

Group Identities

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- The extent of identification with a group is related with conflict enhancing attitudes, perceptions and behaviors

Factors that mitigate the negative impact of identification on intergroup conflict

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Multiple Modes of Identification

Adorno et al. (1950)	Genuine patriotism Love of country	Pseudo-patriotism Uncritical conformity, rejection of other nations
Kosterman & Feshbach (1989)	Patriotism Attachment to one's nation	Nationalism One's nation is superior and should be dominant
Triandis & Gelfand (1998)	Horizontal collectivists common goals, interdependence and sociability	Vertical collectivists Submission to the authority of the group and of its leaders.
Staub (1997)	Conventional patriotism Affective attachment to one's nation	Blind patriotism Unquestioning positive evaluation, allegiance and intolerance of criticism <i>[the opposite of Constructive patriotism]</i>

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Attachment and Glorification

(Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006; Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy, & Eidelson, 2008)

Attachment: extending one's self-concept to include the nation, feeling emotionally attached to the nation and wanting to contribute to it.

e.g. **Being Israeli is an important part of my identity; I am strongly committed to my nation**

Glorification: viewing the nation as superior to other nations, feeling respect for the central symbols of the nation such as its flag, rules, and leadership

- e.g. **We are better than other nations in all respects**

Identification and Group Based Guilt

People can experience feelings of guilt because of moral infractions committed by other ingroup members. They are "guilty by association" (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998).

Guilty by Association: When One's Group Has a Negative History

Bertjan Doosje
University of Amsterdam

Nyla R. Branscombe
University of Kansas

Russell Spears and Antony S. R. Manstead
University of Amsterdam

The impact of the history of one's own group's treatment of another group on feelings of collective guilt and behavioral reactions to this guilt were examined in 2 studies. In a laboratory experiment, it was shown that it is possible to elicit feelings of group-based guilt and that these are distinct from feelings of personal guilt. In a 2nd study, a field experiment, low-identified group members acknowledged the negative aspects of their own nation's history and felt more guilt (compared with high identifiers) when both negative and positive aspects of their nation's history were made salient. Perceptions of intragroup variability and out-group compensation closely qualified the interactive pattern on guilt. Links between social identity theory and the experience of specific emotions are discussed.

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology
1998, Vol. 75, No. 4, 872-886

Does identification increase or decrease group based guilt?

Unidimensional conceptualizations of identification led to inconsistent findings

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Identification and Group Based Guilt

People are motivated to think positively about the groups with which they identify

Identification with the group should be negatively related to group based guilt

Identification and Group Based Guilt

If a person does not identify with a group, why should she feel guilty for acts perpetrated by that group?

Identification with the group should be positively related to collective guilt

Glorification, Attachment and Group-based Guilt

(Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006)

Inherent to *Glorification* is justification of the groups' acts and denial of any criticism of the group: **negative relations to group based guilt**

People who are strongly *Attached* to their ingroup feel morally responsible for group's members transgressions: **positive relations to group based guilt**

Those who are most attached to the group without glorifying it are most likely to experience group-based guilt.

Participants reported their **Attachment** and **Glorification of Israel**.

They then read the description of three historical events in which Palestinian civilians were harmed, and reported exonerating cognitions and feelings of guilt

