

Narrative social psychology¹

János László and Bea Ehmann

laszlo@mtapi.hu ehmannb@mtapi.hu²

Institute of Cognitive Neurosciences and Psychology, Research Centre of Natural Sciences,
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Social psychologists argue that people's past weighs on their present (e.g. Liu and Hilton, 2005). The present chapter intends to show that language, particularly narrative language is an extremely useful device so as to trace the impact of past experiences on current psychological conditions. We will first review some basic tenets of narrative psychology. In the next section, we will contrast the social cognitive approach to language with that of the narrative approach emphasizing that whereas social cognition conceives language as mediator of social perception, narrative psychology in general and narrative social psychology in particular are interested in linguistic expressions of individual and group identity. We will also demonstrate that current studies on group based emotions (intergroup emotions, e.g. Smith (1993), or collective emotions, e.g. Doosje et al., 1998) can also be placed in the framework of narrative-linguistic analysis. A contrast between the universalistic social cognitive approach to self and self-categorization and the more relativistic stance of the narrative social psychology to narratively constructed personal identity and historically constructed group identity will also be discussed. The forthcoming section will outline the concepts and methods we have developed for studying quantitatively the processes and states of personal and group identity. Finally, an application of the analytic devices to the Hungarian national identity with particular respect to the elaboration of historical traumas will be presented.

¹The authors are grateful to the National Research Foundation for the support by grant no. 81366 to the first author

Brief summary of narrative psychology

Narratives are generally conceived as accounts of events, which involve some temporal and/or causal coherence. This minimal definition is usually amended with criteria according to which storiness requires some goal-directed action of living or personified actors taking place in time. A full blown narrative involve an initial steady state which implies the legitimate order of things including the characters' normal wishes and beliefs, a trouble which disturbs this state, efforts for reestablishing the normal state, a new, often transformed state and an evaluation in conclusion, which draws the moral of the story.

Narratives whether oral, written or pictural are bound to narrative thinking. It is a natural, i.e., universal, innate capacity of human mind. Evolutionary arguments for narrative thinking stress its capacity to encode deviations from the ordinary and its mimetic force (Donald, 1991). Ricouer (1981-1987) derives mankind's concept of time from narrative capacity. Recently, brain mechanisms of narrative thinking are traced by sophisticated brain-imaging devices. Nevertheless, narrative forms just as time concepts or languages show a wide cultural variety. This variation provides ground to socio-cultural theories of narrative (e.g., Turner, 1981), which emphasizes the cultural evolution of narrative forms. According to these theories narrative genres model characteristic intentions, goals and values of a group sharing a culture.

Narrative thinking can be contrasted with paradigmatic or logico-scientific thinking (Bruner, 1986). When we think in terms of *paradigmatic or logical-scientific mode*, we work with abstract concepts, construe truth by means of empirical evidence and methods of formal logic, and while doing so, we seek causal relations that lead to universal truth conditions. When we use the *narrative mode*, we investigate human or human-like intentions and acts, as well as the stories and consequences related to them. What justifies this mode is life-likeness rather than truth, and it aspires to create a realistic representation of life. Narratives do not depict events as they "find" them out there in the world, but construe these events by narrative forms and categories in order to arrive at the *meaning* of the events. Narrative theories are *constructivist theories*.

Narrative theories and narrative approaches have spread out in various disciplines. Historiography, for instance, became susceptible to this approach very early (White, 1973, 1981).

A true *historical text* recounts events in terms of their inherent interrelations in the light of an existing legal and moral order, so it has all the properties of narrative. As a consequence, the reality of these events does not consist in the fact that they occurred. Rather it depends on remembering (i.e. they are remembered) and on their capacity of finding a place in a chronologically ordered sequence. “The authority of the historical narrative is the authority of reality itself; the historical account endows this reality with form and thereby makes it desirable, imposing upon its processes the formal coherency that only stories possess.”(White, 1981, p. 19)

To intensify a sense of reality and truthfulness to real life, historical account makes use of rhetorical figures and rely heavily on the dimension of consciousness; that is, on what historical figures might have known, thought and felt. The historiographer as narrator willy-nilly takes up a narrative position, or that a historical narrative is not in the position to evade the functionality of narrative, the need for a „usable” story either. The origin of modern historical science itself is also closely related to the national history that was demanded by 19th century nationalism.

The narrative approach has reached psychology in the late eighties of the twentieth century. The term ‘narrative psychology’ was introduced by Theodor Sarbin’s influential book (Sarbin 1986), which claimed that human conduct can be best explained through stories, and this explanation should be done by qualitative studies. Narrative accounts are embedded in social action. Events become socially visible through narratives, and expectations towards future events are, for the most part, substantiated by them. Since narratives permeate the events of everyday life, the events themselves become story-like too. They assume the reality of ‘beginning’, ‘peak’, ‘nadir’ or ‘termination’. According to Sarbin, a proper interpretation of narratives gives the explanation social action.

Another book from the same year, Jerome Bruner’s *Actual Minds, Possible Words* (1986), explored the ‘narrative kind of knowing’ in a more empiricist manner. Around the same time, Dan McAdams (1985) developed a theoretical framework and a coding system for interpreting life narratives in the personological tradition. It builds on the Eriksonian tradition which assumes a close relationship between life story and personal identity. Accordingly, it derives various characteristics of identity from the content and structure of life stories. Whereas earlier psychological studies were directed to story production and story comprehension in the cognitivist tradition, the new narrative psychology has turned to the issues of identity

construction and functioning. The narrative meta-theory has become particularly influential in self- and identity theory, where, based on the life story, it offers a non-essentialist solution for the unity and identity of the individual self (Bamberg and Andrews, 2004; Brockmeier and Carbaugh, 2001; Bruner, 1990; Freemann, 1993; Ricoeur, 1991; Spence, 1982;).

Recently, we have developed a new direction of narrative psychology, which draws on the scientific traditions of psychological study, but adds to the existing theories by pursuing the empirical study of psychological meaning construction (László, 2008, 2011). Scientific narrative psychology takes seriously the interrelations between language and human psychological processes, more precisely between narrative and identity. This is what discriminates it from earlier psychometric studies, which established correlations between language use and psychological states (Pennebaker and King 1999; Pennebaker et al. 2003; Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010). It assumes that studying narratives as vehicles of complex psychological contents leads to empirically based knowledge about human social adaptation. Individuals in their life stories, just like groups in their group histories, compose their significant life episodes. In this composition, which is meaning construction in itself, they express the ways in which they organize their relations to the social world, or construct their identity. Organizational characteristics and experiential qualities of these stories tell about the potential behavioral adaptation and the coping capacities of the storytellers.

Another remarkable novelty comes from the recognition of correspondences between narrative organization and psychological organization, namely from the fact that narrative features of self-narratives, e.g. the characters' functions, the temporal characteristics of the story, or the speakers' perspectives will provide information about the features and conditions of self-representations. In this sense, scientific narrative psychology exploits achievements of narratology(e.g.Barthes, 1978; Culler, 2001; Eco, 1994; Genette, 1980). However, whereas narratology studies effects of narrative composition on readers' understanding and experience, scientific narrative psychology is directed to how narrative composition reflects inner states of the narrator. It must be added that the term narrative composition here also refers to the social psychological composition, i.e., to the psychological relations between characters in the narrative—emotional, evaluative, agent-patient roles, etc.

Language and social psychology

Although most of the social psychological experiments have used verbal material, mainstream social psychology has shown a traditional neglect toward language. With some notable exceptions (e.g. Brown, 1958; 1965; Giles, 1991) language and language use has escaped social psychologists' attention until Semin and Fiedler (1988) seminal paper on the Linguistic Category Model. Starting from Brown and Fish' (1983) insight in the implicit causality of interpersonal verbs, Semin and Fiedler (1988; 1991) have developed an attributional model for verbal accounts on behavioral events. Language can describe such events on different levels of abstractedness. Descriptive action verbs (DAV) such as hit, yell or walk refer to concrete, specific actions. Interpretative action verbs (IAV), e.g. hurt, help, or tease refer to a multitude of different actions which have the same meaning, but do not share a physically invariant form. State action verbs (SAV) e.g., surprise, amaze or anger refer to the emotional consequences of an action. State verbs (SV), e.g., hate, admire or appreciate refer to enduring cognitive or emotional states which do not have clear beginning and ends. The most abstract level of accounting on behavioral events is using adjectives (ADJ), e.g., aggressive, honest or courageous which refer to personal characteristics. Depending on the abstractedness of the description we will see the behavior as caused by situational or dispositional factors: the more abstract description is used the more dispositional attributions will result. Recently Maass et al. (2010) included also nouns into the model, which represent an even higher level of abstraction than adjectives.

The LCM has been proven very productive in studies on intergroup relations and stereotyping. Maass et al (1989) discovered the phenomenon of linguistic intergroup bias (LIB), a linguistic expression of ingroup favoritism. People tend to account for good deeds of their own group in abstract, whereas similar deeds of the outgroup in concrete terms. Similarly, if the ingroup does something socially undesirable, it will be described with concrete terms so as to delimit the causes of the action to situational factors, whereas bad deeds of the outgroup will be described abstractly in order to allow dispositional attribution. This phenomenon has been demonstrated not only in experimental settings, but also in media texts (Maass et al., 1995).

Wigboldus, Semin and Spears (2000) have also shown that language plays a subtle, but crucial role in the interpersonal transmission of stereotypes in communication. By accounting for stereotype-consistent information with more abstract, whereas stereotype-inconsistent

information with more concrete linguistic categories, people implicitly suggests that stereotypical behavior is dispositional whereas stereotype-inconsistent behavior is caused by less permanent situational factors.

