Part of Roundtable 5R)

The world of family: parental imprints on the development of political thinking

**Olga Fotakopoulou, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

[Panel] 8I Political Socialization and Participation

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Early research on political socialization focused on parents as the most important societal agent that inculcates attitudes in children such as regime support, identification with political figures, and partisanship. Although research failed to document strong patterns of correspondence between the political attitudes and opinions of parents and offspring, this study extends this research by explicitly examining the development of political thinking among adolescents between the ages of twelve and eighteen years -assigned in two groups of 12-15 and 15-18 year olds—in relation to family communication patterns. The development of key political concepts such as state authority, forced obedience, origins of force, legitimacy of laws, political responsibility, conflict resolution, demos and ethnos, and war was associated with the concept and socio-oriented family communication through the perceived familial interaction provided by one of the parents. The findings cannot apparently clarify or anticipate the pattern of influence of different types of family communication on political reasoning development; despite the above findings family not as a form of intergenerational transmission but more as a system, or as an information-processing group or even as an occasion of social exchange represents a challenging and intriguing context—for many scholars—in which to examine the development of structures, dynamic functions and processes of change over time.

The "Anti-Democratic Personality" Revisited: A Cross-National Investigation of Working Class Authoritarianism

**Jaime L. Napier, New York University*

John Jost, New York University

[Panel] 4A Personality, Authority, and Politics

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

More than 60 years ago, psychologists identified a potential threat to democracy from within, namely the "anti-democratic personality" arising from the "authoritarian syndrome." It was soon discovered that the problem of authoritarianism was especially acute among those who were low in education and income and that it was associated with intolerance toward others. However, several important questions were left unresolved. We revisit fundamental theoretical and empirical questions concerning the existence and nature of "working class authoritarianism," focusing especially on four psychological aspects of authoritarianism, namely conventionalism, moral absolutism, obedience to authority, and

cynicism. In a cross-national investigation involving respondents from 19 democratic countries, we find that all four aspects of authoritarianism are indeed related to moral and ethnic intolerance. However, only obedience to authority and cynicism are especially prevalent among those who are low in socioeconomic status. Conventionalism and moral absolutism were significant predictors of economic conservatism, whereas obedience to authority and cynicism were not. We find no support for Lipset's (1960) claim that working class authoritarianism would be associated with economic liberalism. Instead, we find that authoritarianism is linked to right-wing orientation in general and that intolerance mediates this relationship. Implications for electoral politics and political psychology are discussed.

Theorising 'Political Passion' in state responses to building or breaking bridges

**Roxane Farmanfarmanian, Centre of International Studies Cambridge University*

[Panel] 3G Political Leaders and Complex Belief Systems

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

This paper addresses how states approach the building or breaking of bridges as an expression of identity politics. Where states can construct the 'other' as sharing common norms and aspirations, bridge-building is represented as mutually beneficial and sustained by positive discourses. Alternatively, if the 'other' is constructed as endangering the identity of the self (or a community of like-minded states), the hegemonic discourse ensures against bridge-building. In neither case, however, do the responses that emerge appear always to be easily explainable in rational terms. Although post-structural explanations offer a partial picture, they elide the foregrounding that enables states to apparently ignore their own best interests or codes of practice when forming or breaking bridges with another state. The insistence on a Cartesian dualism that presupposes a separation of mind from body, rational from subjective, continues to anchor the ontology of state decision-making to reason (Coole 2005). Yet Foucault hints at 'how the irrational stealthily intrudes upon the rational'. I therefore ask, Is there a 'politics of passion' that makes thinkable more subjective responses that are externalised in the form of rational policy, and how is it linked to identity? In other words, when and how does a 'politics of passion' play out in the discourses and practices of states and their bridge-building with other states?

Thinking can be Dangerous: The Influence of Conscious Thought on Political Decision Making

**Brad Verhulst, Stony Brook University*

[Panel] 7H Information, Asymmetry, and Ambivalence

[Section] Political Decision Making

The current paper suggests that as people think more systematically about a decision, the quality of the decision goes down in both objective terms (people make the wrong choice) and in subjective terms (higher levels of post-decision regret). In addition, it also appears that people make the best choices if they are distracted from processing the information systematically. These combined findings suggest that when people learn about new political candidates, they may be able to evaluate them most effectively if they do not think too hard about them. Preliminary experimental research suggests that people make better political decisions when they are distracted after learning about the issue positions of political candidates as compared to when they carefully and systematically process information about the candidates. This suggests that a person's unconscious mind organizes information more effectively than a person's conscious mind.

Three Perspectives on Patriotism among Blacks and Whites: An Empirical Analysis

**Jacob Sohlberg, Stony Brook University*

[Panel] 2O Patriotism, Nationalism, and Identity

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Although there have been some empirical research that focus on the interface between national attachment and ethnic identity, the topic is nevertheless largely unexplored. Primarily two theoretical perspectives have been put forward. The group dominance perspective argues that subordinate groups have lower patriotism than dominant groups. The ethnic pluralism perspective claims in contrast that groups do not differ in patriotism; ethnic affiliation is unrelated to patriotism. The empirical support for these perspectives is mixed. The current paper suggests an additional perspective. With inspiration from theories that emphasize the fluidity of groups and the importance of group salience, this perspective posits that ethnic identities become more consequential when they are primed. The predictions from these three perspectives are tested empirically by using multiple regression and item response theory. The paper uses data from the 1996 and 2004 General Social Surveys (GSS). The datasets include modules from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) on national attachment. The study

finds support for the idea that when ethnic identities are primed, as they are by the patriotism questions that ask about pride in America's history and its equal treatment of groups, then blacks are particularly less patriotic compared to whites. Hence, identities and their consequences are not as fixed as the group dominance perspective and ethnic pluralism perspectives might suggest. The paper also explores how this differential item functioning on the patriotism scale affects the fit of the scale, and demonstrates a way to improve the measure.

To have or to be? A comparison of Self Determination Theory and materialism-based theories of prejudice.

