

Emotional Basis of Political Information Processing in Divided Societies: On the Distinct Role of Anxiety and Enthusiasm

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the emotional basis of political information processing in ethnically divided societies. I investigate the effects of anxiety and enthusiasm on citizens' desire to seek political information, potential tendencies towards selective exposure and different processing styles. My main hypothesis, in contrast to Affective Intelligence theory, states that in the time of uncertainty people living in such societies will seek to isolate themselves from out-group contact and try to restore a sense of security by collecting information from the sources more similar to them. In essence, I claim that anxiety will induce information seeking that is marked by selectivity which will further prevent people from becoming "more rational". I test my hypotheses in Montenegro using an experimental method. One hundred twenty political science students participated in a computer-based experiment designed using Dynamic Process Tracing Environment platform. Results show that people in the state of anxiety tend to seek for more political information. Application of the accession priority measure revealed some patterns of in-group bias among students in anxiety condition. On the other hand, a second measure of selectivity- information attentiveness – provided almost no evidence of selectivity. Results also show unexpected differences between ethnic groups in post-treatment behavior, as well as traces of cognitive biases towards threatening stimuli among anxious subjects.

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Introduction

For a long time scholars neglected the importance of emotions in politics. Political science often perceived passion as the enemy of reason. Many scholars tried to reduce political action to rational actors capable of evaluating their utilities using cool - unemotional- calculus (Redlawsk 2006: 1). Starting with Kenneth Arrow's *Social Choice and Individual Values* (1951) and Antony Down's *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957), a firm foundation was established for the idea that politics has been built on rational choice principles. These classics have produced tens of thousands of books and articles over the last half century in area of political science, economy, law, philosophy, and other applied fields (Dowding et al. 2009). More precisely, in political psychology rational choice theorists have argued that exposure to new information updates prior beliefs in a "rational" way. Such a decision-making model assumes that people assimilate new information in an efficient and unbiased manner. In other words, they exclude the possibility that voters bring different prior beliefs to the evaluation of new evidence, and also assume that partisans apply the same evaluative criteria when assessing information or politicians'/ institutions' performance (Green and Graber 1999:1990). Much of the political psychology took these clear-cut assumptions for granted. As a result, Redlawsk (2006: 2) argued, instead of being an integral part of information processing emotions "have been seen as something that stands in the way of good decision-making".

Ironically enough, social scientists have been the last to recognize that emotions lie at the centre of human experience and adaptation (Lazarus 1991:5). This is even more surprising given that emotions have had a central place in thoughts of first political philosophers. As Bleiker and Hutchinson (2008) state, emotions have a long history and this history was very essential to how collective identities, including states, are constituted. It seems they were building strongly on Plutchik's (1962) (in Lazarus 1991) observation that in „every endeavor, in every major

human enterprise, the emotions are somehow involved. (...) Almost every great philosopher from Aristotel to Spinoza, from Kant to Dewey (...) has been concerned with the nature of emotions and have speculated about its origins, expressions, effects, its place in economy of human life”. This claim is further supported by Neblo’s (2007) paper on philosophy of emotions in politics from ancient Greece until today. He argues that Plato’s political thought gives clear evidence of the awareness of the importance of emotions in political decision-making and possible consequences. In my research I study how anxiety and fear, compared to enthusiasm, affect peoples’ behavior. More to this point, Neblo (2007: 27) reminds of us Hobbes’s work and the way he developed and introduced the psychology of fear of violent death in the context of claiming that its burden makes anarchy intolerable and its universality makes sovereignty possible.

However, as political science gets more interconnected with evolutionary psychology, neurophysiology, and biology, it becomes more obvious that the understanding of “reason” in politics is changing rapidly. In the last two decades the study of emotions in politics has grown quickly (Marcus & MacKuen, 1993, Neuman et al. 2007, Taber et al. 2005, Valentino et al. 2008, Schreiber 2007, Lodge et al. 2005). Scholars have come to recognize emotions and emotional processes as central to an understanding of individual political behavior and contentious politics. In its very core, it is a process of decision-making about the distribution of scarce resources that some people get them and others do not (Green and Shapiro 1994:1). Recently developed theories such as Affective Intelligence theory (Marcus, Neuman and McKuen 2000) and Hot Cognition (motivated reasoning) (Lodge and Taber 2005) gave feelings their deserved position by arguing for the primacy of affect and its inseparable connection with cognition (Redlawsk 2006). Even more strongly, Damasio and Bechara (1994) argued one cannot think without feeling. As they put it (1994: 7):”Patients with damage to the ventromedial sector of prefrontal cortices develop a severe impairment in real-life decision-making, in spite

of otherwise preserved intellect. The impairments are especially marked in the personal and social realms. He [patient] often decides against his best interest, and is unable to learn from his mistakes. His decisions repeatedly lead to negative consequences”.

Although the importance of emotions to world politics is now largely recognized, there are surprisingly few studies that systematically analyze how emotions matter in concrete political settings (Bleiker and Hutchinson, 2008). In this respect, it is indeed puzzling that experimental studies of emotions in politics are very rare. In addition, most of the studies are conducted using survey data, and more importantly almost always in the same context. Namely, the largest portion of relevant studies were conducted on U.S. politics, in which particular types of issues/information drive these emotions. However emotional responses might significantly differ in other societies and, therefore, lead to different behavioral consequences. My research is, therefore, an additional response to a rising interest in the interaction of emotions with political cognition, and also a response to a lack of research on emotions in different political settings. More precisely, the aim of my research is to investigate the role of anxiety and enthusiasm in citizens’ political cognition in ethnically divided societies. Specifically, I am interested in how these emotions affect political information seeking and processing; under which emotional state people tend to seek information in a more balanced way, and possibly make better decisions. I hypothesize that in the state of anxiety people will seek for more information. However I expect this information seeking to be marked by selective exposure and cognitive biases. I designed a computer-based experiment using Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE) methodology for the purpose of testing my hypotheses on the case of Montenegro.

My thesis is structured in a following way. In a Chapter 1 I present a short political history of Montenegro, explain the nature and origins of ethnic cleavage, and how it is manifested nowadays. In Chapter 2 I present the two most representative and influential, theories of

emotional decision-making in politics: the Affective Intelligence and Hot Cognition theory. I will debate their main features and differences with regards to understanding the effect emotions have on political information processing. Section this chapter is dedicated to the two objections of the AI that I find especially significant for the topic of my study: *two valence model* and relation between *anxiety/fear* and *group identity*. I further explain theoretical reasons why such understanding of emotions in politics might not be applicable to divided societies, and lay down my expectation accordingly. Chapter 3 is dedicated to methodology and experimental design; experimental materials - treatments, scales, and measurements are explained in great details. In Chapter 4 I present and discuss the results of statistical analysis where I will also try to debate them in a wider context and literature. Lastly, in the Conclusion I sum up the gist of my theoretical argument, hypothesis and main results. I also pay special attention to the scope and validity of generalization from this method, as well as to potential the contribution of my results. An appendix, containing all the materials, scales and measurements, is available at the end.

Chapter 1 - Short History of the Case

In the politically unstable Balkan region, Montenegro has had the most turbulent recent political history. In eight decades, Montenegro lost and reclaimed internationally recognized state independence. From 1879 to the WWI, the Montenegrin principality, and later kingdom, existed as an independent, internationally recognized state. Then, as a part of the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (*Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, KSHS) in 1918, Montenegro was annexed by Serbia and therefore erased from the world political map (Vuković 2015). It reappeared after WWII as a separate political entity in 1945, as one of the six republics in the newly created socialist Yugoslav federation (Vuković 2015:1). After a bloody civil war in 1992 after a bloody war put an end to the epoch of „peace and prosperity” that lasted for nearly half of a century, Montenegrins decided to remain in a joint state with Serbia. Nevertheless, fourteen years later, on the second referenda organized in May 2006, citizens of Montenegro chose to leave this long-lasting political bond and re-established the independent state of Montenegro.

1.1. “Unification” and the “Montenegrin question”

The nature of unification, or more precisely the assimilation of Montenegro into Serbia in 1918, has to this day remained a source of controversy and inter-ethnic tensions. In theory, the process of unification in a case like this is supposed to go smoothly. Two nations are culturally alike, the language has not been an issue at the time, both nations share a belonging to the same Eastern Orthodox religion, and largely have common myths and symbols (Morrison 2009:39). Moreover, the vast majority of Montenegrins wanted their country to become a part of the “first Yugoslavia”. Yet, a considerable number of them stood up against the manner in which the “unification” had been carried out. Any union with neighboring South Slav states, they

believed, was supposed to be “based on the principles of equality and respect for Montenegrin sovereignty” (Vukovic 2015:4). Even Montenegro’s King Nikola I decided to modify his political stand in which he insisted on the preservation of Montenegrin sovereignty and replace it with the acceptance of a decentralized model for the future state. He advocated “a federal state in which all its constitutive elements would preserve their autonomy” (Pavlovic 2009:146). However, on 24 November 1918, during the time King Nikola I Petrović and his government were still in exile, the Great People’s Assembly, was held in Podgorica with the clear intention of ensuring victory for unconditional unification with Serbia. In reality, the whole election process, as well as the convening of the Assembly, was illegitimate and illegal (Rastoder 2003: 129). Nevertheless, the unification of Serbia and Montenegro went through with the following words: “We are no longer Montenegrins, but Serbs” (Popovic 2011, in Vukovic 2015). By this proclamation Montenegrins had lost their church and state, the very central components of their national identity (Morrison 2009:44). Later, as it became obvious that an appropriate political status was unlikely to be granted to Montenegrins, their dissatisfaction with the state of affairs together with the difficult socio-economic situation, had led to an armed uprising on Christmas Eve 1918 (Rastoder 2003:130). However, by the end of 1919 the military campaign against the unification was largely neutralized and the “Montenegrin Question” was brought to a political end (Vukovic 2015:4). Throughout the following years, those Montenegrins opposing the unification found political refuge in the Montenegrin Federalist Party and, in particular, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. This line of political cleavage, although frozen during the Communist era, survived until today and the ensuing politicization of identity issues in Montenegro.

1.2. From Milošević era to the Independence

Unlike in the post-WWI period, in the SFR Yugoslavia, the question of Montenegrin national identity had seemed to be given an appropriate, that is historically justified, political answer. Nevertheless, the outbreak of political crisis in the federation and political pressure under Slobodan Milošević soon demonstrated the weaknesses of such impression (Vukovic 2015). Occasional exchanges of opposing political the arguments accusations between Belgrade and Podgorica came close to breaking point. The debate greatly resembled that of 1918, when the issue of unification of Montenegro with Serbia was a hot political topic (Pavlovic 2003:94). In the words of Morrison (2012, in Vukovic 2015):

“[Throughout the post-WWII period], Montenegrins came to represent something of an ideal Yugoslav surrogate in their equidistance between Montenegrin and Serbian nationalities [...] The resurgence of the Serbian Question in the mid-1980s dictated that Montenegrins would once again be forced to engage the question of their national identity. The argument that Montenegrins were part of the Serbian national corpus once again became de rigueur among intellectual and nationalist groups in Serbia, who maintained that Montenegrins were a branch of the wider Serbian nation, and that the Montenegrin nation had been a creation of the Yugoslav communists, who wished to tear Montenegro from its Serbian roots“.

As a consequence of the late 1980s/early 1990s escalation of political crisis in the socialist federation, the most salient political issues in the constituent republics became those related to ethnic/national and religious identity. The first multi-party elections in Montenegro, organized in December 1990, took place at the moment when the nationalist euphoria across Yugoslavia reached its political peak. Strongly influencing the political atmosphere in Montenegro, it gave rise to the creation of numerous national parties in this country. In the following period, more party organizations claiming to represent political interests of particular national groups were

founded in Montenegro (Vukovic 2014, see also Dzankic 2013: 417).¹ As Dzankic (2013: 419) nicely summarizes: The divide over statehood in Montenegro eventually led to the reconstruction of „Montenegrin“ and „Serb“ identities and their association with pro-independence and unionist camps. (...) The revival of ethno-cultural narratives that made a clear distinction between Serb and Montenegrin identities helped two camps to shape their political identities“. In addition, the 1997 conflict in the ruling DPS (Democratic Party of Socialists) that was in itself a critical juncture, yielded – or, perhaps, just made obvious again – a clear line of separation within the country’s Orthodox Christian population between Montenegrin and Serb national identities (Dzankic 2013). Traditional bigotry between Christians and Muslims was additionally fuelled by the civil war in Bosnia. Later, within the Muslim religious corpus in Montenegro, we witnessed an emergence of national polarization between Bosniaks, first appearing in the 2003 census, and Muslims (Vukovic 2015).

Today, almost ten years after the Independence Referenda (in May 2006), this topic remains the central point of divide. Political parties from both sides seem to be aware that the issue as such is settled, at least for forthcoming decades, but they engaged into conflict about state symbols, political right of ethnic minorities, official language, church property and land etc. When debating these, the rhetoric rarely move beyond what they were saying in 1918. almost a century ago. Politicians often mobilize their electorate using fear-provoking messages that further strengthen inter-group conflict and create an atmosphere of mutual distrust.

¹ Among the (former) parliamentary parties, these include: the Democratic Union of Albanians (*Demokratska unija Albanaca*, DUA), the Serbian People’s Party (*Srpska narodna stranka*, SNS), the Croatian Civic Initiative (*Hrvatska građanska inicijativa* – HGI), the Democratic Serb Party (*Demokratska srpska stranka*, DSS), the Albanian New Democratic Power - FORCA (*Nova demokratska snaga*, FORCA), the Albanian Alternative (*Albanska alternativa*, AA), the Bosniak Party (*Bošnjačka stranka*, BS), the Albanian Coalition “Perspective“ (*Albanska koalicija “Perspektiva”*, AKP), and the New Serb Democracy (*Nova srpska demokratija*, NOVA).

Chapter 2 - Theories of Distinct Effects of Emotion on Political Information Seeking/Processing

2.1 Competing Theories: The Affective Intelligence or Hot Cognition?

Contrary to conventional thinking regarding the nature of political decision-making, Marcus & MacKuen (1993:672) brought forward a theory, later called Affective Intelligence theory (AI) (Marcus et al. 2000), which stated that emotions can actually be catalysts of political learning and therefore can lead to better decision. Research of this kind was particularly interested in distinct roles of different emotions in stimulating political attentiveness. Marcus and colleagues built strongly on Zajonc's (1980) work who was the first one to "openly challenge this [think-first-and-feel-second] ordering, arguing that affective reactions often arise before conscious, - that is to say, cognitive – awareness" (Marcus et al. 2000: 9). As Zajonc (1980: 154) put it: "In nearly all cases feeling is not free of thought, nor is thought free from feeling. (...) Thoughts enter feelings at various stages of the affective sequence, and the converse is true for cognition. Feelings may be aroused at any point of the cognitive process: registration, encoding, retrieval, inference, etc." However, theorists of Affective Intelligence theory went further by claiming that affect necessarily precedes, which is to say that how we feel influences when, how, and what we think. They argue that emotions arise from the structure of the brain, and that two different systems are at work (Redlawsk 2006:4). One is *the disposition system*, which operates on routine information without much effort and governs excitement and *enthusiasm*. The other one is *surveillance system*, which governs *anxiety*, stress, and fear. It becomes activated when the environment changes from expected to unexpected. Once something unexpected emerges, the surveillance system raises awareness and prepares us to respond to possible danger. The whole process is driven by an emotional response to an unexpected stimulus (Redlawsk

2006:4). To sum up, while the feeling of enthusiasm only reflects and reinforces people's political choices by relying on habitual behaviour (party identification or group identity), the feeling of anxiety interrupt such a routine behaviour and foster engagement into a more effortful information processing. Hence, according to the AI theory, when anxiety alerts to potential danger voters pay attention and therefore rely more on information gathered (Marcus 1993: 678). As a result of this the state of learning is enhanced. One needs to comprehend the nature of the threat he/she faces and is motivated to find out more about the unexpected input. Therefore, anxiety indirectly, through stimulation of more rational reflection, improves the quality of our decision-making.

