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A Theory and Practice of Coexistence:
Improving Coexistence Orientation through Mixed-Model
Encounters between Jews and Palestinians in Israel

by

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Declaration

I, Maor Shani, hereby declare that I have written this PhD thesis independently, unless where clearly stated otherwise. I have used only the sources, the data and the support that I have clearly mentioned. This PhD thesis has not been submitted for conferral of degree elsewhere.

I confirm that no rights of third parties will be infringed by the publication of this thesis.

Tel Aviv, February 13, 2016

Signature _____

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Summary

Planned encounters between members of groups in conflict aiming to contribute to reconciliation have long been practiced in regions of intractable conflicts, largely building on the foundations of the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) and more advanced methods of categorized contact (Maoz, 2004a, 2011). Despite a growing body of research, not much is known about their psychological outcomes on individual participants. In particular, there is an evident scarcity of rigorous experimental studies, and there have been almost no assessment of the durability of the effects after participants return to their communities. Prior studies have also overlooked the self-selection bias that is inherent in such activities, as well as the possibility that encounters target and affect only motivated individuals with initial favorable attitudes. Finally, the mechanism through which encounters improve intergroup attitudes and behaviors has not yet been explicated.

Addressing these deficits, this dissertation project examines the effectiveness of a two-day structured encounter program for Jewish and Palestinian youth in Israel, aiming to contribute to coexistence and reconciliation in the country. This program uses a mixed model approach by integrating two ideal types of encounter models, in an attempt to benefit from their advantages, while mitigating their potential drawbacks: one that emphasizes harmony and coexistence, and facilitates interpersonal and social interactions, and one that emphasizes differences and disagreements, and facilitates intergroup-level interactions and dialogue (Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Maoz, 2004a, 2011).

To properly compensate for selection and other possible threats to the internal validity, this study utilized an innovative quasi-experimental design in a field setting, which includes encounter and comparison groups with additional unpretested intervention groups according to the Solomon Four Group Design (Solomon, 1949), which enabled to control for measurement threats (total N = 938). In addition to pretest and posttest, the study included also a delayed posttest 2-4 weeks after the encounter, and a follow-up test one year after the encounter, to assess intermediate- and long-term effects.

The first stage of this research developed a conceptual and empirical framework to measure and assess Coexistence Orientation (CO) among Jewish and Palestinians pertaining to their internal relationship within the State of Israel. Building predominantly on the works of Daniel Bar-Tal (e.g., 2004) and Sami Smooha (e.g., 2010), CO is conceptualized and

operationalized a broad gamut of beliefs, attitudes, emotions, and behavioral intentions required from members of groups in conflict to establish a minimally acceptable state of positive relations, a prelude to more advanced stages of reconciliation. CO is operationalized into a hierarchical index with emotional, cognitive, motivational, behavioral, and political domains of attitudes that are associated with coexistence.

The index of CO was used as the dependent variables to examine the short-, intermediate- and long-term effects of the encounter. With regard to short-term effects, the encounters had a significant and positive effect on CO in both groups. In particular, participation in mixed-model encounters was found to significantly increase positive emotional sentiments such as hope and empathy, readiness for social contact and joint intergroup activities, interest in the other group, support for improving the relations between the groups, and perceived outgroup variability, for participants from both national groups. No significant positive effects were detected among nonparticipants in the comparison group. The effects were overall stronger for members of the Jewish majority than for members of the Palestinian minority, particularly on the cognitive domain (perceived threat and stereotypes). Moreover, the effects remain significant even after controlling for a large set of covariates. In both groups, the effects were stronger for participants who exhibited low motivation to take part in encounters at baseline, compared to participants who were highly motivated for the activity, a finding that contradicts the commonly-held notion that only those who are already converted to the cause benefit from such activities.

The analysis of pretesting effects indicated possible reactive but not interactive effects, largely ruling out the possibility of pretest sensitization. The analysis of intermediate- and long-term effects was limited due to high attrition and affected by attrition bias. There was limited evidence that the encounters have durable effect on the examined variables, and most effects completely faded in the range of one year after the encounter.

Finally, drawing on research on intergroup contact and on affective versus cognitive bases of attitudes, it was hypothesized that intervention effects on readiness for contact and on policy support will be differentially mediated by emotional and cognitive processes, respectively. Multiple mediation analysis indicated that among Jews, increased readiness for contact with outgroup members was mediated only by emotions (simultaneously by increased empathy and hope and decreased hatred), whereas enhanced support for equal rights occurred predominantly through cognitive assessments (less perceived threat and more awareness of inequalities). However, increased readiness for joint activities and decreased political

intolerance were each mediated by both affective and emotional processes. Among Palestinians, increased hope emerged as a central mediator for all effects. Accordingly, it was concluded that confined theoretical and empirical perspectives should be considered over and above overarching theories on differential affective and cognitive mechanisms.

The major limitations of this study relate to its quasi-experimental design. Particularly, despite the efforts to compensate for self-selection bias through analysis of covariance and stratification adjustment, nonrandomized selection may have still compromised the validity and generalizability of the result, and biased the estimates of intervention effects. Finally, practitioners of planned encounters are encouraged to use various means to increase hope among participants and to directly address mutual negative images and perceptions of threats; to use advanced techniques to facilitate effective emotion regulation and to increase cognitive empathy; and to create platforms and opportunities for follow-up activities that may increase the sustainability and durability of positive effects.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. An overview of Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel

This thesis investigates societal and sociopsychological issues related to the *internal* conflict between Palestinian and Jewish citizens of the State of Israel. These relations, however, are not independent of the *external* conflict between the State of Israel and Arab would in general or the Palestinian people in particular. The overwhelmingly negative relations between Jews and Palestinians[1] in Israel, therefore, stem from both an ethnocentric context and a realistic and largely asymmetric conflict between antagonistic social groups over tangible and intangible resources (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000; Haider, 2009; Hasson, 2012; Reiter, 2009; Rouhana, 1997; Smooha, 1992, 2013; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003).

Israel is considered a deeply divided society in terms of the relationship between the Jewish majority and the Palestinian minority, a division reflected in a de facto residential segregation, competing national identities, socioeconomic gaps, political exclusion and structural discrimination against the Palestinian minority, and numerous disputes on fundamental political issues (Haider, 2009; Hasson, 2012; Jamal, 2011; Reiter, 2009; Smooha, 1992, 2013; Yuchtman-Yaar & Shavit, 2004). The Palestinian minority, which in 2011 amounted to approximately 1.6 million people, or 21% of the Israeli population (Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012), originated from the Arab residents of Mandatory Palestine who remained within the borders of the newborn State of Israel after the 1948 war. By and large, it constitutes a non-assimilating minority that preserves its distinction from the majority population, and keeps separate social, cultural, and educational institutes. Many Palestinians in Israel consider themselves as an integral part of the Palestinian people, to whom they are tied by culture, historical narratives, and collective memory. They are a minority in their country, but a part of the dominant regional Arab majority (Reiter, 2009). They see themselves as a native minority (Jamal, 2011), which is trapped in a liminal status, and is marginalized both by Israel and by the Arab world (Haidar, 2006, 2011; Hasson, 2012). The Jewish majority, on the other hand, also preserves its status as a distinct regional minority, and largely distances itself from the dominant Arab culture in the wider region (Reiter, 2009).

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[1] Smooha (2010) found an increase in the identification of Palestinian-Arab citizens of Israel with the Palestinian national identity in the first decade of the 21st century, accompanied by a decrease in self-identifying as *Israeli-Arabs*. In the public discussion in the country, the term *Israel Arabs* still prevails, but it is increasingly perceived as inappropriate and even biased in the eyes of many Palestinian-Arab citizens, and particularly among scholars who investigate Jewish-Palestinian relations (e.g., Bekerman, 2009; Canetti-Nisim, Halperin, Sharvit, Hobfoll, 2009; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Reiter 2009; Rouhana, 1997; Rouhana & Ghanem, 1998; Smooha, 1999; Suleiman, 2004). In this regard, I will make use of terms emphasizing the Palestinian identity of this population. In the measures applied in the study, however, scale items will include the term "Israeli Arabs" with reference to this national group, to prevent confusion with the external Jewish-Palestinian relations among participants.

Hasson (2012) enumerates four groups of factors that shape Jewish-Palestinian internal relations and constitute sociopolitical barriers for their improvement: (1) structural factors, mostly related to the intense security situation and the Middle East conflict; (2) Political factors, including discriminatory policies against, and political marginalization of, the Palestinian minority; (3) Economic and social factors that result in salient inequalities; and (4) Cultural-conceptual factors, including negative public opinion and prevailing mutual negative stereotypes. The cleavage is further shaped by the relationship between the Palestinian minority and the State of Israel, which largely represents the identity and interests of the Jewish majority. Israel is defined in its declaration of independence as a Jewish state, a definition that has been manifested in its dominant Jewish cultural and historical values and symbols and in its legal and institutional preference of its Jewish majority over the Palestinian minority (Gavison, 1999). The tension between Israel's democratic nature that grants Palestinian citizens equal rights and its Jewish nature that gives certain privileges for Jews facilitated Disputes between the two groups in many aspect of social and political life in the country (Dowty, 1999; Reiter, 2009).

Nevertheless, violent clashes between the communities have been rare. October 2000 saw the outbreak of 10-day violent clashes between Palestinian and Jewish citizens, a watershed moment in the country. The governmental commission of inquiry (the "Or Committee") found that among the factors contributing to these events were continuing discrimination against Palestinian citizens, their exclusion from the political system, and common stereotypes and prejudice among both societies toward the other (Haider, 2009; Reiter, 2009; Smooha, 2009, 2010). Even more than a decade after these events, no significant governmental policy change was undertaken, and not much was done to alleviate the increasing tension between Jews and Palestinians (Hasson, 2012; Reiter, 2009). Nevertheless, the current relations between the groups are characterized simultaneously by tension and conflict and by day-to-day cooperation and narrow coexistence (Hasson, 2012; Reiter, 2009; Rouhana, 1997; Rouhana & Ghanem, 1998; Smooha, 2010, 2013; Stephan, Hertz-Lazarowitz, Zelniker, & Stephan, 2004; see also Chapter 2).

1.2. Sociopsychological dimensions of intractable conflicts

Within the broad framework of the internal Jewish-Palestinian conflict, this thesis focuses on its sociopsychological dimensions. The foundations of intergroup conflicts often go beyond commonly studied negative intergroup phenomena such as prejudice and stereotypes

(see Allport, 1954; Duckitt, 1992). Some intergroup conflicts between antagonistic groups, particularly involving ethnic, national, or religious groups (Hamburg, 1998; Horowitz, 1985), are considered destructive in terms of their severity and longevity (Bar-Tal, 2011, 2013). A particular attention in recent scholarly works on conflicts has been paid to *intractable conflicts* (Azar, 1990; Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000, 2007; Kriesberg, 1998b; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003). These are prolonged and chronic conflicts, mainly due to their seemingly complex and unsolvable nature, and the absence of a prospect of peace in the involved societies, whose members largely perceive the conflict as a zero-sum game (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2013; Kriesberg, 1998b). Intractable conflicts are violent, have a major impact of the lives of most individual group members on both sides, and most importantly, they involve severe negative experiences that lead to the evolvement of what Bar-Tal (2011, 2013) call *sociopsychological infrastructure*.

A particularly important component of this infrastructure is the *sociopsychological repertoire* (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005, p. 22) of beliefs, attitudes and emotions. The latter are categorized into three main elements: *collective memory*, which is a shared, selective, and biased historical narrative of the conflict that justifies the outbreak and development of the conflict and that portrays the ingroup as the victim and the rival group as the perpetrator (Bar-Tal, 2011, 2013; Kriesberg, 1998a; Oren & Bar-Tal, 2007); *ethos of conflict*, which integrates societal beliefs about the goals, conditions, and various orientations of the group in the conflict, (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000, 2007; Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006; Rouhana & Bar-Tal, 1998); and *collective emotional orientations*, which are shared by group members and shape negative responses to conflict-related information and events (e.g., Bar-Tal, Halperin, & de Rivera, 2007; Halperin, 2011; Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut, & Drori, 2008). Bar-Tal (2013) explains that the intractability of the conflict is perpetuated through this repertoire, since it provides a clear narrative of the conflict to society members, justifies their collective actions and political positions in the conflict, and helps to mobilize society members to be actively involved in it. Ultimately, the repertoire serves as a psychological "survival kit" for group members, and gives meaning to the hardship of the conflict (Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007).

In *asymmetric conflicts*, particularly between groups existing in the same political entity like Jews and Palestinians in Israel, the advantaged group controls most resources and enjoys privileges and many opportunities for success, while members of the disadvantaged groups encounter a wide range of institutionalized or private forms of discrimination and social injustice (Jones, Engelman, Turner, & Campbell, 2009). Discriminatory mechanisms and practices are fundamentally rooted in societal beliefs that blame the disadvantaged group for its

low status and justify the continuing exploitation (Bar-Tal, 2004; Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). The power disparities between groups lead to different motivations pertaining to the social and political arrangements between the groups: while the advantaged group prefers to maintain the status quo, and perceives it as just and even natural, the disadvantaged group see it as unjust, and its members are often motivated to change it and the arrangements that perpetuate it (Sagiv, 1998; Saguy et al., 2012; Wright & Baray, 2012).

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is often considered as a prototype of an intractable conflict (Bar-Tal, 2013). Jews and Palestinians in Israel diverge in their historical perspectives of the events that shaped their relationships since the early 20th century. The ethos of conflict and the collective memory of Palestinian citizens are largely shared with their Palestinian brethren in the Palestinian Territories and the Palestinian diaspora. Describing the psychological repertories and narratives held by each group is beyond the scope of this thesis (see reviews in Bar-Tal, 1998, 2001; Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2007; Oren & Bar-Tal, 2007; Rouhana & Bar-Tal, 1998). In general, Jewish citizens believe in their own historic and religious attachment to the land, and as a result in their self-determination rights in the land. They see the establishment of Israel as the nation state of the Jewish people as a correction of historical injustices. The Palestinians, on the other hand, see themselves as the indigenous population who were deprived from their land by the Jewish-Zionist movement (Rouhana & Bar-Tal, 1998). Each national group blames the other for the eruption of the conflict, for denying their own right of self-determination, and for responsibility to wars and violence (Bar-Tal, 2011, 2013). These conflicting shared beliefs both shape and are shaped by the nature of the relationship between Jews and Palestinians in Israel, and both influence and are being influenced by the political behaviors of the groups (Reiter, 2009; Smooha, 2010).

In Israel and other conflict-ridden societies (e.g., Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, Cyprus), a *culture of conflict* has evolved, in which symbols of the conflict are integrated into the dominant cultures of both societies. The culture of conflict serves as a basis for the group's social identity and its cultural products, public discourse, and overall collective experiences (Bar-Tal, 2010, 2012). The culture of conflict anchors the sociopsychological repertoire of the conflict, dominates all spheres of life in both societies, and intensifies the socialization of young group members to the conflict, through the education system and the media (Bar-Tal, 2007, 2013). Indeed, children and youth are particularly affected by the dynamics of intractable conflict, as they grow up in the climate of belligerent culture of conflict (Bar-Tal, 2004; Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006; Levy & Hughes, 2009).

In short, societies involved in intractable conflicts construct the mechanisms that guarantee the continuation of the conflict. The sociopsychological infrastructure with its group-specific repertoire of beliefs and emotions serves as a prism through which society members interpret new events and information in their relationship with the other group, and use them to validate existing societal beliefs. Since it encourages hostility, fear, delegitimization, mistrust, and many other negative experiences and orientations, this infrastructure ultimately constitutes a significant barrier to peace, no less than the tangible issues under dispute (Bar-Tal, 2001; Oren & Bar-Tal, 2007).

1.3. Peacebuilding and reconciliation in theory and practice

And still, despite these deeply rooted psychological obstacles to positivity among conflicting societies, there has been a growing recognition among social psychologists that conflict are not deterministic, and war is not inevitable whenever disputes between groups emerge (e.g., Anderson, & Olsen, 2003; Leidner, Tropp, & Lickel, 2013; Worchel & Coutant, 2008). Even the negative psychological infrastructure that perpetuates and intensifies the conflict can be eventually, with hard work, transformed into a positive infrastructure toward peace (Bar-Tal, 2000, 2007; Kriesberg, 1998a; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2007). Overall, the desire for harmony and peace in mankind may balance the natural inclination to conflict (Hamburg, 1998). This desire is often embedded in the process of *conflict resolution*, which often involves a political process between leaders, which culminates in a peace agreement (Zartmen, 2007). Nevertheless, scholars are increasingly becoming aware that the formal process of peacemaking, which relies on intergovernmental or intercommunal negotiations at the leadership level, is not sufficient to achieve the goal of building stable and durable peace. The latter also requires a parallel process at the grassroots level, in order to facilitate a deep societal change (Bar-Tal, 2000, 2004, 2011; Boehnke, Schmidtke, & Shani, 2011; Kelman, 1997; Lederach, 1997).

Bar-Tal describes the *peacebuilding* process as "…continuous exerted efforts by society members, society's institutions, agents, channels of communications, and the international community to realize full lasting peaceful relations with the past rival within the framework of culture of peace" (p. 19, see also Bar-Tal, 2009). The main goal of the societal process of peacebuilding is (or should be) to change the collective repertoire of beliefs, attitudes, and emotions that perpetuate quarrelsome behaviors to one that would support cooperation and mutual acceptance (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2007), or in a broader

sense, to transform the culture of conflict to a culture of peace (Bar-Tal, 2009; Iram, 2006; Korostelina, 2012). This process and its end-state are often termed *reconciliation*, generally defined by Kriesberg (2001, p. 47) as "…an ongoing set of processes moving toward social relations that are regarded as equitable by the people engaged in them". This process, according to Bar-Tal, is "long- complex, and nonlinear" (2011, p. 20).

To what extent can Jews and Palestinians in Israel be effectively progressing toward reconciliation? Two competing theories emerged in the literature on the future of the internal conflict. One approach refers to a gradual increase in *mutual alienation* between communities in a collision course (e.g., Rouhana, 1997; Rouhana & Ghanem, 1998). According to proponents of this approach, while Palestinians-Arabs increasingly embrace the Palestinian identity and harden their views toward the Jewish state, Jewish citizens shift to the political right, and increasingly reject compromise and reconciliation. This creates a negative societal and psychological cycle that leads both societies to move toward an inevitable violent confrontation. In contrast, the thesis of *mutual rapprochement* (Hasson, 2012; Reiter, 2009; Smooha, 1992, 2010) emphasizes the interdependency between the communities and presents a more optimistic outlook on the prospect of long-term coexistence. Scholars in this approach pay particular attention to attitudes and perceptions of Palestinian and Jewish citizens, and claim that these are "less counterproductive to coexistence" than is commonly thought (Smooha, 2010, p. 7). This thesis claims that in parallel to the process of *Palestinization*, described by the mutual alienation approach, the Palestinians in Israel also go through *Israelization*, which is manifested in more openness toward the Israeli-Jewish society, and more commitment to democracy and equality through coexistence and cooperation (Smooha, 1999). In sum, the mutual rapprochement thesis states that it is not unlikely that Jews and Palestinians are on the right path toward reconciliation, while the mutual alienation approach offers a more pessimistic view about the possibility for coexistence and reconciliation in the near future.

1.4. Peace education and people-to-people activities in the Jewish-Palestinian context

The transformation from conflict to peace and from negative to positive intergroup relations requires the involvement of all major social institutions and agents (Bar-Tal, 2009). A salient contribution in the peacebuilding process is reserved to the field of education. Indeed, the education system is perceived as the most important social institution through which

conciliatory values, beliefs, and attitudes can be conveyed to society members in a comprehensive setting (Bar-Tal, 2004, 2009, see also Gordon, 1994). The concept of *peace education* has recently gained importance and attention in societies involved in intractable conflicts in general, and in the context of Jewish-Palestinian relations in particular (e.g., Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Bar-Tal, Rosen, & Nets-Zehngut, 2009; Iram, 2006; Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005; Salomon, 2004, 2006; Yablon, 2007a). Peace education incorporates various educational themes, including education for democracy and citizenship, conflict resolution, and prejudice reduction interventions (Salomon, 2004, 2006). In general, peace education aims to reconstruct values, beliefs, attitudes, emotions, and behavioral of (often young) individual group members who are subjected to intergroup conflict, and to raise their commitment to values such as justice, equality, and tolerance, in order to promote peace and reconciliation (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Bar-Tal, Rosen, & Nets-Zehngut, 2009). In the context of interethnic conflicts, particularly of intractable nature, peace education also deals with issues such as structural inequalities, discrimination, and violence, and attempts to change commonly-held societal beliefs and emotional orientations toward the rival group, to increase legitimization to its narrative, and to elicit support for reconciliation (e.g., Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Salomon, 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 2001).

Ideally, peace education will be applied at a societal level, and would be completely integrated into the education system and other social institutes in a collective attempt to transform the culture of conflict and its negative manifestations (Bar-Tal et al., 2009). However, when the process of peaceful conflict resolution has yet to bear fruit, this is rarely the case, and instead peace education takes the form of targeted, isolated, and often short educational *intervention*. The concept of intervention in educational setting is defined as "a planned modification of the environment made for the purpose of altering behavior in a prespecified way" (Tilly & Flugum, 1995, p. 485). Peace education interventions are usually practiced by organizations in the civil societies and not by the official political systems in each society, although they are sometimes welcomed by the latter (Bar-Tal, 2004; Salomon, 2006, 2009)

The strategies and techniques implemented in such interventions are as diverse as the number of programs (reviews for the Jewish-Palestinian case are available, for example, in Adwan & Bar-On, 2000; Boehnke et al., 2011; Herzog & Hai, 2005). They range from short, one-time interventions to multi-session meetings and even intensive courses that are stretched throughout several weeks, as well as from traditional learning activities in the classroom to arts, sports, theater, and various experiential activities. The foundations of many peace interventions

lie in prejudice reduction techniques, which result from varying theoretical perspectives on the processes of changing affect and cognition in intergroup relations, and which for that past decades have been widely applied in various settings of intergroup relations (see Duckitt, 1992; Paluck & Green, 2009; Stephan & Stephan, 2001). This includes, but not limited to, interventions in education and cooperative learning, common identity models (e.g., Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2008; Eller & Abrams, 2004), perspective taking (Stephan & Finlay, 1999; Todd & Galinsky, 2014), and intergroup contact (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006, 2008; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010; and below). Numerous studies on the effectiveness of such approaches led to the general and widely accepted conclusion that they can indeed reduce prejudice (Paluck & Green, 2009; although see challenges and criticism that emerge from competing perspectives, such as social action, Wright & Lubensky, 2008).

In parallel to peace education, or even in its framework, a wide variety of people-to-people activities have mushroomed in Israel and Palestine since the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993 (see reviews in Abu-Nimer, 2004; Adwan & Bar-On, 2000; Atieh, 2005). The richness and diversity of these activities, targeting mostly young people, can be inferred from narrations of Jewish and Palestinian high school students who took part in this study, in response to an open question asking them to write a few sentences about their prior experience in interactions with outgroup members in school and beyond. It is evident that despite the relative segregation between the communities, there are still vast opportunities for youth from both sides to engage in positive intergroup contact. Among the long-term activities mentioned by students one can find binational sports programs such as *Football 4 Peace*, a project of mixed Jewish-Palestinian football teams and tournaments (see Leitner, Galily, & Shimon, 2012), joint learning projects such as *Middle East Education through Technology* (see Azenkot, Golfinopoulos, Marcus, Springmann, & Varsanik, 2011), or *Common Paths*, an ecological-environmental educational program of the Arava Institute for Environmental Studies (see Sagy & Saulino, 2013), and youth empowerment and leadership programs such as the *Jewish-Arab Parliament* project, which is supported by the Israeli Ministry of Education and creates partnerships between Hebrew and Arabic schools, or the *Youth Business Summer Camp* organized by the Peres Center for Peace. While these activities are indeed diverse and touch upon a wide range of topics and interests, they mainly involve activities at the interpersonal and social level of contact (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, see below), and refrain from dealing with political issues.

1.5. Planned encounters between Jews and Palestinians: From coexistence to confrontation

Many of the aforementioned activities are based upon the influential *contact hypothesis* (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Pettigrew, 1998; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010), which has gained primacy in the prejudice reduction literature and practice over the past decades, and is considered one of the greatest contribution of psychology to building tolerant societies and advancing world peace (e.g., Dixon et al., 2010). This hypothesis generally stipulates that under certain conditions, such as equal group status, meaningful cooperation, and vast institutional support, bringing members of different and often hostile groups together may ameliorate intergroup attitudes (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1997, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008).

This thesis studies a specific type of contact-based interventions that may be considered as an integration of peace education, prejudice reduction, and people-to-people programs, namely *planned intergroup encounters*. In the Jewish-Palestinian context, encounters have become a popular practice aiming to improve relations and promote reconciliation and peace by reducing hostility and prejudice and by increasing mutual understanding and cooperation (e.g., Abu-Nimer, 1999; 2004; Bekerman, 2007; 2009; Maoz, 2004a, 2010, 2011; Suleiman, 2004). These encounters usually last for two or three days, during which Jewish and Palestinian youth, usually high school students, arrive for a series of structured and facilitated activities in a supportive, neutral, and isolated environment (Maoz, 2000, 2004a, 2011).

Maoz (2004a, 2011) distinguishes between several models of encounters. The *coexistence model* aims to foster positive intergroup attitudes by focusing on interpersonal interactions and group similarities. Encounters in this model emphasize themes such as intergroup harmony and cohesion, while refraining from confronting political issues in disagreement between the groups (Amir, Bizman, Ben-Ari, & Rivner, 1980; Brewer & Miller, 1984; Doubilet, 2007, see also Chapter 3). Although the coexistence model has been prominent in the region for many years, it has since the early 1990s come under criticism on both academic and political ground (Bekerman, 2007; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Maoz, 2004a, 2011; Suleiman, 2004). A few arguments can be briefly summarized. First, in a context that lacks egalitarian social norms, which is often the case in deeply-divided societies and asymmetric conflicts, it is hard to establish optimal conditions for contact, and neutralizing power asymmetries is rarely possible (Maoz, 2000, 2011; Tropp, 2006). Second, research shows that due to the socio-psychological dynamics of the ethno-national and protracted conflicts described above, it is unlikely that significant changes in attitude and beliefs will take place merely by interacting with outgroup members, without referring to the core issues surrounding

the conflict (e.g., Rosen & Salomon, 2011; Salomon, 2006). Third, a growing body of literature suggests that members of low-status groups are motivated to enhance their collective identity, to improve their group's position, and to change the status quo, and consequently, prefer intergroup contact to focus not only on communalities but also on group difference (e.g., Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Rouhana & Korper, 1997; Saguy et al., 2012). Finally, it was also recently discovered that focus on commonalities may reduce minority members' commitment to social change (e.g., Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009; Wright & Baray, 2012). As a result, the model was criticized for ignoring institutional discrimination and power disparities, thereby perpetuating existing inequalities (Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Suleiman, 2004).

These concerns led to the development of the alternative model, referred to by Maoz (2004a, 2011) as the *confrontational model*, which is based on techniques of categorized contact (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Hewstone & Brown, 1986). This model makes group membership salient, and emphasizes national identities, contested narratives, and intergroup inequalities, in aim to increase awareness among (mainly) majority members of structural barriers for equality, and to empower the minority members (Doubilet, 2007; Maoz, 2004a, 2011; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Suleiman, 2004; Tatar & Horenczyk, 2003). While the coexistence model, built on the premise of the contact hypothesis, emphasizes harmonious relations by focusing similarities and social relationships and by steering discussion away from politics to superordinate and cross-cutting identities, the confrontational encounter encourages participants to represent their collective identities, which are made salient, as well as to confront issues that are at the core of the conflict (e.g., Doubilet, 2007; Maoz, 2011).

In practice, many contemporary interventions in the Jewish-Palestinian context, particularly in education setting for youth, opt to employ a *mixed model* of encounters (Maddy-Weitzman, 2007; Maoz, 2004a). Mixed-model encounters include both activities that emphasize communalities between the groups, and ones that emphasize the conflict, distinct national identities, and asymmetric power relations within the State. They often begin with self-disclosure and social activities, and gradually expend the level of categorization. The notion of *dialogue* is central to the mixed-model approach. Facilitated dialogue aims to lead participant toward greater mutual understanding and acceptance. In an open and constructive dialogue, participants engage in learning, share experiences, and are encouraged to take the perspective of the other, while critically examine their own perspectives (Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003; Steinberg & Bar-On, 2007). Mixed-model encounters ultimately aim not only to

reduce prejudice, but also to facilitate civic engagement among participants, and ultimately to contribute to a real societal change (Bar-Tal, 2004; Beckerman, 2007; Maoz, 2011).

1.6. The effectiveness of peace education

Within the broad topic of Jewish-Palestinian intrastate relations and the narrow focus on planned and structured encounters between members of these groups, this thesis further narrows down the focus on the *effectiveness* of these encounters, in terms of their impact on individual participants in various psychological and behavioral domains. One important limitation that must be taken into account in any attempt to evaluate the outcomes of peace education in the Jewish-Palestinian context is that at the time of writing, and in the years that preceded this thesis, these interventions takes place while the conflict is still ongoing, and therefore their effectiveness is impaired by the unfavorable sociopolitical as well as sociopsychological conditions. Although practitioners often hope that their efforts will elicit a bottom-up process that will ultimately reach the societal level, these activities can only be systematically evaluated at the individual level. In this regard, studies overall found that peace interventions improve intergroup attitudes, positive emotions, legitimacy to the other group's collective narratives, and readiness for intergroup contact, and decrease stereotypes (e.g., Bar-Natan, Rosen, & Salomon, 2008; Biton & Salomon, 2006; Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005; Rosen & Salomon, 2011;).

With regard to the specific type of activity under investigation, the notion that Jewish-Palestinian encounters reduce prejudice, lead to more favorable intergroup attitudes in multiple domains, and overall improve relations, has become a truism among both practitioners and scholars in the field, although the empirical support for this notion is not overwhelming (e.g., Bar & Bargal, 1995; Maoz, 2000, 2003; Mollov & Lavie, 2007; Yablon, 2009). However, the effectiveness of encounters has been significantly understudied in rigorous experimental studies (Boehnke et al., 2011; Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Nevo & Brem, 2002), and not much is known about the outcome of encounters in the confrontational or mixed-model approaches (Maoz, 2011).

1.7. The goals and structure of the thesis

The three main chapters of this thesis may constitute the extended versions of three "stand alone" research reports, all addressing the social problem of negative Jewish-Palestinian

relations in Israel from different directions. However, all three chapters are based on the same empirical work, and analyze the same dataset collected in the framework of an experimental study on Jewish-Palestinian encounters. Each chapter begins with a review of the theoretical background and relevant prior studies, followed by a description of the methodological practices and considerations, and a presentation of the empirical findings. The results are summarized at the end of each chapter, and further discussed in the concluding chapter of the thesis. These three interrelated studies build on five main shortcomings identified in the current literature on peace education and on intergroup encounters. Each chapter corresponds to particular shortcomings, as detailed below.

1.7.1. Constructing an evaluation framework: Coexistence Orientation and its domains (Chapter 2)

The first shortcoming pertains to the lack of coherent and consistent framework, or set of established scales and measures, through which interventions can be evaluated and their impact can be systematically studied and compared (e.g., Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Salomon, 2006). The effects of intergroup contact workshops were examined using a wide spectrum of dependent variables in the realm of intergroup attitudes and behaviors (e.g., Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005; Maoz, 2000, 2003, 2011; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010; Yablon, 2007a, 2009), but one can hardly find two studies using the same or similar measures of encounters' outcomes, and therefore the possibility to compare results or study long-term trends is highly compromised.

To fill in this gap in the literature, the first stage of this research project, detailed in Chapter 2, attempted to develop an *evaluation framework*, that is, a collection of dependent variables organized within a conceptual structure that is expected to allow a systematic and consistent assessment of intervention effects. This framework and its components are anchored in the recent theoretical literature on reconciliation and coexistence, as well as in the extensive empirical knowledge on beliefs, attitudes, and emotions in intergroup conflicts.

The suggested framework is centered on the concept of *coexistence*, a sociopolitical and sociopsychological status of relations between groups delineating a preliminary stage of post-conflict positivity, in contrast to more advanced forms of positive relations such as reconciliation, positive peace, and harmony (Bar-Tal, 2004; Bloomfield, 2006; Kriesberg, 1998a, 2001; Smooha, 2010; Worchel & Coutant, 2008; see also Weiner, 1998). At the

psychological level, members of coexisting groups, whether in one political systems (such as Jews and Palestinians in Israel) or in two separate systems, recognize the right of both communities to exist peacefully, refrain from prejudice, negative stereotypes, and discrimination, and are committed to a peaceful resolution to the conflict (Bar-Tal, 2004, 2005; Kriesberg, 1998a). Unlike reconciliation, coexistence does not require the complete elimination of the culture of conflict, and the groups may still hold competing societal beliefs and ethos of conflict. Coexistence is, however, perceived by some scholars (Bar-Tal, 2004; Kriesberg, 1998a, 2001) as a necessary prelude to reconciliation, and only after achieving coexistence, societies in conflict are expected to be able to progress toward intergroup harmony.

Despite the growing theoretical sociopsychological literature on coexistence and recognition of the importance of attitudes to coexistence, little effort was done to systematically measure individual differences in such attitudes (Bar-Tal, 2004). With the term Coexistence Orientation (CO) the author aims to capture the "state of mind" of coexistence, that is, the gamut of beliefs, attitudes, emotions, and behavioral intentions that are associated with coexistence and that group members should hold in a state of coexistence (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2004, 2005; Smooha, 2005, 2010). CO will be operationalized into a composite *index* addressing the different domains that characterize coexistence, which takes into account the unique features of the specific sociopolitical context under investigation. This includes an *emotional* domain, comprised of empathy, hope, and hatred; a *cognitive* domain, including stereotypes, perceived threat, and perceived outgroup variability; a *motivational* domain, indicated by support for improving relations and interest in the other group; a *behavioral* domain, reflected by readiness for social contact and joint activities; and a *political* domain for members of the majority group, comprised of perceived equality, support for equal rights, and political intolerance.

This index is developed, measured, and evaluated in Chapter 2. The processes of concept development will largely follow the framework suggested by Adcoock and Collier (2001), and the scale development guidelines detailed in DeVellis (2011). The index of CO will then be used as the evaluation framework to evaluate the effects of Jewish Palestinian encounters in the third chapter. This framework will enable to assess the extent to which encounters contribute to Jewish-Palestinian coexistence, as a necessary first step toward reconciliation.

1.7.2. Increasing methodological rigor in research on planned encounters (Chapter 3)

The next three shortcomings identified in the current literature can all be described as related to the apparent lack of rigor in evaluation. First, prior studies in the field have seldom addressed the selection threat that is caused by the inability to randomly assign participant to the experiment and control group, which often characterizes field studies on peace education (Boehnke et al., 2011; Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Nevo & Brem, 2002; Salomon, 2006, 2009; Church, Visser, & Johnson, 2004; Yablon, 2012). The self-selection threat constitutes a problem in research, since it limits the internal validity of the result, as well as a problem in the practice of encounters, since they may only affect those who are already motivated to take part in them and are prone to be "changed" (e.g., Tausch & Hewstone, 2010). Second, studies have so far not examined the threat of pretest sensitization, according to which intervention effects may be spurious and reflect a measurement bias caused by receiving the pretest prior to the intervention (e.g., Hoogstraten, 1979; Lana, 1969; Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). Most studies have so far examined changes among participants through pre-post comparisons with no control groups, and the possibility that the participants were sensitized by the pretest is not unlikely. Finally, despite the awareness to the need to examine the long-term effects of peace education (Salomon, 2004, 2006; Rosen & Perkins, 2013), only a small number of studies incorporated delayed tests to examine such effects (e.g., Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005; Rosen & Salomon, 2011; Schroeder & Risen, in press). The long-term effects of a typical planned encounter between Jews and Palestinians that includes confrontational, intergroup-level interactions, have not yet been assessed.

The third chapter of this thesis will address these three methodological problems and will present the main analysis of the effects of Jewish-Palestinian encounters using the index of CO as the dependent variable. The intervention will be an encounter program titled "Face-to-Face", conducted by the educational institute Givat Haviva in Israel. Thousands of Jewish and Palestinian high school students between the ages 15 and 18 take part in these encounters every school year. Each encounter is well-structured and includes activities ranging from social acquaintance to joint tasks and political dialogue.

To address the first methodological problem, the study utilized an innovative and unique research design that included multiple comparison groups and four repeated measurements. A relatively large set of covariates was measured to statistically control preexisting differences between the encounter participants and nonparticipants in the analysis of intervention effects, including demographic variables (gender, age, socioeconomic status, and religiosity), prior

contact (prior frequency of contact and perceived contact quality), sociopolitical variables (political orientation, ingroup identification, perceived equality, and perceived state of relations), and personality and value orientations (perspective taking, Hierarchic Self-Interest). Moreover, the analysis will adjust for the expected self-selection bias by employing a stratification based on baseline motivation to participate in a Jewish-Palestinian encounter, which will enable to examine the extent to which the intervention affects students with high motivation compared to those with low motivation.

The second methodological problem mentioned above was addressed by utilizing the Solomon Four Group Design (Solomon, 1949; Solomon & Lessac, 1968). Additional encounter and comparison groups were added to the design and included students who did not receive the pretest. This will allow analyzing pretesting threats and the likelihood of pretest sensitization (van Engelenburg, 1999; Willson & Putnam, 1982). Finally, to properly address the lack of longitudinal assessment, participants received, in addition to pretest and posttest, a delayed posttest two to four weeks after they took part in an encounter, and an additional follow-up test approximately one year afterwards. This will enable to assess the extent to which effects detected immediately after the encounter faded when participants returned to their respective communities and to the negative reality of the conflict for the intermediate-term and the long-term.

Chapter 3 will therefore address several research questions, among them: To what extent do encounters contribute to increasing CO among Jewish and Palestinian participants, and what domains and indicators in the index are particularly affected? Is there a selection bias and are there preexisting differences between the encounter and comparison groups? Are the encounters effective in increasing CO for both motivated and unmotivated participants? Can we rule out the possibility of pretest sensitization? And finally, to what extent do positive effects of the encounters persist for the intermediate- and the long-term?

The chapter will begin with a review of the state-of-the-art in the field of planned encounters in general and in the Jewish-Palestinian context in particular. The shortcomings in the current literature mentioned above only briefly will be explained in details with the relevant prior findings and the applied solutions. This will be followed by a thorough presentation of the research design, and a step-by-step presentation of the analysis. The results will be summarized at the end of the chapter and lengthily discussed in the Discussion chapter, including major limitations and difficulties encountered throughout the project.

1.7.3. Affective and cognitive mechanisms in planned encounters (Chapter 4)

The fifth and final major shortcoming that will be addressed in this thesis relates to the dearth of research addressing the mechanism through which encounter-based interventions improve intergroup attitudes. Advances in the study of contact theory and statistical methodology, such as mediation analysis (Hayes, 2009), have in recent years led to a growing interest in the psychological mechanism through which intergroup contact lead to favorable intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Previous empirical works demonstrated complex affective and cognitive mechanisms of contact effects (e.g., Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci, 2011; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010; Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns, 2007; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a). However, affective mechanisms were found to have a bigger role in mediating contact effects compared to cognitive ones (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a; Tausch, Tam, et al., 2007).

Nevertheless, in the context of asymmetric conflicts and encounters combining decategorized and categorized interactions, the mechanism underlying possible positive effects was so far only theoretically explored (e.g. Abu-Nimer, 1999; Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Suleiman, 2004). To date, no experimental studies of mediation effects occurring in such encounters were published.

The fourth chapter, based on a paper written by the author of this thesis and the first supervisor, Prof. Dr. Klaus Boehnke, will attempt to fill in the gap by analyzing possible paths through which Jewish-Palestinian mixed-model encounters affect policy support and behavioral intentions. Two overarching hypotheses are suggested pertaining to the mechanism that operates in such encounters: First, it is expected that in encounters that integrate interpersonal and intergroup contact, cognitive processes will be no less important than affective processes in bringing about positive effects. Particularly, the chapter will analyze the hypothesis that three emotional constructs (empathy, hope, and hatred), and two cognitive constructs (perceived threat and perceived equality) will mediate the expected positive effects of the encounters on readiness for social interactions with outgroup members and joint activities, and on support for equal rights and political intolerance.

The second main hypothesis examined in the fourth chapter pertains to variations in the cognitive-affective attitudinal base of behaviors, and particularly the susceptibility of the later to persuasion that is based on either emotions or attributes. The cognitive-affective divide in

attitude change was examined both in psychological (Millar & Millar, 1998; Millar & Tesser, 1986, 1989) and sociopsychological contexts (Dovidio, Esses, Beach, & Gaertner, 2002; Esses & Dovidio, 2002). Esses and Dovidio (2002) suggested that contact-related attitudes are likely to be emotionally-based, since the orientation toward this behavior is assumed to be consummatory, while policy-related attitudes are more cognitively-based, since they involve more instrumental intentions (see Millar & Millar, 1998). Integrating this hypothesis with recent findings from research on perceived threat and group-based emotions, several specific hypotheses about the expected strength of emotions versus cognitive evaluations in mediating the effects presented above were developed. These hypotheses will be presented and tested using parallel mediation analysis (Hayes, 2009; Preacher & Hayes, 2008), in which the contribution of the five emotional and cognitive mediators will be compared for each outcome. The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter 4 and discussed at the end of the chapter and in the Discussion chapter.

1.8. Conclusion

The final chapter of the thesis will review and interpret the results of the three main chapters and reexamine them in relations to the theoretical literature and previous studies. It will then present the major contributions of this thesis to the existing literature in various relevant fields of research. This will be followed by reviewing and discussing the major theoretical and methodological limitations of the thesis, presenting several suggestions for future research, and offering a number of practical suggestions to improve the practice of mixed-model encounters in light of the results and in order to increase their sustainability.

In conclusion, this thesis studies both *a theory* and *a practice* of coexistence between Jewish and Palestinians citizens of Israel. It offers one approach to the conceptualization and measurement of coexistence, and evaluates one practice in the field of peacebuilding and peace education. It develops a conceptual and empirical framework to understand and measure the psychological dimensions of coexistence at the level of group members in both societies, and employs this framework in studying the effects of a typical, mixed-model encounter program on a wide range of intergroup beliefs, attitudes, and emotions. It utilizes an innovative and complex research design that attempts to overcome major methodological limitations that have so far accompanied research on peace education and encounters. Finally, it offers a novice but pioneer investigation of the mechanism through which participation in such encounters

facilitates a much desired attitudinal change in political and behavioral domains, a step toward achieving Jewish-Palestinian reconciliation.

Chapter 2

Conceptualizing, Operationalizing, and Measuring Coexistence Orientation among Jewish and Palestinian Youth in Israel

2.1. Introduction

The multilayer process of conceptualization, operationalization, and measurement of Jewish-Palestinian *Coexistence Orientation* (CO) attempts to adhere to the guidelines suggested by Adcock and Collier (2001). According to this four-level framework, *conceptualization* begins from relevant *background concepts* from which the meaning for the concept of interest can be derived and reframed. The conceptualization results in formulating and explicitly defining the *systemized concept* that fits the specific context and the research goals. The process of *operationalization* involves careful selection of indicators, which will be then used to empirically measure the concept and to classify cases.

Based on this framework, Figure 1 presents the four levels of the process that is about to follow in order to conceptualize CO from the background concepts of intergroup reconciliation and coexistence, to operationalize it into a set of five *domains*, each with measurable *indicators*, and to measure and validate it in the context of Jewish-Palestinian internal relations in the State of Israel. A composite *index* of CO as a third-order construct will be offered. The index is comprised of items measuring *indicator subscales* (level 1), which are nested in *domain scales* (level 2). The composite score on all domain scales combined indicates the *Overall CO* (level 3). Although an index of individual-level coexistence is not available the existing literature, some of the suggested indicators are commonly studied in social psychology, while others will be developed in the conceptualization and operationalization process.

The first part of the chapter will systematically define and operationalize CO as a meta-construct with five psychological domains from the sociopsychological literature on reconciliation and coexistence. The subsequent section will detail the process of compiling the index of CO, which included constructing new subscales and conducting a small pilot study ($N = 83$) to achieve the final set of items in the index[2]. Thereafter, the index will be thoroughly examined on a large sample ($N = 750$) of Jewish and Palestinian high school students (aged 15-18), who completed the index and other measures in the framework of an intervention study (see Chapters 2 and 3).

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[2] It is important to stress that the study does not aim to establish cross-cultural equivalence of the index, which is perceived as a context-specific and group-specific measure, whose dimensions are derived from the distinct roles of the advantaged group compared to the disadvantaged group in the conflict. Although similarities and differences between the groups will be explored, this study does not aim to systematically compare Jewish and Palestinian orientations toward coexistence, and most analyses will be performed separately for each group.

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│   ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐   │
│   │            Level 1: Background concepts                      │   │
│   │  Positive peace; Reconciliation; Coexistence; Intergroup     │   │
│   │  attitudes and emotions                                      │   │
│   └─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘   │
│   ┌──────────────────────────────────┐                              │
│   │ Conceptualization of meta-construct │                          │
│   │        and domains               │                              │
│   └──────────────────────────────────┘                              │
│   ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐   │
│   │            Level 2: Systemized concept                       │   │
│   │  Coexistence Orientation (CO): emotional, cognitive,         │   │
│   │  motivational, behavioral, and political                     │   │
│   └─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘   │
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Level 1: Background concepts

Positive peace; Reconciliation; Coexistence; Intergroup attitudes and emotions

Conceptualization *of meta-construct and domains*

Level 2: Systemized concept

Coexistence Orientation (CO): emotional, cognitive, motivational, behavioral, and political

Operationalization *of indicators and context-specific measures*

Level 3: Context-specific and group-specific Indicators

Emotional CO (empathy, hope, hatred)

Cognitive CO (perceived threat, stereotypes, perceived variability)

Motivational CO (support for improving relations, interest in the outgroup)

Behavioral CO (readiness for social contact, readiness for joint activities)

Political CO (majority group: perceived equality, support for equal rights, political intolerance)

Measuring *the index of CO (domain scales and indicator subscales)*

Level 4: Measurement and validation

(1) Small pilot testing; (2) Survey among Israeli Jews (n = 392) and Palestinians (n = 358), examining **antecedents and** establishing **convergent validity**

Figure 1. The process of conceptualization, operationalization, and measurement of Coexistence Orientation. Partially adapted from Adcock and Collier (2001, p. 531).

