PROGRAMME OVERVIEW

Friday 4 October									
13:30-15:00	Registration	Registration							
15:00-16:30	Session 1 - Peace buildin	Session 1 - Peace building initiatives in Cyprus							
	Loizos Loukaides Association for Historical Dialogues and Research (AHDR) - The Home for Cooperation (H4C)	Ayse Biyikoglou The work of CYPOLOGY in divided Cyprus	Jale Canlibalik Peace players	Simge Kahvecioglu Cyprus Friendship Programme	Katerina Antoniou and Nadia Kornioti Social mediation as a conflict resolution tool				
16:30-17:00	, , ,	Coffee Break							
17:00-19:00		Tour of Nicosia							
19:00-		Dinner (South)							
09:30-10:30	Keynote Presentation Loris Vezzali Indirect Contact Prejudice								
10:30-11:00			Coffee Break						
11:00-12:30	Session 2 - Perpetrators and apologies								
	Magdalena Bobowik, Maitane Arnoso- Martínez, Mirjana Rupar Collective memory in the Basque Country: The interplay between construals of victimhood and perpetratorship	Jovan Ivanovic, Iris Zezelj, and Charis Psaltis (Im)moral symbols and (im)moral deeds: Defensive strategies for coping with groups historical transgression	Alette Smeulers Towards a typology of perpetrators of mass atrocities	Maria Diplarou Official apologies between groups with a conflict past and a history of human rights abuses at the level of foreign policy analysis.	Mirjana Rupar, Shpend Voca, Sylvie Graf, and Magdalena Bobowik Acknowledgment of ingroup crimes promotes positive intergroup relations in the aftermath of conflict: The difference between ingroup and outgroup focus				
Parallel Sessions	Session 3 - Prejudice red	uction interventions	<u> </u>	1	1 O. o				

	Jasper Van Assche Intergroup contact is reliably associated with reduced prejudice, even in the face of group threat and discrimination	interver improve peace-o emotion	er al reality ention to re and pro directed ons in the I nian confli	sraeli-	Ayse Biyikog Reducing pr post-conflict using immen	ejudice in t Cyprus	Anna La Nyúl, La Anna Ke The Gy The (un effects o taking ir	psy labyrint of avorable of a perspect ntervention the towards a narginalized	irka . & .h: ctive on	Theofilos Gkinopoulos & Islam Borinca Homo/heterosexuality and social rift: Cognitive effects of intergroup contact on tackling intergroup conspiracy theories
12:30-14:00	Lunch									
14:00-15:30	·	Session 4 - Transitional justice and collective action								
	Guy Elcheroth & Sandra How is principled suppor transitional justice groun in the circulation of confl related experiences? Clarifying the role of perceived communication norms	when majority friends value minority friendship: Majority friendship and support for social change among indigenous minority group.		o: Majority port for ng	Tobias Greitemeyer Social mobility beliefs may mitigate the impact of relative deprivation on hostility		Antreas Michael Justification mechanisms of the status quo, perceptions of transitional justice and forms of solving the Cyprus problem: A bi- communal research in the Cypriot context.			
Parallel Sessions	Session 5 - intergeneration	ssion 5 - intergenerational relations, memory and trauma in intractable conflicts								
		Eliz Volkan Undivided trauma in a divided Cyprus: Modified emotional Stroop study		Family relation	ee-Man Branda & Christian Char y communication mediates the onship between parent-child cal discordance and psychologica ss		the d	Türkal-Yenigüç, & Ayşenur Talat-Zirilli The impact of vicarious war memories on		
15:30-16:00		Coffee Break								
16:00-17:30	Session 6 - Dynamics of p			•			1			ı
	Charis Psaltis Genetic Social Psychology: A theoretical framework to understand Protracted Conflicts	enetic Social sychology: A Dynamics of division How political events o understand and emotional		E Eran sion: ents ance	Calvin Lam & Christian Chan Non-apathetic political neutrality exacerbates violence and mental health problems: Triangulating online and offline data		Kaja Warnke, Borja Martinovic, & Nimrod Rosler Understanding territorial ownership perceptions in the Israeli-Palestinian		rod	Nikolas Soros Media dependency and hope in protracted conflict

				conflict: A person- centered approach				
19:00-	Dinner (North)							
Sunday 6 October								
10:00-11:30	Session 7: Affective experiences of intergroup contact & conflict							
	Elisavet Panagiotou & Maria loannou What do people imagine when they imagine positive contact? Session 8: Paths to reco	Thia Sagherian-Dickey "Anybody on this side of the wall is 'your people'. I'm safe": Everyday strategies for peace and conflict in Lebanon and Northern Ireland	Tal Orian Harel, Ifat Maoz, & Eran Halperin A threat to cohesion: External threats and intragroup affective polarization in the context of protracted intergroup conflict	Elena Constantinou & Maria Ioannou Emotions elicited by positive vs. negative imagined encounters: the detrimental effect of anger	Nur Kassem, Tamar Avihail , Maya Tamir, Anat Perry, & Eran Halperin Learning to accept in the context of Intergroup Conflict			
Parallel Sessions	Shenel Husnu & Stefania Paolini Volitional intergroup imagery as a means to encourage contact seeking	Orkun Yetkili & Nur Agdelen Social Identity and intergroup relations in North Cyprus	Milica Ninkovic & Iris Zezelj Gateways or hybrids: How dual identity compatibility shapes the role of dual identifiers in the intergroup relations	Ori Wiener-Blotner & Keren Sharvit Considering deep divides in intractable conflicts: An exploration of the informative process model	Nimrod Rosler, Boaz Hameiri, Keren Sharvit & Daniel Bar-Tal Changing minds in Deeply divided societies: The informative process model as a new intervention to promote peace			
11:30-12:00	Round-Table Coffee Discussion & Reflections							

SCIENTIFIC PROGRAM

Friday 4 October

15.00-16.30

Session 1: Peace Building Initiatives in Cyprus

Kyriakos Pachoulides

Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) & the Home for Cooperation (H4C)

https://www.ahdr.info/

Ayshe Biyikoglou

The work of CYPOLOGY in Divided Cyprus

Cypology is a multicommunal platform with the aim of sharing evidence-based knowledge about Cyprus deriving from academic research either conducted in Cyprus and/or across the globe. As curious researchers, we produce and disseminate empirically supported findings discussing socio-psychological phenomena such as the role of intergroup contact in Cyprus, history teaching, the role of women in peacebuilding, collective loss, truth-telling, and the link between corruption and division. The research platform promotes and cultivates scientific bi-communal dialogue, anticipates to bridge the gap between the public sphere and academia, and amplify the voices of women and youth not only in the research arena but in Cyprus. Cypology, we have conducted visits to two prominent universities across the island with the aim of raising awareness on the Cyprus problem and underlying mechanisms of the conflict. We also lectured students on the intergroup contact theory and its importance in Cyprus by giving research-based information. We lastly introduced our platform, and encouraged young individuals to get involved in our multicommunal research initiative or relevant other bicommunal NGOs or initiatives.

