June 2 – June 5, 2017
Landgoed Ekenstein, Appingedam, The Netherlands
Dear participant of the “Winds of Change” conference,

On behalf of the organizing team (Luzia, Ana, Aharon, Siwar, Eran and myself), I wish you a very warm welcome at Landgoed Ekenstein! We hope you will enjoy your stay here in the North of the Netherlands, and will find the meeting to be a stimulating and inspiring one.

The meeting brings together international researchers who are interested in processes of change in intergroup conflict. We hope this provides a platform from which ideas can be exchanged, collaborations developed, and new directions for research explored among both established and emerging researchers. The format of the meeting is single session (so no parallel tracks), and the schedule provides ample space for discussion and social interaction. Besides plenary presentations, we also have poster sessions that allow for informal discussion and exchange of ideas.

Between sessions, there will be plenty of coffee, tea, and other refreshments. Indeed, all accommodation, food (including breakfast, lunch and dinner), and evening drinks (up to 3-4 regular drinks per evening --- everything else or anything more expensive you need to pay yourself) are catered for by the kind people of Landgoed Ekenstein. Please be sure to let us or the caterers know about any dietary requirements, or any other questions you may have. Furthermore, the program also includes a mysterious social event at the end of Saturday afternoon, which will take about 2 hours, after which dinner and drinks will be served.

We very much hope that you will enjoy the meeting. Of course, if you have any questions during your stay, do not hesitate to let us know!

The organizing committee
Ana Leal, Luzia Heu, Inga Pauls, and Martijn van Zomeren (local organizers)
& Aharon Levy, Siwar Aslih, and Eran Halperin (co-organizers)
Friday, June 2, 2017

16.00 – 19.00 Arrival, check-in, and drinks at Landgoed Ekenstein

16.30 Departure bus from Groningen train station to Landgoed Ekenstein

19.00 Welcome dinner at Landgoed Ekenstein
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<td>9.00</td>
<td>Welcome and introduction by Martijn van Zomeren</td>
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<td>9.15</td>
<td><strong>Keynote talk: Eran Halperin (IDC Herzliya)</strong></td>
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<td>Jocelyn Belanger (New York University, Abu Dhabi)</td>
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<td>Paradoxical thinking conflict resolution intervention: Comparison to</td>
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<td>alternative interventions and examination of psychological mechanisms</td>
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<td><strong>Ángel Gómez (UNED Madrid)</strong></td>
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<td><em>Identity change</em></td>
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<td>Aharon Levy (University of Groningen/IDC Herzliya)</td>
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<td>Gateway groups and social identity change</td>
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<td><strong>Anne Marthe van der Bles (University of Groningen)</strong></td>
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<td>Understanding collective discontent: its international incidence and</td>
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<td>Anna Kende (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)</td>
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<td>Anti-Muslim prejudice and nationalism on the margins of Europe</td>
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<td>Namkje Koudenburg (University of Groningen)</td>
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<td>The polarizing effects of group discussion in a negative normative context</td>
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16.00  **BLITZ TALKS & POSTER SESSION 1**

**Shira Ran (IDC Herzliya)**
The intergenerational socialization of empathy in intergroup settings

**Maarten van Bezouw (VU University Amsterdam)**
Psychological justification processes in discourse about political inactivity

**Maja Kutlaca (University of Osnabruck)**
Moral inclinations and emotions in the context of the refugee crisis
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<td>Willing and able? Outgroup change motivation beliefs promote intergroup relations</td>
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<td><strong>Ruthie Pliskin (New York University)</strong></td>
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<td>Holding on to hope (or fear): Emotional change in the service of ideological self-justification</td>
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<td><strong>Siwar Hasan Aslih (University of Groningen/IDC Herzliya)</strong></td>
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<td>When we want them to fear us: The motivation to influence outgroup emotions in collective action.</td>
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<td><strong>Yossi Hasson (IDC Herzliya)</strong></td>
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<td>Standing in the outgroup’s virtual shoes: The impact of virtual perspective taking on intergroup empathy in conflictual context</td>
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<td>Empowerment</td>
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<td>(Dis)empowering prejudice through collective action</td>
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<td><strong>Huseyin Cakal (Keele University)</strong></td>
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<td>Emotion for the movement and efficacy for activism: Antecedents of identity change among the sympathizers, opponents, and the indifferent in a conflictual social movement in Kashmir</td>
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<td>Pontus Leander (University of Groningen)</td>
<td>How unmet primed achievement goals motivate intervention in the Syrian civil war</td>
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<td>Eric Shuman (IDC Herzliya)</td>
<td>What kinds of collective action are effective? Examining effects of collective action on high-power group members</td>
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<td>16.00</td>
<td>Susanne Täuber (University of Groningen)</td>
<td>Motivated inaction: A research agenda for its effects on empowerment, identity formation and transformation</td>
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<td>16.30</td>
<td><strong>BLITZ TALKS &amp; POSTER SESSION 2</strong></td>
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<td>Sam Nunney (Cardiff University)</td>
<td>Exploring the application of the Staircase Model of Intergroup Apologies</td>
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<td>Hanna Szekeres (Eötvös Loránd University Budapest)</td>
<td>“It must be true then”: The intergroup consequences of failure to confront racism</td>
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<td>Laura Nesbitt (University of Exeter)</td>
<td>‘Being angry or becoming angry? How dynamic change in emotion can predict change in prosocial action intentions’</td>
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<td>Sara Vestergren (University of Sussex)</td>
<td>The phenomenon of psychological change through collective action – a case study</td>
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Monday, June 5, 2017

07.30 – 10.00 Farewell Breakfast and Departure from Landgoed Ekenstein

09.00 Departure bus from Landgoed Ekenstein to Groningen train station
POSTER SESSIONS 1 and 2

Session 1 (Saturday)

Helena Radke (University of Osnabruck)
Collective action at the Brisbane G20 meeting