The data will be analyzed in three stages. First, the psychometric properties and the reliabilities of the measures will be examined across the three levels of CO. This preliminary analysis will offer insights into the extent to which both communities are oriented toward coexistence, and into the relationship between the different domains and their indicators. It should be emphasized, however, that the data was not gathered from representative samples of the Jewish and Palestinian populations. The second stage of the analysis will examine demographic, sociopolitical, and personality antecedents of CO, which will also be used to evaluate the construct validity of the index, that is, whether the domains of CO are consistent with individual-difference variables that are theoretically expected to be related to CO (DeVellis, 2011; Robinson, Shaver, & Wrightsman, 1991). Moreover, it will examine if and to what extent the emotional, cognitive, and motivational domains of CO predict policy-related

attitudes over and above demographic and sociopolitical variables in each national group. The third part of the empirical analysis takes a person-centered approach. Utilizing cluster analysis, it aims to explore how individuals within each national group can be grouped into relatively homogeneous subgroups, based on their similarities across the conceptual domains of CO. The results will be summarized at the end of the chapter, and further discussed in the final chapter of the dissertation.

2.2. *From reconciliation to coexistence: Sociopsychological dimensions of post-conflict positive relations*

Once the peacebuilding process is set in motion, what should be its ultimate goal, except for the general desire to achieve peace? How would the relationship between groups look like after a desirable transformation of a destructive conflict is achieved? And what kind of accommodation between past rivals can guarantee lasting harmonious relations?

Various concepts have been ascribed to portray the nature of positive relations between communal groups following a successful conflict resolution, with a particular attention to the sociopsychological dimensions of the relations between groups, such as harmony, multiculturalism, positive peace, reconciliation, and coexistence (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2004, 2009; Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Bloomfield, 2006; Dwyer, 1999; Hermann, 2004; Kriesberg, 1998a; Lederach, 1997; Rouhana, 2004; 2011). Despite an overall lack of conceptual clarity, recently there has been a growing interest in developing specific conceptual frameworks to understand positive intergroup relations at both the sociopolitical and the sociopsychological level (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2004, 2009; Meierhenrich, 2008; Rouhana, 2011; Stephan, 2008).

Following these developments, one is now able to place various types of positive intergroup relations after conflict on a continuum according to their degree envisioned positivity and peacefulness. At one pole of this continuum we may place concepts that describe completely harmonious relations, characterized by mutual recognition and acceptance, cooperation across all realms of life, mutual trust, positive attitudes, and fortified mechanisms for continuing and enhancing positivity (e.g., Lederach, 1997; Meierhenrich, 2008; Rouhana, 2011). The opposite pole, however, may refer to frameworks that are less optimistic and demanding, but in which groups are still in a more favorable situation than they were throughout the violent conflict. Two prominent concepts that can represent these two contrasted ideal types

of positive intergroup relations, which have gained a considerable academic attention, are *reconciliation* and *coexistence*.

The term reconciliation has been used to delineate the most harmonious form of relationship between groups after conflict. The definitions of reconciliation are highly heterogeneous and vary across and within disciplines (Dwyer, 1999; Hermann, 2004). While the concept is often used to refer to a wide array of processes and outcomes of positive societal relationships (Rouhana, 2011), most theoreticians of reconciliation agree that it involves a genuine process to terminate conflict between groups and transform social and political relationships beyond the settlement of conflict (e.g., Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Kriesberg, 2004; Rouhana, 2004, 2011). In the literature, reconciliation is perceived both as a multi-faceted and long-term *process* of post-conflict societal transformation, and as a goal or *end-state* of this process (Bloomfield, 2006).

Focusing on the process, Lederach (2001) defines reconciliation as a "dynamic, adaptive process aimed at building and healing" (p. 847) among formerly rival groups. Similarly, Bloomfield (2006) defines reconciliation as an umbrella term for an "overall relationship-oriented process" (p. 11) between alienated communities, which includes, among other instruments, the search for justice built on democratic practices and human rights principles, truth-seeking and acknowledge of past events, and a process of reparation, through economic as well as symbolic compensation (Bloomfield, 2006). These instruments are interdependent, work in parallel, and together contribute to achieving reconciled society (Bloomfield, 2006; Lederach, 2001).

The definition of reconciliation as an outcome tends to be rather idealistic, optimistic, and sometimes quite abstract (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Bloomfield, 2006) .It includes both structural arrangement at the societal and political levels, and sociopsychological elements at the grassroots level. In general, reconciliation as a desirable outcome of peacebuilding refers to the accommodation of genuine, stable, and durable peaceful relations between societies. It is achieved and maintained with the support and involvement of major social, cultural, and political institutions, and requires the support of the majority of the population in each group (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004). According to Lederach (1997), reconciliation following an intra-state conflict consists of four elements: *truth* pertaining to the past and acknowledgement of past wrongs; *mercy* in the present and future orientations, which stems from forgiveness and compassion; *justice*, which requires social restructuring; and *peace* that would promise cooperation societal mechanism to advance the well-being and security of both groups.

Moreover, *intrastate* reconciliation must involve the establishment of institutionalized mechanisms and democratic reforms that will remove any structural barrier, foster cooperation and integration, protect equal opportunities and human and civil rights, and abolish any form of discrimination and racism (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Kelman, 2004). According to Rouhana (2004, 2011), in asymmetric conflicts with past injustices and large-scale violence, the ultimate goal of the political process of reconciliation is to profoundly change the power relation. This involves creating a new symmetrical framework based on dignity, structural justice, truth, historical responsibility, and equality (Rouhana 2004, 2011).

More important for the purposes of this study, reconciliation requires a deep change in entrenched beliefs, attitudes, emotions, and motivations of the majority of society members with the regard to the conflict and the other group (Bar-Tal, 2011; Lederach, 1997; Rouhana, 2004). According to Bar-Tal and Bennink (2004), the psychological elements reconciliation involves "mutual recognition and acceptance, invested interests and goals in developing peaceful relations… non-violence, mutual trust, positive attitudes, and sensitivity and consideration of the other party's needs and interests" (p. 16). For reconciliation to emerge, group members must adopt new perspectives on past events, new collective memories, and even shared narratives, and must be able to acknowledge past misdeeds (Asmal, Asmal, & Roberts, 1996; Hayner, 1999). Particularly, shared justifications for the conflict and the continuous animosity should be changed into beliefs about the necessity and advantages of peaceful and friendly relations; delegitimization and demonization of the enemy must be replaced with positive perceptions that humanize the rival group; past conflict-related events and developments should be perceived more objectively and critically; and finally, negative emotions such as fear and hatred, should be overcome and replaced with positive emotional orientations such as hope and empathy (Auerbach, 2009; Bar-Tal, 2000, 2009; Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Halperin, Sharvit, & Gross, 2011; Rouhana, 2011).

Moreover, conciliatory actions between former adversaries are also amplified by group-based moral emotions such as guilt and shame. Collective guilt by groups responsible for moral misconducts plays a major role in the process of healing the negative collective memories of the involved societies (Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006). Kelman (2004) even claims that reconciliation requires an identity change, in which the conflicting parties must alter their negative interdependence to positive interdependence. The psychological and structural elements of reconciliation are complementary and interdependent. Moreover, Rouhana (2011) argues that the societal transformation toward reconciliation requires a holistic process that

includes both establishing equality-based democratic institutions and a deep societal psychological change.

While most scholars agree that fostering reconciliation is a vast interest for humankind, many also doubt that in the current conditions of many intractable conflicts and divided societies, such positive relations can be achieved. In fact, no ideal harmonious relationship as theoretically described above is known to exist in post-conflict societies (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Kriesberg, 2004). Sampson (2003) even claims that reconciliation is based on nostalgia to a real or imaginary past, of pre-conflict relationship based on friendship and understanding. The process of reconciliation, as described in the literature, can spread across many decades and is rarely a linear progress toward positive peace. It requires a well-panned and community-wide effort involving all social institutes and the vast majority of society members (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2009, 2011; Baron, 2008; Bloomfield, 2006).

A genuine process of reconciliation would not be successful when mistrust is high and cooperation between the sides is preliminary and incomprehensive (Nadler & Saguy, 2004), and when the sides are in deep disagreement about what constitutes justice (Wohl et al., 2006). A particular challenge for reconciliation is that in most conflicts, such as the one between Jews and Palestinians, both groups are convinced that they are the victims, and neither is willing to take responsibility for past wrongs (Horowitz, 1985; Worchel & Coutant, 2008). Moreover, reaching a narrative integration is almost impossible (Auerbach, 2009). All these difficulties are exacerbated by the fact that reconciliation cannot be achieved if these processes are not sincere and do not occur in both sides simultaneously.

2.3. Coexistence and its psychological underpinnings

Considering the barriers to reconciliation in intractable conflicts, scholars have reflected upon more preliminary and plausible frameworks for positive intergroup relations after conflict. A prominent concept in this line of theorizing is coexistence. Compared to reconciliation, the literature on coexistence is scarce and underdeveloped (Bar-Tal, 2004; Kriesberg, 1998a, 2001, 2004; Worchel & Coutant, 2008). Coexistence is described by some scholars as a broad term covering the range of realistic or mundane alternatives to ideal harmony, all of which involve granting legitimacy for the rival group to inhabit a common space, as well as the rejection of political violence (Bar-Tal, 2004; Bloomfield, 2006). Kriesberg (1998a, 2001) argues that coexistence can indicate anything between the mere absence of violence (i.e., negative peace)

to relations based on trust, cooperation, and structural justice. McCandless (2001) emphasizes the negative-poled elements of coexistence, which involves "… sharing space or tolerating each other in a way that appeals to self-interest while affirming the rights of the other to life" (p. 213-214). Afzali and Colleton (2003) distinguish between sub-categories of coexistence, which may be located on a continuum ranging from negative coexistence to positive coexistence, the latter of which attests to a high degree of social integration and harmony, although they do not explain if and how positive coexistence differs from reconciliation.

Not surprisingly, some scholars are highly critical of coexistence. For example, Rouhana (2004, 2011) sees coexistence as a form of political arrangement in the framework of conflict settlement, which at most requires the reduction of mutual fears, awareness of outgroup heterogeneity, and cooperation in some spheres. He argues that coexistence does not lead to a genuine mutual recognition between conflicting parties, does not reflect the collective needs and interests of the weaker party, and involves mostly mechanisms that ignore the asymmetric nature of many conflicts, such as the Jewish-Palestinian one. Indeed, the term "peaceful coexistence" originates in the political discourse of the Cold War (Kriesberg, 1998a). However, during the past two decades it has somewhat gone through a "conceptual makeover" by both political scientists and social psychologists and has been stripped of its negative connotation (Bekerman, 2011).

Accordingly, Bar-Tal (2004, 2005) perceives coexistence as a more specific form of relationship between groups at the social, cultural, and psychological level, which ultimately goes beyond minimalistic and negative peace. Meierhenrich (2008) claims that when reconciliation cannot take place as a consensual and voluntary process, and as a result, forgiveness and mercy are absent from the process, it may result in mere coexistence, which according to him, is simply a form of mutual tolerance and restraint that is far less demanding than reconciliation. At the structural level, for example, coexistence does not involve the complete abolishment of social inequalities and discrimination, nor does it require a major change in the power relations (Bar-Tal, 2004). Smooha (2010) defines coexistence as "two communities in conflict agreeing on the state's borders and political system, having loyalty to the state, regarding life together as desirable, and maintaining voluntary relations in addition to necessary contacts" (p. 16). This definition includes both structural and psychological elements of coexistence, which go beyond the meaning attached to negative or cold peace.

Unfortunately, the research on the sociopsychological elements of coexistence is still in its infancy, and what is so far known is mostly based on the works of Bar-Tal (2004, 2005,

2009, 2011), who sees individual-level beliefs, attitudes, and emotions as no less important to coexistential intergroup relationship than structural elements. Bar-Tal emphasizes that changing the nature of the relations requires a change the very psychological repertoire than fuels the conflict. Bar-Tal enumerates five main components of coexistence at the sociopsychological level: (1) *Nonviolence*, referring to the willingness of both sides to abandon violent confrontation and to acceptance of peaceful conflict resolution as the desirable mean to construct positive relations; (2) *Legitimacy*, which involves recognizing the other group and accepting its right to raise contentions and grievances to be resolved peacefully; (3) *Pluralization and personalization*, which involve viewing outgroup members are ordinary individuals with legitimate and varying needs, morally-justified aspirations, and hopes; (4) *equality*, which involves accepting the status of the other group as an equal partner toward reconciliation, rejection of superiority, and support for the principle of equal treatment and equal rights; and (5) *reduction of negative emotions* toward the outgroup, such as fear and hatred, and the introduction of positive emotions such as hope.

It is important to emphasize that despite being situated at the two opposite poles of the continuum of positive intergroup relations, coexistence and reconciliation are largely perceived as complementary rather than competing frameworks. The importance of coexistence lies in its status as a fundamental prerequisite for the evolvement of reconciliation (Bar-Tal, 2004; Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004). Accordingly, Burns, McGrew, & Todorovic (2003), who studied reconciliation in Rwanda, argue that coexistence is essentially the process through which reconciliation is nurtured and ultimately achieved. Reconciliation is therefore only possible following a certain period of coexistence, during which the involved groups work on enhancing their relations toward higher forms of positive peace. While reconciliation requires both groups to create a "sense of ending" in their relationship (see Borneman, 2002), coexistence may not require more than a positive "sense of beginning", after years of mutual hostility. In sum, coexistence is an initial, unsatisfactory, but crucial step in the gradual transition toward harmonious intergroup relations, as embodied in reconciliation.

2.4. Is there Jewish-Palestinian coexistence in the State of Israel?

The term coexistence has long been a "buzzword" in the political and public discourses in Israel with regard to the desirable relationship between Jewish and non-Jewish citizens. Nevertheless, the colloquial meaning of "Jewish-Arab Coexistence" does not always overlap

with its scholarly definition as detailed above. Moreover, Jews and Palestinians often disagree on the meaning of the term and its consequences for the sociopolitical reality in the country. While Jewish citizens often emphasize positive interpersonal and social aspects of the relationship as indicative of coexistence, the Palestinians point out political and civic aspects of the relationship to stress that coexistence is still largely unattainable (Stephan et al., 2004).

Scholars in the field are in agreement that Jews and Palestinian-Arabs in Israel have still not entered a meaningful process of reconciliation, mainly due to the ongoing intractable conflict in the region (e.g., Hasson, 2012; Jamal, 2011; Rouhana & Ghanem, 1998; Smooha, 1999, 2013). But pertaining to coexistence, there are different perspectives and opinions. At the macro-structural level, according to Smooha (2010, 2013), Jewish-Palestinian internal coexistence requires Israel to accommodate the Arab minority while preserving its Jewish character. Coexistence is, however, not compatible with a preferential treatment of Jews, and therefore socioeconomic, political, and even symbolic forms of discrimination should be abolished. Moreover, cultural and national collective rights should be granted to the Palestinian minority, and efforts should be made to include Palestinian-Arab political groups in the high-level decision-making process. Smooha (2010) also claims that a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinian people, and the creation of a Palestinian independent state, are necessary for the establishment of internal coexistence.

On the one hand, current state politics toward Palestinian citizens are rather ambivalent. While some policies are benevolent and fit Israel's democratic character, others are directly or indirectly discriminatory and indicate its preference of the Jewish majority (Haider, 2009; Smooha, 2010, Yuchtman-Yaar & Shavit, 2004). According to Hasson (2012), since 2000 the civic tension between the communities or between the State and the Palestinian minority has intensified, despite a reduction in inequalities and institutionalized discrimination. Recent years have seen in increase in proposed legislation to impose restraint on the political activities of Palestinian citizens, which can be considered as forms of political persecution. This resulted in a steady decline in Palestinian voting rates in the national elections from 75% to 52% between 1999 and 2009 (Smooha, 2010). Recent years have also seen increasingly confrontational political behavior by Palestinian leaders and intellectuals in Israel. A salient example is the 2006 Future Vision Documents by Israeli-Palestinian groups, demanding that Israel loses its Jewish character and adopt bi-nationalism (Smooha, 2010), which was accepted by many Jewish citizens with antagonism and frustration, and ultimately has increased mutual suspicion and distrust. A peaceful settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is still far from reach, and

violent conflict-related events in different levels of intensity continue to occur. Many Palestinians are increasingly voicing their criticism of Israel's policies toward the Palestinian Territories, which has increased animosity and mutual perceptions of threat (Reiter, 2009; Smooha, 2013).

On the other hand, Smooha (2005, 2010) and Hasson (2012) argue that the current political arrangements and the social structure of Jewish-Palestinian relations can be characterized as "a minimal coexistence". All in all, Jews and Palestinians in Israel cohabitate peacefully, and violence between the communities has been rare. In recent years, the Palestinian minority has gone through an accelerated empowerment, has overcome economic and political barriers, and has transformed from a marginal and vulnerable group to a politically mobilized national minority (Smooha, 2010). Numerous Arab civil society organizations operate in Israel and deal with a wide variety of issues concerning Palestinian citizens (Reiter, 2009, see also Payes, 2005). Since Israel is a parliamentarian democracy, Palestinian-Arab citizens enjoy political freedom, civil rights, and their collective cultural rights are generally respected by the State (Reiter, 2009). More importantly, cooperation between Jews and Palestinians continue to grow (see Chapter 1). Despite the continuing segregation, Palestinian citizens are also increasingly integrated into Israeli society, particularly in education and health services (Reiter, 2009). Jews and Palestinians in Israel have daily encounters in positive atmosphere in many public places.

The internal relations between Jews and Palestinians are also ambivalent at the sociopsychological level, as evident from recent public opinion surveys. On the one hand, research has documented prevailing mutual negative stereotypes, prejudice and alienation between the two communities (e.g., Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Smooha, 1999, 2005). According to Bar-Tal and Teichman (2005), ethnocentric beliefs in the Jewish majority led to negative stereotypes and prejudice toward the Palestinian minority, and consequently to support for discriminatory policies. Rejection of equal rights and political intolerance were also found to be prevalent in the Jewish population. For example, one-third of the Jewish citizens would deny Palestinian citizens the right to vote in national elections, and more than 70% think that Arab citizens who define themselves as Palestinians cannot be loyal to the state and its laws (Smooha, 2010). Another survey showed that 53% of the Jews in Israel want the country to encourage the emigration of Palestinian citizens, and 86% think that crucial decisions about the future of the country should exclude the Palestinian minority (Arian, 2010). In recent years, the Palestinians in Israel are also increasingly adopting hawkish ideologies and perspectives about

the conflict and rejecting compromise (Hasson, 2012). Despite the rising standard of living among Palestinian citizens, their sense of relative deprivation in comparison to the Jewish majority has not subsided (Reiter, 2009). Smooha (2010) found growing feelings of alienation, deprivation and fears among Palestinians between the years 2003-2009, as well as in personal suffering from threats and insults from Jewish citizens on a national background.

Nevertheless, based on analysis of survey data over 25 years, Smooha (2010) claims that the majority of Jewish and Palestinian Israelis accept the framework of coexistence and are committed to the democratic process. For example, in 2009 a survey found that approximately 75% in each group support friendly relations between them, and 67% of the Jewish citizens accept Palestinian citizens as full members of Israeli society (Smooha, 2010). In contrast to media reports and the common public impression, there are no evidences of hardening of Israel Jews' positions toward the Palestinian minority. A survey from 2007 found that the vast majority of Jews and Palestinians believe that both groups must be treated with mutual respect and equal opportunities (Pittinsky, 2008). The majority of Jewish citizens agree that socioeconomic and civil equality should be enhanced (Smooha, 2010).

In sum, while Jews and Palestinian are politically polarized and the current political arrangements perpetuate existing gaps and power asymmetries, the two groups enjoy pragmatic daily cooperation in a largely calm and peaceful atmosphere. At the sociopsychological level, the majority on both sides is interested in improving relations and promoting coexistence, but the two societies still largely exhibit negative beliefs and attitudes that are incompatible with coexistence.

2.5. The meta-construct of Coexistence Orientation and its psychological domains

The findings in the previous section emphasize the need to systematically measure the extent to which both communities are oriented toward coexistence. As mentioned earlier, a central element of coexistence is its psychological one. This is a "state of mind" that is shared by society members, and includes several attitudinal dimensions that are necessary for promoting peaceful intergroup relations (Bar-Tal, 2004, 2005). This study suggests a framework to capture this psychological state of coexistence at the level of individual group members through the meta-construct of Coexistence Orientation (CO). CO is conceptualized as a multifaceted construct that integrates the gamut of beliefs, attitudes, emotions, and behavioral tendencies that are compatible with, or necessary for the establishment of coexistence in post-

conflict intergroup relations. It is essentially as a long-term disposition toward coexistence. CO is not merely the extent to which individual group members support coexistence, but rather the extent to which their intergroup psychological repertoire is sufficiently positive for coexistence to emerge.

In order for individuals to be oriented toward coexistence, they do not need to radically change the core societal beliefs that characterize the sociopsychological repertoire of the conflict (see Chapter 1), but they must ameliorate some beliefs, attitudes, and emotions that are detrimental to coexistence (see below). Orientation toward coexistence or more advanced positive relations must be achieved in both parties, although in an asymmetric conflict, the required orientation entails different attitudinal components for each group (Kriesberg, 1998a; Lederach, 1997; Rouhana, 2004). Achieving a high orientation to coexistence is a necessary accompaniment of the political transformation toward coexistence, and therefore political and psychological coexistence are mutually interdependent. It is not likely that state-enforced political coexistence will emerge when the majority of members of both groups are not sufficiently oriented toward such accommodation, nor it is likely that coexistential political arrangements will be achieved without substantial societal support.

Furthermore, the importance of CO is also in its potential to serve as a bridge between coexistence and more advanced stages of the reconciliation process. Changing the sociopsychological repertoire of societies in conflict is a long and difficult process (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2011; Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2011), and CO may signify a preliminary change in the right direction. When a society in conflict is characterized by high CO, it should also be ready to engage in a meaningful process of reconciliation, if political conditions allow.

The sociopsychological literature on coexistence and other forms of positive intergroup relations reviewed above suggest that CO may be comprised of five psychological facets or domains, each referring to a different psychological aspect of coexistence: emotional, cognitive, motivational, behavioral, and political. Each CO domain can potentially include a wide array of beliefs, attitudes, and emotions. Operationalizing each domain to include all or even most of the relevant psychological constructs is largely infeasible. Therefore, two to three indicators for each domain will be suggested. The selected indicators are therefore illustrative more than exhaustive of the domains they represent.

This work focuses on the case of coexistence and CO in the context of the relationship between Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel. Although the author believes that the term

can be applied in other contexts of intergroup conflict, its further elaborated conceptualization and operationalization suggested below is specifically adapted to this context. The following subsections elaborate on the suggested CO domains and indicators and explain their role in the framework of coexistence and CO.

2.5.1. Emotional Coexistence Orientation

Group-based emotions play a central role in the various stages of interethnic conflicts and their transformation (e.g., Halperin, 2011; Halperin et al., 2011; Horowitz, 1985). These are subjective feelings experienced by individuals as a result of their group membership (Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007). Such emotions arise in relation to events and information in the conflict, or as *intergroup emotions*, when they are directed toward individuals and social groups (Halperin et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2007). The domain of *Emotional CO* (ECO) pertains to long-term and relatively stable *emotional sentiments* experienced by individuals in an intergroup context not in response to any specific event, action or information, but as a general emotional disposition (e.g., Frijda, 1994, 2004; Halperin, 2011; Halperin et al., 2011). Such emotional sentiments often constitute orientations toward specific emotion, such as anger and hatred (see below), and facilitate specific emotional responses to events and information in the conflict (Halperin et al., 2011). Positive intergroup relations cannot be facilitated without group members holding certain favorable emotions that would prevent negative appraisals (Halperin et al., 2011). Accordingly, coexistence requires positive affective orientations about the relations between the groups and the other group. In general, collective emotional orientations that characterize the conflict repertoire, such as fear, anger, and hatred, should be replaced by positive emotions such as empathy and hope (Bar-Tal, 2004, 2005; Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut, & Drori, 2008; Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal., 2006).

Three indicators are suggested to understand and measure ECO: the first pertains to positive emotions toward the outgroup, the second to negative emotions toward the outgroup, and the third to emotions directed at the relationship between the groups.

Empathy. Emotional empathy or empathic concerns refers to either *parallel empathy* or emotion matching, that is, emotional responses that are similar to those of another person ("feeling as another"), or *reactive empathy*, or *empathic concerns*, which involves a reaction to another person's emotional experience ("feeling for another"), and positive feelings toward another person who is in need (Batson & Ahmad, 2009; Tod & Galinsky, 2014). In both cases

empathy is linked to meaningful feelings of sympathy and compassion (Stephan & Finley, 1999). Empathy may facilitate the reconciliation process by increasing compassion toward the rival group, willingness to forgive the opponent, and support for reconciliation (Halperin et al., 2011; Meierhenrich, 2008; Nadler & Liviatan, 2006), and therefore it may be particularly important for transforming mere coexistence into reconciliation in more advanced stages of peacebuilding.

Hatred. The negative emotion of hatred in intergroup context is defined by Halperin, Canetti, and Kimhi (2012) as "a secondary, extreme, and continuous emotion that is directed at a particular group and that fundamentally and all-inclusively denounces it" (p. 2). Hatred is among the most destructive emotional sentiments in conflict (Halperin, 2008). Hatred leads to a fundamental rejection and exclusion, support for violence, and delegitimization and demonization of the other group (e.g., Oren & Bar-Tal, 2007; Sternberg, 2003). In empirical studies, hatred was found to increase negative outgroup perceptions and commonly held stereotypes and prejudice, and consequently to amplify behaviors such as political intolerance and discriminatory actions and related policy support (Halperin, 2011; Halperin, Canetti-Nisim, and Hirsch-Hoefler, 2009).

Hope. Hope is an affective construct signifying positive feelings that are influenced by the expectations and beliefs that positive goals are about to materialize, and that successful pathways to achieving these goals are available (Snyder et al., 1991; Staats & Stassen, 1985). The role of hope in improving intergroup relations and promoting peacebuilding after conflict was recently demonstrated (e.g., Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut, & Almog, 2008; Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut, & Drori, 2008; Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006). Unlike other emotional sentiments reviewed above, hope is not directed toward the outgroup but toward the intergroup relations themselves. Moreover, hope involves both cognitive and affective processes (Lazarus, 1999). In the context of intergroup conflict, hope reflects a desire for positive goal orientations and positive outlook for a peaceful future (Bar-Tal, 2011; Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal., 2006). Hope plays an important role in the de-escalation of conflicts, since it involves an aspiration for a positive outcome in the relations between the groups, and since it allows group members to imagine a positive future with no violence and structural barriers (Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006; Staats & Stassen, 1985). When group members are hopeful that the relationship will be improved and the groups can truly get a long, they will also be more motivated toward and more supportive of efforts to achieve this goal. In sum, hope creates an emotional climate that is conductive to reconciliation (Bar-Tal et al., 2007).

It is important to emphasize that empathy, hatred, and hope are only indicative of an overall ECO. Other group-based emotions play a major role in the escalation and de-escalation of conflicts, and particularly negative emotions such as fear and anger. However, positive collective emotions such as empathy and hope may be more salient components of the orientation toward coexistence and reconciliation.

2.5.2. Cognitive Coexistence Orientation

Cognitive CO (CCO) encompasses beliefs and perceptions toward the other group, the ingroup, and the relationship between the groups, which constitute a hindrance to the establishment of coexistence (Bar-Tal, 2004; Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009). CCO is suggested to be inferred from three indicators: stereotypes or images of the outgroup, perceptions of collective threats, and perceptions pertaining to the heterogeneity of outgroup members.

Stereotypes are cognitive schemas referring to "…attributions of specific characteristics to a group" (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Esses, 2010, p. 5). Stereotypes reflect beliefs about the qualities that members of social groups are perceived to share, and systematically influence both emotional and behavioral reactions (such as discrimination) that are consistent with the stereotypes. Young members of society internalize stereotypes on outgroups through the socialization process. In the culture of conflict, negative stereotypes, often based on ignorance and lack of appropriate knowledge, are deeply embedded in the sociopsychological repertoire of each society (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Fisher & Kelman, 2011). Such perceptions decrease empathic concerns for the rival group, and can develop into shared enemy images, which also include affective and behavioral components, and are characterized by dehumanization of other group, that is, perceived exclusion from humanity (Haslam, 2006). For example, Bar-Tal and Teichman (2005) studied the stereotype of the category "Arabs" held by Israeli Jews and found attributes that include "low intelligence, primitivism, dishonesty, fanaticism, conservatism, violence, and lack for human life, but on the other hand, positive attributes such as hospitality, sociability, and diligence" (p. 228). Smooha (2005) found that Jews are often perceived by Palestinians as "racist, violent, and as lacking self-respect" (p. 21), while Jews see most Palestinians as "not trustworthy and violent", "unintelligent", and "backward" (p. 22). Coexistence requires that group members change prevailing images of the rival group, and therefore the reduction of negative stereotypes and negative perceptions of the other group is a crucial objective toward coexistence (Bar-Tal, 2004, 2011).

Perceived threat. Threat is experienced when group members perceive that an outgroup wants to or is about to cause the ingroup harm. The threat may be *realistic*, pertain to physical harm or loss of power and resources, or *symbolic*, pertains to the ingroups' identity, values, ideology, or morality (Stephan & Renfro, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, & Rios Morrison, 2009). Negative outgroup stereotypes are considered a source that nurtures threat perceptions (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). On the other hand, perceptions of threat can also lead to negative outgroup images and dehumanization, and also to support for intolerant policies (Leidner et al., 2013; Maoz & McCauley, 2008; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Perceived threat was found to be experienced by both low- and high-status groups, although the former are more likely to experience it.

Mutual fears exist between Jewish and Arab citizens pertaining to the ability of each group to inflict harm on the other. For example, while Palestinian citizens fear a mass population transfer by the Jewish state, many Jews see the Arab population as a demographic threat, fearing that they might become a future majority due to higher birth rate. Since the Palestinian minority is perceived by the Jewish majority as a part of the Palestinian Arab people, Palestinian citizens are commonly perceived as a "fifth column" within the Jewish state, and consequently, as posing a security threat to Israel (Shamir, 1991, Smooha, 2005). High perceived threat leads Jews to question the loyalty of Palestinian citizens, reduces trust between the groups, and increases support for harsh policies of surveillance and control and rejection of equal rights (Smooha, 2010). Therefore, mutual threat perceptions have major negative consequences for the conflict and the dynamics between the groups (Maoz & McCauley, 2008; Stephan et al., 2009). Therefore, coexistence requires that members of both groups hold low perceptions of threats, although it is not likely that there will be no fears of threats in any magnitude among members of both societies as long as reconciliation is not achieved (Bar-Tal, 2009).

Perceived outgroup variability refers to the extent to which individuals have the impression that members of a particular outrgroup are different from each other or resemble each other in terms of their personalities, preferences, and behaviors (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004). High perceived variability is likely to reduce the tendency to adopt stereotypical beliefs about the outrgroup and to generalize negative traits from one or a few individual group members to the group as a whole (Fisher & Kelman, 2011; Hewstone & Hamberger, 2000). According to Bar-Tal (2004, 2005), psychological coexistence requires mutual perceptions of pluralization toward each contested group. Individual group

members should reject views according to which the other group is simply a uniformly hostile entity, and perceive it instead as a heterogeneous community comprised of people with different beliefs and opinions about the conflict. Moreover, differentiation may prevent generalizing negative traits and intentions to the entire outgroup, and therefore it may reduce some of the cognitive blocks to reconciliation.

2.5.3. Motivational Coexistence Orientation

Motivational CO (MCO) refers to the extent to which individuals are willing to or are interested in mutual collective efforts to improve intergroup relations. Two indicators to detect such motivation are suggested: general support for efforts to improve the relations between the groups, and interest in the other group's society, culture, and experiences. Coexistence require group members not only to be aware of the conflict and its impact on each society, but also to have a certain degree of engagement with relevant issues, which may manifest in high levels of curiosity and interest in the outgroup and its cultural and social life, readiness to learn and understand its perspective on issues that are in disagreement, and support for joint efforts to improve the relations.

Interest in gaining knowledge about the other group is related to intercultural competence and awareness, and may also indicate tolerance and openness toward other cultures (Penington & Wildermuth, 2005; Vogt, 2006). In a state of coexistence, group members should embrace an open-minded orientation toward the outgroup, its beliefs and way of life. MCO also requires members of each group to be open to alternative information on the outgroup that they usually do not encounter in their sociopolitical surrounding (Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2011). Openness to alternative information about the outgroup and to new ideas is a manifestation of the cognitive flexibility required from group members in the process of promoting peace and coexistence (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2011).

Motivation to achieve coexistence, whether actively or passively, is largely dependent on feelings of hope in the relations, and the belief that things can become better. Moreover, positive cognitive and motivational processes among groups in conflict are expected to translate into communication-, interaction- and policy-related behavioral tendencies (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2011).

2.5.4. Behavioral Coexistence Orientation

Behavioral CO (BCO) addresses group members' behavioral intentions pertaining to the outgroup and the relationship between the groups. Coexistence requires not only compatible attitudes, but also behaviors pertaining to the rival group that will be associated with positive attitudes and beliefs. Two indicators are suggested to capture BCO. The first pertains to willingness to interact with group members at the social and interpersonal level. Readiness for social contact with outgroup members, or "social distance" (Bogardus, 1925), has been pervasively used to study prejudice and negative intergroup relations. However, BCO requires more than just willingness to have interpersonal interactions with outgroup members. The reconciliation process would benefit from willingness to take part in people-to-people projects and joint activities in which the contact may involve intergroup-level and political-level interactions (see Tajfel & Turner, 1986, and Chapter 3). Therefore, both readiness for social contact and readiness for joint activities will be measured to indicate BCO.

2.5.5. Political Coexistence Orientation

Although CO does not necessarily involve changing political perspectives about issues that are at the core of disagreement between the groups, it does emphasize democratic principles of equality and tolerance (Bar & Eady, 1998; Bar-Tal, 2004; Smooha, 2005). In the context of asymmetric conflict between groups in the same political unit, members of the advantaged group are expected to see the disadvantaged group as equal in rights and to relinquish zero-sum perceptions that are common during the previous conflict stages. According to Bar-Tal (2004), equality and equal integration are particularly important for groups living together in one society. Political CO (PCO) addresses the political dimensions of intergroup behaviors and policy support that are necessary for coexistence and readiness for advanced reconciliation. In this work it is examined only for members of the advantaged majority, namely Israeli Jews.

Perceived equality refers to the extent to which advantaged group members perceive the relations between the groups as equal and perceive both groups enjoy the same collective and individual rights, Perceptions of high equality signify lack of awareness to inequalities and discrimination that exist in various societal domains, which can result from denial of discrimination among the advantaged group (Saguy et al., 2012). In an asymmetric conflict such as the one between Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel, it is mainly up to the

advantaged group to not only to develop awareness for the gaps between the groups, but also to support policies that will increase equality and reduce discrimination.

According to Shamir (1991), *political tolerance* is "the willingness to put up with groups or ideas to which one objects, and to allow them to exercise the political rights common in a democratic regime" (p.1019). Political tolerance is a core value of a democratic political culture and stems from the commitment to the legal norms of liberal democracies (Shamir, 1991; Sullivan, Shamir, Walsh, & Roberts, 1985), and tolerance is at the core of the psychological repertoire of coexistence (Bar-Tal, 2004). Political tolerance is also a prerequisite to equalization in the relations and the legitimization of both sides' narratives and collective goals (Bar-Tal, 2004). The tendency to exhibit intolerance to outgroups is widespread even in democracies, and is particularly dominant in the context of intergroup conflict, where there is a significant political division between the groups and strong mutual perceptions of threats (Sullivan et al., 1985).

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Taken together, the domains of CO can contribute to a social climate necessary for the establishment of coexistence and for further advancing reconciliation. These domains are both interdependent and complementary. It is assumed that the cognitive and emotional domains of CO lead to corresponding motivations, behavioral, and political orientations (see also Chapter 4). Inasmuch as each domain is facilitative toward intergroup coexistence, it is not sufficient for its establishment in the absence of other domains.

It is important to emphasize that from a theoretical perspective, even highly favorable attitudes across all these domains and indicators are insufficient for achieving true Jewish-Palestinian reconciliation. Orientation toward reconciliation requires a fundamental change in beliefs and attitudes, such as mutual acknowledgment of the other's collective memory and national narratives, concerns about the other's welfare, identity reconstruction, and a genuine process of forgiveness and acknowledgment of collective guilt (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2000, 2009; Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Baron, 2008; Kelman, 2004; Nadler & Saguy, 2004). The operationalization of the indicators into measurable units is presented in the following section.

2.6. The index of Jewish-Palestinian Coexistence Orientation: Scale development and pilot testing

The meta-construct of CO was operationalized as a context-specific index of items, each referring to a particular unidimensional subscale, and each subscale corresponds to a specific indicator that is nested in one of the four (for Palestinians) or five (for Jews) domains of CO (see Figure 1). CO is therefore operationalized as a third-order construct, with indicator subscales as a first level, domain scales as the second level, and Overall CO as the third level. It is assumed that all the subscales in a particular CO domain determine the level of the domain, and similarly, all the CO domain scales together determine the overall level CO for each individual.

To the author's knowledge, the only previous systematic empirical investigation of coexistence-related attitudes of Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel was undertaken by Smooha (2005, 2010), in the framework of the "Index of Arab-Jewish Relations", which was conducted multiple times in the period between 1976 until 2009 with national representative samples. This index deals with a wide array of issues related to experiences and beliefs of Jews and Palestinians toward each other and the State, including trust in institutions, personal enduring of discrimination and deprivation, opinions about the regional conflict, support for civil protests and integration, collective memory and narrative perceptions, and perspectives about the future of the relations. With regard to psychological aspects of coexistence, its measures focus on the political and cognitive dimensions of CO, such as threat perceptions, stereotypes, and support for various political and societal means necessary for promoting coexistence. However, the index largely neglects the affective dimensions of psychological coexistence. The Index of Arab-Jewish Relations will be used in the subsequent empirical analysis in the scale development process for selection of items for new subscales developed for several of the CO indicators (see below).

In the process of developing subscales for the indicators of CO, priority was given to include previously validated scales for established constructs, and to adopt items used in national surveys (e.g., Arad & Alon, 2006; Arian, 2010; Smooha, 2005, 2010) in newly introduced measures for indicators for which no preexisting measures were found in the literature. The latter was also advantageous since the items were available in Hebrew and Arabic, and they could be used for the purpose of examining external validity (see Chapter 3). In case no suitable source for items was found in the literature, new scales were developed. Accordingly, new scales were developed for hope, Palestinians' perceived threat, image of the

other, support for improving relations, interest in the outgroup, readiness for joint activities, perceived equality, and support for equal rights. For all other indicators, existing scales were used (see section 2.7.3 below). For adapted or new scales, a preliminary and extended item pool was developed based on the definition of the measured construct and the existing theory. Items were phrased as statements dealing with the concept in question. An effort was made to make up homogenous scales, and to include or generate items that are indicative of their respective CO domain, while considering the nature and characteristics of Jewish-Palestinian relations.

In terms of item quality, simple, clear, and concise items were preferred to make the scales suitable for adolescent with an average level of political knowledge in related topics. Due to the high number of subscales in the index (13 for Jews and 10 for Palestinians), each subscale was expected to have three to six items in the final version. Where possible, the subscales for Jews and Palestinians are identical or include identical measures with opposite reference groups. However, CCO required different subscales for each group, and PCO was operationalized only for the majority group.

Although the need to avoid acquiescence and affirmation was high, reversals in item polarity were largely avoided, particularly in short scales, to prevent confusion and fatigue among respondents. When scales did include negative and positive items, these were placed alternately to avoid response bias. However, rating scales appeared in opposite directions for some consecutive batteries of items, and three multicategorical response-option formats, with 5- to 7-point scales were used. All variables were measured on Likert-like scales.

All measures and items that were not previously available and validated in Hebrew or Arabic were translated using the forward-backward method. Translations from English to Hebrew were made by the author and a bilingual (Hebrew and Arabic) Palestinian assistant with MA level education, and translations from Hebrew or English to Arabic were made by the assistant and a professional translator experienced in translating questionnaires for school-aged respondents. The two or three versions of each measure (Hebrew and Arabic, or English, Hebrew, and Arabic) were compared, and items for which equivalence was not established were modified by the research team, to ensure similar interpretation in both languages.

2.6.1. Cognitive pretesting

In order to assess the quality of the index and to facilitate accurate item meanings, the translated versions were first cognitively tested with two Jewish and one Palestinian high school students. Semistructured one-on-one interviews were held, aiming to assess the extent to which

the respondents understand the questions, and whether their answers achieve the purpose of measurement (Collins, 2003). Each student was asked to read aloud and rate each item, and to engage in a follow-up conversation about the meaning of the items and the reasons for the selected responses, following a structure suggested by Willis, Royston, and Bercini (1991). Particularly, interviewees were encouraged to verbalize their thoughts on each item. Comprehension and consistency in responses was assessed in relation to the purpose of each item and scale. The cognitive interviews did not indicate any substantial comprehension problem, but they led to several minor modifications in vocabulary and item forms to avoid complexity and vagueness, particularly in the Arabic version. In addition to cognitive testing with respondents, the index was assessed by two experts, one scholar and one practitioner in relevant fields, who expressed an overall satisfaction with the measures.

2.6.2. Pilot test

A small pilot test was conducted to assess the psychometric properties, to examine the internal consistencies, and to validate the dimensional structure of the extended index, and in addition, in order to create a short version of each measure based on statistical indicators (such as alpha coefficients and factor loadings). The pilot test was held in June 2010. Questionnaires measuring an extended version of the index of CO were administered in Hebrew to 46 Jewish students at the 10th grade (aged 15-16 years old), and in Arabic to 37 Palestinian students at the 12th grade (aged 17-18 years old). The sample was opportunistic and non-representative of the respective populations.

Internal consistency was quantified for each subscale using the alpha coefficient (Cronbach, 1951), in order to examine the extent to which items in each unidimensional subscales are intercorrelated. Since reliability coefficients are enhanced by the number of items and the current subscales comprise of mostly three to six items each, lower threshold for the coefficient (> .60) were used as a rule of thumb for acceptable alphas (Robinson et al., 1991). Several items were dropped based on the results of a series of Principal Component Analysis (PCA) that was meant to assist in purifying the subscales, and to reduce the number of items without reducing scale reliabilities. Factors with an eigenvalue of more than 1.0 were retained (Kaiser, 1960). Scales were refined and items with low factor loadings (< .40), high cross-loadings, or items performing worse than other items (in case the scale length exceeded the limited number of items) were removed. The goal was to achieve a total of no more than 50 items in the index that can be used in a large scale measurement with multiple measurements.

After this refinement process, both adopted and constructed measures in the shortened version of the index (see Appendix A) were found to form reliable scales (all alphas > .60, in both groups, most alphas > .75).

2.7. Methods

2.7.1. Sample and participants

The main validation study was conducted on a convenience sample of Jewish and Palestinian high school students (ages 15-18), which was obtained in the framework of a more comprehensive intervention study on Jewish-Palestinian encounters (see Chapters 2 and 3). Chapter 3 explains the employed multilevel sampling procedure in more details.

The respondents completed a self-administered questionnaire measuring the index and the predictor variables. Some of the respondents then continued to take part in Jewish-Palestinian encounter workshops, while other students either served as a comparison group in the intervention study, or dropped out of the study[3]. The data analyzed in this chapter was collected in two waves. Wave 1 survey instrument comprised of the final index of CO, demographic predictors, and a measure of values orientation (see below). Wave 2 was essentially the posttest questionnaire in the intervention study, and included three measures that will be used as potential antecedents of CO in the analysis presented in this chapter, namely political orientation (for Jewish participants), ingroup identification, and perspective taking.

Overall, 416 Jews and 389 Palestinians completed the first questionnaire (henceforth, Wave 1 respondents). This sample includes 210 Jewish students and 122 Palestinian students who received the questionnaire at Wave 1 but eventually did not take part in the intervention study. Of Wave 1 respondents, 264 Jews (63%) and 333 Palestinians (86%) filled in the Wave 2 questionnaire (henceforth, two-wave respondents), two to three weeks after Wave 1. The analyses with predictors of CO will be performed only on the two-wave respondents, to include sociopolitical variables as well. Response rates were high, and only in rare cases respondents refused to take part in the study.

Sample characteristics are presented in Table 1, for both Wave 1 respondents and two-wave respondents, separately for each national group. Both samples are gender-biased with higher representation of female students. Most students are in the 10th and the 11th grades, and

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[3] The intervention study also included unpretested experimental groups in the framework of the Solomon Four Group Design (see Chapter 3), but these were not included in the analysis presented in this chapter.

assess their socioeconomic status as "good" or "very good". In the Jewish sample, residents of Kibbutzim are over-represented (approximately 20% of the sample but only 2% of the population, Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Moreover, in terms of religiosity, the Jewish sample does not include any orthodox respondent and only three ultra-orthodox respondents among Wave 1 respondents, which were not included in analyses involving a religiosity variable. In terms of political orientation, roughly 41% of the Jews who completed the two waves are classified as "rightists", 34% as "leftists", and the rest are "centrists". Almost all Palestinians are Muslims and they define themselves predominantly as "very" or "quite" religious. The majority of students in both national groups see Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel as either "not sufficiently good" or "not good at all", but more Palestinians than Jews think that the relationship are "sufficiently good".

2.7.2. Materials and procedure

The survey took place between November 2010 and February 2011. Wave 1 questionnaires were administered and completed by students in school classrooms during one schooldays. Wave 2 questionnaires were administered one to three weeks after Wave 1 in schools or in other educational settings. The questionnaires were administered by Palestinian and Jewish members of the research team to Palestinian and Jewish students, respectively, to avoid mistrust and suspicion. The respondents were assured confidentiality and were told that the data will be used only for scientific objectives, and that their answers will not be exposed to anyone other than the researchers. They completed the questionnaire in their native language (Hebrew or Arabic). All measures that were not available in Hebrew and/or Arabic were translated in the forward-backward method. Two-wave respondents took part in a draw of three portable music players. Respondents spent between 10 to 20 minutes answering each questionnaire. For more details on the procedure see Chapter 3. It is important to emphasize that all the respondents completed the index of CO at Wave 1, before taking part in any activity related to the intervention study, and therefore the results presented in this chapter are not influenced by the intervention.

