

Interdisciplinary analyses of aggression and terrorism

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Universidad Complutense Madrid  
Universidad Autónoma Madrid  
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Universidad Carlos III Madrid (Facultad de CC .SS. y JJ.)  
**Universidad Rey Juan Carlos Madrid**  
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## Interdisciplinary analyses of aggression and terrorism

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J. Martin Ramirez (ed.)
15. *Categorization of Aggression* (in press)

# **Interdisciplinary Analyses of Aggression & Terrorism**

**Program and Abstracts**

Co-editors

**J. Martin Ramirez  
Tali K. Walters**

**Miraflores de la Sierra (Madrid, Spain)**

**27th-30th September 2007**



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## INTRODUCTION

**CICA** (Coloquios Internacionales sobre Cerebro y Agresión) has promoted and supported a multidisciplinary understanding of conflict and aggression through international, residential colloquia on the relationship between the brain and the social context of aggression. Since 1983, with the first CICA in Seville, 25 scientific meetings have been held in several countries of Europe, Asia, America and Africa.

**STR** (Society for Terrorism Research) was launched in mid-2006 as an international, multi-disciplinary organization of theoretical and empirical researchers in the behavioral sciences. STR's mission is to enhance knowledge and understanding of terrorism through the integration of findings from the fields of anthropology, biology, economics, political science, psychology, sociology, law and other behavioral sciences.

Both organizations hold that when research on aggression and terrorism is informed by the integration of theoretical frameworks and findings from multiple disciplines, more effective policies worldwide will emerge. More specifically, the members of CICA and STR believe in their responsibility to learn, share, and influence.

- **Learn** – Researchers from around the world will present their findings and offer directions for future study.
- **Share** – Through structured discussion, play, and casual conversation, share your questions, answers, and ideas with colleagues.
- **Influence** – Your research will contribute to worldwide policy as each country grapples with managing its response to terrorism and other aggressions.

Almost one hundred scientists from twenty seven countries of all five continents are gathered in the beautiful town of Miraflores de la Sierra, on the slopes of the mountain range close to Madrid, to exchange their interdisciplinary analysis on aggression and terrorism: Europe (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, England, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Northern Ireland, Poland, Scotland, Slovenia, Spain, and The Netherlands), Asia (China, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Korea, and Nepal), Africa (South Africa and Zambia), North America (Canada and USA) and Oceania (Australia). We will have the opportunity to participate in four keynote speeches, five symposia and six sessions of scientific presentations.

We are pleased to welcome our **keynote speakers**. Fernando Reinares will present the most recent information on “Jihadist Terrorism in Spain: Assessing Current Threats and Evaluating Institutional Responses.” Natividad Carpintero-Santamaría will speak on the “Characteristics of Global Terrorism.” Francesco Calogero, Former Secretary General of the Pugwash Movement, will address “The Risk of a Nuclear Catastrophe.” Finally, Abbas Al-Hussaini, Secretary General of the Iraq Higher Education Organizing Committee, will inform us about the present interaction between politics and terrorism in Iraq.

Our **symposia** will cover a range of topics. Tom Pyszczynski of the USA will lead a discussion on “Terror Management Theory and the results of his international collaboration”. along with his colleagues of Iran, France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. Brian Mullan gathered a group of Northern Irish fellows to discuss the Ulster experience on “Societal and Personal Reactions to Terrorism”. Yael Danieli of the USA will discuss the “Effects of Terrorism Attacks on Individuals, Societies, Communities, and Politics” with colleagues of Israel, Slovenia, France, and Spain. And Judges De Jorge and Garzón and Dr. Pilat , among others, will explain their views about the causes of terrorism.

The Conference on Interdisciplinary Analyses of Aggression and Terrorism is specially honored to host a symposium to commemorate the **50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Pugwash** Conferences on Science and World Affairs, since this 1995 Nobel Prize–winning movement has contributed significantly to the fight against terrorism. The Pugwash movement has its roots in a manifesto penned on July 9, 1955 by physicist Albert Einstein and philosopher Bertrand Russell, calling on scientists to examine the dangers of nuclear war and adopt a resolution urging governments to disarm. Fifty years ago, in July 1957, at the onset of the Cold War, 22 of the world’s greatest nuclear scientists, from East and West, gathered in a controversial and historic meeting in the village of Pugwash, Nova Scotia, Canada, to discuss peace and to address the emerging threat of nuclear war. They alerted the world about the dangers of nuclear weapons, especially about the newly developed hydrogen bomb. In the context of today’s highly active international terrorism, as Prof. Calogero and Gen. Velarde, among others, will point out here in Miraflores, nuclear materials are particularly worrisome. We want, thus, to recognize the enduring and fruitful contribution of the Pugwash Movement towards decreasing the nuclear threat and towards solving global problems. Towards that end, Dr. J. Martin Ramirez will lead a discussion of this most important movement.

In the Call for **Papers** for this conference presentations in many relevant categories were suggested. We received a broad, robust response. Researchers will present their ideas on the Concepts and Kinds of Terrorism, on A Multi-cultural Perspective on Terrorism, on the Psychology of Terrorism, on Politics and Terrorism, and on Conflict, Aggression and Terrorism. Finally our Poster session will give the opportunity to discuss with their authors their research on various critical Issues related to aggression and terrorism.

We invite all participants, presenters, and esteemed guests to take the opportunity of the CICA/STR Conference on Interdisciplinary Analyses of Aggression & Terrorism to learn from each other, share your thoughts and ideas, and, ultimately, influence the steps our governments take to reduce the incidents and threats of terrorism in the world.

**Learn \* Share\* Influence**

**J. Martin Ramirez, MD, JD, Ph.D. and Tali K. Walters, Ph.D.**

Miraflores de la Sierra, 27 September 2007

## **CONFERENCE CHAIRS**

**J. Martín Ramírez,**  
CICA Chairman  
and  
Spanish Representative of Pugwash Movement  
(Madrid, Spain)

**Tali K. Walters,**  
Board Member and Director of Conference Planning,  
Society for Terrorism Research  
(Boston, USA)

## SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

(in alphabetical order)

**John Archer**, Former President of the International Society for Research on Aggression (ISRA), University of Central Lancashire (United Kingdom)

**Caroline Blanchard**, President of the ISRA University of Hawaii (USA)

**Alice Katherine LoCicero**, Governing Board, President of the Society for Terrorism Research (STR), Endicott College (USA)

**Robert Mtonga**, Organizer of the Zambia CICA, University of Zambia, Lusaka (Zambia)

**Deborah S. Richardson**, President Elect of the ISRA, Co-Organizer of the Augusta CICA, University of Georgia (USA)

**J. Martín Ramírez**, Chairman of CICA, Spanish Representative of the Pugwash Movement, Universidad Complutense de Madrid and Harvard University (Spain/USA)

**Tali K. Walters**, Governing Board, Director of Conference Planning of the STR (USA)

**Guillermo Velarde**, President of the Institute of Nuclear Fusion, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid (Spain)

## **ORGANIZING COMMITTEE**

(in alphabetical order)

### **Members of the local Organizing Committee:**

**José Manuel Andreu**, Departamento de Psicología Clínica,  
Universidad Complutense de Madrid

**Natividad Carpintero-Santamaría**, Instituto de Fusión Nuclear,  
Universidad Politécnica de Madrid

**Jose Luis Linaza**, Departamento de Psicología de la Educación,  
Universidad de Autónoma de Madrid

**Pilar Otero**, Departamento de Derecho Penal,  
Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

**Francisco Pérez**, Concejal de Servicios Sociales y Sanidad  
Ayuntamiento de Miraflores

**Fernando Reinares**, Real Instituto Elcano y Universidad Rey Juan Carlos de Madrid

**Communication team:**

**Sara Nora Ross**, Governing Board, Treasurer of the Society for Terrorism Research (USA)

**Samuel Justin Sinclair**, Governing Board, Secretary of the Society for Terrorism Research (STR), Clinical Psychologist, Massachusetts General Hospital & Harvard Medical School (USA)

**Ioannis Tellidis**, Organizer of Hellas CICA, University of Saint Andrew (Scotland/Greece)

**Assistants:**

**Chloé de Perry** (France)

**Genevieve Drijvers** (Belgium)

**Tina Lindhard** (South Africa/Spain)

**Ana Maria Garrocho** (Spain)

**Carolina Marin** (Spain)

## **ORGANIZERS**

Universidad Complutense Madrid  
Universidad Autónoma Madrid  
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## **SPONSORS**

Our sincere thanks to the many organizations who helped make this conference possible through their generous sponsorship:

Spanish Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia  
Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid  
Ayuntamiento de Miraflores de la Sierra  
Suffolk University (Department of Psychology)  
Cambridge Forensic Consultants  
Cátedra “Antonio Quintano Ripollés” de Derecho Penal  
Internacional y Humanitario, Universidad Carlos III  
Grupo Complutense de Investigación sobre Agresión  
Proyectos (I+D)  
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PR41/06-14942 de la Universidad Complutense  
SEJ2007-60303 del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia  
Pugwash Movement (Spanish National Group)

(BLANC)