Nóra Lantos (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)
The bridge between intergroup attitudes and ally action for social change: Anti-Roma prejudice and collective action on behalf of the Roma

Session 2 (Sunday)

Steph Johnson Zawadzki (University of Groningen)
How the political climate “Trumps” the natural climate

Marloes Huis (University of Groningen)
Women empowerment: The interplay between personal and relational empowerment

Canan Coşkan (Kemerburgaz University Istanbul) & Gülseli Baysu (Kadir Has University Istanbul)
Dual path model of collective action among seculars, liberals and leftists during two consecutive elections in 2015 in Turkey
ABSTRACTS

Saturday, June 3, 2017

Eran Halperin (IDC Herzliya)

*Emotion regulation in intractable conflict: From Micro-level emotional change to large-scale social dynamics*

Recent years have seen researchers making initial steps towards drawing on insights from emotion research in the study of intergroup conflicts. More recently, knowledge about emotion regulation have been used to examine and promote constructive change in intergroup conflicts. These are important steps, but they are also very preliminary. I argue that the knowledge on emotion and emotion regulation cannot simply be implanted “as is” into the study of these unique contexts, and that the transition between studying micro level emotional change to large scale social dynamics requires more in-depth thinking. My talk will begin with outlining the importance but also the challenges of integrating these two disciplines. From there I'll proceed to detailing the contextual factors unique to intractable conflict that must be taken into account when studying emotional processes, and then to a review of recent work studying various aspects of emotions and emotion regulation processes in different conflicts. Finally, I'll discuss the challenges facing those wishing to incorporate emotion regulation research into the understanding of large scale change within societies.

Jocelyn Belanger (New York University, Abu Dhabi)

*To hell and back: How ordinary people become terrorists and leave terrorism behind*

The topic of terrorism is at the forefront of the world's attention and poses challenging questions concerning the psychological processes of radicalization and de-radicalization. Among the most pressing questions are: Why are individuals willing to end their lives to harm others? Can we change the hearts and minds of those that have already engaged in terrorism? In this talk, I present evidence suggesting that both radicalization and de-radicalization are driven by the same motivational force: The Quest for Personal Significance ("to matter", "to be respected", "to be someone"). Empirical evidence collected worldwide, including samples from various terrorist organizations, indicates that awakening the significance quest enhances individuals' willingness to self-sacrifice in the name of a cause and engage in terrorism. On the other hand, I will present data from the first attempt to assess the efficacy of a de-radicalization program, involving thousands of detained terrorists, suggesting that the significance quest can be turned around and redirected in a constructive direction, paving the way to conciliation, conflict resolution, pro-social behaviors, and harmony in intergroup relations.
Boaz Hameiri (IDC Herzliya)

Paradoxical thinking conflict resolution intervention: Comparison to alternative interventions and examination of psychological mechanisms

Peace promoting interventions based on the paradoxical thinking principles, i.e., expressing amplified, exaggerated of even absurd ideas, that are congruent with the held conflict-supporting societal beliefs, were shown to be an effective avenue of intervention both in an online field study (Hameiri, Porat, Bar-Tal, Bieler & Halperin, 2014) and in a real-world campaign (Hameiri, Porat, Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2016), especially among more rightist participants. However, the question as to why they are effective remained unanswered. In the present study we examined possible underlying psychological mechanisms, focusing on participants’ sense of surprise, and identity threat. In order to do so, we compared two different paradoxical thinking interventions with alternative interventions, which were based on providing inconsistent information. In Study 1 we found among Jewish-Israelis that the paradoxical thinking intervention executed using leading questions (that encouraged participants to make statements that were consistent, but more extreme, than their own held attitudes and beliefs), compared to the inconsistent approach led rightist participants to show more unfreezing of held societal beliefs, and openness to alternative information. In Study 2, we found in a longitudinal study that a media-based paradoxical thinking campaign led the rightist participants to show more unfreezing, and openness to alternative information; whereas a campaign that provided inconsistent information was more effective with the more centrist participants. Both studies provide evidence that the underlying psychological mechanism was a sense of surprise from the paradoxical thinking content, and a sense of threat to one’s identity, to which individuals resisted.

Ángel Gómez (UNED Madrid)

Can strong ties to groups be severed? Causes and consequences of identity de-fusion

Evidence linking “identity fusion” (a visceral feeling of union with a group) to violent pro-group behaviors suggests the need to develop “de-fusion” strategies. Here we propose a research program combining field data with online studies to determine strategies that might help to prevent, reduce, or eliminate violent behavior associated with being fused with a group. Field data with individuals belonging to radical groups (hooligans) or that belonged in the past (ex-ISIL members returned to Europe, ex-Tamil Tiger members of the LTTE in Sri Lanka, and ex-ETA members in the Basque Country), and online studies with the general population, revealed several factors that caused de-radicalization in the past via de-fusion or that might cause it in the future. A series of online experiments then tested whether these factors could actually cause de-fusion. A first set of Experiments identified boundary conditions of de-fusion effects. They showed that it was possible to reduce state fusion, and that de-fusion occurred when allegations of intragroup disharmony came from ingroup but not outgroup sources. Follow-up studies compared the effectiveness of four likely causes of de-fusion: intragroup disharmony, betrayal, discrepant core values and self-verification deficits. All four factors reduced state fusion. Further experiments examined outcome variables linked to fusion. Lowering perceptions of intragroup harmony reduced endorsement of fighting and dying for the group and enacting actual pro-group
behavior. These effects were mediated by perceptions of invulnerability, agency, and familial ties. Apparently, the findings demonstrate that strategies to reduce identity fusion are a potential approach to prevent radicalization.