Table 1. *Sample Characteristics for Wave 1 Respondents and Two-Wave Respondents by National Group*

Characteristic	Jews				Palestinians			
	Wave 1 respondents (n = 392)		Two-wave respondents (n = 220)		Wave 1 respondents (n=358)		Two-wave respondents (n=290)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender	(n=392)		(n=220)		(n=358)		(n=290)	
Male	155	39.5	83	37.7	112	31.3	88	30.3
Female	237	60.5	137	62.3	246	68.7	202	69.7
Grade level	(n=392)		(n=220)		(n=358)		(n=290)	
10th grade	175	44.6	104	47.3	144	40.2	126	43.4
11th grade	99	25.3	48	21.8	163	45.5	124	42.8
12th grade	118	30.1	68	30.9	51	14.2	40	13.8
Socioeconomic status	(n=388)		(n=220)		(n=358)		(n=290)	
Not good	8	2.1	4	1.8	8	2.2	7	2.4
Fare	58	14.9	38	17.3	57	15.9	48	16.6
Good	203	52.3	114	51.8	160	44.7	122	42.1
Very good	119	30.7	64	29.1	133	37.2	113	39.0
Residence	(n=392)		(n=220)		(n=358)		(n=290)	
City	291	74.2	165	75.0	143	39.9	113	39.0
Village	18	4.6	7	3.2	201	56.1	171	59.0
Kibbutz/ Mixed city	76	19.4	45	20.5	14	3.9	6	2.1
Community	7	1.8	3	1.4				
Religiosity (Jews/Palestinians)	(n=355)		(n=197)		(n=354)		(n=290)	
Ultra-orthodox/ Very religious	3	0.8	1	0.6	93	26.3	71	24.5
Orthodox/ Quite religious	0	0.0	0	0.0	196	55.4	163	56.2
Traditional/ A little religious	116	32.7	68	34.5	55	15.5	48	16.6
Secular/ Not religious	236	66.5	128	64.9	10	2.8	8	2.8
Country of birth	(n=392)		(n=220)		(n=357)		(n=289)	
Israel or Palestine	360	91.8	203	92.3	352	98.6	286	99.0
Abroad	32	8.2	17	7.7	5	1.4	3	1.0
Perceived relations	(n=388)		(n=216)		(n=352)		(n=286)	
Very good	2	0.5	2	0.9	20	5.7	17	5.9
Sufficiently good	44	11.3	28	13.0	97	27.6	84	29.4
Not sufficiently good	228	58.8	115	53.2	180	51.1	145	50.7
Not good at all	114	29.4	71	32.9	55	15.6	40	14.0
Political orientation			(n=220)					
Rightists (1-3)			90	40.9				
Centrists (4)			56	25.5				
Leftists (5-7)			74	33.6				

Note. Number of cases for each variable varies due to missing data.

2.7.3. Measures

2.7.3.1. The index of Coexistence Orientation

The final and shortened version of the index of CO achieved in the pilot test was measured in Wave 1 questionnaires and is available in Appendix A. The construction of composite subscale and scale scores and their reliabilities are reported in the results section following factor analysis.

Emotional CO. Empathy toward outgroup members was assessed using a scale adapted from Davis (1980) and from Malhotra and Liyanage (2005). Participants responded by rating their level of agreement with four statements on a 7-point Likert scales with the anchors *completely disagree* (1) and *completely agree* (7). The statements are available in Appendix A and Table B.1 in Appendix B. *Hope* for positive Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel was measured using a four-item scale adapted from Smooha's (2005) social integration inventory (items 5 and 6 in Table B.1, Appendix B), and from Stephan (1999) intergroup relations optimism scale (items 7 and 8 in Table B.1, Appendix B). Participants were asked to rate the degree to which they agree with the statement on a scale identical to the one used to measure empathy. *Hatred* toward the outgroup was measured with two items referring to "hatred" and "hostility" from a frequently used measure of nondiscrete emotional sentiments (e.g. Halperin et al., 2009; Halperin & Gross, 2010). Participants were asked to what extent they "feel in general each of the emotions toward Jews/Arabs", and responded on a 5-point scale ranging from *not at all* (1) to *very much* (5).

Cognitive CO. In all the subscales of CCO, respondents rated their level of agreement with the items on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *completely disagree* (1) to *completely agree* (7). A measure of *perceived threat* was constructed using different items for each group due to the different threats experienced by each group (see Smooha, 2010; Sullivan et al., 1985). For Israeli Jews, a three item scale was adopted from Sullivan et al. (1985) (see Table B.2, Appendix B), which was more recently used by Canetti-Nisim, Halperin, Sharvit, and Hobfoll (2009) and was found to have a sufficiently high Cronbach's alpha (.86). For Israeli Palestinians, a new scale was created using three items appearing in Smooha's (2005) Arabs' fear of threats inventory (see Table B.3, Appendix B). *Stereotypes* were assessed using two newly constructed differential scales with five items for each group. Jews' stereotypical perceptions of Palestinians were measured with two items adapted from the delegitimization of Arabs scale of Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut, and Drori (2008) (items 4 and 5, Table B.2,

Appendix B), and three items taken from the rejectionist attitudes inventory of the Index of Arab-Jewish Relations (Smooha, 2005) (items 6-8, Table B.2, Appendix B). Palestinians' stereotypical perceptions of Jews were quantified using two items that appear in Smooha's Index of Arab-Jewish Relations (2005) (items 4 and 5 in Table B.3, Appendix B), and three items taken from the Anti-Semitism Index of the Anti-Defamation League (Kaplan & Small, 2006) (items 6-8 in Table B.3, Appendix B), and in general address commonly-held stereotypes against Jews that may also apply to the Palestinian population in Israel. Finally, a measure of *perceived variability* was adapted from Kashima and Kashima (1993, in Paolini et al. 2004) (see Tables B.2 and B.3, Appendix B). The original scale included an additional reverse-worded item that was dropped following low reliability in the pilot test.

Motivational CO. A three-item scale (identical for both national groups) was constructed to measure *support for improving relations* (e.g., "we must promote mutual understanding between Arabs and Jews in Israel", see Appendix A). Respondents indicated the degree of agreement or disagreement with the statements on a 7-point point scale, with 1 = *completely agree,* and 7 = *completely disagree. Interest in the outgroup* was assessed using a five-item scale. Two items were adapted from a measure created by Halperin and Bar-Tal (2011), appraising individuals' readiness to be exposed to alternative information about the conflict (items 17 and 18 in Appendix A). The remaining three items were constructed for this measure (items 14-16, Appendix A). In all five items, participants rated their level of interest on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*to a very large extent*).

Behavioral CO. Readiness for social contact at the interpersonal level was measured with a four-item scale adapted and updated from Bogardus' (1925) social distance scale, which is frequently used in studies with Israeli Jews and Palestinians (e.g., Rosen & Salomon, 2011). Items that are not relevant for Jewish-Palestinian social contact (such as readiness for intermarriage) were not included. Participants were asked to rate their willingness to engage in contact with outgroup members in each of the following categories: "meet", "study together", "host in my house", and "be friends". Answers were given on 5-point scale with the anchors *not at all* (1) and *very much* (5). *Readiness for joint activities* was operationalized into a scale of three items. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they are interested in taking part in the following activities on a scale ranging between *not at all* (1) and *very interested* (5): "participate in a Jewish-Arab workshop", "work with Israeli Jews/Arabs to improve relations", and "study in a mixed Jewish-Arab school".

Political CO. All indicators of Jews' PCO were rated on a symmetrical agreement scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 6 (*completely agree*). *Perceived equality* was measured with a four-item scale constructed based on statements from the Index of Arab-Jewish Relations (Smooha, 2005) (items 10-13 in Table B.4, Appendix B). The same measure was used to assess perceived equality among Palestinians as a possible political predictor of CO (see below). A measure of *support for equal rights* to Palestinian citizens with five items was constructed based on several statements from Smooha's (2005) inventory titled "civil legitimacy of the Arabs in Israel in Jewish eyes" (items 1-5 in Table B.4, Appendix B). Finally, *political intolerance* toward Palestinian citizens of Israel was assessed using a four-item scale taken from Halperin et al. (2009), who applied it in the Israeli Jewish population (items 6-9 in Table B.4, Appendix B).

Although PCO was not assessed among Palestinians for theoretical reasons, a plausible equivalent was measured and was used to assess the power of CO to predict policy support among Palestinians. The measure assessed the extent to which Palestinians are willing to include Jewish citizen in the Palestinian civil and social sphere. This construct, titled *support for inclusion,* consisted of an original three-item scale with the same instructions and response format used for support for equal rights among Jews. The items were: "Jewish citizens should be allowed to live in Arab localities", "Jewish businesses should be allowed to operate in the Arab society", and "We should allow the construction of Synagogues in Arab localities". Palestinian respondents rated their level of agreement with those items on the same scale used to assess PCO. Items were averaged, and the averaged scale had internal consistency ($\alpha = .73$, $M = 2.44$, $SD = 1.19$ for Palestinians' two-wave respondents).

2.7.3.2. Individual-difference variables as predictors of Coexistence Orientation

In order to establish the convergent validity of the CO domain scales and to examine their antecedents, the questionnaires also measured several demographic, sociopolitical, and personality variables that were previously found to be significantly correlated with similar variables of intergroup attitudes or variables that are included in the index as indicators. Cronbach's alphas, means, and standard deviations are presented below for two-wave respondents only, since the relevant analyses will be performed on data collected in the two waves.

Demographic variables were gender, age, socioeconomic status (SES), and religiosity. *Gender* was measured and coded with 0 for male and 1 for female. *Age* was measured in years and months (Jews: $M = 16.50$, $SD = 0.93$; Palestinians: $M = 16.27$, $SD = 0.75$). To measure *SES*, participants were asked to rate their economic situation at home, with the categories *not good* (1), *medium* (2), *good* (3), and *very good* (4). This subjective measure was treated as continuous in the analysis ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 0.73$ for Jews, and $M = 3.18$, $SD = 0.79$ for Palestinians). Respondents were also requested to mark their level of religiosity. Different measures for religiosity were used for Jews and Palestinians. For Jewish respondents, the categories were *ultra-orthodox*, *orthodox*, *traditional*, *secular*, or *other*. For Palestinian respondents a 4-point scale was included with the following indicators: *very religious* (1), *quite religious* (2), *a little religious* (3), and *not religious* (4). The variable was used as continuous with higher scores indicating lower levels of religiosity ($M = 1.98$, $SD = 0.72$).

Frequency of prior contact with outgroup members was expected to be positively correlated with CO based on the contact theory (Allport, 1954, Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, see Chapter 3). It was measured with a three-item continuous scale, asking participants to report on previous experience with meeting outgroup members, being guests of outgroup members in their home, and hosting outgroup members in one's home. Answer categories were 1 = *never*, 2 = *once or twice*, 3 = *several times*, and 4 = *many times*. Similar measures were used by Yogev, Ben-Yehoshua, and Alper (1991) and by Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut, and Drori (2008). Scale reliabilities were sufficient ($\alpha = .72$ for Jews and $\alpha = .72$ for Palestinians), and an arithmetic mean was computed with higher scores representing more contact ($M = 2.09$, $SD = 0.69$, and $M = 2.48$, $SD = 0.76$ for Jews and Palestinians, respectively).

In the contact literature, studies show that the *perceived quality of prior contact* with outgroup members is even a better predictor of intergroup attitudes than the mere frequency of contact (e.g., Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, & Christ, 2007). Accordingly, perceived quality of previous contact with outgroup members was assessed using a semantic differential scale adapted from Tausch, Hewstone, and colleagues (2007). Respondents were asked to assess the extent to which their prior contact with members of the outgroup was positive or negative using four pairs of adjectives, with 1 = negative and 5 = positive (voluntary-involuntary, pleasant-unpleasant, cooperative-uncooperative, and equal-unequal). Reliability indices were satisfactory ($\alpha = .83$ and $\alpha = .77$ for Jews and Palestinians, respectively), and therefore scores were averaged to represent perceived contact quality, with higher scores

indicating more positive contact ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 0.91$, and $M = 3.23$, $SD = 0.93$, for Jews and Palestinians, respectively).

Hierarchic Self-Interest (HSI) refers to individual value orientations in market-oriented economies, and aim to the extent to which individual value self-enhancement, economic self-interests, and competition, versus cohesive society with high levels of interpersonal trust (Hagan, Helfer, Classen, Boehnke, & Merkens, 1998; Hagan, Rippl, Boehnke, & Merkens, 1999). Boehnke, Hagan, and Hefler (1998) hypothesized that HSI will lead to feelings of insecurity, and particularly in times of social change or conflict, these feelings can enhance xenophobic attitudes and behaviors. Accordingly, they found HSI to significantly predicted xenophobic sentiments among German adolescents. Moreover, Hagan et al. (1998) suggested that acceptance of inequalities leads to the rejection of outgroups due to what they referred to as "anomic amorality" (p. 318). Accordingly, HSI is expected to be negatively associated with CO, and particularly with PCO for Jews, which directly refers to perceptions of social inequalities. HSI is measured as a second-order construct, which includes 10 items, two for each one of five first-order constructs, namely social comparison (e.g., "It is always my ambition to be better than the average"), materialism (e.g., "without achievement there is no happiness"), acceptance of social inequalities (e.g., "by and large, I find the social differences in my country of upbringing just"), Machiavellism (e.g., "it is not important how you win but that you win"), and individualism, (e.g., "in order to excel, one must be able to stand alone") (Boehnke et al., 1998; Boehnke & Rippl, 2012; Hagan et al., 1999). Agreement was rated by the respondents on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Alpha reliabilities for the first-order two-item scales ranged between .48 and .68 in the Jewish sample, and between .42 and .57 in the Palestinian sample. The HSI scale was computed by averaging scores across mean scores of the five first-order scales. The internal consistency of the scale was satisfactory for Jews ($\alpha = .67$, $M = 2.69$, $SD = 0.56$), but rather low for Palestinians, ($\alpha = .44$, $M = 3.54$, $SD = 0.44$). Those reliabilities were overall similar to those found recently by Boehnke and Rippl (2004) using four first-order scales. Higher scores of HSI indicate higher emphasis on competition and personal success.

A single item measure of *perceived relations* was adapted from Smooha (2010). The item assesses individual perceptions of the extent to which the current state of relations between Palestinians and Jews in Israel are *very good* (1), *sufficiently good* (2), *not sufficiently good* (3), or *not good at all* (4). The variable was used as continuous in the analysis, with higher scores

indicating perceptions of more negative relations ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 0.68$, and $M = 2.73$, $SD = 0.77$, for Jews and Palestinians, respectively).

The following three variables were measured at Wave 2. *Perspective taking*, or cognitive empathy, is defined by Davis (1983) as "the tendency to spontaneously adopt the psychological point of view of others" (1983, pp. 113-114). Perspective taking involves imagining how outgroup members think and feel (referred to as *imagine-other perspective* by Barton & Ahmad, 2009). Perspective taking was found to increase perceptions of similarities with various social groups and increase awareness to communalities, and consequently, to increase overall positive outgroup evaluation, to reduce feelings of threats that results from misconceptions about the perspectives of the other, and to alleviate concerns about cross-group differences in values and norms (see reviews in Barton & Ahmad, 2009; Stephan & Finlay, 1999; Todd & Galinsky, 2014; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003). Therefore, it is expected to be positively linked to higher CO across domains. It was assessed using the seven-item subscale from the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis, 1983). The scale was used extensively in previous studies and was found to have a well-established validity as a measure used in a wide array of personality and intergroup issues (Davis, 1983; Tod & Galinsky, 2014), and its Hebrew version was found to have sufficiently high reliability (Shamay-Tsoory, Tomer, Berger, & Aharon-Peretz, 2003). Sample items: "I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision", and "I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other guy's" point of view" (reverse-worded). Respondents were asked to rate the degree to which each statement describes them on a 7-point scale (1 = *doesn't describe me at all*, 7 = *describe me to a large extent*). Two negative items were reversed-scored, and all seven scores were averaged to form a continuous scale (α = .71, $M = 3.66$, $SD = 0.56$, and α = .58, $M = 2.73$, $SD = 0.77$, for Jewish and Palestinian respondents, respectively).

A scale measuring national *ingroup identification* was adapted from Levin and Sidanius (1999), who measured ethnic group identification in Hebrew for a Jewish sample, and in Arabic for an Arab sample, and found high internal consistency for the scale (> .80). Respondents rated their level of agreement with four items on a 5-point scale with the anchors *strongly disagree* (1) and *strongly agree* (5). Sample items: "I identify with other members of my national group", and "I feel close to other members of my national group". The reference group was phrased as "my national group", to capture perceptions of identification, and in order to avoid confusion due to the terminological (and actual) complexity of the national identities of the two groups (e.g., Rouhana, 1997). Scores were averaged to create a single scale, with higher scores

referring to higher identification with the national identity of the ingroup ($\alpha = .82$, $M = 4.09$, $SD = 0.72$ for Jews, and $\alpha = .79$, $M = 3.92$, $SD = 0.94$ for Palestinians). It was overall expected that high identifiers will also exhibit lower levels of CO.

A single-item measure of *political orientation* was used in the Jewish sample only, in which respondents were asked to place themselves on a right-left continuum. This measure is widely used in studies in the Israeli Jewish society, and was found to be correlated with a wide array of political attitudes and beliefs in intergroup conflicts (e.g., Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2011; Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut & Drori, 2008; Maoz, 2003; Maoz & McCauley, 2008). In the Israeli political terminology, the categories for such self-classification largely relate to ideological positions about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Right-wing affiliation often represents "hawkish" views of rejection of compromise and support for harsh conflict policies, while left-wing affiliation characterizes "dovish" positions in the conflict that advocate peaceful conflict resolution and minority rights (Arian, 1995; Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2011; Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut & Drori, 2008). The measure assessed political orientation on a scale ranging from 1 (*extreme right*) to 7 (*Extreme left*). An answer category of *do not know* was available (coded 0), and chosen by 8% of the Jewish sample. These cases were omitted for all analyses involving the predictor (see below). The average score of political orientation for Jewish respondents was 3.81 ($SD = 1.38$).

Political orientation in the Palestinian population is more complex and cannot be measured on a similar scale (Smooha, 2005). A substitute political predictor was employed, using the same scale measuring *perceived equality* for Jews (see above). For members of the disadvantaged group, evaluating the gaps between their group and the advantaged group can indicate perceived collective deprivation (Foster & Matheson, 1998). Higher scores refer to higher perceptions of equality, and therefore lower perceptions of deprivation ($\alpha = .60$, $M = 2.09$, $SD = 0.93$).

Finally, *overall attitude* toward the outgroup was assessed with a single item, asking respondents to indicate their "attitude toward the outgroup in general" on a bi-polar scale ranging from 0 (*extremely unfavorable*) to 10 (*extremely favorable*).The mean score was 5.31 ($SD = 2.23$) for Jews, and 4.87 ($SD = 2.16$) for Palestinians. The variable was included in the analysis as a control variable to examine the power of CO to predict policy support. Higher scores mean more favorable attitude.

2.7.4. Data analysis

To facilitate consistency in the results, all analyses (including sample characteristics, excluding factor analyses) were performed on cases with no missing data in any of the CO indicators at the first wave. This resulted in the removal of less than 10% of the sample in each national group with item non-response. The correlation and regression analysis involving individual difference variables relied on two-wave respondents. Cases with missing data across the predictors were removed from this analysis (in total, approximately 17% and 12% of the Jewish and Palestinian two-wave respondents, respectively). In addition, seventeen cases of Jewish respondents who could not indicate their political orientation were also omitted from analyses. Moreover, since religiosity had little variation and a high number of missing cases, it was not included in the relevant analyses. In total, the analyses relying on data only from Wave 1 included 392 Jewish and 358 Palestinian respondents. The analyses relying on data from both waves included 220 Jewish and 290 Palestinians).

The data analysis was exploratory in nature and aimed to examine the properties and the usefulness of the index of CO and particularly at the level of the CO domain scales. All statistical analyses were performed separately for each national group, unless mentioned otherwise. All reported p values are two-tailed. In all analyses, effect sizes for group differences in t-tests were calculated as Cohen's d using the means and the pooled standard deviation from those of the compared groups (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991).

The analysis was performed in three stages. The first stage of the analysis used data from Wave 1 respondents to examine the properties of the measures across the three levels (indicators, domains, and overall CO) and their dimensional structure.

First, multiple Principal Component Analyses (PCA) were carried out, with Varimax rotation and Keiser normalization, using the correlation matrix (thus standardizing responses across different measurement scales). The purpose was to confirm that all indicator subscales in each domain are dimensionally distinct from one another. Acceptable item loadings were .40 and above. Reliability was established using internal consistency coefficient (Cronbach's alpha). Scores for all indicator subscales were calculated by dividing the sum of all item scores in each subscale by the respective number of items. Second, descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations between the indicator subscales were explored, and cross-group comparisons using the independent t-test were also performed for exploratory purposes only, since the samples are unrepresentative. Since Wave 2 questionnaires included repeated measures on all CO subscales,

correlations between Wave 1 and Wave 2 scores across the subscales among respondents who did not participate in the examined intervention (i.e., respondents in the comparison group, see Chapter 3) were calculated to indicate test-retest reliability of the measures (Pearson product-moment correlations). Third, following reliability analysis, composite scale score were computed for each CO domain using the corresponding indicator subscale scores. An Overall CO scale was computed as well by averaging scores across the four or five domains (for Palestinians and Jews, respectively). Descriptive statistics and inter-domain correlations were examined, and multiple *t*-tests were carried out to learn about differences between groups for exploratory purposes.

The second stage of the analysis examines the relationship between individual difference variables and the CO domains. This was performed only for two-wave respondents, who also completed measures of political variables at Wave 2. Before examining correlates and predictors of CO domain scales, it was necessary to investigate whether two-wave respondents (nondropouts, $n = 220$ and $n = 290$ for Jews and Palestinians, respectively), which were included in the subsequent analysis, are significantly different from those who only completed Wave 1 questionnaires, and therefore were not included in the analyses (dropouts, $n = 172$ and $n = 68$ for Jews and Palestinians, respectively). Dropout bias was examined using factorial multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with testing groups (dropouts vs. non-dropouts) as a between-subject factor, once with the CO domains as the dependent variables and once with continuous individual-difference variables, separately for each national groups (a total of four MANOVAs). Each MANOVA was followed by univariate ANOVAs to detect group differences for specific variables. Gender differences were examined using the chi-square test. Next, Pearson correlations between the CO domains and overall CO and the antecedents were explored to determine convergent validity of the CO second-level measures. Finally, the power of CO to predict political attitudes over and above other individual difference variables was examined by performing hierarchical multiple linear regressions for each national group. In the Jewish sample, the model predicted PCO, while in the Palestinian sample, the outcome variable was support for inclusion. In the first step, sociodemographic variables were entered, including gender (1 = female), age, religiosity (for Palestinians), SES, HSI, contact frequency, and perceived contact quality (all continuous). In the second step, sociopolitical predictors were entered, namely perspective taking, ingroup identification, political orientation (for Jews), perceived equality (for Palestinians), and overall attitude (all continuous). In the third step, three CO domains were entered: emotional, cognitive, and motivational COs. Finally, at the final stage, possible significant interactions terms between the CO domains and political orientation

(for Jews) or perceived equality (for Palestinians) were examined. Significant interactions were followed by simple slope analyses. All continuous variables were centered on their means before the analysis, and multicollinearity was assessed at each step.

The third and final stage of the analysis takes a person-centered approach and utilizes cluster analysis to examine profiles of CO. Jewish and Palestinian Wave 1 respondents were clustered separately, based on the mathematic similarity of their scores on the five or four domains of CO, respectively. A two-phase clustering was performed (Hair & Black, 2000). First, in order to obtain the appropriate number of clusters, agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis was undertaken on the CO domain scores, using the interval measure of squared Euclidean distances (SEDs), and Ward's minimum variance method, aiming to achieve clusters of nearly equal sizes. The appropriate number of clusters for each group was determined based on the gaps of distance coefficients in the agglomeration schedule and the visible distances between the clusters according to the dendogram, while taking into account conceptual considerations and the distributions of the clustering variables in each group. Second, cluster membership was determined and clusters were formed through k-means clustering. Cluster centers (centroids) from the hierarchical clustering were used as initial cluster means for each variable, in order to refine the solution and avoid misassignment (see Blashfield & Aldenderfer, 1988). Prior to both stages of clustering, the cluster variables were standardized, so that each variable contributes equally to similarities between cases. Cases were ordered randomly prior to the analysis, in order to minimize a possible order effect. Clusters were characterized and named based on the level of orientation evident by the standardized cluster centers and the unstandardized mean scores for each clusters. Finally, the relationships between the cluster profiles and individual difference variables were examined by conducting nonparametric chi-square tests for categorical predictors and factorial MANOVA on two-wave respondents for continuous predictors with the clusters as between-subject factors, followed by univariate ANOVAs with standard Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons (t-tests) and Cohen's ds. Due to the high number of post-hoc tests, the results are summarized and only p values are indicated in the tables.

2.8. Results

2.8.1. Results for CO indicators (level 1)

Kaiser-Meyer-Oklin statistics indicated a sufficiently large sample size for all PCAs (all KMOs > .85). The first set of PCAa was performed for ECO on all items measuring empathy, hope, and hatred. Results with factor loadings are presented in Table B.1 in Appendix B. The analysis yield three components with eingenvalues > 1 for each group (explaining together 71.70% and 67.92% of the variance for Jews and Palestinians, respectively), with all cross-loadings < .36 in absolute value, thus confirmed the theoretical distinction between hatred, empathy, and hope as intergroup emotions. Subscale reliabilities were at acceptable levels (all alphas are .75 or above).

The dimensional structure of the items included in CCO (indicating perceived threat, stereotypes, and perceived variability) was examined in a similar analysis. The results in both groups sufficiently correspond to the theoretical constructs the items were meant to measure. In the Jewish sample (Table B.2, Appendix B), three factors together accounted for 70.42% of the variance. Cross-loadings were relatively high in some items, but below the threshold of .40. The same dimensional structure emerged for the Palestinian sample (Table B.3, Appendix B), with three factors explaining together 68.81% of the variance, and cross-loadings were low (not higher than .26). The subscales had high internal consistencies (all alphas > .80 for perceived threat and stereotypes, and .53 and .60 for perceived variability for Jews and Palestinians, respectively).

For BCO, only one component was extracted, with all items measuring readiness for social contact and readiness for joint activities together explaining 72.47% of the variance for Jews (eigenvalue = 5.07, factor loadings between .80 and .89), and 58.59% of the variance for Palestinians (eigenvalue = 4.10, factor loadings between .70 and .82). Nevertheless, for exploratory purposes, three scales were constructed: One constituted an arithmetic mean of all seven items, titled *integrative readiness for contact*, and two separate scales represented readiness for social contact and readiness for joint activities according to the original subscales. Reliabilities in all scales were .73 or above.

Finally, the items of all PCO indicators were entered into a factor analysis, in order to confirm that they measure distinct constructs. PCA yielded three components, which contribute in combination to explaining 63.94% of the variance. Table B.4 in Appendix B presents the results, which overall confirm the desired structure. One item measuring political intolerance

(item 6 in Table B.4) cross-loaded onto more than one factor (by applying a threshold of .40), and thus was omitted from the rest of the analysis. Internal consistency was high for support for equal rights, but a little lower for perceived equality and political intolerance (.67 and .66, respectively).

According to these results, for all subscales, items were averaged to produce indicator scores. Prior to subscale construction, appropriate items were reversed-coded based on the direction of the subscale. In all subscales, high scores indicate higher levels of the measured attitude. Table 2 summarizes descriptive statistics, reliability coefficients, and other psychometric properties for all indicator subscales, with the results of multiple t-tests for differences between Jews and Palestinians.

On average, Jewish respondents reported higher empathy toward the other than Palestinians, with a medium sized effect (see Table 2), but empathy was rather high in both groups. Palestinian respondents were slightly more hopeful regarding the vision of Jewish-Palestinian coexistence and positive relations. Levels of hatred were low on average in both groups, but mildly and significantly lower for Jews. Cross-group comparison for the subscales measuring perceived threat and stereotypes should be interpreted with caution, since different measures were used for each group. Perceived threat was particularly high for Palestinians, with a highly asymmetric distribution indicating a ceiling effect. Negative stereotypes were on average more common for Palestinian than for Jewish respondents.

For Jews, test-retest reliability on perceived variability was low ($r = .11$, $p = .46$), which may indicate a measurement bias. Both groups showed high support for mutual efforts to improve Jewish-Palestinian relations in the country. Only 10% and 11% for Jews and Palestinians, respectively, disagreed that the groups must promote mutual understanding and good relations (scores 1-3 on the item). Jewish and Palestinian respondents expressed on average high interest in the outgroup and openness to alternative information about the outgroup. Palestinians' interest was significantly higher, with a medium-sized effect. Average scores on the subscales measuring behavioral intentions (readiness for contact and readiness for joint activities) were higher for Palestinian respondents, with effect sizes of medium size as well.

Table 2. *Descriptive Statistics and Psychometric Properties for All Indicators of Coexistence Orientation by National Group*

Indicator	Items	Range	Jews (n = 392)						Palestinians (n = 358)						t(748)	p	d
			α	rᵃ	Skew	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*	α	rᵃ	Skew	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*			
1. Empathy	4	1-7	.84	.74	-0.82	5.00	4.86	1.25	.75	.60	-0.31	4.25	4.12	1.40	7.63[b]	< .001	0.56
2. Hope	4	1-7	.82	.57	-0.22	4.25	4.12	1.23	.83	.57	-0.49	4.50	4.42	1.27	-3.34	.001	-0.24
3. Hatred	2	1-5	.83	.66	0.52	2.00	2.30	1.07	.84	.57	0.41	2.50	2.62	1.13	-3.96	< .001	-0.29
4. Perceived threat	3	1-7	.81	.83	0.21	3.67	3.74	1.41	.82	.51	-1.61	6.33	5.81	1.41	-20.07	< .001	-1.47
5. Stereotypes	5	1-7	.88	.76	0.48	2.80	2.87	1.30	.84	.58	-0.25	4.80	4.83	1.21	-21.28	< .001	-1.56
6. Perceived variability	2	1-7	.53	.11	-0.31	5.00	5.01	1.12	.60	.52	-0.57	5.00	5.05	1.33	-0.37[b]	.71	
7. Support for improving relations	3	1-7	.81	.67	-0.87	5.67	5.38	1.26	.70	.66	-0.88	5.33	5.19	1.24	2.12	.034	0.15
8. Interest in the outgroup	5	1-6	.90	.68	-0.43	4.00	3.87	1.20	.80	.64	-0.63	4.40	4.35	1.04	-5.87[b]	< .001	-0.43
9. Readiness for social contact	4	1-5	.92	.75	-0.08	3.00	3.01	1.12	.84	.64	-0.44	3.75	3.52	1.02	-6.46[b]	< .001	-0.48
10. Readiness for joint activities	3	1-5	.85	.71	-0.34	3.33	3.29	1.12	.73	.64	-0.91	4.00	3.80	0.93	-6.85[b]	< .001	-0.50
11. Integrative readiness for contact	7	1-5	.94	.77	-0.22	3.14	3.13	1.10	.88	.69	-0.66	3.71	3.64	0.91	-6.96[b]	< .001	-0.51
12. Perceived equality	4	1-6	.67	.62	0.68	2.50	2.64	0.98									
13. Support for equal rights	5	1-6	.91	.60	-0.34	4.20	4.09	1.26									
14. Political intolerance	3	1-6	.66	.62	0.24	3.25	3.28	1.09									

Note. Range is actual range. For all variables, higher values indicate higher levels in the direction of the indicator assessed. ᵃ Test-retest reliabilities is calculated using Pearson correlations between the scores on Wave 1 and Wave 2 measures for respondents who did not take part in the intervention. All *p*s < .001, except for perceived variability for Jews (*p* = .46). [b] Equal variance not assumed (based on Levene's test) .

Table 3. *Correlations between the Indicators of Coexistence Orientation for Jews (below the Diagonal) and Palestinians (above the Diagonal)*

Indicators	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Empathy	1	.40***	-.29***	-.03	-.30***	.17**	.37***	.43***	.43***		
2. Hope	.52***	1	-.36***	.03	-.27***	.12*	.68***	.52***	.64***		
3. Hatred	-.41***	-.41***	1	-.01	.40***	-.11*	-.36***	-.27***	-.35***		
4. Perceived threat	-.53***	-.55***	.54***	1	.25***	.25***	.21***	.16**	.08		
5. Stereotypes	-.62***	-.53***	.51***	.73***	1	.26***	-.24***	-.20***	-.23***		
6. Perceived variability	.38***	.23***	-.21***	-.23***	-.33***	1	.14**	.26***	.18**		
7. Support for improving relations	.64***	.69***	-.40***	-.53***	-.60***	.34***	1	.57***	.60***		
8. Interest in the outgroup	.67***	.58***	-.36***	-.53***	-.59***	.27***	.70***	1	.59***		
9. Readiness for contact[a]	.66***	.65***	-.40***	-.63***	-.61***	.26***	.69***	.79***	1		
10. Perceived equality	-.41***	-.26***	.27***	.41***	.50***	-.26***	-.40***	-.39***	-.39***	1	
11. Support for equal rights	.68***	.62***	-.48***	-.66***	-.69***	.41***	.66***	.64***	.67***	-.39***	1
12. Political intolerance	-.49***	-.45***	.44***	.64***	.63***	-.26***	-.47***	-.45***	-.52***	.39***	-.60***

Note. Jews: $n = 392$, Palestinians: $n = 358$. For all variables, higher values indicate higher levels in the direction of the indicator assessed.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

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Jewish respondents are in general rather aware of inequalities between the two national groups. Only 16% of them agreed that "there is no discrimination against the Arab minority in Israel", and 69% agreed that Jewish citizens have more rights than Palestinian citizens (scores 4-6 on the relevant items). Jewish respondents were also rather supportive of Jewish-Palestinian equal rights, but also expressed high levels of political intolerance. For example, approximately 66% agreed that "the state should cancel the citizenship of Israeli Arabs who are not loyal to the state" (scores 4-6 on the item).

Table 3 shows bivariate correlations between all indicator subscales in the index. Since no meaningful differences were observed in the correlations between the two separate indicators of BCO (readiness for social contact and for joint activities), only the integrative subscale was retained for the correlation analysis.

Most significant correlations in both national groups are in the expected direction. In the Jewish sample, all correlations are significant at the .001 level, and most correlations are either strong or moderate. In the Palestinian sample, correlations are somewhat weaker in general, and are negligible or weak for perceived threat, perhaps due to a ceiling effect, and for perceived variability. While perceived variability is negatively correlated with perceived threat and stereotypes for Jews, in concordance with the theoretical expectation, for Palestinians these correlations are negative ($r = .25$ and $r = .26$, respectively, both $p < .001$), which suggests that Palestinians who perceive Jews as a heterogeneous group also hold more negative stereotypes toward them and perceive the threat they pose on Palestinian citizens as higher. Moreover, Palestinians' perceived threat was weakly but significantly and positively related to support for improving relations ($r = .21$, $p < .001$). It is possible that for some Palestinians, the motivation to improve relations stem from high appraisal of threat. Finally, as expected, Jews who are aware of inequalities between the groups also express more support for equal rights ($r = -.39$, $p < .001$) and less political intolerance ($r = .39$, $p < .001$).

2.8.2. Results for domains (level 2) and Overall Coexistence Orientation (level 3)

A composite score of each CO domain was computed using a linear transformation procedure to obtain scale scores ranging from 0 to 1. Scores on the subscales hatred, perceived threat, outgroup image, appraisal of equality, and political intolerance were first reversed so that high scores on the CO domain scales indicate higher orientation toward coexistence. A third-level scale was also computed by averaging scores across the four (for Palestinians) or

five (for Jews) domains, to indicate Overall CO. Table 4 summarizes descriptive statistics and reliabilities for the CO domains and Overall CO, with the result of *t*-tests on group differences. Due to negative reliability for CCO with all three subscales scores for Palestinians ($\alpha = -.34$), perceived variability was omitted from the CCO scale and from the rest of the analysis. All other reliabilities were sufficiently high.

Table 4. *Internal Reliabilities, Means, and Standard Deviations for All Coexistence Orientation Domains with Tests for Differences between Jews and Palestinians*

Domain	Jews			Palestinians			$t(748)$	p	d
	α	M	SD	α	M	SD			
ECO	.71	0.61	0.18	.61	0.56	0.18	3.84	< .001	0.28
CCO	.84	0.62	0.21	.42	0.28	0.17	23.96[a]	< .001	1.78
MCO	.82	0.65	0.21	.71	0.68	0.18	-2.23[a]	.03	-0.15
BCO		0.53	0.27		0.66	0.23	-6.96[a]	< .001	-0.52
PCO	.71	0.61	0.18						
OCO	.92	0.60	0.19	.71	0.55	0.14			

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, PCO = Political Coexistence Orientation, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation, which is the mean score of the CO domain scales. *T*-test statistics and effect sizes *d*s pertain to the comparison between Jews and Palestinians for each domain
[a] Equal variance not assumed (based on Levene's test).

Table 5. *Correlations between the Coexistence Orientation Domains for Wave 1 Jewish (below the Diagonal) and Palestinian (above the Diagonal) Respondents*

CO Domains	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Emotional CO	–	.25*	.64*	.61*		.85*
2. Cognitive CO	.74*	–	.00	.08		.42*
3. Motivational CO	.74*	.65*	–	.65*		.79*
4. Behavioral CO	.70*	.67*	.81*	–		.84*
5. Political CO	.72*	.80*	.69*	.67*	–	
6. Overall CO	.87*	.87**	.89*	.90*	.87*	–

Note. Jews: n = 392, Palestinians: n = 358. CO = Coexistence Orientation, Overall CO is the mean score of the CO domain scales.
* *p* < .001.

The correlation coefficients between the CO scales are available in Table 5. All inter-scale correlations are positive, strong, and statistically significant in the Jewish sample (between $r = .65$ for CCO and MCO, and r = .81, for MCO and BCO, both *p*s < .001). Domain scales correlated less strongly in the Palestinian sample. CCO and MCO were not associated at all, $r = .00$, and the correlation between CCO and BCO was small and insignificant, $r = .08$. Other correlations varied between $r = .25$, for ECO and CCO, and $r = .65$ for MCO and BCO, all *p*s < .001.

2.8.3. Antecedents of Coexistence Orientation and assessment of convergence validity

A marginally significant effect of testing group (dropouts vs. non-dropouts) on the dependent variables (CO domains) was detected for Jews, $F(5, 386) = 3.48$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .04$, but not for Palestinians, $F(4, 353) = 0.71$, $p = .59$. Follow-up univariate ANOVAs in the Jewish sample revealed significant differences only in MCO (dropouts: $M = 0.61$, $SD = 0.23$, non-dropouts: $M = 0.68$, $SD = 0.19$), $F(1, 390) = 11.00$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. A similar analysis on continuous background variables measured in the initial test showed that there are no significant differences between the groups, nether for Palestinians, $F(5, 331) = 0.92$, $p = .24$, nor for Jews, $F(5, 364) = 1.09$, $p = .37$. Pearson chi-square tests confirm that males were not more likely than females to drop out, neither for Jewish respondents, $\chi^2(1) = 0.76$, $p = .38$, nor for Palestinian respondents, $\chi^2(1) = 0.92$, $p = .34$.

The apparent limited bias in the Jewish sample indicates that two-wave respondents are somewhat characterized by more positive MCO. Accordingly, means, standard deviations, and inter-domain correlations were recalculated for two-wave respondents and are presented in Table 6. In general, there are no visible differences between the correlations for this limited sample and those found for the entire sample.

Table 6. *Means, Standard Deviations (in Parenthesis), and Correlations between the Coexistence Orientation Domains for Two-Wave Jewish (below the Diagonal) and Palestinian (above the Diagonal) Respondents*

CO domains	M (SD) (Jews)	M (SD) (Palestinians)	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. ECO	0.62 (0.18)	0.56 (0.19)	–	.25*	.65*	.64*		.87*
2. CCO	0.62 (0.20)	0.28 (0.18)	.75*	–	.01	.08		.42*
3. MCO	0.68 (0.19)	0.69 (0.19)	.70*	.62*	–	.67*		.80*
4. BCO	0.56 (0.25)	0.66 (0.23)	.67*	.65*	.77*	–		.85*
5. PCO	0.62 (0.17)		.74*	.78*	.67*	.66*	–	
6. OCO	0.62 (0.17)	0.55 (0.15)	.88*	.86*	.87*	.88*	.87*	–

Note. Jews: $n = 220$, Palestinians: $n = 290$. CO = Coexistence Orientation, ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, PCO = Political Coexistence Orientation, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation, which is the mean score of the CO domain scales.
* $p < .001$.

Correlation coefficients between CO domains and Overall CO, and individual difference variables are presented in Table 7. In the Jewish sample, point-biserial coefficients reveal that females score slightly higher than males in ECO, MCO, and BCO, but not in CCO and PCO. Pearson coefficients show that for all domains, higher CO is significantly associated with younger age, lower HSI, higher perspective taking, and lower levels of identification with the Jewish national group. Whereas frequency of outgroup contact plays little role in CO, perceived

quality of that contact is strongly related to one's CO, with more positive perception of outgroup contact associated with higher CO across all domains. Moreover, higher CO in all domains and in the Overall CO is strongly related to more political attachment to the left.

Correlations are substantially weaker in the Palestinian sample, but some are still highly significant. Age and religiosity do not significantly predict CO. Correlations between both quantity and quality of contact and CO are significantly positive, but perceived positivity of the contact experience is more strongly related to CO in all domains. Contrary to the results obtained for Jews, HSI is positively (though weakly) related to CO domains. Higher CO is also associated with higher perspective taking in all but the cognitive domain, and with more negative evaluation of the state of Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel. It is evident that CCO exhibiting the lowest coefficients across all but one variable, namely perceived equality. Palestinians who score high on CCO, and to a lesser extent on ECO, also perceive less collective discrimination against their national group compared to Jewish citizens.

In sum, these results largely support the convergent validity of the CO domain scales and the overall CO scale, since most expected correlations were find significant, in moderate to large magnitude, and in the expected direction of association, although more so for Jews than for Palestinians, particularly with regard to CCO.

Table 7. *Correlations between Individual-Difference Variables (in Rows) and Coexistence Orientation Domains (in Columns) by National Group*

Variable	Jews (*n* = 220)						Palestinians (*n* = 290)				
	ECO	CCO	MCO	BCO	PCO	OCO	ECO	CCO	MCO	BCO	OCO
Gender (1 = female)	.18**	.07	.20**	.19**	.10	.18**	-.03	-.13*	.01	-.03	-.06
Age	-.29***	-.23**	-.27***	-.40***	-.31***	-.35***	.00	.04	-.03	.01	.01
Religiosity [a]							.11	.05	.00	.10	.09
Socioeconomic status	-.10	-.11	-.03	-.06	-.09	-.09	-.12*	.03	-.06	-.04	-.06
Hierarchic Self-Interest	-.31***	-.29***	-.37***	-.28***	-.39***	-.37***	.18**	.09	.15*	.13*	.18**
Contact frequency	.12	.14*	.07	.14*	.11	.13*	.18**	.15*	.08	.18**	.20**
Perceived contact quality	.54***	.51***	.50***	.56***	.43***	.58***	.39***	.14*	.31***	.43***	.44***
Perspective taking	.27***	.21**	.34***	.28***	.18**	.30***	.23***	-.10	.35***	.26***	.26***
Ingroup identification	-.32***	-.32***	-.25***	-.26***	-.36***	-.34***	-.02	-.16**	.07	.07	-.01
Political orientation (+Left)	.55***	.54***	.54***	.50***	.58***	.62***					
Perceived relations	-.13	-.18**	.01	.00	-.03	-.07	-.33***	-.20**	-.24***	-.33***	-.37***
Perceived equality							.21***	.35***	.01	.10	.22***

Note. CO = Coexistence Orientation, ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, PCO = Political Coexistence Orientation, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation, which is the mean score of the CO domain scales. Higher values of political orientation indicate more left-wing orientation. Higher values on all CO domains signify higher orientation toward Jewish-Palestinian coexistence.
[a] Higher values of religiosity indicate lower levels of religiosity.
* *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01. *** *p* < .001

2.8.4. The contribution of Coexistence Orientation to predicting political attitudes

Emotional, cognitive, and motivational COs were expected to predict PCO in the Jewish sample and support for inclusion in the Palestinian sample after controlling for demographic, sociopolitical, and other personal variables, as well as the overall attitude toward the outgroup. This would indicate that the attitudinal domains of CO constitute a significant addition to other known predictors of intergroup policy support.

The results of the regression analyses are presented in Table 8 (for Jews) and Table 9 (for Palestinians). In both analyses, multicollinearity was not detected (all VIF statistics were 3.18 or smaller). In the model predicting PCO for Jews, all steps in the hierarchical regression significantly contributed to explaining the outcome (total $R^2 = .75$, $p < .001$). Pertaining to background variables, PCO was negatively predicted by respondents' age and HSI throughout all stages, though their effect became weaker as more variables were entered. Perceived quality of outgroup contact positively predicted PCO in Step 1, but became an insignificant predictor when political predictors were entered. Political orientation significantly predicted PCO, while the effect of ingroup identification and the general attitude toward the outgroup became insignificant when the CO domains were entered in the third step, suggesting that when entered together, emotional, cognitive, and motivational COs are more useful for predicting PCO than the general attitude toward the outgroup. Indeed, the effect of all CO domains was positive and significant, over and above the effect of background and political variables. Moreover, the effect of CCO was stronger than that of ECO and MCO.