Despite widespread scholarly interest in AI, and its application in various fields of political science, there are only few experimental tests of its claims. Original study by Marcus & McKuen (1993) was conducted using cross-sectional survey items. In that respect, Ted Brader's (2011) experimental study that confirms their results represents an important advance. However, according to Ladd and Lenz (2011), the theory remains vulnerable to alternative explanations, especially the one offered by the Hot Cognition theory. What all of these alternatives have in common is that they claim *direct impact* of emotions on political judgement. Nevertheless, a large body of relevant literature has also found some evidence of anxiety increasing information seeking and learning (e.g. Valentino, Hutchings, Banks & Davis, 2008). However, information seeking is also found to be at least conditional upon the type of information and vulnerable to selective exposure. The dynamic process-tracing method, developed by Redlawsk, Civettini, and Lau (2007) also provided some evidence of increased information seeking. At the same time they find no evidence of better information recall beyond other emotions (Groenedyk 2011). If anxiety indeed increases vigilance then it would be expected that in the state of anxiety individuals are able to correctly recall details and specificities regarding particular stimulus. All of these suggest that findings regarding the

impact of emotion on quality of information seeking is still inconclusive and that more experimental testing is needed.

From another perspective, the theory of motivated reasoning brought to political science by the work of Lodge and Taber (2000, 2005) suggests that even if greater attention is drawn to the stimulus, it does not mean that the resulting decisions are necessarily better than they would be otherwise. The processing of a motivated reasoner is a tightly bounded combination of emotion and cognition - *hot cognition* (HC) (Redlawsk 2006:4). Lodge and Taber argue that acquired information is immediately evaluated for its affective content. "All political leaders, groups, issues symbols, and ideas thought about and evaluated in the past become affectively charged- positively or negatively- and this affect is linked directly to the concept in long-term memory" (Lodge and Taber 2005: 456). Expected information, affectively congruent concepts, allow faster reaction time compared to incongruent ones. The latter requires extra processing and it is not as easily assimilated as congruent information. So in the initial stages both AI and HC theory lead to the conclusion that affectively incongruent pieces of information- especially those that generate a negative reaction- are more carefully attended to. However, according to Marcus and colleagues, more information automatically means better decision (Redlawsk 2006:4). Lodge and Taber's work suggests that processing may be biased by affect, in which case emotionally driven responses might leave something to be desired. Feelings become information. Affect pervade the judgement process from the beginning to the end - "from the encoding of information, its retrieval and comprehension, to its expression as a preference or choice" (Lodge and Taber 2005: 456). Therefore, this group of scholars question whether people are really rational updaters who accurately perceive the direction of new information, revise their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour accordingly. Given that affect appears to be activated automatically on mere exposure to socio-political concepts, most people, but especially those sophisticates with strong political attitudes, will be biased information

processors (Lodge and Taber 2005: 455). People are more likely to stick to their original position, to support their prior beliefs, and thus to allow affect to interfere with updating.

2.2 *Objections to the Affective Intelligence theory*

2.2.1 Two Valence Model

As previously mentioned, AI theory focuses primarily on two main dimensions of affect, anxiety and enthusiasm. Apparently, they have completely different impacts on political judgement. Anxiety increases interest in politics, boosts information seeking and decreases citizens' reliance on pre-existing political beliefs, while enthusiasm encourages decision-making based on long-standing beliefs or prejudices. Moreover, according to the AI, *all* negative emotions should be associated with vigilance and evasion of danger. However, this clear distinction between negative and positive emotional reactions has met growing challenge. The major objection to this prevailing two-dimensional valence model is its inability to explain differences among specific types of positive and negative emotions (Huddy et. al 2007:203). In particular, researchers from various fields of social science doubt that different negative emotions, such as anger, anxiety, disgust and sadness result in the same behavioural outcomes.

Marcus and MacKuen (1993:674) originally operationalized anxiety using self-reported emotions of fear, disgust, anger, and uneasiness. However, these negative emotions might produce completely different cognitive consequences. Different effects among negative emotions in regard to political information processing, seem to be especially important when it comes to *anxiety* and *anger*. Although related, two emotions are very distinct in its origins and consequences. Reasons for such a different impact on behaviour might be found in the origins and evolution of these emotions. Namely, anxiety is connected with the response to an external threat, especially personal threat, over which one has no, or little, control (Eysenck 1992). On the other hand, anger arises in response to a negative event that frustrates a personally relevant

or desired goal (Carver 2004). More precisely put, while anxiety fits to this pattern of avoidance of danger, anger does not. "Anger is linked not only to action but also to a series of cognitive outcomes that push someone towards action such as less careful and systematic processing of events, the diminishment of perceived risks, and greater tolerance for risky action" (Huddy et. al 2007:204-206). Valentino (2008) and Redlawsk (2007), found that anger actually decreases the amount of time spent searching for information about candidate's issue position. In the same time, as Eysenck (1992) suggests anxiety usually induces an overestimation of risk, and leads to risk averse behaviour. This heightened sensitivity and attention to threat brings more careful information processing. The two valence models on which Affective Intelligence theory is based, expects that any form of negative affect will heighten attentiveness to stimuli. However, as we see, it is still not clear whether anger also increases the amount of thought given to threatening stimuli (Berenbaum 1995, Huddy et. al 2007:208). Beranbaum (1995) and colleagues did not find that deeper level of thought appear in the case of anger. Angry people are engaged in more stereotyping than those who were sad and were more convinced by superficial aspects of a persuasive speech (Bodenhausen 1994). In short, a large portion of evidence show that angry people may be faster to arrive at a decision and take shortcuts to do so. "Angry people engage in relatively automatic, superficial, and heuristic processes" (Huddy et. al 2007:209). Because of this very important, but unsettled question, in the pilot study I will introduce the manipulation check in order to see if people are capable of cognitively separating fear (anxiety) and anger.

2.2.2 Anxiety/Fear and Group Identity

The AI suggests that emotional states are deeply rooted in symbolic identities and self-interest as factors in explaining political attitudes and behaviour. As we have seen earlier, this argument is supported by evidence that citizens base their decisions more heavily on evaluations of current circumstances under conditions of fear and more heavily on predisposition under

conditions of enthusiasm (Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000). Therefore, they posit that anxiety is closely related to a rational calculus of costs and benefits based on available information. Namely, it enables citizens to break free of reliance on habits, partisanship or group identity. In a condition of fear or anxiety, an individual should engage into more deliberate decision-making. When it comes to ethnically divided societies, in which national and religious identities represent people's habitus, anxiety should supposedly weaken reliance on group identity when making a decision. In the same time enthusiasm facilitates the development and execution of learned routines by monitoring the environment in which one's goal is being met (Brader and Valentino 2007: 185). For these reasons, reliance on symbolic dispositions, like prejudice and group identities, should be strongly linked to emotions such as enthusiasm, while variations in current circumstances, like material or economic interests, followed by thoughtful consideration should be most strongly linked to fear and anxiety (Brader and Valentino 2007). Emotions, once induced, alter the approach for evaluating the present circumstances, reinforcing the use of predisposition or boosting the reliance on new information.

In contrast, most of the theories in social psychology such as Group Priming have a completely different understanding of the role of fear and anxiety with regard to ethnic identification. Namely, they claim that some essential human psychological needs - need for belonging, survival and self-worth- can only be fulfilled through group membership (Mack 1983). The *need for belonging* represents an emotional attachment through which an individual seeks an alternative to solitary existence, which is reinforced by positive emotions associated with membership in an ethnic group or nation. Further, achieving a sense of *self-worth and internal pride* is also dependent on group contact and association with a community (Davis 1999: 29). Finally, *the need for security*, which seems to be the most important one for a discussion about the impact of fear and anxiety on political behaviour. The need for survival, security and safety

may be found especially through group participation. As a result of socialization individuals learn their membership in various collectives and begin to draw distinction between those within the group and those outside of the group. "Whether rational or not, individuals develop anxiety and latent fears about the intentions of 'outsiders', leading them to embrace the collective (racial, ethnic or national group) as a protector from perceived threats" (Davis 1999: 29). Delamater et al. (1969: 322) further describe symbolic commitment to the nation, where an individual is emotionally attached to values and symbols of collective. "Such a commitment is characterized by a strong emotional investment in the nation and its values, and a positive affective orientation to its symbols. A symbolically integrated individual gives a high priority to his role as a national, and derives direct and intrinsic emotional satisfaction from his enactment of this role" (Delamater et al. 1969: 322). In times of turmoil, threat or disruption of traditional ties, symbolic commitment to the nation may flourish as a mean of reducing anxiety while maintaining identity and group cohesiveness. This affective involvement is further marked by a sentimental attachment to the homeland, where the nation is valued as the familiar, the secure, and the place of pleasant memories (Davis 1999: 30).

Lastly, in addition to the literature in social psychology, there is also a great amount of research in clinical psychology on how perceived threat to one's physical existence fosters in-group bias. Namely, experiments in which they assessed the impact of death-related thoughts on a series of in-group measures. Participants in the mortality salience condition displayed stronger identification, perceived greater in-group entitativity and scored higher on in-group bias measures (Castano et al. 2002). Certain anthropologists argued that such a behavior has a strong evolutionary basis. More precisely, that the combination of the animal instinct to survive and the humans' awareness of the inevitability of death gives rise to the potential for a paralyzing terror that would make life impossible. Compared to participants in the control condition, mortality salience participants have been found to value behavior consistent with their cultural

worldview and to degrade behaviors inconsistent with such a view. Similarly, it has been found that when personal death was made salient, participants in a minimal group paradigm displayed greater levels of in-group bias than when death was not made salient (Castano et al. 2002).

From this perspective it feels less intuitive to claim that people would respond to threatening stimuli by dropping the safety of their collective identity and engaging into 'cold', calculated, deliberative decision-making. When it comes to decision making in politics, this need for safety might not take pervasive form and manifest itself necessarily through the explicit expression of identification with an ethnic group, but it would be enough to use group endorsement cues in selecting and processing information.

2.3 Point of Divergence

In this section, I set out the reasons why I believe that the postulates of the AI theory are not applicable when it comes to the ethnically divided societies, and why I believe that citizens in a state of anxiety/fear citizens might be prevented from becoming "more rational" and better decisions-makers. First, I will present a theoretical explanation for why, in such societies, it should be expected that in a state of anxiety individuals to be selective and favour the information coming from the source endorsed by one group, and discrimination sources endorsed by other groups. Second, I will explain the reasons why I consider the theoretical position that claims that in a state of anxiety citizens are able to make better, more balanced decision, overly optimistic. Specifically, relying on literature in the field of cognitive and clinical psychology, I will hypothesize that anxiety can lead to cognitive biases that can prevent individuals from making rational decisions.

2.3.1 Ingroup Bias

Group-based attitudes and behavior comes from basic cognitive categorization processes that partition the social world into *in-groups* and *out-groups* (Brewer 2007). Intergroup bias is understood as a systematic tendency to evaluate one's own membership group (in-group) or its members more favorable than a non-members (out-group). More precisely, in-group bias can include favoring the in-group and/or derogating the out-group (Hewstone et al. 2002). In-group favoritism gives rise to intergroup discrimination regardless of attitudes toward specific out-groups. Namely, attitudes and emotions towards specific out-groups reflect the nature of the relationship between in-group and out-group that have repercussions for the preservation or improvement of in-group resources, values, and well-being (Brewer 2007:695). The term "bias" here implies that response is unfair or unjustifiable, that it goes beyond the objective requirements or evidence of the situation (Brewer & Brown 1998, in Gilbert et al. 1998). In respect to my study, in-group bias in terms of information seeking would mean that beyond any objective and substantive reason Montenegrins favor information that come from the in-group members and discriminate, for example, Serbian, out-group sources. There are quite a few theories in social psychology that try to explain the origins of such favoritism. I will here discuss those that, I believe, in a best manner tackle the role of emotions in the perseverance of group identity.

The in-group reciprocity hypothesis suggests that discrimination in the Minimal Group Paradigm (MGP) represents utilitarian behavior aimed at maximizing economic self-interest. More precisely, in-group members are suspected to follow a norm of reciprocity and exchange favorable allocations with other members (Graetner & Insko 2000). Results from a few experimental studies propose that subjects expected in-group members to make in-group favoring allocations. Beside in-group reciprocity, another process drives this bias, that is, out-

group fear. The out-group fear hypothesis (Ng 1981, in Graetner & Insko 2000) proposes that discrimination reflects an expectation that out group members will behave in favor of their own group and discriminate others. Some studies (Locksley 1980) reported that participants were responsive to the prior allocation of out-group members, and they revealed more bias when out-group members previously allocated more resources to the out-group. Given that experimental treatment covers the topic of employment this is a crucial thing. Namely, it follows that, if a general perception of unequal redistribution across ethnic groups exist in a society, than fear of out-group behavior might sway behavior towards more in-group favoritism.

Similarly, the few studies that investigated effects of anxiety on intergroup contact showed that intergroup anxiety typically results in avoidance of the initiation of intergroup contact (Zomeren et al. 2007). As stated by Eysenck (1997) anxiety increases individuals' threat of assessment of the object of their anxiety. In a situation of widespread perception of discriminatory behavior of out-group members, intergroup anxiety may intensify negative and offensive reactions to in order to protect the self or in-group member. Similarly, it has been found that fear/anxiety is predicting out-group avoidance. This means that once an outside threat is perceived to be related to intergroup relations, in-group member will tend to avoid contact (communication) with 'outsiders' while favoring information gathered from 'insiders'.

2.3.2 Anxiety and Cognitive Biases: Is a Worried Citizen a Better Citizen?

One of the lessons from the AI's theoretical perspective is that worrisome, anxious citizens are able to make more rational, balanced and at the end better decision. However, a bulk of literature in personality psychology and disorders well established the existence of serious cognitive biases in regards to decision making under such emotional state. The two most often

discussed biases are *attentional vigilance* to cues associated with threat and *increased perception* of the likelihood of occurrence of negative events (Mathews 1997).

The crucial moment for arousal of anxiety is the perception of threat and danger. Considerable evidence from experimental studies demonstrates that high anxious subjects allocate their cognitive resources more readily to threatening compared to non-threatening stimuli (Mitte 2007). For most people worry and anxiety is a well-known and unwelcome experience. Thoughts about feared events intrude constantly into “awareness, concentration and almost any task becomes difficult if not impossible, and we become more or less incapable of diverting attention away from the topic of concern” (Mathews et al. 1997). It seems to be widely accepted in social and evolutionary psychology that behavioral responses to fear evolved mainly to favor fight or rapid escape as a means of surviving predators attack. “Perceptual cues associated with threat need to be identified rapidly, and attended to vigilantly: processing of other less critical attributes are of secondary importance” (Mitte 2007). Highly anxious individuals have been proven to give more attention to threatening stimuli (Eysenck 1997). Priority in dangerous situation is always given to anything that is a potential threat, even if it may have other different interpretations of the threatening object” the cost of a miss is much greater than that of a false alarm.” (Mathews 1997). In short, an individual can easily miss political information that is still very relevant for his decision, but given that this information is less vital than a threatening one, it may actively need to be inhibited.