Not only lexical choice may convey implicit information about actors. As Turnbull (1994) has pointed out, thematic structure of a sentence, i.e., grammatical forms may shift responsibility for an action from one character to another. For example, when accounting for an interpersonal quarrel situation we use the “Peter argued with Mary” form, recipients of this communication will perceive Peter as more responsible for the quarrel. In the case of “Mary argued with Peter”, however, responsibility relations change to the opposite and Mary will carry more responsibility (see also Semin 200?). Responsibility for an event is derived from agency in the event. What sentence structure can manipulate is the implicit agency attached to thematic roles of the sentence. This subtle communicative mean, similar to LIB, can be employed in intergroup relations, when people tend to use less agentic forms (passive voice, general subject, etc.) when describing socially undesirable deeds of their own group, whereas they use active forms when speaking about bad deeds of the outgroups. Banga, Szabó and László (2009) have termed this tendency syntactic agency bias (SAB).

Coming closer to our main topic, i.e., narrative social psychology, we should notice that not only sentence structure, but more general communicative structures are also susceptible to convey information about the characters. Narratives are not privilege of literature, instead they are ordinary forms of everyday communication. Narratologists coming from literary tradition (Culler, 2001; Barthes, 1987; Eco, 1997) have uncovered several structural devices by which authors shape literary meaning construction in readers. One of these compositional devices is the narrative perspective, i.e. the point of view from which narrator tells the events (Uspensky, 1974; Bal, 1985; Cohn, 1984). People often tell stories about their personal experiences. Pólya, László and Forgas (2005) assumed that in stories when narrators tell about stressful events in which they felt their identity threatened, the spatio-temporal perspective they use conveys information about their actual inner state, i.e., to what extent they were able to elaborate the emotional shock and reintegrate their identity. In a social perception experiment where subjects had to assess narrator’s inner state with the help of adjective check lists and identity state scales, they have provided evidence that using retrospective narrative perspective (looking back to the past from the present

situation in an ordered temporal sequence)suggests much more balanced and integrated identity state, than experiencing or re-experiencing perspective not only for experts such as psychologist or psychiatrists, but also for lay people. Linguistic markers of the different perspective forms are shown in table 1.

Table 1 **Linguistic markers of spatio-temporal perspective**(After Pólya, László and Forgas, 2005)

Linguistic markers	Perspective form		
	Retrospective	Experiencing	Metanarrative
Verb tense	Past e.g. <i>went</i>	Present e.g. <i>go</i>	Present e.g. <i>go</i>
Deictic terms	Distal e.g. <i>then</i>	Proximal e.g. <i>now</i>	Proximal e.g. <i>now</i>
Specific words	Date words, Ordinals e.g. <i>Monday,</i> <i>second</i>	Interjections e.g. <i>Ops</i>	Connectives, Verbs which refer to the actions performed during narration e.g. <i>remember</i>
Sentence mode	Statement	Any one	Any one

What we see in the above approaches and results is that social psychologists conceive language as a subtle mediator in communication which has the capacity to modulate messages (Semin, 2000), and thereby convey social psychologically relevant information to perceivers. But looking at the LIB paradigm, where group membership is a central determinant of the ongoing process or phenomenon, we should also note that prevalence of LIB in communication, through expressing certain qualities of intergroup relations, may reflect certain characteristics of the group identity. For instance, heavily versus not at all used LIB suggests that for the ingroup's identity it is

important to have hostile versus friendly relations with the targetoutgroup, i.e., presence or absence of identity threats. This double, i.e. message modulation versus identity expression potential of linguistic communication is even more salient in the Pólya, László and Forgas (2005) study, where the results can be considered as a validity test for the assumed correlation between linguistic markers of the narrative perspective and emotional stability and integration of personal identity. In the next section we will discuss some functional aspects of self and identity.

Individual and group identity

Without engaging in a long and not necessarily fruitful discussion of the conceptual similarities and differences of self and identity, we want only to stress that for social cognition research self basically means self-knowledge in terms of information about the self, whereas in various uses of identity in different fields of personality and social psychology usually means something more experiential, emotional and meaningful. What most self and identity concept share is their functionality. Self-complexity theory of Linville (1987), self-discrepancy theory of Higgins, (1987) possible selves of Marcus and Nurius (1986) each have prediction for successful coping and adaptation. Complex self-representation, because of its higher buffering capacity, provides better adaptation to stressful events (Linville, 1987). High discrepancy between real, ideal and normative selves leads to emotional instability (Higgins, 1987). Individual self is best motivated by possible selves if they contain clear, relevant, moderately difficult goals, which are considered important by the person (Marcus and Nurius, 1986).

Following Erikson (1959, 1968) we conceive personal identity a person's experience of sameness, autonomy, continuity and coherence (see also Ricoeur, 1991). Identity evolves in an interaction with the social environment through identifications. As Marcia (1966, 1980) convincingly argues, identity may have different states in different life stages, and, in turn, each identity state can be more or less functional, from the point of view of adaptation. Antonovsky (1987) claims that the general health condition of a person depends on the coherence of her life story which is, in turn, equated with identity by Antonovsky. For analyzing group identity, we borrow the identity state approach of Marcia with an important limitation. Given that groups do not have life cycles in the sense as individuals do, accordingly, they do not have "developmental tasks". Therefore, instead of identity statuses that Marcia uses for describing individual personality development, such as achieved, moratorium, foreclosed and diffuse we use more

general terms of emotional stability-instability or integration-disintegration. Moreover, specific states of group identity can also be grasped in this way. In the course of their history, groups get often victimized by other groups and they may be exposed to traumatic experiences. These experiences may become part of the group identity and lead to specific forms of identity construction, such as e.g., adopting the collective victim role (Bar-Tal et al.; Klar and Roccas; Spini, et al; see Fülöp et al this volume).

From the approaches that interrelate life story with personal identity (Antonovsky, 1987; Erikson, 1959; MacAdams, 1985, McLean and Pratt, 2006) we also borrow analogous concepts for utilizing the group history-group identity interrelations with certain limitations. In accord with Halbwachs (1941) and several other students of collective memory (e.g. Assmann, 1992; Wertsch, 2002) we assume that group (national, ethnic) identity is constructed by genuinely narrative group history (see László, 2003; Liu and László, 2007, László, 2008). Although this assumption may sound novel for many social psychologists working on the field of social identity, it is almost a truism for historians engaged in studying national identity (Hobsbawm, 1982; White, 19981, Stearns and Stearns, 1985). In order to avoid group fallacy (Allport, 1924), however, apart from the mechanisms of narrative construction, we must also assume concepts and mechanisms that make narratively constructed group identity relevant and effective for individuals belonging to the particular group. In this vein we accept social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; 1981) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al. 1987; Turner, 1999), which outline the psychological consequences and mechanisms of belonging to a group for individuals. Nevertheless, the psychological content of the identity transmitted by the mechanisms of social identification and self-categorization still remain an open question (see Condor, 2003). These contents have earlier been grasped by discourse analytic methods (Reicher and Hopkins, 2001). Here is where language and communication comes into play. What we suggest is that states and characteristics of group identity that govern people's behavior when they act as group members, just as elaboration of traumatic experiences which affected the group as a whole can be traced objectively i.e., empirically in the narrative language of different forms of group histories.

We should note that analyzing national character used to be a central topic at the birth of our discipline, however, it has been replaced soon by studies on group perception and stereotyping, partly for avoiding the risk of group fallacy (Allport, 1924) and partly for sound

scientific methodologies were made available only for the social perception studies. Current studies on collective memory and collective identity (László, 2003; Liu and László, 2007; David and Bar-Tal, 2010) have built a bridge between individual and group processes which enables the analysis of historical narratives at both individual and group level, without implying a group mind. Content analytic methodologies, particularly NarrCat, which has been developed for the purpose of analyzing life narratives and historical narratives from an identity perspective, provide a methodological toolkit for the empirical study of national identity beyond often unreliable survey and other self-report methodologies.

Before presenting the analytic devices and turning to the empirical demonstrations of the above claim, however, remaining at the level of the conceptual analysis we will discuss some aspects of group identity that matter from the angle of functionality or adaptation. We will also locate our theory in the array between psychology, which strives to uncover universally valid causal relations, and history, which interprets the meaning of past events through narratives in locally relevant contexts.

Identity-relevant psychological processes in group narratives

Intergroup agency.

Agency seems to be a major category in narrative construction. At the same time, it is one of the basic dimensions underlying judgments of self, persons and groups. It refers to task functioning and goal achievement, and involves qualities like 'efficient', 'competent', 'active', 'persistent', and 'energetic' (Wojciszke and Abele 2008). Agency has a wide range of psychological forms, e.g. 'capacity', 'expansion', 'power', 'dominancy', 'separation' and 'independence'. Harter (1978) defines the desire to control our environment or have an effect on it as 'effectance motivation'. Deci (1975) attributes inner control of actions to intrinsic motivation. The definition of DeCharms (1968) holds personal causation to be human disposition, which means intentional action for the sake of change. The above-mentioned psychological phenomena, all refer to the intention and desire to shape our physical and social environment. Bandura's (1989, 1994) definition of self-efficacy, or personal efficacy expresses the belief or idea that individuals are able to achieve their proposed aims and can keep control of the actions happening in their life. The expectations of individuals about their own efficacy have a relationship with their ability to cope: our belief in

our own efficacy inspires us to invest more effort in achieving our aims and in a situation of stress we feel less pressure or discomfort. Yamaguchi (2003) correlates control, personal efficacy and the psychological construct of autonomy: successful direct personal control leads to self-efficacy, which is the basis of a feeling of autonomy.

Not only individuals but also groups are seen as agents - as they are capable of performing goal-directed behaviour and also have an effect on their environment. Hamilton (2007) distinguishes between two approaches to agency in group-perception research: one perceives agency as the capacity of efficient action (Abelson, Dasgupta, Park & Banaji 1998; Brewer, Hong & Li 2004), the other approach emphasizes the function of the mental states (Morris, Menon & Ames 2001). The perception of a group's agency was measured by Spencer-Rogers, Hamilton and Sherman (2007) with four items, the group is able to: 'influence others'; 'achieve its goals', 'act collectively' and 'make things happen (produce outcomes)'. Kashima et al. (2005) assessed perceptions of agency with nine items mapping mental states (beliefs, desires and intentions) which, according to him, are the basis of the group-agency.