Significant interaction effects were detected between political orientation and CCO and MCO. To understand the pattern of significant interaction effects, follow-up simple slope analyses were performed, with political orientation as the moderator in the relationship between CCO and PCO, and between MCO and PCO, while controlling for all variables and other interactions in the complete model. The analysis for the interaction between CCO and political orientation, $F(1, 195) = 5.71$, $p = .02$, revealed that the relationship between the domains become weaker the more Jews are inclined to the political left. Accordingly, conditional effects show that the positive relationship between CCO and PCO are stronger for respondents who identify with the political right (-1 SD), $B = 0.46$, $SE = 0.07$, $p < .001$, than for those who position themselves on the left side of the political map (+1 SD), $B = 0.23$, $SE = 0.07$, $p = .003$, although across all levels of political orientation, the relationship remain significant. However, conditional effects following the interaction between political orientation and MCO, $F(1, 195) = 16.74$, $p < .001$, show that higher MCO is associated with higher PCO among left-wingers

(+1 *SD*), *B* = 0.43, *SE* = .09, *p* < .001, and to a less extent, among centrists (Mean), *B* = 0.22, *SE* = .06, *p* < .001, but not among right-wingers (-1 *SD*), *B* = 0.02, *SE* = 0.06, *p* = .78.

Table 8. *Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Political Coexistence Orientation for Jewish Two-Wave Respondents (n = 212)*

Variable	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Gender (1 = female)	.01	.02	-.04	.02	-.02	.01	-.01	.01
Age	-.28***	.01	-.17**	.01	-.10*	.01	-.08*	.01
Socioeconomic status	-.05	.01	-.00	.01	.00	.01	-.01	.01
Hierarchic Self-Interest	-.35***	.02	-.23***	.02	-.13**	.01	-.10*	.01
Contact frequency	.09	.02	.12*	.01	.07	.01	.07	.01
Perceived contact quality	.29***	.01	.01	.01	-.07	.01	-.05	.01
Perspective taking			-.04	.02	-.08	.01	-.06	.01
Ingroup identification			-.11*	.01	-.04	.01	-.03	.01
Political orientation (+Left)			.30***	.01	.15**	.01	.14**	.01
Overall attitude			.30***	.01	-.05	.01	-.06	.01
ECO					.25***	.07	.21**	.07
CCO					.40***	.06	.40***	.05
MCO					.17**	.06	.24***	.06
Political Orientation X ECO							-.09	.04
Political Orientation X CCO							-.14*	.04
Political Orientation X MCO							.26***	.04
F Change	*F*(6, 205) = 20.48		*F*(4, 201) = 20.06		*F*(3, 198) = 42.24		*F*(3, 195) = 6.00	
ΔR²	.38***		.18***		.17***		.02**	

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation. All variables but gender are continuous and were centered at their means. Eight cases were excluded due to missing data on one or more of the predictors. Total R^2 for Step 4 = .75, adjusted R^2 = .73, *p* < .001.
*p ≤ .05. **p < .01. ***p ≤ .001.

In the model predicting support for inclusion among Palestinians, each step significantly contributed to explaining the variation in the outcome. No significant interactions between perceived equality and CO domains were found, and therefore no interaction terms are included in the full model (total R^2 = .33, *p* < .001). Gender and perceived contact quantity significantly predicted support for inclusion in the first step, but their effect became insignificant in further steps. When political predictors were entered in the second step, higher support for inclusion was predicted by higher perspective taking, higher perceived equality, and more positive general attitude toward Israeli Jews. However, only the effect of perceived equality remained significant after entering the three CO domains. Similar to Jews, also among Palestinians the

combined predictive power of ECO, CCO, and MCO is higher than that of the overall attitude, suggesting that CO measures capture additional and useful information over and above general attitudes. However, only ECO significantly and positively predicted support for inclusion. The only other effect in the model was perceived equality, which was stronger than the effect of ECO, which suggests that perceptions of higher social and political equality between Jewish and Palestinian citizens leads to higher willingness to include or integrate Jewish citizens in the Palestinian society.

Table 9. *Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Support for Inclusion for Palestinian Two-Wave Respondents (n = 281)*

Variable	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3	
	β	SE B	β	SE B	β	SE B
Gender (1 = female)	-.13*	.15	-.10	.14	-.09	.13
Age	-.06	.10	-.08	.09	-.07	.08
Religiosity [a]	.03	.10	.04	.09	.03	.09
Socioeconomic status	-.03	.09	-.03	.08	.02	.08
Hierarchic Self-Interest	.03	.16	-.06	.15	-.08	.14
Contact frequency	.11	.10	.02	.09	.02	.09
Perceived contact quality	.14*	.08	.03	.08	-.03	.07
Perspective taking			.15**	.12	.08	.12
Ingroup identification			-.04	.07	-.04	.07
Perceived equality			.34***	.07	.31***	.07
Overall attitude			.20**	.03	.02	.04
ECO					.26**	.51
CCO					.10	.39
MCO					.10	.45
F Change	$F(7, 273) = 2.78$		$F(4, 269) = 16.21$		$F(3, 266) = 10.53$	
ΔR^2	.07**		.18***		.08***	

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation. All variables but gender are continuous and were centered at their means. Nine cases were excluded due to missing data on one or more of the predictors. Total R^2 for Step 3 = .33, adjusted R^2 = .29, p < .001. [a] Higher values of religiosity indicate lower levels of religiosity
*$p \leq .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

2.8.5. Person-centered approach: Cluster analysis

The hierarchical clustering procedure resulted in sufficiently meaningful and parsimony 3-cluster solution for Jews, and 4-cluster solution for Palestinians. Figures 2 and 3 show the final *k*-means clusters, expressed in standardized mean scores across the five or four CO domains, for the Jewish and Palestinian samples, respectively. From these figures it is evident that the clusters form more homogenous segments in the Jewish sample, all with flat shape and no particular spike for any domain, while the distribution of the CO domains within each cluster in the Palestinian sample tends to be more scattered.
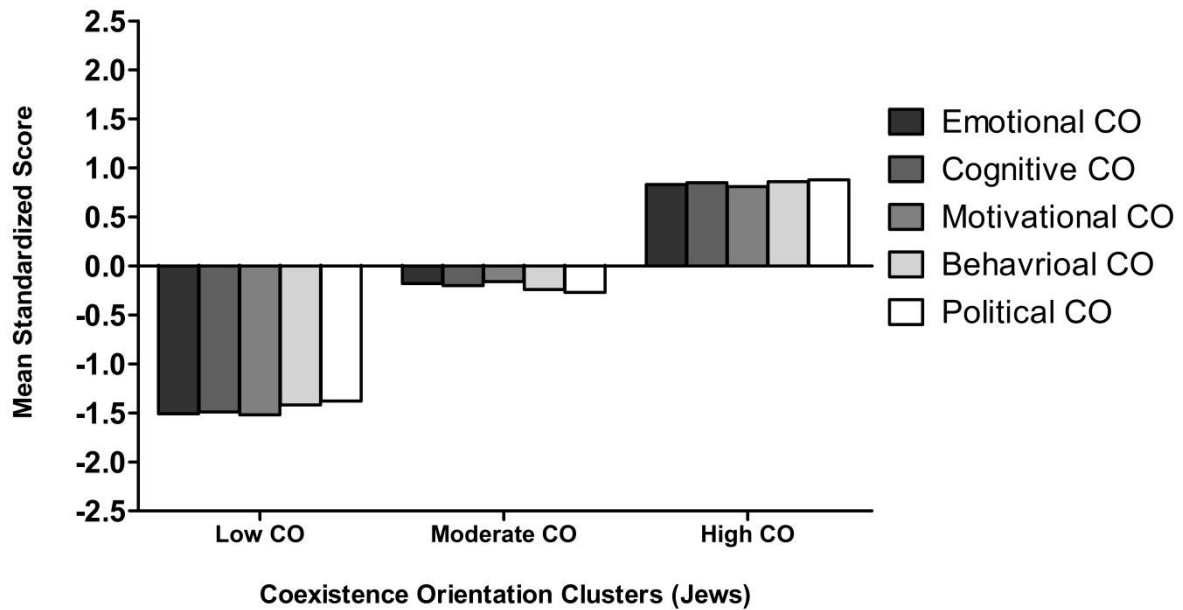
Figure 2. Mean standardized scores for Coexistence Orientation profiles across the five domains for Jews. *n* = 392. CO = Coexistence Orientation.
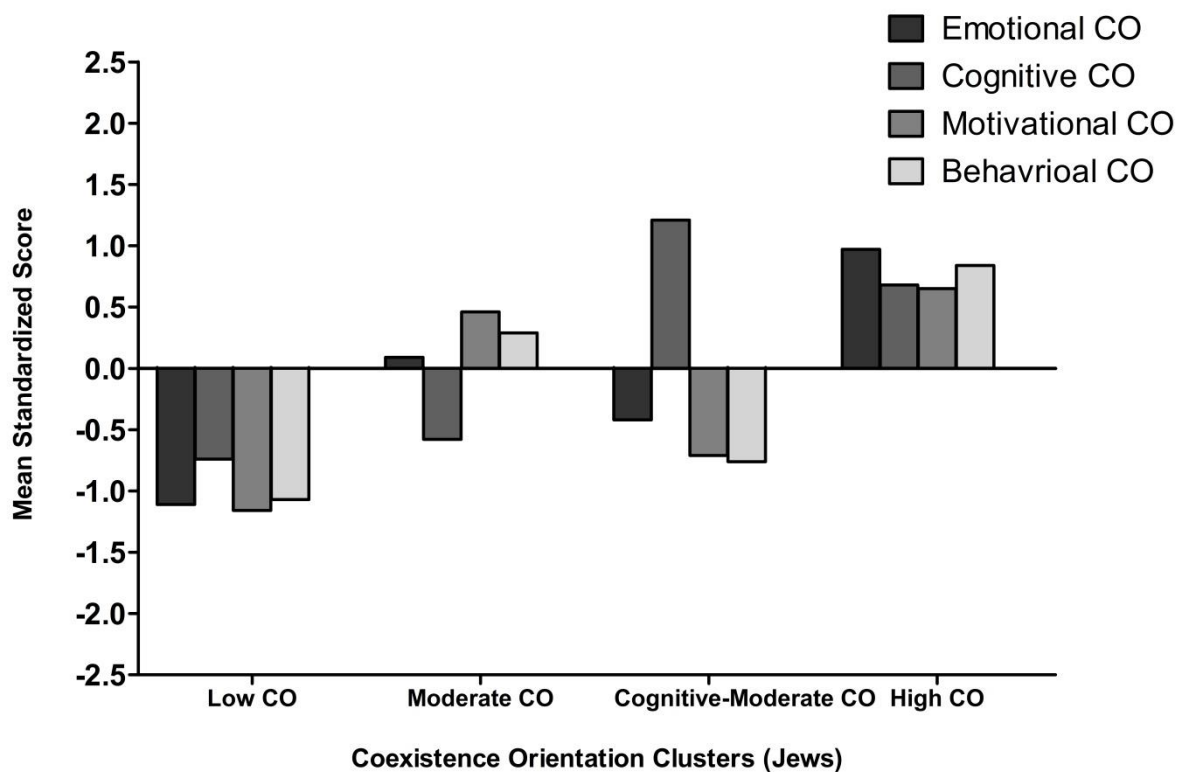
Figure 3. Mean standardized scores for Coexistence Orientation profiles across the four domains for Palestinians. *n* = 358. CO = Coexistence Orientation.

In the Jewish sample, the three orientations could be labeled as follows: (1) *Low-oriented*, comprised of 16% of the sample (*n* = 63), with reported CO levels between -1.52 (MCO) and -1.38 (PCO) *SD*s below the sample means; (2) *Moderately-oriented*, a cluster which

included 45% of the Jewish sample ($n = 176$), who on average score close to the means in all CO (mean z-scores between -0.27 for PCO and -0.16 for MCO); and (3) *Highly-oriented*, comprising of 39% of the sample ($n = 159$), and are characterized by CO levels between 0.81 (MCO) and 0.88 (PCO) *SD*s above the sample means. Multiple ANOVAs with the clusters as the between-subject factor for this solution indicate that all domains contribute similarly to the clusters' separation (ECO: $F(2, 289) = 359.49$, CCO: $F(2, 389) = 378.41$, MCO: $F(2, 389) = 345.06$, BCO: $F(2, 389) = 346.42$, PCO: $F(2, 389) = 347.79$, all ps $< .001$).

In the Palestinian sample, the four orientation profiles were labeled as follows: (1) *Low-oriented*, comprising of 20% of the Palestinian sample ($n = 73$), with mean domain centers varying between -1.16 and -0.74 *SD*s below the sample means, for MCO and CCO, respectively; (2) *Moderately-oriented*, the largest cluster with 37% of the Palestinian respondents ($n = 133$) and mean z-scores close to the sample mean, between -0.58 for CCO and 0.46 for CCO; (3) *Moderately-cognitively oriented*, which includes 15% of the sample ($n = 55$), with a peak in CCO and mean scores between -0.76 and 1.21 *SD*s from the sample means, for BCO and CCO, respectively ; and (4) *Highly-oriented*, which constitute 27% of the sample ($n = 96$), and has mean CO levels between 0.65 (for MCO) and 0.97 (for ECO) standard deviations from the sample means. ANOVAs for differences between clusters indicate that the cluster solution was affected the most by CCO, $F(3, 353) = 164.91$, $p < .001$, although the effect of all other variables is significant as well (ECO: $F(3, 353) = 137.15$; MCO: $F(3, 353) = 140.96$; and BCO: $F(3, 353) = 140.79$, all ps $< .001$).

In terms of unstandardized scores, low-oriented Jews are characterized by low mean scores (below .40) across all CO domains, and a particularly low average of BCO ($M = 0.14$, $SD = 0.14$). The Overall CO mean score for this cluster was 0.30 ($SD = 0.09$). Mean scores of moderately-oriented Jewish respondents, who formed the biggest cluster, ranged between $M = 0.47$ for BCO ($SD = 0.17$), and $M = 0.61$ for MCO ($SD = 0.13$). The Overall CO had a mean of 0.56 ($SD = 0.07$). Finally, the third cluster of highly-oriented Jews had high average scores on all CO domains, with an average Overall CO of 0.78 ($SD = 0.08$).

In all clusters in the Palestinian sample, the unstandardized mean score of CCO was significantly lower than all other three domains. Low-oriented Palestinians had domain means of around 0.40, except for CCO, with $M = 0.15$, $SD = 0.09$, Overall CO: $M = 0.35$, $SD = 0.10$. Moderately-oriented Palestinians had a significantly higher mean score on MCO, $M = 0.77$, $SD = 0.10$, but a low mean score on CCO, $M = 0.18$, $SD = 0.09$, Overall CO: $M = 0.56$, $SD = 0.06$. Moderately-cognitively oriented Palestinians had the highest mean in all four clusters for CCO,

$M = 0.49$, $SD = 0.14$, Overall CO: $M = 0.50$, $SD = 0.09$. Finally, the cluster for highly-oriented Palestinians had mean domain scores of 0.74 or higher in all but CCO, which was significantly lower, $M = 0.40$, $SD = 0.13$, Overall CO: $M = 0.70$, $SD = 0.07$.

Tables 10 (for Jews) and 11 (for Palestinians) present percentages (for categorical variables) and means with standard deviations (for continuous variables) for personal variables across the achieved clusters. Effect sizes (Cohen's ds) are presented for all pairwise comparisons, even when the F statistic was not significant, for exploratory purposes.

Table 10. *Descriptive Statistics for Individual-Difference Variables by Cluster and Cohen's ds Effect Sizes for Differences between Clusters among Jewish Two-Wave Respondents*

Characteristic	Clusters [a]			Cohen's ds		
	Low Oriented ($n = 28$)	Moderately Oriented ($n = 102$)	Highly Oriented ($n = 90$)	Moderate vs. Low	High vs. Low	High vs. Moderate
Female (%)	53.6	54.9	73.3			
Age	16.97 (0.75)	16.64 (0.95)	16.17 (0.83)	-0.39	-1.01***	-0.53**
Socioeconomic status	3.29 (0.66)	3.08 (0.66)	3.02 (0.83)	-0.32	-0.36	-0.08
Hierarchic Self-Interest	2.97 (0.49)	2.78 (0.54)	2.47 (0.52)	-0.37	-0.98***	-0.58***
Contact frequency	1.94 (0.72)	2.02 (0.61)	2.24 (0.73)	0.12	0.41	0.33
Perceived contact quality	2.38 (0.79)	3.06 (0.75)	3.77 (0.80)	0.88***	1.75***	0.92***
Perspective taking	3.46 (0.59)	3.50 (0.53)	3.88 (0.52)	0.07	0.76***	0.72***
Ingroup identification	4.49 (0.43)	4.16 (0.67)	3.87 (0.78)	-0.59	-0.98***	-0.40*
Political orientation [b]	2.39 (1.03)	3.47 (1.24)	4.67 (1.07)	0.95***	2.17***	1.04***

Note. Multiple comparisons are Bonferroni-adjusted. Number of cases for each characteristic ranged from 212 to 220 due to missing data. [a] All values are Means (*SD*s) unless indicated as percentages. [b] Higher values of political orientation indicate more leftist orientation.
*$p \le .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p \le .001$.

In the Jewish sample, MANOVA yielded a significant effect of cluster grouping on the eight characteristics, Hotelling's $T = 1.12$, $F(16, 402) = 14.01$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .36$. Follow-up univariate ANOVAs and multiple comparisons show that the all three clusters were highly significantly different from each other on all variables except for SES, with mostly large and even very large effect sizes. Highly-oriented Jews tend to be female, $\chi^2(2) = 7.95$, $p < . 01$, of younger age, $F(2, 209) = 11.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .10$, with higher HSI, $F(2, 209) = 13.08$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .11$, more attentive to the perspectives of others, $F(2, 209) = 14.15$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .12$, and more identified with their own national group, $F(2, 209) = 9.72$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .09$,

compared to low- and moderately-oriented Jews. On average, the low-oriented tend to position themselves on the political right, while moderately- and highly-oriented are more likely to be in the center and left of the political map, respectively. This effect of political orientation was particularly large, $F(2, 209) = 50.86$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2_p = .33$. Finally, the higher the orientation, the more Jewish respondents perceived their past contact with outgroup members as positive, $F(2, 209) = 40.29$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .28$. Pertaining to frequency of contact with Palestinian citizens, the main effect was significant, but post-hoc tests did not detect any specific significant difference between the clusters, $F(2, 209) = 3.25$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .03$.

For Palestinians, there were no significant gender differences between the four clusters, $\chi^2(3) = 5.31$, $p = .15$ (see Table 11). MANOVA resulted in overall significant differences between the clusters across the examined characteristics, Hotelling's $T = .59$, $F(30, 788) = 5.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .17$. Contrary to the findings for Jews, highly-oriented Palestinians had a significantly higher level of HSI, compared to low-oriented ones, $F(3, 273) = 3.63$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .04$. They also had more contact with Jews than the low- and moderately-oriented, $F(3, 273) = 4.21$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .04$. Perceived contact quality differentiates between the clusters, with highly-oriented Palestinians evaluate prior contact to be significantly more positive than all other three profiles, $F(3, 273) = 16.11$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .15$. Low-oriented Palestinians exhibit lower perspective taking than the moderately- and highly-oriented, $F(3, 273) = 6.30$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .07$. Highly-oriented Palestinians also perceived Jewish-Palestinian relationship to be more equal than the low- and moderately-oriented, $F(3, 273) = 11.74$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .11$, while low-oriented Palestinians perceive the relations to be more negative than all other cluster groups, $F(3, 273) = 11.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .11$. With regard to cognitively-oriented Palestinians, they are on average similar to the low- and moderately-oriented, except for two characteristics: they are an average more religious, $F(3, 273) = 3.70$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .04$, and demonstrate the lowest levels of perceived equality. No significant differences between the clusters were detected for age, $F(3, 273) = 0.51$, $p = .68$, SES, $F(3, 273) = 1.14$, $p = .33$, and ingroup identification, $F(3, 273) = 2.16$, $p = .09$.

Table 11. *Descriptive Statistics for Individual-Difference Variables by Cluster and Cohen's ds Effect Sizes for Differences between Clusters among Palestinian Two-Wave Respondents*

Characteristics	Clusters [a]				Cohen's *ds*					
	Low-Oriented (*n* = 51)	Moderately Oriented (*n* = 105)	MC Oriented (*n* = 42)	Highly Oriented (*n* = 82)	Moderate vs. Low	MC vs. Low	High vs. Low	MC vs. Moderate	High vs. Moderate	High vs. MC
Female (%)	80.0	72.0	56.8	67.5						
Age	16.19 (0.73)	16.34 (0.77)	16.32 (0.81)	16.25 (0.72)	0.20	0.17	0.08	-0.03	-0.12	-0.19
Religiosity [b]	2.14 (0.80)	1.94 (0.63)	1.70 (0.65)	2.10 (0.78)	-0.28	-0.60*	-0.05	-0.37	0.23	0.56*
SES	3.31 (0.79)	3.10 (0.77)	3.28 (0.82)	3.14 (0.83)	-0.27	-0.04	-0.21	0.23	0.05	-0.17
Hierarchic Self-Interest	3.45 (0.55)	3.51 (0.42)	3.50 (0.37)	3.68 (0.41)	0.12	0.11	0.47*	-0.03	0.44	0.47
Contact frequency	2.29 (0.75)	2.41 (0.72)	2.42 (0.79)	2.72 (0.77)	0.16	0.17	0.57**	0.01	0.42*	0.38
Perceived contact quality	2.71 (0.90)	3.23 (0.82)	2.97 (0.87)	3.71 (0.88)	0.60**	0.29	1.12***	-0.31	0.56**	0.85***
Perspective taking	3.55 (0.59)	3.81 (0.46)	3.60 (0.50)	3.91 (0.60)	0.49*	0.09	0.61**	-0.44	0.19	0.56*
Ingroup identification	3.90 (1.09)	4.11 (0.79)	3.70 (1.03)	3.91 (0.90)	0.22	-0.19	0.01	-0.45	-0.24	0.22
Perceived equality	1.76 (0.87)	1.86 (0.87)	2.52 (1.04)	2.44 (0.89)	0.11	0.81***	0.77***	0.69**	0.66***	-0.04
Perceived relations	3.22 (0.73)	2.69 (0.70)	2.75 (0.71)	2.46 (0.81)	-0.74***	-0.65*	-0.99***	0.09	-0.30	-0.38

Note. MC = Moderate-Cognitive. Multiple comparisons are Bonferroni-adjusted. Number of cases for each characteristic ranged from 281 to 290 due to missing data. [a] All values are Means (*SD*s) unless indicated as percentages. [b] Higher values of religiosity mean lower levels of religiosity.
*$p \leq .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

2.9. Summary

The second chapter of the thesis developed a framework for understanding, measuring and assessing the psychological dimensions of intergroup coexistence. The overarching aim of this chapter was to offer a theoretical conceptualization and empirical investigation of Coexistence Orientation (CO) in the Jewish-Palestinian case in Israel, in order to set the stage for the subsequent study of intergroup encounters and their potentially durable effect on CO.

The first part of the chapter offered a thorough description of the conceptualization and operationalization processes. This systemized concept of CO refers a state of mind of members of groups in coexistence pertaining to their relationship. It aims to capture the extent to which group members in conflict hold the beliefs, attitudes, and emotions pertaining to their relationship with the rival group, which are consistent with the psychological requirement for intergroup coexistence, understood as a preliminary form of positive intergroup relations after conflict, and as a prelude to more advanced and harmonious relations (Bar-Tal, 2004; Kriesberg, 1998a, 2001; Worchel & Coutant, 2008). Unlike reconciliation, coexistence does not require group members to fundamentally change their psychological repertoire of the conflict. Instead, it involves supporting the reconciliation process, granting legitimacy to the other group and perceiving it as equal, and avoiding negative emotions, stereotypes, and prejudice (Bar-Tal, 2004, 2005; Kriesberg, 1998a). CO includes five attitudinal domains, namely emotional, cognitive, motivational, behavioral, and political (for Jews), and each domain is indicated by two or three constructs (see Figure 1).

The second part of the chapter dealt with the measurement and validation of the index of CO. The psychometric properties and reliabilities of the index were assessed, first in a small pilot study, and then in a large-scale sample of Jewish and Palestinian youth. Overall, the scaling properties of newly constructed subscales in the index were satisfying, and suggest that they are valid for use in further research. The validity of each CO domain as second-order scale was also established. The psychometric analysis provided evidence for adequate internal consistency for both indicator subscales and the CO domain scales. Test-retest reliabilities were satisfactory when the index was measured in a gap of two to four weeks (among respondents who did not take part in an intervention in between). Nevertheless, reliabilities were somewhat lower in the Palestinian sample. Poor psychometric properties are often found in surveys among the Israeli Palestinian population, a bias that is attributed, among others, to lack of experience in completing attitude questionnaires, to fear of the authorities, and to the semi-democratic nature of the Palestinian society in Israel (Smooha, 2010).

Although the large-scale samples are not representative of the Jewish and Palestinian populations and the results cannot be generalized, the distribution of scores may indicate the extent to which the respondents are oriented toward coexistence across the domains. In general, average scores suggest moderate to high orientation toward coexistence. Nevertheless, averagely low level of Cognitive CO through negative stereotypes and perceived threat were found among Palestinian respondents. Perceptions of collective threats were particularly high in that group, and were significantly correlated only with stereotypes and perceived equality, as opposed to high correlations between perceived threat and various intergroup attitudes in the Jewish group. These findings are consistent with other findings from asymmetric intergroup relations, according to which disadvantaged group experience higher threat perceptions but advantaged groups react stronger to perceptions of threats in terms of prejudice (Stephan et al., 2002; Stephan et al., 2009). Nevertheless, the behavioral domain of CO was exceptionally high for Palestinian respondents, as reflected in their expressed readiness for social contact and joint intergroup activities. This finding may be encouraging considering recent findings that show a steady decline in Palestinians' readiness for contact and with members of the other group between 2003 and 2009 (Smooha, 2010).

The findings from the correlation analyses suggest that emotional, motivational, and behavioral domains of CO essentially refer to similar dimensions of intergroup attitudes, in both national groups. In the Jewish group, cognitive and political domains are also highly correlated with the former domains. For Palestinians, however, attitudes in the cognitive domain were only weakly associated with attitudes in other domains.

Another aim of this study was to explore the relationships between the CO domains and several background and psychological characteristics, some of which were previously shown to predict intergroup attitudes in different contexts. Overall, the results show that the individual different variables were able to account for individual-level variations in all CO domains for both national groups. This also demonstrated the convergent validity of the CO domain scales. Several antecedents can be particularly mentioned. First, although age was negatively associated with CO, it might be that age and cohort effects are confounded in the data, and this does not necessarily suggest that young high school students are more oriented toward coexistence than older ones. Second, in concurrence with previous research (Tausch, Hewstone, et al., 2007), the findings also stress the importance of quality over quantity in intergroup contact. While reported frequency of contact with outgroup members was weakly related the CO domains, the perceived quality of that contact was a much stronger correlate. Although Bar-

Tal and Halperin (2011) found that contact of Jewish citizens with Palestinians did not affect their group-based emotions such as hope, here we found that when outgroup contact is perceived in positive terms, it is also associated with more positive emotional sentiments toward the outgroup, while contact that is evaluated as unpleasant, uncooperative or that is done on an involuntary background may be linked to negative emotions and in general, to negative orientation to coexistence.

Hierarchic Self-Interest (HSI) was found to be positively and negatively associated with all CO domains among Jews. Moreover, it emerged as a significant predictor of Political CO even after controlling for other variables that have strong associations with the political domain. This shows that internalization of capitalistic values among Jews increases negative attitudes toward Palestinian citizens, and particularly decreases support for equal rights and political tolerance. This is not surprising considering that self-interested hierarchic attitudes include the acceptance of social inequalities (see Hagan et al., 1998). However, for Palestinians, higher HSI was significantly and positively correlated with Emotional CO. A possible explanation to this contradiction is that higher orientation to competition and acceptances of social inequalities increases the willingness of member of the disadvantaged minority to "open up" to the more modern society of the advantaged majority. Palestinian citizens with high HSI will adopt core values of modern societies and economies, and in Israel the latter characterizes mostly the Jewish majority. Therefore, while Jewish adolescents who overemphasize competitiveness may perceive Palestinians as competitors, Palestinian adolescents with "exaggerated" orientation toward values of modern markets may perceive Jews as "partners" for personal success and the dominantly-Jewish society as an opportunity. In any case, it should be emphasize that the correlation coefficients in the Palestinian sample were significant but quite weak. More research is needed to examine whether such seemingly different functioning of HSI with regard to intergroup attitudes characterizes other relations between advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

The analysis also disclosed that political orientation is a significant and strong correlate of all CO domains, as well as an important predictor of Political CO for Jews. This finding is in consistent with results of many previous studies about the importance of self-definition across the left-right political spectrum in Israel in accounting for Jews' and Palestinians' conflict-related attitudes (e.g., Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2011; Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut, & Drori, 2008; Shamir & Shikaki, 2002).

Multiple regression analyses examined the power of emotional, cognitive, and motivation COs to predict attitudes in the political domain beyond familiar antecedents of the latter. The results indicated that these domains are useful in predicting political attitudes over and above general favorable or unfavorable attitudes, prior outgroup contact, political perceptions, and several demographic constructs, in both societies. This attests to the potential contribution of emotional and cognitive attitudinal CO domains to understanding and explaining policy support. Emotional CO was a particularly strong predictor in both groups. This finding adds to the growing pile of evidence on the importance of group-based emotions in political beliefs and attitudes in conflict (e.g., Bar-Tal et al., 2007; Halperin, 2011; Halperin et al., 2011; Nadler & Saguy, 2004).

Utilizing both hierarchical and non-hierarchical clustering techniques, the analysis offered an inductive person-centered approach to study CO profiles. The analysis resulted in an optimal grouping of Jewish respondents into three orientation profiles, which can be labeled intuitively based on similar levels of orientation across the domains relative to the sample means: A small group with CO levels below the sample means (low-oriented, 16%), and two similar-sized groups of moderately-oriented (45%) and highly-oriented (39%) individuals. For Palestinians, fours clusters were drawn: low-oriented (20%), moderately-oriented (37%), moderately-cognitively oriented (15%), and highly-oriented (27%). There was greater unique variation in CO mean scores within the clusters for Palestinians, suggesting that their orientations across the domains are less coherent than those among their Jewish counterparts, which could be also seen in the correlation analysis. In particular, in terms of unstandardized scores, CCO was significantly lower than other domains in all identified clusters, with the exception of the moderately-cognitively oriented, who exhibited high levels of cognitive orientation. Overall, the cluster analysis was shown to be more beneficial for understanding Palestinians' orientations. The large shared variance between the five CO domains may have resulted in multicollinearity, suggesting that each variable could not have contributed sufficiently to the clustering solution (Hair & Black, 2000).

The final stage of the analysis related cluster membership to a set of external variables. Overall, the results of cluster differences in personal characteristics mirrors those found in the correlation analysis, and strengthen the convergent validity of the index. Not surprisingly, Jewish members of the high-orientation cluster were closer to the left pole of the political spectrum, while the low-oriented identified with the right side of the political map, once again indicating on the important role of political affiliation in intergroup attitudes. This analysis also

enabled to better understand the somewhat peculiar profile of moderately-cognitively oriented Palestinians. The latter were found to be significantly more religious and less identified with their national group, and to perceive the relations as more equal than other clusters. Finally, in terms of reliability and external validity of the cluster solutions, further studies are needed to evaluate the extent to which the cluster solutions can be replicated in other samples, and particularly in representative samples of each population.

Although the distributions of attitudes in this study do not necessarily reflect those of the greater populations, the cluster analysis resulted in a relatively high proportion of moderately- or highly-oriented individuals in each group, or at least only small groups of individuals with low orientation. This rather optimistic finding may offers support for Smooha's mutual rapprochement thesis (2010), according to which Jewish and Palestinian Israelis are not likely to be driven toward violent confrontation despite the growing polarization at the macro level, and in fact, with the right policy changes, they may move toward real coexistence, on the way toward reconciliation. Strengths and weaknesses of the conceptualization of CO and the index and suggestions for further research are presented in the Discussion chapter.

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Among the most important methods through which reconciliation can be promoted is education (e.g., Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Bekerman, 2007; Maoz, 2010; Salomon, 2004, 2009). The objectives of education for coexistence (at first) and reconciliation (in the long run) are ideally achieved through large-scale educational commitment to provide knowledge about the conflict and develop a wide array of skills and values that will strengthen coexistence, such as tolerance, perspective taking, empathy, mutual understanding, openness to the other group, critical thinking, and more (e.g., Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Salomon, 2009). The power of contact for improving intergroup relations was identified, practices, and studied extensively in the Jewish-Palestinian context. The next two chapters offer an empirical assessment of an encounter intervention that utilizes the positive effects of face-to-face contact, using the conceptual and empirical framework developed in this chapter.

Chapter 3

The Contribution of Jewish-Palestinian Encounters to Coexistence Orientation: Assessment of Longitudinal Effects

3.1. Planned face-to-face encounters between Jews and Palestinians in Israel

Planned intergroup encounters involving face-to-face interactions receive much attention in programs in the framework of education for coexistence (e.g., Abu-Nimer, 1999, 2004; Bekerman, 2009; Maoz, 2004a, 2010; Suleiman, 2004), or peace education (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Iram, 2006; Salomon 2004, 2006, 2009) in Israel, made in attempt to facilitate grassroots peacebuilding and reconciliation between Jewish and Palestinian citizens. The extent to which encounters are prevalent can be inferred from a survey in 2005 showing that one in six Jewish adults participated in an encounter at least once (Maoz, 2010). In 2004, Abu-Nimer (2004, p. 406) enumerated 275 coexistence programs in Israel implementing a wide variety of people-to-people activities.

Jewish-Palestinians encounters became a common practice of in the 1980s, following the rise of right-wing extremism in the Jewish society (Maoz, 2010), and grew exponentially following the Oslo Accords in 1993 (Abu-Nimer, 1999, 2004; Bar & Eady, 1998; Suleiman, 2004). Despite a relapse during the Second Palestinian Intifada (2000-2005), or throughout recent years characterized by a sluggish peace process and episodes of war between Israel and Gaza, encounters have continued to take place. They are performed by many NGOS and educational institutes in Israel and Palestine, which are motivated to prevent further deterioration in the relationship between the communities (for a reviews on the historical developments of Jewish-Palestinian encounters see Abu-Nimer 1999, Bar-Tal, 2004; Bekerman, 2007; Maoz, 2004a, 2010, 2011; Stephan & Stephan, 2001; Suleiman, 2004).

These encounters take place in a context involving both an ethno-national intractable conflict, and intrastate asymmetric power relations, in which the Jewish majority is considered the advantaged group on political and economic dimensions. Palestinian citizens, who constitute roughly 21% of the population, are in dispute with the Jewish majority over the Jewish-Zionist character of the State, their integration into Israeli society, and the national-historical narratives of the conflict. In recent decades, Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel have been characterized by political polarization, as well as by mutual hostility and alienation, stereotypes, and negative attitudes (e.g., Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Smooha, 1992, 2010; see Introduction and Chapter 2).

The focus in this study is on a particular form of encounter intervention, conducted in educational settings, and targeting high school students. Indeed, most peace education programs are directed at adolescents and youth, who are more susceptible to attitude change (Abu-Nimer,

1999, 2004; Maoz, 2000, 2010; Rosen & Perkins, 2013). These encounters, held in an isolated and neutral environment, bring together members of antagonistic groups to two or three days of workshops. They often include an overnight stay, and structured activities during the days, conducted in small binational and bilingual working groups of 10-20 people, with a balanced number of participants from each group, who are encouraged to speak in their native languages. The workshops are co-facilitated by trained educators, one Jewish and the other Palestinians. The activities are diverse, and range from social games to intense debates and dialogues (see below). Although interveners apply a wide range of techniques and methods to achieve an even wider range of broad or specific goals through encounters, all programs essentially share a common vision: to facilitate reconciliation between Jews and Palestinians by enhancing positive attitudes toward the other group, reducing hostilities, prejudice, and stereotypes, and creating structural opportunities for cooperation and cross-group friendship (Abu-Nimer, 2004; Maoz, 2010, 2011).

The rationale of planned encounters is rooted in the notable and empirically-proven premise of the Gordon Allport's *contact hypothesis*, as appeared in *The Nature of Prejudice* (Allport, 1954). Contact theory subscribes that bringing people from uncooperative or even hostile groups together to facilitate a psychologically-driven positive attitudinal and behavioral change in the relationship between them. According to the hypothesis, the effectiveness of contact is conditioned by the prospect to achieve four optimal conditions (Amir, 1969; Pettigrew, 1998) for positive contact that will improve intergroup relations: (1) equal status between groups, if not in society, than at least during the induced contact; (2) institutional support, a condition implying that the social norms "…by law, custom, or local atmosphere" (Alloprt, 1954, p. 281) should favor such activities; (3) a sufficiently intimate and durable personal interaction, particularly one that would allow friendship to develop; and (4) the creation of mutual dependency via a common, superordinate goal that will require cooperative efforts.

A considerably large amount of empirical works, reviews, and systematic meta-analysis have established that positive contact largely works and is associated with the reduction of many forms of prejudice (e.g., Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Paluck & Green, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010). Contact is maximally effective under Allport's conditions, but also unstructured contact was found to reduce prejudice ($r = .20$ and $r = .29$ for unstructured and structured contact in Pettigrew and Tropp's meta-analysis, 2006). It should be noted, however, that most of the research is based on self-reported contact in cross-sectional

studies, or studies applying a cross-lagged longitudinal approach to study contact effects (Christ & Wagner, 2013; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2011), while there is still an evident dearth of studies on the effectiveness of planned and structure activities involving intergroup contact such as contact workshops (e.g., Paluck & Green, 2009; Maoz, 2011).

3.2. Two ideal type models of Jewish-Palestinian encounters

Contact theory promoted *decategorized* contact, in which group identities are obscured and group members get to know each other on an interpersonal basis and engage in self-disclosure (e.g., Brewer & Miller, 1984). In planned encounters, it was recommended that participants relate to each other as individuals and focus on their unique identities and diverse personalities and traits that are irrelevant to their group membership at the national level, in order to deconstruct stereotypes and weaken power relations (e.g., Abu-Nimer, 1999; Doubilet, 2007; Maoz, 2004a; Steinberg & Bar-On, 2002). Maoz (2004, 2011) defined such encounters in the Jewish-Palestinian case as the *coexistence model*. In line with the contact hypothesis, the coexistence model attempts to neutralize power asymmetries by creating a power balance and facilitating an atmosphere of equality (Doubilet, 2007). The model focuses on cultural and social aspects of the relationship between the groups, and suppresses political discussions and the expression of conflicting discourses and narratives, to avoid polarization and preserve a positive atmosphere (Amir et al., 1980; Maoz, 2000, 2011). Throughout the encounter, similarities between the groups are emphasized to defuse stereotypes (e.g., emphasizing the liking of both groups to Middle Eastern food), and differences are often suppressed by the facilitators. The model is mainly designed to promote mutual understanding and tolerance, and to reduce stereotypes and prejudice. It was, and still largely is, the dominant model of contact interventions in Israel (Maoz, 2004a, 2011).

However, the pure coexistence model is increasingly perceived by both researchers and practitioners of encounters as undesirable and ineffective in the context of intractable and asymmetric conflicts (Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007; Maoz, 2004a, 2011; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Suleiman, 2004). The rationale for this position can be traced to several interrelated arguments. First, power asymmetries between the groups remain salient in the encounters, even when efforts to neutralize the situation are successful, through techniques such as bilingual encounter, equal number of participants, and co-facilitation. Creating artificial equality in an isolated event does not do away with the complex power dynamics that characterize the relationship between the groups in reality (Abu-Nimer, 2004; Doubilet, 2007;

Maoz, 2000, 2004a, 2011; Suleiman, 2004). Tropp (2006) found that disadvantaged group members are not positively affected by a temporal application of equal status.

Second, although many encounters are held in a school framework and are supported by the national education authorities, the social norms in the country do not favor equality and cooperation. Cooperation in daily lives is minimal (see Chapter 2), and the groups are socially, culturally, and economically segregated, which is overall detrimental to coexistence. Integration is considered undesirable by the majority of members in both groups, and opportunities for positive contact are scarce (e.g., Rouhana, 1997).

Third, a recent line of research has shown that because members of the advantaged and the disadvantaged groups have different motivations pertaining to the status quo (Saguy et al., 2012), they also differ in their preferences for contact-based activities, based on their perceptions of what may be beneficial for their groups. While members of the advantaged groups feel threatened by discussions of group differences and prefer a communality-focused contact, members of disadvantaged groups, who aspire to change the nature of the relations and the sociopolitical arrangements, prefer contact to focus on differences and to allow them the preserve their distinct group identity (e.g., Saguy et al., 2012; Maddy-Weitzman, 2007; Maoz, 2011). Disadvantaged group members are also interested that encounters will involve discussing issues in disagreement between the groups, structural inequalities, and differences in their experiences, in hope that this would ultimately facilitate a societal change (Dovidio et al., 2009). Therefore, an encounter that focuses on communalities and avoids discussing the real problems between the groups is likely to be disappointing and even frustrating to participants who wish to resolve the conflict and promote change (Maoz, 2000).

Fourth, the sociopsychological infrastructure of the conflict constitutes a major barrier for any attempt to promote coexistence, peace, and reconciliation (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2007, 2013; Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2011; Kriesberg, 1998b; Salomon, 2004). The assumption of the contact theory that positive attitudes toward outgroup participants will be generalized to the entire outgroup may be particularly challenged in the face of the entrenched psychological motivations, the collective societal beliefs that justify the conflict, and the negative emotional orientations (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew, 1997; Wilder, 1984). Moreover, the continuing violent nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict also increase mutual fears and threat perceptions that hinder the prospect of positive attitude change following an isolated and one-time positive experience (Bar-Tal., 2004; Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005; Salomon, 2011).

Finally, the coexistence model was criticized as reinforcing the dominance of the Jewish group over the Palestinian group, and contributing to the continuation of imbalanced majority-minority dynamics instead of challenging them and stimulating a process of social change (Abu-Nimer, 1999, 2004; Bekerman, 2009; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Rouhana, 2004, 2011; Suleiman, 2004). The psychological model does not allow participants to learn about the adversarial group's narrative and experiences in the conflict, which is one of the main purposes of peace education that aims to promote peace and reconciliation (e.g., Bar-Tal et al., 2009). While the coexistence model is beneficial for promoting positive atmosphere and engaging participants, particularly of young age, it may not contribute much to reconciliation since it does not aim to change the structure of power asymmetries between the groups (Maoz, 2004a, 2011).

On the background of these limitation and concerns, an alternative encounter model was developed, which relies on a *revised* contact theory suggested by Hewstone and Brown (1986, see also Brown & Hewstone, 2005), who claimed that *categorization* is sometimes preferable over decategorization. The scholars argue that it is not likely that temporary cooperation and superordinate identities will triumph categorization of ethnic or racial social groups, especially when the encounter takes place in the context of asymmetric protracted conflicts. Accordingly, a *confrontational model* of Jewish-Palestinian encounters emerged. While in the traditional coexistence (Maoz, 2004a) or the psychological (Suleiman, 2004) model of encounters, participants interact on the basis of their individual identities and preferences, the confrontational (Maoz, 2004a; Tatar & Horenczyk, 2003) or political (Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Suleiman, 2004) model emphasizes group memberships and different identities, which are made salient throughout the encounters, in an attempt to make participants aware of intergroup differences. Most importantly, while the coexistence model avoids political discussions on the problems between the groups, the political approach encourages such confrontations. The purpose of the confrontational encounters is not to suppress the power asymmetries but to make group members aware of existing disparities and structural inequalities between the groups. This is expected to empower the disadvantaged group and make the advantaged group more aware to the asymmetric nature of the relationship between the groups (Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004).

3.3. The mixed-model of Jewish-Palestinian encounters and the focus on intergroup dialogue

Inasmuch as the confrontational model can help in overcoming structural limitations to positive contact and encourage social change, its impact on beliefs and attitudes, particularly

those of the majority group, can be detrimental. Jewish participants may be alienated by the attempt to "put the blame" for the conflict on their side, which will only increase the animosity between the groups (Maoz, Ben-Or, & Yikya, 2007). Tatar and Horenczyk (2003) argue that a categorize contact may polarize the participants and lead to a greater distance between them, and may even increase anxiety among participants. The ability of such short and intense political activities to decrease negative perceptions and emotions was also recently put into question (e.g., Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007; Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Maoz, 2010).

In the contact literature, Miller (2002) suggested that in reality, the two polarized levels of contact (interpersonal-decategorized and intergroup-categorized contact) often occur simultaneously, and that both are important to achieve positive and generalized contact effects (see also Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Consequently, integrative models have been suggested (e.g., Eller & Abrams, 2004; see also Dovidio, 2001). Pettigrew (1998), for example, suggested that contact should begin as decategorized to reduce anxiety and increase positive attitudes, but later group membership should be emphasized to facilitate generalization to the entire outgroups.

In light of the advantages and disadvantages of each model and the increasing awareness to the need for integration, many contemporary encounter programs choose to combine elements of both ideal types, hopping to enjoy the advantages each model offers over the other (Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007; Maddy-Weitzman, 2007; Maoz, 2004a; 2011). According to Maoz (2011), roughly 20% of the encounter programs in Israel adopt a mixed-model approach that addresses both interpersonal and political intergroup dynamics, and utilize techniques of both similarities-focus contact, mainly at the first stages of the encounters, and differences-focused categorization, usually in advanced stages of the encounter. *Mixed model encounters* also incorporate intragroup approaches through uninational processing sessions, particularly following intense confrontational activities and political dialogue (Maddy-Weitzman, 2007, see also Ben-Ari, 2004 on metacognitive approaches to coexistence education). Arguably, mixed-model encounters also integrate elements from another subtype of encounters referred to by Maoz as the narrative story-telling model (Bar-On & Kassem, 2004; Maoz, 2011) in activities centered on dialogues. In encounters under this model, participants are encouraged to share their personal narratives and experience in the conflict with other participants. Personal stories have the power to induce empathic concerns to the other, and can increase the understanding of participants to the way the conflict affects the day-by-day reality of people in both groups (Bar-On & Kassem, 2004).