Secondly, changes in perception include a tendency to interpret essentially ambiguous information in favor of the most threatening meaning. As Mathews (1997) states “indeed, there is strong evidence that anxiety is associated with increased subjective risk of negative events, and a corresponding shift in the interpretation of ambiguous situations”. Therefore, anxious people tend to overestimate the risk of a feared outcome when compared with controls. When exposed to ambiguous information that could support either a threatening or a benign

interpretation anxious individuals are comparably more likely to adopt the threatening meaning. The tendency of anxious subjects to provide threatening rather than neutral interpretations of ambiguous sentences appears to be a fairly general one (Eysenck 1991). “In most of these studies subjects high in trait anxiety and currently anxious patients were more likely to opt for the threat-related spellings, to recognize the threat versions, to speed up lexical decisions to the threat-related words, or to read faster the disambiguating versions conforming threat, compared with the neutral versions and with subjects low in anxiety or recovered from clinical anxiety” (Calvo & Castillo 2001).

2.4 Hypotheses and Expectations

In my research I question the AI's understanding of the relationship between anxiety, habitual thinking and information seeking in divided societies. Voters in these countries maybe still did not manage to identify with parties as they did in well-established democracies. Or even more likely, this basic ethnic cleavage has been translated into party life and have frozen the party competition along those lines. Unfortunately, for such societies, the idea that in the state of anxiety and fear an individual would drop ethnic prejudices and identity and base decision more on information at hand might sound overly idealistic. Even more, it seems somehow inconsistent with historical events. In Yugoslavia at the beginning of the 1990 in the fear of the country falling apart, the economic crisis translated into ethnic tensions and undoubtedly induced extreme anxiety. But this appears not to have produced a more thoughtful behaviour based on careful re-evaluation. Instead, the trauma induced a near-panicked behaviour which led back to ethnical hatred and the bloodiest civil in Europe. It seems that, in this case, anxiety did not interrupt habitual behaviour and allowed engagement in more effortful and rational information processing.

I agree with the expectation that compared to the condition of enthusiasm, individuals under the state of anxiety will tend to seek more information. However, I argue that anxiety does not lead people to drop their ethnic perception of politics, but on the contrary - fear/anxiety will result in stronger group identification. Hence, I doubt the possibility of 'cold' and rational updating of new information. I expect this process to be marked by selective exposure, and therefore, produce reinforcement rather than a weakening effect. I take people to be unable to break free from their prior sentiments and cognitive biases when evaluating information on political issues. Based on the theory I have outlined above I formulated the following hypotheses:

H1: Subjects in the anxiety condition will seek for more information compared to the other two conditions

H2: They will be more selective in favour of information coming from in-group sources while discriminating information coming from out-group sources

H3: The attention of subjects in the anxiety treatment will be biased towards the threatening object (cause/source of danger), while paying less attention to other relevant information

Chapter 3 - Methodology

In order to test my theoretical expectation I designed a computer based experiment. The strength of the experimental approach is that it allows me to isolate the emotional reactions to political information. Furthermore, by controlling the content of messages to which subjects are exposed I can directly test the relationship between information and affective state. Emotions are short-term responses that often escape awareness, making it difficult to determine their impact once an emotion has subsided. For this reason, observation in close proximity to when emotions are triggered is desirable (Brader 2005: 391). However, I am aware of an obvious deficiency of this approach which forced me to look at the relationship between information and affects after a very short period of time (few minutes). This means I am prevented from analysing possible delays and how the effect of information decays as time goes by. Conversely, survey research as an alternative would offer longer time delays but with no possibility to control for what information citizens have received in the meantime. The required level of control, as Lodge et al. (1995:321) argued can only be obtained in an experimental setting where the researcher has the ability to systematically influence the amount, type, and timing of the information that subject receive. Therefore, given the nature of my study, by enabling me to rule out potential confounds through random assignment to treatment conditions, the experimental method offers more advantages than other alternatives.

3.1 Dynamic Process Tracing Environment Methodology (DPTE)

I use Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE) methodology, developed by Redlawsk and Lau (see Lau and Redlawks 2001). DPTE is a technique for studying decision making in an environment in which information changes over time. This is the revision of the classic "information board" in which none of the specific information is actually visible but subjects

must actively choose the desired information. While this can potentially be useful in some types of research, it is not so analogue to the environment in which citizens obtain political information these days. First, a decision-maker in classical informational board can access any particular information any time he/she wants, while citizens in the political arena face a very dynamic informational environment in which information available at one point could be harder to find afterwards. Second, in a standard information board all the messages are equally accessible, while in political communication certain types of information are easier to find than others (Lau & Redlawsk 2001:955). In short, decision making in a classic information board is too easy and controllable, which is not the case in the setting in which voters usually make their political decisions.

Much information in the social world comes to us without any active effort of a decision maker to learn a particular information. Voters are sometimes flooded by far more information than they can possibly process. DPTE simulates this more "chaotic" mode of presentation by having information scroll down a computer screen rather than remaining fixed in place (DPTE Manual v. 3.0 Documentation)². The user sees labels corresponding to different sources, and a small amount of information very similar to a newspapers headlines. Only limited number of these labels is visible on the computer screen at any one time. Subjects access information behind the label by clicking on it. The scrolling continues in the background while the detailed information is read creating a "cost" in terms of missed information, mimicking the dynamic nature of election information flow. This scrolling format makes the task of processing political information much less manageable for the subject. In addition, the relative likelihood of any particular piece of information becoming available is controlled, so that some information is much easier to obtain because it appears much more often than other types on information. All

² Available at: http://dppe.polisci.uiowa.edu/dppe/assets/docs/DPTE_Help_Manual.pdf

of these features make DPTE more analogue to a political campaign environment - or to any dynamic social situation (DPTE Manual v. 3.0 Documentation).³

3.2 Pilot Study

Before conducting the computer-based experiment I designed a paper-based pilot study with the aim of testing how participants react to treatments and whether they are able to make a distinction between various emotions, especially anxiety and anger. The pilot study also provided me with an opportunity to see how subjects respond to questionnaires and to test the reliability of my scales. In the text that follows I explain the main features of the pilot study and the scales I later used in the “real” experiment.

3.2.1 Design

Seventy students from the Department of Political Science at the University of Montenegro, in Podgorica participated in this study. Data was collected between 25. of April and 08. of May 2014.

3.2.1.1 Pre-treatment phase

In the pre-treatment section, subjects answered two sets of questions. First, a *political knowledge* battery, which is composed of 15 questions measuring subjects’ knowledge about current Montenegrin politics, political system and foreign affair priorities. In terms of processing of political information, political novices often show an increased level of explicit cognitive effort, which might significantly affect the amount of time they spend collecting information. Another possibility is that political sophisticates have a greater empathic connection to political figures and issues than political beginners. Hence, as Schreiber

³ Retrieved from the Dynamic Process Tracing Environment v. 3.0 Documentation, pp.1

(2007:56) argues, political sophistication have an affective component. For this reason it is important to see whether political sophisticates rely more on implicit associations when processing information. Few studies suggest we should expect different levels of controlled cognitive processes (see Lau & Redlawsk 2001).

Secondly, an *ideology battery* was introduced. Ideological positions are operationalized using 40 concepts measured on a three point scale (*approve*, *disapprove* and *not sure*). Although at this point I have no expectations or reasons to believe that people from the opposite sides of the ideological spectrum process information in a significantly different manner, due to the fact that treatment scripts debate the unemployment issue, it seems necessary to control for it.

3.2.1.2 Treatment phase

After finishing pre-treatment questionnaires subjects were faced with a treatment stimuli. I used treatment scripts in the form of newspaper articles. Each article is used to induce distinct emotional cues: *anxiety*, *enthusiasm* and *neutral* as a control. Subjects were randomly assigned to an experimental condition. The topic of the newspaper article is youth unemployment. A negative script serves as the baseline for testing the impact of anxiety (fear), while a positive script serves as the baseline for testing the impact of enthusiasm on information seeking desire and ethnic group identification. The content of the control script is neutral and related to a student life, without any references to future economic conditions or employment possibilities. All the scripts were kept as similar as possible, with same 'actors', length and structure (Appendix B).

Treatment scripts intentionally covered a “non-political” topic. In a country with such a turbulent recent political history many things are politicized beyond a reasonable extent. Similarly, it is hard to find a political issue that is not in the same time considered to be a matter

of ethnic dispute or separation. Many studies in social psychology that deal with anxiety use physical threat to induce this necessary level of anxiety/fear. However, I find this type of stimuli substantively different from those that are relevant for the political communications. First, no matter how serious the consequences of political decisions are, they rarely involve mass endangering of peoples' physical existence. Second, such a serious threat could over-stimuli participants in the experiment. On the other hand, typical political issues often include a reference to ethnic conflict that could "contaminate" the experiment by artificially pushing them towards favouring in-group behaviour. For this reason it was necessary to find one issue which is not primarily fuelled by ethnic tension. In other words, I needed an issue that does not strike at all as ethnically related but still has the potential to make people feel anxious. Thus, I decided to go with an economic task – youth unemployment – which should equally affects all ethnic groups. In the treatment scripts actors make no reference to how the impossibility of finding job after the graduation could upset various groups in a different manner. In contrast, they always referred to student population at large and underlying their "common faith". The fact that students can emotionally relate with this issue regardless of them belonging to distinct ethnic groups makes it, I strongly believe, an adequate treatment stimuli.

3.2.1.3 Post-treatment phase

In the post-treatment section subjects were first asked to provide an answer to questions that serve as a manipulation check. More specifically, they were asked to report how they felt after reading a newspaper article. The range of emotions included: *enthusiasm, pride, hope, anger, bitterness, contempt, wariness, fear* and *anxiety*. Afterwards, different measures of information seeking desire are introduced. Firstly, they were asked *how much time* do they intend to spend during the next week on getting relevant information using different sources (newspapers, TV, internet, discussions etc.). Secondly, *correct recall* assignment is introduced as a more

substantive check of how much attention subjects' paid to information and details within a newspaper article. These questions refer to the facts they have read about (people, numbers, and main ideas) in the treatment. Lastly, students were asked to come up with the list of topics they would like to read about more. The number of topics listed, in addition to previously mentioned questions, was used as a proxy measure of information seeking desire.

The last section of the experiment is a set of questions meant to measure ethnic group identification. This battery of questions was divided into two parts. The first part is a ten item scale measuring the level of subjects' identification with their ethnic group. The second part serves as a proxy of the ethnic group polarization and it contains a number of questions referring to the relationship between different ethnic groups.

3.2.2 Pilot study results

As mentioned before, data was collected among students of political science and, in total, seventy students took part in the study. All of the subjects participated for partial fulfillment of course requirements. Respondents on average spent around twenty minutes filling out survey questionnaires and reading materials. Women made up 77 percent of the participants in the experiment, roughly 69 percent of the sample were Montenegrins, 17 percent Serbians, while the other nationalities were represented with 1.5 to 7.5 percent of respondents. Students were randomly assigned to one of three groups, with roughly equal group sizes. Random assignment was successful and subjects from different groups did not differ significantly at all in their demographics, political knowledge or political orientation

3.2.2.1 Reliability of scales

Political knowledge items were taken from MTurk Survey which was conducted online by the Political Behavior Research Group (the battery was designed by Paul Weith). However, these questions originally referred to U.S. politics, so they needed to be adjusted to the Montenegrin context, which is a very different political system with a dissimilar structure of political institutions, system characteristics, foreign affairs issues etc. Further, the original scale had more questions but some of them were impossible to adjust and therefore needed to be excluded. Considering that I have made serious changes it is important to check if the reliability of scales was impaired in the process. Analysis showed that Cronbach's Alpha coefficient for the 15 knowledge items was estimated at 0.72. Therefore, it surpassed the threshold usually considered to be satisfying in order to reasonably merge multi-items scale into one composite measure. Further, reliability would only negligibly differ if any of items were dropped (0.01, -0.02). In short, analysis gave enough evidence to conclude that the questions are measuring the same thing, and that merging them into a composite score in later experiment would be a reasonable decision to make.

When it comes to *ethnic identification* scale Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was estimated at 0.88, which in essence means that eighty eight percent of the variability in the composite score made by combining these ten items will be considered as internally consistent reliable variance. This is very high level of reliability, so I can safely conclude that all the items are measuring the same thing. In a similar manner *ethnic polarization* scale proved to be a reliable measure. Namely Cronbach's Alpha coefficient for the composite score made up from six items was 0.80. Like in previous case, no improvements were possible if any of the items was excluded.

3.2.2.2 Manipulation check

An explanatory factor analysis of ten emotion items produced a three factor solution. I used the principal axis factoring extraction method with oblimin rotation on whole sample. Together all three factors explained seventy percent of the variance. The first factor showed moderate loadings on negative items *afraid*, *anxious*, *uneasy*, (from 0.26 to 0.35), strong loadings on items *angry*, *hateful*, *bitter*, *contempt* (from 0.73 to 0.93), and negative loadings on positive emotions (from - 0.04 to -0.20). The same stands for the other two factors, just with different loadings direction and intensity. Namely, it seems that subjects were capable of making distinction between different negative emotions, which is suspected to lead to different behavioral outcomes. A factor analysis on a sub-sample of respondents in anxiety treatment showed similar results.

While this separation is theoretically very important, at this point it does not say anything about behavioral outcomes of a particular emotional state. It still remains to be tested in a computer-based experiment, which allows to take a better grasp of post-treatment behavior. In the paper-based study I was not able to test information seeking in a completely desired manner, not without being able to measure the length of exposure and source selectivity. Measurements of a self-reported interest, facts recall etc., I believe are good proxies, and they can give some sense of the direction of behavior, but at the end they are insufficient for any valid inference.

3.3 Experimental Design

3.3.1 Participants

The main, computer-based experiment was conducted among undergraduate students of the Department of Political Science at the University of Montenegro, in Podgorica (N=121). They participated for a partial fulfilment of course requirements. Data collection took place from 15 of April to 01. of May 2015. The experiment went as follows:

3.3.2 Pre-treatment stage

In the pre-treatment section subjects answered a set of seven demographic questions. These include questions about nationality, religious affiliation, mother tongue etc. that have a purpose of both providing information about demographics and putting subjects' minds in the "identity perspective" for what is coming afterwards. Given that some of the participants in the pilot study have characterized scales measuring political knowledge and partisanship as extensive and a bit more frustrating, I decided to introduce them in the post-treatment stage so that respondents remain as concentrated as possible for the most substantive part of the design - treatment and informational board.

3.3.3 Treatment stage

The treatment section started with a 250 word long *notification* that provide basic information about Montenegrin society and politics. More precisely, the provided info consisted of recent census data about ethnic composition, religious denominations and language in use (Appendix A). These issues are very political in the given context and much related to the question of national independence that is the dividing point on which these ethnicities differ. This notification had two purposes. Primarily it is used to additionally prime people to think in

categories of identity. Although this might artificially push people towards a particular way of reasoning, this shift is constant for all treatment groups, and therefore it should not affect the difference between groups. Second, the amount of time needed for each of the subjects to read this notification will be used as a reading speed baseline.