**Ilse Cornelis, Ghent University*

Alain Van Hiel, Ghent University

[Panel] 2U Prejudice: Measurement and Conceptual Issues

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Using Self Determination Theory as an explanatory framework, Duriez, Vansteenkiste, Soenens, and De Witte (2007) have purportedly shown that individuals who pursue extrinsic relative to intrinsic goals exhibit heightened levels of prejudice. In the present study we show in a sample of undergraduate students (N = 131) and adults (N = 176) that only the extrinsic value pursuit Financial success was significantly related to prejudice. Out of the three intrinsic value facet scales, only Community concern was consistently and significantly related with prejudice. The present results are discussed within a materialism-based account of ideology (Fromm, 1955; 1976) and prejudice (Relative Deprivation Theory, Davis, 1959). Broader implications for Self Determination Theory are discussed.

Tolerance towards Muslims in the Netherlands

**Jolanda van der Noll, Utrecht University*

[Panel] 8X Explaining Attitudes towards Ethnic and Religious Groups

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

How can tolerance towards Muslims be explained? To what extent can explanations derived from studies on inter-group relations account for the explanation of tolerance towards Muslims? In this paper we will examine tolerance among Dutch secondary school pupils towards Muslims in the Netherlands. Explanatory mechanisms are derived from the integrated threat theory, the contact hypothesis, the multiculturalism hypothesis and the social identity theory.

Toward the Abrahamic Family Reunion: The Political Psychology of Muslim-Christian-Jewish Reconciliation (Roundtable)

**Joseph Vincent Montville, George Mason University; American University; Esalen Institute*

[Panel] 11R Toward the Abrahamic Family Reunion: The Political Psychology of Muslim-Christian-Jewish Reconciliation (Roundtable)

[Section] Other

The project is guided by the director's study of the political psychology of ethnic and religious violence and more than twenty-five years of practical experience in intensive workshops with representatives of groups in conflicts, but primarily with Israelis and Arabs. (Roundtable 11R)

Tracking the Causal Antecedents of Violent Political Behavior: Applying Health Psychology Theory to the Development of

New Text Analysis Methodologies

Jill Egeth, The MITRE Corporation

**Marianne Abbott, The MITRE Corporation*

[Panel] 10B Messages, Meaning, and Content

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

The Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) has been widely applied by health psychologists in order to understand intentions to engage, or not engage, in health-related behaviors (e.g., seatbelt use, exercise) and is judged to be one of the most popular frameworks for understanding determinants of behavior. This paper proposes a new, non-health application of TPB, in which the intentions of radicalized political groups to engage in violent behavior are identified, quantified, and tracked over time. According to TPB, intentions are directly influenced by three sets of causal psychological antecedents:

Attitudes, perceived norms, and self-efficacy beliefs. These antecedents are traditionally assessed via questionnaire, but the new and vastly different context of the current research program (it is unlikely that members of radicalized groups will participate in survey research) demands the development and validation of a new TPB-based content analysis methodology. The ability to detect latent violent intentions via text analysis will provide those interested in tracking terrorist activities with additional insight into potentially destructive behaviors planned by adversaries. The proposed ISPP paper will address the following: 1. Overview of traditional TPB and proposed extension into new behavioral realms; 2. Development of new content analysis methodology that allows detection and quantification of TBP latent behavioral and intentional antecedents; 3. Application of new methodology to texts produced by radicalized groups (e.g., Al Qaeda, Aum Shinrikyo, Animal Liberation Front); 4. Potential application of findings to matters of national security.

Trait and cognitive correlates of ideological thinking along the fiscal dimension

**Everett Young, Stony Brook University*

[Panel] 7D Ideological Thinking

[Section] Political Decision Making

The notion that ideological thinking is not simply a matter of “constraint” derived from manifesto-endorsement by political sophisticates, but is a function of individual differences in stable psychological characteristics, is ascendant. A number of recent papers strongly imply that individuals are psychologically predisposed to different kinds of ideological thinking, even if they haven’t yet considered a political issue. Most of the research on personality and ideology seems to find that those trait dimensions which predict ideology do so most convincingly with social and moral dimensions. Little evidence is to be found in the literature that fiscal dimensions are affected by stable personality predispositions, and indeed it is a common view that, holding social ideology constant, fiscal liberals and conservatives are indistinguishable in their personalities or cognitive styles. I present evidence that fiscal conservatism correlates positively and strongly with facets of extraversion—particularly facets related to behaving decisively and authoritatively. Trait-level dominance, decisiveness, and general measures of extraversion predict fiscal conservatism, do so even when holding social conservatism or general left-right self-identification constant, do so most powerfully when fiscal ideology is measured by issue position than by self-identification, suggesting that the trait is contributing most directly to people’s thinking about the issues rather than to political self-perceptions. A second decisiveness-related measure, a more strictly cognitive process variable which I call “strength of perceptual categorization” may also predict fiscal conservatism. Evidence for this variable’s ability to predict ideological thinking will be adduced, and its possible relationship with extraversion discussed.

Transnational NGO Initiative at the Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs

**Margaret G. Hermann, Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, Maxwell School, Syracuse University*

[Panel] 9R Bridging Disciplines and Methods: The Contributions of Transnational NGO Governance and Leadership Studies to Political Psychology (Roundtable)

[Section] International Relations, Globalization, Macropolitical Issues

The Transnational NGO Initiative, Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, is the first large scale study of leadership perceptions and understanding of global governance. This presentation will describe and frame the interdisciplinary initiative and lay out its contribution to the field of Political Psychology.

Trauma and its Social Trajectories: A case of post-earthquake-and-riots Gujarat (India)

**Manasi Kumar, University College London*

[Panel] 1N Political Violence, Trauma and Coping

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The paper attempts to identify the multilayered character of violence and massive trauma associated with the 2001-2002 Gujarat earthquake-and-riots. In an era of uncertainty where one is looking at what natural or human-induced disasters do to people, a lot of symptoms of trauma can be understood as belonging to one’s cultural past. In the backdrop of these two traumatic events, a psycho-geography of natural disasters and social violence in Gujarat region focusing on the transformations in the Ahmedabad city is sketched. The main concern is to understand these events in Gujarat from both individual as well as collective standpoints. Further, the paper offers few inter-linkages between earthquake and riots. The first argument of this paper is that a natural calamity in its aftermath makes a society/ community more susceptible to occurrences of violence, as evident from the case of Gujarat. In post-earthquake Gujarat, social and communal ties saw