Political and constructive *dialogues* constitute the most important dimension of the mixed-model encounter. Facilitated dialogue is a conflict-reduction method that allows participants to explore perspectives and attitudes about issues that are at the core of the conflict with members of the other group in a safe and structured setting. Participants of dialogues engage in active listening, learning, and self-reflecting (Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Nagda, 2006; Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003). The encounters provide a rare opportunity for individuals from both groups to voice their concerns, and in parallel, to listen to the experience and perspectives of outgroup members. In an open and constructive experience of transformative dialogue, participants engage in learning and intergroup communication, share experiences, and are encouraged to internalize the perspective of the other (e.g., Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Maoz, Bar-On, & Yikya, 2007; Nagda, 2006; Steinberg & Bar-On, 2007). Ideally, the dialogue culminates in the beginning of cracks in the "walls of denial" (Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007, p. 29), as participants are better able to humanize and understand the other side, empathize with its members and their experiences, change misconceptions about the conflict and false perceptions about the characteristics and intentions of the other group, and exhibit greater desire and hope to achieve coexistence and lasting peace (Steinberg & Bar-On, 2007). Dialogue processes in intergroup contact were found to contribute to positive attitude change, reduction of anxiety and threat perceptions, self-reflection, and perspective taking (e.g., Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003; for a review see Dessel & Rogge, 2008).

3.4. The effectiveness of Jewish-Palestinian encounters: Four shortcomings in the current literature

Despite the major advancement made in studying the effectiveness of intergroup contact, studies on contact in the context of asymmetric and intractable conflicts are lacking (Maoz, 2011; Salomon, 2004, 2006; Paluck & Greemn, 2009). Indeed, only a few systematic studies of outcomes of Jewish-Palestinian encounters using experimental methods (often through pretest-posttest comparisons) were published since the mid-1990s (e.g., Bar & Bargal, 1995; Bar-Natan et al., 2008; Hertz-Lazarowitz, Kupermintz, & Lang, 1998; Maoz, 2000, 2003; 2004a; Mollov & Lavie, 2007; Yablon, 2009), and the dearth in empirical research is particularly salient when it comes to encounters applying confrontational techniques or the mixed model detailed above (Maoz, 2011).

Non-confrontational models continue to dominate the field and attract more participants than confrontational or mixed-models (Maoz, 2010), and the vast majority of studies on more

advanced models have so far offered only qualitative assessments of the process that takes place in those encounters and their narratives and discourses (e.g., Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2008; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Maoz, 2004b; Maoz, Bekerman, & Sheftel, 2007; Ron & Maoz, 2013; Ross, 2014). Even qualitative assessments of confrontational encounters often lead to inconsistent conclusions. While several studies found that confrontational encounters increase empathy and understanding of the complexity of the conflict, and even increase positive attitudes (e.g., Steinberg & Bar-on, 2002), other found that it may deteriorate prior attitudes and result in intense and unconstructive confrontations (Maoz, Bar-On, & Yikya, 2007).

The analysis in this chapter attempts to fill in the existing gap in the literature by offering a quantitative evaluation of Jewish-Palestinian encounters using experimental methods. In particular, it addresses four main shortcomings that were identified in the current literature, from which several research questions and hypotheses arise. This section reviews these shortcomings and explains the measures that will be taken to overcome them in this study.

3.4.1. Shortcoming 1: The lack of conceptual criteria for evaluating encounters and the suggested framework of Coexistence Orientation

The first shortcoming is related to the dependent variables and measures used to assess the outcomes of intergroup encounters. Within the main interest in detecting positive effects of intergroup contact at the individual level, there is a wide spectrum of theoretical and measurable outcomes, in various domains of emotions, perceptions, and behaviors (e.g., Maoz, 2010, 2011; Pettigrew, 1997, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2000). However, studies have so far been sparse and inconsistent in terms of the measurement instruments they used to assess the impact of encounters and dialogue workshops (e.g., Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005; Maoz, 2004a, 2011; see Dessel & Rogge, 2008). While it is important to gain a broad perspective of the possible effects, this has resulted in much confusion in attempts to summarize results across studies and reach conclusions about the effectiveness of popular activities. This has also reduced the utility of comparing between different types and models of intervention to understand should be encouraged or avoided, and how existing practices can be improved (Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Salomon, 2006).

In addition, recent studies indicate that encounters may have positive but rather moderate effects on intergroup attitudes. For example, it was found that peace education overall does not change deeply-rooted beliefs that are related to the ethos of conflict of each group, at

least not beyond the short term (e.g., Bar-Natan et al., 2008; Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Bekerman & 2007; Rosen & Perkins, 2013; Rosen & Salomon, 2011; Salomon, 2006, 2011). Rosen and Salomon (2011) showed that peace education might affect peripheral beliefs, that is, beliefs that are less central to the sociopsychological repertoire of the groups, but is not likely to affect core beliefs that are stable over time, central to the groups' collective narratives, and constitute a psychological barrier for reconciliation.

To address the lack of clarity and consistency in criteria for evaluations, and in concordance with the notion that peace education may only moderately change beliefs and attitudes, this study will apply a multivariate framework for evaluating Jewish-Palestinian encounters, namely the index of Coexistence Orientation (CO). This conceptual framework was thoroughly presented in Chapter 2. In short, CO embodies the gamut of beliefs, attitudes, emotional sentiments, and behavioral intentions that are associated with a state of intergroup coexistence, understood as a minimally accepted form of positive intergroup relations after conflict (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2004, 2005; Kriesberg, 1998a). It is essentially a psychological state of mind group members should have when coexistence is achieved and the reconciliation process is envisioned to continue toward more advanced and harmonious forms of relations. CO was operationalized as a meta-construct with emotional, cognitive, motivational, behavioral, and political domains. East domain can be inferred from relevant indicators, of which two or three are suggested in the framework and are perceived as particularly suitable for the context of Jewish-Palestinian relations. The composite index assessing CO is comprised of first-level subscales measuring the indicators, which are nested in second-level domains, and all can be indicative of the Overall CO as a third-order construct. Figure 4 illustrate the three-level structure of CO and summarizes its domains and indicators.
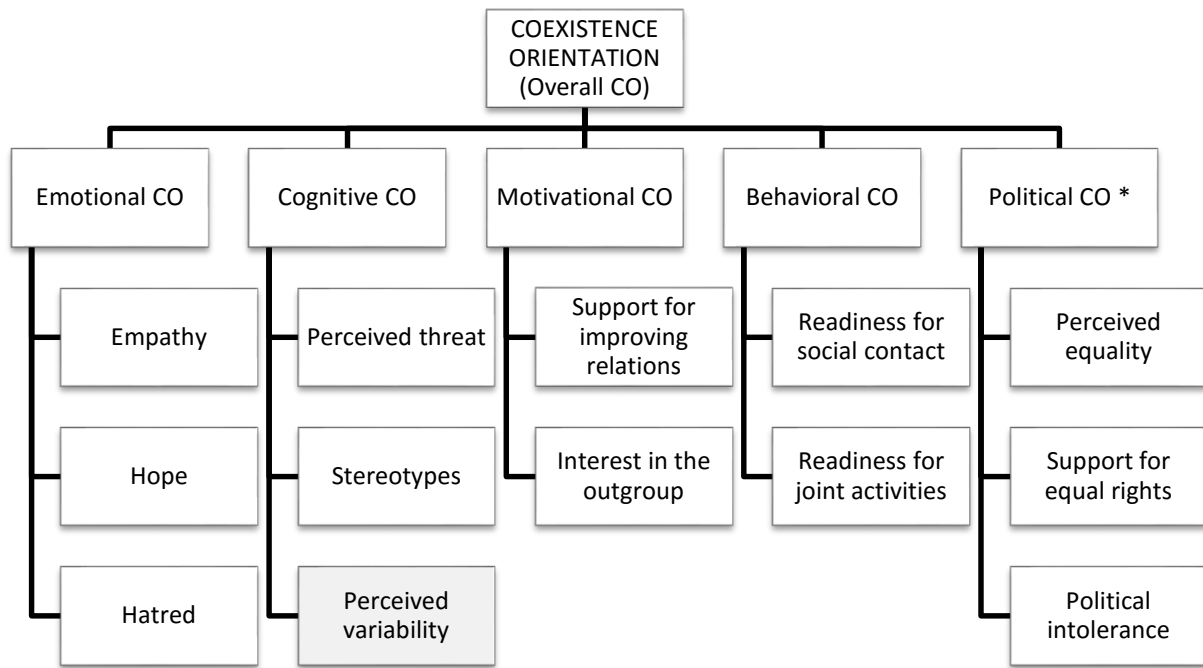
Figure 4. Coexistence Orientation (CO) as a third-order construct with five domains (level 2) and 13 indicators (level 1). The domain of political CO applies to the advantaged group in asymmetric conflicts. Perceived variability was measures as an indicator of Cognitive CO but had low associations with other indicators and was therefore not included in the Cognitive CO score.

This framework is seen as advantageous for the purpose of studying the effects of mixed-model encounters. First, CO is comprised of a comprehensive and measurable set of indicators and will enable to reveal a wide array of possible effects of the encounter. Second, many of these indicators are directly touched upon during the encounter, and there are theoretical reasons to expect positive effects on them (see below). And third, since it measures attitudes that are compatible with a minimally-positive accommodation between groups, namely coexistence, it offers an apparatus to detect moderate effects that may be persistent for a long period after the encounter (see below). Therefore, the first question that this study will address is:

Research Question 1.1: Do mixed-model encounters improve Coexistence Orientation among Jews and Palestinians? If so, what domains and indicators of Coexistence Orientation are positively affected by the encounters?

The ability of the encounter to increase CO will be examined for each CO domain and for all indicators within each domain, as well as for Overall CO. In general, based on prior findings on intergroup contact, planned encounters, and peace education, and based on the features of the studied intervention, it is hypothesized that Jewish-Palestinian mixed-model encounters exert positive effect on all CO domains. As explained in Chapter 2, these domains

of CO are interdependent, and it is likely that positive effects on some domains and indicators will lead to positive effects on other indicators in other domains.

Pertaining to *Emotional CO* (ECO), the encounters are expected to increase *empathy* toward the other group, reduce negative emotional sentiments of *hatred*, and increase *hope* for positive relations between the groups. Intergroup encounters are charged with complex emotional processes (e.g., Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007, see also Chapter 4). Reactive empathy is often facilitated in encounters, whether explicitly as a technique to increase the effectiveness of workshops (e.g., Batson & Ahmad, 2009; Stephan & Finlay, 1999; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2012), or inexplicitly, as a result interactions between members of opposing groups in structured or unstructured activities (Kelman, 1997; Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). An extensive body of research showed that personalized contact with outgroup members in encounters increases empathic concerns for the outgroup as a whole (Bar-On & Kassem, 2004; Maoz & Bar-On, 2002; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008; Schroeder & Risen, in press; Yablon, 2009), and in fact, empathy is among the most important mediators of intergroup contact effects (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008).

In addition to empathy, intergroup contact was recently found to be effective in reducing negative emotions such as hatred (e.g., Binder et al., 2009; Yablon, 2009, see also Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a). Halperin et al. (2011) explain that increasing empathy and reducing hatred involve a similar mechanism that may arise in situations where each side is encouraged to adopt the perspective of the other. Although the role of hope in intergroup encounters has not yet been empirically studied, encounters are expected to increase mutual feelings of hope toward achieving positive relations and increase the ability of participants to imagine a peaceful future.

With regard to *Cognitive CO* (CCO), the encounters are expected to reduce *perceived threat* and negative *stereotypes*, and to increase *perceived outgroup variability*. Planned encounters involve intensive dialogues in which participants voice their concerns and share the intentions of their groups in the conflict. Participants often express their desire to achieve peace and reject extreme policies against the other group (Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007), which may alleviate mutual perceptions of threats. Indeed, previous research shows that contact is associated with a reduction of threat perceptions (e.g., Tausch, Hewstone, et al., 2007; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2000). The interpersonal dimensions of the encounter in which participants establish affective ties with outgroup members may facilitate the reduction of negative stereotypes. Throughout various activities, participants' attention is drawn to similarities between the groups, and they gain knowledge about the other group form first hand, which may

refute commonly-held perceptions. Consequently, the encounter is expected to decrease the tendency to perceive the outgroup in a stereotypical manner. Jewish-Palestinian encounters were indeed found to decrease mutual negative perceptions and stereotypical attributions (Maoz, 2000; Yablon, 2009).

Perceptions of the outgroup as a heterogeneous entity that is comprised of dissimilar individuals are associated with less stereotypes and discrimination, because they may serve as a buffer against negative generalizations (Hewstone & Hamberger, 2000). In the encounter, activities emphasizing social contact and multiple identities may raise awareness to heterogeneity in the outgroup, as opposed to pre-encounter homogeneous perceptions of the outrgoup (Brauer & Er-rafiy, 2011). In the contact literature, contact effects were found to be mediated by perceived variability (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Paolini et al., 2004). Moreover, some recent studies found a causal mechanism in which increasing variability through making group heterogeneity salient led to a decrease in prejudice and discrimination in experimental settings (e.g., Brauer & Er-rafiy, 2011; Er-rafiy & Brauer, 2013).

It is hypothesized that Jews' *Political CO* (PCO) will be enhanced following participation in encounters. This includes higher awareness to structural inequalities, or lower *perceived equality*, more *support for equal rights* to Palestinian citizens, and reduced support for limiting the political freedoms of the latter, or decreased *political intolerance* Unlike the coexistence model, the confrontational and the mixed models aim not only to reduce prejudice, but also to improve relations at the sociopolitical level and to challenge institutional discrimination by increasing support for favorable politics of equality and tolerance (Maoz, 2011; Bekerman, 2007). Intergroup inequalities constitute a major theme in the mixed-model encounter. Previous research showed that positive contact with disadvantaged racial and immigrant groups increases members of advantaged groups' support for egalitarian policies and affirmative action (e.g., Dixon et al., 2010; Gurin, Peng, Lopez, & Nagada, 1999; Pettigrew, Wagner, & Christ, 2007). Previous research on contact workshops also found that they reduce discriminatory behavior toward outgroup members (Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005). In the encounters studied here, Jewish participants engage in listening to personal experiences of Palestinians in their age group as a disadvantaged minority who experience hardship and discrimination, and gradually develop awareness to the other group' challenging experiences and needs. This may involve cognitive mechanisms (see Chapter 4) that produce a greater desire and expectation to see discrimination eliminated (Stephan & Stephan, 2001; Zúñiga, Nagada, & Sevig, 2002).

Negative intergroup emotions such as hatred and negative perceptions of collective threats were previously found to increase support for intolerance policies toward the outgroup (e.g., Halperin et al., 2009; Maoz & McCauley, 2008). Since the encounters are expected to lead to a reduction of negative emotions and threat perceptions, they might also result in adopting more tolerant perspectives, that is, willingness to put up with the objectionable political ideologies of Palestinian citizens, and to generally protect the civil liberties and political rights of the minority group (Shamir & Sagiv-Schifter, 2006).

Finally, the encounter is expected to increase *Motivational CO* (MCO) and *Behavioral CO* (BCO), by increasing personal *interest in the outgroup*, *support for improving relations*, and *readiness for social contact and joint activities*. Encounters and similar interventions were previously found to increase participants' willingness for social contact with outgroup members (Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005; Maoz, 2003; Yablon, 2009). With regard to readiness for joint activities, Yablon (2009) found that motivation to participate in peace education program increased following encounters among Palestinians but not among Jews. Expected motivational and behavioral effects of mixed-model encounters may be limited since participants are likely to already be quite motivated toward improving the relations and willing to engage in contact, since those chose to take part in the encounter.

3.4.1.1. The possibility of detrimental effects of encounters on disadvantaged group members

Most research of intergroup encounters has so far focused on studying their impact on prejudice reduction among members of advantaged groups and less on participants from disadvantaged groups (Tropp, 2006). Particularly, power-based differences have not been the focus of many studies on intergroup contact, and our understanding of the power dynamics and differential effects between high- and low-status groups is consequently rather limited (Saguy et al., 2012). Tropp and Pettigrew (2005b) found in a meta-analysis that in general, contact has more positive effects on prejudice for members of advantaged groups than on members of disadvantaged groups, although the effect is significantly positive in both groups ($r = -.18$ and $r = -.23$ for disadvantaged and dominant groups, respectively). Moreover, the presence of favorable conditions for positive contact did not increase the effect for disadvantaged participants. Recent studies on joint Jewish-Palestinian joint activities also suggested that such activities increase positive perceptions and feelings more among Jews than among Palestinians (e.g., Nadler & Saguy, 2004). Moreover, studies have rather neglected intervention effects on

policy-related perceptions, mainly pertaining to inequalities and discriminations (Dixon et al., 2010; Wright & Lubensky, 2008).

Scholars have also raised the concern that in intergroup encounters fostering positive attitudes and aiming to increase coexistence and harmony, existing intergroup inequalities and power asymmetries may be obscured and will inadvertently increase denial of discrimination among participants, particularly from the disadvantaged group (Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012; Saguy et al., 2012). For example, Saguy et al. (2009) found that manipulated contact between Palestinians and Jews improved Palestinians' attitudes toward Jews, but also reduced their support for anti-discrimination policies by reducing their awareness of inequalities. Dixon et al. (2012) explain that "…it is precisely *because* contact improves intergroup attitudes (prejudice reduction) that it also decreases perceptions of discrimination, support for race-targeted policies, and readiness to engage in collective action" (p. 418).

While studies found support for this hypothesis in both survey and experimental studies (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2008), is it still unknown whether natural-setting encounters between members of asymmetric groups lead to such paradoxical results, and particularly encounters that involve political dialogue and not only interpersonal and social interactions. Therefore, this study will attempt to reveal whether Palestinians' awareness of inequalities and perceived deprivation is affected by participation in Jewish-Palestinian mixed-model encounters:

Research Question 1.2: Do mixed-model encounters increase perceived equality among Palestinians, a result that could be detrimental to social change?

3.4.2. Shortcoming 2: The practical and methodological problems of self-selection

The self-selection problem constitutes a shortcoming of both the practice of encounters and the study of encounters' effects. Participation is almost always voluntary, a fact that has raised the concern that group members who participate in encounters already hold positive intergroup attitudes to begin with (Boehnke et al., 2011; Church et al., 2004; Yablon, 2012). Steinberg (2013) sees this selection bias as a critical limitation of people-to-people dialogues, which often attract like-minded individuals. Paradoxically, those who are excluded from such activities are also those who can benefit the most from them since they hold less favorable attitudes. Several studies showed that group members with high initial levels of prejudice are less likely to benefit from contact, and among such individuals, encounters may even increase negative attitudes (Tausch & Hewstone, 2010; Stephan, 1987). Furthermore, participation on a

voluntary basis also increases the homogeneity of the schools and students who arrive to the encounters, which may hinder a constructive dialogue with people of diverse background and perspectives.

The self-selection problem ultimately poses a threat on the validity of studies on encounters' effectiveness. Randomization, a cornerstone of experimental research, allows strong casual inferences, and is a necessary for avoiding bias. In cases where researchers use non-random assignment of subjects, selection bias could play a major role in explaining differential achievements and treatment effects. However, only a handful of studies on contact workshops so far used experimental method with random assignment to contact conditions. In the Jewish-Palestinian context, Yablon (2009) randomly assigned Jewish and Palestinian high school students to a contact intervention that included four monthly sessions. However, the study did not include control groups and there was no assessment of long-term effects. No other studies using random assignments in Jewish-Palestinian encounters were found in the literature.

When the intervention involves a nonrandom selection process, the nonequivalent control group design with pretest and posttest measures of the dependent variables is recommended (Campbell & Stanley, 1963; Kenny, 1979). Nevertheless, even quasi-experimental and longitudinal designs are rare in research on encounters, and most quantitative studies are pre- or non-experimental (Boehnke et al., 2011; Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Nevo & Brem, 2002). Moreover, even including nonequivalent comparison group is not sufficient to determine intervention effects. Despite a relatively extensive literature on how to deal with selection threats in designing and analyzing quasi-experiments, the recommended techniques are only seldom applied in nonrandomized empirical research (Aussems, Boomsma & Snijders, 2011; Burns, Klingbeil, Ysseldyke & Petersen-Brown, 2012). For example, in a nonrandomized experiment with selection threat there is a need to adjust for covariates, variables that may affect the observed relationship between the intervention and the hypothesized outcome. Adjusting for covariates in the analysis will help to falsify alternative casual mechanism for the intervention effects (Wilkinson, 1999).

Two main measures were taken in this study to address a probable self-selection threat. First, the study design includes a comparison group of students who will not take part in the encounters. The dependent variables (i.e., the index of CO) will be measured both in pretest and posttest, also for the *nonparticipants* in the comparison group (see Design section below). Second, an exceptionally large set of individual difference demographic, sociopolitical, and personality variables will be measured and used in the analysis to adjust for differences between

the encounter and the comparison groups, in attempt to establish equivalence. The set of covariates will comprise variables previously found to be associated with intergroup attitudes in the case of Jews and Palestinians, or that are expected to be related to the latter (see Chapter 2).

Steiner, Cook, Shadish, and Clark (2010) found that the most important covariates that can reduce most of the bias are those closely related to the selection bias. When multivariate matching procedures such as propensity score matching are not applicable (in this case, due to unequal numbers of students in each intervention group, see below), Shadish et al. (2002) recommend using more moderate forms of stratification adjustment based on variables that predict the selection criteria. Considering the importance of self-selection in encounters, prior *motivation* to take part in Jewish-Palestinian encounters will be used to define strata of participants and nonparticipants. If motivation-based stratification results in equivalence between participants and nonparticipants within each level of motivation, the effects of the encounter will be examined within each stratum.

Ultimately, motivation-based stratification will also assist in examining the moderating role of motivation in the effects of encounters. As explained above, critics of encounters suggest that they positively affect only participants who are highly motivated to take part in such activities and already hold positive attitudes toward the other group. The extent to which this is truly the case is still unknown. Considering the above, five additional research questions are related to the second shortcoming addressed in this study:

Research Question 2.1: Do encounter participants form a relatively homogeneous or heterogeneous group in terms of their political orientations, motivation to take part in encounters, and other characteristics?

Research Question 2.2: Is there a selection bias in allocation to the encounter and the comparison groups, according to differences between the intervention groups in personal characteristics and in Coexistence Orientation?

Research Question 2.3: If selection bias is present, does motivation-based stratification result in equivalent encounter and comparison groups within each stratum?

Research Question 2.4: Are encounters effective in increasing coexistence orientation for both motivated and unmotivated participants?

3.4.3. Shortcoming 3: The threat of pretest sensitization and the Solomon Four-Group Design

The undesirable phenomenon of pretest sensitization occurs when exposure to the measurement instrument before an intervention alters the experience of participants in the intervention, leading to an interaction between the pretest and the intervention that may bias the results (Shadish et al., 2002; Lana, 1969). Simply put, asking the same question twice may stimulate a learning effect or other undesired influences related to the pretesting on the dependent variable (Shadish et al., 2002). This ultimately prevents to generalize the results obtained from pretested participants to unpretested ones, and is therefore a major threat to the ecological validity of the experimental results (Campbell & Stanley, 1963; Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). According to Hoogstraten (1979), sensitization effects of the pretest may bias any intervention effect by influencing subjects' psychological state before and during the intervention in various ways. For example, the pretest may alter participants' motivations, and raise their curiosity toward specific issues and aspects of the intervention. It may either accelerate or suppress the desirable attitude change by priming participants to a certain direction. In sum, more than merely revealing baseline attitudes, pretest questionnaires may shape new attitudes or the way attitudes are reported.

To the best knowledge of the author, there is currently no empirical evidence of pretest effects or assessment reactivity in research on Jewish-Palestinian encounters or any other peace education intervention amidst conflict, indicating the need to address this issue. Pretest sensitization was previously tested, for example, while evaluating an educational intervention to improve attitudes toward individuals with disabilities (Hunt & Hunt, 2004), a diversity awareness training program (Cavaleros, Van Vuuren, & Visser, 2002), and interventions to reduce implicit racial preferences (Lai et al., 2014), all of which ruled out the possibility of pretest sensitization. Willson and Putnam (1982) conducted meta-analyses on pretest effects in education and social psychology and found a small effect of the pretest on the posttest. They conclude that pretesting effect do take place in educational and psychological research and these effects should not be ignored. The threat of pretest sensitization may be particularly important in this study, since the assessment tools measure a considerable amount of variables. Therefore, the pretest may alter participants' experience in the intervention. On the other hand, this richness of measures also makes this study a unique setting to test the possibility of pretesting effects and pretest sensitization, which can reveal which intergroup attitudes are particularly

sensitive to pretesting, and which constructs are more immune and can be pretested safely. Accordingly, two additional research questions are addressed:

Research Question 3.1: Does measuring Coexistence Orientation at pretest influence performance on identical measures at posttest?

Research Question 3.2: Are positive effects of mixed-model encounters caused by pretest sensitization?

In order to examine the possibility of pretest effects and sensitization of participants, the Solomon Four-Group Design (S4GD, Solomon, 1949; Solomon & Lessac, 1968; van Engelenburg, 1999) will be employed. The S4GD involves adding two additional randomly-assigned groups to a pre-post design: one additional experiment group and one additional control group, both of which do not receive the pretest measuring the dependent variables. This set-up ultimately allowed the researcher to gauge the effect of pretest measurement on posttest performance, and to evaluate the extent to which pretest sensitization took place (Willson & Putnam, 1982). If pretest sensitization is ruled out, this can strengthen the generalizability of the results (Sawilowsky, Kelley, Blair, & Markman, 1994).

3.4.4. Shortcoming 4: The need to assess encounters' long-term effects

Many scholars have long raised doubts about the ability of intergroup encounters and other peace education activities to facilitate a durable positive effect, and have repeatedly stressed the need to empirically study longitudinal effects in such activities (e.g., Maoz, 2011; Rosen & Perkins, 2013; Rosen & Salomon, 2011; Salomon, 2006; Schroeder & Risen, in press; Steinberg, 2013).

Schroeder and Risen (in press) name it the "*re-entry problem*": Encounters are often held in neutral settings with artificial conditions, such as equal status between the groups, co-facilitation, and positive atmosphere. Once the encounter is over and participants return to their respective communities, they are immediately re-integrated into the conflict, and positive effects that were achieved are likely to gradually and even rapidly erode. Rosen and Perkins (2013) explain the decline in positive effects following re-entry through the concept of *reality dissonance* that participants experience between their gains in favorable attitudes and the culture of conflict that surrounds them after the encounter.

The idea that positive effects may not persist for the long-term is supported by recent studies describing and confirming the *valence-salience effect* in intergroup contact (Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010), according to which the detrimental effect of negative contact overrides the desirable effects of positive contact, since in negative contact group categories are often more salient. Nevertheless, in a follow-up study, Paolini et al. (2014) showed that having prior history of positive or frequent contact with outgroup members can serve as a buffer against the negative contact effects in the present. In line with this notion, in the peace education literature, Salomon (2004) speculated that without constant reinforcing activities, peace education may only help to maintain existing beliefs and attitudes and prevent further relapses, and therefore it has a *preventing function* that is not likely to be manifested in long-term improvement.

A few studies on peace education programs in Israel that included a longitudinal impact assessment show that the effects of these programs are rather short-lived (Rosen & Perkins, 2013; Rosen & Salomon, 2011). Bar and Bargal (1995) found that positive effects of dialogue encounters wear out after a few months. Bar-Natan et al. (2008) found that while participation in encounter increased readiness for social contact and perceived legitimacy of the rival's narrative, these effects did not last more than three months. On the other hand, Malhotra and Liyanage (2005) evaluated a 4-day workshop in Sri Lanka, and found that even one year later, participants expressed higher empathic concerns to members of the outgroups, and demonstrated more favorable behavior toward the outgroup than a waiting-list matched group of nonparticipants. More recently, Schroeder & Risen (in press) found positive attitude changes among Jewish and Palestinian participants of a three-week encounter (summer camp) that took place in the United States. They conducted a follow-up assessment nine months after participants returned to their countries and found that significant effects detected immediately after the encounter largely faded during that time, but nonetheless, attitudes were still more favorable compared to the measurement before the encounter, albeit with a small effect size ($d = 0.26$).

The current study will assess the long-term effects of mixed-model Jewish-Palestinian encounters by employing a delayed posttest two to four weeks after the intervention, and a follow-up test approximately one year after the intervention (see below). Although it is difficult to speculate about the prospect of sustainable positive effects of a two-day encounter, based on the theoretical expectations and the scarce empirical literature, we may expect that at best, encounters may moderate the potential worsening of attitudes after re-entry, but positive short-

term effects are likely to wear out in the long run. In sum, three research questions are added pertaining to the fourth shortcoming:

Research Question 4.1: To what extent are positive short-term effects of the encounter on Coexistence Orientation maintained for two to four weeks (intermediate-term effects)?

Research Question 4.2: To what extend are positive short-term effect of the encounter on Coexistence Orientation maintained for one year (long-term effects)?

Research Question 4.3: Do participants remain in contact with outgroup participants during the first year after the encounters? And during this time, do they take part in further activities with outgroup members?

<div align="center">***</div>

In short, the present study takes an inclusive and innovative approach to study the short-, intermediate- and long-term effects of mixed-model encounters between Jewish and Palestinian youth, while attempting to reach maximal control over threats to the internal and external validity that are expected when conducting a quasi-experimental research on a "real life" intervention, and particularly the threats of self-selection and pretest sensitization. Furthermore, it utilizes a multi-domain framework through which positive effects of encounters on a wide variety of intergroup beliefs, attitudes, and emotions can be revealed for both Jewish and Palestinian participants.

3.5. The intervention: "Face-to-Face", an encounter program for Jewish and Palestinian youth at Givat Haviva, Israel

"For me, this workshop was a unique experience in which I learned, listened, talked, argued and could express my opinions and feelings about the Jewish-Arab conflict and other issues in an encounter with Arabs. I enjoyed getting to know Arab students, and they were very interesting and nice."

*(*Ohad, participant from Ra'anana, Encounter 3)

"The first day was intensive and difficult, and tough things were told by both groups. No one listened one to another. Each one said whatever he or she wants, whenever he or she wanted. In the second day we were more attentive and open, and things were told in a better way"

*(*Rana, participant from Sachnin, Encounter 3)

Face-to-Face ("*Mifgashim"* in Hebrew) is a large-scale program employing two-day structured encounters, targeting high school students at the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades (ages 15-18). The program is endorsed by the Israeli Ministry of Education, and is conducted as an official educational activity in cooperation of Hebrew and Arabic high schools from across the country. The encounter takes place in a politically-neutral and isolated environment, often in Kibbutz Yad Hashmona or Moshav Nordia in Northern Israel. The interventions are carried out throughout the school year. In the school year of 2011/12, the program brought together approximately 2,000 Jewish and Palestinian youth, who took part in 20 individual encounters, guided by 28 trained and experienced facilitators. Face-to-Face was chosen as the intervention for this study since it is the largest program in the country using the mixed-model design, and the only program that enabled reaching hundreds of participants. According to its website[4], the encounter program has four declared goals:

1. To decrease the alienation and mutual perceptions of fear between Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel;
2. To promote mutual recognition in the need to create a future based on coexistence;
3. To facilitate the internalization of pluralistic values, acquaintance with the other group, reconsideration of mutual stereotypes, and profound familiarity with the other's national narratives;
4. To develop tools for dialogue between equals, and to create a positive attitude toward the possibility to coexist on the basis of democratic fundamentals.

The intervention has three main parts. It begins with a 45-minute preparation workshop for registered participants, conducted separately for the Hebrew and Arabic participating schools, approximately two weeks before the encounter. The preparation workshop is conducted in the schools, and is sometimes preceded by an *exposure* session of 10-15 minutes for all potential participants, in order to help them to decide if they are interested in taking part in the encounter. The purpose of the preparation is to give participants background information about the Jewish-Palestinian internal conflict, to inform them about the encounter and its course, to set expectations, and to alleviate concerns participants may have. The preparation workshop aims to prepare participants for the bilateral intervention, and enables them to share expectations and fears between themselves and with the program facilitators.

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[4] The program's website in Hebrew: http://www.givathaviva.org.il/hebrew/mifgashim/homepagenew.htm

Each encounter includes between 40-50 participants from each national group, from one Hebrew and one Arabic school, respectively. Most activities take place in small binational groups of about 8-10 participants from each group. The encounter is co-facilitated by trained and well-experienced Jewish and Palestinian facilitators, who also serve as translators, and participants are encouraged to speak in their respective languages.

The following description is based on a nonparticipating observation in one of the encounters that were sampled for this study (Encounter 7, see Table B.5, Appendix B). The encounter employs a gradual transition from coexistence-focused to confrontational activities, by shifting the emphasis from interpersonal, through intercultural, to intergroup exchanges. The latter includes a facilitated political dialogue on issues related to both the internal and external conflict that shape the relations between the groups. Activities are preplanned and well-structured, but the facilitators often allow the group to shape the discussion in a relatively free manner, even if it deviates from the "protocol". In general, specific small-group dynamics play a critical role in the unfolding of the encounter, which suggests that despite the common framework and structured activities, each encounter is essentially unique in its content. The encounter includes an overnight stay in segregated dormitories. Participants are encouraged to engage in cross-group interactions between activity sessions, and in many encounters participants from both groups spend time together in the public areas of the dormitories.

In concordance with the description provided by Abu-Nimer and Lazarus (2007) for a similar mixed-model encounter, the first day of activities concentrates on social interactions and is often held in positive and even harmonious atmosphere. The initial part of the encounter is dedicated to self-disclosure, and allows participants to become acquainted with each other and to establish social relationships. This part of the encounter "breaks the ice" and engages participants in talks about their hobbies, their likes and dislikes, and so forth. Further activities revolve around circles of belonging and identities. Participants learn about cultural similarities and differences between the groups, confront stereotypical perceptions, and develop affective ties and mutual trust with outgroup members. Participants also learn the importance of listening to the other side and tolerating opposing views, skills that would be particularly important for the dialogical activities in the second day. The titles of the activities in chronological order in the first day are: Initial acquaintance, personal acquaintance, encounter between cultures, personal and group identities, and cultural evening. Each day of the encounter ends with a session of uninational discussion.

The second day emphasizes the competing national and political identities, and includes activities and discussions that are focused on the core issues in disagreement between the groups. Participants often reveal personal stories, experiences, and emotions. Emotionally-charged topics arise, and the groups discuss issues such as national identities, security, discrimination and the asymmetry of power between the groups. The titles of the activities in the second day are: The conflict and I, citizenship in Israel, democracy and minority-majority relations, and summary. The concluding unit of the encounter aims to "patch up" the groups and reestablish the positive atmosphere that accompanied the encounter in the first day. The encounter usually ends on a positive note, despite the intensity of the dialogue, after which many participants experience conflicting and complex emotions. Participants commonly exchange contact details and express mutual intentions to remain in contact and develop friendship with outgroup members.

Finally, the encounter is followed by a short processing workshop, conducted two to four weeks after the encounter, in a uninational framework. In this workshop, participants work through their experience, discuss about their thoughts and feelings with the interveners, and are encouraged to continue engaging with the topic of Jewish-Palestinian relations and take part in reconciliation-aimed activities in their surroundings, whether as high school students or later in life.

Givat Haviva conducts an internal evaluation on a routine basis through pre-post comparisons of scores across items measuring attitudes and perceptions in short questionnaires that are administered to the participants at the beginning and end of the encounter. In the school year that preceded the data collection (2009/10), the evaluation found a small increase in positive attitudes for both national groups, but more so among Palestinian participants. After the encounter, participants reported that they are better able to understand the perspective of the other group, trust its members to a higher degree, and believe that the relationship between the groups can be improved through cooperation. Participants also showed increased in readiness to engage in further social contact with youth from the other group.

3.6. Methods

3.6.1. Quasi-experimental design

The research design employed in this study aimed to overcome the major methodological limitations of the current state of research on planned encounters detailed in

section 3.4, namely the concern over pretest sensitization, the self-selection threat, and the dearth of long-term assessments. Addressing these deficits will strengthen the internal validity of the findings. Accordingly, the study employs a mixed-design field experiment. Field experiments are particularly advantageous for determining causality in the context of interventions to improve intergroup attitudes, since these interventions are a "real world" phenomenon, conducted in a natural setting (Paluck & Green, 2009). Field experiments, however, often suffer from lack of control over the intervention and various aspects of the experimental procedure (Burns et al., 2012). More particularly, the mixed design employed in this study combines elements of three research designs: (1) the nonequivalent control group design (Kenny, 1979), (2) the Solomon Four-Group Design (S4GD, Solomon, 1949; Solomon & Lessac, 1968), and (3) a repeated-measures design. This resulted in a somewhat complex multifactorial design that will be explained in details below.

The design included Jewish and Palestinian encounter *participants* in the *encounter group*, as well as Jewish and Palestinian students who did not take part in the encounter (*nonparticipants*) and constituted the *comparison group*. A modified version of the S4GD was utilized to include unpretested groups of participants and nonparticipants. Overall, the study employs a 2 X 3 X 4 mixed factorial design, with two levels of *intervention groups* (encounter and comparison) and three levels of *pretesting groups* (pretested, placebo-tested, and unpretested, see below) as between-subject factors, and four *times of measurements* (pretest [T1], posttest [T2], delayed posttest [T3], and follow-up test [T4]) as a between-subject factor. This resulted in six basic *experimental groups* that were tested between two to four times. Each experimental group includes both Jewish and Palestinian students, who were examined separately throughout the analyses. The design notation is presented in Table 12, and a more detailed flowchart is available in Figure 5. The following paragraphs provide a lengthy description of the sampling techniques, participants flow, and materials and procedures used in the data collection.

Table 12. *Research Design Notation*

Experimental group	Pretest (T1)	Intervention	Posttest (T2)	Delayed posttest (T3)	Follow-up test (T4)
Encounter 1 (E1)	O	X	O	O_a	O
Encounter 2 (E2)	O_p	X	O	O_a	O
Encounter 3 (E3)		X	O	O_a	O
Comparison 1 (C1)	O		O		O
Comparison 2 (C2)	O_p		O		O
Comparison 3 (C3)			O		O

Note. O = outcome measure, O_p = placebo measure, O_a = abbreviated test, X = treatment.

3.6.2. Sampling

Due to common practical limitations in field studies on educational interventions (e.g., Burns et al., 2012), the sampling strategy employed in the study is non-probabilistic and the achieved sample is mostly based on techniques of convenience sampling. Furthermore, a multilevel structure sampling was utilized.

3.6.2.1. Sampling encounter groups

To obtain a sample of encounter participants, the first seven *specific encounters* conducted by Givat Haviva for the 2010/11 school year were chosen (out of 15 in that school year), and all participants in those encounters were eligible for participation in the study. The encounters took place sequentially between November 2010 and February 2011, and all were performed according to the description of the intervention presented above. To the author's knowledge, there were no systematic inconsistencies in the application of the intervention protocol between these seven specific encounters. The particular encounters sampled for this study are perceived as a "random factor" in the design, and the data were analyzed at the aggregate level (see below).

Neither the researcher nor the program interveners had any input on the assignment of participating students to the specific encounters. The selection was made in schools and is assumed to involve a strong component of volunteerism, which is likely to result in nonequivalent encounter and comparison groups. This nonequivalence, as explained earlier, will be accounted for in the analysis using multiple statistical techniques (see below).

3.6.2.2. Sampling comparison groups

For the comparison group, multiple groups were selected and "attached" to specific encounters, so that each individual comparison group will complete the pretest and posttest measurements in parallel to a specific encounter group. Including multiple comparison groups enables to minimize external influences on the participants, and thereby to obtain more powerful and precise estimates of the encounters' effects, and to allow more control on "hidden" systematic biases (Aussems et al., 2011). Steiner et al. (2010) recommend using well-matched comparison groups, preferably sampled from the same locale, which are likely to have similar characteristics to those allocated to the experiment group. Using matched comparison groups can increase the probability that difference between the intervention groups at pretest will result from individual selection preferences and not from exogenous characteristics.

In order to recruit respondents for the comparison groups, an appeal was made to high schools whose students were about to take part in the sampled encounters, to allow nonparticipating students, if there are, to be tested as a comparison group. This was achieved in four of the seven encounters in Hebrew participating schools, but only in two encounters in Arabic participating schools, mainly because the seven sampled encounters included Palestinian participants from only two schools, and most students in those schools were already assigned to the encounter group. Therefore, four additional comparisons groups, three Palestinian and two Jewish, were sampled from other schools in the country with similar sociodemographic characteristics. These external comparison groups were attached to encounters for which there were no compatible comparison groups available, and included students from whole classes, or those who were available at the time of testing from the 10th, 11th, or 12th grade levels.

In all obtained comparison groups, the author made sure at the time of pretesting that the students are not scheduled to participate in any Jewish-Palestinian encounter or any similar activity in the following weeks. This was confirmed with the teachers at the time of posttesting as well. Despite the efforts to attach comparison groups to all specific encounters, which would be pretested and posttested in parallel times, there were no matching comparison groups of Jewish and Palestinian nonparticipants for two of the seven specific encounters.

3.6.2.3. Sampling for pretesting conditions

The pretest questionnaires were administered in classrooms (see below). To allocate students to the pretest conditions according to the S4GD in a random fashion, the assistants were directed to allocate every third student to the no-pretest condition, according to the order of sitting in the classroom at the time of administering. This created a difficulty to completely abstain from testing the students who were allocated to the no-pretest condition. Specifically, not administering a pretest questionnaire to some of the student would have contaminated the results by creating suspicion among students, and possibly resentment toward the study. Therefore, students allocated to the no-pretest conditions were administered a placebo questionnaire, which included measures that are not related to Jewish-Palestinian relations or to the examined intervention, namely the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ), a 40-items substituted to the Schwartz Value Survey that is suitable for children and adolescents, as well as for people with non-Western education (Schwartz, Melech, Lehmann, Burgess, & Harris, 2001). To decrease the probability that students will become aware of the different pretesting conditions, the front page of the real and the placebo questionnaire were identical and contained measures of background variables, but the rest of the questionnaires was different according to the placebo-testing or pretest condition (a similar procedure was applied by Spence, Burgess, Rodgers, & Murray, 2009). In addition to the two planned pretesting groups according to the S4GS, a post-hoc unpretested group was formed and is comprised of students who were not present in classes at the time of pretest (for various reasons unknown to the researcher), but did complete the posttest measurement as either participants or nonparticipants of the encounters.

Consequently, there are in total three pretest conditions for each intervention group: *pretested* (E1 and C1 in Table 12), *placebo-tested* (E2 and C2), and *unpretested* (E3 and C3). In total, the study comprised a total of six groups according to two factors: Intervention groups (participants, nonparticipants) X Pretesting groups (pretested, placebo-tested, and unpretested).

3.6.3. Participants

The main criterion for inclusion in the analysis is successful completion of the posttest questionnaire, which was administered at the end of each encounter (or in parallel sessions for the comparison groups). The main reason for this criterion is that at the time of pretest, it was in some cases not yet known who will take part in the encounters and who can be included in the comparison group. Students who were lost from pretest to posttest are assumed to not have taken part in the encounters, and therefore are not included in the analysis. The researcher is

not aware of participants who discontinued their participation in any of the sampled encounters after they begun, although it is possible that such cases occurred.

Figure 5 details the flow of the study participants from T1 to T4 according to the six experimental groups, with the number of Jewish and Palestinian participants who completed each measurement (including cases with missing data, excluding cases with severe missing data or inconsistencies). A more detailed account of the number of study participants in each encounter group and matched comparison group is presented in Tables B.5-B.7 in Appendix B.

In total, the study analyzes data obtained from 556 encounter participants and 382 nonparticipants (total N = 938) who completed T2 questionnaires, including both national groups together. Among these, only 290 (52%) participants (E1) and 183 (48%) nonparticipants (C1) were also pretested, that is, completed the real T1 questionnaires, and are included in most statistical analyses. In E1, 121 participants (42%) completed also T3 questionnaires, and only 62 (21%) completed T4 questionnaires. In C1, only 19 (10%) were tested at T4. About 42% and 34% of the Jewish and Palestinian encounter participants completed the T3 questionnaire, respectively (see Figure 5). This includes Jewish participants of all encounters but Encounter 3, and Palestinian participants of Encounter 4, Encounter 5, and Encounter 6. The untested encounters did not receive the T3 measurement due to technical reasons or since processing workshop were not performed for participants in these encounters. This evidently resulted in rather high loss of participants from the posttest, T2, to the delayed posttest, T3, which reduced the power of the analysis to detect intermediate-term effects.

The attrition was even higher at the follow-up test, T4, which resulted in a rather limited analysis of the encounters' long-term effects (see below). The high attrition from T2 to T4 occurred even though about 75% of the Jewish students and 70% of the Palestinian students agreed to take part in future surveys and left their contact details on a separate sheet at T2. Reaching students who took part in the study one year after participation was proven to be a difficult and time consuming task, which also resulted in high mortality (see below).