Jale Canlibalik

Peace Players

https://peaceplayers.org/cyprus/

Simge Kahvecioglu

Cyprus Friendship Programme

https://friendships4peace.org/cyprus-friendship-program/

Katerina Antoniou and Nadia Kornioti

Social Mediation as a Conflict Resolution Tool

Social Mediation is a conflict resolution tool that has been used for small-scale community-based conflicts. A social mediation intervention seeks to establish the disputants' common desire to resolve their dispute, and subsequently to facilitate their communication until they can reach a compromised solution. The Social Mediation tool cannot only apply effectively to ad-hoc, small-scale disputes, but it could potentially

assist members of Deeply Divided Societies to reconcile, by directly engaging them in the process of a negotiated peace settlement. Applying Social Mediation to engage local audiences in DDS into the process of resolving their conflict can be an emancipatory and empowering breakthrough for peace processes in DDS, making them more transparent and democratic, while engaging locals in optimal intergroup contact based on Allport's Contact Hypothesis. By introducing the Social Mediation in Practice initiative of the Interdisciplinary Centre for Law, Alternative and Innovative Methods (ICLAIM), the presenters seek to discuss the applicability of Social Mediation in Cyprus, and identify the potential of introducing it as a complementary tool to the Cyprus peace process, examining it from the perspective of intergroup contact.

Saturday 5 October

9.00-10.30

Keynote Presentation

Loris Vezzalli

Using Intergroup Contact to Promote Social Inclusion and a More Equal Society

Intergroup contact represents one of the most popular strategies identified by psychologists to promote social inclusion and create a more equal society. The present contribution aims at providing an overview of how contact may be structured to improve intergroup relations with a specific focus on educational contexts. The studies presented will focus both on direct (i.e. face-to-face) and indirect (i.e. not face-to-ace) contact, showing how interventions can be flexibly adapted to the demands of the specific setting. Studies focusing on direct contact will concentrate on how to structure the contact setting in order to maximize its effects. Studies on indirect contact will consider the main forms identified by research, that is extended contact, vicarious contact, imagined contact. In so doing, evidence on how indirect contact can improve actual behavior and help fighting dangerous forms of discrimination (e.g., group-based bullying) will also be provided. The last part of the presentation will consider a rather neglected yet emerging field of contact research, related to collective action to support disadvantaged groups. The discussion will evaluate the dangers of considering one-shot interventions as an effective solution to foster social inclusion, and the need to create networks that facilitate impactful actions on the society.

11.00-12.30

Session 2: Perpetrators and Apologies

Magdalena Bobowik, Maitane Arnoso-Martínez, and Mirjana Rupar

Collective Memory in the Basque Country: The Interplay between Construals of Victimhood and Perpetratorship

Remembering experiences of collective victimhood and perpetratorship have long-lasting consequences for social relations in societies in the aftermath of conflict. However, little is known about attributions of victimhood and responsibilities beyond the antagonism of 'us' versus

'them', frequently not valid in societies transitioning to peace, where social roles of victims and perpetrators are usually dual or blurred. To address the complexity of construals of victimhood and perpetratorship, we illustrate these processes using a sample of 351 participants from diverse and divided segments of society in the Basque Country, a region that suffered one of the most enduring violent conflicts in Europe. Our data shows that Basques acknowledge multiple forms of victimization (from the ETA terrorist activity to State repression) but are more ambivalent in recognizing divergent forms of perpetratorship. Four different profiles in collective narratives emerged: those who recognize all types of responsibility and perpetratorship, participants who recognize victimhood (including all types of experiences) more than perpetratorship, those who accentuate State responsibility and victims more than ETA responsibility and victims, and those who blame ETA as the main responsible and their victims as those who suffered most. These narrative construals were differently associated with personal experiences of victimization, perceived collective victimhood, intergroup empathy, as well as support for some forms of reparations. We stress the necessity of addressing the complexities of construals of past violence in research on collective memory of political violence by taking into account victimhood and perpetratorship simultaneously and considering multiple social categories that may represent them.

Jovan Ivanovic, Iris Zezelj, and Charis Psaltis

(Im)moral Symbols and (im)moral Deeds: Defensive Strategies for Coping with Groups Historical Transgression

In two post-conflict societies (Serbia and Cyprus), we investigated how people react when presented with a historical transgression perpetrated by heroes relevant for their collective identity. We set the events in foundational periods for Serbian (Experiment 1) and Greek Cypriot (Experiment 2) ethnic identity: historical representations of the Battle of Kosovo (1389) and the Liberation Struggle (1955–1959). In both experiments, we used a between-subjects design to manipulate the representation of the salient character (hero or neutral) and group membership (in-group or out-group) in fictitious but historically plausible accounts of transgressions. In Experiment 1 (N=225), the participants rejected (blamed and derogated) an in-group hero less than a neutral in-group character or an out-group character, even though they committed an identical transgression. Additionally, participants who based their ethnic identification on perceiving the in-group as superior rejected the in-group transgressors (hero or neutral) less than those low in ingroup superiority. In Experiment 2 (N=136), the in-group hero was also the most leniently treated historical character. Irrespective of the mode of ethnic identification (superiority or importance), high-identifying participants rejected an in-group hero less, but an out-group transgressor more. Taken together, the experiments show that an in-group hero from a foundational historical period, as a highly valued ethnic symbol, is exempt from the black sheep effect and the sanctions even of critically attached group members. We discuss the implications of the status of in-group heroes in political discourse and education

Alette Smeulers

Towards a Typology of Perpetrators of Mass Atrocities

Deeply divided societies are characterized by a strong polarization between groups, which might tend to qualify each other as enemies and maybe even as bad or evil. The most explicit examples and perceived embodiments of the evil nature of the other party are the perpetrators who have committed mass atrocities such as genocide, murder, torture, acts of terrorism, rape or other forms of sexual violence. Yet research has shown that most perpetrators of mass atrocities are very ordinary people. This presentation will focus on how -within a particular political, ideological and institutional context- ordinary people can transform into perpetrators who commit horrendous crimes. It aims to show the coercive and pressing nature of such a context. It will however also address individual differences by presenting a typology of

perpetrators of mass atrocities. The typology will reflect the different roles and functions perpetrators have as well as the various motives that drive them. For societies overcoming conflict it is crucial to see the perpetrators as ordinary people in extra ordinary circumstances and to aim at changing the circumstances that transformed them rather than merely qualifying the perpetrators as representatives and proof of the evil nature of the opposing party.