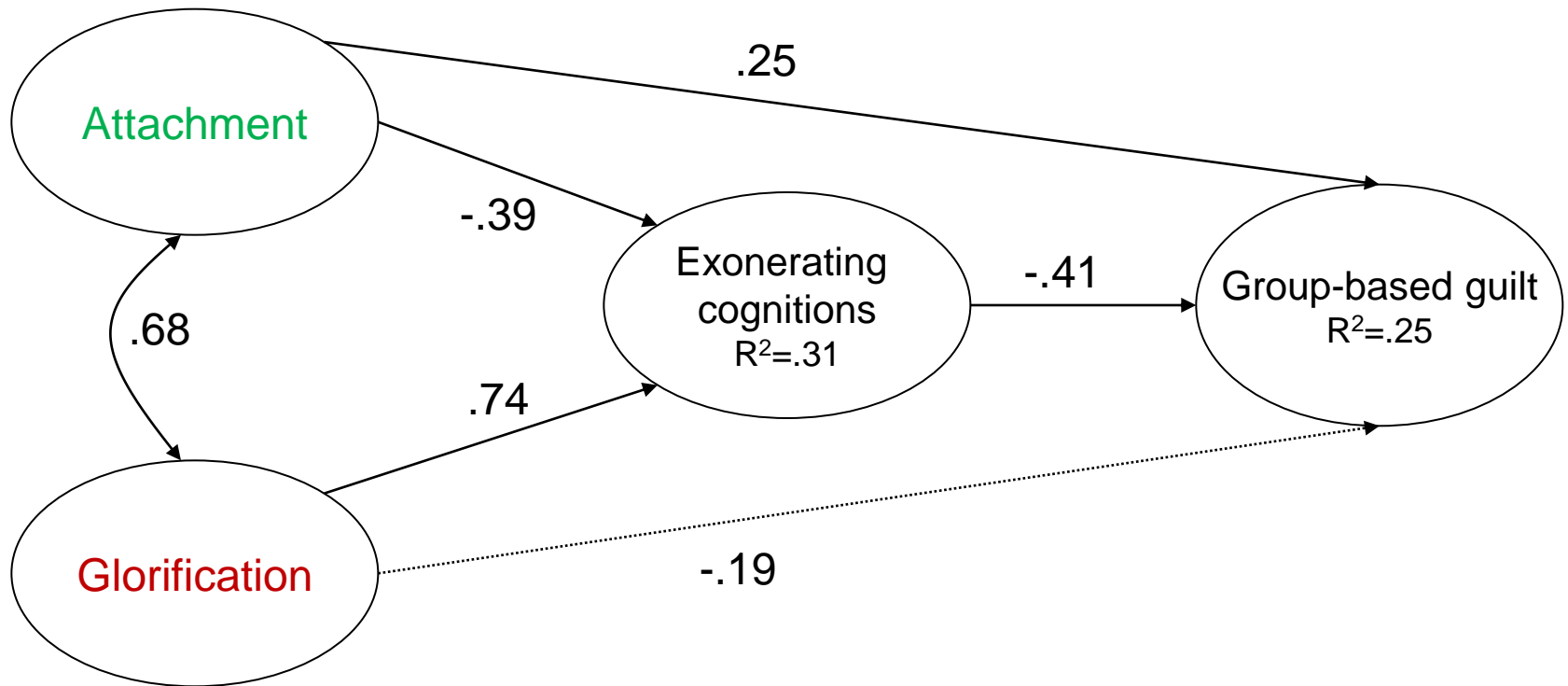
Exonerating Cognitions

e.g. "I think that the description is too harsh with Israel"

Feelings of guilt

e.g. "I feel guilty about the event", "I think that Israelis should compensate the victims of that event"

Structural equations model of relations between group identification and group-based guilt



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Conclusions

- There are multiple ways to identify with one's group
- Different aspects of identification have opposing relations to conflict related attitudes and emotions
- Critical attachment (attachment without glorification) can help mitigate conflicts

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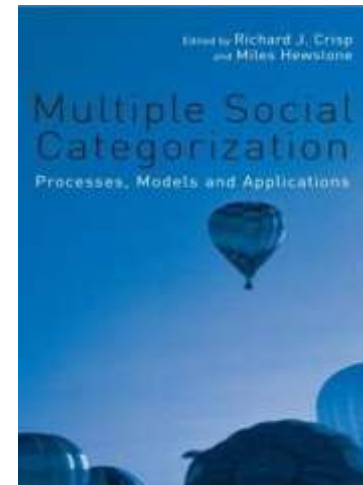
Multiple identities and intergroup conflict

Multiple categorizations weaken the distinctiveness of the ingroup and increase intergroup similarity. Boundaries between the ingroup and the outgroups are blurred.

The common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000)

The crossed categorization model (Deschamps & Doise, 1978)

Social Identity Complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002)