The characteristics of the sample is presented in details section 3.7 (Results), together with an assessment of the extent to which the encounter group is representative of the population, constitutes a homogeny or heterogenic group (Q.2.1), and equivalent to the comparison group (Q.2.2).
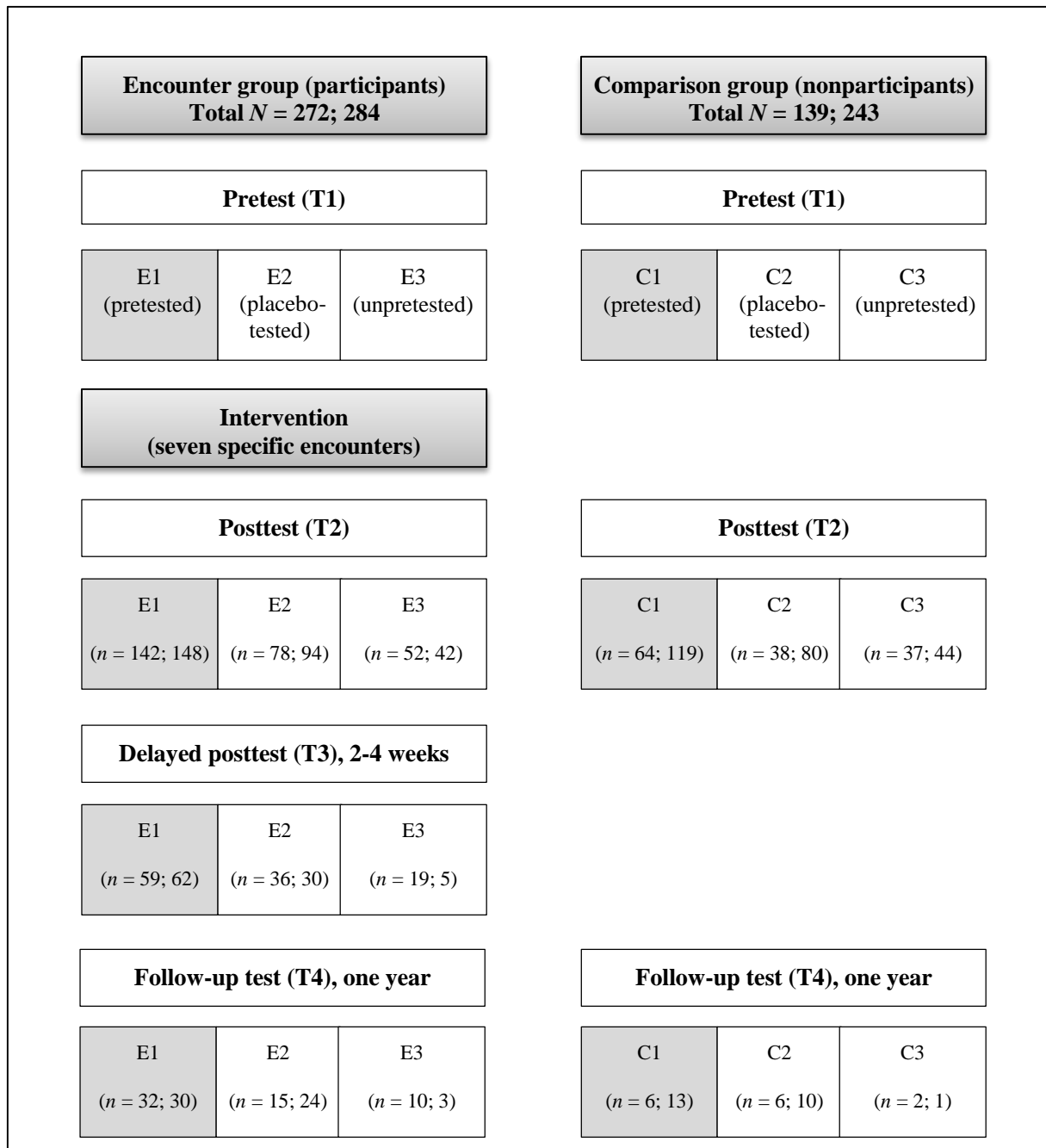
Figure 5. Diagram showing the flow of the study participants through each stage of the intervention study. *n* = Jews; Palestinians. Total *N* = 938. Several cases were excluded due to exceptionally high inconsistencies or missing data: Encounter groups: 5 Jews and 13 Palestinians; Comparison groups: 10 Jews and 20 Palestinians. Cells marked in grey (E1 and C1) are used in the analysis of the encounters' effects, while the remaining groups are used to assess pretesting effects and pretest sensitization.

3.6.4. Procedure and materials

All questionnaires were administered to Jewish students in Hebrew and to Palestinian students in Arabic. Paper-based questionnaires (T1-T3) were administered to Jewish and Palestinian students by Jewish or Palestinian member of the research team, respectively. On the first page of all questionnaires, all respondents were asked to mention their day of birth, number

of sisters and brothers, and four last digits of their phone number at home, to enable matching between the questionnaires and achieve a paired sample. Excluding a handful of cases, matching between cases across testing times using this technique was successful. In all measurements, to reduce demand effects and social desirability, respondents were assured confidentiality and anonymity in all questionnaires, and were urged to answer the questions truthfully.

Pretest (T1) questionnaires were administered in the classrooms. For encounter participants, the measurement took place at the beginning of the preparation workshop, roughly two weeks before the encounter, and for nonparticipants, questionnaire were administered in a parallel time. The pretesting session lasted for about 20-25 minutes. Only a few students declined the offer to participate in the study ($< 2\%$). Before filling in the questionnaire, students were told that they are about to participate in a study on attitudes and perceptions of young people in Israel, and were told that the study will include two questionnaires, the second of which will be completed in a few weeks, and students who complete both questionnaires will enter a lottery for an iPod Touch device. The questionnaires were distributed so that each third questionnaire was a placebo-questionnaire for the placebo-tested experiment group (E2 and C2, see section 3.6.2.3). The pretest questionnaire was identical for the encounter and the comparison groups. It included the short version of the index of CO (see Appendix A), and measures of background, sociodemographic, and personality variables, as well as measures of prior contact with outgroup members and prior experiences in intergroup activities. The placebo questionnaire included measures of sociodemographic variables and one measure of value orientation (Hierarchic Self-Interest, see below), but did not include measures of prior contact with outgroup members and prior experiences in intergroup activities, nor the index of CO. Instead, the questionnaire comprised mostly of the PVQ (Schwartz et al., 2001), as explained above. The results of the PVQ are not reported in the thesis.

Posttest (T2) questionnaires were administered to encounter participants by the encounter facilitators, immediately at the end of the concluding of the encounter, and for nonparticipants in their schools in a parallel time. The instructions and conditions were identical to those at pretest. The posttest questionnaire for both participants and nonparticipants contained the index of CO, and several covariates. In addition to the questionnaire itself, students were asked to write their contact details (telephone number or email) if they agree to complete another questionnaire related to the study in the near future.

The delayed-posttest (T3) questionnaire was administered at the beginning of the processing workshops that were conducted for participants in each school roughly two to four weeks following the encounters. Since the interveners and schools restricted the time dedicated to answering the questionnaire to five minutes, an abbreviated version of the index of CO was included, with four constructs: two indicators of ECO (empathy and hated) and two indicators of CCO (perceived threat and perceived variability).

The follow-up (T4) measurement was undertaken using a web-based questionnaire, which was completed online by former participants and nonparticipants during the months of February and March 2012, one year or slightly more after the first phase of data collection. Invitations were sent in the beginning of February by email or through social networks for students who completed the posttest and agreed to be contacted for this task. Members of the research team also contacted participants who were at the 11th and 12th grade at T1 and T2 by phone. All communication with Jewish and Palestinian students was made in Hebrew and Arabic, respectively. No incentive was given to students who completed the questionnaire. The online questionnaires at T4 included the index of CO. In the version for participants, the questionnaire also included several questions about the experience of participants in maintaining contact with encountered outgroup members and in participating in additional intergroup activities during the year that passed since the encounter. Additional demographic questions were included as well.

3.6.5. Measures

3.6.5.1. The index of Coexistence Orientation

The index of CO was thoroughly presented and validated in the second chapter of the dissertation. The measures used in the analysis of the effects of Jewish-Palestinian encounters in this Chapter are identical to those presented in Chapter 2, section 2.7.3, and therefore are only briefly summarized here. The index includes measures of 10 (for Palestinians) and 13 (for Jews) indicators (see Figure 4). Scores for each indicator were obtained by averaging item scores within each subscale, according to the procedure detailed in Chapter 2, section 2.8.1.

Emotional CO was indicated by *empathy* toward outgroup members (4-item scale; range 1-7; higher scores indicate higher empathy), *hope* for positive intergroup relations (4-item scale; range 1-7; higher scores indicate more hope), and *hatred* (two items referring to "hatred" and "hostility", range 1-5; higher scores reflect more hatred). CCO was indicated by *perceived*

threat (three group-specific items; range 1-7; higher scores mean higher threat perceptions), *stereotypes* (five group-specific items; range 1-7; higher scores indicate more negative stereotypical perceptions), and *perceived variability* (2-item scale; range 1-7; higher scores mean more perceived heterogeneity of the outgroup). MCO was indicated by *support for improving relations* (3-item scale; range 1-7; higher scores indicate more support for efforts to improve Jewish-Palestinian relations) and *interest in the outgroup* (5-item scale; range 1-6; higher scores indicate higher interest). BCO was indicated by *readiness for social contact* (four items) and *readiness for joint activities* (three items), measured on a scale of 1-5, with higher score reflecting more willingness to engage in contact and joint activities). Finally, PCO was examined only among Jews and including *perceived equality* (4-item scale; range 1-6; higher scores indicate higher perceptions of equality and less awareness of inequalities), *support for equal rights* (5-item scale; range 1-6, higher scores reflect more support), and *political intolerance* toward Palestinian citizens (3-item scale; range 1-6, higher scores indicate more intolerance).

All domain scales were calculated by averaging scores for the indicators in each domain and linearly transforming the domain scores to a range of 0-1, as explained in Chapter 2, section 2.8.2. Scores for ECO were calculated by averaging empathy, hope, and hatred (reversed) scores; for CCO by averaging perceived threat (reversed) and stereotype (reversed) scores (perceived variability was not included due to low reliabilities); for MCO by averaging support for improving relations and interest in the outgroup scores; for BCO by averaging readiness for social contact and readiness for joint activities scores; and for PCO by averaging perceived equality (reversed), support for improving relations, and political intolerance (reversed) scores

Cronbach's alphas for all indicator subscales and domain scales are shown in Table 13, by national (Jewish or Palestinian) and intervention (encounter or comparison) groups, and by time (T1 and T2). All coefficients are sufficiently high according to a higher threshold of > .70 or lower threshold of .60 for scales with low number of items (see Robinson et al., 1991), although reliabilities for Palestinians' CCO are lower than the threshold with two items (.35 < α < .60).

Table 13. *Reliability Coefficients (Cronbach's Alphas) for All Dependent Variables by National Group, Testing Time, and Intervention Group*

Variable	Number of items	Cronbach's α by national group (Jews/ Palestinians)			
		Pretest (T1)		Posttest (T2)	
		E1	C1	E1-E3	C1-C3
CO Subscales					
Empathy	4	.77/.74	.78/.76	.78/.76	.85/.76
Hope	4	.84/.85	.75/.88	.87/.85	.85/.85
Hatred	2	.83/.84	.80/.86	.77/.87	.83/.80
Perceived threat	3	.79/.84	.87/.80	.73/.70	.81/.84
Stereotypes	5	.82/.86	.87/.82	.83/.86	.87/.88
Outgroup variability	2	.56/.50	.45/.70	.48/.37	.57/.48
Support for improving relations	3	.70/.72	.72/.75	.81/.72	.77/.73
Interest in the other	5	.82/.82	.89/.81	.83/.81	.88/.82
Readiness for social contact	4	.88/.81	.91/.87	.89/.86	.89/.88
Readiness for joint activities	3	.75/.69	.83/.79	.76/.68	.82/.76
Perceived equality [a]	4	.65/.62	.57/.57	.67/.63	.67/.57
Support for equal rights	5	.89	.91	.88	.90
Political intolerance	3	.65	.75	.70	.83
CO Scales					
Emotional CO	3	.67/.68	.64/.59	.70/.66	.75/.71
Cognitive CO	2	.78/.44	.90/.36	.74/.35	.86/.60
Motivational CO	2	.73/.68	.75/.70	.77/.64	.85/.75
Behavioral CO	2	.88/.81	.86/.83	.86/.83	.85/.86
Political CO	3	.61	.66	.66	.69
Overall CO [b]	5/ 4	.88/.70	.90/.74	.90/.78	.92/.75

Note. CO = Coexistence Orientation. E1 = Pretested encounter group. E1-E3 = all encounter groups. C1 = Pretested comparison group. C1-C3 = all comparison groups. [a] Calculated as a second-order scale with five items (first-order constructs). [a] Used as a dependent variable for Jews and as a covariate for Palestinians. [b] The average score across the five or four domains, for Jews and Palestinians, respectively.

3.6.5.2. Covariates

A set of 13 individual difference variables were used in the analysis as covariates to adjust for possible preexisting differences between the encounter and the comparison groups. These measures were included in the T1 and T2 questionnaires, and are detailed in Chapter 2, section 2.7.3.2. Variables 1-5 below were measured also in the placebo-questionnaires at T1 (groups E2 and C2), variables 6-8 and 12-13 were measured at T1 questionnaires only for pretested groups (E1 and C1), and variables 9-11 were measured in T2 questionnaires for all participants and nonparticipants.

This includes the following variables and their properties: (1) *Gender* (dichotomous, 1 = female); (2) *Age* (year + months, continuous); (3) *Socioeconomic Status* (SES; single item; range 1-4; higher scores indicate higher SES), (4) *Religiosity* (Jews: dichotomous, 0 = traditional, 1 = secular; Palestinians: range 1-4; higher scores indicate *lower* levels of religiosity); (5) *Hierarchic Self-Interest* (HSI); 10-item; range 1-5; higher scores indicate more emphasis on success and competitiveness; Jews: encounter: $\alpha = .63$, comparison: $\alpha = .70$, Palestinians: encounter: $\alpha = .50$, comparison: $\alpha = .45$); (6) *Contact frequency* (3-item scale; range 1-4; higher scores reflect higher frequency of prior contact with outgroup members; Jews: encounter: $\alpha = .70$, comparison:$\alpha = .77$, Palestinians: encounter: $\alpha = .75$, comparison: $\alpha = .66$); (7) *Perceived contact quality* (4-item scale; range 1-5; higher scores reflect higher perceived quality of prior contact with outgroup members, Jews: encounter: $\alpha = .80$, comparison:$\alpha = .84$, Palestinians: encounter: $\alpha = .79$, comparison: $\alpha = .82$). (8) *Perceived relations* (single item; range 1-4; higher scores reflect the perception that Jewish-Palestinian relations are more negative); (9) *Perspective taking* (7-item scale; range 1-7; higher scores reflect higher tendency to put oneself in the other's place; Jews: encounter: $\alpha = .72$, comparison:$\alpha = .70$, Palestinians: encounter: $\alpha = .49$, comparison: $\alpha = .51$); (10) *Ingroup identification* (4-item scale; range 1-5; higher scores indicate higher identification with one's national group; Jews: encounter: $\alpha = .78$, comparison:$\alpha = .81$, Palestinians: encounter: $\alpha = .82$, comparison: $\alpha = .78$); (11) *Political orientation* (for Jews; single item with 1 = extreme right and 7 = extreme left); (12) *Perceived equality* (for Palestinians; 4-item scale, identical to the PCO indicator of perceived equality; measured at T1; higher scores refer to higher perceptions of equality and lower perceived deprivation; encounter: $\alpha = .62$; comparison: $\alpha = .57$); and (13) *Encounter motivation*, which measures the extent to which the study participants are interested in taking part in a Jewish-Palestinian encounter. Scores for encounter motivation were obtained from one item in the CO indicator of readiness for joint activities ("I am interested in participating in a Jewish-Arab workshop", item 23 in Appendix A). Higher scores indicated higher motivation to participate in an encounter.

Perceived equality at T1 will be used as covariate in the analysis of the effects of encounters for Palestinians, but the variable was also measured for Palestinians in T2 and T4, and these scores will be used in the analysis of the encounter's effects on Palestinians' perceptions of Jewish-Palestinian equality (Q.1.2).

3.6.5.3. Follow-up contact with outgroup participants and involvement in additional activities

Finally, in the follow-up questionnaires (T4), participants were asked, first, if they kept contact with outgroup participants, with the response categories: *yes, with one or two outgroup participants*; *yes, with more than two outgroup participants*; and *no*. Second, they were asked what means they used in such contact using a multiple choice question with multiple answers allowed, including the categories: *online; by phone; met in their place or outgroup locality; met in our place or ingroup locality*; and an open-ended option for additional means of communication and contact. All other questions were *yes/no* questions. Participants were asked if they still maintain contact with any outgroup participant, and if they established friendship with any outgroup participant. Pertaining to further intergroup experiences, participants were asked if they took part in additional activities related to Jewish-Palestinian relations in general, and specifically about political activities and volunteering activities. Finally, they were asked if they are interested in taking part in a concrete dialogue program with outgroup members, supposedly organized by the researcher team.

3.7. Results

3.7.1. Analytic strategy

A total of 13 sets of analyses were conducted and are reported in this section in chronological order. Table 14 summarizes for each analysis the research questions addressed, the research groups and measurement times included, and the statistical procedures used. A more detailed description of each analysis, the rationale behind it, and its purposes vis-à-vis the research questions, is presented in each section below.

Before presenting the results, a few clarifications should be made concerning the data analysis. First, as explained above, each encounter participant in the sample is nested within a specific encounter, while each nonparticipant is nested within a matched comparison group. Before the subsequent analysis, the data were collapsed across specific encounters and comparison groups, which are theoretically perceived as a random selection of cases, and in any case, each specific encounter group by itself is not sufficiently large for independent analysis. Second, the analyses were performed separately for Jewish and Palestinian experimental groups, since the index of CO is not identical for both groups (CCO was measured using different subscales, and PCO was measured only for Jews). Analyzing each national group separately also reduced the complexity of the statistical analyses and facilitated the

interpretation of the findings. Third, only the pretested groups (E1 and C1), which are identical to standard groups in a control-group pretest-posttest design, were analyzed to detect intervention effects ($n = 206$ for Jews and $n = 267$ for Palestinians, total $N = 473$). The four additional groups obtained in the framework of the S4GD (E2-E3 and C2-C3) were only analyzed for pretesting effects and for descriptive statistics in available measures.

Fourth, intermediate-term effects were examined using scores from T1, T2, and T3, while long-term effects were investigated using scores from T1, T2, and T4. The potential growth from T1 to T4 using scores from the four measurements was not statistically examined due to the low number of Jewish and Palestinian encounter participants who completed all four measurements ($n = 14$ and $n = 9$ in the Jewish and Palestinian samples, respectively). Fifth, in tests of differences between intervention groups and attrition bias (see below), factorial multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), with follow-up univariate ANOVAs using the CO scales and subscales as dependent variables were performed. Omnibus tests were preferred to reduce the probability of type I error. MANOVA requires that the dependent variables will be interrelated and conceptually represent a common underlying construct. The matrices of correlations among the CO scales and subscales are presented in Appendix B (Tables B.8-B.15), separately for each national group, intervention group, and time (T1 and T2). Most correlations are significant and strong (see also Chapter 2), which largely justifies the use of MANOVA.

Sixth, missing data were not considered in the analyses. While missing data amounted for less than 5% in the dependent variables, analyses using all covariates (a total of 13 covariates) to control for nonequivalence of the intervention groups resulted in a more considerable amount of missing data (up to 20%). Seventh, since CO scale scores are in the range between 0 and 1, their means and standard deviations will be presented in tables or in the text with three digits after the decimal point. Eighth, for all analyses, statistically significant results will be determined by at a two-sided alpha level of 0.05. Ninth, in t-tests, corrected degrees of freedom are reported when variance was unequal. Finally, estimates of effect sizes, indicating the magnitude of the effect independently of the sample size that increases the chance to detect significant effects, are reported in conjunction to significant results (partial chi-square for ANOVA effects and Cohen's ds for t-tests), as recommended by the American Psychological Association (2009). Effect size d is interpreted based on Cohen's recommendations, with $d = 0.2$, $d = 0.5$, and $d = 0.8$ considered small, medium, and large effects, respectively (Cohen, 1988).

Table 14. *Summary of Stages of Analysis in Order of Presentation with Corresponding Research Questions, Experimental Groups, Measurement Times, and Statistical Tests Used*

No.	Analysis	Research questions	Research groups [a]	Waves	Statistical tests
1.	Characteristics of encounter participants	Q.2.1	E1	T1, T2	Descriptive statistics; χ^2 tests
2.	Baseline equivalence of the encounter and comparison groups	Q.2.2	E1,C2	T1, T2	Descriptive statistics; independent t-tests; χ^2 tests;
3.	Randomization check for pretest conditions		E1-E3, C1-C3	T1, T2	χ^2 tests; independent t-tests; one-way ANOVAs with multiple comparisons;
4.	Pretesting effects	Q.3.1	E1-E3, C1-C3	T2	One-way ANOVAs with multiple comparisons
5.	Pretest sensitization	Q.3.2	E1-E2, C1-C2	T2	Two-way ANOVAs
6.	Equivalence after motivation-based stratification	Q.2.3	E1,C1	T1, T2	Factorial MANOVAs with follow-up univariate ANOVAs
7.	Short-term effects on CO (domains and indicators)	Q.1.1, Q.2.4	E1,C1	T1, T2	Mixed-design ANOVAs with follow-up paired t-tests; Multiple regressions
8.	T3 attrition analysis		E1	T1, T2	Logistic regressions; Factorial MANOVAs with follow-up univariate MANOVAs
9.	Intermediate-term effects on CO	Q.4.1	E1	T1, T2, T3	RM ANOVAs with follow-up paired t-tests
10.	T4 attrition analysis		E1	T1, T2	Logistic regressions; Factorial MANOVAs with follow-up univariate MANOVAs
11.	Long-term effects on CO	Q.4.2	E1	T1, T2, T4	RM ANOVAs with follow-up paired t-tests
12.	Follow-up contact	Q.4.3	E1-E3	T2, T4	Descriptive statistics
13.	Effects on Palestinian's perceived equality	Q.1.2	E1,C1; Palestinians only	T1, T2, T4	Mixed-design ANOVAs with follow-up paired t-tests; RM ANOVAs with follow-up paired t-tests

Note. CO = Coexistence Orientation. E1 = pretested Participants, E2 = placebo-tested participants, E3 = unpretested partcipants; C1 = pretested nonparticipants, C2 = placebo-tested nonparticipants, C3 = unpretested nonparticipants. [a] Including both Jews and Palestinians, unless mentioned otherwise. All analyses were conducted separately for each national group.

3.7.2. Characteristics of encounter participants (Q.2.1)

Tables 15-17 summarize descriptive statistics on available background and individual characteristics for Jewish and Palestinians participants (E1) and nonparticipants (C1). Table 15 presents the distributions of students in each group across categorical background variables, while Table 16 presents descriptive statistics for continuous covariates. Table 17 presents descriptive statistics for background variables related to experience in Jewish-Palestinian social contact and joint activities. This section will present the characteristics of encounter participants (E1), which will enable to examine the heterogeneity among voluntary participants. Furthermore, the extent to which participants are representatives of their populations can be partially examined by comparing the sample characteristics with those of the general population when such data is available (Wilkinson, 1999). Significant differences between Jewish and Palestinian encounter participants, based on *t*-tests or chi-square tests, are also presented in the text.

Roughly 60% of both Jewish and Palestinian participants were female. For both national groups, the participants are mostly from the 10th and the 11th grade levels, but for Palestinians there is a higher proportion of 11th graders in the sample, $\chi^2(2) = 8.80$, $p = .01$ (see Table 15). Almost all Jewish participants are from a city or urban locality, and slightly less than 9% of them are residents of a Kibbutz (compared to 2% of the population, Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Palestinian participants are mostly from a small Arab locality (or village). In terms of participating schools, approximately 90% of the Jewish participants attend schools located in cities, and the remaining 10% study in a regional school located in a Kibbutz (Beit-Yerach). All Palestinian participants study either in Sachnin (37%), an Arab city, or in Kfar Kara (63%), an Arab town.

In terms of religiosity, there were no orthodox of ultra-orthodox Jewish participants (compared to 25% and 9% in the general Jewish population, respectively). The majority of participants are self-defined as "secular" (compared to 43% in the Jewish population), with a little over one third defining themselves as "traditional" (compared to 23% of the population, Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011). All but two of the Palestinian participants are born in "Israel" or "Palestine" (written in response for an open question), while almost 10% of the Jewish participants mentioned that they were born abroad, with Russia as the most commonly mentioned country of birth. The difference is statistically significant, $\chi^2(1) = 8.92$, $p = . 001$. Roughly 20% of the Jewish participants mentioned that at least one of their parents was born abroad, with again Russia constituting the most common country of origin.

In terms of political identity, roughly 40% of the Jewish participants place themselves on the right side of the political spectrum, while the rest are roughly equally divided between "centrists" and "leftists". This distribution largely mirrors Israeli-Jewish society's political divide (Yaar & Hermann, 2012). Most students who took part in the encounter agree that Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel are either "not sufficiently good" or "not good at all", although the proportion of Palestinian participants who think that relations are "sufficiently good" is higher than for Jewish participants, $\chi^2(3) = 18.38$, $p < .001$.

Jewish participants were slightly older on average than Palestinian participants, $t(288) = 2.65$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.31$ (see Table 16). SES is slightly higher for Palestinians compared to Jews, $t(287) = -3.42$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.40$. However, SES was self-reported as a subjective assessment of the participants. The Palestinian minority in Israel is characterized by substantially lower SES compared to the Jewish majority (Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, 2014). Palestinian participants scored on average higher than Jewish participants on HSI, a statistically significant difference with a large effect size, $t(288) = -13.17$, $p < .001$, $d = -1.54$. Participants' reported interest in taking part in a Jewish-Palestinian encounter (i.e., encounter motivation) was equally high in both national groups, and both groups were also equally inclined to take the perspective of the other. Although Jewish participants identified slightly more with their national ingroup than Palestinian participants, the different was not statistically significant and average ingroup identification is rather high in both groups, $t(264.75) = 1.91$, $p = .06$, $d = 0.22$. Finally, Jewish participants perceive the intergroup relations as more negative compared to Palestinian participants, $t(282) = 4.42$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.54$.

Table 15. *Sample Characteristics (n(%)) for Categorical Background Variables by National group and by Intervention Group, with Significance Tests (Chi-Square)*

Characteristics	Jews		Palestinians	
	E1	C1	E1	C1
Gender	(*n*=142)	(*n*=64)	(*n*=148)	(*n*=119)
Male	58 (40.8)	25 (39.1)	55 (37.2)	34 (28.6)
Female	84 (59.2)	39 (60.9)	93 (62.8)	85 (71.4)
High school grade level	(*n*=142)	(*n*=64)	(*n*=148)	(*n*=119)
10th grade	57 (40.1)	32 (50.0)	67 (45.3)	53 (44.5)
11th grade	21 (14.8)[a]	19 (29.7)[a]	37 (25.0)[a]	66 (55.5)[a]
12th grade	64 (45.1)[b]	13 (20.3)[b]	44 (29.7)[b]	0 (0.0)[b]
Residence (Jews)[1]	(*n*=142)	(*n*=64)		
City, urban locality	128 (90.1)[a]	34 (53.1)[a]		
Village or Moshav	2 (1.4)	5 (7.8)		
Kibbutz	12 (8.5)[b]	24 (37.5)[b]		
Community settlement	0 (0.0)	1 (1.6)		
Residence (Palestinians)[2]			(*n*=148)	(*n*=117)
Arab city			23 (15.5)[a]	72 (61.5)[a]
Arab village			124 (83.8)[b]	45 (38.5)[b]
Mixed Jewish-Arab city			1 (0.7)	0 (0.0)
Religiosity (Jews)[3]	(*n*=125)	(*n*=59)		
Ultra-orthodox	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)		
Orthodox	0 (0.0	0 (0.0)		
Traditional	45 (36.0)	21 (35.6)		
Secular	80 (64.0)	37 (62.7)		
Religion (Palestinians)			(*n*=146)	(*n*=116)
Muslims			144 (98.6)	115 (99.1)
Christian			2 (1.4)	1 (0.8)
Country of birth	(*n*=142)	(*n*=64)	(*n*=147)	(*n*=118)
Israel/ Palestine	129 (90.8)	55 (85.9)	145 (98.6)	117 (99.2)
Abroad	13 (9.2)	9 (14.1)	2 (1.4)	1 (0.8)
Father's country of birth (Jews)	(*n*=141)	(*n*=63)		
Israel/ Palestine	114 (80.9)[a]	41 (65.1)[a]		
Abroad	27 (19.1)[b]	22 (34.9)[b]		
Political orientation (Jews)	(*n*=137)	(*n*=57)		
Rightists (1-3)	57 (41.6)	23 (40.4)		
Centrists (4)	35 (25.5)	15 (26.3)		
Leftists (5-7)	37 (27.1)	10 (17.5)		
Don't know (0)	8 (5.8)	9 (15.8)		
Perceived Jewish-Palestinian relations	(*n*=140)	(*n*=62)	(*n*=144)	(*n*=115)
Very good	2 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	9 (6.3)	8 (7.0)
Sufficiently good	18 (12.9)	11 (17.7)	37 (25.7)	40 (34.8)
Not sufficiently good	69 (49.3)	34 (54.8)	71 (49.3)	54 (47.0)
Not good at all	51 (36.4)	17 (27.4)	27 (18.8)	13 (11.3)

Note. E1 = Pretested participants, C1 = Pretested nonparticipants. Significant pairwise differences between E1 and C1 for each national group are denoted by different upper case letters (*p* < .05).

[1] χ^2 test was performed only on the categories "city" and "Kibbutz".

[2] χ^2 test was performed only on the categories "Arab city" and "Arab village".

[3] χ^2 test was performed only on the categories "traditional" and "secular".

Table 16. *Means and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) of Continuous Background Variables by National Group and Intervention Group*

Characteristics	Jews		Palestinians	
	E1	C1	E1	C1
	($n = 142$)	($n = 64$)	($n = 148$)	($n = 119$)
Age	16.69 (0.98)	16.33 (0.84)	16.40 (0.91)	16.10 (0.63)
Socioeconomic status	3.11 (0.71)	3.11 (0.69)	3.39 (0.68)	2.96 (0.80)
Religiosity (for Palestinians) [a]			2.10 (0.79)	1.86 (0.66)
Hierarchic Self-Interest	2.74 (0.53)	2.80 (0.65)	3.52 (0.48)	3.60 (0.48)
Encounter motivation	3.99 (1.00)	2.90 (1.20)	4.15 (0.88)	3.53 (1.21)
Perceived relations [b]	3.21 (0.71)	3.10 (0.67)	2.81 (0.81)	2.63 (0.78)
Perceived equality			2.19 (0.98)	2.32 (0.97)
Perspective taking	3.70 (0.50)	3.40 (0.61)	3.76 (0.56)	3.64 (0.53)
Ingroup identification	4.24 (0.70)	4.06 (0.62)	4.06 (0.94)	3.68 (0.90)
Political orientation (for Jews) [c]	3.75 (1.32)	3.38 (1.41)		
Contact frequency	2.04 (0.69)	2.09 (0.71)	2.58 (0.81)	2.43 (0.72)
Perceived contact quality	3.21 (0.93)	3.12 (1.01)	3.19 (0.96)	3.21 (1.00)

Note. E1 = Pretested participants, C1 = Pretested nonparticipants. [a] Higher values indicate lower levels of religiosity. [b] Higher levels indicate perceptions of less favorable relations. [c] Higher levels indicate more leftist orientation.

Participants were also asked about prior experience in activities related to the topic of the intervention (see Table 17). Only one quarter of Jewish participants reported that they previously took part in activities related to Jewish-Palestinian relations, compared to a little above 40% of Palestinian participants, $\chi^2(1) = 8.31$, $p < .01$. A little over half of the Palestinian participants reported that they already took part in an encounter in the past, compared to less than 25% of the Jewish participants, $\chi^2(1) = 30.12$, $p < .001$. The vast majority of participants from both groups reported that they did not fill in a questionnaire dealing with Jewish-Palestinian relations in the past. Most participants from both groups report that they met outgroup members several or many times in the past. More than 60% of the Jewish participants, but less than 40% of the Palestinian participants were never guests in a home of an outgroup members before the encounter, $\chi^2(2) = 19.28$, $p < .001$, and the gap between the groups was even higher pertaining to hosting outgroup members in their own home, $\chi^2(2) = 56.33$, $p < .001$. Pertaining to cross-group friendship, only slightly more than 12% of the Jewish participants had an outgroup friend before the encounter, compared to 30% of the Palestinian participants, $\chi^2(1) = 13.81$, $p < .001$. In the overall adult population, Smooha (2010) found that 65% and 36% of Israeli Jews and Palestinians, correspondingly, do not have any outgroup friend. Overall, Palestinians reported to have a higher frequency of prior social contact, $t(283.12) = -6.18$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.72$, but both participating groups reported on average on similar perceived quality of that contact, $t(275) = 0.20$, $p = .84$.

Table 17. *Sample Characteristics (N(%)) for Variables Indicating Prior Experience in Intergroup Contact and Activities by National Group and Intervention Group*

Experience	Jews		Palestinians	
	E1	C1	E1	C1
	(*n* = 142)	(*n* = 64)	(*n* = 148)	(*n* = 119)
Experience in Jewish-Palestinians activities				
Took part in activities related to Jewish-Palestinian relations (yes)	35 (24.6)	32 (50.0)	60 (40.8)	57 (48.7)
Took part in peace/ multiculturalism education (yes)	93 (66.0)	42 (65.6)	74 (50.0)	60 (50.8)
Filled in questionnaires about Jewish-Palestinian relations	11 (7.8)	5 (7.8)	25 (16.9)	23 (19.5)
Have met Israeli Palestinians/Jews:	(*n*=142)	(*n*=64)	(*n*=144)	(*n*=118)
Never	10 (7.0)	4 (6.3)	7 (4.8)	10 (8.5)
Once or twice	25 (17.6)	12 (18.8)	13 (8.8)	7 (5.9)
Several or many times	107 (75.4)	48 (74.9)	127 (86.4)	101 (85.6)
Was a guest in a Palestinian/Jewish family's home	(*n*=142)	(*n*=64)	(*n*=147)	(*n*=118)
Never	92 (64.8)	37 (57.8)	58 (39.5)	59 (50.0)
Once or twice	33 (23.2)	16 (25.0)	52 (35.4)	36 (30.5)
Several or many times	17 (12.0)	11 (17.2)	37 (25.1)	23 (19.5)
Have hosted Palestinians/ Jews in my home	(*n*=142)	(*n*=64)	(*n*=147)	(*n*=118)
Never	98 (69.0)	41 (64.1)	37 (25.2)	32 (27.1)
Once or twice	22 (15.5)	12 (18.8)	47 (32.0)	43 (36.4)
Several or many times	22 (15.5)	11 (17.2)	63 (42.8)	43 (36.4)
Have a Jewish/Palestinian friend (yes)	17 (12.2)	11 (17.2)	44 (30.3)	25 (21.2)

Note. E1 = pretested particatnats, C1 = pretested nonparticipants.

In sum, the sociodemographic and sociopolitical characteristics of the Jewish sample are somewhat representative of the secular Jewish society in Israel. Contrary to the common assumption, participants' political orientation is diverse. The prior experience of Jewish and Palestinian participants in Jewish-Palestinian intergroup contact is also diverse, and most participants had little experience in previous social or intergroup-political contact with outgroup members. Moreover, while many Jewish and Palestinian participants had prior experience with a wide variety of Jewish-Palestinian activities, the latter included mainly social, cultural, and leisure activities, and rarely involved categorized contact or political dialogue, as evident by descriptions of prior activities provided by the participants (see Introduction).

3.7.3. Baseline equivalence of the encounter and comparison groups (Q.2.2)

Baseline equivalence with regard to all study variables was assessed to determine whether there are differences between the intervention groups due to extraneous factors and self-selection bias (Q.2.2). This analysis included only the groups E1 ($n = 142$ and $n = 148$ for Jews and Palestinians, respectively) and C1 ($n = 64$ and $n = 119$ for Jews and Palestinians, respectively). Tables 15 to 17 show descriptive statistics for intervention and comparison groups in sample characteristics. Significant differences between participants and nonparticipants (*t*-tests and chi-square tests for continuous and categorical variables, respectively) are reported below, separately for Jews and Palestinians.

The proportion of male and female students is similar for the Jewish intervention groups, while for Palestinians there is a higher proportion of female students in the comparison group (71% compared with 63%), although this difference is not significant. In the Jewish sample, the percentages of 10th and 11th graders are higher for nonparticipants, $\chi^2(2) = 13.27$, $p = .001$, who also include more Kibbutz residents, $\chi^2(1) = 29.67$, $p < .001$. The comparison group in the Jewish sample also includes a higher proportion of students who are second generation to "Olim" (immigrants) than the encounter group, $\chi^2(1) = 5.94$, $p = .02$.

Palestinian nonparticipants include a higher proportion of 11th graders than Palestinian participants, and do not include students from the 12th grade level at all, $\chi^2(2) = 51.25$, $p < .001$. While the majority of participants are from Arab village or town, the majority of nonparticipants report to live in an Arab city, $\chi^2(1) = 59.56$, $p < .001$. Pertaining to participating schools, approximately 44% of the Jewish nonparticipants attend an urban high school, while the rest (56%) attend regional schools in Kibbutzim (Beit-Yerach and Ma'ale-Shaharut). Among Palestinian nonparticipants, 90% attend schools in cities and the rest (10%) in Arab villages or towns.

On average, Jewish nonparticipants are slightly younger, $t(139.97) = -2.73$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.39$, with lower perspective taking, $t(202) = -3.69$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.54$, and much less interested in attending a Jewish-Palestinian encounter, $t(102.02) = -6.24$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.99$, compared to participants (see Table 16). Their average political orientation score is closer to the right pole than that of participants, but the difference is not significant. $t(175) = -1.66$, $p = .10$. In the Palestinian sample, nonparticipants compared to participants are on average younger, $t(259.17) = -3.13$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.38$, less religious, $t(263) = -2.64$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.33$, and from lower SES, $t(265) = -4.81$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.58$. As expected, they are less motivated to take part in a Jewish-

Palestinian encounter, $t(203.97) = -4.59$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.59$, and are also less identified with their national group, $t(256) = -3.23$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.41$.

Table 18 presents means and standard deviations of T1 CO domains and indicators for the encounter and comparison group within each national group, with t-test results on mean differences between intervention groups and the estimated magnitude of the effects (Cohen's ds). The results show that participants and nonparticipants differ mainly in BCO, with both Jewish and Palestinian participants having more favorable orientation, as well as in MCO, with higher orientation among Jewish participants compared to Jewish nonparticipants. With regard to specific indicators, Jewish participants also have higher empathy, are more interested in the other group, and express higher willingness to be in contact with Palestinians both at the interpersonal and the intergroup level, compared to nonparticipants. Consequently, their Overall CO is also significantly higher. Similarly, Palestinian participants are more motivated to engage in intergroup contact and joint activities with the other group, and their MCO is almost significantly higher than that of nonparticipants ($p = .06$).

In sum, both the Jewish and the Palestinian comparison groups are indeed not equivalent to their corresponding encounter groups. The main differences in motivational and behavioral domains of CO indicate that the selection criterion to participate in the encounters was likely to be a personal motivation to do so, and that the participants are mostly self-selected volunteers. Due to the nonequivalence of the comparison group, which was anticipated in the planning stages of the study, the analysis of intervention effects will be performed only on pretested participants (E1) and nonparticipants (C1), and will be conducted using statistical adjustment techniques that will minimize the self-selection bias (see below).

Some newly constructed subscales in the index of CO use items from the index of Arab-Jewish relations (Smooha, 2005, 2010, see Chapter 2), which was examined in representative samples of the Jewish and Palestinian populations in Israel. The distribution of scores in this sample can be compared to those obtained in national survey to assess the extent to which participants and nonparticipants are similar to or different from the wider population, or in other words, to partially assess the extent to which the results of the study can be generalized to the entire populations.

Table 18. *Descriptive Statistics of all Dependent Variables Measured at T1 by Intervention Groups, along with Results of T-tests for Differences between Groups, for Each National Group*

Variable	Group [a]	E1		C1		t	df [b]	d
		n	M (SD)	n	M (SD)			
ECO	J	138	0.598 (0.168)	63	0.595 (0.162)	-0.11	199	0.02
	P	145	0.570 (0.186)	117	0.574 (0.183)	0.18	260	-0.02
Empathy	J	140	5.00 (1.03)	63	4.56 (1.20)	-2.67**	201	0.40
	P	146	4.16 (1.34)	117	4.34 (1.38)	1.04	261	-0.13
Hope	J	141	4.09 (1.21)	63	4.06 (1.10)	-0.18	202	0.03
	P	146	4.43 (1.28)	118	4.67 (1.36)	0.19	262	-0.18
Hatred	J	139	2.55 (1.09)	63	2.27 (1.01)	-1.72	200	0.27
	P	146	2.56 (1.12)	118	2.65 (1.15)	0.67	262	-0.08
CCO	J	140	0.604 (0.188)	61	0.576 (0.221)	-0.90	199	0.14
	P	145	0.302 (0.182)	112	0.292 (0.169)	-0.44	255	0.06
PT	J	141	3.78 (1.33)	62	3.90 (1.47)	0.59	201	-0.09
	P	145	5.67 (1.50)	112	5.71 (1.42)	0.22	255	-0.03
Stereotypes	J	140	2.97 (1.15)	61	3.17 (1.29)	1.09	199	-0.16
	P	145	4.70 (1.21)	112	4.78 (1.16)	0.51	255	-0.06
PV	J	139	4.93 (1.13)	62	4.88 (1.10)	-0.29	199	0.04
	P	145	4.97 (1.33)	110	5.16 (1.36)	1.13	253	-0.14
MCO	J	141	0.689 (0.162)	62	0.606 (0.188)	-3.21**	201	0.47
	P	145	0.694 (0.182)	118	0.650 (0.187)	-1.92†	261	0.24
SfIR	J	141	5.34 (1.05)	63	5.29 (1.16)	-1.48	202	-0.05
	P	146	5.22 (1.25)	118	4.97 (1.31)	-1.58	262	0.20
Interest	J	142	4.11 (0.94)	62	3.45 (1.16)	-4.26***	97.91	0.63
	P	145	4.42 (1.04)	118	4.19 (1.03)	-1.79	261	0.22
BCO	J	141	0.576 (0.232)	64	0.434 (0.259)	-3.90***	203	0.58
	P	147	0.686 (0.202)	118	0.604 (0.251)	-2.98**	222.38	0.36
RfSC	J	141	3.16 (1.04)	64	2.61 (1.13)	-3.43**	203	0.51
	P	146	3.62 (0.92)	118	3.30 (1.09)	-2.53*	229.41	0.32
RfJA	J	141	3.49 (0.89)	63	2.92 (1.06)	-3.97***	202	0.58
	P	146	3.92 (0.82)	117	3.58 (1.07)	-2.93**	213.27	0.36
PCO	J	137	0.600 (0.154)	61	0.572 (0.173)	-1.16	196	0.17
PE	J	137	2.70 (0.95)	61	2.74 (0.95)	0.29	196	-0.04
SfER	J	137	4.08 (1.12)	61	3.82 (1.23)	-1.49	196	0.22
PI	J	137	3.38 (1.01)	61	3.50 (1.16)	0.75	196	-0.11
OCO	J	137	0.614 (0.149)	61	0.557 (0.173)	-2.34*	194	0.35
	P	143	0.563 (0.137)	112	0.534 (0.150)	-1.64	253	0.20

Note. E1 = Pretested participnats, C1 = Pretested nonparticipants, ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, PT = Perceived threat, PV = Perceived variability, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, SfIR = Support for improving relations, Interest = Interest in the outgroup, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, RfSC = Readiness for social contact, RfJA = Readiness for joint activities, PCO = Political Coexistence Orientation, PE = Perceived equality, SfER = Support for equal rights, PI = Political intolerance, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. [a] J = Jews, P = Palestinians. [b] df determined according to the Levene's test for equality of variance.
† p = .06. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Among Palestinians, there was slightly more agreement with stereotypical statements about Jews than in the larger public, as measured in representative surveys. For example, while 54% of the Palestinian population think that most Jews in Israel are racist, 59% and 60% of the Palestinian participants and nonparticipants agreed with this statement (*somewhat agree*, *agree*,

or *strongly agree*). On the other hand, in the Jewish sample, lower levels of negative stereotypes were found in the current sample compared to the adult Jewish population. Compared to 36% of the latter who think that most Palestinian citizens are culturally inferior to Jews, only 21% and 23% of the Jewish participants and nonparticipants agreed with this statement, respectively. Moreover, only 22% and 31% of the Jewish participants and nonparticipants are not ready to have a Palestinian-Arab as a superior in a job, while agreement in the general population was found in 58% of the population (Smooha, 2005, 2010). Furthermore, the level of perceived threat among Palestinian students included in the sample is somewhat higher than that recently found in the general population. In the Palestinian sample, 87% and 86% of the participants and nonparticipants respectively fear of sever infringement of the rights of Palestinian citizens, compared to 81% in the adult Palestinian population in 2009. Similarly, 85% among both participants and nonparticipants fear of state violence against their population, compared to 71% in the Palestinian population in Israel (Smooha, 2010). Overall, the differences in CO items are not big and may reflect differences in the age of the respondents and the period of measurement more than real differences in attitudes.

3.7.4. Pretest effects and pretest sensitization (Q.3.1, Q.3.2)

The purpose of the analysis of pretesting effects is twofold: first, to examine whether the pretest had an effect of the posttest scores, and second, to examine whether there was a pretest sensitization, that is, an interaction between the pretest and the encounter, so that the intervention had positive effects only (or to a significantly greater extent) when the pretest was performed. The analysis, based on the S4GD, was conducted in three stages and its results are detailed below.

3.7.4.1. Preliminary analysis

First, to ensure that the random assignment of the study participants to the two planned pretest conditions (pretested and placebo-tested) was successful and did not result in baseline differences between the pretesting groups, a preliminary analysis was performed on sample characteristics and covariates that were measured at T1 and were available for both conditions (gender, age, religiosity, SES, and HSI), using chi-square tests for dichotomous variables and *t*-tests for continuous variables. One comparison group in the Jewish sample (Group 5, see Table B.6, Appendix B) did not include placebo-tested nonparticipants and was therefore

removed from the subsequent analyses of pretest effects. Means and standard deviations are presented in the text only for significant differences.

No significant differences were found for Jewish nonparticipants between C1 and C2 (all p values are .13 or above), for Jewish participants between E1 and E2 (all $ps \geq .24$), and for Palestinian nonparticipants between C1 and C2 (all $ps \geq .22$). For Palestinian participants, E1 ($M = 3.39$, $SD = 0.68$) scored significantly higher than E2 ($M = 3.17$, $SD = 0.77$) on SES, but with a small effect size, $t(240) = 2.35$, $p = .02$, $d = 0.30$ (all other $ps \geq .38$). Despite this minor difference, it can be concluded that the randomization was successful for both national groups and for both encounter participants and nonparticipants.

A further preliminary analysis was undertaken to examine differences between the pretest conditions in covariates that were measured at T2 (perspective taking, ingroup identification, and political orientation for Jews), and were therefore available for all groups. The post-hoc unpretested groups (E3 and C3), which were not obtained through a randomization technique, were included in this analysis in order to assess the extent to which they were equivalent to the other planned pretest conditions. Multiple ANOVAs were performed with pretesting groups (pretested, placebo-tested, and unpretested) as between-subject factor and with post-hoc pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni-adjusted p values, for each national group and intervention group separately. The results are summarized, and means and standard deviations are given only for significant differences.