Aharon Levy (University of Groningen/IDC Herzliya)

*Gateway groups and social identity change*

Social identity is often referred to as a dichotomy, i.e. ingroup and outgroup, “us” vs. “them”. Nevertheless, it is evident that the modern era of globalization has led to the sharing of multiple identities by individuals and groups, which in turn is bringing about significant changes to the existing dichotomous social identity constructs. Following these developments, research has focused on the issue of multiple identities, and has shed important light on how individuals who hold these complex forms of identity feel and behave, and on the reactions they elicit from members of other groups. However, the potential of groups with such multiple identities (e.g. biracials, immigrants, etc.) to affect elements of social identification, and thus change the intergroup dynamics between the groups that represent the respective sources of the different identities (e.g. Blacks and Whites, country of origin and country of residence, etc.), has not been examined to date. We tested this idea across four studies. Studies 1a and 1b were real-world correlational studies which revealed positive correlations between the perception of a dual identity and attitudes towards the outgroup. In Study 2 and 3 we demonstrated experimentally that the mere presence of a group with a dual identity positively changed outgroup orientations. In Study 4 we demonstrated how the manipulation of perceived dual identity can help improve attitudes towards the outgroup, and provided initial indications regarding the mechanisms underlying the process at hand. Importantly, in Study 4 we found that the exposure to a group with a dual identity actually changed social identification, and participants exposed to such complex identities displayed diminished levels of ingroup identification. We discuss the implications of the findings for the improvement of intergroup relations, and offer an outline for future research.

Anne Marthe van der Bles (University of Groningen)

*Understanding collective discontent: its international incidence and consequences for voting for extreme parties*

In recent years, various countries around the world seem to have developed a collective sense of doom and gloom about society. This collective discontent appears to have influenced important political developments, such as the successes of Donald Trump or the Brexit campaign. Within these developments, there seem to be different groups with widely different views of how their country is doing and where it should be going. We argue that to understand these developments, we should not only look for individual-level attitudinal explanations but also study collective societal discontent. We propose that societal discontent should be studied as an aspect of Zeitgeist. We conceptualize Zeitgeist as a collective-level global evaluation of the state of society. Our previous research has shown that it can be operationalized as a general factor (Z). A field study conducted during the
2015 Dutch elections (N = 407) studied showed that a more pessimistic Zeitgeist predicted voting for both extreme right- and left-wing parties, whereas personal discontent did not. Results also showed that tabloid-style media use and education level were associated with Zeitgeist. Furthermore, a cross-national study in 28 countries (N = 6112, e.g., Brazil, Canada, Indonesia) aimed to develop an international measure of Zeitgeist. Measurement invariance analyses showed this scale was reliable and valid across these countries. We explored relationships between Zeitgeist and country-level indicators of inequality and (economic) quality of life. The results affirm our hypothesis that a cross-national measure of societal discontent can help explain national-level phenomena such as a rising level of polarization.

Anna Kende (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Anti-Muslim prejudice and nationalism on the margins of Europe

Anti-Muslim prejudice is an emerging phenomenon even in countries with a small Muslim population. The increase in anti-Muslim prejudice is related to the highly politicized terrorist threat narrative and the influx of refugees in Europe. Previous research established a straightforward connection between nationalism and xenophobia, but little is known about the role of identification with Europe in various forms of anti-Muslim prejudice. We tested this connection in two countries with vastly different economic, political, and cultural backgrounds, however with a shared position in Europe as being both an insider and an outsider. Our surveys in Hungary (N = 579) and in Norway (N = 582) revealed that it is not nationalism per se that predicts antagonism toward Muslim people, but rather a general attitude of glorifying the ingroup, or defining citizenship in ethnic rather than civic terms. We also found that predicting the approval of discrimination of hijab-wearing Muslim women by national/European glorification was mediated by anti-Muslim prejudice, but not mediated by anti-immigrant attitudes. On the other hand, predicting the disregard for the needs of refugees by national/European glorification was mediated only by anti-immigrant attitudes, and not by anti-Muslim prejudice. These findings point out that a strong European identity does not counter xenophobic attitudes, but works similarly to strong national identification. Furthermore, despite their strong correlations, anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant prejudice are not identical, as they have different behavioral correlates even in the current anti-Muslim—anti-immigrant political climate of Europe.

Namkje Koudenburg (University of Groningen)

The polarizing effects of group discussion in a negative normative context

Society polarizes, especially on views about immigrants. This research examines the increasingly observed process of polarization of local groups in society. We simultaneously examined the influence of a negative (vs. positive) general category norm about a minority group and the influence of communication within specific local groups on intergroup perceptions. In three studies among high school and university students (Study 1: n = 50, Study 2: n = 159, Study 3: n = 138), we manipulated the societal norm about a minority outgroup (positive vs. negative). Subsequently, participants read about a minority member’s ambiguous behaviour and evaluated this target. Although the studies use a similar
paradigm, they vary in the extent to which the ambiguous behaviour is discussed within local groups. Interestingly, we found that the effects of a category norm change once people interact about these norms in a local group. Specifically, local group discussions give rise to processes of polarization (of both evaluations of a specific minority group target, as well as attitudes towards the minority group in general), but only in the context of a negative category norm on minority groups. Thus, although perceptions about the minority group can be either negatively fuelled or positively nourished by discussion in local groups, overall the negative climate of debate increases the polarization between local groups in society.

Shira Ran (IDC Herzliya)

*The intergenerational socialization of empathy in intergroup settings*

Parents play an important role in shaping how their children experience the world, however there is little research examining how parents help children structure and regulate their emotional worlds in intergroup settings, where emotions and their socialization play an important role in shaping attitudes towards the outgroup. Thus, this process of socializing emotional processes between parents and children in intergroup conflicts could help explain how children are socialized into an ongoing intergroup conflict. In the current research, we examine when and how empathy transmits from parent to child and what the parents do to make it happen. Across several studies, we have indeed found that in the intergroup context there is a relationship between the mothers' intents regarding the emotional socialization and the emotional outcomes of the children towards the outgroup. This indicates that parents help socialize their children by directing their emotional orientation towards the outgroup.