# SCIENTIFIC PROGRAM

**THURSDAY**

**27 September 2007**

**Evening: Arrival of participants & Registration**

**21'00-22'00 Dinner**

**22'00 Informal gatherings**

**FRIDAY**

**28 September 2007**

**8'30-9 '30 Breakfast & Registration**

**9 '30-10'30 Opening Ceremony**

**J. Martin Ramirez**, Co-chair of the Conference

**Tali K. Walters**, Co-chair of the Conference

**Pablo Altozano**, Alcalde de Miraflores

**Carmen Acebal**, Vicerrectora Investigación y Política Científica, UCM

**10'30-11'00 Break**

**11'00-14'00 Symposium on Terror Management Theory and Terrorism**

Convenor: **Tom Pyszczynski** (USA)

Participants:

Introduction:

**Tom Pyszczynski** (USA)

“Terror Management Theory and the Psychology of Terrorism and Political Extremism”

Results of an International Collaboration:

**Anja Zimmermann** and **Bertjan Doosje** (the Netherlands), and **Hanna Zagefka** (UK)

“Attributions of Responsibility and Reactions to Terrorist Threat in the United Kingdom and Netherlands”

**Jean-François Verhac and Thomas Arciszewski** (France)

“A Terror Management Theory Perspective on Attitudes toward Immigration and Terrorism in France”

**Abdollahossein Abdollahi** (Iran)

“Exploring Terror Management Processes in Iran: Implications for Understanding the Current Conflict”

**Tom Pyszczynski** (USA) and **Abdollahossein Abdollahi** (Iran)

“Anxiety Buffer Breakdown Theory: An Application of Terror Management Ideas to the Problem of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder”

## **11'00-14'00 Session A: Concept and Kinds of Terrorism**

Chair: **Tali K. Walters** (USA)

Participants:

**Arthur J. Kendall** (USA)

“Low Hanging Fruit. Some Things to Study about Terrorism”

**W. Michael Dunaway** (USA)

“Beyond Definition: Conceptual Models of Terrorism and the Threat to Civil Society”

**Guillermo Velarde** (Spain)

“The threat of nuclear terrorism”

**Adam Breasley** (Australia)

“A Buddhist-Secular Ethics Approach to Nuclear Terrorism, from an Australian Perspective”

**Arvind Kumar** (India)

“CBRN terrorism and its implications”

**Amanda M. Sharp Parker** (USA)

“Conceptualization of Cyberterrorism”

## **14'30-15'30 Lunch**

## **16'00-17'00 Keynote Address:**

Chair: **Joseph F. Pilat** (USA)

Speaker: **Fernando Reinares** (Spain)

"Jihadist Terrorism in Spain: Assessing Current Threats and Evaluating Institutional Responses”

## **17'00-17'30 Break**

## **17'30-20'00 Symposium on Causes of Terrorism**

Convenor:    **Luis Francisco de Jorge** (Spain)

Participants:

**Baltasar Garzón** (Spain)

“Causes of Terrorism”

**Luis Francisco de Jorge** (Spain)

“Thinking about the terror of ETA”

**Joseph F. Pilat** (USA)

“ReAssessing the Causes of Terrorism”

**Fernando Reinares** (Spain)

“Contrasting visions on the causes of terrorism”.

## **17'30-20'00 Session B: Terrorism in different nations and cultures**

Chair:                    **Arthur J. Kendall** (USA)

Participants:

**Robin Goodwin**, Brunel University (UK)

“Terrorism Perception and its Consequences following the 7th July 2005 Bombings:  
A Four-Wave Study in London, England”

**Ioannis Tellidis**, (Greece/Scotland)

“Preventing Terrorism: Nationalist Violence and Conflict Resolution in the Basque  
Country”

**Maria Dolores Algora** (Spain)

“International order, Middle East region and terrorist mind”

**Agnieszka Golec de Zavala** (Poland/UK)

“Support for violence and War on Terrorism under existential threat:  
Differential moderation by religiosity and belief in European cultural superiority”

**Emmanuel Karagiannis**, (Greece)

“Hezbollah as a social movement”

## **21'00 Reception by the Ayuntamiento de Miraflores de la Sierra**

**SATURDAY**

**29 September 2007**

**8'30-9'30 Breakfast**

**9'30-10'30 Keynote Address:**

Chair: **Alice LoCicero (USA)**

Speaker: **Natividad Carpintero-Santamaría (Spain)**  
“Characteristics of Global Terrorism”

**10'30-11'00 Break and Poster Session**

**Kristen Foster, Brandon Brace, Jonathan Hawkins, Rebecca Whitcomb, The Beyond War Research Group, F. Dan Richard, and Dong-Yuan Debbie Wang (USA)**

“Cultural Influences on Conflict Resolution: A Study of Eastern and Western Logics”

**Ian Hansen and Jeremy Ginges (USA)**

“Religion and support for suicide attacks”

**Michael Lamport Commons and Eric Andrew Goodheart (USA)**

“Does government building fail and terrorism result when developmental stages of governance and economics are skipped?”

**Zohreh Musazareh and Khadijeh Abolmaali (Iran)**

"Terminology of aggression in Islam"

**Pilar Otero (Spain)**

«Electronic monitoring as way of control and prevention of aggression»

**Kinga Agnes William (UK)**

“From Terror To Tolerance”

**11'00-14'00 Symposium on Societal and Personal Reactions to Terrorism. Victim's Perspective. The Ulster experience.**

Convenor: **Brian T. Mullan (Northern Ireland)**

Participants:

**Sharon Campbell (Northern Ireland)**

**Mary Corry (Northern Ireland)**

**Martin Murphy (Northern Ireland)**

**Zora Monyneaux** (Northern Ireland)

### **11'00-14'00 Session C: Psychology of terrorism**

Chair: **Lucyna A. Kirwil** (Poland)

Participants:

**Rowel Huesmann** (USA)

“The Development of Terrorists from Childhood to Adulthood”

**Alice LoCicero, Justin Sinclair, and An Anonymous Collaborator** (USA)

"When the Last Of Us Has Died": Conversations with Children In the Midst of a Long Ethnic War

**Samuel Sinclair and Alice LoCicero** (USA)

“Assessing Fears of Terrorism: Development of the Terrorism Catastrophizing Scale”

**Tom Kubik and Magorzata Kossowska** (Poland)

“Gazing into an Abyss: Image of Terrorists and its Psychological Moderators”

**Magorzata Kossowska and Tom Kubik** (Poland)

“Threat of terrorism – psychological determinants and social consequences”

**Karl Roberts** (UK)

“Identity Theory and Terrorist Behaviour: applying identity theory to Counter Terrorism”

### **14'30-15'30 Lunch**

### **16'00-17'00 Keynote Address:**

Chair: **Guillermo Velarde** (Spain)

Speaker: **Francesco Calogero** (Italy)  
"The risk of a nuclear catastrophe"

### **17'30-19'30 Symposium on the 50th Anniversary of Pugwash Movement**

Convenor: **J. Martin Ramirez** (Spain/USA)

Participants:

**Abbas Al-Hussaini** (Iraq)

**Adam Breasley** (Australia)

**Francesco Calogero** (Italia)

**Antonio Fernández Rañada** (Spain)

**Arvind Kumar** (India)  
**Robert Mtonga** (Zambia)  
**Mark Suh** (Korea/Germany)  
**Guillermo Velarde** (Spain)

**19'30-20'30 Symposium on Effects of Terrorism Attacks on Individuals,  
their Societies, Communities, and Politics**

Convenor: **Yael Danieli** (USA)

Participants:

**Enrique Baca** (Spain)  
**Louis Jehel** (France)  
**Ruth Pat-Horenczyk** (Israel)  
**Tali Levanon** (Israel)  
**Danilo Turk** (Slovenija)  
**Yael Danieli** (USA)

**17'30-20'30 Session D: Politics and Terrorism**

Chair: **Tom Pyszczynski** (USA)

Participants:

**Tolya Stoitsova** (Bulgaria) and **Anne Snellen** (USA)  
“Newspaper Language and the Experience of Terror: Cross-Cultural Understanding”

**Urmitapa Dutta** (India/USA)  
“Fighting for a Homeland...Reconstructing Narratives of the 'Terrorists'”

**Manuel Cancio-Meliá** (Spain)  
“Symbolic Action and Reaction Facing Terrorism: Political Violence and Criminal Law”

**Sara Nora Ross** (USA)  
“Democratization as an Incendiary Process: Less Flammable Meta-Approaches to Policy & Praxis”

**Karl Roberts** (USA)  
“Police Interviews with Islamic Extremists, Investigative Interviewing or Interrogation?”

**Steven John Thompson** (USA)  
“Iraqonics: Positing Media Iconics and Semiotics as Weapons on Western Consciousness”

**21'00-22'00 Dinner**

**SUNDAY**

**30 September 2007**

**8'30-9 '30 Breakfast**

**9 '30-10'30 Keynote Address:**

Chair: **Francesco Calogero** (Italy)

Speaker: **Abbas Al-Hussaini** (Iraq)  
“Interaction between politics and terrorism in Iraq”

**10'30-11'00 Break**

**11'00-13'00 Session E: Conflict and Aggression**

Chair: **Rowel Huesmann** (USA)

Participants:

**Lucyna A. Kirwil** (Poland)

“Who Justifies Extreme Violence and Proactive Aggression Use?  
Implications for Understanding Terrorist’s Personality”

**James N. Breckenridge** and **Philip Zimbardo** (USA)

“Reactions to Terrorism: The Psychology of American Perceptions and  
the Influence of Highly Publicized Incidents of Other forms of Violence”

**Jeff Victoroff** (USA)

“Applying the Social Science of Aggression to Understanding and Improving  
Muslim/non-Muslim Relations in Western Europe”

**Leo Regeer** (The Netherland)

“Caustion of fear, powerlessness, aggression and terrorism”

**Dan Richard, C. Dominik Güss,** and **Dong-yuan Wang** (USA)

“Dialectical Thinking and the Resolution of International Conflicts in China,  
Japan and the United States”

**Alison Ledgerwood** (USA)

“More Than a Resource: Property as a Socially Recognized Symbol of Group Identity”

## **11’00-13’00 Session F: Critical Issues**

Chair: **Samuel Justin Sinclair** (USA)

Participants:

**Shahid Bux** (Scotland)

“A critical appraisal of terrorist profiling”

**Steven J. Stein** (Canada)

“A New Risk Assessment For Terrorist Suspects”

**Adam D. Brown, Alin Coman, and William Hirst** (USA)

“Forgetting, Emotion, and Trauma: Socially-Shared Retrieval-Induced Forgetting”

**Tatyana Dronzina** (Bulgaria)

“Participating in suicide missions: comparative study of motivation of successful and unsuccessful Chechen female bombers.”