Maria Diplarou

Official Apologies Between Groups with a Conflict Past and a History of Human Rights Abuses at the Level of Foreign Policy Analysis.

There are still numerous ways to respond to historical wrongdoing (Goodin, 2013). In the new millennium, more and more official apologies are expressed for collective transgressions (Hornsey, Wohl, & Philpot, 2015). Official apologies have been largely utilized to address legacies of wide-ranging violations during the past few decades (Verdeja, 2010). They are suggested as an important transitional justice tool (Lundy & Rolston, 2016), but there is no exclusive means of justice-seeking (Marrus, 2007). Apologies can be delivered by public bodies like nations, governments, or institutions concerning the historical injustice (Marrus, 2007). There are many examples of countries around the world that face challenges concerning historical memory, truth recovery, and reconciliation (Ireton & Kovras, 2012). There is a notable gap in the literature regarding intergroup apologies. A meta-analysis mentions that the first empirical investigations of the relation between apology—forgiveness did not appear until 2008 (Hornsey, Wohl, & Philpot, 2015). There are numerous ways of responding to historical wrongdoings (Goodin, 2013). Some leaders/groups apologize, while others refrain from acknowledging any wrongdoing or the violent past. Why does this happen? The debates surrounding many of these political apologies suggest they do not necessarily satisfy victims' needs (Zoodsma et al., 2021). Is an answer to why some apologies are more effective in fostering reconciliation/forgiveness than others? Which other explanations exist?

Mirjana Rupar, Shpend Voca, Sylvie Graf, and Magdalena Bobowik

Acknowledgment of Ingroup Crimes Promotes Positive Intergroup Relations in the Aftermath of Conflict: The Difference Between Ingroup and Outgroup Focus

Focusing on the conflict between Albanians and Serbs over the Kosovo territory, we examined the links between the acknowledgement of ingroup crimes and three different reconciliatory acts – support for ingroup apology, financial compensation, and forgiveness to former adversaries – as well as three behavioural outcomes – social distance, willingness to engage in contact with and help former adversaries. In Study 1, in Kosovo (NAlbanians = 220) and Serbia (NSerbs = 129), acknowledgement of ingroup crimes was positively linked to all mentioned outcomes in both samples. Empathy mediated all relationships. Study 2 in Kosovo (NAlbanians = 230) experimentally manipulated acknowledgement of ingroup crimes framed either as ingroup focus (ingroup committing crimes) or outgroup focus (outgroup experiencing crimes). Ingroup focus increased support for the apology and financial compensation, and outgroup focus increased apology, financial compensation, and willingness to forgive, meet and help former adversary. Shame mediated the link between both ingroup and outgroup focus and apology. Guilt mediated the link between outgroup focus and support for financial compensation. Empathy mediated the link between outgroup focus and all outcomes except an apology. Overall, our results suggest that acknowledging ingroup crimes with a focus on the outgroup experiencing harm vs focusing on the ingroup may be better tool at promoting positive intergroup relations in the aftermath of conflict.

Session 3 - Prejudice Reduction Interventions

Jasper Van Assche

Intergroup Contact is Reliably Associated with Reduced Prejudice, Even in the Face of Group Threat and Discrimination
Intergroup contact provides a reliable means of reducing prejudice. Yet, critics suggested that its efficacy is undermined, even eliminated, under certain conditions. Specifically, contact may be ineffective in the face of threat, especially to advantaged groups, and discrimination, experienced especially by disadvantaged groups. We considered intergroup threat and perceived discrimination as potential moderators of the effect of contact on prejudice. Two meta-analyses of correlational data from 63,945 individuals - drawn from 67 subsamples across 19 countries - showed that contact was associated with decreased prejudice and increased outgroup positivity, in cross-sectional and longitudinal designs, among advantaged and disadvantaged group members, and in both WEIRD and non-WEIRD contexts. Both threat and discrimination significantly moderated the contact-attitude association, but in an unanticipated direction. Indeed, contact's beneficial effects were at least as strong among individuals high (r = .19) versus low (r = .18) in threat, and among individuals high (r = .23) versus low (r = .20) in discrimination (i.e., an enhancement effect). We conclude that contact is a key mechanism for promoting tolerant societies, one that is effective even among subpopulations where achieving that goal might be most challenging

Eli Adler

A Virtual Reality Intervention to Improve and Promote Peace-Directed Emotions in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

As emotions are a crucial component of intergroup conflicts, some recent interventions use emotion regulation methods to affect them. Despite their efficacy, these methods are limited in contexts of violent conflicts and may even backfire. In the current study, we investigated whether virtual reality (VR) can be harnessed to overcome these limitations using its abilities to simulate reality in a vivid and immersive way, and to allow people to experience different perspectives. Results from a sample of 296 Jewish-Israeli participants showed that watching a scene immersively, using VR, led to more conciliatory emotional response. Additionally, VR can also be used to enhance traditional interventions, namely, cognitive reappraisal (CR) and perspective taking (PT), by allowing participants to experience a conflict-related situation from the respective point of view (i.e., a neutral or 'bystander' perspective for CR and an outgroup perspective for PT). The latter effect was found only among hawkish (right-wing) participants, where perspective-enhanced interventions were more effective than in the control group (ingroup perspective), while traditional interventions did not differ from the control group. Interestingly, the emotional effects were differential, as CR down-regulated the intergroup emotions, while PT up-regulated them.