After the notification subjects are introduced with the main treatment. I use treatment scripts in the form of newspaper articles. Each article is used to induce distinct emotional states: *anxiety*, *enthusiasm* and *neutral* as a control. Subjects are randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions. The topic of the newspaper article is youth unemployment. A negative script serves as the baseline for testing the impact of anxiety (fear), while a positive script serves as the baseline or testing the impact of enthusiasm on information seeking desire and in-group selectivity. The content of the control script is neutral and related to the student life. It does not contain any references to future economic conditions or employment possibilities. All the scripts are kept as similar as possible, with the same actors, length and structure (Appendix B). Unemployment statistics, as well as the names of the actors (spokesperson, student) mentioned in the scripts are fictitious with the purpose of reducing the possibility of making a Type I error.

In addition to textual stimuli used in the pilot, the newspaper articles contain supplementary visual stimulation in the form of a picture. Previous neuropsychological research (Baumgartner 2006) examining emotional processes have used visual stimuli in order to induce emotions. In the majority of these studies arousing pictures of the International Affective Picture Systems (Lang et al. 1995) and Pictures of Facial Affect (Ekman 1982) were usually used to evoke three basic emotions of happiness, sadness and fear (Baumgartner 2006). The material these studies use include either facial expressions or scenes that depict a situation that fits the desirable emotion (positive or negative). The treatment I designed, therefore, combine stimuli from different modalities, text and pictures, depicting real-life situation and emotional experiences. Pictures in the treatment scripts portray people in a situation similar to the one newspaper article

is dealing with, with non-verbal expression that suggest the emotions they feel. This should be an additional push for subjects to experience the emotion desired by the experimental design.

3.3.4 Informational Board

Before participants get faced with the interactive informational board they are informed of its basic functionalities. Instructions contain information the about amount of time dedicated to this phase. Namely, this stage has a time-limit of 8 and a half minutes after which the experiment will automatically go to the next stage. Second, subject will be notified that the information change constantly and therefore they will not be able to access the same information during the whole time of this sub-stage. Some of the headlines will be more frequent than other, but once they open a certain item a portion of other available information will be replaced. Before choosing the particular item only the name of the source and short headline will be visible to subjects. Most of the sources names will be created in a way to differ from the real names but still resemble the group/political background. Namely, this is necessary if subject are about to use the source as a cue.

I total, 23 informational cards will be available (Appendix D), but only 6 of them at the same time. They will differ in length, but most of the items will rarely exceed 120 words. Informational cards can be broadly put into four categories: *sources*, *consequences*, and *possible solutions* of youth unemployment, and as an addition there is a category of *general politics* items. Potential psychological biases that people might have in certain emotional states could push subject towards different dimension of a given issue. As I discussed earlier, participants in the pilot study were able to distinguish between anxiety/fear, anger and enthusiasm, and these emotions tend to focus our attention differently. Similarly, I am interested to see whether more anxious subjects, as some literature suggests, tend to focus more on the threat object at the cost of other also relevant information. The category of general politics

information cover broader political issues in the country and the world. Some of them are about the most important domestic issues like corruption, judiciary, sexual minority right, as well as foreign affairs topic like EU and NATO integrations. Beside country specific information a smaller portion of this category will be dedicated to major political issues in the world like the Ukraine crisis, ISIL etc. I distinguished between all of these categories in order to be able to analyse whether a potential difference in information seeking desire spreads to other areas of political life or remains only within the borders of the particular topic tackled by the treatment.

The central area of the screen contains the six information boxes, which continuously move down the screen, with the bottom boxes disappearing when new an information box appears at the top of the screen. The pace of replacement will be set to 16 seconds, which means that every 16 seconds a new item scrolls onto the screen as one item scrolls off the bottom. In this stage subjects will click on the boxes to learn more details about information. Once a box is clicked on it will present new screen with written information related to the headline of the box. When subject is done reading a particular piece of information he is one click away from coming back to the main screen. However, the substance of the main screen may be different given that scrolling has continued in the background while subject was reading a particular piece of information. Information boxes are ordered randomly and added from the list of all information items. Nevertheless, seven items are shown twice but never in the same time.

3.3.4.1 Measuring Informational Board Behavior

The process tracing approach that focuses on information flow, allows me to collect a comprehensive set of data, and specifically to better understand the differences in information seeking/processing. The computer is continuously recording the information boxes that are presented to the subject, and which ones have been selected. Further, time is recorded when the selection is made, as well as the time when the participant returned to the main screen. I employed three different measures of information seeking and selective exposure. The first, and

the most simple, measure is a raw counts of information accessed. More precisely, this is measured by the number of clicks on flow items. The second, and a more substantive measurement is amount of time dedicated to reading. I created a cumulative measure by adding portions of time spent reading all the items in the informational board. Similarly, when I test how much attention subjects dedicated to different types of information I add only items that belong to the particular category. Due to the fact that some of the items are longer than the others, in order to correct for that I also created a measure of "seconds per one hundred words". Third measure that I use measures priority with which information from the particular category has been accessed. As Lau and Redlawsk (2006: 236) proposed, if a cue is useful to the voter, then the sooner it is examined the more useful it ought to be. The most straightforward measure of such selectivity is to record how much time elapsed from an item appearing until the item was opened. The lower number is, the higher the priority of access will be.

3.3.5 Post-Treatment Stage

After finishing the most substantive part of the experiment subjects answered three batteries of question that were also part of the pilot project and showed a satisfying level of reliability. A *political knowledge* battery, which includes 15 questions to measure knowledge about current Montenegrin politics, political system in general and foreign priorities. Lastly, I introduced an additional measure of partisanship measuring how close the respondent is to each of the major parties: *Democratic Party of Socialists* (DPS – ruling party), *Social Democratic Party* (SDP – more extreme pro-Montenegrin party), *Democratic Front* (DF – strongest pro-Serbian opposition coalition), *Socialist Peoples' Party* (SNP- pro-Serbian; former Milosevic allies), *Positive Montenegro/Civil Movement* (PCG - pro-Montenegrin moderates), *Bosniaks' Party* (BS- national party), *Albanian Union* (AU- national party), and *Croatian Civil Initiative* (HGI – national party).

Chapter 4 – Analysis and Results

4.1 Sample Characteristics

4.1.1 Demographics

In total, one hundred and twenty one students from the Department of Political Science at University of Montenegro participated in the experiment. On average, a subject needed approximately 25 minutes to finish the experiment. Computer program randomly assigned them to one of the three experimental conditions: *anxiety*, *enthusiasm* and *control*. At the end, groups were approximately equal in size. More precisely, 41 respondents were assigned to anxiety treatment group, 38 in enthusiasm and 42 in control group.

In terms of demographics, Montenegrins were overrepresented by constituting almost 75% of the sample, while only 17% of Serbian nationality. However once we take into account religion denomination and mother language, then the percentages of Montenegrins and what we might call “political Serbs” gets to the more balanced and population-alike ratio (30%). However, in addition to these two ethnicities, my sample included only three Bosnians which is not sufficient for any kind of analysis. For this reason I will reduce the scope of it by analyzing two biggest ethnicities and their preferred parties. On the other hand sample remains severely biased in favor of women. Namely, 73% of subjects in the sample are females. This comes from the gender structure of students at the Department of Political Science where males are underrepresented. However, given that I do not see the reason why female students should be expected to react differently to treatments, I believe this misbalance has no major consequences for the matter of my inquiry. Most of the students (63%) who took part are at the second or the third year of study, 21% at fourth, 13% MA students, and only 3% are first year students.

4.1.2 Political Sophistication and Party Affiliation

As explained before, subjects' political sophistication was measured using 15 political knowledge questions. I used correct answers to these questions to make an index of political knowledge that ranges from 0 to 15. On average, students were able to give a correct answer to 8.21 questions ($SD = 3.08$). The least knowledgeable subject in the sample was able to answer correctly only one question, while the most knowledgeable answered all 15 of them. Further, political sophistication is normally distributed across the sample, with skewness and kurtosis values being well within conventionally acceptable limits, -0.032 and -0.364 , respectively. More importantly, treatment groups do not significantly differ in regards to political knowledge. With average of 8.80 subjects in anxiety condition are slightly more knowledgeable than their colleagues in enthusiasm (8.02) and control (7.81) condition.

Party affiliation was measured by asking subjects how close they feel towards 11 parties which at this point have seats in the Parliament. Scale ranged from -5 to 5 where 0 means that subject has no opinion about the party, while 5 represents that subject feels very close to a certain party. As one could expect, all the parties have negative average "grades". Beside two new "parties", *Citizens Movement* and *Demos*, which are still independent MPs clubs and about whom subjects mostly could not possibly have opinion (-0.56), all other parties' means ranged between -1.20 and -2.75 . The most unlikeable party is the *New Serbian Democracy*, while the ruling *Democratic Party of Socialist* has largest standard deviation (3.11). Subjects feelings about ruling party are more polarized compared to others (SD mostly around 2.5). In regards to party affiliation treatment groups proved to be almost equal. The only major difference (1.9 point) is between anxiety and control group in respect to *Socialist Democratic Party*. As in the case of political knowledge party evaluations follow a normal distribution.

4.2 Manipulation Check

When it comes to treatment manipulation I am mostly interested in two things: intensity of subjects' feelings after reading stimuli and whether they were able to make a distinction between different types of negative emotions. Certainly, subjects in anxiety treatment scored highest on the negative emotions. Interestingly, on average they scored slightly higher on „anger dimensions” (*anger, bitterness and contempt*) – 6.05 - than on the anxiety/fear dimensions (*anxiety, fear and wariness*) – 5.63. However, the most salient feeling in this group was *wariness*, where on average subjects scored 7.21 (1-10 scale). In terms of intensity situation is very similar in second treatment group, with a difference that even in this group there are few subjects that reported feeling angry (3.67) after reading positive stimuli. This is probably due to the fact that even though they have read story about the decrease of youth unemployment, they still felt that government is not doing enough. Lastly, subjects in a control group scored lowest on all of the emotions. This is expected given that newspaper article they have read was intentionally meant to keep them emotionally unengaged. Treatment stimuli in this case was about the Students' Day and student's activism. For this reason, I believe, they did score higher than expected on *pride* (4.32) but on all other emotions they scores were stable between 0 and 2. Although there is some unexpected „noise” in reported feelings, I would conclude that for now data provided with enough evidence that treatment stimuli was successful.

4.2.1 Factor Analysis

Explanatory factor analysis was conducted on ten emotion items in order see whether subject were able to make clear distinction between the concepts that are used to operationalize anxiety and anger. I used principal axis factoring extraction method with oblimin rotation which, unlike

varimax, is non-orthogonal solution – it allow factors to be correlated. Given the nature of items in my analysis I believe it is unreasonable not to allow such correlation. Together two factors explained sixty eight percent of variance. I find this proportion of variance explained very satisfactory. Unlike in the case of the pilot study, third factors' contribution to cumulative variance explained was meaningless (0.03), and based on this I decided to confirm that results provided two-factor solution. Ten different emotions can be represented with only two underlying factors without losing more than thirty five percent of variance. Table 1. presents factor loadings, proportion of variance and correlation between two factors.

Table 1. Explanatory Factor Analysis

Emotions	Factor I	Factor II
<i>Enthusiasm</i>	-0.08	0.79
<i>Hope</i>	0.03	0.93
<i>Pride</i>	-0.01	0.89
<i>Anger</i>	0.79	-0.03
<i>Bitterness</i>	0.84	-0.03
<i>Contempt</i>	0.91	0.06
<i>Hate</i>	0.64	0.13
<i>Fear</i>	0.65	-0.1
<i>Anxiety</i>	0.83	0.03
<i>Wariness</i>	0.66	-0.18
<i>Cum. Var.</i>	0.41	0.65
<i>Correlations</i>	Factor I	Factor II
Factor I	1	-0.27
Factor II	-0.27	1

As we can clearly see, the first factor loads highly on all negative items and very low on all positive emotions. The situation is quite similar with the second, the happiness factor. It loads strongly on three positive emotions, while coefficients on all negative emotions remain low. Therefore, it seems that the two-factor solution for emotions induced by the treatments support the two valence model. Namely subjects were clearly incapable of making distinction between different negative emotions, anxiety/fear and anger, which supposedly lead to different

behavioral outcomes. Of course, this might be due to specific topic of the stimuli, but in this particular case once subject became anxious about the youth unemployment they also felt angry. Factor analysis on a sub-sample of respondents in anxiety treatment showed similar results. Therefore, in future analyses I will not make any distinctions between two sets of negative emotions when investigating informational board behavior.

Interestingly, these results are different from one in the pilot study where factor analysis gave three factor solution. At this point I cannot be completely sure what might be the reasons behind such a difference. However, two design features of computer based experiment could possibly have an effect on subjects' reported feelings. First, in contrast to pilot study treatment scripts in anxiety and enthusiasm condition were followed by a picture depicting students in similar situation or state of mind. This additional visual stimulation maybe worked in direction of converging negative emotions. Second, in the paper-based pilot experiment participants were able to see whole list of emotions for which they need to provide an answer. In other words, the fact that distinction between emotions has been already made might in fact give an impression to subjects they have to follow such distinction too. Whereas in the computer based experiment, questions came one after another and students were not able of apprehend which emotions will follow⁴, which could work in favor of scoring equally high on all negative emotions.

4.3 Informational Board Behavior

The most substantive part of my experimental design is post-treatment informational board. I used it to measure dependent variables and test my hypotheses. This phase consisted of 23 flow items (newspaper headlines), that have been broadly classified into the four categories: *causes*,

⁴ This observation is only partially derived from my intuition, but mostly based on comments of participants. Some of them explained that once there were asked about other emotions they wished to slightly change their answers to previous ones. However, I believe this „blind“ set up was less biased and better grasped the affect effect.

consequences, and *possible solutions* of youth unemployment problem, as well as additional *general political information* items. Seven of these were set to repeat once more during this phase, which in total makes thirty items. Flow pace was set to 16 seconds after which the “oldest” information was dropped in favor of new one. On average students clicked on 17 flow items. This sub-stage had a fixed time of eight and a half minutes, meaning that in theory subjects could have spent no more than 510 seconds reading information. Subjects in the sample averagely spent 326 seconds reading additional information (SD=136.973). I excluded from my analysis 8 subjects that did not engage into any kind of activity during this phase⁵. While the aggregate picture is important in the exploratory phase, it does not touch upon the most crucial question of this research – how information seeking, both quantitatively and qualitatively, differs across the treatment groups. In the next section I will more concretely test my expectations

4.4 Hypotheses testing

4.4.1 Information seeking

H1: Subjects in the anxiety condition will seek for more information compared to the other two conditions

I will start with my first hypothesis which is based on theoretical expectation that subjects in anxiety treatment will express higher level of information seeking desire. As previously theorized by Marcus & MacKuen (1993), and later by many others, once something unexpected

⁵ One could argue that complete lack of willingness to seek additional information is still a valid data. I agree that such a lack of desire to further access any political information could be due to the given stimuli. However, closer look into the data showed that these subjects spent significantly less time reading treatment stimuli than others. While on average it took 71 seconds for other participants to read treatment script these few students spent only 3-6 seconds reading it. In short, they opened treatment scripts, closed it and immediately skipped to the next section. Therefore, I decided that erasing these outliers is only reasonable thing to do.

emerges the surveillance system raises awareness and prepares us to respond to possible danger. Anxiety, therefore, supposedly interrupts a routine behavior and fosters engagement into more effortful information processing. On theoretical grounds this is something where opposing theories mostly comply. Hence, when anxiety alerts to potential danger we should expect people to pay more attention and therefore rely more heavily on information gathered.