**Mariya Sapundzhieva and Radi Ganey** (Bulgaria)

“Women as A Suicide Bombers”

**Marie D. Natoli** (USA)

“Terrorism, Rhetoric, and the Imperial U.S. Presidency”

## **13’00 Closing Ceremony:**

**Alice LoCicero**, President of **STR**

**University authorities**

## **13’30-14’30 Lunch**

## **Afternoon: Leaving**



## **ABSTRACTS**

(in session order)

### **• Symposium on TERROR MANAGEMENT THEORY AND TERRORISM**

Convenor: Tom Pyszczynski (USA)

Participants: Abdollahossein Abdollahi (Iran)  
Thomas Arciszewski (France)  
Bertjan Doosje (the Netherlands),  
Tom Pyszczynski (USA)  
Jean-François Verliac (France)  
Hanna Zagefka (United Kingdom)  
Anja Zimmermann (the Netherlands)

Introduction:

#### **Terror Management Theory and the Psychology of Terrorism and Political Extremism**

*Tom Pyszczynski (USA)*

Terror Management Theory provides a psychological analysis of the functions of culture and why cultural differences often lead to lethal conflict. Recent experiments exploring the role that terror management processes play in the current conflict in the Middle East have shown that subtle reminders of death increase support for suicide bombings among Iranians, harsher military tactics among Israelis and support for extreme military interventions among Americans. Experiments have also shown that subliminal reminders of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and media coverage of terrorism increase the accessibility of death-related thoughts outside of conscious awareness, and that reminders of either death or 9/11 increase support for President Bush and his policies in Iraq among Americans. On a more encouraging note, research shows that subtle activation of a sense of “common humanity” reverses anti-Arab prejudice among Americans, that priming compassionate passages from the Christian Bible reverse the effects of death reminders so that they reduce support for extreme military interventions among Americans, and that priming compassionate values from the Koran have a similar conflict-reducing approach among Iranians. Other recent developments in our research on these issues will be discussed.

## Results of an International Collaboration:

### **Attributions of Responsibility and Reactions to Terrorist Threat in the United Kingdom and Netherlands”**

*Anja Zimmermann and Bertjan Doosje (the Netherlands), and Hanna Zagefka (United Kingdom)*

Terrorist threat can be perceived as directed against the whole group (e.g., the group’s democratic or cultural values) or against the individual (e.g., the risk of being personally hit by a terror attack). This talk will focus on factors that determine whether individuals, groups, or broader social institutions are blamed for terror threat, e.g. terrorists, Islam, or the ingroup (e.g. government). The first study ( $N = 78$ , United Kingdom) highlights that perceived *personal* threat of terrorism is associated with greater identification with the British. However, perceived *group* threat is only associated with greater identification if the ingroup is not blamed for the terrorist threat. The second study ( $N = 118$ ) compared non-Islamic and Islamic respondents living in the Netherlands. Perceived *personal* threat predicted prejudice and anger among Non-Islamic participants whereas perceived *group* threat did so among Islamic participants. The findings are discussed from the perspective of Terror Management theory, with a focus on how attachment to the ingroup and reactions to the outgroup depend on attributions of responsibility for terror threat.

### **A Terror Management Theory Perspective on Attitudes toward Immigration and Terrorism in France**

*Thomas Arciszewski and Jean-François Verliac (France)*

Terror management theory posits that people are motivated to maintain faith in their cultural worldviews because of the protection from a deeply rooted fear of death that their worldviews provide. From this perspective, people react negatively to those who adhere to different beliefs and values because such beliefs threaten faith in one’s own worldview, and the protection from anxiety that one’s worldview provides. Research has supported this idea by showing that, across very diverse groups, reminders of death increase in-group favoritism, and rejection of and violence toward those who are different from oneself. For many years, longtime residents of European countries have exhibited negative attitudes, discrimination, and in some cases violence, toward immigrants. These problems seem to have increased in recent years, perhaps in response to the fear of terrorism, which is closely related to the fear of death. In this presentation, we discuss recent research conducted in Paris to assess the terror management analysis of negative attitudes toward immigrants. These studies have shown that reminders of death lead to more negative attitudes toward a specific immigrant and immigrants in general among those high in \_\_\_\_ but more positive attitudes toward immigrants among those \_\_\_\_\_. The relevance of these results for understanding the increasing conflict over the issue of immigration will be discussed.

## **Exploring Terror Management Processes in Iran: Implications for Understanding the Current Conflict**

*Abdollahossein Abdollahi (Iran)*

Terror management theory posits that the fear of death plays an important role in diverse forms of human behavior, and encourages allegiance to one's cultural worldview and behavior that meets or exceeds the standards of value that are part of one's worldview. Given that death is dealt with more openly in Islamic cultures than in the West, and to some extent actively celebrated, it is important to consider whether the findings of terror management research generalize to Islamic world. Recent studies conducted in Iran have shown that reminders of death produce the same effects on judgments of moral transgressions, charitable giving, and attachment to parents as found in Western countries. Furthermore, just as it has been shown that reminders of death increase support for harsh military policies among Americans and Israelis, research has shown that reminders of death increase support for martyrdom attacks among Iranians. On a more hopeful note, research has also shown that the violence-promoting effect of reminders of death can be reversed among Iranians by reminding them of compassionate Islamic teachings, just as these tendencies can be reversed among Americans by reminding them of compassionate Christian teachings. This research suggests that the same psychological variables specified by terror management theory increase and decrease support for violent solutions in both the Islamic and Western world.

## **Anxiety Buffer Breakdown Theory: An Application of Terror Management Ideas to the Problem of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder**

*Tom Pyszczynski (USA) and Abdollahossein Abdollahi (Iran)*

Anxiety Buffer Breakdown Theory is an application of Terror Management Theory to the problem of PTSD that hopes to provide an integrative framework for understanding the processes the lead to this disorder and show how PTSD relates to other less personally devastating but perhaps more socially damaging responses to trauma. From this perspective, PTSD results from a breakdown of the normal anxiety-buffering system that occurs when people are confronted with *dramatic confrontations with death and vulnerability under circumstances that shatter the most basic assumptions of their anxiety-buffering cultural worldview*. This breakdown of normal anxiety-buffering functions occurs when people dissociate at the time of the traumatic event. As a result of this breakdown of their anxiety buffers, PTSD-afflicted individuals are flooded with raw anxiety, which is manifested in waves of panic, flashbacks, nightmares, intrusive thoughts, and the like, and which lead to difficulty regulating behavior, fits of rage, and feelings of isolation from others who cannot relate to or understand their experiences. Because of the breakdown in anxiety-control, attempts to down-regulate this distress are impaired, leading to further problems, feelings of low efficacy and hopelessness, and attempts to self-regulate and self-medicate through the use of alcohol and other drugs. An initial study testing hypotheses derived from this study will be presented. Victims of 2005 Kerman-Zarand Earthquake in Iran experiences were contacted 1 – 2 months after the disaster, completed a

measure of peri-traumatic dissociative, and participated in a typical terror management study in which they were randomly assigned to be asked short questions about their own death, the earthquake, or an aversive topic unrelated to either (dental pain). Their attitudes toward foreign aid to earthquake victims was then assessed as a measure of worldview defense. Much like has been found in previous research person low in dissociative tendencies responded to reminders of either death or the earthquake with more negative attitudes toward foreign aid (showed increased worldview defense) but showed no sign of negative affect in response to these reminders. In contrast, participants high in dissociative tendencies, who are at risk for PTSD, did not show increased worldview defense in response to reminders of either death or the earthquake, but did show increased negative affect in response to both. These data are consistent with the proposition that dissociators do not show normal worldview defense but are much more emotionally distraught by reminders of traumatic events than non-dissociators.

## • **Session A: CONCEPT AND KINDS OF TERRORISM**

### **Low Hanging Fruit. Some Things to Study about Terrorism**

*Arthur J. Kendall (USA)*

As part of APA's Task Force on Psychological Effects of Efforts to Prevent Terrorism, the author formulated a rationale for social and behavioral scientists studying terrorism. He identified many topics about which consensus conferences could apply existing knowledge to terrorism. These conferences could also identify areas where future research could be fruitfully done. He drew on knowledge gained via his participation in the International Society of Political Psychology since 1978, a 21-year career at the US Government Accountability Office mostly in National Security and International Affairs, and several years' participation in GAO's internal Terrorism Knowledge Network to do this. The ideas expressed in this talk will be strictly those of the author and do not reflect the position of any agency or organization.