Ayse Biyikoglou

Reducing Prejudice in Post-Conflict Cyprus using Immersive VR

Cyprus is an island with a history of intergroup-conflict between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Since 1974, the island has been divided and this division in return has engendered threats (symbolic and realistic) and a lack of empathy together with antipathetic feelings such as prejudice, mistrust and intergroup anxiety towards the opposing group. Therefore, it is of no surprise that previous attempts to solve the conflict has been rather unsuccessful. In 2003, after the opening of the UN buffer zone crossings contact between the communities initiated. Ever since, research on both communities have drastically increased showing that intergroup contact can be implemented as a highly effective method and is able to heal the broken ties between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. However, sometimes due to the segregation and cognitive biases, it is hard to convince individuals to meet with a member of the 'other' community. In

addition, to our knowledge, no prior research carried out in Cyprus has yet to use a research design similar to ours; combining social psychology phenomena and Immersive Virtual Reality (VR) technology to tackle or understand negative emotions or develop an intervention programme targeted to the reduction of these emotions. On this basis, we aim to carry out three independent experiments: Direct VR contact, Empathic Perspective-Taking, and Historical Knowledge to (1) examine whether intergroup prejudice, anxiety and threat towards the 'other' community reduces when exposed to emotional content through Immersive VR and (2) whether VR intervention programmes have to ability to possibly foster positive attitudes between the two communities. By implementing remote contact through VR, we believe this type of intervention could encourage future face-to-face engagement between Cypriots

Hanna Szekeres, Nóra Anna Lantos, Boglárka Nyúl, Laura Faragó. and Anna Kende

The Gypsy Labyrinth: The (Un)favorable Effects of a Perspective Taking Intervention on Prejudice towards a Highly Marginalized Outgroup Perspective taking intervention is a popular psychological tool aimed at decreasing negative outgroup attitudes. Nevertheless, its effectiveness has not been tested for extremely marginalized outgroups, on behavioral intentions, and as a factor of personality variables. In the current research, we tested an interactive perspective taking field intervention (based on an existing role-playing book called "gypsy labyrinth") to decrease prejudice and discrimination towards the Roma minority in Hungary, while considering participants' perspective taking (PT) ability (measured and manipulated). By conducting a field experiment among high-school students (N=110) and an online lab experiment among university students (N=464), we found that the intervention only increased prosocial emotions and behavioral intentions towards the Roma among those high on PT, and it actually decreased among those low on PT (i.e., backlash effect). To remedy this negative effect, in another experiment (N=312), we primed perspective taking (low vs. high vs. control conditions) and all participants went through the labyrinth intervention. We again found that a low-PT prime led to more negative behavioral intentions towards the Roma. However, the high-PT prime buffered the negative backlash effect observed in previous studies, thus providing a valuable complimentary tool for the labyrinth perspective taking intervention.

Theofilos Gkinopoulos and Islam Borinca

Homo/heterosexuality and Social Rift: Cognitive Effects of Intergroup Contact on Tackling Intergroup Conspiracy Theories

With this study, we bring together the cognitive benefits of contact between homosexuals and heterosexuals and the – conspiratorial in our argument – beliefs about homosexuals. We know that contact exerts a generalizing reaction across several target outgroups. In light of this, respondents can be less inward looking and more open to new experiences. Contact promotes new ways of problem-solving cognitive flexibility, and creativity. Driven by the recent literature, we evidence results on whether endorsement of conspiracy theories is associated with increased avoidance of contact with outgroups. Gender conspiracy beliefs have been found as predictors associated with increased sexual prejudice. Furthermore, we test the cognitive effects and benefits of intergroup contact experiences between homosexuals and heterosexuals on beliefs about homosexuals and how such benefits result in decrease of gender conspiracy beliefs about homosexuals as outgroup members. Results are discussed in light of the social division based on people's sexual identity and the potential benefits of intergroup contact.

Session 4: Transitional justice and collective action

Guy Elcheroth and Sandra Penic

How is Principled Support for Transitional Justice Grounded in the Circulation of Conflict-Related Experiences? Clarifying the Role of Perceived Communication Norms

In this paper, we use social-psychological theorising to contribute to current trends towards more local and more transformative approaches to transitional justice, which imply pluralistic processes of addressing the past as vectors of societal change. We aim to verify whether bottom-up support for key mechanisms of transitional justice – truth-seeking, retribution, reparation, and reconciliation - is rooted in diversified knowledge about conflict-related experiences, and to test the theoretical proposition that changing perceptions of local communication norms catalyse the underlying psychosocial processes. A representative survey conducted throughout Sri Lanka in 2017, during the short historical period when an ambitious transitional justice programme suddenly appeared a political option, provided a rare opportunity to study these processes in a real-world context of rapid normative change. Survey participants were presented a range of conflict-related experiences (inspired by real testimonies) and asked for each of them whether they knew about similar events, and how their neighbours would react if such stories were told in their community. Key findings suggest that knowing about a broader range of conflict-related experiences nourishes principled support for transitional justice, but only to the extent that it goes along with the perception that diverse experiences are shareable within the local community.

Katrín Árnadóttir

When Majority Friends Value Minority Friendship: Majority Friendship and Support for Social Change among Indigenous Minority Group Members in Chile

This study examines how friendship with majority group members predicts support for social change among indigenous minority group members in Chile. Qualifying evidence of a "sedative effect" of majority friendship on minority support for social change, we propose majority friends' valuation of indigenous minority friendships as a buffer. Drawing on longitudinal large-scale data over two years among a stratified national sample of Indigenous peoples (N=1856, aged 17-90), we tested (fully) cross-lagged models. As expected, minority participants with more majority friends at Time 1 supported social change less at Time 2, and this longitudinal association was mediated by self-group distancing, but only when these majority friends did not value their minority friendships. When majority friends valued minority friendships, this cancelled out sedation by buffering minority group identification. The findings show that majority friendship need not compromise minority group identification and support for social change when majority friends value minority friendships.