tremendous disintegration. Anthropological and sociological evidence is presented in favor of this argument. Communal riots in 2002 even though arising from an entirely different context of Godhra, were infused by a socialization of fear and distrust, which further pumped and escalated violence. Further, violence and its specific communal character, its intrapsychic and social repositories are explored. A discussion of the provocative exclusionary discourse of nationalism by religious bigots, role of rumors, Hindu mindset that views Muslim as overwhelmingly-sexual, treatment of Muslim as an 'other', offer understanding of the gendered and sexual nature of this recent violence. Secondly, issues around testimony and witnessing of violence are highlighted with a discussion on the case of Zaheera Sheikh. The layered character of violence is explained using psychoanalytic ideas on the origins and vicissitudes of envy, phallic anxiety, repudiation of femininity, and the suspension of reason, morality and sense of justice in religious fundamentalism and in large groups. It is argued that violence increasingly targeted to other's women-and- children during riots and use of their bodies as sites of violence points to the origins, fantasies and anxieties of religious fundamentalism and the right wing ideology that has dominated current Gujarat politics. Lastly, the paper highlights the situational and dispositional character of evil/violence and suggests that both these explanations should be taken into account to understand the roles assumed by the masses and their leaders.

Traumatic Stress in the International Context: Implications for Political Psychology

**Cheryl Koopman, Stanford University*

Nicole Wernimont, Stanford University and Pacific Graduate School of Psychology

[Panel] 1S Political Violence, Trauma and Coping II

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

The field of traumatic stress provides potential pathways for generating original ideas, models and practical applications for international studies. Traumatic stress has a unique focus because of its distinctive characteristics cognitively—in encoding, storage and retrieval, in content in alterations of views of the world and of oneself in the world, and also in alterations in behavior. This presentation will provide examples of the kinds of studies that have already been undertaken and suggest directions for future research where there are major gaps in understanding. Psychological perspectives on traumatic stress can be applied to the realm of trying to add to our understanding of issues in international relations. One area where more research is needed is to examine how structural and other variables at the international level are related to traumatic events and their psychological consequences. Questions can be examined at the individual leader level that affect international relations such as considering the influence that a childhood experience of a church bombing may have had on the subsequent foreign policy views of U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. Alternatively, questions can be examined at a larger societal level about the effects of trauma, e.g., the relationships between perceived threat, fear, and foreign policy views in the American public after the September 11 2001 terrorism attacks. Furthermore, as Naomi Klein and others have hypothesized, there are important policy questions that can be informed by considering traumatic stress as a potential vulnerability that some leaders may consciously exploit for political gains.

Travelling on determined tracks? (Re-) Formulating discourses in psychological mass media research

**Niklas Alexander Chimirri, Freie Universität Berlin*

[Panel] 5H Framing Opposing Views

[Section] Political Communication

Media psychology has often neglected two crucial factors in its research: The temporal and spatial context of a research question and finding, as well as the production and distribution side of mass communication. The research revolves mostly around a vaguely conceptualized receiver; its results are based on the assumption of being able to analyse basic human functions/ structures and claim universal validity/ truth. This methodological approach is rejected by the Berlin School of Critical Psychology with its dialectical-materialistic perspective on subjectivity: Instead, research—including media research—must concentrate on the concrete subject and its concrete agency. The subject is to be seen as holding a certain position in a specific society and culture. Its everyday life circumstances—and herewith the ability or capacity to act—depend on this constellation. Thus, without the analysis of social structures, the reception side of communicational processes cannot be fully understood. The tendency of the specific media system towards monopolizing, the journalistic sphere as a particular mediator, and the cognitive structures of individuals must be thought of as an ensemble. An analysis of each of these apparently different levels of the communicational process has to reflect on all of the other aspects. Only in this manner, it would be possible to (re-) formulate discourses in (psychological) mass media research.

Two-round Election versus One Round: Candidates' Size and Position Matter. A Multi Design Research to Measure the Psychological Effects of Electoral Rules (Poster)

**Annie Laurent, CERAPS*

Bernard Dolez, University of Nantes- CERAPS

Eric Dubois, CERAPS

[Panel] 4P Poster Session: Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

What would happen if voters had to vote according to another electoral system? For example, if the French presidential election were held according to the FPTP system instead of the traditional two-round system, would voters change their vote and how? To answer to these questions and to measure the psychological effects associated to two electoral systems, here the one and the two-round ones, we used a multi-design approach based on individual data. First, a survey conducted just before the first round of the 2007 French Presidential election including questions about vote intentions under the actual rule (two-round ballot) and some hypothetical questions about vote intentions under the one-round system. This investigation, which is similar to an in vivo experimentation, makes it possible to vary a parameter and only one (the electoral rule) and to examine the variations of votes, all other things being equal (national or local election, issues, number of competitors and electoral campaign). Realized in a given country, at one precise time, this kind of simulation is obviously contextualised. Second, a series of experiments in laboratory (led in France and Canada) aiming at comparing the effects of the two rules. This kind of simulation, not very widespread in political science, is the in vitro experimentation, which aims at controlling the whole determinants of the vote, and thus to fix the context in which the survey data are collected. This "abstract" character confers an essential virtue on experimentation results: they can be generalized. The results of these two methodologies shows that the multi-design is the sole method capable of taking jointly into account both candidates' size and position and thus measuring the "multi dimensions" of the psychological effects of electoral rules.

Uncertainty: Enemy of Democracy?!

**Christiane Schoel, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Mannheim*

Patrick Müller, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Mannheim; Matthias Blümke, Psychologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg

Dagmar Stahlberg, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Mannheim

[Panel] 2N New Developments in Authoritarianism Research IV: Threat and Authoritarianism

[Section] Intergroup Relations

Nowadays, the benefits of democratic leadership seem to be out of question. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of authoritarian leadership can still be observed in different political and economic settings. In its extremity authoritarian leadership represents a clear hierarchy, whereas democratic leadership is characterized by giving voice in important decisions. Thus, authoritarian leadership can serve the need for structure; democratic leadership satisfies the need for interpersonal appraisal and by this self-esteem maintenance. Which motive is predominant may depend on individual (self-esteem instability) and situational (uncertainty) factors. To test this hypothesis we assessed the lability of self-esteem and induced self-uncertainty (certainty) by a priming procedure. Expecting social desirability effects on direct measures of leadership preferences, we developed an IAT to measure the implicit attitudes. Leadership styles can be judged in respect of pleasantness and success. Therefore, participants completed explicit measures on these dimensions as well as a valence and a success IAT regarding authoritarian and democratic leadership. As expected on explicit measures self-certain and self-uncertain participants equally favored democratic over authoritarian leadership. Moreover, both groups did not differ in their positive evaluations of democratic leadership on the valence IAT. In contrast, results on the success IAT were moderated by self-esteem instability. These results suggest an implicit motive-specific link between uncertainty and decreased success evaluations of democratic leadership.