### **Beyond Definition: Conceptual Models of Terrorism and the Threat to Civil Society**

*W. Michael Dunaway (USA)*

Our current understanding of terrorism has been shaped by efforts to identify a comprehensive definition that would foster international cooperation in countering terrorism. Little corresponding effort has been devoted to developing a conceptual framework for understanding how the tactical employment of terrorism relates to the strategic objectives of terrorists. This paper surveys recent efforts to develop a conceptual framework of terrorism with the objective of addressing:

- How anti-terrorism policies have been shaped by the quest for a comprehensive definition;
- Why definitions of terrorism are and will continue to be inadequate to the task;
- What conceptual models offer to understanding that definitions do not;
- Why a conceptual framework of terrorism is needed and what it would achieve.

In conclusion, a conceptual framework is presented that illustrates the strategic dilemma arising from the "terrorism as war" versus "terrorism as crime" paradigm that characterizes current approaches to terrorism.

### **The threat of nuclear terrorism**

*Guillermo Velarde (Spain)*

Nuclear terrorism is an evil application of nuclear energy, in the same way that chemical and biological terrorism could be considered as the evil side of chemistry and biology. Three different types of nuclear terrorism are presented: 1) Dirty bombs or radioactive bombs or radiological dispersion devices (RDD), 2) Improvised nuclear devices or crude nuclear bombs (IND), and 3) Attack to nuclear facilities (ANF). Dirty bombs are

weapons bounded to create panic and with a high cost of decontamination. This paper analyses some experiments and their results as well as the illicit trafficking involving radioactive sources. We will approach also the measures to be taken in the case of the explosion of a dirty bomb. With respect to crude atom bombs, we will describe the type of bombs preferred by the terrorists, the acquisition of the enriched uranium for their use and the effects produced in the case of the explosion of an IND. Finally, we will see the probabilities of an attack and the biological damage derived from the explosion of both dirty and crude atom bombs.

### **A Buddhist-Secular Ethics Approach to Nuclear Terrorism, from an Australian Perspective**

*Adam Breasley* (Australia)

From the Buddhist perspective, aggression is the result of a misconception of what is ultimately useful, for ourselves, in achieving our objective of finding happiness and avoiding suffering. From the Buddhist perspective, it is anger itself which is the source of suffering. Shantideva, the 8<sup>th</sup> Century Indian Buddhist saint and scholar, from Nalanda University, the Bodhisattvacharyavatara (translation: "A Guide to The Bodhisattva's Way of Life"), a text which is often quoted and taught by the XIV<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama of Tibet, opens his chapter on Patience by stating:

1. "Whatever wholesome deeds,  
Such as venerating the Buddhas and generosity,  
That have been amassed over a thousand aeons  
Will all be destroyed in one moment of anger.
2. There is no transgression like hatred,  
And no fortitude like patience.  
Thus I should strive in various ways  
To meditate on patience."

In the age of Weapons of Mass Destruction, the possibility that all will 'be destroyed in one moment of anger' is certainly true. So how can we avoid this? By drawing on the practical lessons contained in Shantideva's 8th century chapter on patience,(and the author's personal experience of from this year of lessons given by the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala, India, and from lessons given by Venerable Samdhong Rinpoche, Chief Minister of the Tibetan-Government-In-Exile, in 2005), examined from a secular multi-faith perspective and from an contemporary Australian-Asia Pacific perspective concerning the phenomena of terrorism and nuclear weapons, and with a particular focus on the need for cultivating (most especially for a great number of disaffected youth), holistic peace education in our societies, this paper explores the possibility of the practical application of developing the quality of patience within ourselves, as an antidote to anger.

## **CBRN terrorism and its implications**

*Arvind Kumar* (India)

The international community in the existing milieu bears a very special responsibility for the security of Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) materials in order to assure that the possibility of such materials falling into terrorist's hands should not arise. Hence, CBRN terrorism must be controlled at the source. Such controls and containment are very complicated. The international environment is in a precarious condition because of the rise of non-state actors. The enemy is invisible in the current environment. The September 11th event in the year 2001 has changed the whole paradigm of security structure and national apparatus.

## **The conceptualization of cyberterrorism**

*Amanda M. Sharp Parker* (USA)

Since the September 11, 2001 attacks and subsequent attacks in Madrid, London and Bombay, the concept of terrorist has been brought to the forefront of the collective conscience. In a world where technology is ever change, a new threat begins to emerge. The threat of cyberterrorism. The concept of cyberterrorism has been misdefined throughout the literature. An act of cyberterrorism has not yet occurred, however terrorists are enhancing their technological training and the emerging threat of cyberterrorism is immanent. This paper examines the difference between hacking, cyber crime and cyberterrorism. It is imperative to have a correct conceptualization of cyberterrorism before research in this area can move forward productively.

- **KEYNOTE ADDRESS**

**Jihadist terrorism in Spain: Assessing current threats and evaluating institutional responses**

*Fernando Reinares* (Spain)

This keynote speech is intended, first, to broadly analyse the current threat posed to Spain by jihadist terrorism focusing on statements from Al Qaeda leadership, the sociological profile of its followers imprisoned in the country and the evolution of international terrorist networks across the nearby Maghreb. Secondly, the keynote speech aims at describing and evaluating major developments in the adaptation of national security structures so as to properly face the persisting threat of jihadist terrorism after the Madrid bombings and discusses significant public opinion perceptions of the subject.



- **Symposium on CAUSES OF TERRORISM**

Convenor: *Luis Francisco de Jorge* (Spain)

Participants:

*Luis Francisco de Jorge-Mesas* (Spain)

*Baltasar Garzón* (Spain)

*Joseph F. Pilat* (USA)

*Fernando Reinares* (Spain)

A panel of experts on terrorism will explain their views about the causes of terrorism, specially the yihadist terrorism and the terrorism of ETA in Spain. Each of them will present a speech about his position on this subject. After the presentations, there will be a dialogue with the participants and between the speakers, answering questions and debating about the topic.

#### **Reassessing the Causes of Terrorism**

*Joseph F. Pilat* (USA)

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 and the subsequent terrorist bombings in Casablanca, Istanbul, Riyadh, Madrid, London, Mumbai and elsewhere have intensified concerns and renewed calls to better understand the causes of terrorism. There are divergent views on this question, which reflect philosophical, religious, political and other differences. Terrorism has been argued to be caused by rising population, increased poverty, rapid urbanization, declining traditional authority, globalization, etc. Differences over causes affect understandings of both the threat of and responses to terrorism. Responses to emerging threats, including actions to reduce conditions that create terrorist support and aid recruitment, will be affected by beliefs about terrorism's causes. This paper provides an analytic framework for evaluating the limits to understanding the causes of terrorism, identifying what can be known about causation and assessing the implications for counterterrorism.

- **Session B: TERRORISM IN DIFFERENT NATIONS AND CULTURES**

**Terrorism Perception and its Consequences following the 7th July 2005 Bombings: A Four-Wave Study in London, England**

*Robin Goodwin (UK)*

In these two studies we examine psychological responses to terrorism threats following the London bombings in July 2005. In Study 1, we compared security and benevolence values, behavioral changes and cognitive concerns of a total of 529 respondents collected in separate cohorts in 2003, the week following the July bombings, and in three subsequent months. Security values were higher after the bombings: benevolence values, travel activity and cognitive concerns changed as predicted after the attacks, but subsequently rebounded to previous levels. In Study 2, we modeled predictors of terrorism anxiety and perceived likelihood of further attacks, and their behavioral and cognitive consequences. Age, sex, normative expectations, values and personal control all predicted anxiety or perceived likelihood of attack. Anxiety was a significant predictor of negative coping, work-place distraction and increased interpersonal contacts. Implications of these findings are discussed in the light of continuing terrorist threats.

**Preventing Terrorism: Nationalist Violence and Conflict Resolution in the Basque Country.**

*Ioannis Tellidis (Greece/Scotland)*

This paper examines terrorism from the point of view of one choice (out of many) that social movements have at their disposal. It examines terrorism as politics conducted with other means and contextualises it so it can account for its use by disparate social movements (feminists, nationalists, religious fundamentalists, animal right activists, etc). It is this paper's aim to explain the manifestation of violence in the Basque Country by looking at a) the nationalist discourse with all its symbolisms, legends and historicisms, and b) the failure of the state, both as a dictatorship as well as a liberal democracy, later on, to safeguard its citizen's human rights. Such examination is necessary to reveal the political stalemate of the conflict and to reveal the third and most significant actor in the conflict, the Basque society. The constant weakening of ETA is not only attributed to the police efficacy, local or international, but also to the reversal of violence's connotations in the perceptions of that society. While nationalist sentiment is still strong, for the past decade the civic society movement that rejects violence and promotes constitutional pressure has grown immensely and has dealt a serious blow a) to the militant fractions and their network of support and b) to the political parties who stalemated the conflict, more often than not, for political gains. Based on the examination of the Basque case, I will argue that terrorism, used as a method of political communication by social movements, is preventable.