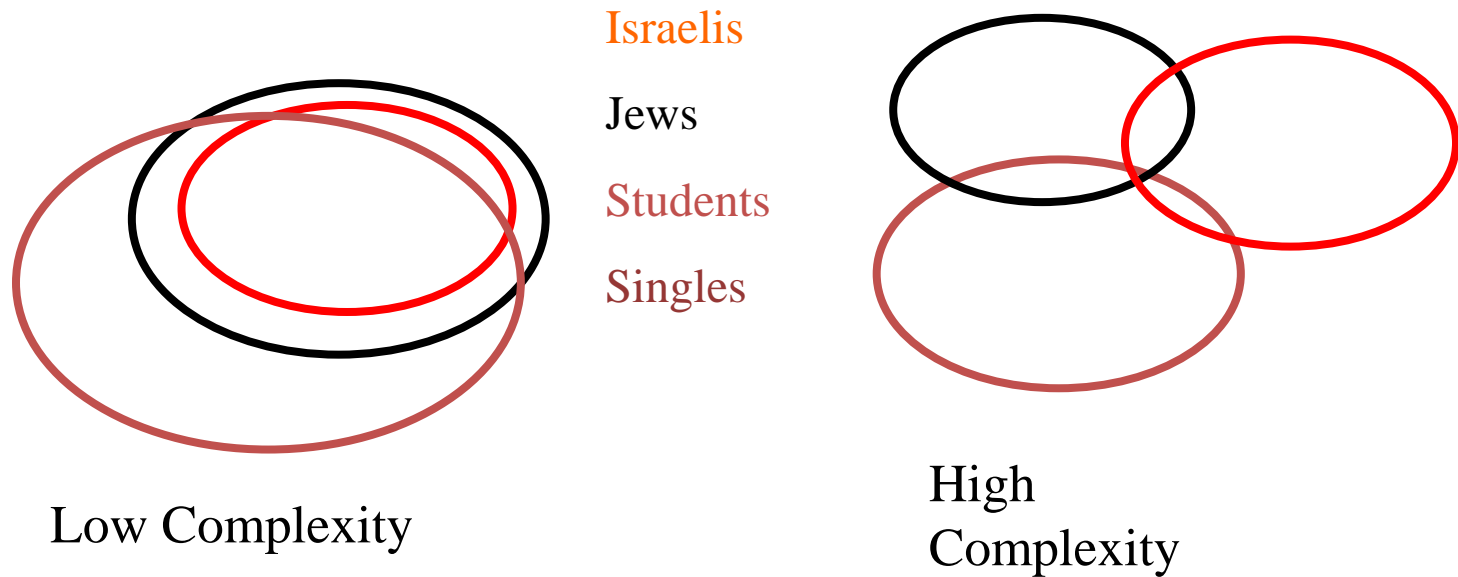


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Social Identity Complexity is the degree to which people **think** of their multiple ingroups as **distinct** from each other (Roccas & Brewer, 2002)



Of people who are **Israeli**, how many are also **Jewish**?

Of people who are **students**, how many are also **single**?

very
few

about
half

1

2

3

4

5

6

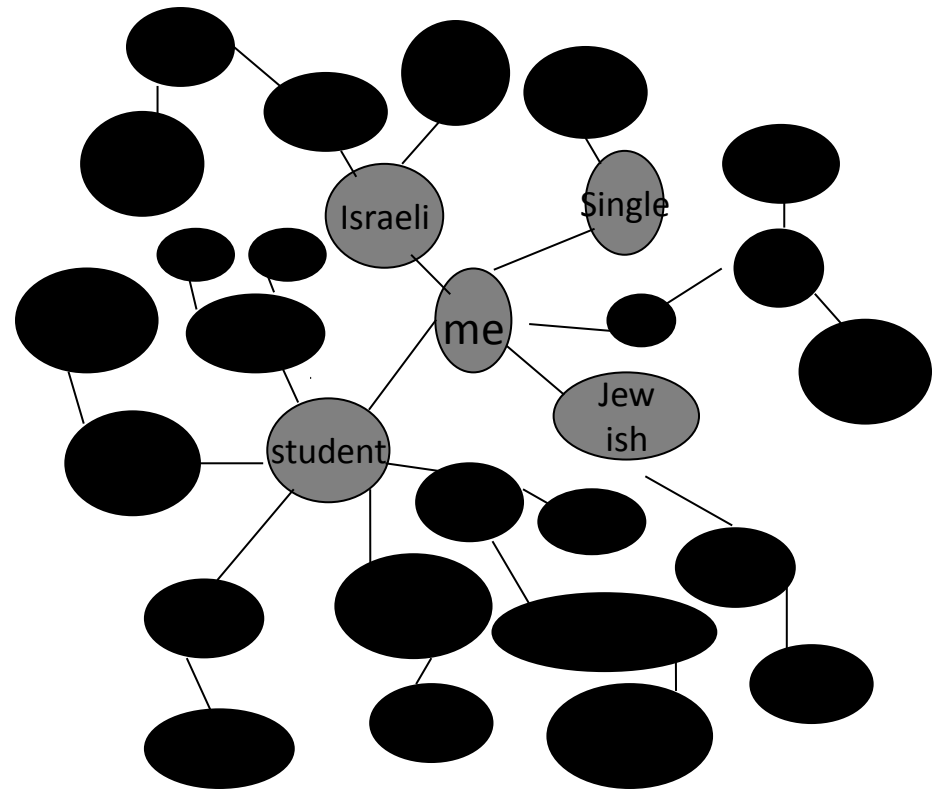
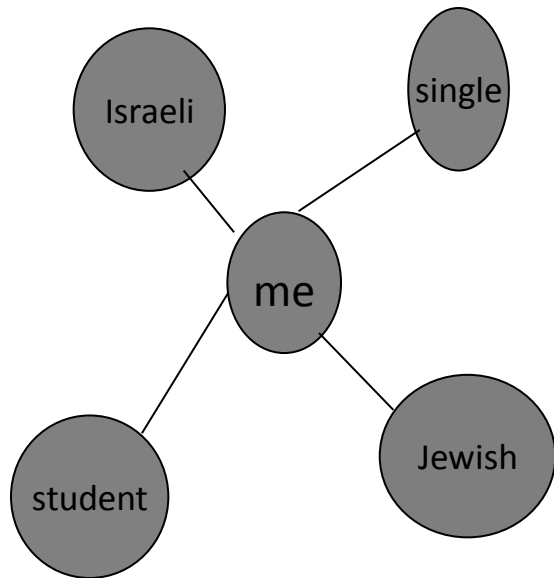
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Complexity of the Self Concept Map