In order to quantitatively test whether indeed anxiety makes people seek for more information I adopted two measures. First is the number of times each subject accessed available information, which is measured by the number of clicks on flow items. Descriptive statistics show that subjects in both anxiety and enthusiasm group accessed information more frequently than students in control group. More precisely, on average students in control group sought for ~ 13 (SD = 7.23) additional information, while students in enthusiasm and anxiety condition accessed ~ 15 (SD = 7.45), and ~20 (SD = 7.34). Although the differences here might not seem necessarily striking at first, one should keep in mind that the time and the total number of information available to subjects was limited.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for number of clicks on flow items

Group	Mean	SD	Skew	Kurtosis	Minimum	Max	Valid N
<i>Enthusiasm</i>	15.41	7.23	0.69	-0.17	4	30	38
<i>Control</i>	13.62	7.39	0.46	-0.9	3	29	42
<i>Anxiety</i>	20.25	7.34	0.15	-0.99	7	34	41

In order to statistically compare means of two groups I conducted a two sample t-test (two-tailed). My data meets all assumptions of such a test. Groups size are almost equal and variables are normally distributed (see Table 2). Before going further with T-test, I analyzed group variances. Analysis showed ($p > 0.05$) that we failed to reject the null hypothesis of equal variances, and therefore, I carried out T-test under assumption of equal variances. Results show that mean difference (6.62) between anxiety treatment group and control is statistically significant even at 99% level of confidence, $t = -3.84$ ($df = 71$), $p = 0.0002$. More importantly,

mean difference (4.832) between anxiety and enthusiasm condition is statistically significant at the level of 95%, $t = 2.775$ ($df = 68$), $p = 0.007$. In short, with 99% confidence we can conclude that mean differences did not occur due to pure chance but subjects in anxiety condition indeed accessed information more frequently.

Although a number of clicks is useful indicator of one's desire for information, it is obviously not sufficient. Namely, one could easily open many headlines but only superficially go through the content of it without paying much attention, as some of the students did. For this reason a more substantive measure will be how much time, measured in seconds, subjects have spent actually reading items. I measured time elapsed from opening each item until closing it, add up all these sequences in one cumulative variable. I will later break down this to smaller groups according to the type of information and conduct more detailed analysis, however, at this point I am mostly interested whether subjects in anxiety treatment, at large, tend to be more attentive. Table 3. shows descriptive statistics across groups. As we can see, subjects in anxiety condition dedicated comparably more time collecting information than other two groups.

Table 3. *Descriptive statistics for attentiveness to flow items (in seconds)*

Group	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum	Skew	Kurtosis	n
<i>Enthusiasm</i>	299.69	134.10	27.16	460.11	-0.95	-0.19	38
<i>Control</i>	285.54	141.26	24.65	473.52	-0.97	-0.24	42
<i>Anxiety</i>	366.52	103.88	34.02	464.27	-0.99	2.77	41

Before conducting T-tests I again checked for assumption. Although descriptive statistics show that variability measures are within conventional limits (skew from -1 to 1, and kurtosis from -5 to 5), we see that distribution within all groups are skewed and almost exceeding critical values. Mean difference between subjects in enthusiasm and those in anxiety treatment is approximately 67 seconds. Two-sample t-test showed that mean difference is a statistically significant at level of 0.05, $t = -2.42$ ($df = 58$), $p = 0.018$. Therefore, I conclude with 95% confidence that such a difference did not occur due to chance, but it rather resembles difference

that exists in the population. Similarly, mean difference between anxiety and control group, $t = -2.91$ ($df = 62$), is statistically significant, $p = 0.004$.

In order to make sure that difference between groups indeed comes from increased desire for information induced by the stimuli I have to take control for one important thing – length of flow items. As you can see in Appendix B some items are somewhat longer than the others. Thus, it seems possible that subjects in some groups spent more time reading just because they chose to read longer items, rather than due to induced affect. With a purpose of controlling for such a possibility I created additional measure of time spent reading but relative to the number of words item has. In this way I got measure of - *seconds per 100 words*- which should correct for this possibility. However, once I repeated the analysis and same tests with new dependent variable, ratio remained almost the same. Mean of the anxiety group got decreased for only 6 seconds more than in the case of other two groups. Nevertheless, difference remained statistically significant.

Further, I looked more deeply into the sources of difference across groups. I was interested in seeing where this difference was made. As I explained before online platform was set to repeat again 7 items during this phase. These information appeared once again, but only after they disappeared the first time. More detailed look into the data shows striking difference in attention to information already presented. Students in enthusiasm group scored especially low in this category. While students in anxiety and control group spent, on average, 34 and 15 seconds reading information presented to them for the second time, their average was approximately 7 seconds. To see whether statistically significant results I just presented would hold without repeated items I again analyzed subjects' post-treatment behavior, but this time I excluded these seven items. Two-sample t-test showed that mean difference (~51 seconds) between anxiety (~344) and enthusiasm (293) is not statistically significant at 95% level, $t = -1.79$ ($df = 60$), $p = 0.078$. Although the p-value in this case exceeds conventional 0.05, this result is very close

to being statistically significant. However, given that I plan to stick with the same criteria through the whole study, I can conclude with 95% confidence difference is not statistically significant. In other words, two groups started to differ significantly after information started repeating. Hence, it seems that in the state of anxiety individuals are more prone to accessing information they have seen or read before.

4.4.2 Selective Exposure

The first hypothesis I tested focuses on how much time students have spent collecting political information. While this a matter of pure quantity, the most substantive argument in this research has to do with the quality of information. For this reason, I here test a number of hypotheses that aim to answer the question to which level certain emotions make people more or less selective information-seekers. Broadly speaking, I will test two different types of selectivity. The first one is more essential for the topic of my research and it has to do with sources of information, in-group (congruent) and out-group (incongruent) sources. The second type of selectivity tackles more the content of the information. More precisely, whether content of the item refers to *causes (threats)*, *consequences*, and *solutions* of youth unemployment or it refers to *politics in general*.

My claim is that information seeking and processing in state of anxiety will be marked by in-group bias and therefore stay in a way of balanced decision-making. In short, this would mean that beyond any objective and substantive reason an individual favors information that come from the in-group members and discriminate out-group sources. In my analysis I consider two types of political group identities: *ethnicities* as the most important line of separation in Montenegro, and *partisanship*. I decided to test the hypothesis in both settings due to the fact that party competition is “frozen” (Komar 2013) and does not move beyond the same ethnic cleavage. Lack of diversity in terms of ethnicity and partisanship in the sample forced me to

reduce analysis to only two largest ethnicities (Montenegrins and Serbs) and two largest party coalitions (DPS/SDP and Democratic Front).

I apply two different measures of selectivity to these groups. The first measure is the amount of elapsed time from when an item appeared until subjects accessed it. In short, this is a measure of priority with which information was accessed. Informational board was set to add new flow item every 16 seconds and only six information are presented at the same time. This means that once certain information is presented to subjects, it takes exactly 96 seconds before it disappears. Therefore, if participant did not open item at all he/she scores 96 on this scale, given that for that long he/she avoided particular information. Due to the fact that some information are repeated twice, if participant again avoided information he/she scored 192. The second measure I already used when testing first hypothesis. It is amount of time that participant has dedicated to reading information coming from various sources that are classified into two categories – in-group and out-group. For example, out-group (incongruent) source of information for Serbs is one with Montenegrin identity cue in the headline. Similarly, for people who feel close to the government (DPS/SDP) that would be an information coming from the opposition camp.

H2: Subjects in the anxiety treatment will be more selective in favour of information coming from in-group sources while discriminating information coming from out-group sources

4.4.2.1 Accession priority among ethnicities

In order to test this hypotheses I created subsets based on ethnic group belonging and then conducted t-tests within the group to see whether their selectivity differs across conditions. As we can see in Table 4, Montenegrins in the anxiety/fear treatment, compared to students in enthusiasm treatment, needed significantly more time to access information coming from a pro-Serbian source. At the same time, on average they needed significantly less time to start reading information containing a pro-Montenegrin cue. The difference is in both cases statistically significant at the level of 0.01, which means that with 99% confidence we can conclude that, among Montenegrins, students in anxiety treatment expressed more in-group bias than their colleagues in state of enthusiasm.

Table 4. T-test results - comparison of average accession time (Montenegrins)

	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Enthusiasm</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	44.94	146.28	-101.33	-6.01	34	0.0001
<i>Out-group</i>	256.88	207.96	48.91	1.72	43	0.009

	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	44.94	83.5	-38.55	-3.32	46	0.001
<i>Out-group</i>	256.88	322.51	-66.62	-2.34	45	0.023

Comparison with a control group waived similar results in regards to in-group information, while results in respect to information coming from out-group source stand out from this pattern. Subjects in a control group scored higher than ones in anxiety treatment. However, given that three out of four T-tests go in the line what I have hypothesized, in the case of Montenegrin, I can say that results mostly confirm hypothesis that under the state of anxiety people will be more selective. Individuals in this sub-sample were unable to break free from their prior sentiments when evaluating information on political issues. They expressed higher levels of reliance on group heuristics in time of “insecurity” and sought in-group information significantly sooner than ones from the out-group sources. Data in this case fits an argument

made by Lodge and Taber's (2005: 456) that people spend time and cognitive resources counter-arguing the points that challenge their priors; they seek to insulate themselves from challenging information by actively searching out congruent information.

On the other hand, in the case of Serbs (Table 5.) things look differently. Comparison across treatment groups in many cases did not provide statistically significant results. Regardless of statistical significance it seems fair to acknowledge that results show opposite pattern compared to Montenegrin subset. Namely, within this ethnic group we can hardly see patterns of selectivity among anxious students. Subject in enthusiasm treatment were the more selective ones. They spent significantly more time avoiding the out-group information. However, three treatment groups did not differ at all in terms of how soon they sought in-group information.

Table 5. T-test results – comparison of average accession time (Serbs)

	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Enthusiasm</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	209.62	230.58	-20.96	-0.43	12	0.67
<i>Out-group</i>	33.34	146.59	113.25	-4.3	15	0.0005

	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	209.62	296.93	-87.31	-1.79	12	0.1
<i>Out-group</i>	33.34	53.6	-20.25	-0.89	15	0.38

Such a contradictory results between ethnic groups come as a bit of a surprise. I later discuss in greater detail possible explanations for this discrepancy, but for the time being I shortly conclude that application of this measure of selectivity provided only partial confirmation of my hypothesis, and I will now turn to my second measure – amount of attention dedicated to these information.

4.4.2.2 Attentiveness to information among ethnicities

Table 6. presents results of comparison between groups in regards to amount of time dedicated to reading flow items coming from different sources. Once again, mean values represent an average amount of seconds per one hundred words.

Table 6. T-test results – comparison of attentiveness measured in seconds per 100 words

(Montenegriens)	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Enthusiasm</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	12.08	9.58	2.5	0.66	43	0.51
<i>Out-group</i>	29.77	20.38	9.38	1.37	44	0.17
	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	12.08	4.84	7.24	1.85	46	0.03
<i>Out-group</i>	29.77	26.56	3.2	0.29	33	0.76
(Serbs)	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Enthusiasm</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	21.22	33.65	-12.43	0.84	14	0.41
<i>Out-group</i>	10.67	7.95	2.72	-0.58	13	0.58
	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	21.22	18.94	2.28	0.32	19	0.74
<i>Out-group</i>	10.67	7.27	3.4	0.74	12	0.47

Results of comparison between anxiety and enthusiasm treatment are insignificant. From these results, among both ethnic groups, we can only confirm that in general subject in anxiety treatment on average paid more attention to reading than their fellow students in enthusiasm group. However, it seems clear their behavior did not depend so much upon the quality of information. Mean differences remain more or less the same regardless who is the source of information. Further, when compared to the control group there is also no difference in terms of out-group information. However, there is a significant difference in attention paid to information coming from the in-group source. On average, students in anxiety group spent 7.24 seconds more per every one hundred words reading congruent information. This difference is statistically significant at the level of 0.05. If we add these to results previously discussed, this gives an impression of Montenegrins showing some patterns of in-group selectivity in the

anxiety treatment. They tend to access information from congruent source significantly sooner than other treatment groups, and they further tend to be more attentive when reading it.

4.4.2.3 Accession priority among partisans

After conducting analysis on ethnic groups I repeat the same but using party affiliation. The most prominent characteristic of a Montenegrin political system is its unbeatable government. Namely, since multi-party competition was introduced in early 1990s government has not been changed even once. One of the most influential factors that kept ruling DPS/SDP coalition is clear ethnic separation of party life. In short, pro-independence government is ruling with support of Montenegrins and ethnic minorities, while pro-unionist opposition, unsuccessfully, tries to overthrow it by mobilizing almost exclusively Serbian electorate. Therefore, ethnic dichotomy Montenegrins vs. Serbs is almost perfectly mirrored in party competition. For this reason I find it required to see whether dynamics of information seeking/processing differ in the case of party cues.

In this case I divided information based on party source. Information coming from the *Democratic Party of Socialists*, *Social-democratic Party* and *the Government* I put in one category, while items coming from the opposition parties/coalition – *Democratic Front* and *Socialist People's Party* – were put in second category. Similarly to ethnic groups, for students who reported having positive opinion towards the parties that make government first category of information will be considered as in-group, and respectively, information coming from the opposition as out-group

In Table 7. I presented results of comparison between treatment groups within subset of government and opposition supporters. Mean values represent average time needed for subjects in different conditions too access information coming from two sources.

Table 7. T-test results – comparison of accession time (Partisanship)

(Incumbents)	<i>Anxiety</i>	Enthusiasm	<i>Differenc</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	43.88	116.37	-73.55	-2.07	1	0.048
<i>Out-group</i>	95.17	122.25	-27.09	-1.04	2	0.3
	<i>Anxiety</i>	Control	<i>Differenc</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	43.88	125.85	-81.96	-2.55	2	0.01
<i>Out-group</i>	95.17	165.32	-72.14	-1.85	2	0.08
(Opposition)	<i>Anxiety</i>	Enthusiasm	<i>Differenc</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	79.65	116.7	-37.04	-1.6	2	0.46
<i>Out-group</i>	187.36	223.82	-36.45	-0.73	2	0.12
	<i>Anxiety</i>	Control	<i>Differenc</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	79.65	159.27	-79.62	-2.47	2	0.02
<i>Out-group</i>	187.36	269.53	-82.16	-1.77	3	0.086

In both political camps the situation seems to be similar. Party supporters in anxiety treatment tend to access information coming from congruent source significantly sooner compared to their fellows in enthusiasm condition. In the case of incumbent supporters, mean difference (-73.55) is statistically significant at the level of 0.05. Similarly, among supporters of opposition parties mean difference was (-79.62), which was enough to reject the null hypothesis. Therefore with 95% confidence I can conclude that in the state of anxiety partisans were more eager to access in-group information than their colleagues in enthusiasm condition. On the other hand there were no difference between groups in regards to avoiding out-group information. Mean differences were constantly statistically insignificant. It looks like subjects in anxiety treatment compared to other two groups tend to seek sooner in-group information, but in the same time do not spend significantly more time avoiding ones coming from out-group source.