## **International Order, Middle East Region and Terrorist Mind**

*Maria Dolores Algora (Spain)*

Since the end of the Cold War, the Middle East has become the main strategic area for a new international order. Unresolved old conflicts - like the Arab-Israeli one - and new conflicts and their aftermaths - like the last war of Iraq in 2003 - show a tumultuous region full of threats to world order at the present. One of the main difficulties in preventing and resolving conflicts are the new methods of “asymmetric wars” based on terrorism attacks. The terrorist action has been consecrated in the context of Islam, as a self-defense tool against the international troops or even against local inhabitants. This new interpretation of terrorism has become very widespread throughout the Middle East and further away from the region, everywhere where occidental interests are present. The inadequate methods to tackle the terrorist attacks are causing Islamic radicalism and the recruitment of terrorists to increase inside Middle East societies. In this sense, it is very important to understand the mind of a terrorist who becomes a suicide bomber and his social environment which protects and motivates him in his actions and aims. The subject of our paper is the analysis of these social situations and how can they influence a terrorist’s mind. The only way to find solutions to terrorism is to understand how a terrorist thinks and how he perceives himself and his attack. Middle Eastern solutions can not only be achieved by political agreements but also require a social understanding

## **Support for Violence and War on Terrorism under Existential Threat: Differential Moderation by Religiosity and Belief in European Cultural Superiority**

*Agnieszka Golec de Zavala (Poland)*

Presented studies distinguish moderating effects of ethnocentric vs intrinsically religious beliefs on the inter-group attitudes and behaviour in mortality salience conditions. The belief in the superiority of the European culture is shown to strengthened the inter-group negativity in the context of the Western vs Arab world conflict, whereas intrinsically religious beliefs are shown to mitigate the inter-group negativity. The study 1 used classical mortality salience manipulation (Greenberg et al, 1990), whereas study 2 used mortality salience as the terrorist threat manipulation (Landau et al 2004). The results indicate that in mortality salience conditions intrinsic religiousness was negatively related to support for escalatory strategies in inter-group conflict and support for war on Arab world. At the same time, in mortality salience conditions ethnocentric belief was positively associated with choice of escalatory strategies and support for the war. There was no significant relationship in control conditions in both cases.

## **Hezbollah as a social movement**

*Emmanuel Karagiannis (Greece)*

Although frequently labeled a terrorist group, Hezbollah is a social movement that, like Hamas in Palestine, provides an assortment of social services for the Shia community. Its leadership is well educated, modern and rational. In fact, Hezbollah runs hospitals, schools, orphanages and

a television station. In addition, after the 2005 elections, Hezbollah held 23 seats (up from eight previously) in the 128-member Lebanese Parliament. A narrow focus on its violent methods misses the larger dynamics of the movement, which are better understood in terms of social movement mobilization. Social movements often use frames to mobilize support. Frames give new meaning to people's lives. In addition, frames identify targets of blame, offer visions of a desirable world and suggest strategies for political change, and provide a rationale to motivate collective action. The paper will show how a social movement framework that focuses on social justice frames is an effective way for providing a comprehensive understanding of Hezbollah.

- **KEYNOTE ADDRESS**

**Characteristics of Global Terrorism**

*Natividad Carpintero-Santamaría* (Spain)

The end of the Cold War together with the high risk policy carried out by the powers during it, resulted in a new international order in which global terrorism has experienced several specific characteristics which distinguish it from the conventional terrorist practice known before 11 September 2001. Among these features the following have been considered: Leading-role of non-state actors; the religious factor and the underlying goal of confronting civilizations; big destruction power which involves a potential capability for terrorists to get and use nuclear, biological or chemical weapons. On the other hand, the technological advances in cybercommunication, which reaches unthinkable places in the world, are a valuable tool for terrorists to organize, control and develop their operations. Related to these operations, it has been reported by official institutions that they get economic support from financing systems out of governmental control that are mainly fed by illicit activities such as narcotraffic.

- **Symposium on SOCIETAL AND PERSONAL REACTIONS TO TERRORISM: VICTIMS' PERSPECTIVES. THE ULSTER EXPERIENCE**

Convenor: *Brian T. Mullan* (Northern Ireland)

Participants:

*Sharon Campbell* (Northern Ireland)

*Mary Corry* (Northern Ireland)

*Martin Murphy* (Northern Ireland)

*Zora Monydeaux* (Northern Ireland)

How, in the Victim's Sector, do we seek to manage our personal reactions as we engage professionally in our work?

- How do we emerge from the overarching threats we have lived with over decades safely into the new arrangements both personally and professionally?
- What is the interaction between statutory bodies and those working directly with individual victims of violence?
- Does hierarchy of victim-hood mean the systematic exclusion of those who work professionally within this field?
- Over 30 years of conflict tells us not to trust one another, people get killed/injured/traumatised – in our professional roles what experiences have we had of trust forming across boundaries to support victims and survivors and how this can be built upon for a better future in NI?
- What in our experience tells us that healing work comes from grassroots involvement and a partnership approach?
- What next for NI – now that we have a new devolved government (8 May) will victims needs be met or forgotten about?

A panel of people will discuss these issues in an open and frank manner and focusing on the Northern Irish experience of the conflict.

- **Session C: PSYCHOLOGY OF TERRORISM**

**The Development of Terrorists from Childhood to Adulthood**

*L. Rowell Huesmann (USA)*

While significant research has accumulated over the past century about the developmental psychology of aggressive and violent behavior, few attempts have been made to apply this research to understanding what makes a terrorist. In fact, anthropologists, political scientists and others have argued that "terrorists are just like you and me" psychologically. In this presentation I argue that these claims are psychologically naive. Certain patterns of development predispose some individuals to be more at risk for engaging in terrorism, and the social-cognitive theory that has evolved to explain individual aggressive behavior can predict what kind of youth is most likely to become a terrorist. The proximate causes of the act may be situational factors and social-organizational pressures, but I propose that four psychological characteristics predispose some youth to be more susceptible than others: 1) low baseline arousal and little negative emotional reaction to violence; 2) intense continuing negative feelings of frustration, rage, or even simple dysphoria; 3) a distorted cognitive schema that the world is a "mean" place where hostile, evil forces thrive; and 4) normative beliefs that the proposed terrorist act is "right." The belief may be based on religious indoctrination, strong prosocial ties for a community with a belief that the act will help them, or a strong need for the approval that it is perceived will come from the act. I propose that these characteristics are likely to be learned naturally in many youth in the deprived, repressive, unjust, and violent environments in which they grow up and from exposure to media images and interpretations of the violence around them. These processes grow the individual to the point where they are susceptible to the situational and organizational forces that are proximate stimuli for the terrorist act.

**When the Last of Us Has Died: Conversations with Children in the Midst of a Long Ethnic War**

*Alice LoCicero, Samuel Justin Sinclair, and An Anonymous Collaborator (USA)*

Conditions fostering child soldiers also foster youthful terrorism. These conditions have little to do with family functioning or individual pathology, but a great deal to do with failure of infrastructure. The presenter will provide multiple examples from various continents.

**Assessing Fears of Terrorism: Development of the Terrorism Catastrophizing Scale**

*Samuel J. Sinclair & Alice LoCicero (USA)*

The purpose of this study was to develop and validate a new tool, the *Terrorism Catastrophizing Scale (TCS)*, rooted in Terror Management Theory (TMT) (Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Greenberg, 2003) and Beck's (1976) cognitive-behavioral model (CBM) of psychopathology. Participants were representative of the US general population ( $N = 503$ ).

Results indicate that a shortened 13-item version of the TCS, measuring three interrelated sub-components (Rumination, Magnification, and Helplessness), optimized model fit in a confirmatory factor analysis, met all tests of scaling assumptions, and fit a generalized partial credit item response model (GPCM). Consistent with TMT and CBM, respectively, results also show that self-esteem and social connectedness are negatively associated ( $p < 0.05$ ) with terrorism catastrophizing, and that terrorism catastrophizing is a significant predictor ( $p < 0.05$ ) of behavioral change to reduce perceived threat, and symptoms of anxiety, depression, and stress. The implications and limitations of this study are discussed.

### **Gazing into an Abyss: Image of Terrorists and its Psychological Moderators**

*Tom Kubik & Magorzata Kossowska (Poland)*

The aim of the study was to examine how people portray terrorists. In the first stage, researchers conducted qualitative research to find the basic elements that form the representation of terrorists. Subsequently, a quantitative study was designed, to reveal the structure behind these elements by means of factor analysis. The factors derived were interpreted in line with the theories by McCauley (2002). Also, researchers verified predictions about variables that shape the perception at individual level: Social Dominance Orientation (Pratto et al, 1994) and Right Wing Authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1996). It turned out that these individual characteristics do moderate the content of terrorist images both taken individually and by means of an interaction.

### **Threat of terrorism – psychological determinants and social consequences**

*Magorzata Kossowska & Tomasz Kubik (Poland)*

The aims of the present research are twofold. Firstly, we would like to describe psychological factors that have an impact on the feeling of a threat of terrorism. The second purpose is to determine social and psychological consequences of a terrorism threat. We propose to analyse the feeling of a terrorism threat within the framework of Risk Perception Theory (Slovic, 2000), expanding this model by employing individual and group factors. It is planned to focus on the description of individual variables, such as values and individual differences regarding cognitive motivation along with their relation to the strength of the perceived threat of terrorism. Furthermore, we find cognitive representations of terrorism and a terrorist as well as ideological beliefs and attitudes considerably important. Focusing on the consequences of a terrorism threat, we assume that its individual and social perception will strengthen in-group identification. Nevertheless, we expect that in case of individually perceived terror it will intensify patriotic attitudes, whereas a sense of public threat will generate nationalistic feelings, conspiracy theories, prejudice and acceptance of rigorous solutions aimed at limitation of privileges of other ethnic/national minorities or groups. Hence, the consequences will vary; on the one hand we have the increase of human solidarity, on the other hand – an emphasis on intergroup divisions and differences, in-group favouritism and out-group derogation.