At least in Western cultures, agency is an important component of personal and social identity. In order to arrive at a well organized and adaptive adult identity, people have to acquire autonomy, which is reflected in their agency in life events (McAdams 2001). Current narrative models of identity reconstruct personal identity from life stories (Bamberg & Andrews 2004; Brockmeier & Carbaugh 2001; Freeman 1993; McAdams 1985) Similar to individual identity, group identity can also be reconstructed from narratives about the group's past. Representations of history reflect psychological characteristics of national identity such as stability or vulnerability, strength or weakness, autonomy or dependency, etc. (László 2008; Liu & László 2007). Distribution of agency between in-group and out-group appears to be a sensitive indicator for the above identity states. High level of agency in negative events reflects accepting responsibility for past failures, whereas assigning agency in these events only to outgroups indicates defensive identity and low level of elaboration of historical traumas. If ingroup agency is prevalent in both positive and negative events it indicates a stable, well-organized and autonomous identity and a progress in trauma elaboration. On the contrary, high level ingroup agency in positive, victorious events and low level outgroup agency in the same

events accompanied with low level of ingroup agency in negative events suggests inflated but instable identity.

Intergroup evaluation

Intergroup evaluation is an essential linguistic tool for narrative identity construction that organizes the narrated historical events and its characters into a meaningful and coherent representation. Intergroup evaluations are explicit social judgments that evaluate the groups concerned in the event or their representatives. These evaluations can be (1) positive and negative attributions assigned to them or to their actions (e.g. *wise, unjust*), (2) emotional reactions and relations to them (e.g., *admire, scorn*), (3) evaluative interpretations referring to their actions (instead of or beside factual description, e.g., *excel, exploit*), and (4) acts of rewarding and punishment or acknowledgement and criticism (e.g., *cheer, protest*).

Intergroup evaluation plays an essential role in the maintenance of positive social identity. Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981, Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is based on the proposition that individuals obtain their identities to a great extent from those groups which they are members of permanently and which play an essential role in their lives. A positively evaluated group membership provides positive self-evaluation and the feeling of safety for the individual. However, social identity is not an absolute category but a relational one: the ingroup gains its value by the positive distinction from similar outgroups. At the same time, an individual is always a member of multiple groups, and it always depends on the current social situation which social category forms the basis for distinction. The demand for positive social identity leads to intergroup comparison and bias, that is, overvaluation of the ingroup and devaluation of the outgroup.

Thus, in an intergroup context, interpersonal and intergroup evaluation shows bias both on the behavioral and on the linguistic level whose motivational basis is the demand for a positive social identity. The evaluation bias intensifies in extreme intergroup conflicts. If this bias is intensively persistent in contemporary historical narratives, it suggests that the group still experiences historical conflicts as identity threats and strengthens its positive identity and cohesion by enhancing its historical greatness.

Indicators of intergroup evaluation related to trauma elaboration

Narrative intergroup evaluation has at least three semantic dimensions which make it an essential tool for trauma elaboration. Below are defined these three dimensions quantifiable in narratives and their implications to the elaboration process.

Each dimension is defined by the frequency distributions of multiple content categories and the patterns emerging from them, and not by the frequencies of a single category. The relation of each dimension to the elaboration process is determined by the definition of the difference between the pattern characteristic to the construction of an unelaborated trauma and the pattern characteristic to that of a trauma under progressive elaboration.

Intergroup bias: positive and negative valence. The construction of an unelaborated trauma is characterized by a significant asymmetry between the evaluation of the ingroup and the outgroups, corresponding to the tendency of intergroup bias: positive and negative dominance characterizes ingroup and outgroup evaluation, respectively. This pattern implies that the ingroup may not be held responsible for the traumatic event and its consequences, and the group demands compensation since the responsibility and compensation for a negatively evaluated event lie on the negatively evaluated character. In this dimension, the progression of the elaboration process is marked by a decrease in the asymmetry of intergroup evaluation: the ingroup is evaluated less positively and the outgroup less negatively in sum. This pattern implies the distribution of responsibility for the negative event and its consequences; the role of the ingroup in the occurrence of the event is an emphatic part of the narrative. The narrative approaches to the loss from a self-reflective, more objective external perspective that means an important factor in trauma elaboration.

Relevance of the past to the present: narrator's vs. characters' evaluative perspective. Evaluations of the narrator and the characters of the ingroup represent the evaluative perspective of the ingroup in historical narratives. It is important that the narrator represents the present perspective of the ingroup on the event while characters' evaluations belong to the past as characters themselves are parts of the past event in the narrative. The following examples illustrate the difference between narrator's and characters' evaluations, preserving a virtually

identical evaluative content: Narrator's evaluation: *The terms of peace were scandalously unfair.*
Characters' evaluation: *The country received the terms of peace with scandalized protest.*

It is assumed that a relatively great proportion of the evaluations are performed by the narrator in the initial construction of the group trauma (compared to the subsequently issued narratives). A high rate of intergroup evaluation in this perspective reflects the relevance of the event to the present, that is, its unterminated status. During the elaboration process, the rate of narrator's evaluations decreases compared to the previous constructions, that implies a decrease in the present relevance of the event, that is, an increasing psychological distance between the present and the past; the reconstruction process progresses towards the termination of the event.

Emotional focus: emotional vs. cognitive evaluation. The relative rates of the narrator's emotional and cognitive evaluations form an indicator of the emotional load of the relation to the event. The basis for the emotional-cognitive distinction is similar to the categorization applied by Pennebaker (1993, Cohn, Mehl, & Pennebaker, 2004, Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010) in the content analysis of personal accounts of traumatic life events. At the same time, this study, that focused on the narrower class of intergroup evaluation, applied a category system in which moral judgments implying emotional responses were also classified under emotional evaluations (e.g. *cruel, heroic*), while cognitive evaluations included not only evaluations referring to cognitive mechanisms (e.g. *careless, well-considered*) but also those of a rational aspect and general, non-emotionally loaded evaluations (e.g. *erroneous, good*).

Pennebaker found that successful coping is indicated by an increase of words referring to cognitive mechanisms during the repeated reconstruction of the traumatic event, while emotional words are important in the initial stage of elaboration when the catharsis enables the release of the paralysing emotional stress. In group historical narratives about a collective trauma, a similar tendency is expected within the evaluative perspective of the present, that is, within narrator's evaluations. Initially, the rate of emotionally loaded evaluations is relatively high as opposed to that of cognitive, rational evaluations which pattern reflects an emotional focus in the appraisal of the event. During the elaboration process, the rate of emotionally loaded evaluations decreases as opposed to that of cognitive, rational evaluations that implies the improvement of emotional control and rational insight; a more objective perspective is applied in the narrative, treating the event as a subject (and not experiencing it).

Emotions

Another important aspect of identity states and elaboration of group traumas is emotion regulation. Emotions have become a fashionable topic in social psychology in the past two decades (Forgas, 1995; etc.). Cognitive theories of interpersonal emotions (Leary and Baumeister, 2000etc) and group based emotions (Doosje et al, 1998etc) have also been developed. It is assumed in these theories that group based emotions are felt when people categorize themselves as group members in situations when emotionally relevant stimuli affect the whole group. There is however another tradition in social psychology looking back to early cultural anthropology (M. Mead, 1937; Benedict, 1946), which claims that certain emotions and emotional patterns are characteristic to certain cultures. This tradition has been further developed in contemporary cultural psychology (e.g. Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Shweder, Much, Mahapatra and Park, 1997; Rozin, Lowery, Imada and Haidt, 1999). Not culturally, but socially conditioned relatively stable emotional orientations are currently also assumed (Bar-Tal, Halperin and de Rivera, 2007; Bar-Tal, 2001). Being a member of and identified with a group, people think and feel in accord with the group's characteristic emotional orientation. One of the emotional orientations which has been researched in more details is the collective victimhood orientation (Bar-Tal et al, 2009), which means that the group turns to intergroup situations with emotions of an innocent victim (see also Fülöp et al, this book).

There are two interrelated but equally relevant questions concerning these kinds of emotions which stand at the core of group identity. How to uncover them empirically and how to explain their evolvement and transmission? Our answer to both questions is group narratives, i.e. history. Emotions that the ingroup experiences as well as emotions assigned to outgroups in narratives about the group's past carry the emotions which are characteristic to the group by being undetachable part of the identity of the group. In turn, these emotions derive from the representations of the past. Master narratives of nations which clearly have emotional entailments are called narrative templates by Wertsch (2002), or charters by Liu and Hilton (2005) following Malinowsky (1926). We prefer to call them historical trajectories (László, 2011 see also Fülöp et al all this volume), because emotions can be related best to the different sequential patterns of the nation's victories and failures as they became preserved in its collective memory.

Functionality of emotional orientations has also been studied. Whereas adopting a collective victim role in the nation's identity may seriously hinder intergroup communication and conflict resolution (ref.), the optimistic American narrative (Bellah, 1967) is oriented to redemption (MacAdams, 2006).

A more immediate functional aspect of the emotional content of a nation's historical narratives is trauma elaboration (see also Fülöp et al this volume). In the twentieth century masses of people experienced trauma as an ethnic or national group. Genocides and ethnic cleansings swept over mainly the European, but also the Asian and the African continent and many countries were forced to shrink or move in the geographic space as a consequence of massive military defeats. Since traumatic group experiences can be and are, if at all, elaborated in the public sphere, parsing the emotional content of historical narratives over time provides information about the stages and processes of group-trauma elaboration. According to this assumption, a progress in trauma elaboration is prevalent if a decrease can be observed in hostile, negative emotions toward outgroups, in self-enhancing emotions and depressive emotions of the ingroup, and the overall extremity of the emotions diminishes.