Gresky, Eyke, Lord & MyIntyre (2005)



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Multiple identities and reactions to ingroup critics

In collaboration with Sagiv & Amit

During a conflict, ingroup critics may help the group avoid performing immoral acts

Ingroup critics are unpopular: “The domestic debate over the war emboldens our adversaries” (Vice president Richard Cheney, September 11, 2006)

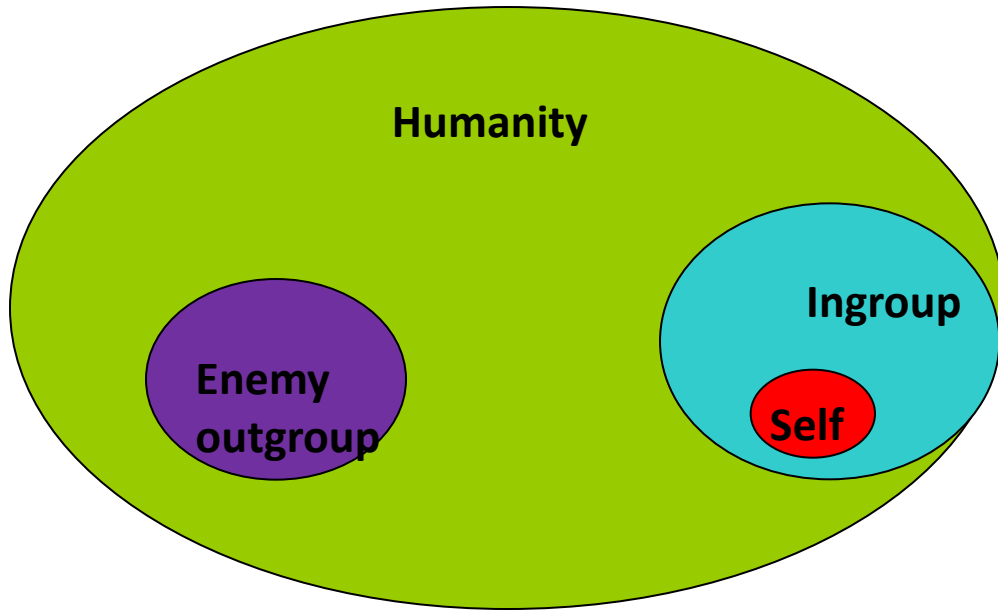
Some critics are more tolerated than others: Reactions to people who criticize the ingroup are affected by the motivation we attribute them.

Why would they say that? (Hornsey, 2005)

Multiple Identities, attributions and punitiveness towards critics



Determining what really motivates people who criticize the ingroup is difficult



What motivates conscientious Objectors?