## **Identity Theory and Terrorist Behaviour: Applying identity theory to Counter Terrorism**

*Karl Roberts (UK)*

Identity theory (e.g. Stryker and Burke, 2000) has recently been used as an explanation for the aetiology and maintenance of terrorism (Arena and Arrigo, 2006). Identity theory holds that an individual's sense of 'self' is a composite of multiple different identities each determined by different social roles and individual takes within their social networks. This paper illustrates how this theory can be applied in designing counter terrorism measures. Specifically it looks at how assessment of terrorist suspects based upon the salience of particular identities and the importance of an individual's competing identities, might be useful in challenging commitment and encouraging disengagement from terrorism.

- **KEYNOTE ADDRESS:**

**The risk of a nuclear catastrophe**

*Francesco Calogero* (Italy)

Prof. Calogero will discuss mainly the possibility that a small subnational group destroy a city with a nuclear explosion: is this possible? likely? What should be done to decrease the probability that this happen? in the immediate future? in the longer term future?

Then he will also discuss the prospect that the nuclear-weapon non-proliferation regime unravels and many more states acquire nuclear weapons. How serious is this danger for the future of our civilization? What should be done to decrease this risk? And what about the risk that nuclear weapons be used by the states now possessing them?

- **Symposium on 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF PUGWASH**

Convenor: *J. Martin Ramirez* (Spain/USA)

Participants:

*Abbas Al-Hussaini* (Iraq)  
*Adam Breasley* (Australia)  
*Francesco Calogero* (Italia)  
*Antonio Fernández-Rañada* (Spain)  
*Arvind Kumar* (India)  
*Robert Mtonga* (Zambia)  
*Mark Suh* (Korea)  
*Guillermo Velarde* (Spain)

The Einstein - Russell Manifesto, launched by Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell on July 9th, 1955, gave birth to the Pugwash Movement. Fifty years ago, in July 1957, at the onset of the Cold War, 22 of the world's greatest nuclear scientists, from East and West, gathered in a controversial and historic meeting in the village of Pugwash, (Nova Scotia, Canada), to discuss peace and to address the emerging threat of nuclear war. They alerted the world to the dangers of nuclear weapons, and especially the newly developed hydrogen bomb. It was the first meeting of the Nobel Prize-winning Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, inspired by the Einstein - Russell Manifesto. Besides informing society about the dangers of nuclear and chemical weapons, the Pugwash movement attaches considerable importance to ecological questions and, what is most important for this CICA-STR Conference of Aggression and Terrorism, focuses on the threat of international terrorism. The scientists who participate in the Pugwash movement are of the opinion that, despite the shock of the events of September 11, 2001, in the United States, the tragedies in Madrid, London, and Beslan, and other acts of terrorism, the struggle against terrorism should proceed strictly by the legal norms of both the international and national communities-ensuring that all human and civil rights are preserved. In the presence of highly active international terrorism, the control of nuclear materials became particularly worrisome, because they can be used to make explosive devices, as Prof. Calogero and Gen. Velarde, among others, will point out. Prof. Fernández Rañada, Arvind Kumar and Martin Ramirez will inform the audience of its activities in various international political centers, institutes, and peacemaking organizations. Adam Breasley will discuss the Young Pugwash, and Dr. Suh about the newest negotiations with North Korea in order to its denuclearization in exchange to more respect and acceptance by the rest of the world. As an informal association of scientists from more than 50 countries of the world, the Pugwash Movement systematically promotes not only the reduction of the danger presented by the use of weapons of mass destruction and the prevention of the escalation of international terrorism and regional conflicts, but also the strengthening of trust between the political elites of different countries.

- **Symposium on THE EFFECTS OF TERRORISM ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUALS, THEIR SOCIETIES, COMMUNITIES, AND POLITICS**

Convenor: Yael Danieli (USA)

Participants:

*Enrique Baca* (Spain)  
*Louis Jehel* (France)  
*Tali Levanon* (Israel)  
*Ruth Pat-Horenczyk* (Israel)  
*Danilo Turk* (Slovenia)

This multidisciplinary symposium will review, discuss and analyze findings on the effects of terrorism attacks on individuals, their societies, communities, and politics as they interact with their various cultural and religious dimensions. It will first present research findings from France, Israel, the United States and Spain, at different age groups (e.g., children, adults) and contexts (e.g., towns, cities, hospitals, schools). Presenters will also describe various community-based programs developed in various countries to help victims of the trauma of terrorism, including programs whose focus is prevention. It will then also examine the international community's responses from the point of view of instruments and mechanisms developed and actions taken by it at the United Nations.

- **Session D: POLITICS AND TERRORISM**

**Newspaper Language and the Experience of Terror: A Cross-Cultural Understanding**  
*Tolya A. Stoitsova* (Bulgaria) and *Anne Snellen* (USA)

We are developing a methodology for understanding the media response to terrorism across cultures by posing the question: how are different cultures making sense of terrorism through newspaper editorials? As models, we analyzed newspaper editorials reflecting the 9/11 terrorist attacks in four different cultures, comparing *The New York Times* (United States), *The Times* (United Kingdom), *Sega* (Bulgaria), and *Izvestiya* (Russia). The major sources of information included in our methodology are: (1) The number and pattern of the editorials relating to the attack, (2) The rhetorical style of editorials, (3) The nature of historical references, (4) The specific, salient figures of speech, and (5) The overall themes emerging from the period of editorial reflection. Findings suggest that newspapers frame their response to terror based on culturally-specific references designed to draw analogical and thematic comparisons to previous events having similar impacts on the culture.

**Fighting for a Homeland...Reconstructing narratives of the ‘Terrorists’**  
*Urmitapa Dutta* (USA)

Organized violence labeled as ‘terrorism’ by the State is one of the major crises faced by the Northeastern region of India. This paper is based on a study attempting to deconstruct the official discourse around ‘terrorism’ while reconstructing the obliterated narratives of the people labeled as ‘terrorists’. The participants were youths aged 17-23, on trial for their affiliation to a group identified as a ‘terrorist’ organization by the State. The study revealed how these youths negotiate an identity in the face of multiples social realities – their complicity in perpetrating communal violence, the State’s labeling of that violence as ‘terrorism’; an intransigent history of difference dividing tribal and non-tribal communities. The implications of these findings for intervening in the cycle of repetitive violence are discussed. The possibility of dialectical movements between the expositions of local struggles with contextual specificity and forming conceptual links with similarly situated communities globally is also raised.

**Symbolic action and reaction facing terrorism: Political violence and criminal law**  
*Manuel Cancio-Meliá* (Spain)

The guideline which drives today’s crime policy debate lies in the tension between legal guarantees and effectiveness. It has been stated in contemporary criminal law theory that the solution to such a tension comes from a necessary relation between democracy and security. Probably terrorism is the area where the *de facto* police prevention and the discourse on legislation policy (*security* issues) is at the same time apparently common sense-based and, on the other hand, too generalizing and characterized by an important lack of self-reflection on a constitutional level. Therefore it is especially important for criminal

law theory efforts to comprehend the empirical issues which modern forms of terrorist behaviour present, in order to reflect the empirical “environment” of the concrete criminal law reaction against terrorist acts.

### **Democratization as an incendiary process: Less flammable meta-approaches to policy & praxis**

*Sara Nora Ross* (USA)

Experience demonstrates that efforts to build new democracies fail to reach their objectives, just as the “war on terror” has failed. Paradoxically, efforts to eliminate terrorism and efforts to spread peace through democracy risk being among the most incendiary processes world-wide. To change these patterns, two sets of applied understandings are essential. One encompasses (a) different assumptions about democracy and terrorism, (b) requisites for democratization processes, (c) the perennial clientelist structures, (d) political economies of corruption, (e) basic human needs, and (e) violent activities. Another encompasses developmental understandings of individuals, groups, their transactions and their institutions. Selected international examples are provided. The second part of the paper discusses applications on the ground of more process-oriented meta-approaches to change existing patterns. These are proposed to not only slow down unrealistic expectations and reactionary behaviors and violence, but also build more non-flammable socio-political foundations. The conclusion posits that when democratization-related policy and practice employ such meta-approaches, they are more likely to be comprehensive enough to reduce social disruption and violence.

### **Police interviews with Islamic extremists, investigative interviewing or interrogation?**

*Karl Roberts* (USA)

This paper reviews work that has examined various law enforcement approaches to interviewing Islamist extremists. Traditionally interrogative methods have been the preferred tactic in which little attempt has been made to form rapport with the suspect and in which threats and fear form a strong element. This paper critically evaluates such approaches and makes suggestions about improved methods. In particular it stresses the importance of rapport based interviews and the value of an understanding of the cultural history and expectations of the suspect in maximizing information obtained during an interview.

### **Iraqonics: Positing Media Iconics and Semiotics as Weapons on Western Consciousness**

*Steven John Thompson* (USA)

This research analyzes media from two news campaigns coming out of the War with Iraq during the Summer of 2004. The first campaign contains iconic imagery from the abduction of American Paul Johnson, killed by Muslim extremists in Saudi Arabia. The second campaign contains video from the torture by American soldiers of prisoners at Abu Ghraib

Prison. These are cross-mediated messages that have since been pushed into the global news archives, though they are highly emblematic constructs that actually have a profound effect on a struggle for power, voice, and knowledge. In each of these related, though situationally opposed, media disclosures, helpless captives in the panopticon yield to the control of their merciless disciplinarians as they wield their weaponry under the ever-watchful eye of the digital camera, all before a potential audience of millions of seemingly helpless viewers.