Under the Radar: Political Expression in the Chinese Blogosphere

**Esarey Ashley, Harvard University*

[Panel] 5M Political Communication in China

[Section] Political Communication

This study examines subtle forms of political expression, including political satire and criticism of the state, in the writings

of popular Chinese bloggers. It finds the advent of blogging has provided citizens of the People's Republic with a medium for making sophisticated critiques of the regime without encountering harsh repression.

Understanding the role of Media Framing in International Relations: the contribution of Prospect Theory

**Maria Touri, University of Leicester*

[Panel] 5E Leadership Communication

[Section] Political Communication

The paper addresses the ties of Political Psychology with the disciplines of Communications and International Relations studies by demonstrating its pivotal role in understanding the influence of news media on decision-making during conflict. It draws upon the importance of news framing as a reflection of the power relations among politicians, the media and the public and seeks to unpick the psychological implications that governmental loss of control over news frames can have on decision-making during conflict. Using prospect theory, the paper builds a theory-based analysis of the impact of the media's constructed meanings on the way politicians frame their position in relation to gains and losses in a conflict. By unfolding the underpinnings of the production of news frames, the paper explains how news frames that divert from official interpretations can place political leaders in the domain of losses prompting them to take bigger risks. To put the theory into practice, this theoretical framework is applied to two real-life situations, namely the Bosnia conflict and a Greek-Turkish territorial crisis, illustrating the influence of dissenting news frames on the conduct and outcome of the conflict in question. In effect, by portraying the news framing process as integral in the heuristic through which politicians frame and act in a given situation, the paper uncovers one significant dimension of the contribution of political psychology in unfolding complex interdisciplinary explanations of world events.

Understanding, Analyzing and Influencing Foreign Leaders: Building Bridges among the Government Analytical, Policy Community, and Academia

**Elena M Mastors, Naval War College*

[Panel] 3E Towards a Broader Framework for Leadership Analysis

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

Leadership analysis has always been a central focus of the positions I held. Specifically, I began as an academic, then moved to senior analytical position in the Defense Department, and then to position as a senior policy analyst and manager also with the Defense Department. While working in the government, I attempted to build bridges among government analysts, policy makers and the academic community and train analysts to think beyond the narrow scope of their experience, education and training. I have returned to academia with a lot of knowledge about government needs in terms of leadership analysis and the problems of the shortcomings of this type of analysis. This paper analyzes those problems and proposes a leadership framework that draws upon the work done in the political psychology community but also one that satisfies the particular government needs of influencing foreign leaders.

Values as determinants of voting behavior. A case of Serbia

**Nebojsa Petrovic, University of Belgrade*

[Panel] 4J Values, Partisanship, and the Vote

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Many authors argue that values structure political attitudes, and determine, at least partly, voting behavior. It is often assumed that homology between importance of values for an individual and value hierarchy of political parties leads to the appropriate voting. However, it has not always happened, especially in instable political systems. The connection between values as determinants and voting behavior as their consequences is apparently mediating by some other variables. In order to involve influence of more than one relevant factor I have proposed a model of voting behavior which takes into account not only voters' values, but correspondence between importance of values for voters and for a party and voters' perception that a party can achieve social goals postulated by the values. The model partly remind to Atkinson's model of achievement activity because it also demands three factors. In order to vote for particular party voter should give high importance to some values, should perceive that a party also has those values high in its agenda and perceive possibility for the party to enter parliament and achieve goals caused by the values. Respondents were 217 Belgrade students, who estimated 18 values and five most relevant Serbian political parties. Data analysis includes calculation of product of three mentioned factor. Regression analysis of 18 obtained products shows high correlations with criterion variable—potential

voting behavior (up to 0.60). Correlation with only one predictor shows much lower coefficients. Proposed model appears to be appropriate and its future prospects will be discussed.

Values, Understanding the Concept of Democracy and Democratic Attitudes (Poster)

**Katarzyna Jasko, Jagiellonian University of Cracow, Institute of Psychology*

[Panel] 8P Poster Session: Democracy and Civic Development

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Values conceptualized as abstract goals are meant to influence various aspects of people's behavior, emotions and cognition. The present research analyzed whether it was possible to make predictions about people's concepts in political domain (i.e. democracy) and their attitudes toward political issues (i.e. democratic principles) on the basis of values in the sense of Schwartz (1992). It was expected that various values should be associated with differences in understanding the meaning of democracy and with political attitudes. These hypothesis were tested both with a sample of young and adults moderately interested in politics and with young people engaged in political parties. The results are generally in accordance with earlier expectations. First, it was found that people revealed different patterns of understanding the concept of democracy. The most popular was the concept that included normative characteristics of democracy like free elections, lack of censorship and judicial independence. Though, two other meanings of democracy occurred. One of them identified democracy with welfare state. The third understanding of democracy associated it with nationalistic and catholic features. Second, it was found that some values (i.e. Tradition, Egalitarianism) were more influential on political thinking than others (i.e. Hedonism). They were also associated with individual understandings of democracy in such way that it was possible to notice specific patterns. Those patterns were modified by the level of engagement in political sphere. Attitudes toward democratic principles were in line both with values and with individual definitions of democracy.

Vilfredo Pareto's Sociological Framework for Political Psychology: Evidence from Westminster MPs

**Alasdair James Marshall, Glasgow Caledonian University*

[Panel] 3G Political Leaders and Complex Belief Systems

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

This presentation explores synergies between the classical sociological cannon and contemporary political psychology, with reference to the recently published 'Vilfredo Pareto's Sociology: a framework for Political Psychology'. The presentation, by the book's author, will begin with an account of Pareto's beliefs concerning how the psychological compositions of political and business elites are likely to vary as societies move through phases of austerity and prosperity. The focus will be on the key role played by the dual typology of personality which Pareto adapted from Machiavelli's 'lions' and 'foxes', to produce early yet insightful characterisations of authoritarian-conservative and dark triadic personality. In the second part of the presentation, the author will describe his empirical test of Pareto's assumptions concerning the nature of political personality and its distribution within elites. Results based upon psychometric data returned from around 150 Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat MPs within the UK Westminster Parliament will reveal significant differences between the social personalities of the three main Parliamentary Parties. Very similar psychological correlates to level of eliteness will be reported for both Labour and Conservative Parliamentary Parties. It will be concluded that Paretian political sociology can inspire us to think afresh about the conservative-liberal continuum; and, in particular, about how it can be opened out across its external trait context, drawing in themes such as risk, innovation and locus of control. Finally, further research is recommended, using the dark triad construct in efforts to better understand the psychological correlates of eliteness and socialisation within political and business organisations.