For Jewish nonparticipants, no significant differences between C1-C3 groups were found for any of the characteristics (all p values are .26 and above). Jewish participants, on the other hand, were not equivalent across E1-E3 groups in political orientation, $F(2, 226) = 3.15$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. Pairwise comparisons indicate that unpretested participants ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 1.35$) were more "leftists" on average than placebo-tested participants ($M = 3.42$, $SD = 1.25$), $t(115) = 2.37$, $p = .02$, $d = -0.48$. For Palestinian nonparticipants, there was a main effect on ingroup identification, $F(2,209) = 3.63$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, which was lower for the unpretested ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.14$), compared to the pretested ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 0.87$), $t(151) = -2.61$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.45$. These findings suggest that there are preexisting differences between the unpretested groups and the two other groups. Therefore, the unpretested group will be included in the subsequent analysis of pretesting effects for exploratory purposes only, but pretesting effects will be only considered by comparing pretest and placebo-tested groups.

3.7.4.2. Pretesting effects

Measurement effects were examined separately for participants (E1-E3) and nonparticipants (C1-C3) and separately for each national group by looking at T2 differences on the dependent variables between the pretest conditions. Multiple one-way ANOVAs were performed, with T2 CO domain scales and indicator subscales as the dependent variables, and pretesting groups as a three-level factor (pretested, placebo-tested, and unpretested), with follow-up Bonferroni-adjusted multiple comparisons. Tables 19 and 20 summarize descriptive statistics for the pretest conditions in the encounter and the comparison groups, separately for Jews and Palestinians, respectively. Significant pairwise comparisons are also indicated in the tables. The results of the analysis are summarized below.

The findings show that for Jewish nonparticipants, none of the mean posttest scores on dependent variables was significantly different between the pretesting groups. To some extent, C3 had the most favorable attitudes and C2 had the least favorable attitudes, mainly in CCO and PCO, but none of these differences are statistically significant (all p values are .15 and above). However, for Jewish participants, significant differences between the pretesting groups are found in five posttest constructs, including CCO, $F(2, 226) = 4.03$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, empathy, $F(2, 226) = 3.68$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, , stereotypes, $F(2, 226) = 6.60$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2_p = .06$, interest in the outgroup, $F(2, 226) = 2.99$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, and support for equal rights, $F(2, 226) = 4.27$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .04$. In all these constructs, unpretested participants (E3) had significantly more favorable attitudes than placebo-tested participants (E2). Although the latter group had less favorable attitudes than pretested participants (E1), no pairwise comparison between these groups yielded a significant effect.

In the sample of Palestinian nonparticipants, average posttest scores were significantly different with a small effect size between pretesting groups with regard to interest in the outgroup, $F(2, 209) = 3.96$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .04$, and readiness for joint activities, $F(2, 209) = 3.42$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. Follow-up comparisons indicated that C3 expressed less interest in the other group compared to C1, and were less ready to take part in joint activities compared to C2. For Palestinian participants, none of the F statistics were significant (all p values are .11 and above). Overall, the results confirm that there were no significant differences between pretested and placebo-tested students across national and intervention groups, although for Jews, to some extent, pretested participants and nonparticipants perform slightly more favorably in T2 CO scores than their placebo-tested counterparts, which may suggest a mild but still insignificant positive effect of pretesting.

Table 19. *Means and Standard Deviations of all Dependent Variables Measured at T2 by Intervention Group and Pretesting Condition among Jews*

Variable	Encounter participants			Comparison group (nonparticipants)[1]		
	Pretested (n = 121)	Placebo-tested (n = 62)	Unpretested (n = 46)	Pretested (n = 26)	Placebo-tested (n = 34)	Unpretested (n = 21)
ECO	0.665 (0.157)	0.650 (0.180)	0.684 (0.180)	0.536 (0.207)	0.498 (0.203)	0.523 (0.232)
Empathy	5.43 (1.03)	5.13 (1.16)[a]	5.69 (1.08)[a]	4.37 (1.26)	4.07 (1.38)	4.39 (1.57)
Hatred	2.10 (0.90)	2.11 (0.96)	2.11 (1.00)	2.67 (1.05)	2.88 (1.03)	2.69 (1.15)
Hope	4.20 (1.23)	4.25 (1.33)	4.29 (1.47)	3.79 (1.63)	3.72 (1.54)	3.56 (1.49)
CCO	0.648 (0.167)	0.600 (0.215)[a]	0.701 (0.177)[a]	0.542 (0.265)	0.502 (0.201)	0.601 (0.274)
PT	3.56 (1.24)	3.82 (1.53)	3.43 (1.14)	3.88 (1.70)	4.36 (1.38)	3.65 (1.70)
Stereotypes	2.67 (1.06)[b]	2.98 (1.32)[a]	2.16 (1.18)[ab]	3.62 (1.64)	3.62 (1.28)	3.13 (1.73)
PV	5.48 (1.04)	5.25 (1.10)	5.38 (1.02)	5.10 (1.28)	4.76 (0.94)	4.71 (1.65)
MCO	0.753 (0.161)	0.716 (0.193)	0.786 (0.164)	0.532 (0.211)	0.505 (0.227)	0.525 (0.254)
SfIR	5.77 (1.03)	5.56 (1.24)	5.86 (1.92)	4.71 (1.34)	4.35 (1.44)	4.51 (1.63)
Interest	4.55 (0.89)	4.36 (1.10)[a]	4.81 (0.88)[a]	3.23 (1.14)	3.25 (1.25)	3.32 (1.26)
BCO	0.529 (0.234)	0.589 (0.223)	0.665 (0.250)	0.295 (0.261)	0.313 (0.256)	0.371 (0.259)
RfSC	3.36 (1.03)	3.17 (1.01)	3.58 (1.11)	2.08 (1.00)	2.30 (1.08)	2.57 (1.12)
RfJA	3.73 (0.94)	3.61 (0.87)	3.77 (0.99)	2.31 (1.20)	2.19 (1.07)	2.37 (1.12)
PCO	0.643 (0.148)	0.619 (0.170)	0.692 (0.181)	0.484 (0.217)	0.450 (0.185)	0.553 (0.181)
PE	2.40 (0.92)	2.42 (0.88)	2.08 (0.95)	3.35 (1.13)	3.42 (1.06)	2.92 (0.94)
SfER	4.40 (0.98)	4.06 (1.29)[a]	4.70 (1.29)[a]	3.48 (1.46)	3.12 (1.25)	3.47 (1.38)
PI	3.35 (0.96)	3.36 (1.07)	3.24 (1.23)	3.87 (1.36)	3.96 (1.46)	3.25 (1.12)
OCO	0.667 (0.147)	0.635 (0.170)	0.706 (0.164)	0.478 (0.202)	0.454 (0.187)	0.515 (0.210)

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, PT = Perceived threat, PV = Perceived variability, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, SfIR = Support for improving relations, Interest = Interest in the outgroup, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, RfSC = Readiness for social contact, RfJA = Readiness for joint activities, PCO = Political Coexistence Orientation, PE = Perceived equality, SfER = Support for equal rights, PI = Political intolerance, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. Significant pairwise differences are denoted by different upper case letters ($p < .05$). Pairwise comparisons are with Bonferroni-corrected alpha level.

Table 20. *Means and Standard Deviations of all Dependent Variables Measured at T2 by Intervention Group and Pretesting Condition among Palestinians*

Variable	Encounter participants			Comparison group (nonparticipants)[1]		
	Pretested (n = 139)	Placebo-tested (n = 90)	Unpretested (n = 39)	Pretested (n = 103)	Placebo-tested (n = 70)	Unpretested (n = 39)
ECO	0.599 (0.179)	0.581 (0.198)	0.606 (0.196)	0.537 (0.199)	0.554 (0.182)	0.469 (0.217)
Empathy	4.33 (1.37)	4.23 (1.41)	4.38 (1.49)	4.09 (1.44)	4.16 (1.17)	3.80 (1.49)
Hatred	2.41 (1.08)	2.43 (1.14)	2.50 (1.12)	2.67 (1.08)	2.64 (1.08)	3.05 (1.32)
Hope	4.56 (1.26)	4.38 (1.43)	4.77 (1.49)	4.08 (1.33)	4.28 (1.40)	3.72 (1.50)
CCO	0.333 (0.166)	0.311 (0.173)	0.344 (0.175)	0.284 (0.187)	0.315 (0.190)	0.307 (0.205)
PT	5.57 (1.28)	5.70 (1.20)	5.27 (1.50)	5.60 (1.36)	5.42 (1.55)	5.34 (1.61)
Stereotypes	4.44 (1.28)	4.57 (1.44)	4.59 (1.32)	4.99 (1.24)	4.80 (1.27)	4.97 (1.30
PV	4.36 (1.12)	4.19 (1.17)	5.06 (1.42)	5.10 (1.29)	5.04 (1.21)	4.87 (1.03
MCO	0.745 (0.159)	0.699 (0.205)	0.720 (0.165)	0.623 (0.210)	0.631 (0.174)	0.551 (0.242)
SfIR	5.47 (1.07)	5.16 (1.44)	5.11 (1.49)	4.58 (1.39)	4.85 (1.27)	4.44 (1.67)
Interest	4.72 (1.00)	4.52 (1.07)	4.77 (0.76)	4.24 (1.13)[a]	4.10 (1.01)	3.65 (1.29)[a]
BCO	0.709 (0.223)	0.702 (0.218)	0.763 (0.192)	0.599 (0.262)	0.644 (0.237)	0.521 (0.281)
RfSC	3.72 (1.02)	3.72 (0.97)	4.10 (0.91)	3.30 (1.12)	3.40 (1.10)	2.91 (1.29)
RfJA	4.00 (0.86)	3.93 (0.86)	4.09 (0.85)	3.52 (1.04)	3.82 (0.91)[a]	3.32 (1.14)[a]
OCO	0.596 (0.143)	0.573 (0.161)	0.608 (0.129)	0.511 (0.165)	0.536 (0.150)	0.462 (0.171)

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, PT = Perceived threat, PV = Perceived variability, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, SfIR = Support for improving relations, Interest = Interest in the outgroup, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, RfSC = Readiness for social contact, RfJA = Readiness for joint activities, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. Significant pairwise differences are denoted by different upper case letters ($p < .05$). Pairwise comparisons are with Bonferroni-corrected alpha level.

3.7.4.3. Pretest sensitization

The final stage of the analysis using unpretested groups attempted to detect pretest sensitization by examining whether the pattern of pretesting effects was similar for participants and nonparticipants, and whether pretest reactivity can account for intervention effects. This was achieved by testing the interaction between the encounter and the pretest conditions, as recommended by Braver and Braver (1988). This analysis did not include the ad-hoc unpretested groups (E3 and C3), which were found to be significantly different at baseline from the other two pretest conditions. Specifically, a series of 2 (participants vs. nonparticipants) x 2 (pretested vs. placebo-tested) ANOVAs were performed with T2 scores (CO scales and subscales) as the dependent variables. The interaction between the factors was examined. A significant interaction indicates a different pattern of relationship between pretest conditions

across the intervention groups, and thus may indicate that pretest sensitization occurred. Only significant interactions are reported.

All in all, only one significant interaction were detected, indicating possible pretest sensitization of Palestinians with regard to support for improving relations, $F(1, 431) = 5.35$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .01$. The interaction is depicted in Figure 6. Pairwise comparisons show that the different between T2 scores of participants and nonparticipants is significant ($p < .001$) only for pretested and not for placebo-tested Palestinians (means and standard deviations are available in Table 20). For all other variables, administering a pretest measuring CO does not differentially influence CO posttest scores between participants and nonparticipants, which rules out the threat of pretest sensitization (all $ps \geq .11$).
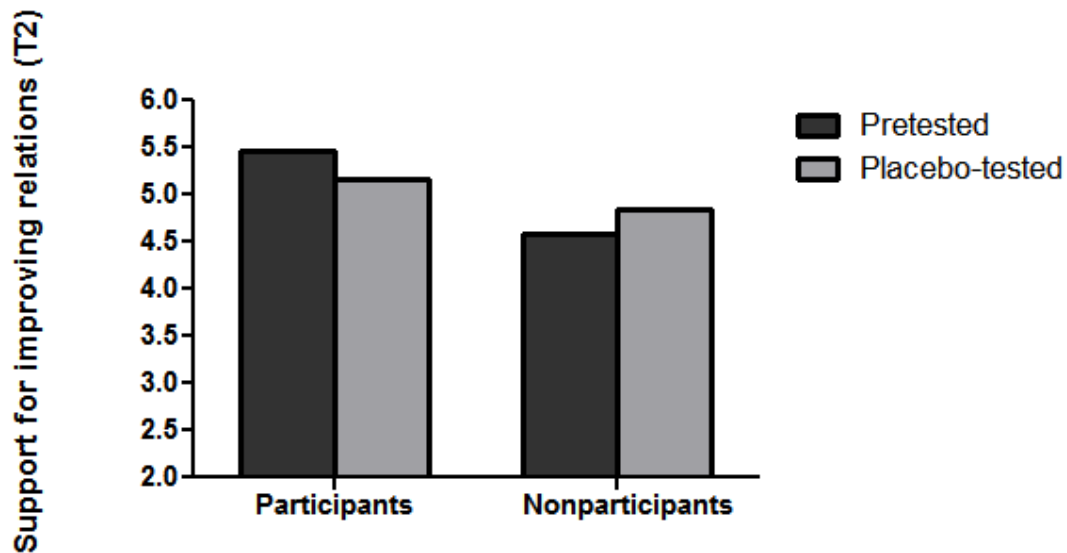
Figure 6. The interaction between intervention group and pretest condition in posttest scores of support for improving relations among Palestinians (actual range 1-7), $F(1, 431) = 5.35$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .01$.

To conclude the analysis of pretesting effects and pretest sensitization, there is little evidence for either measurement effect of pretest sensitization in this study. If T1 had any effect on T2, it is small and insignificant, and may also be attributed to design flaws more than to actual pretesting influences. Moreover, if pretested effects took place, the lack of significant interactions in all but one dependent variable in the Palestinian sample suggests that the pretest did not significantly sensitize participants to the posttest, and any intervention effects, if revealed in the subsequent analyses, may be attributed to the intervention itself.

3.7.5. The utility of motivation-based stratification (Q.2.3)

Considering the sample size and the distribution of scores in the encounter motivation item, only two levels of motivation could be considered. To compute the stratifying variable, a median split was performed on the continuous variable measuring encounter motivation (a discrete variable, range 1-5). Students with scores of 1-3 were categorized as *unmotivated*, while those scoring 4-5 were classified as *motivated* (alternatively, these groups can be referred to as having low versus high motivations). This stratification resulted in obtaining four intervention groups: *unmotivated participants* (Jews: $n = 41$, Palestinians: $n = 29$), *unmotivated nonparticipants* (Jews: $n = 42$, Palestinians: $n = 51$), *motivated participants* (Jews: $n = 100$, Palestinians: $n = 108$), and *motivated nonparticipants* (Jews: $n = 21$, Palestinians: $n = 66$). Due to significant differences between the intervention groups in encounter motivation (see above and Table 16), the cells for unmotivated participants and motivated nonparticipants were smaller than the two other conditions.

Tables 21 and 22 summarize the results of the main analysis of intervention effects (see below), and present the means and standard deviations of the T1 CO scores for each combination of motivation and intervention groups, for Jews and Palestinians, respectively. To test the utility of the motivation-based stratification, baseline equivalence between intervention groups at each motivation level was assessed by conducting factorial MANOVAs with T1 CO domains as the dependent variables and intervention group (encounter and comparison groups) as a fixed factor. Follow-up univariate ANOVAs were performed if the effects of intervention group in the MANOVA were significant. For Jews, the difference between unmotivated participants and nonparticipants was not significant according to the main effect of intervention group, $F(5, 75) = 1.34$, $p = .26$. The parallel test for motivated participants and nonparticipants yielded a marginally significant main effect, $F(5, 109) = 2.30$, $p = .049$, $\eta^2_p = .10$, but none of the univariate tests pointed out a concrete significant difference between the intervention groups. For Palestinian students, the overall difference between motivated participants and nonparticipants was insignificant, $F(4, 72) = 0.90$, $p = .47$. The overall difference between unmotivated participants and nonparticipants was also insignificant, $F(4, 173) = 1.51$, $p = .20$.

A similar analysis was conducted using all T1 CO indicators as the dependent variables. This resulted in obtaining two significant difference between Jewish motivated participants and nonparticipants, with regard to hatred, $F(1, 111) = 4.60$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .04$, and interest in the outgroup, $F(1, 111) = 5.54$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .05$. In both variables, motivated participants scored more favorably than motivated nonparticipants. No significant differences in scores were found

for Palestinian participants and nonparticipants in either high- or low-level of encounter motivation.

In conclusion, motivation-based stratification was found to increase the equivalence between the intervention and comparison groups in both national groups. The significant differences between participants and nonparticipants found in section 3.7.3 are largely corrected by this procedure.

Table 21. *Means and Standard Deviations of All Dependent Variables by Motivation Level, Intervention Condition, and Testing Time (T1 and T2) among Jews*

Variable	n	Low motivation				High motivation			
		Encounter (E1)		Comparison (C1)		Encounter (E1)		Comparison (C1)	
		T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
ECO	193	0.534 (0.175)	0.669 (0.178)***	0.566 (0.150)	0.506 (0.182)**	0.625 (0.158)	0.675 (0.144)**	0.670 (0.175)	0.631 (0.178)
Empathy	201	4.59 (0.99)	5.49 (1.01)***	4.33 (1.22)	4.19 (1.37)	5.17 (1.00)	5.45 (1.00)**	5.04 (1.10)	4.73 (1.18)
Hatred	199	2.75 (1.20)	2.11 (1.02)**	2.34 (0.98)	2.66 (1.10)*	2.46 (1.03)	2.02 (0.83)***	2.00 (0.99)	2.10 (0.87)
Hope	197	3.59 (1.12)	4.28 (1.12)***	3.90 (1.06)	3.47 (1.26)**	4.28 (1.20)	4.24 (1.22)	4.39 (1.15)	4.01 (1.21)
CCO	194	0.552 (0.217)	0.648 (0.179)**	0.542 (0.215)	0.498 (0.225)	0.619 (0.170)	0.655 (0.157)*	0.675 (0.216)	0.680 (0.205)
PT	195	4.13 (1.48)	3.54 (1.32)**	4.21 (1.41)	4.31 (1.49)	3.66 (1.25)	3.53 (1.16)	3.16 (1.44)	3.15 (1.39)
Stereotypes	194	3.24 (1.28)	2.68 (1.08)**	3.29 (1.30)	3.72 (1.42)*	2.90 (1.07)	2.59 (1.02)**	2.74 (1.24)	2.68 (1.24)
PV	193	4.99 (1.30)	5.49 (1.12)*	4.86 (1.25)	5.05 (1.27)	4.94 (1.02)	5.49 (1.03)`***	5.05 (0.83)	5.03 (1.09)
MCO	196	0.585 (0.176)	0.717 (0.181)***	0.573 (0.190)	0.523 (0.205)*	0.731 (0.136)	0.771 (0.141)*	0.669 (0.187)	0.612 (0.194)
SfIR	197	5.12 (1.18)	5.58 (1.12)**	5.15 (1.22)	4.70 (1.22)**	5.69 (0.94)	5.85 (0.97)	5.67 (1.11)	5.09 (1.31)*
Interest	200	3.42 (0.94)	4.35 (0.97)***	3.23 (1.11)	3.13 (1.19)	4.40 (0.79)	4.66 (0.80)**	3.88 (1.15)	3.69 (0.94)
BCO	202	0.379 (0.207)	0.560 (0.259)***	0.348 (0.213)	0.271 (0.202)**	0.656 (0.191)	0.676 (0.204)	0.646 (0.203)	0.418 (0.235)***
RfSC	202	2.41 (0.97)	3.12 (1.08)***	2.29 (0.97)	2.04 (0.76)*	3.47 (0.91)	3.53 (0.95)	3.39 (1.02)	2.60 (0.93)***
RfJA	202	2.65 (0.73)	3.40 (1.07)***	2.53 (0.89)	2.14 (1.00)**	3.84 (0.70)	3.93 (0.80)	3.84 (0.68)	2.78 (1.07)***
PCO	189	0.544 (0.161)	0.631 (0.158)***	0.536 (0.173)	0.484 (0.199)*	0.625 (0.147)	0.657 (0.138)*	0.661 (0.157)	0.617 (0.174)
PE	191	2.99 (1.11)	2.31 (1.01)***	2.77 (1.14)	2.88 (1.09)	2.59 (0.86)	2.43 (0.86)	2.57 (0.60)	2.93 (0.99)
SfER	189	3.65 (1.27)	4.27 (0.92)***	3.52 (1.16)	3.18 (1.28)	4.27 (1.01)	4.50 (0.97)*	4.46 (1.29)	4.02 (1.53)
PI	191	3.50 (1.03)	3.50 (1.03)	3.71 (1.11)	4.05 (1.20)	3.33 (1.00)	3.23 (0.93)	2.99 (1.08)	2.83 (1.22)
OCO	187	0.523 (0.153)	0.645 (0.170)***	0.508 (0.153)	0.450 (0.165)**	0.653 (0.133)	0.689 (0.131)**	0.663 (0.170)	0.595 (0.173)**

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, PT = Perceived threat, PV = Perceived variability, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, SfIR = Support for improving relations, Interest = Interest in the outgroup, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, RfSC = Readiness for social contact, RfJA = Readiness for joint activities, PCO = Political Coexistence Orientation, PE = Perceived equality, SfER = Support for equal rights, PI = Political intolerance, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. * Indicates a significant difference between T1 and T2.
* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 22. *Means and Standard Deviations of All Dependent Variables by Motivation Level, Intervention Condition, and Testing Time (T1 and T2) among Palestinians*

Variable	n	Low motivation				High motivation			
		Encounter (E1)		Comparison (C1)		Encounter (E1)		Comparison (C1)	
		T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
ECO	258	0.442 (0.220)	0.545 (0.201)*	0.490 (0.187)	0.489 (0.204)	0.601 (0.164)	0.609 (0.172)	0.640 (0.155)	0.577 (0.180)***
Empathy	260	3.36 (1.52)	4.03 (1.45)**	3.90 (1.48)	3.77 (1.50)	4.35 (1.21)	4.38 (1.34)	4.70 (1.19)	4.37 (1.26)*
Hatred	262	2.97 (1.27)	2.60 (1.24)	3.02 (1.16)	2.85 (1.00)	2.46 (1.06)	2.35 (1.02)	2.39 (1.09)	2.48 (1.10)
Hope	260	3.54 (1.25)	4.18 (1.30)**	3.95 (1.41)	3.76 (1.38)	4.65 (1.20)	4.63 (1.25)	4.88 (1.16)	4.24 (1.29)***
CCO	255	0.308 (0.201)	0.364 (0.195)	0.271 (0.183)	0.259 (0.191)	0.303 (0.178)	0.329 (0.162)	0.308 (0.157)	0.294 (0.183)
PT	255	5.52 (1.47)	5.30 (1.41)	5.62 (1.59)	5.71 (1.23)	5.69 (1.52)	5.62 (1.23)	5.79 (1.29)	5.53 (1.44)
Stereotypes	255	4.79 (1.23)	4.33 (1.42)	5.14 (1.06)	5.18 (1.32)	4.67 (1.22)	4.44 (1.27)	4.51 (1.18)	4.95 (1.20)**
PV	253	4.67 (1.11)	5.10 (1.15)	5.00 (1.45)	5.11 (1.36)	5.04 (1.37)	5.46 (1.08)**	5.29 (1.28)	5.24 (1.25)
MCO	258	0.589 (0.204)	0.665 (0.190)*	0.569 (0.201)	0.553 (0.212)	0.721 (0.168)	0.763 (0.153)**	0.723 (0.142)	0.667 (0.191)**
SfIR	260	4.66 (1.46)	5.05 (1.21)	4.46 (1.49)	4.11 (1.35)	5.37 (1.15)	5.57 (1.06)*	5.41 (0.97)	4.96 (1.24)***
Interest	258	3.84 (1.01)	4.28 (1.18)	3.81 (1.02)	3.94 (1.22)	4.57 (1.01)	4.82 (0.94)**	4.55 (0.91)	4.36 (1.07)
BCO	262	0.431 (0.190)	0.601 (0.234)**	0.447 (0.241)	0.506 (0.280)*	0.750 (0.150)	0.738 (0.211)	0.725 (0.186)	0.672 (0.209)*
RfSC	259	2.62 (0.89)	3.23 (1.12)*	2.76 (1.10)	2.92 (1.17)	3.87 (0.76)	3.82 (0.96)	3.71 (0.91)	3.59 (0.94)
RfJA	262	2.86 (0.74)	3.63 (0.95)***	2.82 (1.03)	3.16 (1.14)*	4.18 (0.61)	4.10 (0.82)	4.15 (0.67)	3.82 (0.83)***
OCO	250	0.442 (0.143)	0.544 (0.163)***	0.446 (0.151)	0.449 (0.169)	0.595 (0.119)	0.608 (0.136)	0.603 (0.111)	0.555 (0.145)***

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, PT = Perceived threat, PV = Perceived variability, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, SfIR = Support for improving relations, Interest = Interest in the outgroup, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, RfSC = Readiness for social contact, RfJA = Readiness for joint activities, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. * Indicates a significant difference between T1 and T2.

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001.

3.7.6. Short-term intervention effects (Q.1.1, Q.2.4)

Short-term intervention effects are examined for a total of 19 variables for Jews and 15 variables for Palestinians (including all CO domain scales, indicator subscales, and the Overall CO scale). In order to allow a better understanding of possible differential effects of the encounters on each dependent variable, and to consider complex effects and interactions (see below), a univariate strategy was adopted, with correction to pairwise comparisons to reduce Type I error. The analyses included two sets of complementary analyses. The first part of this section presents the results for the first set of analysis. This analysis examines changes in the dependent variables between T1 and T2 across intervention groups, within motivation groups. A series of 2 (intervention: encounter group vs. comparison group) x 2 (motivation: motivated vs. unmotivated) x 2 (time: T1 vs. T2) mixed-design ANOVAs were performed for each dependent variable, and separately for each national group. Only data from the groups E1 and C1 was used.

Of particular interest were two interaction effects: First, significant interaction between intervention and time would imply that there was an intervention effect in general, without considering motivation levels. This interaction was followed by repeated-measures ANOVAs for each intervention group on the difference between T1 and T2. Second, a significant three-way interaction between motivation, intervention, and time would suggest that the intervention effects vary between the two motivation groups. Multiple comparisons (*t*-tests) were performed on each pair of T1 and T2 scores for each combination of motivation and intervention groups, to indicate which of the differences were statistically significant and in what direction. Pairwise comparisons were performed and significant pairwise differences are reported even when there was no significant interaction, for exploratory purpose.

Since this analysis resulted in obtaining a considerable amount of statistical data, only the effects on CO domain scales are reported in details, while effects on indicator subscales are summarized. Means and standard deviations of T1 and T2 scores across all CO domains and indicators by motivation level and intervention groups are given in Table 21 for Jewish study participants and in Table 22 for Palestinian study participants. Significant pairwise differences obtained in the mixed-design ANOVAs between T1 and T2 scores are denoted in the tables as well.

3.7.6.1. Short-term effects on Emotional Coexistence Orientatnion

For Jewish student, a significant intervention x time interaction on ECO was found, indicating a large effect, $F(1, 189) = 39.38$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .17$. ECO significantly increased for participants, with a large effect size (T1: $M = 0.579$, $SE = 0.015$; T2: $M = 0.672$, $SE = 0.015$), $F(1, 189) = 55.65$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .23$, but also slightly decrease for nonparticipants (T1: $M = 0.618$, $SE = 0.023$; T2: $M = 0.569$, $SE = 0.023$), $F(1, 189) = 6.73$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. The three-way motivation x intervention x time interaction was significant, $F(1, 189) = 5.53$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. The intervention x time interaction was significant and strong for unmotivated Jews, $F(1, 77) = 48.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .39$, but weaker for motivated ones, $F(1, 112) = 6.30$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .05$. Follow-up multiple comparisons showed that for unmotivated individuals, ECO increased for participants, $t(39) = -6.54$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.80$, and decreased for nonparticipants, $t(38) = 3.17$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.25$. For motivated individuals, Participants' ECO increased, albeit with a smaller effect size compared to unmotivated participants, $t(95) = -3.45$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.51$, and did not change from T1 to T2 for nonparticipants ($p = .23$)

In the Palestinian sample there was also a significant two-way interaction, $F(1, 254) = 17.19$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .06$. A growth in ECO was detected for participants (T1: $M = 0.522$, $SE = 0.018$; T2: $M = 0.577$, $SE = 0.019$), $F(1, 254) = 12.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .05$, but there was also a decline for nonparticipants (T1: $M = 0.565$, $SE = 0.017$; T2: $M = 0.533$, $SE = 0.016$), $F(1, 254) = 5.05$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .02$. The three-way interaction was insignificant, $F(1, 254) = 0.66$, $p = .42$, which means that there are no different encounter effects across motivation groups. Pairwise comparisons were nevertheless performed, for exploratory purposes, indicating that only unmotivated participants improved on ECO, $t(28) = -2.88$, $p = . 01$, $d = -0.49$, and only motivated nonparticipants' ECO was reduced from T1 to T2, $t(64) = 4.23$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.38$.

Pertaining to indicator subscales of ECO (empathy, hatred, and hope), the intervention x time interaction on empathy was significant in both national groups: $F(1, 197) = 25.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .11$, and $F(1, 256) = 11.42$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2_p = .04$ for Jews and Palestinians, respectively; on hatred only for Jews, $F(1, 195) = 18.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .09$; and on hope, both for Jews, $F(1, 193) = 18.34$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .09$, and for Palestinians, $F(1, 256) = 19.55$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .07$. The three-way interaction was significant only on hope and only for Jews, $F(1,193) = 5.43$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. Both motivated and unmotivated Jewish participants increased their empathy after the encounter, $t(40) = -6.07$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.90$, and $t(98) = -2.88$, $p = .01$, $d = -0.28$, respectively, and decreased sentiments of hatred, $t(39) = 3.41$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.57$, and $t(97) = 3.91$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.47$, respectively. Only unmotivated Palestinian participants gained in

empathy, $t(28) = -2.91$, $p = .01$, $d = -0.45$. Hope was elevated only for unmotivated Jewish and Palestinian participants, $t(40) = -5.10$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.62$, and $t(28) = -2.94$, $p = .007$, $d = -0.50$, respectively. In the comparison group, empathy declined for motivated Palestinian nonparticipants, $t(64) = 2.26$, $p = .03$, $d = 0.27$, hatred increased for unmotivated Jewish nonparticipants, $t(39) = -2.24$, $p = .03$, $d = -0.31$, and hope decreased for both unmotivated Jewish participants, $t(38) = 2.75$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.37$, and motivated Palestinian nonparticipants, $t(64) = 4.99$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.52$.

3.7.6.2. Short-term effects on Cognitive Coexistence Orientation

In the Jewish sample, there was a significant intervention x time interaction on CCO, $F(1, 190) = 10.41$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2_p = .05$. The encounter had a positive effect on CCO for participants (T1: $M = 0.589$, $SE = 0.018$; T2: $M = 0.652$, $SE = 0.017$), $F(1, 190) = 20.20$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .10$, with no change for nonparticipants ($p = .38$). A significant three-way interaction was obtained as well, $F(1, 190) = 4.21$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .02$. The interaction between intervention and time was significant for the unmotivated, $F(1, 76) = 13.92$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .16$, but not for the motivated Jewish study participants, $F(1, 114) = 0.68$, $p = .41$. The positive intervention effect on CCO was larger for unmotivated participants, $t(39) = -3.41$, $p = .002$, $d = -0.48$, than for motivated participants, $t(96) = -2.27$, $p = .03$, $d = -0.22$.

In the Palestinian sample, the two-way interaction was small but significant, $F(1, 251) = 4.30$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .02$. A positive effect of small magnitude was detected for participants (T1: $M = 0.305$, $SE = 0.018$, T2: $M = 0.346$, $SE = 0.018$), $F(1, 251) = 4.53$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .02$, with no change in the comparison group ($p = .45$). The three-way interaction was insignificant ($p = .60$). Exploratory multiple comparisons across motivation levels show no statistically significant differences between T1 and T2 scores for any encounter or comparison groups, but an almost-significant positive effect was found for unmotivated participants, $t(28) = -1.78$, $p = .09$, $d = -0.28$ (all other ps > .50).

Pertaining to CCO's indicators (perceived threat, stereotypes, and perceived variability), the intervention x time interaction was significant for perceived threat only for Jews, $F(1, 191) = 4.63$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .02$, for stereotypes in both national groups, $F(1, 190) = 12.70$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .06$, and $F(1, 251) = 11.29$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2_p = .04$, respectively, and for outgroup variability (not included in the CCO scale) for Palestinians, $F(1, 249) = 4.11$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .02$, and marginally for Jews, $F(1, 189) = 3.69$, $p = .056$, $\eta^2_p = .02$. A three-way significant interaction

was found only for stereotypes in the Jewish sample, $F(1,190) = 4.37$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .02$. Perceived threat decreased for unmotivated Jewish participants, $t(39) = 2.97$, $p = .005$, $d = -0.48$, and negative stereotypes decreased for both unmotivated and motivated Jewish participants, $t(39) = 3.07$, $p = .004$, $d = 0.47$, and $t(96) = 2.97$, $p = .004$, $d = 0.30$, respectively. Perceived variability was significantly improved for Jewish participants with low motivation, $t(38) = -2.24$, $p = .03$, $d = -0.41$, and with high motivation, $t(96) = -4.56$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.54$, but only for unmotivated Palestinian participants, $t(113) = -3.08$, $p = .003$, $d = -0.34$. Although the two-way interaction on stereotypes was significant for Palestinians, the stereotype reduction was not large enough to be statistically significant, neither for unmotivated nor for motivated participants (both ps = .07). With regard to the comparison group, unmotivated Jewish nonparticipants, and motivated Palestinian nonparticipants, significantly increased their negative stereotypes between T1 and T2, $t(37) = -2.62$, $p = .01$, $d = -0.32$, and $t(63) = -3.03$, $p = .004$, $d = -0.37$, respectively.

3.7.6.3. Short-term effects on Motivational Coexistence Orientation

A significant intervention x time interaction on MCO was found in the Jewish sample, $F(1, 192) = 30.93$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .14$. Post-hoc tests show that there was a significant increase in MCO for participants (T1: $M = 0.658$, $SE = 0.015$; T2: $M = 0.744$, $SE = 0.016$), $F(1, 192) = 39.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .17$, but also a small decrease for nonparticipants (T1: $M = 0.621$, $SE = 0.023$; T2: $M = 0.568$, $SE = 0.024$), $F(1, 192) = 6.44$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. The three-way interaction was insignificant ($p = .09$). The increase in MCO was nevertheless more substantial for unmotivated participants, $t(40) = -5.21$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.74$, compared to motivated participants, $t(98) = -2.88$, $p = .01$, $d = -0.29$. Unmotivated nonparticipants slightly decreased in MCO from T1 to T2, $t(37) = 2.07$, $p = .046$, $d = 0.25$.

For Palestinians, there was a significant two-way interaction, $F(1, 254) = 19.55$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .07$. While Palestinian encounter participants improved their MCO from T1 ($M = 0.654$, $SE = 0.018$) to T2 ($M = 0.714$, $SE = 0.019$), $F(1, 254) = 13.86$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .05$, nonparticipants decreased their MCO from T1 ($M = 0.646$, $SE = 0.016$) to T2 ($M = 0.610$, $SE = 0.017$), $F(1, 254) = 6.12$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. The three-way interaction was insignificant ($p = .88$). Exploratory pairwise comparisons show that the positive effect on MCO was significant for both motivation groups, $t(28) = -2.16$, $p = .04$, $d = -0.39$, and $t(113) = -3.15$, $p = .002$, $d = -0.26$, for unmotivated and motivated participants, respectively. The reduction in MCO among

nonparticipants was observed only for motivated nonparticipants, $t(63) = 3.44$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.33$.

Motivational CO is comprised of support for efforts to improving Jewish-Palestinian relations and personal interest in the other group. The two-way interaction on support for improving relations was significant in both national groups, $F(1, 193) = 23.51$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .11$, and $F(1, 256) = 20.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .07$, and also on interest in the outgroup in both national groups, $F(1, 196) = 25.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .12$, and $F(1, 254) = 7.78$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, for Jews and Palestinians, correspondingly. The three-way interaction was marginally significant for Jewish students' interest, $F(1,196) = 3.93$, $p = .049$, $\eta^2_p = .02$. Support for improving relations increased for unmotivated Jewish participants, $t(40) = -2.74$, $p = .01$, $d = -0.40$, and for motivated Palestinian participants, $t(114) = -2.05$, $p = .04$, $d = -0.18$. Despite the significant three-way interaction, participation in the encounter was found to increase Jewish participants' interest in the outgroup, regardless of whether they were unmotivated, $t(40) = -6.92$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.97$, or motivated, $t(99) = -3.03$, $p = .003$, $d = -0.33$. For Palestinians, the effect on interest was significant only for motivated participants, $t(113) = -3.04$, $p = .003$, $d = -0.26$. Jewish nonparticipants supported efforts to improve relations less in T2 compared to T1, whether they were unmotivated, $t(38) = 2.86$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.37$, or motivated for encounters, $t(17) = 2.34$, $p = .03$, $d = 0.48$. A similar trend was found for motivated Palestinian nonparticipants, $t(64) = 3.73$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.40$.

3.7.6.4. Short-term effects on Behavioral Coexistence Orientation

The intervention x time interaction on BCO was highly significant for Jews, $F(1, 198) = 79.29$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .29$. It increased from T1 ($M = 0.518$, $SE = 0.019$) to T2 ($M = 0.618$, $SE = 0.020$) in the encounter group, $F(1, 198) = 38.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .16$, but a decrease in the comparison group was also observed (T1: $M = 0.497$, $SE = 0.027$, T2: $M = 0.345$, $SE = 0.027$), $F(1, 198) = 42.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .18$. There was no significant three-way interaction ($p = .84$). Nevertheless, multiple comparisons revealed that the positive effects on BCO were only significant for unmotivated participants, $t(40) = -6.11$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.77$. However, the decrease in BCO for nonparticipants was particularly large for motivated nonparticipants, $t(20) = 7.56$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.04$, though still significant for unmotivated ones, $t(39) = 3.24$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.37$.

The analysis for Palestinians yielded a significant intervention x time interaction, $F(1, 258) = 8.16$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. While average BCO scores remained unchanged in the comparison group ($p = .88$), they significantly increased in the encounter group (T1: $M = 0.519$, $SE = 0.019$, T2: $M = 0.670$, $SE = .024$), $F(1, 258) = 15.86$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .06$. The three-way interaction was insignificant ($p = .20$). However, exploratory post-hoc tests showed that only unmotivated participants enhanced their BCO, $t(28) = -3.79$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.80$. Moreover, although the analysis of the effects without considering motivation groups showed that nonparticipants' BCO did not change from pretest to posttest, here we find that it has significantly increased for unmotivated nonparticipants, $t(50) - =2.07$, $p = .04$, $d = -0.23$, but on the other hand, significantly decreased for motivated nonparticipants, $t(64) = 2.34$, $p = .02$, $d = 0.27$.

The analysis for the two BCO's indicators found significant intervention x time interaction on both readiness for contact and for readiness for joint activities in both national groups, with stronger effects for the Jewish group, $F(1, 198) = 49.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .20$, and $F(1, 198) = 80.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .29$, compared with the Palestinian group, $F(1, 255) = 4.13$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .02$, and $F(1, 258) = 9.16$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, for each indicator, respectively. No three-way significant interactions were found. Only unmotivated Jewish and Palestinian participants increased their readiness for social contact, $t(40) = -5.62$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.69$, and $t(28) = -2.64$, $p = .01$, $d = -0.60$, respectively, and their readiness for joint activities, $t(40) = -5.42$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.82$, and $t(28) = -4.54$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.90$, respectively. Both indicators decreased from T1 to T2 in the Jewish comparison group, for both unmotivated, $t(39) = 2.19$, $p = .03$, $d = 0,29$, and $t(39) = 3.32$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.41$, and motivated nonparticipants, $t(20) = 5.84$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.81$, and $t(20) = 6.56$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.18$, for readiness for social contact and joint activities, respectively. In contrast, unmotivated Palestinian nonparticipants significantly improved their readiness to take part in joint activities even though they did not take part in any similar intervention between T1 and T2, $t(50) = -2.51$, $p = .02$, $d = -0.31$.

3.7.6.5. Short-term effects on Political Coexistence Orientation

There was a significant intervention x time interaction on PCO, $F(1, 185) = 22.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .11$. Overall, PCA was significantly improved for participants, (T1: $M = 0.584$, $SE = 0.015$, T2: $M = 0.644$, $SE = 0.015$), $F(1, 185) = 22.38$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .11$, but also slightly decreased for nonparticipants (T1: $M = 0.598$, $SE = 0.022$, T2: $M = 0.550$, $SE = 0.023$), $F(1,185) = 6.29$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. The three-way interaction was insignificant ($p = .16$). There was a

positive effect for unmotivated participants, $t(39) = -4.23$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.55$, but also a small negative effect for unmotivated nonparticipants, $t(36) = 2.17$, $p = .04$, $d = 0.28$. The high-motivation encounter group significantly improved in PCO, but with a smaller effect size compared to the low-motivation encounter group, $t(93) = -2.36$, $p = .02$, $d = -0.22$.

Further specific effects for each indicator of PCO (perceived equality, support for equal rights, and political intolerance) were examined. A significant intervention effect was found for perceived equality, $F(1, 187) = 17.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .08$, and for support for equality, $F(1, 185) = 19.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .10$, but not for political intolerance, $F(1, 187) = 0.83$, $p = .36$. None of the three-way interactions were significant. A closer look at multiple comparisons show that only participants with low motivation became more aware of Jewish-Palestinian status differences after the encounters, $t(39) = 4.19$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.64$. Pertaining to support for equal rights, the positive effect was larger for unmotivated participants, $t(39) = -3.82$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.56$, but still significant for motivated participants, $t(93) = -2.27$, $p = .03$, $d = -0.23$.

3.7.6.6. Short-term effect on Overall Coexistence Orientation

Finally, the mixed-design ANOVA was performed on the Overall CO score, which averages scores across all five (for Jews) or four (for Palestinians) domain scales. For Jews, the interaction of intervention and time was significant, $F(1, 183) = 55.08$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .23$. Follow-up comparisons found a significant improvement in Overall CO for encounter participants (T1: $M = 0.588$, $SE = 0.014$, T2: $M = 0.667$, $SE = 0.014$), $F(1, 183) = 56.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .23$, but also a significant reduction of Overall CO in the comparison group (T1: $M = 0.585$, $SE = 0.021$, T2: $M = 0.523$, $SE = 0.022$), $F(1, 183) = 15.51$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .08$. A marginally significant three-way interaction was also detected, $F(1, 183) = 3.86$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2_p = .02$. Follow-up tests show that that the two-way interaction was significant for both motivation levels, but with a larger effect size among unmotivated, $F(1, 74) = 52.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .28$, compared to motivated Jews, $F(1, 109) = 12.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .11$. All four bivariate effects were significant: Overall CO increased for unmotivated participants, $t(38) = -6.66$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.75$, and for motivated participants, $t(92) = -3.00$, $p = .003$, $d = -0.27$, but also decreased for unmotivated nonparticipants, $t(26) = 3.49$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.36$, and for motivated participants, $t(17) = 3.35$, $p = .004$, $d = 0.40$.

The effectiveness of the encounter in improving Overall CO was similar in the Palestinian sample. There was a significant intervention x time interaction, $F(1, 246) = 29.69$,

$p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .11$. Participants in general improved their CO from T1 ($M = 0.519$, $SE = 0.013$) to T2 ($M = 0.576$, $SE = 0.015$), $F(1, 246) = 28.58$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .11$. Similar to their Jewish counterparts, Palestinian nonparticipants also showed a significant, but rather small decrease in Overall CO from T1 ($M = 0.525$, $SE = 0.012$) to T2 ($M = 0.502$, $SE = 0.014$), $F(1, 246) = 5.06$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .02$. The three-way interaction addressing differential intervention effects on Overall CO for the two motivation groups was insignificant ($p = .21$). Despite this insignificant interaction, multiple comparisons show that such differential effects are found: The positive encounter effect on Overall CO was only significant for unmotivated participants, $t(28) = -4.33$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.67$, while the negative effect on Overall CO was observed only for motivated nonparticipants, $t(61) = 4.29$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.37$. The results of the mixed-design ANOVA for Overall CO are graphically illustrated in Figure 7.
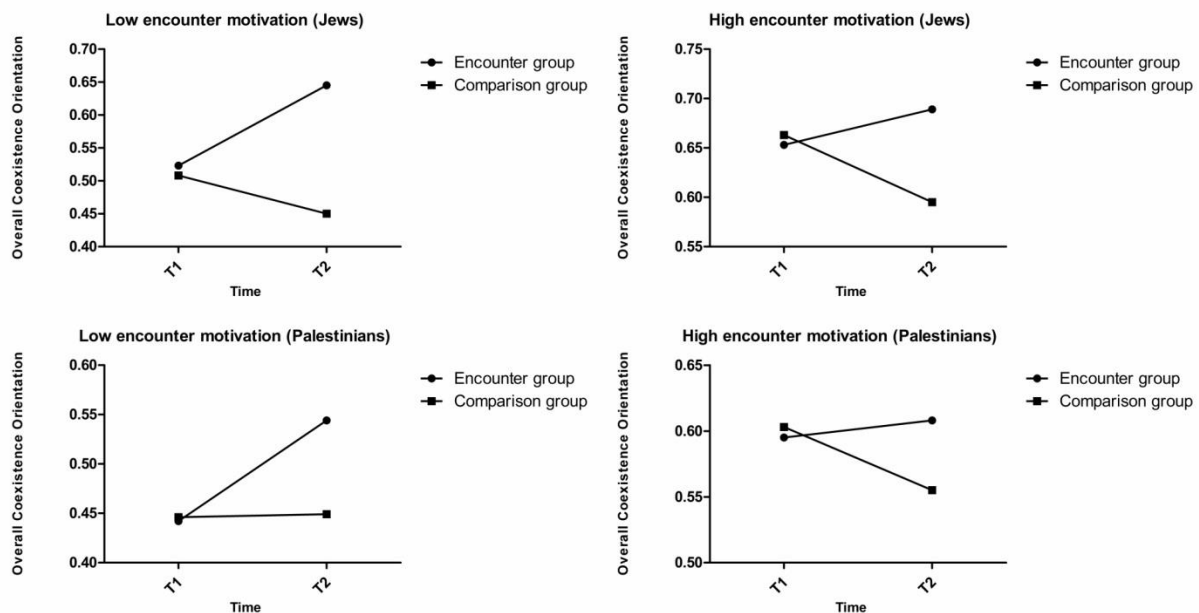
Figure 7. Short-term intervention effects on Overall Coexistence Orientation by motivation level (low or high), separately for Jews (upper graphs) and Palestinians (lower graphs). The interaction between motivation levels, intervention groups, and measurement times was significant for Jews, $F(1, 183) = 3.86$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2_p = .02$, but not for Palestinians ($p = .21$).

