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Abstract. IBPP has posited some effects of globalization on individual psychologies ("Political Psychology and Globalization" (Vol. 1, No. 13)) and political tactics and structures ("Psychopolitical Effects of Globalization on Power: When Weakness Becomes Strength" (Vol. 1, No. 14.)) This article describes how new information technologies and old principles of social psychology may be combined in an era of globalization for effective information warfare during political conflict.

One denotation of "hardball politics" is doing whatever it takes to achieve political objectives. Doing whatever it takes can include taking liberties with truth and falsehoods through information warfare (IW) in a manner unconstrained by political, ethical, and moral ideologies--save for the belief in the viability of hardball politics--by religious faith and by legal proscriptions. (For a definition of IW see IBPP, Vol. 1, No. 4, "Editorial: An Ethological Approach to Information Warfare.")

This liberty-taking would, at first glance, seem to be significantly furthered by developments in information technologies that ease the collection, analysis, production, and transmission of information--regardless of the information's reliability and validity. However, at least one constraint remains: the psychology of linkage. This psychology includes two significant components. The first is characteristic attribution--how information is perceived so that characteristics are ascribed to targets, e.g., an immoral politician. The second is--causal attribution--how a characteristic or act is ascribed as the cause of some consequence, e.g., a politician's minority status religion is perceived to lead to a decision unpopular with a majority of citizens. Although the psychology of linkage may also be changing in an era of globalization, the psychology of the moment--however old--defines the salient context of the IW variant of hardball politics.

Whether for characteristic or causal attributions, the psychology of linkage seems to be fairly consistent across cultures, societies, and epochs and can be typified by a small number of criteria. (1) Time. An act is likely to be perceived as causing a consequence if the act and consequence are temporally contiguous or proximal. Similarly, a characteristic will likely be ascribed to some target if some manifestation of the characteristic is contiguous or proximal to the target. However, there is one important qualification. The targets of a hardball politician may possess other beliefs about temporal relationships among acts, consequences, and traits leading to characteristic and causal attribution. These beliefs--whether conscious or unconscious--can be easily activated and have significant intensities and associative strengths. In these cases, the IW constraint will not be temporal contiguity and proximity but the temporal relationship required for attribution within the targets' beliefs.

As an example of the time criterion, consider an allegation that the People's Republic of China has illegally funneled money to the Clinton Administration to maintain the lack of formal linkage between Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status and human rights partially. The credibility of this allegation at least partially depends on the temporal relationship between the promise and provision of money--if

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they occurred--and the status of the current delinkage of MFN and human rights policies. As journalists might ask--when did each event occur? Which occurred first? How much time elapsed between events?

(2) Space. An act is likely to be perceived as causing a consequence if cause and consequence are spatially contiguous or proximal. Similarly, a characteristic will likely be ascribed to some target if some manifestation of the characteristic is contiguous or proximal to the target. And as with the time constraint, there's an important qualification. The targets may possess beliefs of different spatial relationships among acts, consequences, and traits leading to characteristic and causal attribution.

As an example of the space criterion, the credibility of the "Chinese Connection" partially depends on where the money might have been promised and delivered in relation to where decisions on trade and human rights are made. (The nature of temporal and spatial beliefs should be a high-priority intelligence collection and analysis objective, as well as being itself a target for intelligence operations. That is, if possible, one should work with what one has. If not, one can attempt to change it.)

(3) Repetition: Intensity and Frequency. The more and more strongly that the hardball politician repeats sequences of acts, consequences, and traits in a manner consonant with a specific attribution, the more likely the attribution will be perceived by targets. Again, there is the important qualification of the target's salient beliefs about the implications of intensity and frequency. This qualification is especially germane for other politicians who may have a paranoid-like perspective on being the target of IW and may, thusly, believe that the lower the intensity and frequency of a specific sequence of acts, consequences, and traits, the more likely an attribution. With differing degrees of paranoid-like perspectives approaching clinical paranoia, targets may harbor a variant of "that's just what they want me to think about what they think about what I think about what they think...."--and so on in an ever-increasing cycle of expectations. At this point, hardball political planners may really have little basis to predict the consequence of IW and may have little need to engage in it. The target's operative tendencies are as engaged as if there were an infinite number of IW activities already ongoing. As an example of the repetition criterion, the more and more strongly the Chinese connection is repeated by the mass media, the more credible the allegation becomes. For political adversaries of the Clinton Administration, the repetition might be moot for their own beliefs, even if useful in creating other adversaries.

(4) Voice. Besides time, space, and repetition, the constraint of voice denotes the likelihood of an appropriate attribution if the acts, consequences, and traits conveyed through IW share a congruence between the active or passive nature of a target's purported role and that of its consequent semantic-linguistic implications. For example, if the allegation that President Clinton solicited Chinese money leads to the inference that President Clinton solicited Congressional supporters of MFN trade-human rights delinkage, then the allegation will be more likely believed. IW that adheres to the voice criterion is the best way to activate supporting social cognition phenomena such as confirmation biases, Pygmalion effects, perseverance, reification effects, reconstructive memory, spontaneous trait inference, and anchoring effects. Again, however, the hardball politician requires intelligence on a possible qualification based on a target's belief system about voice and attribution.

(5) Type. Character attribution and especially causal attribution depend on a group of types. In the latter case, minimally there is proximal cause, distal cause, mechanical cause, material cause, and teleological cause. Intelligence assets need to be employed to delineate which of the above are most salient for specific targets in particular situations. (Note that the situational factor applies to all constraints within the psychology of linkages.) For example, the Chinese connection allegation may be more credible to

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many targets based on what the President's ultimate intent was--i.e., teleological cause--than what he said or did--i.e., mechanical/material cause.

IBPP readers of articles such as "Leadership and Psychopathy" (Vol. 1, No. 2), "Paranoia and Political Leadership" (Vol. 1, No. 9) might wonder how personality variables might be integrated into social psychological data on linkage. For psychopathy the very development and consolidation of linkages might be difficult to attain in situations in which political power is salient. For paranoia the restructuring of already developed and consolidated linkages when political power is salient might be as difficult. For a third variable, narcissism, the linkage to self-esteem might be the sine qua non of the psychology of linkage.

All the above comprises a primer on attacking a politician, building one up, preventing political attacks, and defending against them. Allies and adversaries of the current United States (US) Presidential administration need to develop and navigate their IW efforts within the constraints of the psychology of linkage. Although the means of IW at the hand of a hardball politician may be ever more technically advanced, the social psychology criteria following these advances must still be addressed. (See Fiedler, K., Ambruster, T., Nickel, S., Walther, E., & Asbeck, J. (1996.) Constructive biases in social judgment: Experiments in the self-verification of question contents. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71, 861-873; Hilton, D.J., Smith, R.H., & Kin, S.H. (1995.) Processes of causal explanation and dispositional attribution. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68, 377-387; Newman, L.S., & Uleman, J.S. (1993.) When are you what you did? Behavior identification and dispositional influence in person memory, attribution, and social judgment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 19, 513-525.) (Keywords: Control, Information Warfare, Narcissism, Paranoia, Perception Management, Psychopathy, Social Cognition.)