Voluntary childlessness as a social identity: stereotypes and stigmatisation

**Ngairé Donaghue, Murdoch University*

[Panel] 2W Representing Gender: Implications for Political Cognitions and Actions

[Section] Intergroup Relations

The decreasing fertility rates currently being witnessed in Australia and other Western countries have lead to predictions that as many as 26% of Australian women will never have children, and have been met with a strong backlash against voluntary childlessness. This paper investigates the extent to which voluntary childlessness has become a salient social identity in Australian society, and examines the emerging social representations of voluntarily childless people. In an on-line survey we examined stereotypes of voluntarily childless people, beliefs about the reasons for voluntary childlessness,

support for ‘family friendly’ social policy, and (among childless people only) identification as a childless person. Our findings show that representations of voluntarily childless people are predominantly negative, focusing on childless people as having misplaced priorities and unwarranted anxieties about parenting. We discuss these findings in terms of the ways in which increasing social stigmatization of childlessness may increase political tensions between parents and childless people.

Watching them, gauging them, ranking them: citizens’ reasoning about candidates in a presidential election

**Pierre Lefeburel, Sciences-Po Bordeaux / Sciences-Po Paris*

[Panel] 5O Persuasive and Dissuasive Effects of Communication

[Section] Political Communication

The 2007 French presidential election seemed to revitalize citizens’ political interest. Newspapers constantly reported crowded rallies, television question-and-answer programs with both major candidates reached highest rates for political shows in the past ten years and, finally, the first round turnout (84%) increased by 13 points compared to 2002 as it matched the 1965 and 1974 records. Yet we know little about how this interest has been fueled all the campaign long and what views of the political realm citizens actually hold. Based on an interpretive approach of discourse analysis applied to a panel of 4 interview groups, this paper investigates conventional hypotheses such as the priming effect and the influence of candidates’ personal traits, testing media exposure and interpersonal communication among groups’ members. The sample includes two young adults and two 40 years-old groups with distinctive socio-economic backgrounds. As three sessions were held with each group (four weeks before first round, the week before first round, the week before second round), data allow us to track how members’ rationales evolve or strengthen. Results show that interest is fluctuating, connected with media attention as well as talking with peers within social networks. Results also challenge the priming hypothesis as members tend to argue starting from what they think of candidates as persons, echoing the enthusiasm-anxiety-aversion approach of Marcus, rather than they are guided by a particular issue. Overall the research suggests fruitful connections between psychology and sociology in order to better understand citizens reasoning in actual political settings.

We must not be enemies: Interracial contact and the reduction of prejudice among authoritarians

**Kristof Dhont, Ghent University*

Alain Van Hiel, Ghent University

[Panel] 2T Prejudice and Authoritarianism in Social Context

[Section] Intergroup Relations

In two Flemish samples (N = 220 and N =90) two competing hypotheses concerning the simultaneous effects of intergroup contact and authoritarianism on prejudice were tested. While it has been suggested that authoritarianism may hinder the reduction of prejudice through intergroup contact, it has also been proposed that intergroup contact can be especially effective among high scorers on Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). The present results support the latter hypothesis. However, stronger effects of intergroup contact for individuals scoring relatively high on authoritarianism did not only emerge for positive, but also for negative contact. In other words, high-scorers on RWA and SDO exhibit a relatively higher sensitivity for contact, leading to greater shifts in prejudice levels in positive and negative directions, depending on the quality of the contact. The discussion focuses on some possible mechanisms that may underlie the reduction of prejudice among high scoring authoritarians.

What Happened to Gender Consciousness?

**Sue Tolleson-Rinehart, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

[Panel] 2W Representing Gender: Implications for Political Cognitions and Actions

[Section] Intergroup Relations

More than 20 years ago, Patricia Gurin (1985) introduced “gender consciousness” as a source of the structuring of women’s political engagement. Tolleson-Rinehart (1992) further developed the concept in a longitudinal cross-sectional analysis of NES data. Sigel (1996) explored the uniquely challenging cross-pressures inhibiting the development of gender consciousness. Burns, Schlozman and Verba (2000) associated gender roles and gender consciousness with resources for participation. Jennings (2000) tracked gender differences over decades and across generations. Clawson and Clark (2003) have explored the intersection of race and gender consciousness. In the early to mid-1990s, gender consciousness and

feminism were associated with women's political engagement. Today, a woman is one of the leading contenders for the US Democratic Party's presidential nomination, and yet large numbers of younger white women have seemed to be more likely to be drawn to the candidacy of an African-American man. Meanwhile, young men are apparently less sympathetic to feminism and equal roles than were their fathers, and pundits frequently argue that feminism's "time has passed." Are young women no longer using gender consciousness to structure attitudes and motivate participation? This paper uses data from the NES and the Youth-Parent Panel Socialization Study, to analyze gender consciousness in the 21st century. The paper's hypothesis is that gender consciousness was and remains central to the schemata of Baby Boom women, but that it has been supplanted in the consciousness of younger women by other constructs.

What Makes Up Party Identification? The Role of Justice Ideologies

**Kai Mühleck, Humboldt University Berlin*

[Panel] 4J Values, Partisanship, and the Vote

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

The concept of party identification is crucial to the analysis of voting behavior in theory and empirical research. Party identification is very powerful in predicting voting decisions statistically but a substantial interpretation presupposes that we know why people identify with a certain party. Yet our knowledge about the sources of party identification is low. This paper examines the effect of justice ideologies on party identification and the vote. Justice ideologies are basic value orientations about the just distribution of goods in a society. Egalitarianism, individualism, and ascriptivism resemble the party political positions with regard to the socioeconomic cleavage. It is shown that party identification heavily bears on justice ideologies. In this way justice ideologies also influence voting behavior. By means of structural equation modeling direct and indirect effects of justice ideologies on voting are separated. The analysis makes use of three representative surveys of the ISJP (International Social Justice Project) conducted in Germany in the years 1996, 2000, and 2006.