Tobias Greitemeyer

Social Mobility Beliefs may Mitigate the Impact of Relative Deprivation on Hostility

Personal relative deprivation occurs when an individual compares unfavorably to similar others, leading to a variety of outcomes such as angry resentment, low physical health, or delinquency. Recent experimental tests suggest that experiencing personal relative deprivation increases feelings of hostility and aggressive behavior. In the present two studies, we examined whether social mobility beliefs—the extent to which an individual believes she/he can move up or down the socioeconomic ladder—would function as a mitigator for hostility resulting from personal

relative deprivation. In fact, results show that relative position at work negatively predicts hostility towards the current employer, but only when the employment environment is perceived as immobile (N = 498, Study 1). Moreover, relative workplace position and organizational mobility interact in predicting dissatisfaction with one's position, which is strongly associated with workplace deviance (N = 410, Study 2). It thus appears that having a mobile organizational environment has valuable effects for job satisfaction levels and thereby decreases deviant behavior at work—a circumstance that benefits both those at the top and the bottom in a company hierarchy.

Antreas Michael

Justification Mechanisms of the Status Quo, Perceptions of Transitional Justice and Forms of Solving the Cyprus Problem: A Bi- communal Research in the Cypriot Context

The project is a large mixed method survey combining both qualitative and quantitative methodology. It aims to examine how variations around system justification beliefs about the existing status quo and the current division in Cyprus relates to transitional justice views (retribution, restoration, amnesty) and how they both predict or moderate the stance of voters towards possible forms of solution to the Cyprus problem in among both communities in Cyprus. The project also aims to explore deeper the role of: a) views about transitional justice and b) system justification beliefs in relation to the status quo on the Cyprus issue in relation to all the aforementioned dimensions to it. In particular, the findings from focus groups will guide us on how Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots find the workings of the two separate societies as fair and legitimate (economic, political, legal), disadvantage and inequalities vis a vis the other community in Cyprus and vis a vis regional actor and the EU. Focus group discussion will also explore various beliefs comprising the ethos of conflict in Cyprus. A methodological innovation of the study is the exploration of various possible solution packages on the following dimensions through the use of conjoint analysis in a cross-sectional design with a representative sample from both communities. To date, most on the research of system justification focused on the connection between lower and higher status groups and have not concentrate on frozen conflict context. Thus, the examination of system justification and transitional justice beliefs in a divided society context could led ton new social psychological questions. Furthermore, we aim to address a gap in the academic literature on what are the beliefs on transitional justice of individuals who justify the system and have more conservative ideologies (see Jost et al., 2003). Finally, we attempt to propose a model that indicates how internal and institutional status quo justification influence the justification of the Cyprus

Session 5 - intergenerational relations, memory and trauma in intractable conflicts

Eliz Volkan

Undivided Trauma in a Divided Cyprus: Modified Emotional Stroop Study

Objective: The purpose of the study was to examine the subliminal existence of war-related trauma in the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities in Cyprus. Previous research has demonstrated that Cypriots, regardless of their ethnicity have been affected by many psychological burdens, including anxiety and trauma related symptoms due to the wars in Cyprus (1963, 1974). The emotional Stroop task has been widely used to determine the presence of PTSD and its impact on executive functions. Hence, it was hypothesized that traumatic stress specific to the wars in Cyprus would be evident through interference of information processing of war-related words in a modified version of the Emotional Stroop Task specific to the conflicts in Cyprus. Method: Two versions of the modified emotional Stroop task for Cyprus (MEST-

CY) were developed in the two languages (Greek and Turkish) spoken by the 2 communities, with neutral and war-related words relevant for each community. A sample of 111 Cypriots from both ethnic backgrounds (56 Turkish Cypriots, 55 Greek Cypriots) took part. Results: Participants from both ethnicities showed significantly greater latency scores (interference) for war-related words compared to neutral words. Conclusions: This is the first study to show emotional trauma and changes in cognitive functioning related specifically to the wars in Cyprus, in both communities. Due to its specificity in detecting attentional bias to war-related words which are specific to Cyprus, MEST-CY can serve as a useful assessment tool for the presence of war-related PTSD and as a pre- and posttask for PTSD intervention studies.

YU, Yee-Man Branda and Christian Chan

Family Communication Mediates the Relationship between Parent-Child Political Discordance and Psychological Distress

Studies on political differences focus primarily on the conflict between the two dominant opposing political camps (e.g., liberals versus conservatives). Those without an explicit leaning (also known as political neutrals) are understudied. Using Hong Kong as context, we demonstrate that political neutrals may serve as a meaningful and impactful third political camp, especially in the disagreement with pro- and anti-government camps. Political discordance between young adults and their parents affects family and individual well-being. We examined a triadic approach to political discordance within families. We investigated different forms of parent-child political discordance among the three political camps. We examined its effect on mental health and the mediation effect of family communication. We conducted an online survey in 2021 with 492 young adults and 94 parents with children aged 18-30 years. The political neutrals differed from the yellows (i.e., anti-government) and the blues (i.e., pro-government) in the degree of support of the government, police, and anti-government protestors (ps < .001). The main results using generalized linear models with post hoc comparisons and structural regression models showed that family communication mediated the negative effects of political discordance on psychological distress in (1) neutral-versus-yellow families (B = .12, SE = .05) and (2) neutral-versus-blue families (B = .16, SE = .07). Beyond the yellow-versus-blue divide, the neutrals may constitute a third camp, which politically disagreed with family members from the yellow and the blue camps. We discussed the worsening of psychological distress and its underlying process in all forms of politically discordant families.

Burcu Kaya-Kızılöz, Shenel Husnu, Şerif Türkal-Yenigüç, and Ayşenur Talat-Zirilli

The Impact of Vicarious War Memories on Identity and Attitudes towards Reconciliation in Cyprus

Vicarious memories are memories of events that happen to others, such as friends or family members which can often be in the form of stories told within the family (Pillemer et al., 2015). These family stories are often passed down to the next generation and can influence the identity formation of children and help them learn how to navigate life (Merill et al., 2019). Similarly, traumatic memories like memories of World War II (Cordonnier et al., 2021) or memories of high impact public events like the Cultural Revolution in China (Gu et al, 2020) can also be transmitted to others. Studies have shown that vicarious and traumatic memories alike can impact cognitive tasks such as decision making and problem solving (Pond & Peterson, 2020). Therefore, the present study aims to investigate how the memories of war experiences by Greek and Turkish Cypriot parents affect the identities of their offspring who did not experience those events and how these vicarious memories in turn affect the attitudes of the offspring regarding peace and reconciliation between the two communities. With this goal, we aim to collect personal memories from the parents and vicarious memories from their children related to the war in Cyprus. Using a mixed methods design, we plan to investigate the relationship between how these memories are remembered as well as their impact on identity

processes and attitudinal measures regarding the outgroup and reconciliation. The research is currently in the preliminary stages and feedback for the later stages will be sought from the community.