Cognitive states and perspectives

The most common interpretation of cognitive states in accounts of traumatic or stressful events is related to trauma elaboration. According to this interpretation, the more cognitive states and processes appear in both ingroup and outgroup, the further the trauma elaboration has progressed (Pennebaker, 1993; Paez, 1997 see also Vincze and Pólya, this book). In this sense, frequency of cognitive states in historical narratives on ethnic or national traumas indicates the process of trauma elaboration toward a coherent, emotionally stable group identity. There are, however, other possibilities of the interpretation of the presence of cognitive states in historical narratives. For instance, Vincze and Rein (2011) have shown that the propositional content of cognitive states may overwrite the trauma elaboration interpretation. In these cases negative propositional contents of the perpetrator outgroups' cognitive states serves assigning deliberation and thereby even more responsibility to outgroups for bad deeds. These maneuvers probably do not promote the reconciliation with the traumatic loss, rather add to maintaining the emotionally disturbing experience.

Another aspect of cognitive (and emotional) states in narrative is psychological perspective taking. This function is also related to identity states in as much it allows for entering the outgroup's perspective in historical narrative. It is obvious that people having a stable, emotionally balanced, future oriented ethno-national identity can afford to appear the perspective of former enemies in their historical accounts.

As we have already noted when discussing intergroup evaluations, historical narratives always have at least three perspective forms. There is the ingroup (internal) perspective represented by ingroup members taking part in the events, the outgroup (external) perspective, represented by outgroup members, and the perspective of the narrator, who is usually, but not necessarily a member of the ingroup, and sees the events from a physical and temporal distance. The narrator's perspective prevails in most historical accounts, and this fact strengthens the categorical empathy of the group members who are exposed to these narratives in as much as the group is affected in the story. Given that cognitive process attributed to outgroups as a whole or individual outgroup members introduce an outgroup perspective, which in turn may set into motion a different form of empathy, that is situational, i.e. leads to a more balanced representation of the events (Hogan, 2003). Propositional content of the cognitive processes and outcome valence of the event, i.e. whether it was good or bad for the ingroup or the outgroup cannot be neglected in this analysis either. Enhanced situational empathy as a consequence of perspectivisation through cognitive processes and a better understanding of the historical event which may contribute to improving intergroup relations through abolishing stereotypes (Galinsky and Moskowitz, 2000, Vincze and Pólya this volume) will only occur if outgroup enemies are endowed with cognitive (and emotional) processes which go beyond the hostility and the unanimously negative consequences for the ingroup in their propositional content. Such an analysis of cognitive processes and perspectivization from the angle of group identity, which also considers relations to different outgroups in a wider historical span, i.e. numbers and types of outgroups who are endowed with own perspective in a historical period, provides information on group identity with respect to its stability, plasticity and future orientation.

Narrative categorical content analysis (NarrCat)

The computerized content analytic methodology we have developed rests on the psychologically relevant features of narrative composition or narrative categories. It is not the psychological

correlates of words, word types (e.g. function words versus content words) or grammatical features (e.g. past tense) that interests us. Instead, following the principles of narrative composition, we are interested in the spatio-temporal perspective structure, the internal versus external perspective, the self-other and ingroup-outgroup emotion structure, evaluation structures, distribution of cognitive processes between characters and groups, etc. Similar to other computerized content analytic devices e.g. LIWC (Pennebaker et al, 2001), RID (Martindale, 1975), General Inquirer (Stone et al., 1969), NarrCat also has lexicons. Because of the complex morphology of the Hungarian language and the need for disambiguation, lexicons are endowed with local grammars which perform the task of disambiguation and enable further grammatical analysis. So as to arrive at psychologically relevant hits, two other language processing tasks have to be completed. A grammatical parser solves the anaphors by putting the proper name in place of personal pronouns, because we need to identify characters in each sentence. In the next step, a semantic role analyzer connects each psychological content to a particular semantic role (agent or patient, stimulus or experiencer, etc.). These usually corresponds to the sentence's subject-object roles. The program outputs a quantitative measure on who feels, acts, evaluates, thinks etc. what toward whom, i.e. the psychological composition of interpersonal and intergroup relations which are relevant for identity construction becomes transparent.

Agency has two ingredients: active and passive verbs (e.g. occupy, achieve, choose versus become, sleep or grow up) and expressions of intention versus constraint. For agency measures frequencies of activity are divided by passivity and intentions are divided by constraint. The overall agency index is calculated by averaging the two ratios.

Evaluations can be (1) positive and negative attributions assigned to characters or to their actions (e.g. *wise, unjust*), (2) emotional reactions and relations to characters (*admire, scorn*), (3) evaluative interpretations referring to characters' actions (instead of or beside factual description; *excel, exploit*), and (4) acts of rewarding and punishment or acknowledgement and criticism (*cheer, protest*).

Emotions subcategories are positive and negative emotions (joy vs. sadness); basic and higher rank social emotions (fear vs. guilt); moral emotions, within this self-critical and other-critical emotions (regret vs. despise). Furthermore, the module is able to detect the control of spatial-

emotional distance (approaching, distancing and ambivalence thereof) in individual and group narratives.

Cognition includes two kinds of content: verbs with word-level cognitive meaning (generalizes, ponders), and idioms thereof (take an idea, immerses in the past).

Further modules of the NarrCat are *Spatio-temporal perspective*, *Self and we reference*, *Negation* and *Subjective time experience*.

Some aspects of the Hungarian national identity expressed in the narrative language of school books and folk history texts.

In a series of studies (László, Ehmann, Imre, 2002; Vincze, Tóth and László; 2007; Szalai, Ferenczhalmy and László, 2010; László and Fülöp; 2011; Csertő and László, 2012; Vincze, 2009; Fülöp, 2010; Szalai, 2010; Fülöp, Péley and László, 2011; László and Vincze, 2004; László, Szalai, and Ferenczhalmy, 2010) we have examined characteristics of the Hungarian national identity in a series of historical text corpora including history textbooks, folk history stories, historical novels, and newspaper texts about a major national trauma: the Paris Peace Treaty after WW1, which deprived the country two thirds of her territory and inhabitants. Most of these examinations have dealt with contemporary texts and the time dimension became a matter of concern only for locating the historical events along it. However, when studying the historical trauma of the Paris Peace Treaty, we used temporal sampling of texts from 1920 to 2010 both for schoolbooks and newspaper texts so as to pursue stages and characteristics of elaboration.

Here we will summarize some results gained with NarrCat on intergroup agency, intergroup evaluations, emotions, and cognitive processes in the folk story corpus, the schoolbook corpus, and the newspaper corpus. The folk story corpus consists of brief narratives about the most positive and the most negative Hungarian historical events which were solicited from a stratified sample of 500 subjects. Ten events were chosen with the highest frequency. Three of them were in the positive domain (Conquest of homeland in 896, Establishing an independent state in 1000, and the Systems's change in 1990). Four negative events were named with high frequency among them three in the twentieth century: Mongolian invasion in 1241, the Paris Peace treaty in 1920, WW 2 from 1941 (when Hungary entered the war) to 1945 and the Holocaust, which affected Hungary in 1944-45. Interestingly, there were three events which were

chosen in both positive and negative domains. Hungary's occupation by the Ottoman Empire in 1526 and the Turkish rule which lasted until 1686 took place among the negative events, but temporary victories against the Turks were celebrated as highly positive events. Similarly, the bourgeois revolution and freedom fight against the Habsburg Empire in 1848-49 was selected with high frequency among the positive events, but suppression of the revolution was a negative event. The beginning of the 1956 revolution against dictatorship and the Soviet occupation and the suppression of the revolution were chosen with almost equally high frequency, but the former among the positive, the latter among the negative events. Without any further commentaries we only note that in the line of salient historical events we do not find a sequence where the first part or initiation were represented as negative and the second part or climax as positive event.

The subjects were asked to give a brief account on the chosen historical events both for positive and negative. The full text corpus consists of 104011 words.

The school books text corpus (223740 words) has been selected from a wide range of secondary school and highschool history books published after 2000. From each textbook those text parts were sampled which dealt with the positive or negative historical event or period which had been chosen in the folk history survey (altogether 13 events).

The newspaper corpus (211325 words) was sampled from rightwing, moderately rightwing, moderately leftwing, and leftwing daily newspapers from 1920 to 2010. In each 5th year two weeks' issues around the June 4 anniversary of the Paris Peace Treaty dealing with the treaty and its consequences were selected.

We note that there is a temporally sequenced school book text corpus and a separate contemporary folk history corpus on the Paris Peace Treaty, but we will currently not discuss results obtained with these text corpora.

Schoolbooks and folk history results concerning agency

Results concerning ingroup-outgroup agency (see Figure 1 and Figure 2) show that agency of the Hungarian ingroup is much lower than the agency of the outgroups. The pattern of results is very similar in the history school textbooks and folk-narratives. The figures also show that folk-narratives tend to depict both in-group and out-groups as having more agency than textbooks do, except the Hungarian in-group in the negative events, where the agency level is extremely low.