What is Political Psychology? An Empirical Examination from Diverse Perspectives

**Kristen Renwick Monroe, Dept of Political Science*

**Bridgette Portman, University of California at Irvine*

William Chiu, University of California at Irvine

Adam Martin

[Panel] 10C New Directions in Political Psychology and Its Relation to Other Fields

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

This paper asks about the basic core of the field of political psychology by examining the shifts in methods, theories and major topics studied over time. It does so by a comparison of the articles published in Political Psychology and by examining the types of work done by the main ISPP officers and award winners, and the analogous APSA officers and award winners.

What marxism can tell to political psychology about democracy? Considerations on the problem of ideological decadence in our times

**Fernando Lacerda Jr., Pontifical Catholic University of Campinas*

Raquel Souza Lobo Guzzo, Pontifical Catholic University of Campinas

[Panel] 8E Ideologies and Values in Tension

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

The fall of Stalinist regimes in the former USSR and Eastern Europe triggered a new ideological offensive by the capital. The end of the so-called "really existent socialism" paved the way to a new glorification of political regimes of capitalistic societies. Democracy and freedom turned into the basis of a new consensus that has as a declared aim to build open societies. Political psychology has in great extent endorsed this new democratic consensus. In the Brazilian case, this situation is reflected in the great majority of researches that deals with social movements, political behavior, and participation. The aim of this paper is to argue that this process is an element of the ideological decadence of societies governed by the capital. Our main argument are divided in three parts: (1) discussion about the notion of ideological decadence as developed by Georg Lukács; (2) some remarks on Marx thought developed between 1842 and 1844 to show how the democratic consensus is a tool in the class struggles; (3) presentation of alternatives to the democratic consensus using examples provided by the anti-capitalist movement. Our final considerations will deal with the main implications of

this debate to build a critical political psychology which has anything to say to the anti-capitalist movement. To develop these ideas we will use contributions of Liberation Psychology and Political Psychology as developed by Ignacio Martín-Baró, and Marxist theses advanced by Marx and Lukács. Support: National Council of Research (CNPq).

What obstacles prevent women from gaining top political positions and how do women politicians cope with them?

First validations of two scales

**Donata Francescato, "Sapienza", First University of Rome*

Minou Mebane, "Sapienza", First University of Rome; Roberta Sorace, "Sapienza", First University of Rome

Mauro Gliacomantonio, "Sapienza", First University of Rome; Lauriola Marco, "Sapienza", First University of Rome

[Panel] 3C Age and Gender Issues in Leadership

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

Several theories have been formulated in different academic fields to explain the under-representation of women in political institutions in most countries. Empirical studies have focused mostly on institutional and structural variables. Fewer researchers have been able to contact directly top women politicians. We lack reliable measures which focus on personal, interpersonal and environmental obstacles, postulated by conciliation, gender differences, gate keeping and media access theorists; and explore how women politicians cope with them. One of the aims of a wide research on women in politics was to construct two short scales measuring women's perceived obstacles (WIPOS) and women's coping efficacy in politics (WIPOCS). Three hundred forty-nine Italian women politicians, 240 elected at local level and 109 at national level (70% of all female members of parliament) completed two questionnaires listing obstacles and coping perceptions. Exploratory factor analyses were carried out on a random half of the data set to detect the number of core factors measured by each list and to identify the simplest markers of each factor. Two and four major core dimensions labeled External and Internal Obstacles and Mass-Media, Empowerment, Conciliation and Gate-Keeping coping efficacy accounted for most of the variance in WIPOS and WIPOCS ratings. Confirmatory factor analyses of selected markers carried out on the other half of the dataset yielded the following well fitting models: a two-factor model with correlated factors for the WIPOS and a hierarchical factor model positing a general coping factor along with four specific coping efficacy factors for the WIPOCS

What's the Problem?: Linking Campaign Content to Public Evaluations of the Country

**Philippe Josepha Johan De Vries, University of Antwerp*

**Henriet Hendriks, University of Minnesota*

[Panel] 5B U.S. Election

[Section] Political Communication

During U.S. presidential elections, presidential candidates spend significantly more time and resources in the so-called battleground states than in the safe states. Previous research shows that they do not discuss substantially different sets of issues or use a different tone in these two types of states. We build on this by examining whether candidate image is complementary to the issues and messages or that certain ideal type personality shortcomings will be countered by emphasizing certain issues and vice versa. Secondly, we link this research on campaign content to public evaluations of the issues and candidates. Citizens in battleground states are considerably more likely to be exposed to and thus hear about campaign issues. Since presidential candidates and the media have the ability to increase the salience of an issue, one would expect citizens in battleground states to name the candidates' campaign issues more often as the most important problem facing the country. In this paper, we test this hypothesis through a content analysis of 2000 and 2004 campaign speeches in combination with 2000 and 2004 survey data from the National Annenberg Election Survey. We discuss the implications for research on campaign effects as well as what this means in terms of citizen representation in the battleground states versus the safe states.

When Can Political Parties Lead Opinion? Evidence From a Natural Experiment

**Rune Slothuus, University of Aarhus*

[Panel] 4H Attitudes toward Public Policy

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

Research on framing effects has demonstrated how elites can influence public opinion by the way they present and interpret political issues. However, these findings overwhelmingly stem from experimental settings that differ from how issues are typically discussed in real-world political situations. This study takes framing research to more realistic contexts

by exploiting a natural experiment to examine the neglected role of political parties in framing effects. Examining the effects on public opinion of a sudden shift in how a major political party frames a salient issue, I demonstrate that parties can be powerful in shaping the policy preferences among their voters. Yet, citizens appear to critically assess frames according to their own pre-existing beliefs about the issue, even if the frame is promoted by their party.