16.00-17.30

Session 6 - Dynamics of Protracted Intergroup Conflicts

Charis Psaltis

Genetic Social Psychology: A Theoretical Framework to Understand Protracted Conflicts

The 21st century beyond the imminent threat of climate change has led humanity to changes that saw increasing inequalities, and more internal fragmentation, wars and suffering within and between various societies. Various group based identities and representations have been mobilised for collective struggles to fight off historical animosities, marginalisation, exclusion and inequalities on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, ethnic, linguistic, regional or country divisions. Elections in the USA, the Brexit Referendum and the COVID-19 pandemic have also made clear that the circulation of fake news, alternative truths and manipulated propaganda as well as an increasing anti-intellectualism is becoming not only a threat to democracy but also a threat to life itself. All these developments lead to the conclusion that both social and developmental psychology need to rethink their purpose and whether they are up to the task to contribute in any way to a holistic understanding of changing representations and identities that are at the basis of the collective problems currently faced by humanity. I will argue that such an articulation can only be achieved through a change orientated understanding of the interlocking processes of microgenesis, ontogenesis and sociogenesis of social representations (Lloyd and Duveen, 1990) through the extension of the theoretical framework of Genetic Social Psychology, which follows the key insights of late Gerard Duveen and our joint work in Cambridge (Psaltis & Duveen, 2006; 2007; Duveen & Psaltis, 2008; Psaltis, 2005).

Oliver Fink, Oded Adomi Leshem, and Eran Halperin

Dynamics of Division: How Political Events and Emotional Mechanisms Enhance Deep Divisions Further

Deeply divided societies don't exist in a vacuum, division-related and general political events constantly reshape our feelings of divisiveness — or inclusion — further, creating emotional boundaries within societies. Nevertheless, there are still significant open questions on how these emotional dynamics specifically contribute to solving or enhancing division and conflict. Two studies regarding emotions of Palestinians as elicited by directly and indirectly experienced conflict events are presented. The studies consist of an initial baseline survey of West Bank inhabitants and event-based follow-ups during different levels of conflict escalation. A special focus was given on the interplay between group- and individual emotions. Results shed light on the way Palestinians emotionally experience events like checkpoint confrontations or permit denials, over a timeline of four months during relevant political events (US embassy move to Jerusalem, Gaza "marches of return") and on the action tendencies which are linked with these experiences. Our findings suggest that emotions - besides evidently intensifying due to events — tend to "merge" between group- and individual emotions under intense event contexts. Practical implications for peacebuilding interventions as well as suggestions for further research are discussed.

Calvin Lam and Christian Chan

Non-apathetic Political Neutrality Exacerbates Violence and Mental Health Problems: Triangulating Online and Offline Data

Those who claim to be politically neutral are often neglected in the study of politically divided societies. Little is known about the nature of their neutrality; whether or not they are politically apathetic. During the 2019 social unrest, Hong Kong was divided into two politically opposed camps: the pro-government and the anti-government. In this study, we investigated how non-apathetic political neutrality impacted violence and mental well-being in this period. We triangulated online and offline data, with a focus on political identification, acceptance of violence, and mental well-being. We examined politically polarized social media data (N = 39,487,911) in 2019 as well as survey data from young adults (N = 657) aged between 18 and 30 in 2021. We analyzed the data using text mining, machine learning, latent profile analyses, latent markov models, generalized linear models, and generalized estimating equations. Both online and offline findings revealed a category of non-apathetic political neutrality. Survey findings showed that self-identified political neutrals have non-apathetic attitudes that favored or opposed violence toward politically polarized groups. Furthermore, non-apathetic political neutrality does not reflect political apathy. In addition to the traditional binary political spectrum, the identified political neutrality is an important dimension of political polarization. Those that are non-apathetically neutral may in fact be aggressive neutral, potentially constituting as a third group in politically polarized societies. Further investigation is needed to reveal the underlying mechanism of non-apathetic political neutrality on violence.

Kaja Warnke, Borja Martinovic, and Nimrod Rosler

Understanding Territorial Ownership Perceptions in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Person-Centered Approach

Land ownership claims are central in territorial conflicts, such as the Israel/Palestine conflict. Even though the groups involved tend to perceive the disputed land as belonging to their ingroup they may also to some extent see the rival outgroup as being entitled to the land. With this study we aim to advance the embryonic literature on territorial ownership perceptions by understanding better how people combine ingroup and outgroup ownership perceptions. Using a person-centred (opposed to the commonly used variable-centred) approach and drawing on survey data of Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel, we 1) identify profiles with differing ingroup and outgroup ownership perceptions, 2) examine how profile membership depends on group identifications and the endorsement of ownership principles, and 3) how reconciliation intentions and support for concrete territorial conflict solutions differ across the profiles. The majority of the Jews (87%) perceived exclusive ingroup ownership of the contested land, whereas 13% perceived shared Jewish and Palestinian ownership. In contrast, most Palestinians perceived moderate levels of shared ownership (43%) followed by ingroup ownership (36%), but we also identified profiles with high levels of shared ownership (11%) and even outgroup ownership (10%). We conclude that Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel have different understandings of land ownership. Complex patterns of endorsing various ownership principles and levels of group identifications explained profile membership, mostly in line with our expectations. Furthermore, the profiles differed in attitudes towards concrete territorial solutions and intergroup reconciliation, attesting to the importance of examining ownership perceptions in conflict regions from a person-centred approach.

Nikolas Soros

Media Dependency and Hope in Protracted Conflict

The present study aims to examine the extent to which media dependency on information about the Cyprus Conflict affects individuals hope appraisals about the conflict. Media dependency theory posits that in societal situations of conflict that are characterized by ambiguity, the

media play a primary role as information sources in resolving this ambiguity. Also, media dependency theory predicts that dependency on the media affects both emotions and behaviours. An examination of the media landscape of Cyprus shows that the media (television, newspapers) are conflict oriented. Thus, we expect that individuals who are dependent more on the media (television, radio, newspapers) for their information about the Cyprus Conflict will be more hopeless compared to individuals that are not informed about the Cyprus Conflict and individuals who are informed by non-mediated sources (family, friends, acquaintances). To test our hypothesis, the Appraisal-Based Framework for Hope in Conflict will be utilized. Specifically, through an ANCOVA we will test the three groups as to their hope and their political ideology will be used as a covariate

Sunday 10.00-11.30

Session 7: Affective experiences of intergroup contact & conflict

Elisavet Panagiotou and Maria Ioannou

What do People Imagine When they Imagine Positive Contact?