Figure 1. In-group and out-group agency in positive versus negative historical events as presented by history text-books(After László, Szala and Ferenczhalmy, 2010)

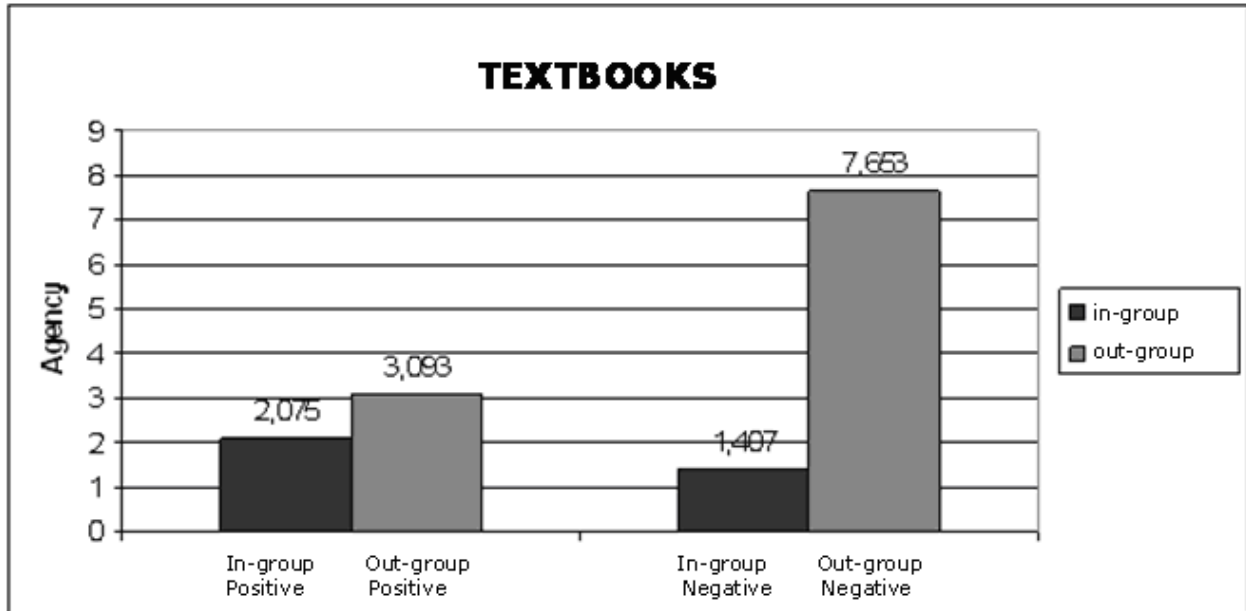
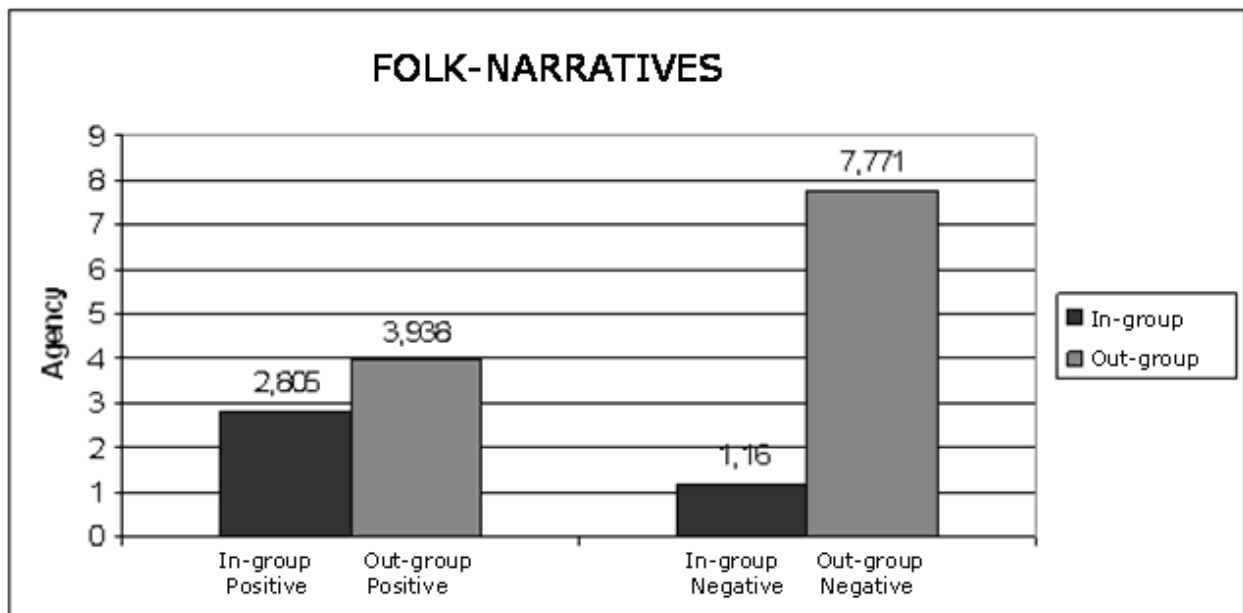


Figure 2: In-group and out-group agency in positive versus negative historical events as presented by folk-narratives(After László, Szala and Ferenczhalmy, 2010)



Schoolbooks and folk story results concerning intergroup evaluation

Intergroup evaluation results are seen in Fig. 3 and in Fig. 4. For the sake of simplicity and comparability only narrators' evaluations are considered. The figures show a similar pattern to the results obtained with agency. Ingroups are evaluated much higher than outgroups both in positive and negative events, but there is a statistically significant interaction with event valence: Hungarians are evaluated in positive events and outgroups are evaluated even lower in negative events. Comparing folk stories and textbooks, these effects are prevalent in folk stories even more markedly.

Fig. 3. Narrator's positive (green) and negative (red) evaluations of the ingroup (*After Csertő and László, 2012*)

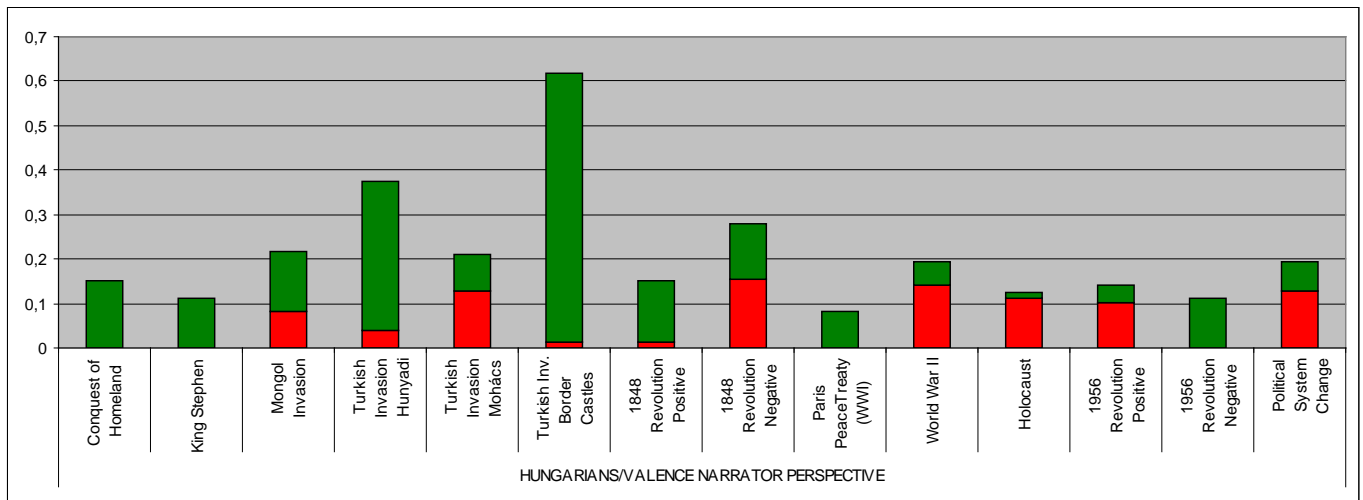
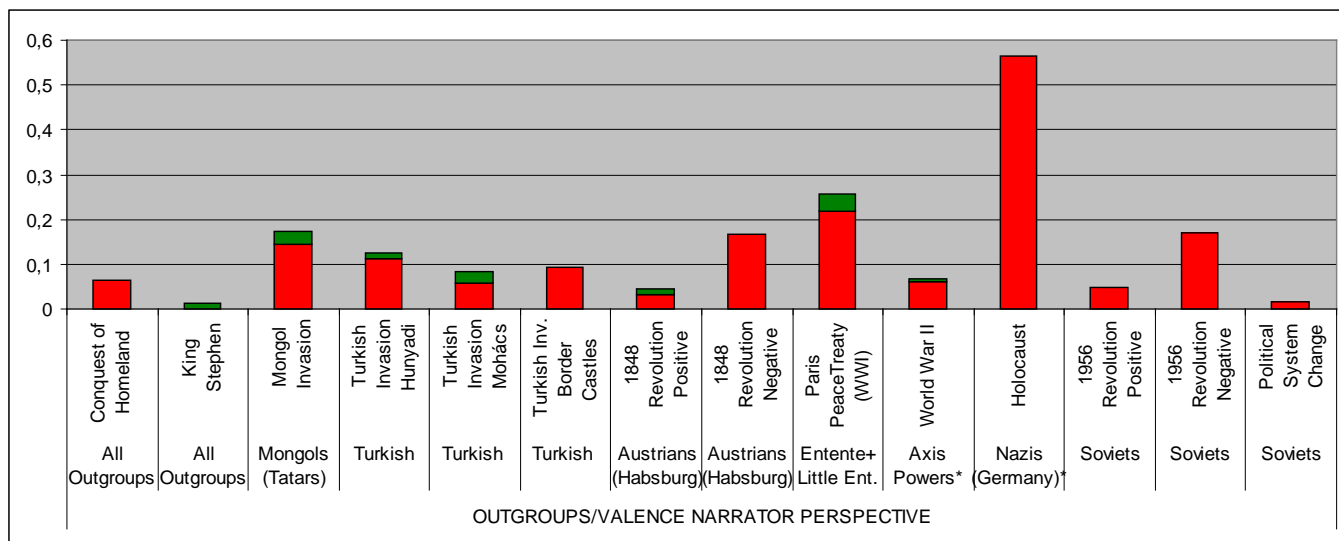


Fig. 4. . Narrator's positive (green) and negative (red) evaluations of the outgroup (*After Csertő and László, 2012*)



School book and folk story results concerning emotions

What are the characteristic emotions of the Hungarians in the historical events and what does this emotion pattern suggest for the Hungarian national identity? In the whole corpus we have found 57 emotion types with 918 tokens. We considered “Hungarian” emotion when frequency of a particular emotion differed significantly for the Hungarian ingroup in chi square test from the collapsed frequency measured in the outgroups. Table 2 shows those emotions where significant differences were obtained. According to the data, sadness and hope are the emotions that most distinguish Hungarians from other nations. A similar pattern can be observed in the folk history texts, except enthusiasm, which adds to the Hungarian emotions in this corpus (see Table 3). Hope and enthusiasm are more prevalent in positive, whereas sadness and disappointment in negative events. There is an emotion, which does not differ significantly between Hungarians and outgroups, but reaches the highest frequency in the Hungarian texts both in schoolbooks and folk stories, particularly in negative events: it is fear with an ... overall frequency. We compared this pattern of emotions (sadness, disappointment, fear, hope and enthusias) between Hungarians and the outgroup in both text corpora and found highly significant differences between the two groups in both cases.