- **KEYNOTE ADDRESS:**

**Interaction between politics and terrorism in Iraq**

Abbas Al-Hussaini (*Iraq*)

Currently Iraq is in chaos and its future stability is uncertain. There are many reasons which led the country to this state of confusion and disorder; however one of the most important elements which made this situation to happen is the continuous and sustained acts of terrorism and violence. In order to explain the situation we need to answer few questions: Why is there so much killing? Who is behind the terrorist activities? Why has the terrorism succeeded, so far, in Iraq? Is it civil war? If not, what is it?

Terrorist activities are daily occurrence and regarded as a natural consequence of the fragmented political parties forming the government. Al-Qaeda, former regime elements- the so-called "nationalist" insurgents, death squads, renegade police and criminal gangs are the main executors of these activities but there are others who belong to groups associated directly or indirectly to functions which have representatives in the parliament or to political parties forming the government.

In Iraq, politics and terrorism are closely related and often some form of violence is used to score political gains. I will try to discuss a few points regarding the current situation in Iraq with particular attention to the interaction between politics and the terrorism/violence. I will try to explain how political parties helped directly or indirectly in the evolution of terrorism in Iraq.



- **Session E: AGGRESSION AND TERRORISM**

**Who justifies extreme violence and proactive aggression use? Implications for understanding terrorist's personality.**

*Lucyna A. Kirwil* (Poland)

The paper proposes to analyze terrorist's personality from a "syndrome" perspective. Psychological profiles for people ready to aggress proactively and justify extreme forms of violence (cruelty, torture) have been found for young people from college student populations and populations exposed to aggression in their everyday jobs in Poland.

The profiles include characteristics on cognitive and emotional functioning related to aggression, physiological-emotional arousal in response to violent stimuli, attitudes towards extreme violence, primary and secondary psychopathy, anxiety trait, anger trait, hostility and normative beliefs about aggression, and experience with aggression in life perspective. It has been found that crucial characteristics for justifying extreme violence use were: low emotional arousal and low intensity of negative emotions in response to emotional stimuli, low empathy, readiness to use aggressive cognitions, readiness to identify with aggressive characters, and experience with being a victim of violence (in life perspective).

**Reactions to Terrorism: The Psychology of American Perceptions and the Influence of Highly Publicized Incidents of Other forms of Violence**

*James N. Breckenridge and Philip Zimbardo* (USA)

This paper explores the results of a continuing longitudinal survey, beginning five years after September 11, 2001, of 1,200 American adults' reactions to the threat of terrorism and other violent events. We examine relationships among the public's terrorism threat appraisals and emotional and other psychological factors. Fear, anger, guilt, and sadness are found to have markedly different effects on perceptions of short- and long-term likelihood of terrorist attack, as well as on perceptions of risk to the nation versus risk to individuals personally. Each emotional response has differential influence on support for government policy and for acceptance of counter-terrorism motivated restrictions on civil liberties. In addition, we surveyed immediate local and national responses to the April, 2007 Virginia Tech college killings and demonstrate that psychological distress, amplified by intense media attention, exacerbates the public's terrorism-related threat perceptions and significantly undermines their confidence in government institutions even when perceptions prior to the killings are taken into account.

**Applying the Social Science of Aggression to Understanding and Improving Muslim/non-Muslim Relations in Western Europe**

*Jeff Victoroff* (USA)

Evolutionary psychology and social neuroscience have advanced the understanding of both the ultimate roots and cerebral mechanisms of intergroup enmity. Sixty years of empirical social psychology research has provided vital insights into what works to overcome the natural tendency toward intergroup conflict. Yet the main focus of counterterrorism initiatives has been to capture, kill or prosecute committed terrorists, rather than to (a) investigate potentially modifiable social factors in the genesis of terrorism or (b) test the efficacy of scientifically plausible anti-radicalization interventions. This presentation will review preliminary evidence that terrible Muslim/non-Muslim relations in Western Europe represent a modifiable cause of violent *jihad*. A specific research program will be proposed, integrating the social sciences of aggression and intergroup relations to design and test promising interventions to improve intergroup relations, enhance a sense of shared humanity, and measurably decrease the risk of radicalization between adolescence and adulthood.

### **Causation of fear, powerlessness, aggression and terrorism**

*Leo Regeer* (The Netherland)

This presentation, based on the worldwide known case “Theo van Gogh” (2004) will explore the causation of violence and terrorism in a new perspective. In 1993 I started with the development of a concrete definition framework to be used in daily practice. For the development of the framework for the definition of terms, a distinction was made between emotion and behavior. Then a list was made with behavioral diagnoses and their defining characteristics. This list was validated according to present rules. To make science work effective in daily practice the RADAR Method as by Regeer ® (the classification) was developed in 1996. RADAR means **R**egistration, **A**ggression, **D**iagnosis, **A**nalysis, **R**isks. Assertively and Aggression, areas were distinguished inductively and divided into four levels. A cluster of interventions accompanies each level. The RADAR as a classification may serve as the basis for answering questions concerning what to do when confronted with aggression, violence and terrorism at all levels.

### **Dialectical Thinking and the Resolution of International Conflicts in China, Japan and the United States**

*F. Dan Richard, Dong-yuan Debbie Wang, and C. Dominik Güss* (USA)

Previous research suggests that Easterners take a dialectical approach (accepting opposing perspectives) to an apparent contradiction whereas Westerners take an analytical approach (polarizing differences between opposing perspectives and choosing one side). Westerners may be less likely than Easterners, therefore, to find moderate solutions to international conflict. When dealing with international conflict, similarities of the conflict to previous historical events (e.g., the Second Sino-Japanese War) may provoke extreme responses consistent with cultural and historical experiences. 564 citizens in China, Japan, and the United States completed surveys related to contradiction and conflict. Although people in China and Japan are considered East Asians, the differences in responses between people in China and Japan to proverbs (dialectical and analytical) and to a social conflict were larger than the differences between citizens in Japan and the United States. When dealing with an

international conflict, people from all countries preferred moderate rather than extreme solutions.

**More than a resource: Property as a socially recognized symbol of group identity**

*Alison Ledgerwood* (USA)

Regions such as Jerusalem, Saudi Arabia, and Kashmir seem to lurk behind countless conflicts and terrorist acts, but what motivates intergroup violence and aggression over land and other forms of property? The present perspective conceptualizes group identity as a goal toward which group members strive using property symbols that are publicly linked to that identity. Four studies investigated whether property derives value from its capacity to serve as an effective means in pursuing group identity goals. The results demonstrate that the value placed on group-owned property depends on the situational importance of identity and on the extent to which the symbol can be used to publicly represent ingroup identity. Property value is therefore inflated when group identity needs are exacerbated (e.g., in situations of identity threat), when the property is linked to group history, and when this link is widely acknowledged. Implications for intergroup conflict, terrorism, and aggression are discussed.

- **Session F: OTHER CRITICAL ISSUES**

**A critical appraisal of terrorist profiling**

*Shahid Bux* (Scotland)

Profiling is one of the most alluring but readily misconstrued approaches to understanding terrorists. Attempts at developing a profile of the ‘typical’ terrorist have had varied success and the assumption that there exists such a profile has not been verified. This paper critically assesses the nature and limitations of approaches presently used before proceeding to identify alternatives to present overtures of terrorist profiling. Existing approaches based on demographics, physical characteristics and personality traits fail to account for the heterogeneity of terrorists. This paper argues for an alternative to terrorist profiling that takes into account the social processes and group contexts that terrorists are exposed to. While shifting focus from characteristics to processes may not be consistent with most conventional approaches to profiling it may offer a more useful means of appreciating the complexity associated with how and why people become terrorists. The benefits of this shift will be discussed.

**A new risk assessment for terrorist suspects**

*Steven J. Stein* (USA)

Much of the descriptive research on successful and unsuccessful Islamic terrorists has focused on demographic and psychological factors that include social economic status, (Kruegar & Maleckova, 2002) education (Sageman, 2004), and mental health (Hassan, 2001; Merari, 2005). However, there have been numerous links between terror suspects and criminal activity (TRAC report). Profiling religious terror suspects has been challenging due to restrictions on the use of racial, religious, and cultural variables. One of the most significant contributions psychology has made to the criminal justice system has been the work of Dr. Robert Hare. He pioneered the identification and consequences of psychopathic behaviour among forensic, offender, and community populations. His most well-known instrument, the Hare Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R), is regarded as the gold standard in forensic psychology and psychiatry (Hare, 1998). The PCL-R and its derivatives are powerful predictors of recidivism and violence on their own or as parts of other tools for risk assessment (Hare & Hugues, 2001). These tools are behaviour-based and avoid racial and ethnic stereotyping. Recently Hare, together with Herve, developed a tool called the P-SCAN, which consists of a rating scale that can be completed on suspects or other target individuals by non-professionals who know the individual well (Hare & Herve, 2001). Data has been collected with this tool on community samples, probationers, and incarcerated offenders. Rather than a diagnostic assessment, the P-SCAN provides possible hypotheses about an individual’s behaviours and their likely risk. In the present investigation P-SCAN data was collected from a former Palestinian terrorist (who has renounced terrorism and cooperates with authorities) and a still active member of a Palestinian terror group operating in the U.S. Their case data is compared to normative and

correctional samples. Implications for data collection and analysis on terror suspects are discussed.