Maarten van Bezouw (VU University Amsterdam)

*Psychological justification processes in discourse about political inactivity*

People who are aware of a persistent grievance or disadvantage can engage in cognitive justification processes to maintain a feeling of self-worth instead of actively changing their situation. Social Identity Theory (SIT) and System Justification Theory (SJT) acknowledge the existence of several cognitive coping strategies aimed at bolstering the group (SIT) or system (SJT). The current study aims at bridging these two theories by exploring the underlying mechanism of justification more broadly to uncover how, why, and when people employ justification processes in relation to political inactivity. Adding a novel approach to the predominantly quantitative work in this field, we conducted 26 focus groups of 4-8 participants in post-authoritarian Brazil, post-communist Hungary, and mature democracy the Netherlands to cover a range of politically interesting contexts. Questions about societal issues and political (in)action spurred people to spontaneously engage in several kinds of justification processes related to political inactivity. Thematic analysis shows that that justification of the individual, group, or system differed depending on the type of argument people tried to convey, rather than being systematically linked to bolstering the group or system. Moreover, justification processes were relevant not only in how people express and cope with current political grievances but also in how they explain their own past political
Maja Kutlaca (University of Osnabruck)

*Moral inclinations and emotions in the context of the refugee crisis*

Public opinion is highly divided on whether refugees should be welcomed. Some people empathize with their plight, whereas others fear the consequences of this decision. The present research offers a new insight on the antecedents of empathy, by investigating how individuals’ moral judgments shape their emotional responses. Previous research on moral decision making showed that those driven by moral principles rather than consequences also score higher on trait empathic concern. However, previous research traditionally assessed individuals’ moral judgments with responses on trolley problems, a methodology which has been criticized for being too artificial. As an alternative measure of moral reasoning, we simply asked people whether they agreed with a description of each form of moral judgment. In two studies with students (N=163) and Mturk workers (N=165), our 2-item measure correlated with the traditional and the process dissociation measure (Conway & Gawronski, 2013). Next, in a survey with Dutch citizens (N=172, 116 female) we used these items to investigate public perceptions and emotions about refugees in the Netherlands. The results showed that those driven by principles rather than consequences perceived the refusal of asylum as a moral violation and felt more empathy for refugees and anger about their plight. We discuss the relation between moral reasoning and emotions in real world moral dilemmas.
Kea Brahms (IDC Herzliya)

*In the eye of the beholder: How moral emotion motivation shapes justice perceptions*

Justice perceptions are central in intergroup conflicts and social change processes. They give rise to powerful group-based emotions, such as anger or guilt, and are an indispensable prerequisite of collective action. In recent years, researchers have begun exploring the motivated nature of justice construals and shown that they are influenced by different material, social, and moral motives. In this investigation, we expand this list by exploring the role of emotion motivation as an influence on justice perceptions. Emotion motivation, the desire to feel or avoid certain emotions, is a crucial determinant of the direction of emotion regulation. We argue that the active alteration of justice perceptions constitutes a form of emotion regulation. Given that discrete moral emotions are tied to the experience of injustice from different perspectives, we hypothesized that people were more likely to appraise a situation as unjust if a) as observers of injustice they were motivated to feel angry; b) as victims of injustice they were motivated to feel angry; and c) as beneficiaries of injustice they were motivated to feel guilty. In one correlational and three experimental studies we found the expected pattern, namely that emotion motivation predicted justice perceptions of observers, victims, and beneficiaries of injustice even when other motives were accounted for. These findings shift current views of justice perceptions as mere antecedents of emotional experience to being an integral part of the emotion regulation process.

Smadar Cohen-Chen (University of Surrey)

*Willing and able? Outgroup change motivation beliefs promote intergroup relations*

Within the context of intergroup conflict, a large volume of literature on implicit theories has demonstrated that malleable beliefs regarding groups can reduce negative emotions and induce support for conciliatory attitudes towards a specific outgroup. However, belief in malleability must be joined by a perception about motivation to change in order for a real and deep-rooted transformation to occur. Although the importance of perceptions regarding the potential for change in groups has long been established, far less attention has been directed toward perceptions of whether groups have a desire or motivation to change their nature and characteristics. Four studies examined the effect of a change motivation perception intervention on policy support through both increased hope for change and intergroup attitudes. Studies 1 and 2 addressed interclass relations in the United States, demonstrating that inducing a perception of people living in poverty as motivated to change increased hope for the future and more positive perceptions of the group. This further induced support for welfare policies. Studies 3 and 4 focused on intergroup relations in a more extreme context of an intractable conflict in the form of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Similar to the previous studies, inducing a perception of Palestinians as motivated to change their nature increased support for peace-supporting policies through both higher levels of hope for peace and more positive intergroup attitudes. Across studies, change
motivation perceptions induced support for conciliatory policies through both hope and intergroup attitudes, above and beyond both general and context-specific malleability beliefs.

Ruthie Pliskin (New York University)

*Holding on to hope (or fear): Emotional change in the service of ideological self-justification*

Do individuals change their emotions so as to justify their ideology, experiencing ideology-congruent emotions even when real-world events discourage their experience? The present research examines whether the belief that an emotion justifies and validates one’s ideological beliefs motivates individuals to experience that emotion. In Study 1 (N = 76), we employ a repeated measures design over two weeks of violent escalation in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and find that leftists maintain hope of the violence subsiding despite accumulated exposure to violent events, while rightists’ hope diminishes over time. Studies 2 (N = 125) and 3 (N = 125) provide evidence in support of our hypothesis that the belief that an emotion justifies one’s ideology drives individuals to experience that emotion in response to ambiguous targets. Jewish-Israeli and American leftists believe that hope justifies their ideology more than rightists do, and rightists believe that fear justifies their ideology more than leftists do. In both cases, this belief mediates ideology’s relation to the subsequent experience of emotion in response to a conflict resolution opportunity, eventually predicting levels of support for the opportunity. Finally, Study 4 (N = 96) tests this relationship causally to understand whether these beliefs cause individuals to change their emotions by manipulating U.S. liberals’ belief that hope justifies (or undermines) their ideology. We find that liberals are more likely to experience hope for resisting Trump following his election, and show greater support for hope-related behaviors, when prompted to believe hope justifies their ideology. The findings’ contributions and implications are discussed.