Table2 Frequency and ingroup-outgroup distribution of emotions infolkhistory (After László and Fülöp, 2010)

	In-Group (463)	Out-Group (161)
Sadness	5,39**	0,62
Hope	14,68*	6,83
Respect	1,94	7,45**
Sympathy	0,86	4,96*
Trust	3,02	7,45*
Indignation	1,29	4,34*
Despise	0	1,86**

(Note: Absolute frequencies are in brackets. The table shows normalized relative frequencies. *p<0,05; **p<0,01; ***p<0,001.)

Table3 Frequency and ingroup-outgroup distribution of emotions in folkhistory (After László and Fülöp, 2010)

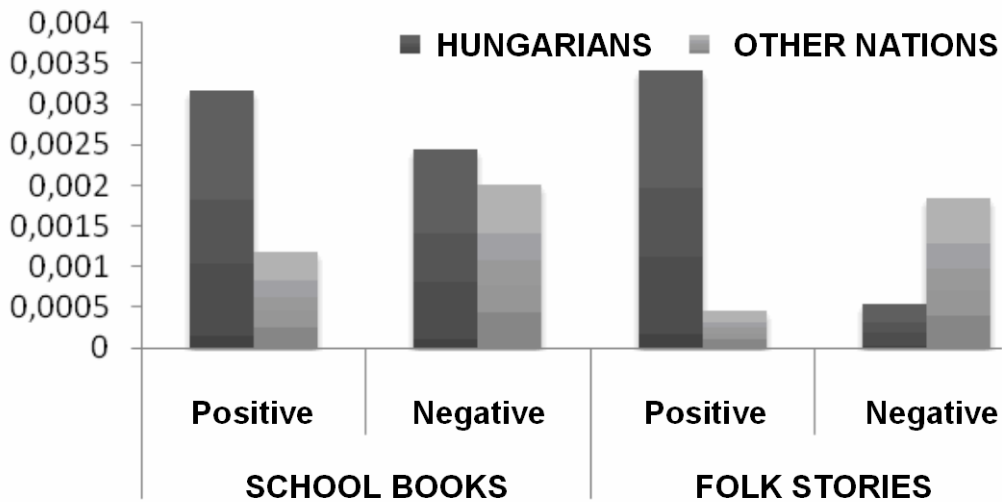
	In-Group (187)	Out-Group (107)
Sadness	17,11*	6,54
Enthusiasm	8,02**	0,93
Hope	6,41	1,86
Respect	3,21	12,14**
Hatred	3,21	20,56***

(Note: Absolute frequencies are in brackets. The table shows normalized relative frequencies. *p<0,05; **p<0,01; ***p<0,001.)

School book and folk story results concerning cognitive processes

Frequency of cognitive processes does not follow the usual parallel between schoolbooks and folk history (see Figure 5). This correspondence still can be observed in the positive events, but we see a reversed mirror image in the negative events, where instead the Hungarians outgroups are endowed with more cognitive states and processes. Whereas the differences are significant between Hungarians and outgroups for the positive events in both corpora, significant difference can be observed in negative events only in the folk history corpus with higher frequency of cognitive states and processes of the outgroups.

Fig. 5. Distribution of cognitive processes in school books and folk stories according to the valence of the events (*After Vincze and Rein, 2011*)



Summary and interpretation of the results from the perspective of the Hungarian national identity

The results which have been sampled from several studies converge in portraying a vulnerable Hungarian national identity and suggest a long-term adoption of the collective victim role. Although the public image of Hungarians may be different from both internal and external angle, emotional and cognitive organization of the Hungarian national identity as it is expressed in historical narratives show a deep attachment to the glorious past and a relatively low level of cognitive and emotional elaboration of the twentieth century and earlier traumas. The very fact that collective memory splits history into glorious distant past followed by a series of defeats and losses and occasional heroic revolts are represented as starting with celebrated victories but ending with suppression and subjugation suggest that this historical trajectory is not the most favorable ground to build an emotionally stable identity around. As we saw, emotions that are implied in this trajectory are fear, sadness, disappointment, enthusiasm and hope. It should be noted that these emotions must be interpreted in pattern and also in relation to the other measures. For instance, the cognitive content of hope is different for Hungarians and Americans. Hope is one of the prominent emotions of the American narrative, as well. However, in that narrative, hope is accompanied by emotions such as trust, optimism and security (Bellah, 1967; McAdams, 2006). Similarly, although we do not have comparative data with the American agency, the Hungarian data suggest very low agency. Hope paired with low agency and control is a characteristic feature of depressive dynamics (see also Fülöp et al. this volume), which, in turn, characterized with low coping capacity and pessimism. It means that the emotional experience labeled 'hope' may have different meanings in the context of two historical trajectories. Hope of Hungarians reflect serial failures and then putting faith in a positive turn of events, while hope of Americans is connected to redemption, an optimistic attitude to life, both feelings arising from narrative identity structure of the respective nations.

Results with agency-, evaluation- and cognitive processes measures show a picture which is consistent with that of the emotion regulation. Inflated self-evaluation accompanied with devaluation of the outgroups, low ingroup agency in negative events, particularly in events when Hungarians were clearly perpetrators (e.g. holocaust), assigning a very high rate of cognitive process to the outgroups in the negative events and thereby passing even more responsibility onto

them all remind of what Bar-Tal et al (2009) has termed an identity state of collective victimhood. According to the concept of collective victimhood when ethnic groups or nations experience repeated traumas, losses, repressions and failures these experiences render difficult to maintain beliefs that the group is competent, strong and capable to tackle with conflicts, moreover they threaten integrity or survival of the collective. Developing identity with embedded experiences of victimhood may function as protection of positive group-image through perceived moral superiority of the ingroup, refusing of responsibility, evoking sympathy of other groups and avoidance of criticism of them (see Fülöp et al. this volume). A Hungarian political thinker, István Bibó, not long after WW2, interpreted Hungarian national identity very similarly (Bibó 1948, 1991). According to him recurrent historical traumatisation and the permanent threat to the existence of the state led to pervasive fear which in turn led to cognitive and emotional regression. Traumatic collective experiences have distorted perception of reality and have resulted in political illusions and in a psychological state resembling collective victimhood, what he termed 'political hysteria'.

In a separate chapter Fülöp et al will deal with how collective traumas can be elaborated and how the elaboration process can be traced in historical narratives over time. As a concluding remark to this section we should warn that trauma elaboration is not only a function of time, it proceeds (or is thwarted) in political context. If narratives about collective traumas are suppressed in the public sphere, the likelihood of carrying them on increases.

Schoolbooks and folk stories as tools for constructing national identity

There are two different, but as we shall show, related modes relating past experiences. History aspires to provide an accurate representation of the past, or, in other words, to give the true story of past events (Carr, 1986). In doing this historiography often neglects or brackets subjective experiences that have been shared by the participants of the events. (Current historical approaches to history of mentality, e.g. La Capra 2000; Goldhagen, 1997; Schievelbush, 2001 try to rectify this neglect.) In contrast, in collective remembering, the past is represented so that group identity is sustained. American historian Nowick contrasts the two modes as follows:

“To understand something historically is to be aware of its complexity, to have sufficient detachment to see it from multiple perspectives, to accept the ambiguities, including moral ambiguities, of protagonists' motives and behaviour. Collective memory simplifies; sees events

from a single, committed perspective, is impatient with ambiguities of any kind; reduces events to mythic archetypes” (Novick, 1999, 3-4)

School history textbooks stand somewhere between the two modes. They transfer “objective”, for the distant past culturally settled knowledge. Several authors claim that they are primary sources of historical awareness of a nation’s past (e.g. Angvik and Borries, 1997; Roediger, Lambert and Zaromb, 2009). On the other hand, they are also mediating identity patterns, as our results clearly suggest. An interesting finding of our investigations which supports the distinction between history and collective memory is that folk history compared to historically oriented school books expresses national identity in more extreme psychological features. But in tendency, it is important to stress, they are consistent.

Narrative identity construction and trauma elaboration thus proceeds on at least three channels. History writing pretends to depict events objectively, but ingroup biases frequently permeate these historical accounts. Even canonical or mythological interpretations, belonging to cultural memory (Assmann, 1992) may be characterized by this biased perspective. Collective memory, which is objectified in diaries, family accounts, oral history, etc. exists in relation with history, but unfolds in part independently from historiography and carries more from emotions and thoughts that are important for group identity. It corresponds more what Assmann (1992) has termed communicative memory. Between the two forms of group remembering, there are the history representations presented by school books, representations of the past presented by art and literature, and public memory presented by the media. The role of the latter two forms is evidenced by several authors (e.g. László, Kőváryné, Vincze, 2003, Bar-Tal and Antebi, 1992, Bar-Tal, 2001; László and Vincze, 2004; Fülöp, Péley and László, 2011, Fülöp et al this volume).

Given that telling history even in pictorial form is genuinely narrative genre, narrative social psychology and narrative categorical content analysis (NarrCat) seem to be adequate tools for tracing empirically how ethno-national groups are constructing their collective identity by shaping their collective memory, how they are elaborating their traumatic experiences, and what are the factors that influence these processes. Moreover, results gained with this conceptual and methodological equipment can serve not only explaining the past or the present, but also predicting future coping behavior of ethno-national groups and the potential success of this coping.