4.4.2.2 Attentiveness to information among partisans

Second measure of selectivity provided very a very similar results. Subjects in anxiety treatment spent comparably more time reading information that came from parties they feel close to. Among supporters of incumbency mean difference was approximately 27 seconds. Analysis showed this to be statistically significant at the level of 0.05. In the same manner, supporters of opposition spend more time reading information that came from these sources compared to other two groups. In contrast, differences between treatment groups in regards to out-group information are again constantly insignificant.

Table 8. T-test results - comparison of attentiveness measured in seconds per 100 words

(Incumbents)	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Enthusiasm</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	65.14	37.97	27.17	2.59	25	0.015
<i>Out-group</i>	40.15	19.12	21.02	1.34	19	0.19
	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	65.14	40.66	24.47	-2.55	26	0.01
<i>Out-group</i>	40.15	15.33	24.81	1.61	19	0.12
(Opposition)	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Enthusiasm</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	38.22	20.57	17.64	2.15	24	0.05
<i>Out-group</i>	56.55	34.88	21.67	1.95	21	0.07
	<i>Anxiety</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>In-group</i>	33.22	23.12	10.09	1.3	30	0.57
<i>Out-group</i>	56.55	46.59	9.96	0.56	27	0.2

However it is obvious that mean values in all of the cases are higher in anxiety treatment. Regardless of statistical significance that goes in the line with what I hypothesized, it cast a glimpse of doubt on how much of this difference has comes from the quality of information.

Ideally, mean values for out-group sources in anxiety treatment would be lower than in other groups.

4.4.2.3 Linear Regression Analysis

Comparison of group means using two sample T-test is the most common and intuitive way of testing hypothesis in experimental studies. Nevertheless, obvious deficiency of such analysis is lack of controlling variables. For this reason, I created linear regression models in order to test these results against a number of controls. In total, I produced four models with dependent variables same as in the previous analysis: *accession priority* and *level of attentiveness*. I test both of these in case of information coming from Montenegrin and Serbian source. When one variable is introduced as response, I include other one as an explanatory variable. In total, my models consisted of eight variables. Three of them are interval measurements: *political knowledge*, *accession time/level of attentiveness* and *income*. Rest of the variables - *nationality*, *gender* and *treatment groups* – are dummy variables.

In Table 9. (pp.53) I presented estimated coefficients with standard errors for information coming both sources. Due to the small sample size I conducted analysis on whole sample, I was not able to do the same on the separate subsets because sub-sample sizes are way too low. However, we can still get an impression how the effects behave under the strict controls. In Model 1. I regress seven independent variables on *accession priority*, measured in seconds. Model 2. regress same explanatory variables onto *level of attentiveness* measured in seconds per one hundred words. Model 3. and 4. are the same but for information coming from pro-Serbian source.

Table 9. Linear regression on the accession priority (M1 and M3) and the level of attentiveness (M2 and M4)

Predictors	Montenegrin Source		Serbian Source	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Accession priority	/	-0.14*** (0.01)	/	-0.11 (0.03)***
Attentiveness	2.76 (0.34)***	/	-1.00 (0.28)***	/
Anxiety Treat.	-10.79 (9.33)	1.67 (2.16)	-56.29 (21.76)*	-4.52 (7.60)
Enthusiasm Treat.	86.06 (9.90)***	15.20 (2.63)***	-92.15 (23.32)***	-8.33 (8.47)
Political Knowledge	-2.56 (1.26)*	-0.28 (0.29)	-7.82 (3.03)*	-1.95 (0.06)
Montenegrin nation.	27.97 (15.25)	0.14 (3.57)	17.13 (36.04)	12.61 (12.13)
Serbian nation.	19.11 (16.46)	-2.46 (3.81)	1.09 (38.79)	14.73 (13.03)
Income	-0.59 (1.34)	-0.19 (0.30)	0.35 (3.20)	0.96 (1.08)
Gender	-12.06 (9.01)	-0.51 (2.09)	-10.63 (21.69)	-12.29 (7.23)
Adj. R2	0.66	0.40	0.22	0.09
N	107	107	107	107
F-statistics (p-value)	25.94 (p<0.001)	9.82 (p<0.001)	4.79 (p < 0.001)	2.31 (p<0.05)

Note. ***0.001**0.01*0.05

As we can see, all four model show good model fit. In each case, f-value is statistically significant at level $p < 0.05$. When it comes to proportion of variance I could explain with these models it is clear that model fits better in the case of pro-Montenegrin information. Sixty six percent of variance in accession time can be attributed to this model. Three variables showed statistically significant coefficients. The strongest predictor of accession time is level of attention with which one have read particular type of information. Results show that one unit increase in level of attention (second per 100 words) corresponds to ~2.8 decrease in accession time. In other words, the sooner one access this information more time he/she spends reading it. Further, index of political knowledge is statistically significant at the level of $p < 0.05$. One unit rise in political sophistication (15 point scale) results in 2.5 seconds decrease in accession time. In short, the more knowledgeable one is the sooner it will access this type of information. Lastly, being in an enthusiasm treatment is also significant. Shift from other two groups to this one corresponds to 86 seconds delay in accession time. This confirms the result of T-test showing that in the state of anxiety tend to open this type of information significantly sooner.

Results in the case of Model 2. waived only two significant predictors. It total, forty percent of the variance in level of attention is explained by this model. Again, accession time is highly significant and the most influential predictor of level of attention. The sooner one access information the more time will spend reading it. Being in an enthusiasm treatment, compared to other groups, increases amount of time spent reading this information. Other variables were far from being statistically significant.

Model 3. explains twenty three percent of the variance. This is significantly less than in the case of information whose source is Montenegrin. Increase of one second per 100 words results in almost 8 seconds decrease in accession time for information coming from Serbian source. This is stronger effect than in case of Montenegrin information. Again, political knowledge has "negative" effect on accession time. One unit increase in political knowledge corresponds to almost 8 seconds sooner accession time. Further, in this case both treatment groups are statistically significant. Both coefficient show that they speed up accession time, however, being in an enthusiasm condition has almost twice as strong effect. Finally, Model 4. is the worst fitting model in my analysis, with only nine percent of the variance explained. Only one variable is statistically significant. Here, for each second of accession delay subjects read 0.11 seconds less per 100 words.

I applied same models to information coming from parties and analysis showed less fit but similar results. As we can see, model fits are almost equal in cases of accession time and level of attention, which is not the case with ethnic groups where which models showed significantly more explanatory power for accession time. In respect to information coming from parties composing the government, approximately one fifth of variance in accession time can be attributed to the Model 1, and only two variables are statistically significant. As in cases of ethnic groups, the strongest predictor of accession priority is level of attention. Each additional second spent reading corresponds to approximately one second sooner accession. This effect is

statistically significant at level of $p < 0.0001$. Beside this one, one being in an anxiety treatment is statistically significant at level of $p < 0.005$. Compared to other two treatment conditions, being in this one results in a forty two seconds sooner accession time. Although coefficients for partisanship go in desired direction they are not close to being statistically significant.

Table 10. Linear regression on the accession priority (M1 and M3) and the level of attentiveness (M2, M4)

Predictors	Incumbency		Opposition	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Accession priority	/	-0.18 (0.04)***	/	0.14 (0.03)***
Attentiveness	-0.94 (0.21)***	/	-1.27 (0.27)***	/
Anxiety Treat.	-42.44 (19.25)*	6.33 (8.64)	-36.30 (20.68)	2.63 (7.02)
Enthusiasm Treat.	2.74 (20.13)	-1.80 (8.83)	-32.69 (21.84)	-7.42 (7.35)
Political Knowledge	1.89 (2.68)	0.88 (1.17)	-3.99 (2.95)	-1.62 (0.73)*
Incumbency supporter	-14.63 (15.77)	-4.07 (6.94)	-15.65 (17.10)	-2.97 (5.73)
Opposition supporter	7.44 (16.69)	3.15 (7.32)	5.85 (18.09)	0.85 (6.05)
Income	1.63 (2.78)	-0.34 (1.22)	-0.061 (3.05)	1.45 (1.01)
Gender	2.74 (19.03)	-11.31 (8.27)	8.74 (20.53)	-6.16 (6.84)
Adj. R ²	0.21	0.19	18.87	0.18
N	107	107	107	107
F-statistics (p-value)	4.46 (p<0.001)	4.00 (p<0.001)	3.966 (p<0.001)	3.683 (p<0.001)

Note. ***0.001**0.01*0.05

Model 2, although showing a satisfactory portion of variance explained, gave only one statistically significant variable. Namely, only thing we can extract here is the information that confirms previous results – the later one opens an information the less time he/she will dedicate to reading it. Effects of treatments as well as partisanship remained insignificant. Model 3. and Model 4. explained almost the same portion of variance, around eighteen percent. Results here pretty much confirm what we have already seen with an addition of political knowledge being significant in Model 4. The more knowledgeable person is the less time he/she spends reading the information coming from the opposition camp.

4.4.3 Bias towards the threat

H3: The attention of subjects in the anxiety treatment will be biased towards the threatening object (cause/source of danger), while paying less attention to other relevant information

In order to test whether subjects in different treatment groups express any cognitive biases I classified information board items into the four categories, based on their content: *cause/threat*, *consequence*, *solution*, and *general politics*. Given that categories are composed of different number of items I recoded them relative to cumulative number of words they contain. I run separate two sample T-tests to compare average time dedicated to these four groups of information across three treatment conditions. Results are presented in Table 11.

Table 11. Attention towards different issue dimension (seconds per 100 words)

Information	Anxiety	Enthusiasm	Difference	t-value	df	p-value
Cause	14.36	9.37	5.05	2.1	55	0.043
Consequence	13.5	14.22	-0.42	-0.18	59	0.85
Solution	13.17	14.22	-1.05	0.65	55	0.51
General Politics	9.72	10.56	-0.84	-0.66	52	0.51

	Anxiety	Control	Difference	t-value	df	p-value
Cause	14.36	8.62	4.74	2.96	73	0.007
Consequence	13.5	11.15	2.35	1.37	71	0.17
Solution	13.17	12.77	0.4	0.21	64	0.83
General Politics	9.72	9.85	-0.13	-0.1	63	0.92

As we can see, differences within anxiety group are not so striking, and for this reason it seems somewhat strong to conclude that subjects in this group were more or less „incapable of diverting attention away” (Mathews et al. 1997) from the cause of their concern. After all they dedicated considerable amount of time also reading other information. However, taken comparably, three groups do not differ significantly in regards to how much attention they paid to general political information, consequences and solutions of/for the youth unemployment problem. Subjects in anxiety treatment spent only slightly more time reading them compared to

other two groups. On the other hand, amount of time they have spent reading (14.36 seconds per 100 words) about the causes of the youth unemployment, compared to control (8.62 seconds) and enthusiasm (9.37 seconds) group, is statistically significant at the level of $p < 0.05$. Therefore, one could say that post-treatment information seeking behavior of subjects in anxiety treatment reveals some patterns of perceptual bias towards the object of threat. While it seems fairly expected for subjects who have read the newspapers article about the increase of youth unemployment to focus more on its causes than other two groups, this cannot explain much smaller differences in other two categories equally related to this issue. Namely, following this logic I would expect students in anxiety treatment to pay significantly more attention to information about solutions and consequences of youth unemployment too, which is obviously not the case.

4.5 Summary of results and discussion

To sum up, data provided evidence to support the first hypothesis that under the state of the anxiety, compared to enthusiasm, people tend to seek for more political information. The hypothesized relationship between anxiety and political information processing has been confirmed using both measures – *number of information accessed* and *time spent reading* those information. In this initial stage of “affect effect” opposing theories have found a common ground, and therefore, these results do not surprise.

When it comes to the selectivity hypothesis, which is the most substantive for the matter of this research, results are inconclusive. Namely, two measures gave a bit contradicting findings, and also revealed surprising differences among the ethnicities. While accession priority measure waived confirming results in case of anxious Montenegrins, who significantly sooner opened in-group information and for much longer avoided out-group sources, this relationship is not confirmed among Serbs. In fact, within this ethnic group students in the enthusiasm treatment have been more selective. Therefore, results inter-changeably confirm my second hypothesis and the expectation of AI theory. The second measure – information attentiveness- less often waived statistically significant results, but when it did it showed that anxious individuals tend to pay more attention to in-group information, without significant discrimination of out-group sources. However, mean values for students in the anxiety treatment are constantly higher so it seems that their increased attentiveness to in-group information is more due to the emotional state than due to the quality of information. These findings are consistent in case of ethnicities and political parties.

The most robust finding from the linear regression analysis is that accession priority and level of attentiveness to information go together. In basically all the models the strongest predictor

of how much time one spends reading a particular information is how soon he/she opened it. This, I believe, speaks strongly in favor of selectivity in information seeking and processing, in general. For this reason, it seems valid to say that students did not become more rational, balanced information seekers, as AI claims. What does not speak in favor of my hypothesis is that both in case of ethnicities and parties, group membership was not statistically significant. I would expect nationality to be a significant predictor of in-group information seeking, but linear regression analysis proved otherwise. On the other hand, the effect of the treatment group is in many cases significant. Given that linear regression was conducted on a whole sample we cannot clearly differentiate, but I can conclude that in general anxious students mostly accessed information significantly sooner. Political knowledge is statistically significant in some of the models, and when that was the case it provided consistent results. The more knowledgeable ones are the sooner they open information but spend less time actually reading. This gives the impression of political sophisticates being able to decode sooner what are the relevant information for them but also that they need less time to extract the essence of it. This confirms Lau and Redrows (2001) findings on use of heuristics.

All this being said, I conclude that data did not provide enough evidence to confirm my second hypothesis. There are some clear patterns of in-group selectivity in terms of accession time among Montenegrins, who compose most of my sample, but this can hardly be enough for full confirmation. However, it seems that neither assumptions of AI theory are not supported completely with this data. Big differences between ethnicities in respect to some measures came as a surprise. The way people behave under certain emotional states supposedly has a strong evolutionary basis, and therefore, it is considered to be almost universal. There is always a significant effect of environment, i.e. context. However, this can hardly explain differences in this case. Namely, both ethnic groups' behavior are to an equal extent a side effect of the context in which they lived for centuries. Therefore, due to the lack of a reasonable theoretical

explanation, seems reasonable to assume that such a difference could have come from data-related source. One possibility is the significant difference in the sub-sample size. Namely, my sample consisted of significantly less Serbs than Montenegrins and this could affect results in at least two way. To begin with, it is much harder to achieve statistical significance with a smaller sample, and secondly mean values are more sensitive to extreme values. Though the effect of extreme values is to some extent controlled with measures of normal distribution, in the situation of a very low sample size even few observations can shift means and make them even appear random.

Finally, I discuss findings in regards to my third hypotheses. Results show a statistically significant difference in attention to causes of youth unemployment between the anxiety treatment and other groups. Anxious subjects spent only slightly more time reading about the causes than about the other topic-related information, but their attention was comparably more focused on the object of threat. In short, while it would be unfair to say that attention to the cause was at the cost of missing other relevant information, I can conclude that students in anxiety treatment, unlike rest of them, showed signs of cognitive biases towards one particular dimension of issue in hand.