They think only of themselves

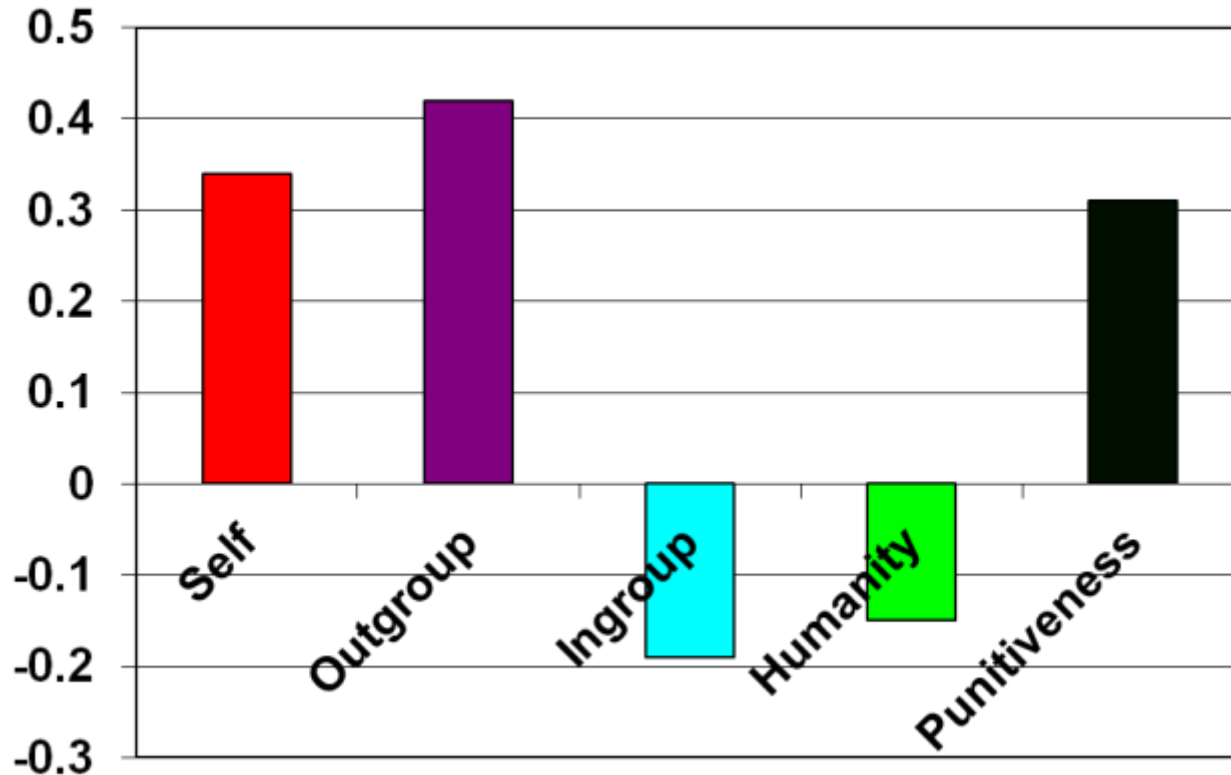
They are motivated by their concern for Israel

They care about the suffering of all human beings

They love the Palestinians more than they love Israel

Based on Wit & Kerr, 2002;
Bornstein, 2003

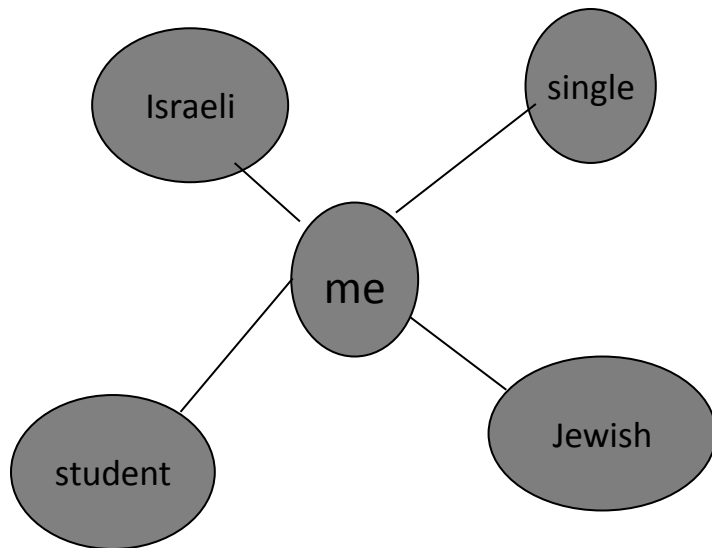
Correlations between **perceived overlap** (low complexity) and reactions to conscientious objectors