While there is growing support for the prejudice-reduction effects of imagined contact, knowledge of the content of imagery in imagined contact studies remains scarce. This qualitative study aims to address this gap by unravelling the ways of imagining an intergroup encounter that is indeed positive. Our data consist of the imagined contact stories of 43 participants in two imagined contact studies conducted in Cyprus, a post-conflict context characterised by low levels of contact because of long-standing division across ethnic lines. Our analysis yielded four themes corresponding to four ways of construing positive contact: imagining a good Other, a similar Other, an inferior Other, as well as imagining successfully overcoming obstacles emerging before or during contact. While participants came up with ways to imagine positive contact that are consistent with intergroup contact literature (e.g., intergroup similarities, decategorisation), a closer look at the findings reveals that in composing a positive intergroup experience, participants made use of dysfunctional stereotypes and conflict-perpetuating narratives whose objective is to protect their superior status and to ensure their safety during contact. The findings serve as a word of caution for imagined contact as a prejudice-reduction intervention and they also attest to the importance of deeply knowing the psychological composition of the groups which (imagined) contact interventions typically aim to tackle.

Thia Sagherian-Dickey

"Anybody on this side of the wall is 'your people'. I'm safe": Everyday Strategies for Peace and Conflict in Lebanon and Northern Ireland
The narratives and norms that shape contentious and violent intergroup relations in deeply divided societies often remain long after peace
agreements have been signed. This can be complicated by victims, perpetrators, bystanders and former enemies sharing geographic and
social space, thus posing a threat to the uneasy post-accord nature of such contexts. Yet, people must learn to 'get on with life', manoeuvring
their everyday living through the precarious nature of ongoing and recurring intergroup tensions and structural challenges in post-accord
societies. Drawing on theories from peace and conflict studies (everyday peace, Mac Ginty 2014, 2021) and social psychology (contact
hypothesis and intergroup trust), this paper engages with material from a series of in-depth interviews conducted with residents (including
civilians, community leaders and former combatants) living in urban neighbourhoods and rural areas of Lebanon and Northern Ireland. These

interviews combine life histories with walking interviews, carried out in areas characterised by division and encounter, and by historical violence. In this paper, the author examines how people manage their everyday lives against the continuities and changes of peace and conflict before and after the peace accord. The paper identifies the strategies and tactics that individuals and groups use in their daily routines to navigate insecurity and coexist despite past or present enmities. This empirical work considers the implications of such strategies for the future of peacebuilding in deeply divided societies.

Tal Orian Harel, Ifat Maoz, and Eran Halperin

A Threat to Cohesion: External Threats and Intragroup Affective Polarization in the Context of Protracted Intergroup Conflict

External threats are traditionally considered to increase cohesion and unity within groups. Nevertheless, as seen in places such as South
Korea, Ukraine, and Israel, violent conflict with an outgroup can come hand in hand with intensified political polarization within the ingroup.

In the current study, we suggest that in the context of protracted intergroup conflict, where the external threat is persistent, a distinctive type of polarization can develop between political groups perceiving the external threat differently. Specifically, under threatening circumstances, political subgroups holding hawkish (right-wing) versus dovish (left-wing) ideologies can come to see each other as posing a threat to important aspects of the common ingroup, primarily the group's security and moral image. Thus, we argue that in response to an external threat, intragroup dynamics can actually fuel affective polarization and reduce internal cohesion. We tested this set of hypotheses and examined how these processes unfold in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and political polarization within Israeli society, in a national sample of Jewish-Israelis (n=500) who identified as either leftists or rightists. The findings are generally consistent with our hypotheses. We discuss the implication of such polarization both on ideological conflict within society and for resolving external conflicts.

Elena Constantinou and Maria Ioannou

Emotions Elicited by Positive vs. Negative Imagined Encounters: The Detrimental Effect of Anger

The study of negative intergroup contact (Paolini et al., 2010) has illustrated the detrimental the effects of negative contact on intergroup relations and which factors these effects. Contributing to this field of knowledge we explored the role of discrete emotions induced by an imagined positive vs. negative encounter in intergroup outcomes and assessed discrete emotions as possible mediators of this relationship. In two experiments (N=73; N=88) with Greek-Cypriot participants, we showed that imagining negative contact with a Turkish-Cypriot individual led to more negative attitudes, intergroup anxiety and contact avoidance compared to positive contact, an effect partially mediated by anger elicited during negative intergroup contact. We examined feelings of anger in more depth by contrasting the stories of individuals reporting high (+1SD) vs. low (-1SD) anger during negative imagined contact, to explore how these stories qualitatively differed. Our findings show that while in both groups, individuals express the wish to exit the negative contact situation, this happens quickly and before the conflict (typically revolving around intergroup disputes) escalates in the low-anger stories. In the high-anger stories, individuals were more likely to report engaging with the unpleasant conversation resulting in irritation. Identified sources of irritation were: (a) ingroup being judged; (b) the interlocutor being blatantly provocatory; (c) the interlocutor being intransigent; (d) the interlocutor does not reciprocate respect. Exploring imagined contact stories in this depth allows us to identify which elements of negative contact can be particularly impactful for intergroup relations

Nur Kassem, Tamar Avihail, Maya Tamir, Anat Perry, and Eran Halperin Learning to Accept in the Context of Intergroup Conflict Addressing discrimination and inequality among disadvantaged group members is threatening for advantaged members. Thus, encounters with disadvantaged members trigger aversive emotions such as contempt among the advantaged. We suggest a psychological intervention that can promote advantaged members' support for equality. Emotional acceptance is an active willingness to experience thoughts, emotions, and sensations in a non-judgmental manner without avoiding them. 284 Israeli participants were divided into acceptance and control conditions. The acceptance group underwent training in which they employed the acceptance technique while recalling negative emotions, while the control condition did not receive emotional regulation instructions. Next, participants were informed that they would meet a Palestinian citizen of Israel to discuss discrimination and – as an introduction– will watch a video of the same Palestinian person presenting discriminatory health practices in Israel. Participants were asked to apply their respective conditions' instructions while watching the clip. Following the video, participants reported on their emotional experience, support of equality, and openness toward the outgroup. The findings of the research show that the acceptance intervention is effective in reducing contempt emotions. Moreover, an interaction effect was found – the intervention increased openness toward the outgroup, support of equality, and conciliatory policies among those who wished to experience high levels of contempt compared to participants who wished to experience low levels of contempt only in the experimental condition. This is the first acceptance intervention to demonstrate its effectiveness in an intractable intergroup context. Moreover, this intervention requires minimal emotional motivation yet demonstrated effectiveness in promoting equality among a resistant population of participants who wish to experience negative emotions toward the outgroup.