### **Forgetting, Emotion, and Trauma: Socially-Shared Retrieval-Induced Forgetting**

*Adam D. Brown, Alin Coman, & William Hirst* (USA)

Memories associated with witnessing or surviving a traumatic event, such as a terrorist attack, are believed to possess distinctive characteristics. A number of studies have reported that individuals with PTSD often forget aspects of their trauma, leading to memories that have been characterized as fragmentary. This forgetting is often accounted for by problems that occur at the time of encoding. However, can listening to others speak (e.g. media sources, clinicians) also induce forgetting? By expanding Retrieval-Induced-Forgetting to social interactions, Hirst and colleagues have recently demonstrated how RIF can be applied to social interactions, a phenomenon they coined Socially Shared Retrieval-Induced Forgetting. This talk will discuss how SS-RIF may provide an important framework for understanding how conversations after a terrorist attack may contribute to the fragmented memories associated with PTSD. Results from work with individuals exposed to 9/11 and US combat Veterans with PTSD will be discussed.

### **Participating in suicide missions: Comparative study of motivation of successful and unsuccessful Chechen female bombers**

*Tatyana Dronzina* (Bulgaria)

This is a comparative study of motivation for participation in suicide missions of 6 unsuccessful and 29 successful Chechen female bombers. In general it is a quantitative one carried out using mainly live story and life history, and psychological autopsy research methods. The main hypothesis is that female suicide choice, apart of being impacted of several factors of the environment, has to do in a great deal with identity formation and identity crisis processes. As far as the impact of demographic factors on the decision is well documented, here the author tries to identify the weight of the next set of variables on the suicide choice: "losses" (caused by the war); "other trauma" (both caused or not by the war); and "sins" understood as acts unacceptable or intolerable by local community and wider society. The conclusion is that in Chechen case female decision for participating in suicide missions can be seen as a result of identity crisis caused by *dissolution* of the traditionally established gender roles system rather than by the impact of this system *per se*.

### **Women as A Suicide Bombers**

*Mariya Sapundzhieva and Radi Ganey* (Bulgaria)

This report makes historical and facts review of women in suicide attacks. These are female bombers, whom nature gives a basic role not to take a way life, but to give life. It analyzes the metamorphosis of the religious fundamentalists and terrorist leaders concerning on women's participation in suicide attempts, the profile of women suicide bombers in the different countries and their recruit and training. The report prognosticates development of suicide attacks and the way of their limitation.

### **Terrorism, Rhetoric, and the Imperial U.S. Presidency**

*Marie D. Natoli (USA)*

This paper shall present an analysis of the terrorist rhetoric of President George W. Bush both prior to and following the events of September 11, 2001. The analysis shall explore the correlation between presidential rhetoric U.S. public opinion in support of both the "war" against terrorism and the subsequent rationale for extending war to Iraq.

## POSTER SESSION

### **Cultural Influences on Conflict Resolution: A Study of Eastern and Western Logics**

*Kristen Foster, Brandon Brace, Jonathan Hawkins, Rebecca Whitcomb, The Beyond War Research Group, F. Dan Richard, and Dong-Yuan Debbie Wang (USA)*

Previous research suggests that Daoism and Confucianism have shaped the Eastern mindset whereas Aristotelian logic and the scientific method have shaped the Western mindset. Although Easterners are viewed as having greater mental flexibility, other research has shown that people with higher levels of education are more flexible in their thinking. This study examines nationality and education level on decision making and willingness to compromise. 564 participants from general populations of Japan, China, and the United States completed a survey measuring non-dialectical and dialectical thinking by means of proverb preference, a mother-daughter conflict scenario, and an international crisis scenario. Surprisingly, Chinese participants favored non-dialectical proverbs and participants in the United States preferred dialectical proverbs. Participants in all countries with higher education levels preferred moderate rather than extreme solutions to social and international conflicts. Differences between Japan and China in decision making are highlighted.

### **Religion and support for suicide attacks**

*Ian Hansen and Jeremy Ginges (USA)*

Suicide attacks occur when people simultaneously kill themselves and members of adversary groups. In recent years, organizations motivated by a fusion of religious and political goals have been primarily responsible for a dramatic increase in the frequency of suicide attacks carried out worldwide. While the correlation between religion and suicide attacks is a topic of frequent conjecture, scientific study of the relationship is rare. In four studies carried out across different cultural, religious and political contexts I empirically investigated the association between religion and popular support for suicide attacks. Here I show that devotion to a specific religious belief system, as indexed by frequency of prayer to God, is unrelated to support for suicide attacks. Instead it appears that frequent participation in collective religious services, common to most known religions and related to, but distinct from religious devotion, may promote support for suicide attacks.

### **Does government building fail and terrorism result when developmental stages of governance and economics are skipped?**

*Michael Lamport Commons & Eric Andrew Goodheart (USA)*

Countries and cultures must move through each of the stages of development sequentially. Each stage must be achieved, and attempts to jump stages will fail. While the US is great at winning small wars such as those against Afghanistan, Grenada, Iraq, Panama, etc., it fails at making and maintaining peace. This paper will address the reasons why and what can be done instead of our present hit or miss policies. We will address

some stages of tasks of governing. We will also address some of the means by which government activities move up in stage. This will address reasons why the US has had its various success and failures and why governments in general operate at increasingly higher stages.

### **Terminology of Aggression in Islam**

*Zohreh Musazadeh & Khadijeh Abolmaali (Iran)*

This essay has made an effort to review the Islamic definition of aggression and also to offer a solution for this powerful natural faculty. From an Islamic view point, anger is one of the natural faculties (talents) in human beings which is impossible to eradicate, but it can be controlled (Imam Khomeini (1992)). Different kinds of aggressive behaviors have been rejected in Islam. These behaviors include: revenge, enmity, hatred, cruelty, dispute, gossiping, making fun of someone (taunt), teasing, physical injury, homicide and so on (Qumy (1991); Shobbar (1995)). Considering the current psychological literature and Islamic definitions about aggression, it can be mentioned that teasing, gossiping, making fun of someone, insulting, and dispute are categorized as relational types of aggression. These have been firmly forbidden in Islam. Relational aggression includes threatening or harming social relationships. Hostile intention is included in all of the above issues. These issues can be explicit / implicit or verbal / nonverbal (Ramirez (2003); Santrock (2004)). Also according to Islamic and psychological definitions, enmity, hatred, revenge and cruelty are kinds of hostile aggression in which the person is seeking to harm and tease other people. Enmity and hatred are kinds of explicit and hostile aggression that is accompanied with verbal and physical threats. Revenge is also a reactive and defensive aggression. Cruelty is an explicit, indirect and offensive aggression that is firmly forbidden in Islam. Preventive solutions in primary, secondary, and third level concerning aggression has been mentioned in Islam.

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### **Electronic monitoring as way of control and prevention of aggression**

*Pilar Otero (Spain)*

It has been said that Criminal Law is violence not only because of what it punishes, but also because of the way it does it. Violence is present in all human relationships, and as such, it is consubstantial to every system of social control. In spite of it, the failure of imprisonment has not been its severity, but its inefficiency regarding social rehabilitation. This lack of efficiency can be palliated through the use of alternative systems of electronic surveillance in the penitentiary context. These alternative systems will not only enable an



effective solution to the problem of overcrowded prisons, but will also mitigate the harmful effects of prison. Moreover, these alternative systems represent a good method to prevent future aggressions as well as to facilitate the offender's social rehabilitation. From this point of view, we will first explain the programs of electronic surveillance in Spain and secondly we will evaluate them in terms of social rehabilitation, cost-benefit analysis, human rights restrictions, privatization and overcrowding in prisons.

### **From Terror To Tolerance**

*Kinga Agnes Williams* (UK)

Various cultures create their world-views by construing reality in particular ways, while rendering alternative world-views threatening. At times of danger (e.g. war, terrorism), world-views with a clear vision of an orderly world-structure (e.g., fundamentalism, communism) become increasingly attractive (Salzman 2006). It is suggested that their appeal is due to their simplicity. The socio-cognitive simplifications involved are as powerful as they are dangerous. Given that the present cultural-political climate is clearly the product of the above process, mindfulness of its workings is imperative. The poster gives an overview of two potential possibilities of global psychological management of cultural diversity. One route is a negative feedback-loop, resulting in increased other-culture intolerance - the other is pointing forwards, towards greater other-culture tolerance. The poster maps out the connections among Existential Anxiety, Culture-Distance, Culture-Shock, Constitutive and Regulative Rules, Cognitive Errors, Terror Management Strategies, Culture Learning, and Intercultural Dialogue, as well as the relevant theories and hypotheses. These are: Terror Management Theory (i.e. culture buffers against mortality awareness e.g. Greenberg et al 1997); Mortality Salience Hypothesis (i.e. mortality salience increases other-culture intolerance e.g. Rosenblatt et al 1989); Reverse Mortality Salience Hypothesis (i.e. other-culture intolerance increases mortality salience, Williams 2004); and the Rule-Category Substitution Fallacy (i.e. the tendency to overestimate the proportion of Constitutive Rules while underestimating the incidence of Regulative Rules, Williams 2005).

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