Julia Sasse (Max Planck Institute, Bonn)

*Caught in the middle? Exploring the role of collective benefits and individual costs in women’s willingness to express anger about sexism*

We investigate why women often do not object to sexism, despite the fact that they recognize it. One way to object is to express anger: Anger can communicate to the out-group that a valued relationship has been damaged and stimulate constructive actions. At the same time, anger is perceived as incongruent with being a woman and is part of the negative stereotype about feminists. Thus, while expressing anger may improve the situation for the collective it may be perceived as costly for the individual. Consequently, we expect that valuing collective benefits should increase and perceiving individual costs should reduce women’s willingness to express anger. To test this, we presented 103 women with a sexist text and measured how much anger they experienced and were willing to express in a response to the post. As expected, expressed anger was lower than experienced anger. Importantly, expressed anger was (marginally) positively predicted by collective benefits
and negatively by individual costs. This demonstrates that individual costs may pose a barrier to objecting to sexism. In Study 2 (323 women) we then investigated whether social support may encourage women to express more anger. Indeed, experiencing social support encouraged distinctive feminists (i.e., those highly identified with feminists but not with women) to express anger to the same extent as they experienced it. Taken together, these studies highlight some of the motives women may have for (not) expressing anger about sexism and show that social support may be one way to increase women’s willingness to do so.

Siwar Hasan Aslih (University of Groningen/IDC Herzliya)

When we want them to fear us: The motivation to influence outgroup emotions in collective action.

Prior work has shown that the experience of group-based emotions can motivate individuals to engage in collective action. In the current research, we propose that collective action among disadvantaged group members can also be driven by the motivation to induce certain emotions among the outgroup. Specifically, disadvantaged group members seek to alter the emotions of the outgroup in collective action to the extent they believe this would help them attain their social change goals. We tested this hypothesis in two correlational studies within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. We examined preferences of Palestinians for inducing regret and fear among Israeli Jews through collective action. In Study 1, we show that individuals’ motivation to induce outgroup regret was associated with their support for non-violent collective action; whereas the motivation to induce outgroup fear was related to violent action. In Study 2, we assessed two goals of social change: non-confrontational and confrontational goals. We found that preferences for inducing outgroup regret mediated the relationship between endorsement of non-confrontational goals and nonviolent action tendencies, whereas preferences outgroup fear mediated the relationship between confrontational goals and violent action. We discuss the implications of our findings for the emotion regulation and collective action literatures.

Yossi Hasson (IDC Herzliya)

Standing in the outgroup’s virtual shoes: The impact of virtual perspective taking on intergroup empathy in conflictual context

Empathy, sharing and understanding another’s emotions, has a crucial role in intergroup reconciliation. One way to increase empathy is by adopting the other’s perspective. However, taking the rival’s perspective is extremely difficult because of the hostility and social distance between the groups. Virtual environments, which can present reality from various point of views (POV), might make perspective taking more feasible. The current study examined whether watching a virtual intergroup interaction from different perspectives can increase empathic feelings and positive attitudes toward outgroup members. We also tested whether these effects would be generalized to the group level in real life. Using cutting-edge technology, we produced a virtual 360-degree video presenting a negative interaction between Israeli soldiers and a Palestinian couple, where both sides
seemed to be threatened from each other. 120 Israeli-Jews were assigned to watch the scene from one of three POVs: the Israelis’, the Palestinians’, or a bystander’. We found that participants felt more empathy toward the Israelis when watching the scene from their POV, but felt more empathy toward the Palestinians when adopting their POV. Participants in the bystander condition felt similar empathy toward both sides. Moreover, Palestinians were the least dehumanized in the Palestinian condition. When approached two days later, participants who had watched the Palestinian POV were less empathetic towards an Israeli soldier who had killed an incapacitated Palestinian militant, and judged his action as less moral. Our findings suggest that virtual environments are potential interventions to induce intergroup empathy and positive attitudes in conflictual contexts.

John Drury (University of Sussex)

(Dis)empowering prejudice through collective action

In this paper, I will do three things. First, I will provide a brief overview of research to date on the elaborated social identity model (ESIM). The ESIM was developed to explain the dynamics of conflict within crowd events. However, we showed that the forms of psychological change occurring within crowd events could also endure after the event. Specifically, changes occurred in (at least) four dimensions: identity content, identity boundaries, definitions of legitimate action, and empowerment. As an account of the empowerment process, the ESIM is a conditional as well as mediational model; I will present some experimental evidence to illustrate this. Second, I will suggest that, in line with self-categorization theory, the process of collective empowerment can operate ‘vicariously’. I illustrate how this may have operated in the case of the post-Brexit upsurge in xenophobic attacks in the UK. Here, I argue, the change that occurred was perhaps only secondarily one of legitimization and change in values, and was primarily one of empowerment of those who were already prejudiced. Third, using the same ESIM principles and concepts, I suggest how prejudice can be disempowered – or, put differently, how collective actions against xenophobic attacks can operate successfully. The forms of collective action that have this effect are ones which deny and undermine the realisation of prejudiced identity projects, which therefore render them disorganized, lacking practical adequacy, and unsupported in the views of others. These kinds of collective actions empower protest participants as they disempower the prejudiced. While successes are easier against non-state actors, I suggest that such actions can and need to take place in relation to state forces also.