References

- Abelson, R. P., Dasgupta, N., Park, J., Banaji, M. R. (1998). Perception of the collective other. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 2, 243-250.
- Allport, F. H. (1924). *Social Psychology*. Boston, Houghton and Mifflin
- Angvik, M., von Borries, B. (1997). *A Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes among Adolescents*. Korber-Stiftung, Hamburg
- Antonovsky, A. (1987). *Unraveling the Mystery of Health*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Assmann, J. (1992). *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Bal, M. (1985). *Narratology: Introduction to the theory of narrative*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bamberg, M. and Andrews, M. (2004). 'Introduction', in M. Bamberg and M. Andrews (eds) *Considering Counter-Narratives: Narrating, resisting, making sense*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bandura, A. (1989). Perceived self-efficacy in the exercise of personal agency. *The Psychologist: Bulletin of the British Psychological Society*, 2, 411-424.
- Bandura, A. (1994): Self-efficacy. In: V. S. Ramachandran (ed.), *Encyclopedia of human behavior* (Vol. 4, pp. 71-81). New York, Academic Press.
- Banga, Cs., Szabó, Zs., László J. (2009). Does the perceived solution of historical conflicts have an affect on intergroup linguistic bias? *12th Jena Workshop on Intergroup Processes*, Friedrich-Schiller-University, Jena, June 30th to July 4th, 2009, Oppurg Castle, Germany.
- Bar-Tal, D. (2001). Why does fear override hope in societies engulfed by intractable conflict, as it does in the Israeli society? *Political Psychology*, 22, 601-627.
- Bar-Tal, D., Antebi, D. (1992). Siege Mentality in Israel. *Ongoing Production on Social Representations*. Vol 1(1), 49-67
- Bar-Tal, D., Chernyak-Hai, L., Schori, N., and Gundar, A. (2009). A sense of self perceived collective victimhood in intractable conflicts. *International Review of the Red Cross*, June
- Bar-Tal, D., Halperin, E., de Rivera, J., (2007). Collective Emotions in Conflict Situations: Societal Implications. *Journal of Social Issues*, 63, (2), 441-460.

- Barthes, R. (1977). *Image, music, text*. New York, Hill and Wang
- Bellah, R. (1967). Civil Religion in America. *Daedalus*, 96, 1.21.
- Benedict, R. (1946). *The Chrysanthenum and theSword*. Boston: Houghton, MifflinCompany.
- Bibó, I. (1991) *Democracy, Revolution, Self-determination Selected writings*. New York, Columbia University Press.
- Brewer, M. B., Hong, Y. & Li Q (2004). 'Dynamic Entitativity: Perceiving Groups as Actors', in V. Yzerbyt, C. Judd & O. Corneille (eds.) *The Psychology of Group Perception: Perceived Variability, Entitativity, and Essentialism*. New York: Psychology Press, 25-38.
- Brockmeier, J. and Carbaugh, D. (eds) (2001). *Narrative and Identity*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.
- Brown, R. (1958). *Words and Things*. New York, Simon& Schuster.
- Brown, R (1965). *Social Psychology*. Collier Macmillan.
- Brown, R. & Fish, D. (1983) 'The Psychological Causality Implicit in Language', *Cognition*, 14, 237-273.
- Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge, MA: HarvardUniversity Press.
- Carnaghi, Andrea; Maass, Anne; Gresta, Sara; Bianchi, Mauro; Cadinu, Mara; Arcuri, Luciano (2009): Nomina sunt omina: On the inductive potential of nouns and adjectives in person perception. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol 94(5), May 2008, 839-859.
- Carr, D. L. (1986). *Time, Narrative and History*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Csertő, I., László, J. (2010). Psychological Analysis of Interpersonal and Intergroup Evaluation in Narratives. Abstract From the 9th Alps Adria Psychology Conference. *Review of Psychology*, 17, 2, 151.
- Csertő, I., László J. (2011): A Csoportközi Értékelés Mint a Csoporttrauma Érzelmű Feldolgozásának Indikátora A Nemzetközi Történelem Elbeszéléseiben. In. Tanács A., Vincze V. (szerk.). *VIII. Magyar Számítógépes Nyelvészeti Konferencia: MSZNY 2011*. Szeged, Magyarország, 2011.12.01-2011.12.02. 2011. pp. 212-222.
- Csertő, I., László J. (2011a). Exploration of Group Identity Processes By a Narrative Analysis of Intergroup Evaluation. In. *EASP 2011 - 16th European Association of Social Psychology General Meeting*. Stockholm, Svédország, 2011.07.12-2011.07.16.
- Cohn, D. C. (1984). *Transparent Minds*. Princeton University Press. Princeton.

- Cohn, M. A., Mehl, M. R., Pennebaker, J. W. (2004). Linguistic markers of psychological change surrounding September 11, 2001. *Psychological Science*, 15, 687-693.
- Condor, S. (2003). "The least doubtful promise for the future?" in .1. László and W. Wagner (eds) *Theories and Controversies in Societal Psychology*. Budapest: New Mandate.
- Culler, J. (2001). *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction*. London, Routledge
- deCharms, R. (1968). *Personal causation*. New York, Academic Press.
- Deci, E. L. (1975). *Intrinsic Motivation*. New York, Plenum.
- Doosje, B., Branscombe, N. R., Spears, R., Manstead, A. S. R. (1998). Guilty by association: When one's group has a negative history. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75, 872-886.
- Eco, U. (1994). *Six walks into the fictional woods*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press
- Genette, G., (1980) *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Erikson, E. H. (1959). Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected papers. *Psychological Issues*, 1, (1), 5-165.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*, New York: Norton.
- Forgas, J.P.(1995). Mood and Moral Judgement: the Affect in Fusion Model (AIM). *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 39-66.
- Freeman, M. (1993). *Rewriting the Self: History, memory, narrative*. London: Routledge.
- Fülöp, É. (2010). A Történelmi Pálya és a Nemzeti Identitás Érzelmi Szerveződése. (Hungarian Historical Trajectory and the Emotional Organization of the Hungarian National Identity.) Unpublished doctoral thesis.
- Fülöp, É., László, J. (2010). Érzelmek a valós csoportközi konfliktusokban: a csoportközi érzelmek történelmi lehorgonyozása. *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle*,
- Fülöp, É., László, J. (2010/a). How to Apply Emotions to Real Life Intergroup Conflicts? Group-related emotions are historically anchored. Abstract from the 9th Alps Adria Psychology Conference. *Review of Psychology*, 17, 2, 152.
- Fülöp Éva, Péley Bernadette, László János (2011). A történelmi Pályához Kapcsolódó Érzelmek Modellje Magyar Történelmi Regényekben. *Pszichológia*, 2011, 31, 1, 47-67

Galinsky, A. D., and Moskowitz, G. B. (2000). 'Perspective-taking: Decreasing stereotype expression, stereotype accessibility, and in-group favouritism', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 78, 708-724.

Giles, H. (1977). *Language, Ethnicity, and Intergroup Relations*. New York, Academic Press,

Goldhagen, D.J. (1997). *Hitler's willing executioners: ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. Springer New York.

Halbwachs, M. (1941). *La Topographyclégentaire des évangilesen Terre Sainte*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Hamilton, D. L. (2007). 'Agenda 2007: Understanding the complexities of group perception: Broadening the domain'. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 37: 1077-1101.

Harter, S. (1978): Effectance Motivation Reconsidered: Toward a Developmental Model. *Human Development*, 6, 34-64.

Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review*, 94, 312-340.

Hobsbawm, E. (1992). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*, 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hogan, P.C. (2003). *The Mind and Its Stories. Narrative Universals and Human Emotion*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Kashima, H. Y. et al. (2005): Culture, essentialism, and agency: Are Individuals Universally Believed to be More Real Entities than Groups? *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 35, 147-169.

La Capra, D. (2001). *Writing History, Writing Trauma*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

László, J. (2003). History, identity and narratives, in J. László and W. Wagner (eds) *Theories and Controversies in Societal Psychology*. Budapest: New Mandate.

László, J. (2008). *The Science of Stories: An Introduction to Narrative Psychology*. London and New York, Routledge.

László, J. (2011). Narrative Psychology, in *Daniel Christie: The Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology*. San Francisco: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. pp. 687-691.

László, J., Ehmann, B. and Imre, O. (2002), 'Les représentations sociales de l'histoire: La narration populaire historique et l'identité nationale', in S. Laurens and N. Roussiau (eds) *La Mémoire sociale. Identités et représentations sociales*. Rennes, France: Université de Rennes.

- László J., Fülöp É. (2010). How to Apply Group-Related Emotions to Real Life Inter-Group Conflicts? Emotions are Historically Anchored. (in press).
- László, J., Fülöp, É., (2011a). Nemzeti Identitás és Kollektív Áldozati Szerep. *Pszichológia* 31: (3) pp. 295-315.
- László, J., Fülöp É. (2011b). Érzelmek a Valós Csoportközi Konfliktusokban, A Csoportközi Érzelmek Történelmi Lehorgonyzása. *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle* 66: (3) pp. 467-485.
- László J., Szalai K., Ferenczhalmy R., (2010). Role of Agency in Social Representations of History. *Societal and Political Psychology International Review* (1) pp. 31-43.
- László, J. and Vincze, O. (2004). Coping with historical tasks. The role of historical novels in transmitting psychological patterns of national identity. *Spiel* 21: (1) pp. 76-88.
- László, J., Vincze, O., Kőváriné Somogyvári, I. (2003). Representation of National Identity in Successful Historical Novels. *Empirical Studies of the Arts*, 21, (1), 69-80.
- Leary, M. R. and Baumeister, R. F. (2000). The nature and function of self-esteem: Sociometer theory. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 32. pp. 1-62). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Linville, P. W. (1987). Self-Complexity as a Cognitive Buffer Against Stress-Related Depression and Illness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52, 663-676.
- Liu, J. H. and Hilton, D. J. (2005). How the Past Weighs on the Present: Social Representations of History and Their Impact on Identity Politics, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 537-556.
- Liu, J. H. and László, J. (2007). A Narrative Theory of History and Identity: Social Identity, Social Representations, Society and the Individual. in G. Moloney and I. Walker (eds) *Social Representations and Identity: Content, process, and power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Maass, A., Milesi, A., Zabbini, S. and Stahlberg, D. (1995). The Linguistic Intergroup Bias: Differential expectancies or in-group protection? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68: 116-126.
- Maass, A., Salvi, D., Arcuri, L., Semin, G. R. (1989). Language Use in Intergroup Contexts: the Linguistic Intergroup Bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57(6), 981-993.
- Malinowski, B. (1926). *Mythin Primitive Psychology*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner.
- Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of egoidentity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 5, 551-558.