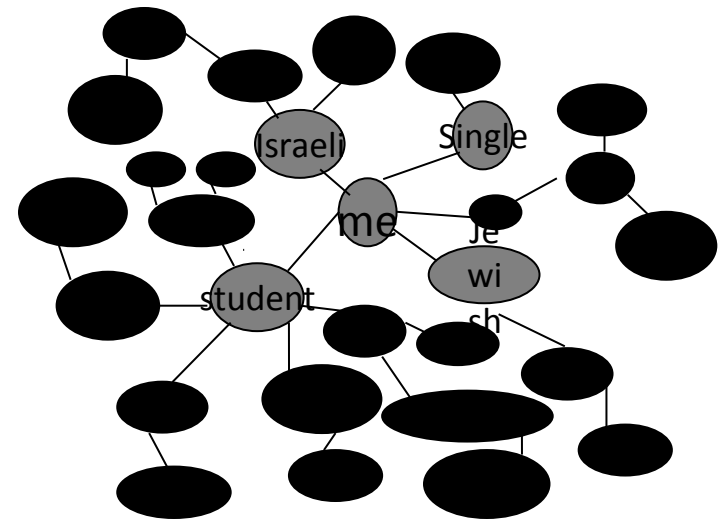
Correlations of complexity with punitiveness were mediated by the attributions

Complex self concept maps and reactions to an ingroup critic

We raised the saliency of participants' multiple identities and measured reactions to the actions of a nuclear technician who published military secrets



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Effects of salience of multiple identities on Attributions and Punitiveness

	Self	Out group	Ingroup	Humanity	Punitiveness
Few Identities	5.71	4.24	1.67	2.46	5.57
Many Identities	4.77	3.44	2.32	3.42	4.45

Conclusions

People's beliefs regarding the punishment of ingroup critics are highly related to the motivations they attribute to their actions:

- Attributing the motivation to benefit the **self** or the **outgroup** is related to higher punitiveness
- Attributing the motivation to benefit the **ingroup** or **humanity** is related to lower punitiveness
- Awareness of multiple identities is correlated with these attributions
- It is possible to change these attributions by encouraging people to think about their multiple identities

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Identities are deeply embedded in the way in which group members conceptualize the history of the group

Events that happened in the past can shape the content of the group identity and affect reactions during a current conflict.

Effects of collective trauma: divergent paths (Schori, Klar, & Roccas)

Does evil beget evil? Past trauma may lead to becoming defensive and aggressive, locked into the “victim-offender cycle”?

Does the memory of trauma prompt to be more sensitive and empathic to the suffering of others?

Most research explored the first potential path (e.g., Wohl & Branscombe, 2008).

We suggest both paths are possible.

PM Netanyahu's speech at the Holocaust remembrance day memorial, 2010

Have the lessons of the Holocaust been learned?
I believe that there are three lessons: fortify your strength, teach good deeds and fight evil.

The first lesson - fortify your strength - relates first and foremost to us, the people of Israel who were **abandoned and defenseless** when faced with waves of murderous hatred that rose against us time after time.

“In every generation there are those who stand against us.” And in this generation we must fortify our strength and independence so that we will be able to prevent the **current enemy** from carrying out its plan.



Perpetual Ingroup Victimhood Orientation (PIVO)

Beliefs about the uniqueness of past trauma, the resulting need for distrust, and a sense of ongoing threat. Contemporary enemies are seen as the embodiment of past enemies.

Sample items

No group or people have ever been harmed as we have

History teaches us that we must be suspicious of other groups' intentions toward us.

All our enemies throughout history share a common denominator – the will to annihilate us

Ahahron Barak



- A speech given by Aharon Barak, former president of the Israeli Supreme Court in a recent Holocaust Memorial day service.
- The lesson I take from the holocaust is not a lesson of hatred, nor a lesson of vengeance nor distrust of man. (My) lesson is the human being, the individual, human dignity, equality among men – the Jewish, German, Arab, criminal man, even one who commits very harsh actions against us, all have dignity. Each man is created in God's form and each man's dignity we must protect.