Huseyin Cakal (Keele University)

Emotion for the movement and efficacy for activism: Antecedents of identity change among the sympathizers, opponents, and the indifferent in a conflictual social movement in Kashmir

Social psychological research on the antecedents of collective action has documented that people engage in social movements and collective action on the basis of their group membership in disadvantaged group. Yet much less is known on the consequences of such collective participation on identity processes among groups situated in ongoing conflicts.
Accordingly, we investigate the impact of past participation on different layers of identity among sympathizers, bystanders, and opponents in the context of an ongoing conflictual social movement, e.g. Stone pelting against perceived oppression by the Indian State in Kashmir-India. Among sympathizers (n=220) identification with the demonstrators the movement is driven by previous participation in violent collective action and interactions with others via frustration with the ongoing conflict. Among opponents (n=200), however, past participation in non-violent collective action and interactions with others positively influence identification with the movement via fear and perceptions of the demonstrations’ efficacy. As for the indifferent (n=190) while past participation in nonviolent collective action negatively influences identification with the movement via perceptions of efficacy and anger past participation in violent collective action and interactions with others positively predict identification with the movement via anger and fear. In all three samples interactions with others predict general future activism via perceptions of movement’s efficacy. Overall these results suggest that while participation in collective action influences movement specific identification, general activism is influenced by interactions with others via perceptions of efficacy. We discuss the implications for the social movement theory and policy-making.

**Pontus Leander** (University of Groningen)

*How unmet primed achievement goals motivate intervention in the Syrian civil war*

This research proposes that primed achievement goals are highly flexible in content; that is, they manifest in accordance with perceived in-group values and that people who fail at personal achievement may alternatively seek to “achieve” in-group goals by endorsing either violent or nonviolent intergroup behavior in times of war. Three experiments test how unmet primed achievement goals can be redirected towards endorsement of both militaristic and humanitarian intergroup behavior. Results indicated that when a primed achievement goal is experimentally blocked or thwarted, the underlying motivation to achieve something remains active and the individual becomes increasingly sensitive to perceived in-group values for intergroup behavior. In Studies 1a-b (total N = 185), a primed – and unmet – achievement goal led Americans without college degrees to report increased support for military intervention and decreased support for humanitarian intervention in Syria. In turn, Study 2 (N = 435) shows that Americans with college degrees can just as easily be led to support military intervention in Syria, if they both (1) have an unmet primed achievement goal and (2) are exposed to fake news about other American college graduates supporting (vs. opposing) military intervention. Study 3 (N = 397) shows that primed unmet achievement goals can also manifest in support for contrasting norms – namely, nonviolent behavior: Dutch adults with an unmet primed achievement goal reported increased willingness to engage in refugee aid activities in their community, but only if they believed other members of their social network valued such behavior.

**Eric Shuman** (IDC Herzliya)

*What kinds of collective action are effective? Examining effects of collective action on high-power group members*
Often in intergroup conflicts, the low power group attempts to improve their status through collective action. One important way action can advance their status is by convincing or pressuring the high power group to change. While there is much research on the psychological factors that motivate low-power groups to engage in collective action, there is little research on what effects action might have on the high-power group. This is important for understanding how collective action can increase support in the high-power group for policies addressing inequality. Prior research has distinguished between normative and non-normative action, as well as nonviolent and violent action. We combined these typologies and examined three types of collective action, normative nonviolent, nonnormative nonviolent (e.g. civil disobedience), and nonnormative violent action. We investigated these actions in two contexts: 1) African American activism against police violence. (N = 191) 2) relations between Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel (N = 192). Participants from the high-power group (White Americans/Jewish Israelis) were randomly assigned to read about the low-power group engaging in normative nonviolent action, nonnormative nonviolent action, nonnormative violent action, or no action. For participants who were more resistant to social change nonnormative nonviolent action was the most effective at increasing support for conciliatory policies. Whereas for those less resistant to social change, normative nonviolent was the most effective. The results indicate that different types of action may be effective for different targets within the high power group, although further research is needed to understand the mechanism of these differential effects.

Susanne Täuber (University of Groningen)

Motivated inaction: A research agenda for its effects on empowerment, identity formation and transformation

I will introduce motivated inaction as an intriguing, yet under-research, phenomenon at the heart of intergroup conflict and social change. Recent research demonstrates that inaction can be a strategic response motivated by threats to social identity. This insight presents an opportunity to get a conceptual grip on the phenomenon despite the lack of systematic research. Specifically, I will develop a theoretical rationale suggesting that motivated inaction is conceptually strongly related to psychological resistance. Building on this, I propose that motivated inaction is a precursor of social change that affects individuals, their notion of the ingroup, and their relation to outgroups in a dynamic way. This proposition leads to intriguing questions of individual empowerment stemming from motivated inaction, the potential of motivated inaction to feed into a unified and collective identity, its function as consolidating or mobilizing identity, as well as its consequences for intergroup relations (Täuber, in press). I will present these questions in an attempt to contribute to an emerging research agenda. Furthermore, moralization is thought to be a typical cause of motivated inaction. Examples of current moralized public debate suggest that motivated inaction might actually be wide-spread, underscoring the necessity to investigate the phenomenon systematically. However, our field’s investigative tradition poses methodological obstacles to our inquiry into the phenomenon. In addressing these obstacles, I hope to encourage research into motivated inaction and its effects on empowerment, identity formation and transformation, as well as its function as both psychological resistance and potential precursor of collective action.
**Sam Nunney (Cardiff University)**

*Exploring the application of the Staircase Model of Intergroup Apologies*

Countries, politicians, and businesses are making more frequent use of intergroup apologies to atone for the negative treatment of other countries, citizens, or clients. Despite the assumption that – as with interpersonal apologies – such intergroup apologies should lead to forgiveness, research suggests that this is not the case. Although intergroup apologies can improve evaluations of the perpetrating group, victims still seem unwilling to forgive. The two studies reported in this paper explore the application of the Staircase Model of Intergroup Reconciliation (Wohl et al., 2011), which describes reconciliation as a 5-step process: accepting guilt, setting history records straight, discussing reparations, intergroup apology, and post-apology engagement. Earlier steps in the model establish a moral foundation and later steps involve group interaction and engagement. Both studies were conducted online, with the different steps of the model being presented additively to participants. Study 1 applied the model to a border conflict between Cambodia and Thailand, while Study 2 applied it to ‘The Troubles’ in Northern Ireland, a conflict more personally relevant to the (British) participants. The two studies yielded similar findings: relative to a control condition, application of each step of the model led to increased forgiveness and more favourable intergroup perceptions, while specific steps reduced feelings of anger, fear and disgust towards the perpetrating group. Implications of the results for the Staircase Model and for intergroup reconciliation attempts will be discussed.