Marcia, J. E. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In: Adelson, J. (ed.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology*. New York, Wiley.

Markus, H. and Kitayama, S. (1991). 'Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation', *Psychological Review* 98, 224–253.

Markus, H. and Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist*, 41, 954-969.

Martindale, C. (1975). *Romantic Progression: The psychology of literary history*. New York: Wiley.

Pennebaker, J. W., Francis, M.E. and Booth, R.J. (2001) *Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) LIWC*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

McAdams, D.P. (1985). *Power, Intimacy, and the Life Story: Personological inquiries into identity*. New York: Guilford Press.

McAdams, D.P. (2001). The Psychology of Life Stories, *Review of General Psychology* 5, 2: 100-122.

McAdams, D. P. (2006). *The Redemptive Self: Stories Americans Live by*. Oxford University Press.

McLean, K.C. and Pratt, M.W. (2006). Life's Little (and Big) Lessons: Identity Statuses and Meaning-Making in the Turning Point Narratives of Emerging Adults', *Developmental Psychology* 42, 4: 714-722.

Mead, M. (1937). *Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Morris, M. W., Menon, T., Ames, D. R. (2001). Culturally Conferred Conceptions of Agency: A Key to Social Perception of Persons, Groups, and Other Actors. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 5, 169-182.

Novick, P. (1999). *The Holocaust in American Life*. Mariner Books, Houghton Mifflin, New York.

Paez, D., Basabe, N., Gonzales, J. L. (1997). Social Processes and Collective Memory: A Cross-Cultural Approach to Remembering Political Events. In. Pennebaker, J. W., Paez, D., Rimé, B. (eds.) *Collective Memory of Political Events*. Erlbaum. Mahwah, New Jersey.

Pennebaker, J.W. (1993). Putting Stress Into Words: Health, Linguistic and Therapeutic Implications. *Behavior Research and Therapy* 31, 6: 539-548.

Pennebaker, J. W. and Gonzales, A. (2009). Making history: social and psychological processes underlying collective memory. In. Boyer, P., Wertsch J. V.: *Memory in Mind and Culture*. 171-192. Cambridge University Press. New York.

Pennebaker, J.W. and King, LA (1999). Linguistic Styles: Language Use as an Individual Difference. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 77: 1296-1312.

Pennebaker, J. W., Mehl, M.R. and Niederhoffer, K.G. (2003). Psychological Aspects of Natural Language Use: Our Words, Our Selves', *Annual Review of Psychology* 54: 547-577.

Pólya, T., László, J. and Forgas, J.P. (2005). Making Sense of Life Stories: The Role of Narrative Perspective in Communicating Hidden Information About Social Identity and Personality, *European Journal of Social Psychology* 35: 785-796.

Reicher, S. and Hopkins, N., (2001). *Self and Nation*. London: Sage.

Ricoeur, P. (1984–1987). *Time and narrative. Vol. I–III*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Ricoeur: (1991). 'L'identité narrative', *Revue de Sciences Humaines* 221: 35-47.

Roediger, H.L., Zimbardo, F. M., and Butler, A. C. (2009). The Role of Repeated Retrieval in Shaping Collective Memory. In. Boyer, P., Wertsch J. V.: *Memory in Mind and Culture*. 138-170. Cambridge University Press. New York.

Roccas, S., Klar, Y., Liviatan, I., (2006). The Paradox of Group-Based Guilt: Modes of National Identification, Conflict Vehemence, and Reactions to the In-Group's Moral Violations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 698–711.

Rozin, P., Lowery, L., Imada, S., Haidt, J. (1999). The CAD Triad hypothesis: A Mapping Between Three Moral Motions (Contempt, Anger, Disgust) and Three Moral Codes (Community, Autonomy, Divinity). *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 76, 574-586.

Sarbin, T.R. (1986a) 'The Narrative as a Root Metaphor for Psychology', in T.R. Sarbin (ed.) *Narrative Psychology: The storied nature of human conduct*. New York: Praeger.

Sarbin, T.R. (ed.) (1986b) *Narrative Psychology: The storied nature of human existence*. New York: Praeger.

Schivelbush, W. (2001). *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery*, Jefferson Chase

Semin, G. R. (2000). Agenda 2000-Communication: Language as an implementational device for cognition, *European Journal of Social Psychology* 30: 595-612.

Semin, G. R. (2000a). Language as a cognitive and behavioral structuring resource: Question-answer exchanges. In: Stroebe, W., Hewstone, M. (eds.), *European Review of Social Psychology*. Chichester, Wiley, 75-104.

Semin, G.R. (2009). Language and Social Cognition. In F. Strack, J. Förster (eds.) *Social Cognition – the Basis of Human Interaction*. Psychology Press.

Semin, G.R. and Fiedler, K. (1988). The Cognitive Functions of Linguistic Categories in Describing Persons: Social Cognition and Language, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 54: 558-568.

Semin, G.R. and Fiedler, K. (1991). The Linguistic Category Model, Its Bases, Applications and Range, in W. Stroebe and M. Hewstone (eds.). *European Review of Social Psychology*, vol. 2. Chichester: Wiley.

Shweder, R. A., Much, N. C, Mahapatra, M., & Park, L. (1997). The "Big Three" of Morality (Autonomy, Community, Divinity) And The "Big Three" Explanations of Suffering. In A. Brandt & P. Rozin (Eds.) *Morality and Health* (pp. 119-169). New York: Routledge

Smith, E. R. (1993). Social identity and social emotions: Toward New Conceptualizations of Prejudice, In: Mackie, D. M. and Hamilton, D. L. (szerk.): *Affect, Cognition, and Stereotyping: Interactive Processes in Group Perception*. San Diego, Academic Press, 297–315.

Spence, D.P. (1982). *Narrative Truth and Historical Truth. Meaning and Interpretation in Psychoanalysis*. New York: Norton.

Spencer-Rogers, J., Hamilton, D. L. & Sherman, S. J. (2007). 'The Central Role of Entitativity in Stereotypes of Social Categories and Task Groups' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 369-388.

Spini, D., Elcheroth, G. and Fasel, R., The Impact of Groups Norms and Generalization of Risks on Judgments of War Behavior, *Political Psychology*, Vol. 29, 2008, 919–941.

Stearns, P. N., and Stearns, C. Z. (1985). Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards. *The American Historical Review* Vol.90/4. 813-836. The University of Chicago Press.

Stone, P. J., Dunphy, D. C., Smith, M. S., Oglivie, D. M. (1966). *The General Inquirer: A Computer Approach Transcripts*. Mahwah, NJ, Erlbaum, 35-54.

Szalai, K. (2010). Az Ágencia Nyelvi Jegyei: Az Aktív és Passzív Igék Szerepe A Narratívumokban. (Linguistic Markers of Agency. The Role of Active and Passive Verbs in Narratives) Unpublished doctoral dissertation.

Tajfel, H. (ed.) (1978). *Differentiation between Social Groups*. London: Academic Press. *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., Turner, J.C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In: Austin, W.G., Worchel, S. (eds) *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. 33-47, Brooks, Cole, Monterey, CA.

Tausczik, Y., & Pennebaker, J. W. (2010). The Psychological meaning of Words: LIWC and Computerized Text Analysis Methods. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 29, 24-54.

Trunbull, W. (1994): Thematic structure of descriptions of violent events influences perceptions of responsibility: A thematic structure effect. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 13, 2, 132-157.

Turner, J. C. (1981): The Experimental Social Psychology of Intergroup Behavior. In: Turner, J. C., Giles, H. (eds.), *Intergroup Behavior*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 66-101.

Turner, J.C. (1999). Some Current Issues In Research on Social Identity and Self Categorization Theories. In. Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (Eds.) *Social Identity: Context, Commitment, Content*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. 6-34.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M.A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D. and Wetherell, M. (1987). *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Uspensky, B. A. (1974). *The Poetics of Composition: Structure of the artistic text and the typology of compositional form*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Vincze, O., (2010). Mentális Állapotok Jelentősége Csoporttörténetekben a Saját és A Külső Csoport Vonatkozásában. (Role of Mental States in Group Stories in Ingroup-Outgroup Relation.)

Vincze O., Rein G. (2011). A csoportközi diszkrimináció és tolerancia narratív alapjai:

A kognitív állapotok szerepe a csoportközi attitűdök változásában történelmi szövegek estében. *Pszichológia*, 31,1, 17-34

Wertsch, J. V. (2002). *Voices of Collective remembering*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

White, H. (1981). 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality', in W. J. T. Mitchell (ed.) *On Narrative*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1-23.

White, H., Deinger, W. T., (1974). Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe. *History: Reviews of New Books*. Vol.2/5, p122.

Wigboldus, D. H. J., Semin, G. R., Spears, R. (2000). How Do We Communicate Stereotypes? Linguistic Bases and Inferential Consequences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78(1), 5-18.

Wojciszke, B., Abele, A. E. (2008). The Primacy of Communion Over Agency and Its Reversal Since Valuations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38, 1139-1147.