When the political is personal: Openness to experience, personal political salience and activism

**Nicola Curtin, University of Michigan*

Abigail J. Stewart, University of Michigan

[Panel] 6Q Changing the political landscape: Personality, attitudes and actions

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

Social movements from women's rights to gay and lesbian liberation have highlighted the political nature of seemingly apolitical or "personal" issues and identities; claiming that "the personal is political." But why do some individuals see relatively distant socio-political events, which may have little personal relevance in their daily lives, as profoundly personal; and what personality factors are related to this personalization of relatively distant social events? Survey studies have found that individuals who attach personal meaning to social and political events, or have high levels of Personal Political Salience (hereafter "PPS"), are more likely to have politicized gender and racial identities and to engage in political activism (Duncan & Stewart, 2007). PPS is consequential; but we know little about its origins. This paper assesses one kind of origin: personality traits. We examine the relationship between Openness to Experience and PPS, while replicating findings that PPS is related to activist engagement. Currently, a significant body of research has explored the relationship between Openness to Experience and political ideologies, finding that people who are more Open endorse more "left-wing" political ideologies (e.g. Jost et al., 2003; van Hiel, Kossowska, & Mervielde, 2000; Riemann et al., 1993). Other research has found that Openness is positively related to generativity (Peterson, Smirles, & Wentworth, 1997) which is, in turn, associated with attaching personal meaning and importance to socio-political events. Structural equation modeling confirmed that Openness to Experience is related to Personal Political Salience (in both cross sectional and longitudinal analyses), and replicated previous findings that, even when controlling for prior activism, PPS is related to Activism. This relationship held across three different samples. The current research suggests that Openness to Experience is an important personality trait in understanding why some individuals find distant political events to be personally meaningful, and subsequently engage in social activism.

Who are the enemies of constructive patriots? A test of optimal distinctiveness theory

**Horst-Alfred Heinrich, University of Stuttgart*

**Peter Schmidt, Justus-Liebig-University Giessen*

[Panel] 2O Patriotism, Nationalism, and Identity

[Section] Intergroup Relations

In optimal distinctiveness theory (ODT), Marilyn Brewer combines social identity theory and ethnocentrism concept. In her view, social comparisons do not necessarily lead to competitive situations. Competitive behaviour depends on the motive linked with social comparison. Individuals may strive to self-enhancement at the expense of outgroups, but people may be also interested in objective self-appraisal. Therefore, individuals do not conclusively use social identification in order to heighten self-esteem. Brewer (2001: 21) argues that there is "a need for inclusion that motivates assimilation of the self into large, impersonal social collectives, and an opposing need for differentiation that is satisfied by distinguishing the self from others. As opposing motives, the two needs hold each other in check." Following ODT, social categorisation and clear group boundaries provide security. Within a group the individual can profit from cooperative interdependence without fearing excessive costs. Inevitably, obligation ends at the ingroup's boundary. If ODT is seen as general theory, it should be applied to both, blind nationalism with its inherent xenophobia and constructive patriotism which opposes devaluation of immigrants. Contrary to political correctness, our questions are: If ODT is right, which groups are patriots willing to exclude from in-group resources? In which manner do patriots treat them badly? These questions are tested by using empirical data from a regional and a student survey collected 2004 and 2007.

Who believes Propaganda in an Authoritarian State? How Media Commercialization Boosts Media Credibility in China

**Daniela Stockmann, Leiden University*

[Panel] 5M Political Communication in China

[Section] Political Communication

When an authoritarian regime commercially liberalizes the state media, how does it affect the ability of the state to manipulate public opinion? This paper studies the relationship between newspaper commercialization, political news content, and public opinion in China. Interviews with Chinese media experts and content analysis show that commercial liberalization of the media is associated with greater variation of news content, but institutional mechanisms keep diversity within narrow boundaries. At the same time, however, media commercialization makes a great difference to audiences. Data from the Beijing Area Study reveal that readers are more susceptible to news messages when newspapers are commercialized. If news content can be synchronized through institutional mechanisms of control, commercial liberalization boosts media credibility, thus promoting the ability of the state to influence public opinion through the means of the mass media.

Who is most likely to vote women?

Roberta Sorace, "Sapienza", First University of Rome

**Minou Mebane, "Sapienza", First University of Rome*

Antonio Aiello, Cagliari University

[Panel] 4F Women and Politics

[Section] Electoral Behavior, Participation and Public Opinion

A variety of political psychology studies, within the broader field of voting behavior, have underlined the complex articulation of determinants regarding preference for male or female candidates'. This study aimed to explore how some dispositional orientations, attitudes, values, epistemic motivation, political activism in left and right political groups, personality traits and the Social Dominance orientation—are connected to gendered voting behavior in contemporary Italian sociopolitical system. Participants to the study were 626 political activists- mean age of 27, 350 men and 276 women belonging to reliably distinctive political groups: (a) strong extreme right, (b) moderate center right, (c) moderate center left, (d) strong extreme left. Preliminary findings,- such as high social dominance extreme right wing women being the group most likely to vote for female candidates-, could challenge some crucial theoretical points of the Social Dominance theory, and other emerging theories in the political psychology of voting behavior. On the whole, our paper will focus on the distinctive personal and social-context determinants of the choice to vote for women, looking at the pattern of political identity differentiation in the four activists groups considered. Voters' choice in favor of women will be discussed taking into consideration the most recent literature interested in this crucial research theme underlining both the cumulative and innovative results of this study.

Why the Drama? Civic Competence and Political Learning in Entertainment Television

**Doris Graber, University of Illinois at Chicago*

**Tereza Capelos, University of Surrey*

Gregory Holyk; Sander Ensink

[Panel] 5C Cross-Cultural Communication

[Section] Political Communication

In this paper we explore the effect of entertainment television on citizens' political understanding and performance in the United States, the Netherlands and Greece. In this comparative study, we are particularly interested in the concept of civic competence, the ability of citizens to perform their civic duties and understand the political world. Our earlier research in the United States shows that TV dramas are rich environments for raising citizen's understanding of politics as they contain significant amounts of political content (Graber 2006). In this paper, we ask whether political messages of American TV dramas carry a uniform meaning across different political cultures. How do viewers in countries of north and south Europe understand political debates and issues that are addressed in TV dramas that are "imported"? Do they separate fiction from fact, and how does the content of the shows influence their political learning? We argue that television dramas play an important role in the understanding of politics because people understand the world through stories. Television extends the boundaries of story telling beyond regional borders, providing common frames of reference to millions of people around the globe. Here we present the analysis of our interview data from the United States, the Netherlands and Greece and assess the impact of TV drama exposure on the viewers' political knowledge and complexity of political reasoning.