Conclusion

In my thesis I studied the emotional basis of political information processing in ethnically divided societies. More precisely, I investigated the effects of anxiety and enthusiasm on citizens' desire to seek political information, potential tendencies towards selective exposure and processing style. In essence, I argued that assumptions of one of the most prominent theory of emotions in politics, Affective Intelligence (AI) theory, are not applicable and equally valid in such context. AI's main claim is that anxiety makes people more rational and that such balanced information seeking leads to better decisions. However, AI theory has been mostly tested using survey method and almost exclusively in the U.S. context. In contrast, I argued that the relationship between anxiety/fear and political information seeking is somewhat different in societies torn apart by ethnic cleavage. My main hypothesis was that in the time of insecurity people living in divided societies will seek to isolate themselves from out-group contact and try to restore a sense of security by collecting information from the sources more similar to them. In short, although people might seek for more information, this "data collection" will be marked by selectivity which prevents people from becoming more rational and balanced.

Results show that indeed people under the state of anxiety tend to seek for more political information. Subjects in this treatment group accessed information more often and devoted significantly more attention to reading its content. In regards to the most substantive claim of my research, data provided inconclusive results. The accession priority measure revealed some clear patterns of in-group bias among students in the anxiety condition. Compared to their colleagues in the enthusiasm treatment, they accessed information significantly sooner coming from in-group source and avoided out-group information for significantly. However, these results were in most of the parts reserved for ethnic Montenegrins, while failing to provide equal results among Serbian nationals. On the other hand, the information attentiveness

measurement provided almost no evidence of selectivity. In most cases subjects in different treatment groups did not significantly differ in regards to how much time they spent reading information. When there was a considerable difference, it revealed more bias towards in-group but rarely intentional discrimination of out-group sources. Also, students in the anxiety treatment were significantly more focused on the object of threat - causes of youth unemployment. However, this did not made them unaware or inattentive of other topic related information

I tested my hypotheses in Montenegro using an experimental method. The choice of method and case selection affected generalizability and the potential contribution of these results in many different ways. Firstly, this research contributes to the wider literature on emotions in politics by applying an experimental method instead of analyzing survey data. Overuse of survey data and lack of results validation in stricter experimental environment is one of most often cited objections to AI. Second, this research adds to the literature by testing these hypothesis in the context in which it was not tested at all before. Although more inconclusive than desired, these results give enough reason to believe that it is absolutely necessary for political psychology scholars to acknowledge different social context in which the interplay of emotions and political cognition can play-out in a somewhat different way.

As always, potential contributions do not come without corresponding limitations. The most obvious limitation of this research is the generalizability of its results. This is the cost of control over the subjects offered by experimental designs. I conducted this research using a sample of convenience. Students of political science are hardly representative of the Montenegrin population, and even if they were it would be too daring to claim it represents a wider population of ethnically divided societies. Despite this limitation, I believe these results are highly relevant and helpful if we want to better understand political such societies. We live in uncertain and dangerous times, and this is traditionally even more true for ethnically divided societies,

especially on the Balkans. While this is certainly not a thing one would desire, it provides us with an invaluable opportunity to learn more about the role of negative emotions, especially anxiety/fear. Recent “terrorist attacks” in Macedonia and Bosnia & Herzegovina, in center of which is the ethnic tension fuming from the civil wars in 90 s, remind us that threats for the stability of these societies may appear any time. It will be interesting to observe how these affective experiences will influence citizens’ opinions, information processing and information seeking. It still remains to be seen whether, politicians will use anxiety-provoking messages in an attempt to win popular support (Isbell et al. 2006:86). Their tactic and broader societal outcomes will depend seriously on how people react to these messages, whether induced anxiety/fear create more systematic information processors who focus on details and drop their habitual thinking or they isolate themselves from out-group information and seek comfort within their own group. Results I presented show that we should not exclude the latter, more dangerous possibility. Some of the groups showed clear accession priority towards in-group information and discrimination towards out-group. It does not take much more than that to deny a possibility of deliberative process between groups.

Emotions influenced politics throughout history and they will definitely continue to do so. Therefore, it is absolutely vital that political science scholars continue studying these impacts. Here, I agree completely with Lodge et al. (2006: 28) observation that students of political science need to answer an important question as soon as possible - to which extent do spontaneous, immediate, affective responses impact deliberative process? If our prior beliefs, accompanied by a certain type of emotional state, are the most powerful determinants of what citizens think and do, then this needs to become a crucial area of research in social science.

Appendix

Appendix A: Priming notification

According to the 2011 census, Montenegro has 620,029 citizens. The Constitution recognizes the major ethnic groups: Montenegrins (*Crnogorci*), Serbs (*Srbi*), Bosniaks (*Bošnjaci*), Albanians (*Albanci – Shqiptarët*) and Croats (*Hrvati*). The number of Montenegrins and Serbs fluctuates wildly from census to census due to changes in how people experience, or choose to express, their identity. According to the 2011 census official data, ethnic composition corresponds to: 45% Montenegrins (278.865), 28.7% Serbs (178.110), 8.6% Bosniaks (53.605), 4.9% Albanians (30.439), 3.3% Muslims by nationality (20.537), 0.97% Croats (6.021).

The official language in Montenegro is Montenegrin. Also, Serbian, Bosnian, Albanian and Croatian are recognized in usage. All of these languages, except Albanian, are mutually intelligible. According to the 2011 census, most citizens declared Serbian language as their mother tongue (42.88%). Montenegrin language (37%) is the majority mother tongue of the population under 18 years of age.

Montenegrins have been, historically, members of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and Serbian Orthodox Christianity is the most popular religion today in Montenegro. The Montenegrin Orthodox Church has been founded in recent years and is followed by a small minority. Religious institutions from Montenegro all have guaranteed rights and are separate from the state. The only non-Christian religion that forms a majority in certain regions is Islam, which amounts to 19% of the total population of the country.

The status of the union between Montenegro and Serbia was decided by a referendum on Montenegrin independence on 21 May 2006. A total of 419,240 votes were cast, representing 86.5% of the total electorate. 230,661 votes (55.5%) were for independence and 185,002 votes (44.5%) were against.

Appendix B: Treatment scripts

Youth unemployment increasing! (Anxiety stimulus)

In response to the requirements of the European Union in the negotiation process, Montenegro has significantly increased the number of students attending universities in recent years. However, now the pool of unemployed graduates is rising to worrying levels. Of particular concern is whether high graduate unemployment is a temporary blip or reflects a chronic oversupply of graduates. Numbers say that around 41% of graduate students are incapable of finding a job in the first three years after graduation. The amount of young and unemployed people with college degree continues its upward trend, and it seems this 'hyperinflation of knowledge' is additionally stimulated by the increased number of private universities issuing diplomas.



Predrag Boskovic from The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, commented for our newspaper: "The Government is doing everything what is in our power to create a place for young and educated people. However, everything is not in our hands, global economic crisis and recession made us do painful cuts on public spending. In the past there were a lot of state jobs that were outlet for graduates, but those state jobs are now

increasingly in short supply. Unfortunately, we often see hundreds of students applying for the same job. As I said, we are giving our best to provide jobs for as much young people as we can, and we see some positive trends, but we know that is not going to be enough. We are trying to encourage the private sector to rely more on this category of skilled but unemployed people".

However, we talked with the Association of Employers and they were unanimous in the assessment that the biggest problem is the great mismatch between labour market demands and skills that graduates usually have. "We cannot get the kind of a graduates we want", they continued. A large number of our graduates, they claim, has skills that are irrelevant for the demand on the job market. Apparently, there is no space for that amount of social science graduates, lawyers, political analysts, journalists etc. "What we need now is more practical skills", they concluded.

Ana, from Bijelo Polje, graduated two years ago and was ready to share with us her experience in finding the job. "I thought that studying and getting university diploma will help me later in finding a job and becoming more independent", she started her story, "however, I was really frightened when I realized things work very differently. I had to go home, where I have even less chance to find job. Graduates are spending a lot of time earning different degrees but ultimately realizing that these degrees are not going to provide a passport neither into public nor lucrative private sector jobs. Instead, you will be exposed to painful uncertainty and left to fight it alone. This country will not take care of you."

Youth unemployment decreasing! (Enthusiasm stimulus)

Until 2012 the youth unemployment in Montenegro was around 33%, which is twice as high as the rate in the European Union. The economic crisis appears to have had an impact on young more than other age groups. From the beginning of 2009, the gap between the youth and total unemployment rates increased constantly. However, today we are witnessing a dramatic decrease in unemployment among young people. Only in the last two years the rate dropped to 21%, six percent less than regional average, and it seems that number of unemployed with college degree will continue this downward trend.



Predrag Boskovic from The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, said for our newspaper: "The Government is very proud to announce that the hard work last years produced high returns. One of the measures of active employment policy opened space for two thousands recent graduates to do their internships both in the public and private sector. What is more important, most of these

young people kept their jobs after the internship period ended. This one program alone allowed a large number of young and skilled people to demonstrate what they know and make the whole system more efficient. But we did not stop there. The Government is constantly mediating between universities and employers with a clear goal of reducing the skill gap to the minimum. We want universities to produce graduates with skills compatible with labour market demands. We can already say that have been successful; the private sector is relying more and more on young and working people. Our predictions are that in four-five years we can come closer to the EU standard. In simple words, our goal is that the next generation of students waits no more than few months after graduation to start working in the field of their expertise".

Ana, a recent graduate from Bijelo Polje, took part in the employment program and she was ready to share her experience with us. "I must say that I am really satisfied with the opportunity I got. I always preferred social sciences, but you know parents, they always want us to study things which they think make us easily employable. But I am really glad they were wrong. I had no major problems in finding a job, I feel very enthusiastic because I am doing something I like and something I studied for. In short, I can say that it worked pretty well for me."

Appendix C: Scales

Political knowledge

1. Do you happen to know what job or political office is held by Ranko Krivokapic? (Open question)
2. How much of a majority is required in Parliament to change the Constitution? (5 options)
3. The President of Montenegro has a veto right over decision of the Parliament? (3 options)
4. Do you happen to know how many seats are in the Parliament of Montenegro? (Open question)
5. Do you happen to know what kind of electoral law is in force for electing members of the Parliament? (4 options)
6. Who served as the chairman of the Central Bank in last Djukanovic's mandate? (5 options)
7. A redistributive policy is one that: (5 options)
8. Affirmative action refers to policies aimed at granting university education to children from families living below poverty line? (3 options)
9. Rounded down to the nearest number, the annual budget of the Montenegro for the past 4 years has been around? (5 options)
10. The unemployment rate in Montenegro is roughly equal to? (5 options)
11. The inflation rate in Montenegro is roughly equal to? (5 options)
12. To your best knowledge, who is the current Minister of Defence of Montenegro? (5 options)
13. Is Montenegro a member of the Council of Europe? (3 options)
14. How many members does the European Union have? (5 options)
15. Which act ratified by the member states of the EU concerning Montenegro came into force in May of 2010? (6 options)

Ideology battery

Please evaluate whether you approve or disapprove of the following items, or you are not sure.

1= Approve 0= Unsure -1=Disapprove

Patriotism, Capitalism, Privatization, Nationalism, Right-wingers, Free market, Lower taxes, Free trade, Church authority, Private healthcare, Nuclear energy, Private pensions, Small government, Obedience, Genetically-modified food, Consumer culture, Tuition fees, Chastity, Abortions bans, Conservatives, Minority rights, Market regulations, Left wingers, Unemployment benefits, Liberals, Globalization, Socialism, Labour unions, Birth control, Multiculturalism, Gay marriages, Labour strikes, Luxury tax, Environmentalism, Corporate tax, Renewable energy, Gay adoption, Wage equality, Pollution control, Decriminalized marijuana.

Additional scales used in the Pilot study

Ethnic group identification:

I am a person who considers the ethnic group to be important.

I am a person who identifies with the ethnic group.

I am a person who feels strong ties with the ethnic group.

I am a person who is glad to belong to the ethnic group.

I am a person who sees myself as belonging to the ethnic group.

I am a person who makes excuses for belonging to the ethnic group.

I am a person who tries to hide belonging to the ethnic group

I am a person who feels held back by the ethnic group.

I am a person who is annoyed to say I'm a member of ethnic group.

I am a person who criticizes the ethnic group.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Disagree 4) Strongly disagree 9) Don't know

Ethnic polarization items:

1. I feel uncertain about the future of my ethnic group compared to others.
2. The common origin of the members of a community is the foundation of trust.
3. Different ethnicities can achieve cooperation, but not complete confidence.
4. An individual can feel safe only when living in an environment where the majority of the people belong to his/her ethnic community.
5. Ethnically mixed marriages are more fragile than other marriages.
6. The survival of their own people is the main task of every individual.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Disagree 4) Strongly disagree 9) Don't know

Information seeking battery:

1. Would you say that increased/decreased level of youth unemployment makes you feel:

Anxious, Afraid, Uneasy, Angry, Contempt, Bitter, Enthusiastic, Proud, Hopeful

1) Not at all (...) 2) Not very (...) 3) Somewhat (...) 4) Very (...) 9) Not sure

* First three items are used to operationalize the state of anxiety, the second group for anger, and the last group will represent enthusiasm.

2. Some people seem to follow what is going on with youth unemployment, others are not that interested, or are interested in other things. Would you say you are interested in following what is going on with this issue? (5 options)

3. How much time in the next week you intend to spend on: reading newspapers, watching TV, using Internet to obtain relevant information, discussing this topic with your friends and family? (5 options)

4. Can you please, without rereading it, try to recall the following facts from the newspaper article you have just read: (5 questions with 5 options each?)

5. Please list certain number of issues you would like to hear about from reporters or politicians. (Open question)

Appendix D: Informational Board Cards

Serbian Council: This is a lost generation!

"We can call this generation of highly unemployable youth "a lost generation": not only because of productivity loss but also because of the long-term direct and indirect impact unemployment has on young people and their families in Montenegro. It has been said by social scientists that unemployment affect earnings for about 20 years. Because they aren't able to build up skills or experience during their first years in the workforce, unemployed youth see a decrease in lifetime earnings when compared to those who had steady work or those who were unemployed as an adult. A lower salary can persist for 20 years following the unemployed period before the individual begins earning competitively to their peers. We need jobs as soon as possible."

Montenegrin Convention: It impacts whole families, not only individuals

The youth unemployment impacts also their families. Youth in many countries now live with their parents into their late twenties. This contributes to what is called the "full-nest syndrome". In 2008, 46% of 18- to 34-year-olds in the European Union lived with at least one parent; in most countries the stay-at-homes were more likely to be unemployed than those who had moved out. In families, it is common that when one person becomes unemployed, other members of the family begin looking for or securing employment. This is called the added worker effect. This can sometimes take the form of employment in the informal sector when necessary.

The Government: New labor market policies to fight unemployment

Besides offering balanced employment protection the Government of Montenegro will also be focused on the level and spread of income support provided to unemployed youth. While some countries are increasing their support tying it back to stricter obligations of active search and training, we will consider shifting support from direct financial assistance to funding apprenticeship. Further, the Government will progressively involve employers and trainers to create a holistic approach to youth unemployment and provide intensive programmes with focus on remedial education, work experience and adult mentoring.

Social-democratic Party: Vocational education to combat youth unemployment

"The case has been made the past few years on the need to provide technical training to youth to prepare them specifically for a job. Vocational education would help address the skills crisis. Three main reasons we presented for why vocational education should be a part of political programmes to combat youth unemployment: First, studies show that strong vocational training programs reduce unemployment and increase wages. Second, vocational education increases employers' productivity. Third, vocational education has significant social benefits: vocational education improved income equality, greater social inclusion, lower crime rates, and improved health and well-being."