**Hanna Szekeres (Eötvös Loránd University Budapest)**

*“It must be true then”: The intergroup consequences of failure to confront racism*

For decades, considerable societal attention has been paid on questioning individuals’ failure to stand up for others and intervene in times of racial or ethnic oppression. Research suggests that while people sincerely believe they would confront racism, yet, reflecting historical precedent, they fail to do so when it actually occurs. We investigated the negative intergroup consequences of such moral failure. Across three studies, American participants either witnessed prejudice and discrimination towards an outgroup member (African or Muslim American) or not, and were either given an opportunity to confront the perpetrator or not. As expected, we observed a discrepancy between people’s belief that they would confront in such situation and their actual tendency not to confront. We further found that people who did not confront were more likely to undermine the severity of the racist insult and the moral significance of confronting in general, relative to those who did not witness racism or did not have an opportunity to confront. Most importantly, non-confronters not only derogated the victim of the insult but they also expressed more prejudice and discrimination towards the target’s entire group (African or Muslim Americans) hence demonstrating a negative shift in outgroup attitudes. We suggest that these findings reflect a dissonance-based trade-off, whereby non-confronters were motivated to change their attitudes in order to justify and reconcile with their failure to act. Follow-up studies aim to investigate the psychological determinants of reacting to racism and develop potential interventions to remedy symptoms of silence in face of racial atrocities.
Laura Nesbitt (University of Exeter)

‘Being angry or becoming angry? How dynamic change in emotion can predict change in prosocial action intentions’

Previous research suggests that group-level appraisals and emotions can be powerful predictors of collective action by or on behalf of disadvantaged groups (e.g., Mackie et al., 2000; van Zomeren et al., 2004). However, this has predominantly been based on analyses of between-person variation in relevant variables at static moments in time; e.g., those who perceive an event to be illegitimate are more likely to act than those that don’t. In contrast, the present research uniquely examines change processes within individuals, focusing on how change in emotion (e.g., getting angrier) predicts change in action intentions (e.g., becoming more willing to take action) over time. In this way, the study addresses the dynamic change processes that underlie collective action, which has generally been neglected (Livingstone, 2014). Using a mixed longitudinal design, participants’ appraisals, emotions, and action intentions towards economically-disadvantaged groups and Government policies targeting these groups in the UK were measured at three time points, with a manipulation at time two aimed at eliciting strong emotions in the experimental group relative to a control condition. Dynamic mediation analyses (Coman et al., 2013) showed that change in emotion predicted change in action longitudinally; specifically, increased anger between the first two time points predicted increased willingness to take action between the first and third time point. These results suggest that the process of becoming engaged in collective action needs to be understood as a process of dynamic change, and that the impact of an emotional reaction on action intentions may not be immediate.

Sara Vesterbergren (University of Sussex)

The phenomenon of psychological change through collective action – a case study

A recent systematic review identified 19 forms of psychological change as outcomes of participation in collective action. We argue that self-categorization theory can function to explain some of the enduring changes affecting participants’ everyday lives. The paper describes a study were we examined the process by which these changes (1) emerge, and (2) endure (or not). We interviewed locals (n=14) and activists (n=14) involved in an environmental campaign in Sweden seven times over a period of 18 months. Interviews were thematically analysed and related quantitatively to levels of participation to examine how participants understood the campaign, the issues, and other groups in relation to their own identities and subsequent activities. The participants in our sample reported a variety of forms of personal change related to their participation in the campaign. Further, the different forms of change seem to be linked to three main processes, directly or indirectly connected to identity: intergroup interaction, intragroup interaction, and organizational factors. Lastly, some personal changes, such as consumer behaviour, seem to be created and sustained through a combination of these processes over time. Conflictual interactions with police shifted participants towards oppositional identities and united them under a superordinate ‘activist-identity’. Participants linked their opposition to a series of other
social relationships through the category ‘injustice’. Continued active engagement with the campaign helped sustain the worldview and identity. The evidence confirms and extends previous research by showing how new identities are sustained (or decline) over time. Changes were linked to particular levels and contents of self-categorization.

**Helena Radke** (University of Osnabruck)

**Collective action at the Brisbane G20 meeting**

In November 2014, leaders from around the world attended the G20 meeting in Brisbane, Australia. Like previous meetings, the summit attracted a number of protest groups and protesters rallying for various causes. During the meeting the Peaceful Assembly Act 1992 was suspended and special legislation was implemented to give police unprecedented powers to search, arrest, and detain members of the public. The present study examined collective action under this extraordinary policing strategy, with a particular focus on identification with immediate (own protest group) and superordinate (other G20 protesters) groups. Protesters (N = 84) completed a questionnaire about the psychological factors that underpinned their participation in the protests. Identification with G20 protesters more broadly was positively associated with moral justification of violence via the appraisal of police as threatening. However, this threat-violence pathway did not emerge for identification with participants’ own protest group. With regard to efficacy, results indicated that identification with participants’ own protest group predicted perceptions that the rally was effective through the moral justification for being peaceful. Identification with G20 protesters more broadly, however, predicted efficacy via the perception that the media was portraying the protesters as trouble-makers. Implications of this research will be discussed.