Will deliberation work with politicians? The role of ‘task’ versus ‘struggle’ orientation in deliberative processes (Poster)

**Aleksandra Cislak, Warsaw School of Social Psychology, Institute of Psychology Polish Academy of Sciences*

[Panel] 8P Poster Session: Democracy and Civic Development

[Section] Democracy and Civic Development

Deliberative approach has been widely discussed as a method that enables successful social conflict resolution, while promoting the wide spectrum of perspectives and solutions taken into account. Previous research has shown that deliberation is in fact a psychologically viable way of conflict resolution, mainly among citizens not directly engaged in political movements. Studies on the debates of politicians were usually focused on the differences between actual political debates and deliberation. The present research is an experimental attempt to answer the question whether deliberation is a feasible method to resolve conflicts among politicians. 36 politicians from 5 Polish youth political movements participated in 5 debates of 7-8 persons. Every single group was arranged to meet members of two parties known to be political opponents. Participants discussed the program of sexual education for children, a highly controversial problem in contemporary Poland, and were informed that the results of their discussion will be passed on the Ministry of Education. The results reveal that group processes that enable mutual agreement seeking might be activated even in groups of ideological and political opponents. Even if agreement has not been achieved, transformative effects might still be demonstrated: participants’ support for cooperative strategies of conflict resolution has significantly increased, their opinions on sexual education became more liberal, what might influence their openness for others. The present results also show the prominent role of politicians approach to deliberation, and the differences between the ‘task’ and ‘struggle’ groups are demonstrated. Both practical and theoretical implications are discussed.

Women running for president: female leaders and campaigning

**Donatella Campus, University of Bologna*

[Panel] 3C Age and Gender Issues in Leadership

[Section] Leadership and Political Personality

The paper intends to analyze the styles of leadership of women running for the highest public offices. As the recent cases of Ségolène Royal in France and Hillary Clinton in U.S. have shown, the fact that a woman stands as a candidate for the presidency raises many questions about gender stereotypes and the potential role of candidate sex in elections. First, the paper intends to offer an overview of different approaches to women as leaders in relation to political leadership and campaigning styles. The analysis will address the following questions: Do women candidates possess particular skills in communication and campaign differently from men? Does the evidence support the view of a substantial gender difference in leadership style? Second, the paper discusses the role of gender stereotypes in the way voters react to women political leaders. Stereotyping is a common psychological process by which media and voters evaluate political candidates. By combining research on media coverage and public attitudes toward female leaders, the analysis aims at identifying the specific frames that affect the representation of female political leadership in electoral campaigns.

You Should Know Better: Expressions of Empathy and Disregard among Victims of Massive Social Trauma

**Julia Chaitin, Sapir Academic College*

**Shoshana Steinberg, Kaye Academic College of Education*

[Panel] 1V Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Its Resolution—Part 2

[Section] Political Conflict, Violence, and Crisis

There is a commonly held belief that victims of extreme violence should be sensitive to the suffering of others, in spite of the fact that most of the psycho-social literature points to the opposite. In this talk, we will examine this belief by looking at research and educational work that we have carried out on the psycho-social effects of the Holocaust and on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. We assert that the experiences of being a victim of collective violence often inhibit empathy toward others and create an atmosphere of continued animosity. We also focus on intergenerational aspects connected to victimization and their negative impact on the expression of empathy among descendants of victims, in order to explain why the sense of victimhood and justification of repeated violence is often expressed by individuals born years after the original violence took place.

You can't oppress yourself: identity and re-positioning in post-apartheid South Africa

**Helen Haste, University of Bath*

**Salie Abrahams, International Peace University of South Africa*

[Panel] 6V Social change, values, and the management of 'positioning'

[Section] Political Culture, Identity and Language

This paper reports a study with young Black and Coloured South Africans at the time that Nelson Mandela came to power—and they and their families became enfranchised for the first time. The data (from in-depth interviews conducted by the first Author in the first round, and by both Authors in the second round) demonstrate how they redefined their identities and positioned and repositioned themselves and the social groups of their society. Particularly striking about these data were the invocation, in discussion of their personal identity, of Mandela's discourses about truth and reconciliation, about creating a new South Africa that was about being 'South African' not White, Black or Coloured, and about the need to remove apartheid from the mind, not only the law—for all groups. These young people identified very strongly with the 'new' South Africa and the concept of opportunity that was free from constraints. The data are a vivid snapshot of a period of intense transition, and the lives of a group most powerfully affected by it. The sample is being followed up, 12 years later, and data from the second round will be presented to demonstrate similarities and differences between positioning then and now.

Young people participation within communities: The developmental quality of participation experiences

Cristina N. Azevedo

**Isabel Menezes, Porto University*

[Panel] 10I Building Bridges between Political and Community Psychology: The Role of Participation and Empowerment

[Section] New Theoretical and Methodological Developments

Nowadays young people feel an enormous apathy and an increasing distrust on politics and political issues. Besides capitalism and individualism of contemporary societies seems to contribute to decreasing levels of participation in the civil society, particularly between young people. However research has shown that civic participation is crucial to uphold the consolidation of democracies and to promote civic engagement in adulthood, since youngster's civic experiences are pointed out as their strongest predictor. Moreover, several studies have been showing that a lot can be done in the educational contexts where young people spend a significant part of their daily lives, namely in local communities where they feel as members. Youth associations have a relevant role in terms of the promotion of political development of adolescents, mainly in terms of attitudes and behaviors, but very little longitudinal research has studied the quality of participation experiences on political development. Using a cohort-sequential longitudinal method, our study involves 616 students from four moments of data collection with three overlapping cohorts (4x3). The present study intends to shed light on the exploration of the quality's evolution quality along and across time, identifying in which associations young people are involved. Therefore we will analyse the personal meaningful that participation in youth associations has to participants and the impact of those experiences in behavioural and attitudinal dimensions of young people political development will also be achieved. Findings show that voluntary associations and scouts are the most common activity between adolescents. Additionally, the personal meaning associated to their experiences by the ones that have high quality of participation experiences is, in a larger scale, the personal growth. Quality of juvenile participation appears as a very significant predictor on the youngster's dispositions to be politically active in the future, as adult. The implication of these results for the design of intervention projects in this domain will be discussed. Results seem to reinforce the role of adolescents' life contexts and of quality of experiences in the promotion of the political development.