Session 8: Paths to reconciliation

Shenel Husnu and Stefania Paolini

Volitional Intergroup Imagery as a Means to Encourage Contact Seeking

Over 70 years of research into intergroup contact provides evidence to the positive effects of contact experiences. Despite this, there is a lack of will for many in seeking contact, or, volitional contact. Volition broadly includes the ability to initiate actions based on one's own motivation and decision (as opposed to external, mandated or forced circumstances). In terms of contact volition, it implies that individuals actively, freely and willingly put themselves in situations of contact with outgroups. Understanding why people approach (vs. avoid) contact situations will prove important as it will help us understand why the promises of contact remain unrealized is several real life settings. Based on this, the aim of the talk will be to cover research conducted on volitional contact imagery in order to ascertain what predictors are influential in contact seeking. Specifically, we will present evidence on the role of valence of contact, type of salient past contact experiences, as well as individual factors such as pro-contact exploration motivations in imagined contact. We will further argue that volitional mental imagery may serve as a 'mental contact script' which, when activated becomes cognitively accessible and may guide contact-seeking behavior for future contact seeking.

Orkun Yetkili and Nur Agdelen

Social Identity and Intergroup Relations in North Cyprus

People can classify themselves and others along multiple dimensions of category membership simultaneously (e.g. being Christian and Turkish at the same time). The fact that individuals are assigned to a number of different social categories brings out the possibility of combinations

and raises questions about how, to what extent and under which contexts these identities relate to each other. Social identity theory assumes that people's group memberships are part of their self-concept. When one's social identity is activated within a situation, ingroup bias processes will also be activated where intergroup differentiation and intragroup assimilation lead to favoring one's ingroup over the outgroup. In light of the social identity theory, the present project is designed to test the idea that salience of ingroup membership is relevant to the perceptions of and attitudes towards the outgroups. The approach for manipulating salience in these studies is to assign Turkish Cypriot participants in different experimental conditions where various social identities; including one's ethnic and civic identities are primed while measuring attitudes and behavioral intentions towards Greek Cypriot outgroup.

Milica Ninkovic and Iris Zezelj

Gateways or Hybrids: How Dual Identity Compatibility Shapes the Role of Dual Identifiers in the Intergroup Relations

Recent studies revealed that dually identified (DI) individuals can act as a gateway between the two groups they represent. Simultaneous identification with a person's ingroup and outgroup makes them a gateway group (GG) – i.e. a bridge between the two. However, there is also evidence that DI individuals are perceived as bearers of a hybrid identity – i.e. as having none of the two identities, thus evaluated even more negatively than the outgroup. We argue that one of the causes of this gap is perceived dual identity compatibility (DIC): a perceiver's belief about how dual identifiers experience their two identity components. In Study 1 (N=127), we examined if participants' (Serbs) preconception about DIC of the GG (people of Serb-Bosniak origin) predicted attitudes towards the relevant outgroup (Bosniaks). In Study 2 (N=196), we experimentally varied the presentation of the same GG as (a) compatibly and (b) incompatibly dually identified. Both studies showed that only group members with attributed compatible DI were perceived as a bridge. Compatibility led to more inclusion of others in the self, and more favorable outgroup attitudes. Only if the DI individuals are perceived to experience them as compatible, they act as gateway groups.

Ori Wiener-Blotner and Keren Sharvit

Considering Deep Divides in Intractable Conflicts: An Exploration of the Informative Process Model

Peacemaking is especially challenging in deeply divided societies, where members become accustomed to conflict-supporting narratives and don't see value in exploring alternative perspectives. The Transtheoretical Model, describing stage of change, refers to the early stage, in which individuals don't even consider changing costly behaviors, as pre-contemplation, whereas the next stage is contemplation. According to the model, transition from precontemplation to contemplation requires a sense of ambivalence, achieved by weighing costs and benefits of current attitudes. The Informative Process Model (IPM) proposes that informing individuals about the processes through which conflict-supporting narratives develop, and suggesting that they can change via comparison to similar conflicts resolved peacefully, can facilitate unfreezing and attitude change. Preliminary tests of IPM-based interventions have been promising. The current research sought to establish the effect of an IPM-based message on the early stage of contemplating attitude change, as distinct from actual change. Israeli Jewish participants received an IPM-based (vs. control) intervention and listed reasons to change and\or maintain current beliefs about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Quantitative analysis focused on the numbers of reasons listed, and qualitative analysis on the contents of responses. The findings provide insights into the process through which IPM-based interventions facilitate unfreezing of conflict-supporting narratives.

Nimrod Rosler, Boaz Hameiri, Keren Sharvit and Daniel Bar-Tal

Changing minds in Deeply Divided Societies: The Informative Process Model as a New Intervention to Promote Peace

Promoting peacemaking in deeply divided societies is especially challenging in situations of intractable conflict, where attitudes are deeply entrenched and frozen. The collective narratives developed in such conflicts assist coping with the challenges society members face but also fuel the continuation of the conflict. Hence, in order to advance conflict resolution, it is necessary to change conflict-supporting narratives while finding alternate means to fulfill the important functions they serve. We propose a new approach to attitude change interventions, which we call the Informative Process Model (IPM). This approach suggests that informing individuals about the socio-psychological processes through which they form and maintain their beliefs and attitudes in the context of intractable conflict while explaining that these narratives fuel the conflict and suggesting alternative ones can facilitate meaningful, durable attitude change. We tested the model among a representative sample of Jewish-Israelis (N=500) by using short innovative videos developed following the IPM principles as an intervention. Compared to the control group, in the experimental condition participants expressed more openness and unfreezing with regards to their attitudes on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as well as increased support for negotiations. The effects were moderated by political ideology.