Moral Apprehension (MA)

The fear that one's group may become immune to the suffering of others and thus a victimizer, aggressively persecuting with little regard to moral considerations.

e.g. we are in danger of treating others in the same way that we were treated by our worst enemies

Outcome Variables

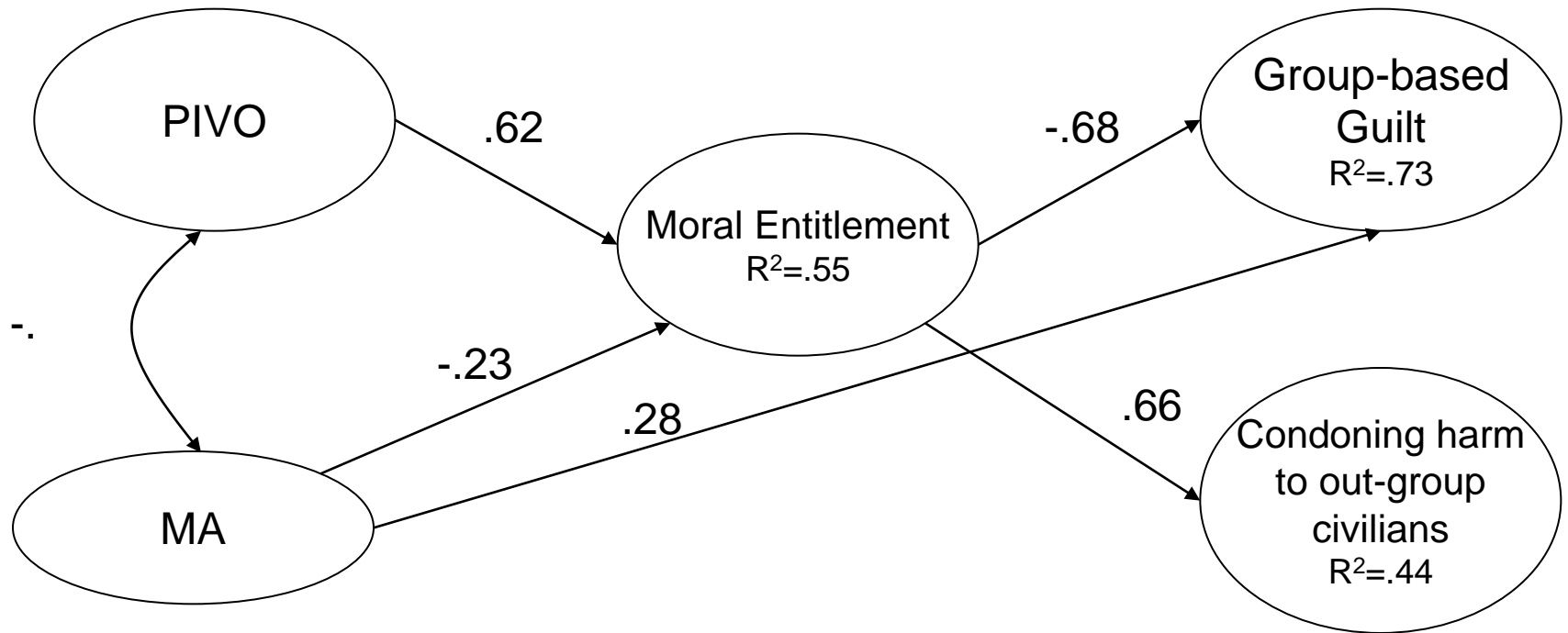
- **Moral entitlement: we have a moral license to do anything considered as required to ensure safety**
- Group-based guilt
- **Condoning harm to out-group civilians: tolerance to violations of civilian immunity during warfare.**

Condoning harm to out-group civilians

	<i>Type of missile</i>	<i>Probability of killing Al-Dahduh</i>	<i>Estimated number of civilians hurt</i>
Option A	X1	40%	0 people
Option B	X2	50%	1-2 people
Option C	X3	70%	Up to 5 people
Option D	X4	90%	Up to 10 people
Option E	X5	100%	Up to 20 people

Please write down, in as much detail as possible, the considerations that guided you in making your choice.

“Lessons” from the past and attitudes during a current conflict



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Conclusion

Identity content derived from the past history of intergroup conflicts may lead to opposing consequences regarding a current conflict

- Past events may lead to realizing what shouldn't be done in the future and thus construe identity contents that mitigate conflict.
- Past events may serve as justifications of any future wrongdoings toward outgroup and thus construe identity content that leads to escalation in intergroup relationship.

Thank You