**Nóra Lantos** (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

**The bridge between intergroup attitudes and ally action for social change: Anti-Roma prejudice and collective action on behalf of the Roma**

In the last decade, there was a clear shift away from focusing on prejudice reduction to focusing on collective action for social change (Wright, 2001). However, most research in this area was carried out within relatively egalitarian normative contexts. In contrast, our research investigated the connection between intergroup relation and intergroup injustice in a context with high anti-Roma prejudicial norms. In a quasi field-experiment, we tested a contact-based anti-Roma prejudice reduction intervention among non-Roma Hungarians (N = 106). We tested the effectiveness of two types of interventions in reducing prejudice and increasing willingness for ally action, by comparing (1) a prejudice-reduction training, (2) an action-focused training, and (3) a control group. Data was collected among high school students at three different time points. In line with our predictions, both interventions decreased blatant anti-Roma prejudice compared to the control group, but only the action-focused intervention increased collective action intentions. However, these results did not persist over time. In a representative survey we investigated the connection between anti-Roma prejudice and collective action intentions on behalf of the Roma in Hungary (N = 1007). We found the mediating effect of Roma disadvantage and White privilege awareness,
with the intergroup emotion of pity resulting in helping without social change intentions, and anger resulting in collective action intentions. These results point out that interventions focusing on structural inequalities and intergroup emotions simultaneously may be more effective in reaching the dual goal of prejudice reduction and mobilizing allies.

**Steph Johnson Zawadzki** (University of Groningen)

*How the political climate “Trumps” the natural climate*

Since Trump’s inauguration, the US has experienced radical policy changes. We explore what happens when policy changes are contentious, occur rapidly, and dramatcally conflict with previous policies. Using a cross-sectional design, we examine the beliefs of Americans before Trump’s election in November, 2016 (N=452) and after his inauguration (N=437). Prior to his election, most Trump supporters believed in climate change (56%), and 55% felt morally obligated to do their part to prevent climate change (Nwave1=121). Since his inauguration (Nwave2=122), Trump’s supporters: approve the Paris Climate Agreement less (t(189)=3.49, p=.001), are marginally less convinced climate change is human-caused (t(229)=1.04, p=.07), feel less willing to save energy to prevent climate change (t(241)=2.62, p<.01), feel less morally obligated to act to prevent climate change (t(241)=2.08, p=.04), feel less guilty about not acting pro-environmentally (t(241)=2.50, p=.01), and are less likely to feel that acting pro-environmentally makes them a better person (t(241)=2.54, p=.01). Further, Trump’s supporters consider themselves better informed about climate change post-inauguration compared to pre-election (t(241)=2.36, p=.02). No significant differences were found among Clinton’s supporters over time (Nwave1=140, Nwave2=146). Future analyses will examine how all voters’ perceptions of Trump’s policies (including immigration and other social issues) impact their regret over their votes. These results suggest that our political climate shapes the extent to which we feel morally obligated to act on behalf of our natural climate. The policies set by contentious leaders may be particularly influential for their supporters, further polarizing political debate and stalling progress on social problems that require collective solutions.

**Marloes Huis** (University of Groningen)

*Women empowerment: The interplay between personal and relational empowerment*

Gender inequality is an important feature of group-dominance in many societies. Especially in low income nations patriarchy and gender inequality are still prevalent. Offering access to microfinance services (i.e., micro loan, training) to women is considered an important means to strengthen women’s position. However, previous research offers mixed results. We, first, present a review of previous research on impacts of access to microfinance services on the development of women empowerment by differentiating between three levels: personal, relational, and societal empowerment. In the context of microfinance interventions we propose that women empowerment can most readily be observed at the personal level and may be hindered at the relational level by relational friction. Second, we present a correlational study to test our theoretical assumptions. We conducted a
correlational study with 1,509 female borrowers from Vietnam, a collectivistic and patriarchic culture. We assessed women’s personal empowerment (i.e., self-esteem), relational empowerment (i.e., decision-making power), and relational dynamics (i.e., relational quality). Results show that women’s personal empowerment is related to their decision-making power on decisions within the daily domain (small expenditures). However, couples’ relational quality may be crucial to women’s relational empowerment with respect to decisions that are not traditionally within her power (large expenditures). We will discuss theoretical implications about the impact of considering couples’ relational dynamics in the development of women empowerment.

Canan Coşkan (Kemerburgaz University Istanbul) & Gülseli Baysu (Kadir Has University Istanbul)

Dual path model of collective action among seculars, liberals and leftists during two consecutive elections in 2015 in Turkey

When are collective action (CA) intentions driven by collective efficacy feelings or group-based anger? In the context of ever-increasing polarization between conservative (pro-government) and secular-liberal groups (anti-government) in Turkey, we focused on anti-government voters and tested a dual path model of CA following the two parliamentary elections in 2015. We predicted that political identities of anti-government voters (leftist, secular and liberal) would determine to what extent they felt politically efficacious or angry, which would then predict their future CA intentions against the government. We asked whether this model would work differently, given the change in the status of anti-government voters in the two consecutive elections: in June elections they felt advantageous as the government lost the majority rule in the parliament, whereas in November elections, this advantageous position was unfairly lost. Participants were voters of secular, liberal and left-wing parties in the parliamentary elections in June 2015 (N = 500) and in November 2015 (N = 363). Demographic profiles of both samples yielded no significant differences and were statistically comparable. Results indicated that controlling for past CA, the relations between political identities and CA tendencies were mediated by political efficacy in June elections but by collective anger in November elections. Particularly the left and liberal voters felt efficacious after June and angry after November, which led the way to future CA intentions. We will discuss the findings in light of different political identities and the conditions when efficacy or anger path to CA is more likely.
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