Global trend - Students on the streets due to the lack of jobs

The rise of political unrest and anti-social behavior in the world has been recently attributed to youth unemployment. During the course of 2011 it became a key factor in fuelling protests around the globe. Within twelve months, four regimes in the Arab World fell in the wake of the protests led by young people. Riots and protests similarly engulfed a number of European and North American cities. The lack of productive engagement of young people in wider society, underlined by high levels of unemployment and under-employment, only serves to add to this feeling of disenfranchisement.

Democratic Front: Youth unemployment drives brain drain

Youth unemployment also dramatically increased public spending at times when economies are struggling to remain competitive and social benefits increase along with an aging population. Youth unemployment has direct costs such as increased benefit payments, lost income-tax revenues and wasted capacity. Youth unemployment has indirect costs too, including emigration. Young people leave

our country in hope to find employment elsewhere. This brain drain has contributed to deteriorating country's competitiveness.

Balanced employment protection - possible solution?

The role of labor market policy and institutions varies a lot from countries to countries. One of key propositions recently elaborated to facilitate access to employment for youth is more balanced employment protection for permanent and temporary workers is needed. It will ensure that young people who lack work experience can prove their abilities and skills to then progressively transition to regular employment. It will also encourage a more equal treatment between permanent and temporary workers in Montenegro and help combat informal employment. This proposition has led to multiple discussions on flexible contracts to be designed and offered to youth.

Assistance to youth in the transition to the work helped

A number of studies have shown that young people were not sufficiently advised on work related opportunities, necessary skills and career pathways. Before they leave education, it appears critical that they have access to this information to be better prepared for what to expect and what is expected of them. Good quality career guidance along with labor market prospects did help young people make better career choices. Too many young people choose to study a field that leads to little if no jobs. Now Governments, employers and trainers work together to provide clearer pathways to youth. Similarly, programs should be developed to better transition young people to the world of work. Here, vocational education and apprenticeship systems have shown that practice and on-the-job training had a positive effect.

Association of Employers: Skills crisis

Beyond the necessity to ensure its access to all, education is not adequately tailored to the needs of the labor market, which in turns leads to two consequences: the inability for young people to find jobs and the inability for employers to hire the skills they need. Combined with the economic crisis and the lack of sufficient job creation in many countries, it has resulted in high unemployment rates in Montenegro and the development of a skills crisis. Surveys suggest that up to half of all businesses have open positions for which they are struggling to find suitably qualified people. One survey found that more than 55% of employers in a country believe there is a "skill crisis" as businesses witness a growing mismatch between the skills students learn in the education system and those required in the workplace. For our Government, a key question is how they can bridge this gap and ensure that young people are equipped with the skills employers are looking for."

„Serbians living abroad”: Ethnic nepotism in employment

"Ethnic nepotism at work can mean increased opportunity at a job, attaining the job or being paid more than other similarly situated people only because someone belong to particular ethnic group. We witness decreased morale and commitment from non-related employees, and a generally negative attitude towards superior positions filled through nepotism. We cannot fight this when there is no ladder to climb when the top rung is reserved for people with a certain name. We are not sure that this government knows that there are countries that forbid nepotism as an ethical matter, considering it too troublesome and disruptive."

Citizens' Movement: Whole society pays for nepotism.

The economic and social costs of cronyism are paid by society. Those costs are in the form of reduced business opportunity for the majority of the population, reduced competition in the market place, inflated consumer goods prices, and decreased economic performance, inefficient business investment cycles, reduced motivation in affected organizations, and the diminution of economically productive activity. A practical cost of cronyism manifests in the poor workmanship of public and private community projects. Cronyism is self-perpetuating; cronyism then begets a culture of cronyism. This can only be apprehended by a comprehensive, effective, and enforced legal code, with empowered government agencies which can effect prosecutions in the courts.

Bosniaks' Convention: This is a spoils system

"In the politics of the Montenegro, a spoils system is a widespread practice in which ruling party, after winning an election, gives government jobs to its supporters, friends and relatives as a reward for working toward victory, and as an incentive to keep working for the party—as opposed to a merit system, where offices are awarded on the basis of some measure of merit, independent of political activity. This is a reason why some groups cannot come to position do find job and support their families."

EU Commission: Montenegro progressed with regards to corruption and unemployment

Of course corruption is also addressed in chapters 23 and 24. We have planned many measures, most notably the creation of a new agency for anti-corruption. We are creating track-record tables to monitor how many corruption cases are there and are working with the prosecutors in the judiciary to monitor how these are dealt with. On unemployment, Montenegro is a specific case. At 13.5%, it is relatively low. According to the latest figures this is close to the euro zone average. Montenegro imports a high amount of labor from Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, showing that we have a very flexible labor market. On the issue of youth unemployment, obviously this is a key area of focus for the new government. The question is, how to find and qualify young people for the jobs on the labor market and how to improve the education system. Basically, the primary concern of the new government is employing more people, creating jobs, and creating smart growth through better education system and better access to the labor market.

Freedom House: Freedom of press deteriorated in 2014

Conditions for the media deteriorated in 2014 due to an increase in negative official rhetoric, serious physical attacks against the press, and the use of advertising as a tool to punish independent outlets. Freedom of the press is guaranteed by the constitution, and the threat of legal pressure was reduced in 2011, when Montenegro fully decriminalized defamation, relegating it to civil suits with monetary compensation as the only possible sanction. In addition, the Supreme Court has adopted guidelines regulating the level of compensation in cases filed against the media. The European Commission (EC) reported a decrease in the number of defamation cases after decriminalization; the amount of damages awarded also declined slightly. Nevertheless, there is a backlog of defamation cases in the courts, highlighting the frequency with which such cases are still filed. In recent years, Montenegro's *Vijesti* and *Dan* dailies and the weekly *Monitor* have paid hundreds of thousands of euros in damages for insulting Prime Minister Milo Đukanović and his family. Đukanović, who has served as Montenegro's prime minister or president for most of the last two decades, is openly hostile to Montenegro's independent media.

Organization for Neutrality: Citizens' low support for NATO

During the past 18 months, Montenegro citizens' support for NATO accession has increased by 4.4%. Experts and officials said the crisis in Ukraine and the Podgorica campaign to garner support for the Alliance are both responsible for the shift. Currently, more than 35% of the population is pro-NATO, and the number of those opposing the accession has decreased by 8% to 44.5%, according to the Montenegrin Center for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM). About 20% of citizens are undecided on the NATO integration of Montenegro at the moment.

Reason for this might be that joining the Alliance is also strongly connected with EU accession. NATO is a political-military organization which is committed to the same values, principles and goals as the EU. Twenty-two EU member states are NATO members as well. Because of that, NATO is seen as an alliance of values.

Ministry of Finance: Grey economy is making big problems.

According to the Ministry of Finance, Montenegro through the gray economy loses at least 100 million euros in taxes per year. This amount include taxes and contributions on salaries of people working illegally, but also taxes on the portion of income which, by legal frameworks employers, workers payments.

On the black, according to estimates by the ministries of labor, to between 20 and 30,000 workers. Labor inspection is the last in comparison with the previous year recorded even a third less illegally employed as recognized, may not be a realistic picture of the labor market. "We cannot immediately conclude that reduce moonlighting. It all depends on the moment of our control. Since employers are working in shifts that inspections be used in the morning, once in the afternoon, depending on how many employees us at that point inspection supervision we find ourselves with the employer, "she told TV news chief inspector of labor Angelina Međedović.

DF: Lekić met with the Delegation of the EU in Montenegro

Chairman of the Democratic Front Miodrag Lekic talked, in separate meetings with the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Montenegro Gudrun Elisabeth Stainaker and Head of the EU Delegation to Montenegro Mitja Drobnič, announced the DF. In addition to exchanging opinions on situation in Montenegro, they were particularly focused on the state of the EU integration process.

Lekic explained the initiative of the united opposition for the formation of the interim government of national unity, which would have a transitional character as a publicly responsible attitude towards the broad political forces extremely difficult and dramatic economic and social situation in the country, the lack of results in the fight against crime and corruption and the necessity of creating the final conditions for the holding of free and fair elections, said in a statement DF.

Pejovic: Progress in EU integrations

We have provisionally closed two chapters and now, and over the past few weeks, we were able to open the two most important chapters regarding the rule of law. We hope to open more chapters at the intergovernmental conference in December. I would say that the first two years of experience in the accession process have been extremely positive. The European Commission has been, and continues to be a very helpful partner. In addition, we have been able to improve the cooperation with member states; negotiations should not only be conducted with the EU institutions in Brussels, but also with the capitals. That is why this is my third visit to Berlin. And starting in January, we will begin the first bilateral consultations with Austria. Apart from this, we are using the accession process to establish first contacts with countries Montenegro has not regularly dealt with before such as Finland, Lithuania, or Ireland.

Employment Institute: 200 developed youth business ideas will be granted support.

Employment Institute (EI), the recently launched a program called Youth are our potential, give them a chance, expects at least 200 developed business ideas and ten applications for funds from national and international funds. Director of PMI, exemplary because Jelic, said that through this program, worth about 400 thousand euros, wants to help young people to remain in their municipalities.

"Through this project we want to make based youth center, we want to have a youth center that will be the support of others to employ," said Jelic at a press conference. According to her, the young people will have the task of local communities device teams and organize training. During the selection of candidates will be judged of their competence, especially business sense.

"Being selected those young people who have no business sense and try the assessment of competence to recognize that this really be the ones who have more business sense for the organization to be more efficient," said Jelic.

New York Post: Emergence and goals of ISIL

The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is an Islamist rebel group that controls territory in Iraq and Syria and also operates in eastern Libya, the Sinai Peninsula of Egypt, and other areas of the Middle East, North Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. The name is also commonly translated as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. On 29 June 2014, the group proclaimed itself to be a Worldwide Caliphate and renamed itself the Islamic State (IS), but the new name has been widely criticized and condemned, with the UN, various governments, and mainstream Muslim groups refusing to acknowledge it. Many Islamic and non-Islamic communities judge the group to be unrepresentative of Islam.

ISIL has sought to establish itself as a Caliphate, an Islamic state led by a group of religious authorities under a supreme leader—the Caliph—who is believed to be the successor to Muhammad.^[145] In June 2014, ISIL published a document in which it claimed to have traced the lineage of its leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi back to Muhammad, and upon proclaiming a new Caliphate on 29 June, the group appointed al-Baghdadi as its caliph. As Caliph, he demands the allegiance of all devout Muslims worldwide, according to Islamic jurisprudence.

Russian ‘Pravda’: Seize fire in Eastern Ukraine

The conflict in eastern Ukraine subsided Sunday after a cease-fire came into effect, although fighting continued between Ukrainian forces and Russia-backed militants around a key railway hub. The fierce fighting of recent weeks gave way to sporadic exchanges after the truce went into effect on Sunday, officials on both sides said. French President François Hollande’s office said after a telephone call with the leaders of Ukraine, Russia and Germany on Sunday that they had agreed that “respect for the cease-fire was generally satisfactory, despite local incidents that should be quickly settled.”

But shells were still flying in and around the strategic town of Debaltseve, where heavy fighting in recent days has left a large force of Ukrainian soldiers hemmed in by the militants. Ukraine’s military said shelling by separatists intensified from midafternoon. The latest cease-fire deal is the most concerted effort yet to halt months of fighting in eastern Ukraine that has caused more than 5,000 deaths. The deal was brokered by the leaders of Germany and France on Thursday after marathon talks between Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko and Russian leader Vladimir Putin .

Appendix E: Screenshots of DPTE in use

Demographic questions:

Faza: Političko informisanje mladih
Pod-faza: Političko informisanje mladih I

Pitanje 5 of 8

Koja je Vaša nacionalnost?

☐ Crnogorac

☐ Srbin

☐ Bošnjak

☐ Albanac

☐ Musliman

☐ Hrvat

☐ Drugo

Izaberite odgovor i onda pritisnite 'Dalje'.

Treatment scripts:

Faza: Političko informisanje mladih
Pod-faza: Političko informisanje mladih II

Vrijeme

Istraživanje stanja crnogorske ekonomije

GLAS: Nezaposlenost među mladima porasla!

U posljednjih nekoliko godina, a kao odgovor na zahtjeve Evropske Unije u pregovaračkom procesu, Crna Gora je značajno povećala broj studenata koji pohađaju univerzitete. Međutim, kao posljedica ovakve politike broj nezaposlenih svršenih diplomaca dosegaao je zabrinjavajući nivo. Od posebne važnosti je pitanje da li je visoka stopa nezaposlenosti među ljudima sa univerzitetskom diplomom samo privremena pojava ili odražava hroničnu prekomjernost diplomaca. Statistika kaže da približno 41% visokoobrazovanih mladih ljudi nije u prilici da nađe posao u prve tri godine nakon diplomiranja. Broj mladih i nezaposlenih ljudi sa univerzitetskom diplomom u stalnom je porastu, i čini se da ova 'hiper-inflacija' znanja dodatno stimulisana povećanjem broja privatnih univerziteta.

Petar Marković, potparol Ministarstva rada i socijalnog staranja, prokomentarisao je za naše novine: "Vlada čini sve što je u njenoj moći da stvori mjesta za mlade i obrazovane ljude. Međutim, moramo biti svjesni da nije sva u našim rukama, globalna ekonomska kriza i recesija natjerala nas je na bolne rezove u sektoru javne potrošnje. U prošlosti je bilo mnoštvo državnih poslova koji su bili siguran izlaz za tek svršene studente, ali broj takvih poslova danas je značajno umanjeno. Nažalost, danas smo sve češće u situaciji da stotine studenata pretenduju na isti posao. Kao što sam rekao ranije, crnogorska Vlada daje sve od sebe da obezbijedi poslove za što veći broj mladih ljudi, i na tom polju vidimo neke pozitivne pomake, ali smo svjesni da to neće biti dovoljno. Pokušavamo ohrabriti privatni sektor da se u većoj mjeri počne oslanjati na ovu kategoriju školovanih nezaposlenih ljudi". Dalje smo razgovarali sa Udruženjem poslodavaca u kojoj su bili jednoglasni u ocjeni da je najveći problem ogroman jaz između potražnje na tržištu rada i znanja i vještina koje studenti posjeduju. "Ne dobijamo diplomce kakve tražimo", nastavljaju iz Udruženja. Veliki broj diplomaca, smatraju oni, posjeduju znanja koja su nepotrebljiva na tržištu rada.

Informational board:

Faza:Političko informisanje mladih

Pod-faza: Informaciona tabla

Vrijeme

Srpsko vijeće: Ovo je izgubljena generacija!

DF: Nezaposlenost mladih povećala 'odliv mozgova'

Ministarstvo fin.: Siva ekonomija ozbiljan problem

Gradjanski Pokret: Cijelo društvo plaća

Srpska dijaspora:Etnički nepotizam u zapošljavanju

SNP: Utiče na cijele porodice

Party affiliation slider:

Faza:Političko informisanje mladih

Pod-faza: Političko informisanje mladih I

Pitanje 1 of 11

Demokratska partija socijalista (DPS)? (Kliknite na 'klizač' kako biste ga aktivirali i izabrali vrijednost)

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10

Uopšte mi se ne sviđa

Nemam mišljenje

U potpunosti mi se sviđa

i onda pritisnite 'Dalje'.

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