3.7.6.7. Short-term effects while controlling for covariates (multiple regressions)

The analysis of intervention effects through mixed-design ANOVAs is largely an unadjusted test, in the sense that it does not partial out the multiple differences between the encounter and the comparison groups. Although covariates associated with motivation to participate should be of major importance to control for self-selection bias, other covariates should be controlled for to establish internal validity. Shadish, Clark, and Steiner (2008) and

Steiner et al. (2010) demonstrated that self-selection bias can be fully reduced with an extensive set of covariate measures. Accordingly, a second set of analysis of short-term effects was performed utilizing multiple linear regressions, as recommended by Steiner, et al. (2010). In these regression analyses, the residual change scores (that is, T2 regressed on T1) was regressed on the dichotomous intervention condition variable (participants vs. nonparticipants), as well as on the set of dichotomous or continuous covariates. Multiple regression was preferred over ANCOVA because baseline differences between the intervention groups lead to violate the assumption of homogeneity of regression slops, which does not allow covariates to interact with the independent variable. The main interest in the regression models would be the coefficients for the intervention conditions while other variables are held constant. Retaining significant intervention effects found in the first stage of analysis also in a more controlled model would strengthen the internal validity of the results.

Therefore, a series of multiple linear regressions were performed for each dependent variable (T2 CO domain scales and Overall CO, and all indicator subscales), separately for Jews and Palestinians. The analysis was not conducted separately for each motivation group due to the relatively low number of unmotivated participants and motivated nonparticipants, but encounter motivation was entered as a predictor in all models. The predictors were as follows: intervention group (dichotomous variable coded 0 for nonparticipants and 1 for participants), the corresponding pretest score of the DV, gender (female = 1), age, SES, religiosity (dichotomous for Jews, secular = 1, continuous for Palestinians), HSI, contact frequency, perceived contact quality, encounter motivation (continuous), perceived relations, perceived equality (for Palestinians), perspective taking, ingroup identification, and political orientation (for Jews). All predictors were entered simultaneously. Multicollinearity was assessed by reviewing the VIF values for each predictor.

Tables 23 and 24 show the results of the regression models for Jews and Palestinians, respectively. All VIF values in all models are smaller than 4. First, the results indicate that all intervention effects detected in mixed-design ANOVAs on CO scales remain significant even when controlling for covariates. Participation in the intervention significantly predicted T2 CO scores across all CO domain scales and in both groups. For both Jews and Palestinians, the intervention effect is the smallest for CCO. In the Jewish sample, the bigger effect was observed in BCO, while in the Palestinian sample it was MCO that was affected the most by the intervention.

The model was tested also for each indicator subscale for which significant interaction effects were detected in the ANOVA analysis above (that is, excluding hatred and perceived threat among Palestinians and political intolerance among Jews). In the emotional domain,

intervention effects remained significant for empathy, both among Jews ($B = 0.58$, $SE = 0.20$, $p = .004$), and among Palestinians ($B = 0.49$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .01$), for hatred among Jews ($B = -0.55$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .002$), and for hope in both groups as well (Jews: $B = 0.51$, $SE = 0.22$, $p = .02$; Palestinians: $B = 0.57$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .001$). However, in the cognitive domain, the effect on perceived threat is not significant for Jews once predictors are controlled for ($B = -0.28$, $SE = 0.23$, p = .23). The effect on stereotypes was significant for Jews ($B = -0.52$, $SE = 0.21$, $p = .01$), and for Palestinians ($B = -0.68$, $SE = 0.17$, $p < .001$). The effect on perceived variability for Jews was marginally significant in the ANOVA analysis, and did not remain significant in the regression model ($B = .35$, $SE = .26$, $p = .17$). The effect also decreased in the analysis for Palestinians ($B = 0.31$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .08$).

Table 23. *Results of Multiple Linear Regressions for Predicting T2 Coexistence Orientation Domains and Overall Coexistence Orientation from T1 Scores, Intervention Condition, and Individual-difference Variables for Jews*

Predictors	ECO	CCO	MCO	BCO	PCO	OCO
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
T1 Scores on outcome	0.47 (0.08)***	0.51 (0.09)***	0.47 (0.09)***	0.82 (0.10)***	0.35 (0.08)***	0.57 (0.10)***
Intervention condition	0.12 (0.03)***	0.07 (0.03)*	0.12 (0.03)***	0.22 (0.04)***	0.09 (0.02)**	0.12 (0.02)***
Gender	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Age	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
SES	0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Religiosity	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
HSI	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.02)**	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.02)**	-0.02 (0.02)
CF	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
PCQ	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Motivation	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.05 (0.02)*	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
PR	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
P-Taking	0.07 (0.02)**	0.05 (0.02) †	0.07 (0.02)**	0.12 (0.03)***	0.03 (0.02)	0.07 (0.02)***
Identification	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
PO	0.04 (0.01)**	0.03 (0.01)*	0.04 (0.01)**	0.02 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)***	0.03 (0.01)**
Model Summary	$R^2 = .63$, $F(14, 130) = 15.67$***	$R^2 = .56$, $F(14, 130) = 11.96$***	$R^2 = .62$, $F(14, 131) = 15.36$***	$R^2 = .71$, $F(14, 132) = 23.17$***	$R^2 = .68$, $F(14, 129) = 19.31$***	$R^2 = .72$, $F(14, 129) = 23.35$***

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, PCO = Political Coexistence Orientation, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. Intervention condition is coded 0 for *comparison* and 1 for *encounter*. Gender is coded 1 for *female*. Religiosity is coded 0 for *traditional* and 1 for *secular*. SES = Socioeconomic status, HSI = Hierarchic Self-Interest, CF = Contact frequency, PCQ = Perceived contact quality, Motivation = Encounter motivation, PR = Perceived relations, P-Taking = Perspective taking, Identification = Ingroup identification, and PO = Political orientation. Parameter estimates are unstandardized with standard errors in parentheses. *n* varies between 144 and 147. Scores on all outcome variables range between 0 and 1.
† $p < .01$. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

In the motivational domain, the intervention effect remained significant in the full model on support for improving relations for Jews ($B = 0.58$, $SE = 0.20$, $p = .004$), and for Palestinians ($B = 0.79$, $SE = 0.15$, $p < .001$), and also on interest in the outgroup, for Jews ($B = 0.69$, $SE = .18$, $p < .001$) and Palestinians ($B = 0.42$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .002$). Pertaining to indicators of BCO, the effect of intervention on both types of contact in the regression model was significant for Jews, readiness for social contact ($B = 0.77$, $SE = 0.15$, $p < .001$), and readiness for activities ($B = 1.02$, $SE = 0.18$, $p < .001$), and for Palestinians, $B = 0.32$, $SE = 0.16$, $p = .01$, and $B = 0.39$, $SE = 0.11$, $p = .001$, on each indicator, respectively. Finally, in the political domain among Jews, the effects on perceived equality and support for equality were retained in the regression model as well, $B = -0.60$, $SE = 0.18$, $p < .001$, and $B = 0.52$, $SE = 0.19$, $p = .01$, respectively.

Table 24. *Results of Multiple Linear Regressions for Predicting T2 Coexistence Orientation Domains and Overall Coexistence Orientation from T1 Scores, Intervention Condition, and Individual-difference Variables for Palestinians*

Predictors	ECO	CCO	MCO	BCO	OCO
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
T1 Scores on outcome	0.65 (0.06)***	0.40 (0.06)***	0.60 (0.06)***	0.68 (0.08)***	0.84 (0.07)***
Intervention condition	0.07 (0.02)**	0.06 (0.02)*	0.11 (0.02)***	0.09 (0.03)**	0.08 (0.02)***
Gender	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.02)*	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02) †
Age	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)
SES	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)
Religiosity	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)
HSI	0.00 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02) †	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)
CF	-0.02 (0.01) †	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01) †	0.03 (0.02) †	0.01 (0.01)
PCQ	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Motivation	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.05 (0.02)**	-0.03 (0.01)**
PR	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02) †	-0.01 (0.01)
P-Taking	0.07 (0.02)***	0.05 (0.02)*	0.04 (0.02)*	0.06 (0.02)*	0.05 (0.01)***
Identification	0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)*	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
PE	0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)**	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Model Summary	$R^2 = .51$, $F(14, 204) = 15.20$***	$R^2 = .30$, $F(14, 206) = 6.35$***	$R^2 = .55$, $F(14, 204) = 18.11$***	$R^2 = .49$, $F(14, 205) = 14.23$***	$R^2 = .63$, $F(14, 201) = 24.04$***

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. Intervention condition is coded 0 for *comparison* and 1 for *encounter*. Gender is coded 1 for *female*. SES = Socioeconomic status, HSI = Hierarchic Self-Interest, CF = Contact frequency, PCQ = Perceived contact quality, Motivation = Encounter motivation, PR = Perceived relations, P-Taking = Perspective taking, Identification = Ingroup identification, and PE = Perceived equality. Parameter estimates are unstandardized with standard errors in parentheses. *n* varies between 216 and 220. Scores on all outcome variables range between 0 and 1.
† $p < .01$. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

To conclude, the encounter had a positive effect in all CO domains, but to a weaker extent on the cognitive domain of CO, particularly among Palestinians. The effects of the

encounter are in general more significant and with larger effect sizes for Jewish students compared to Palestinian students. While attitudes were positively changed among participants, they were either unchanged or negatively changed among nonparticipants. The analysis also showed that the encounters do not only improve CO for those with prior high motivation to take part in encounters. In fact, the effects found for participants with reportedly low motivation at baseline were even larger than those found for participants with high motivation to take part in encounters, in both national groups.

The regression analysis showed that significant effects largely remain significant even after keeping a large set of covariates under control, although to a lesser extent in the cognitive domain. This analysis strengthens the conclusion that mixed-model encounters have positive short-term effects that remain significant even after statistically removing the selection bias and the nonequivalence of the intervention groups.

3.7.7. Intermediate-term intervention effects (Q.4.1)

3.7.7.1. Attrition analysis

The sample of study participants who received the T3 and T4 measurement to evaluate intermediate-term and long-term effects of the encounter resulted in a considerable amount of attrition. Severe attrition poses a threat to the inference that can be made from the results (Shadish et al., 2002). With regard to intermediate-term effects, only 42% and 34% of the Jewish and Palestinian encounter participants completed the T3 questionnaire (T3 was performed only for encounter participants). Dropout bias was considered plausible since dropout was not entirely random. Those who received the T3 questionnaire (*T3 tested*) and those who did not receive this third questionnaire (*T3 untested*) can significantly differ in their characteristics and performance in the first two tests. An attrition analysis was performed to identify such potential bias.

The analysis utilized three statistical tests: First, a logistic regression model predicting testing group (0 = T3 untested, 1 = T3 tested) from all study predictors was tested, with the same set of predictors used in the regression analysis reported above (section 3.7.6.7). This was followed by factorial MANOVA with testing group (T3 tested vs. T3 untested) as the between-subject factor and all CO domain scales and Overall CO as measured in both T1 and T2 as the dependent variables. Finally, an additional MANOVA was performed on participants' pre-post

gain scores in CO scales and Overall CO, to detect possible differences between T3 tested and untested in terms of short-term encounter effects.

The logistic regression analysis in the Jewish sample yielded no significant predictor, $\chi^2(12) = 18.15$, $p = .11$, although the effect of perceived contact quality was almost significant, $B = 0.57$, $SE = 0.30$, Odds ratio = 1.77, 95% CI: [0.98-3.18], $p = .057$. A similar analysis for Palestinian participants found a significant model, $\chi^2(12) = 42.38$, $p < .001$, and three variables that significantly predicted T3 testing, namely age, $B = -0.90$, $SE = 0.27$, Odds ratio = 0.41, 95% CI: [0.24-0.69], $p = .001$, HSI, $B = 1.04$, $SE = 0.50$, Odds ratio = 2.82, 95% CI: [1.05-7.53], $p = .04$, and perceived relations, $B = -1.04$, $SE = 0.29$, Odds ratio = 0.36, 95% CI: [0.20-0.63], $p < .001$.

The results of the first MANOVA analysis for Jewish participants indicated that there is no significant main effect of testing group, $F(12, 112) = 0.53$, $p = .90$, with all p values equal .42 or higher in all follow-up univariate analyses. In a parallel MANOVA analysis for Palestinian participants, the main effect of testing group was also not significant, $F(10, 121) = 1.44$, $p = .17$. Finally, the MANOVA analysis for T3 testing differences in pre-post gain scores found no significant effects, neither for Jews, $F(6, 118) = 0.67$, $p = .67$, all ps $\geq .24$, nor for Palestinians, $F(5, 126) = 1.91$, $p = .10$. However, univariate tests for Palestinian participants showed that two gain scores were significantly different between the groups, on ECO, $F(1, 130) = 6.04$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .04$, and Overall CO, $F(1, 130) = 5.29$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. T3 untested Palestinian participants gained more (in terms of positive changes from T1 to T2) from the encounters than their T3 tested counterparts. Means and standard deviations for T1, T2, and pre-post gain scores for T3 tested and T3 untested participants by national group are available in Table B.16 in Appendix B.

In conclusion, while Jewish participants who were tested at T3 were quite similar to those who were not, Palestinian participants who received the T3 gained significantly less than those who did not receive the test in terms of ECO and Overall CO. This difference can limit the ability of the subsequent test to detect intermediate-term effects for Palestinians, as well as to generalize these results to other Palestinian encounter participants.

3.7.7.2. Intermediate-term effects on four dependent variables

Delayed-posttest questionnaires included an abbreviated version of the index of CO and measured only four indicators: two emotional indicators, namely empathy and hatred, and two

cognitive indicators, namely perceived threat and perceived variability. To investigate intermediate-term effects, four repeated-measures ANOVAs were performed with time (T1, T2, and T3) as a within-subject factor, with Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons (*t*-tests). The analysis was performed separately for Jewish and Palestinian encounter participants. When the assumption of sphericity was violated, degrees of freedom were corrected using the Greenhouse-Geisser estimates.

Table 25. *Means and Standard Deviation of Variables Measured to Assess Intermediate-Term Effects at T1, T2, and T3 for Encounter Participants*

Dependent variable	National group	T1		T2		T3	
		M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Empathy	Jews	4.90[a]	1.08	5.51[ab]	0.89	5.15[b]	0.89
	Palestinians	4.34	1.30	4.46	1.39	4.29	1.24
Hatred	Jews	2.60[a]	1.17	2.11[ab]	0.96	2.46[b]	1.01
	Palestinians	2.34[a]	1.10	2.56[b]	1.09	3.01[ab]	1.10
Perceived threat	Jews	3.87	1.45	3.63[a]	1.23	4.13[a]	1.25
	Palestinians	5.61[a]	1.51	5.78[b]	1.22	6.25[ab]	0.91
Perceived variability	Jews	5.07[ab]	1.04	5.61[a]	0.77	5.75[b]	0.79
	Palestinians	5.10	1.43	5.49	1.07	5.58	1.25

Note. Jews: n = 58, Palestinians: n = 61. Significant pairwise differences are denoted by different upper case letters (*p* < .05). Range: 1-5 for hatred and 1-7 for other variables.

Table 25 presents Means and standard deviations for all three tests in all four variables. Among Jewish participants, significant short-term effects were previously detected in all four variables. In this analysis, main time effects were found in the repeated measures of all four variables: empathy, $F(1.74, 98.93) = 13.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .20$; Hatred, $F(2, 114) = 7.75$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2_p = .12$; Perceived threat, $F(1.88, 107.14) = 5.49$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .09$; and perceived variability, $F(1.80, 100.56) = 15.46$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .22$. Pairwise comparisons indicate that empathy significantly increased from T1 to T2, $t(57) = -4.48$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.62$, but also significantly decreased from T2 to T3, $t(58) = 3.70$, $p = .002$, $d = -0.40$. The average score on T3 was still higher than in T1, but the difference was not significant, $t(57) = -2.25$, $p = .09$, $d = -0.25$. Similar results were found for hatred: an initial significant decrease, $t(57) = 3.45$, $p = .003$, $d = 0.46$, was followed by an increase from T2 to T3 to similar levels that were found at T1, $t(58) = -3.19$, $p = .01$, $d = -0.36$. The analysis showed that unlike in the larger sample, perceived threat in this group of Jewish participants did not decrease from T1 to T2, but significantly increased between T2 and T3, $t(58) = -3.44$, $p = .003$, $d = -0.40$. Finally, perceived variability was the only indicator for which the intermediate-term effects were positive and statistically significant: differentiation of outgroup members increased following participation

in the encounter, $t(56) = -3.93$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.59$, and remained significantly high even after a few weeks, with a large effect size (T1 to T3), $t(56) = -4.80$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.74$.

Among Palestinian participants, significant short-term effects were previously detected for empathy and perceived variability, but not for hatred and perceived threat. The analysis yielded no significant main time effect for empathy, $F(2, 120) = 0.47$, $p = .45$. Pairwise comparisons indicate that empathy slightly increased after the encounter but decreased back after a few weeks, and all pairwise effects are not significant ($ps \geq .72$). For hatred, there was a significant main effect, $F(2, 122) = 12.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .17$. While hatred levels were similar after the encounter, they significantly worsened a few weeks afterwards, as evident by the comparison between T1 and T3 scores, $t(61) = -5.23$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.61$, as well as between T2 and T3 scores, $t(61) = -3.46$, $p = .003$, $d = -0.41$. A significant main effect was also found for perceived threat, $F(1.55, 92.85) = 6.30$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .10$. Similarly to hatred, perceived threat also increased between T1 and T3, $t(61) = -3.13$, $p = .003$, $d = -0.51$, and between T2 and T3, $t(60) = -3.67$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.44$. In fact, average level of perceived threat almost reached the highest possible score in T3 (range 1-7, $M = 6.25$). Finally, a marginally significant main effect for perceived variability, $F(2, 120) = 3.21$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .05$, was not followed by any significant mean difference in pairwise comparisons (all $ps \geq .11$).

In sum, the analysis of intermediate-term effects indicate that for Jews, significant positive effects in ECO and CCO indicators significantly erode even a few weeks after the encounter. The analysis for Palestinian participants was hindered by the attrition bias, which led to the inclusion of mainly unaffected participants. The only significant middle-term effect detected in both group was related to the perception that members of the other groups are not similar one to another, namely perceived variability.

3.7.8. Long-term intervention effects (Q.4.2, Q.4.3)

3.7.8.1. Attrition analysis

In total, 71 Jews (57 participants and 14 nonparticipants), and 81 Palestinians (58 participants and 24 nonparticipants) completed the follow-up test (T4), regardless of pretest condition. However, among Jews, only 32 Participants and 6 nonparticipants completed all three tests, while among Palestinians, only 30 participants and 13 nonparticipants did so (before considering missing data). This high attrition limited the ability to perform an analysis of long-term effects that includes both intervention groups and all three tests. Therefore, the analysis used only data obtained from E1 to examine the long-term effects of the encounter. This

analysis was preceded by an attrition analysis, similar to the one reported above pertaining to intermediate-term effects, to detect possible dropout bias between T2 and the T4.

The statistical analysis of T4 attrition was identical to the one performed on T3 tested and untested above. For encounter participants in each national group, logistic regression was performed to examined if any characteristic measured in this study can predict T4 testing (0 = T4 untested, 1 = T4 tested). The analysis using all predictors for Jewish participants yielded one significant predictor, namely age, B = -0.75, SE = 0.35, Odds ratio = 0.47, 95% CI = 0.24-0.94, p = .03. Model: $\chi^2(12)$ = 12.62, p = .40. A parallel analysis for Palestinian encounter participants using all predictors also found one significant predicted of T4 dropout, namely encounter motivation, B = 0.86, SE = 0.33, Odds ratio = 2.37, 95% CI = 1.23-4.56, p = . 01. Model: $\chi^2(12)$ = 15.18, p = .23.

This was followed by factorial MANOVA with testing group (T4 tested vs. T4 untested) as the between-subject factor, and scores on CO domain scales and Overall CO as the dependent variables (with T1, T2, and pre-post gain scores), again only for encounter participants. For Jewish participants, means and standard deviations of T1 and T2 scores, and of pre-post gain scores for T4 tested and T4 untested participants, are available in Table 26. There was a main effect of testing group, $F(12, 112)$ = 2.72, p = .003, η^2_p = .23. Univariate ANOVAs indicate that T4 tested had higher T1 BCO than T4 untested, $F(1, 123)$ = 4.85, p = .03, η^2_p = .03. However, most differences were found pertaining to T2 scores, with significant differences between T4 tested and untested in all dependent variables: ECO, $F(1, 123)$ = 13.84, p < .001, η^2_p = .10, CCO, $F(1, 123)$ = 7.36, p = .01, η^2_p = .06, MCO, $F(1, 123)$ = 5.36, p = .02, η^2_p = .04, BCO, $F(1, 123)$ = 8.83, p = .004, η^2_p = .07, PCO, $F(1, 123)$ = 8.52, p = .004, η^2_p = .07, and Overall CO, $F(1, 123)$ = 12.21, p = .001, η^2_p = .09. For Jewish participants, differences were also found pertaining to pre-post gain scores in ECO, $F(1, 123)$ = 12.84, p < .001, η^2_p = .09, MCO, $F(1, 123)$ = 4.25, p = .04, η^2_p = .03, and Overall CO, $F(1, 123)$ = 4.66, p = .03, η^2_p = .04. For Palestinian participants, however, there was no main effect of testing group, $F(10, 121)$ = 0.64, p = .77, and no difference was detected in univariate ANOVAs for any T1, T2 or pre-post gain score (all p values are .13 and above).

In conclusion, the results of the attrition analysis indicate that there was an attrition bias in the Jewish sample. Although Jewish participants in E1 who completed the T4 questionnaire approximately one year after the encounter were not substantially different at baseline from those did not complete the measure, they were significantly more positively affected by the encounter compared to those who dropped out.

Table 26. *Means and Standard Deviations of Coexistence Orientation Domains for T1, T2, and Gain Scores by T4 Testing Groups for Jewish Encounter Participants*

Domain	Measurement time	T4 tested (n = 28)	T4 untested (n = 97)
Emotional CO	T1	0.611 (0.147)	0.595 (0.179)
	T2	0.765 (0.110) [a]	0.645 (0.160) [a]
	T2 – T1	0.155 (0.144) [a]	0.050 (0.134) [a]
Cognitive CO	T1	0.650 (0.206)	0.593 (0.182)
	T2	0.726 (0.123) [a]	0.631 (0.173) [a]
	T2 – T1	0.076 (0.160)	0.038 (0.167)
Motivational CO	T1	0.700 (0.126)	0.688 (0.126)
	T2	0.817 (0.080) [a]	0.739 (0.171) [a]
	T2 – T1	0.117 (0.142) [a]	0.052 (0.150) [a]
Behavioral CO	T1	0.656 (0.196) [a]	0.547 (0.239) [a]
	T2	0.747 (0.142) [a]	0.603 (0.246) [a]
	T2 – T1	0.092 (0.187)	0.056 (0.194)
Political CO	T1	0.640 (0.159)	0.588 (0.153)
	T2	0.714 (0.125) [a]	0.625 (0.145) [a]
	T2 – T1	0.073 (0.107)	0.037 (0.140)
Overall CO	T1	0.651 (0.131)	0.602 (0.157)
	T2	0.754 (0.086) [a]	0.649 (0.152) [a]
	T2 – T1	0.103 (0.107) [a]	0.047 (0.125) [a]

Note. CO = Coexistence Orientation. T2 – T1 refers to pre-post gain scores by subtracting T1 scores from T2 scores. Significant differences between T4 tested and T4 untested are denoted by upper case letters ($p < .05$). Scores on all variables range between 0 and 1.

3.7.8.2. Long-term effects on Coexistence Orientation

For Jewish participant who completed T4 (regardless of pretest condition), 29 (54%) were female and 25 (46%) were male, and 27 (68%) were secular and the rest traditional. The follow-up sample of Palestinian participants was less balanced in terms of gender: 33 (60%) were female and 22 (40%) were male. Only 21% of the Jewish participants defined themselves as right-wingers, while 28% were at the center, and 42% at the left pole of the spectrum. Approximately 70% of the Jewish and 90% of the Palestinian participants expressed high motivation for encounters at T1. At the time of the follow-up test, 41 (72%) of the Jewish participants and 26 (63%) of the Palestinian participants were still high school students. Among Jews, 10 (18%) were already enlisted in the Israeli military. Three students mentioned that they were waiting for their enlistment, and two other students were already in college. In the Palestinian sample, the remaining students were either holding jobs (18, 32%) or studying at a university or college level (3, 5%).

The purpose of the analysis of long-term effect was to determine, first, if CO faded among participants during the year that followed the encounter (determined by the change from

T2 to T4), and second, if any positive effect revealed in the short-term analysis was maintained even after possible regressive trends (determine by the change from T1 to T4).

Due to high attrition and attrition bias detected in the Jewish sample, the analysis is exploratory in nature, and suggests possible trends in long-term effects of encounters on CO domains and indicators. Moreover, as mentioned above, due to the low number of students in the comparison groups who completed all three measurements (n = 6 in the Jewish group and n = 13 in the Palestinian group), the three-wave analysis was performed only on encounter participants (E1). Evidently, this reduces the ability to attribute any longitudinal effects to the examined intervention. This, together with the significant attrition bias detected in the Jewish sample, indicate that no substantial conclusions can be derived from the analysis of long-term effects, and the latter should be interpreted with great caution. The limitations of the analysis of long-term effects are discussed in the concluding chapter of the dissertation.

Bivariate correlations between T2 and T4 scores in the CO domains are available in Tables 27 and 28, for Jewish and Palestinian encounter participants, respectively. All correlations between T2 and T4 scores on identical domains are significant in both groups, except for MCO, which is insignificant for Palestinians, $r = .07$, $p = .70$. Surprisingly, in both national groups, the correlation for T2 and T4 BCO is significant and negative, $r = -.57$, $p < .01$, and $r = -.44$, $p < .001$, for Jews and Palestinians, respectively. This means that higher BCO at posttest is associated with lower BCO at the follow-up test.

Table 27. *Correlations between T2 and T4 Scores of Coexistence Orientation Domains for Jewish Encounter Participants (n = 40)*

CO domains	ECO (T4)	CCO (T4)	MCO (T4)	BCO (T4)	PCO (T4)	OCO (T4)
ECO (T2)	.62***					
CCO (T2)	.38*	.52**				
MCO (T2)	.24	.19	.53***			
BCO (T2)	-.32*	-.42**	-.53***	-.57***		
PCO (T2)	.39*	.27	.37*	.21	.67***	
OCO	.39*	.28	.24	.08	.56***	.34*

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, PCO = Political Coexistence Orientation, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. High scores on all variables mean higher orientation toward coexistence.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 28. *Correlations between T2 and T4 Scores of Coexistence Orientation Domains for Palestinian Encounter Participants (n = 35)*

CO domains	ECO (T4)	CCO (T4)	MCO (T4)	BCO (T4)	OCO (T4)
ECO (T2)	.63***				
CCO (T2)	.35*	.68***			
MCO (T2)	.10	-.23	.07		
BCO (T2)	-.20	-.09	-.08	-.44**	
OCO	.50**	.42*	.38*	.15	.43**

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. High scores on all variables mean higher orientation toward coexistence.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

To detect three-way effects, multiple repeated-measures ANOVAs were implemented for each CO domain and indicator as the dependent variable, using time as a within-subject factor (T1, T2, and T4). Degrees of freedom were corrected by Greenhouse-Geissser epsilon following violations of sphericity. This was followed by t-tests for multiple comparisons with Bonferroni-corrected significance level. This analysis was performed separately for Jews and Palestinian. Table 29 presents means and standard deviations of the dependent variables for all three testing times, separately for Jews and Palestinians. The results are presented in details for the CO domains, and summarized for specific indicators.

Table 29. *Means and Standard Deviations of All Dependent Variables in T1, T2, and T4 among Encounter Participants with Results of Pairwise Comparisons, by National Group*

Dependent variables		Jews							Palestinians					
	n	T1		T2		T4		n	T1		T2		T4	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Emotional CO	25	0.612^{ac}	0.136	0.767^{ab}	0.112	0.669^{bc}	0.116	22	0.578	0.174	0.585	0.139	0.557	0.181
Empathy	27	5.04^{a}	0.87	5.72^{ab}	0.75	5.22^{b}	0.79	23	4.23	1.32	4.50	1.26	4.32	1.33
Hatred	28	2.63^{ab}	1.21	1.61^{a}	0.55	1.88^{b}	0.80	28	2.55	1.23	2.29	0.97	2.56	1.10
Hope	28	4.26^{a}	0.96	4.88^{ab}	0.98	4.10^{b}	0.73	25	4.30	0.93	4.18	0.90	4.15	0.85
Cognitive CO	30	0.644^{a}	0.200	0.723^{a}	0.118	0.658	0.191	24	0.254^{a*}	0.126	0.350^{a}	0.175	$0.333*$	0.181
Perceived threat	30	3.67^{a}	1.38	3.06^{a}	0.90	3.42	1.37	25	6.25^{ab}	0.83	5.33^{a}	1.43	5.20^{b}	1.52
Stereotypes	30	2.60	1.13	2.28	0.72	2.69	1.11	24	4.69	1.16	4.45	1.37	4.77	1.24
Perceived variability	30	4.72^{a}	0.98	5.33^{a}	0.78	5.15	0.81	25	5.18	1.24	5.60	1.07	5.08	1.34
Motivational CO	29	0.695^{a}	0.132	0.803^{ab}	0.094	0.687^{b}	0.112	24	0.747	0.123	0.753	0.126	0.711	0.132
Support for improving relations	29	5.53^{a}	1.03	6.20^{ab}	0.74	5.53^{b}	0.86	25	5.57	0.85	5.51	0.93	5.44	0.91
Interest in the outgroup	30	4.15^{a}	0.68	4.66^{ab}	0.60	4.06^{b}	0.75	25	4.60	0.86	4.78	0.85	4.43	0.84
Behavioral CO	30	0.664^{*a}	0.195	0.737^{ab}	0.143	0.506^{*b}	0.201	26	0.731^{b}	0.197	0.716^{a}	0.213	0.356^{ab}	0.213
Readiness for social contact	30	3.50	0.90	3.87^{a}	0.71	3.17^{a}	0.88	25	3.80^{b}	0.93	3.73^{a}	1.04	2.58^{ab}	0.85
Readiness for joint activities	30	3.68^{ac}	0.76	4.06^{ab}	0.61	2.83^{bc}	0.83	26	4.09^{b}	0.81	4.01^{a}	0.76	2.26^{ab}	0.99
Political CO	25	0.631^{a}	0.160	0.720^{ab}	0.123	0.654^{b}	0.160							
Perceived equality	26	2.46^{a}	1.01	2.01^{a}	0.79	2.33	0.93							
Support for equal rights	27	$4.16*$	1.13	4.60^{*a}	0.93	4.02^{a}	0.99							
Political intolerance	26	3.24^{a}	0.99	2.87^{a}	0.78	3.00	1.06							
Overall CO	22	0.656^{a}	0.112	0.760^{ab}	0.088	0.634^{b}	0.096	20	0.575^{b}	0.122	0.581^{a}	0.131	0.496^{ab}	0.074

Note. CO = Coexistence Orientation. Significant pairwise differences are denoted by different upper case letters ($p < .05$).

* Significant difference between the pair of means at $p < .10$.

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Emotional CO. There was a main time effect on ECO for Jewish participants, $F(2, 48)$ = 20.54, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .46$, but not for Palestinian participants, $F(2, 42) = 0.51$, $p = .61$. A breakdown of the effect through paired comparisons shows that for Jews, there was a significant increase from T1 to T2, $t(24) = -5.85$, $p < .001$, $d = -1.24$, but also a significant decrease from T2 to T4, $t(24) = 3.86$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.86$. Nevertheless, at T4 the average ECO score was still significantly higher than at T1, $t(24) = -2.70$, $p = .04$, $d = -0.45$. For Palestinian participants, none of the pairwise differences were significant. Similar analyses for specific indicators of ECO showed that the significant long-term effect on ECO was the result of a sustained decline in hatred for Jewish participants, which was significantly lower at T4 compared to T2, $t(27) = 3.81$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.73$. In empathy and hope, the immediate-term effect significantly faded and remained at the same level found in pretest also at the follow-up test.

Cognitive CO. The main effect of time on CCO was significant, both for Jewish participants, $F(2, 58) = 3.69$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .11$, and for Palestinian participants, $F(2, 46) = 5.67$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .20$. In the Jewish sample, CCO increased from T1 to T2, $t(29) = -2.78$, $p = .03$, $d = -0.48$, but the two other pairwise comparisons showed no significant differences, despite a decrease in CCO from T2 to T4, $t(29) = 1.92$, $p = .20$. For Palestinian participants, there was a significant increase from T1 to T2, $t(23) = -3.58$, $p = .01$, $d = -0.63$, and no significant decrease from T2 to T4, $t(23) = 0.53$, $p = 1.00$, which suggest that there was no erosion from the encounter to the follow-up test. The difference between T1 and T4 was marginally significant, $t(23) = -2.47$, $p = .06$, $d = -0.51$. Indicator-specific analysis showed that the pattern of effects on perceived threats and stereotypes for Jewish participants was similar – for both there was a significant positive immediate effect, significant decrease from T2 to T4, and no differences between T1 and T4. For Palestinian participants, perceived threat significantly declined from T1 to T2, and remained significantly low at T4, T1-T4 difference: $t(25) = 4.73$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.86$.

Motivational CO. There were overall significant differences between the tests in MCO for Jews, $F(2, 56) = 11.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .29$, but not for Palestinians, $F(2, 46) = 1.78$, $p = .18$. Jewish participants' MCO increased from T1 to T2, $t(28) = -3.94$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.94$, but decreased back from T2 to T4, $t(28) = 4.34$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.12$. No significant pairwise differences were found for Palestinian participants. Examining each indicator separately for Jews showed that for both support for improving relations and interest in the outgroup, the short-term effects eroded and left no significant trace when measured after one year.

Behavioral CO. There was a main time effect on BCO for both national groups, for Jews, $F(1.55, 45.00) = 10.72$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .27$, and for Palestinians, $F(1.30, 32.48) = 22.94$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .48$. For Jews, the change from T1 to T2 was positive and significant, $t(29) = -2.70$, $p = .03$, $d = -0.43$, but BCO largely declined from T2 to T4, $t(29) = 4.21$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.32$. T1-T4 difference was marginally significant but indicated a reduction in BCO from before the encounter to a year later, $t(29) = 2.38$, $p = .07$, $d = 0.80$. The results were similar for Palestinian participants: although there was no change from T1 to T2, there was a sharp decline from T2 to T4, $t(25) = 4.82$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.69$, and consequently, the difference from T1 and T4 was also "undesirably" significant, $t(25) = 5.23$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.83$. The negative trend in BCO was observed in readiness for both social contact and joint activities for Palestinian participants. For Jewish participants, the decline was observed to a greater extent in participants' readiness for joint activities, which significantly decreased from T1 to T4, $t(29) = 4.12$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.07$.

Political CO. There was a main effect on Jewish participants' PCO, $F(2, 48) = 7.06$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2_p = .23$. PCO increased from T1 to T2, $t(24) = -4.47$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.62$, but decreased back from T2 to T4, $t(24) = 2.62$, $p = .045$, $d = 0.46$, and was eventually not significantly different when comparing T1 and T4, $t(24) = -0.81$, $p = 1.00$. The improvement from T1 to T2 was significant but rather small for all three indicators of PCO, but neither was maintained after one year.

Overall CO. The effect on Overall CO was significant for Jewish participants, $F(2, 42) = 16.79$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .44$. The trend shows that Overall CO increased from T1 to T2, $t(21) = -5.16$, $p < .001$, $d = -1.03$, but decreased from T2 to T4, $t(21) = 4.73$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.37$, and there was no significant difference between T1 and T4, $t(21) = 0.97$, $p = 1.00$. The main effect was also significant for Palestinians, $F(1.40, 26.60) = 8.36$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2_p = .31$. There was no significant improvement from T1 to T2, but the significant effect for the difference between T1 to T2 showed that Overall CO was lower for Palestinian participants a year after the encounter compared to before the encounter, T4, $t(19) = 3.06$, $p = .02$, $d = 0.78$.

In conclusion, in the sample of encounter participants who completed T1, T2, and T4 and were included in the analysis of long-term effects, it was found that most short-term effects revealed immediately after the encounter completely eroded when examined a year after the encounter. The only exceptions were ECO for Jewish participants, which at T4 remained significantly higher than at T1 ($p = .04$, $d = -0.45$), due to a durable reduction in the emotional sentiments of hatred, and CCO for Palestinian participants, which was significantly higher at

T4 compared to T1 (p = .06, d = -0.51), mainly due to a durable reduction in perceived threat in the year following the encounter. These results for the Palestinian participants do not coincide with those found in the analysis of short-term effects, according to which there was no short-term reduction in perceived threat in the Palestinian group. Finally, a year after the encounter, a sharp decline in BCO was found for participants form both national groups, particularly with regard to readiness to take part in intergroup-level activities such as planned encounters. It should be strongly emphasized that the attrition biased skewed the results in favor of Jewish participants whose CO was highly improved by the encounter for the short term.

3.7.8.3. Long-term social contact with outgroup participants and intergroup experience after the encounter

This section attempts to evaluate the extent to which participants engage in further intergroup contact once they re-enter the "real world". Participants were asked in the follow-up questionnaires (T4) about maintaining contact with outgroup members whom they met in the encounter and about their experience with intergroup contact during the year that had followed the encounter. The results include all participants who completed the follow-up test, regardless of pretesting conditions (E1-E3).

For Jewish participants, 44% did not keep any contact with Palestinian participants, while 40% kept contact with one or two participants, and 16% kept contact with more than two participants. Frequencies were similar for Palestinian participants pertaining to their follow-up contact with Jewish participants: 55%, 27%, and 18%, respectively. With regard to means of keeping contact, 54% of the Jews and 45% of Palestinians kept contact through online platforms, such as social networks, which was found to be the main and almost exclusive form of establishing post-encounter contact between participants. Only two Jewish and one Palestinian participants kept contact via phone calls, and two Palestinian participants reported that they met Jewish participants in a Jewish locality. Nevertheless, only 19% of the Jews and 18% of the Palestinians reported at T4 that they are still in contact with any participant from the other national group. Pertaining to friendship potential, 18% and 29% of the Jewish and Palestinian participants, respectively, reported that they formed friendship with outgroup participants during the year that had passed since the encounter.

Pertaining to further experience in joint activities, 30% and 27% of the Jews and Palestinians, respectively, took part in additional activities related to Jewish-Palestinian

relations since the encounter. Six Jewish (11%) and nine Palestinian (16%) participants took part in political activities that are related to Jewish-Palestinian relations and the intergroup conflict since the encounter. Four Jewish (7%) and twelve Palestinians (21%) also reported that since the encounter, they took part in volunteering activities related to Jewish-Palestinian relations. Finally, participants were asked if they are interested in joining a dialogue program that is supposedly organized by the research team. Approximately 44% of the Jews expressed interest in the dialogue program, compared to roughly 72% of the Palestinians, $\chi^2(1) = 7.54$, $p = .01$.

3.7.9. Intervention effects on perceived equality among Palestinians

The final part of the Results section in this chapter examines if and to what extent participation in encounters in the mixed-model approach change perceptions of equality and collective deprivation for Palestinians, following recent findings that positive contact can be detrimental in this respect by enhancing perceptions of equality for members of disadvantaged groups, and thereby reducing their motivation for social action (e.g., Saguy et al., 2009).

The dependent variable was perceived equality, measured using an identical scale measuring perceived equality among Jews. The statistical analyses below were identical to those conducted for other dependent variables throughout the Results section to reveal short- and long-term effects of the encounter. The analysis of short-term effects on perceived equality yielded no effect of encounters on perceived equality, that is, there was no significant interaction between intervention and time, $F(1, 240) = 2.46$, $p = .12$, but there was a significant three-way interaction between motivation, intervention, and time, $F(1, 240) = 4.62$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .08$. Pairwise comparisons showed a significant decrease in perceived equality for motivated participants, $t(110) = 5.63$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.59$. This means that participants with high motivation for encounters perceived Palestinian citizens as less equal to Jews after the encounter ($M = 1.70$, $SD = 0.88$), compared to before the encounter ($M = 2.26$, $SD = 1.01$). No other significant difference across motivation and intervention groups was detected in the analysis of short-term effects.

Pertaining to long-term effects on perceived equality among Palestinian participants (E1), there was a significant main effect of time, $F(2, 34.01) = 4.99$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .19$. Post-hoc tests with Bonferroni-corrected p values showed that for Palestinian participants who completed all three questionnaires, the decrease in perceived equality between T1 and T2 was

significant, $t(27) = 3.70$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.85$, but the change from T2 to T4 was not significant despite a small increase in perceived equality during the first year after the encounter.

Overall, the results indicate that there were no detrimental effects on awareness to inequalities for Palestinian encounter participants, and perceived equality even decreased for motivated participants when measured immediately after the encounter.

3.8. Summary

This chapter offered an extensive analysis of the effects of a planned, mixed-model encounter program run by Givat Haviva for Jewish and Palestinian youth in Israel. Addressing several major deficits in the current research on the effectiveness of intergroup contact, planned encounters, and peace education, this study utilized a complex research design to achieve maximal control over the intervention under field limitations, and attempted to evaluate longitudinal effects of the encounters on several attitudinal constructs in the evaluation framework that includes the index of Coexistence Orientation (CO).

Two main deficits in previous studies addressed in this chapter are first, the lack of sufficient attention to the structural self-selection bias that characterizes such interventions, and second, the evident lack of evaluation of the long-term effects of intergroup encounters in general, and of the Jewish-Palestinian context in particular. To overcome those deficits, this study used several design and analysis techniques to control for selection bias. This included, among others, including a comparison group and a longitudinal pre-post assessment, measuring a large set of covariates to adjust for preexisting differences between participants and nonparticipants of the encounters, and stratifying the study participants based on their motivation to take part in encounters. The design also included data collection in four time points: before the encounter, immediately after the encounter, two to four weeks after the encounter, and roughly one year after the encounter, in order to assess short-term, intermediate-term, and long-term effects.

The results can be summarized as follows. First, contrary to the common criticism (e.g., Steinberg, 2013), participants arrive from a diverse demographic and sociopolitical background, although they are still not representatives of their respective communities in the country. Selection bias was detected, showing that Jewish and Palestinian encounter participants had mainly higher Behavioral and Motivational CO compared to their nonparticipating counterparts. However, creating two strata based on the baseline motivation

to take part in encounters largely helped to establish statistical equivalence between the intervention conditions in term of baseline attitudes across the CO domains.

Pertaining to short-term intervention effects on CO domains and indicators, the encounter was found to contribute to enhancing the orientation of Jews and Palestinians toward intergroup coexistence. Significant and strong intervention effects were found on all CO domains in both national groups, as well as on Overall CO, but the effects on Cognitive CO were weak among Palestinians. Participation in one of seven sampled encounters increased participants' empathy toward the other group, their hope for more positive relations in the future, their support for improving the relations between the groups, their interest in the other group, their perceived outgroup variability, and their readiness to take part in further social contact and joint activities with outgroup members. Positive intervention effects on hatred, perceived threat, and negative stereotypes were detected only among participants from the majority group. Most effects are more significant and with larger effect sizes among Jews compared to Palestinians, and the weakest effects were found in indicators of Cognitive CO. When examining the effects while controlling for various demographic, sociopolitical, and personality variables, all effects on CO domains remain significant. No significant positive effects from pretest to posttest were found among nonparticipating students except for a small improvement in readiness for joint activities among Palestinians in the comparison group. The positive intervention effect on Jews' perception of equality and support for equal rights are particularly encouraging. Moreover, there was an increase in awareness of the illegitimate social hierarchy among Palestinian participants. This may result from the heightened attention to status and power differences throughout the encounter (see Discussion).

With regard to differential effects for motivation groups, although most interactions between motivation, intervention groups, and time of testing were insignificant, different patterns were found for motivated and unmotivated individuals. While Jewish participants with low motivation improved in all indicators and domains, more motivated participants did not improve their Behavioral CO, and in general, effect sizes were always larger for unmotivated participants, except for perceived variability. For Palestinian participants, most effects were significant for unmotivated participants, while motivated participants only improved in Motivational CO and outgroup variability. These results strengthen the importance of examining intervention effects separately for each motivation stratum, between relatively-equivalent groups with less nonequivalence compared to the overall sample. In general, and

perhaps unexpectedly, intervention effects were stronger for low-motivated participants compared to high-motivated participants.

The analysis of intermediate-term and long-term effects was limited due to high attrition and attrition bias. With regard to the durability of the effects for the middle-term, the results indicate that the effects on empathy, hatred, and perceived threat wore out completely a few weeks after the encounter, but the positive effects on perceived variability persisted. More importantly, the analysis of long-term effects showed that the strong and positive intervention effects revealed in the first analysis are only temporary. Jewish encounter participants who completed the follow-up questionnaire a year after the encounter had higher gains from the encounters when these were assessed immediately afterwards, compared to those who did not continue for the long-term assessment. And still, their orientation toward Jewish-Palestinian coexistence largely returned to its initial level. Even though no attrition bias was found in the Palestinian sample in the preliminary analysis, participants who completed all three tests did not improve immediately after the encounter in any variable but perceived threat, for which no significant effects were found in the larger sample. This shows that those included in this analysis were still different from the sample of Palestinian participants used to analyze immediate effects, and this difference may have resulted in the inability to find long-term effects. A particularly salient finding was the sharp reduction in readiness for social contact and joint activities in both communities, as found a year after the encounter.

One has to keep in mind that the power of the analysis of long-term effect was low due to the small sample size. It might be that a lower attrition and a larger sample size would have enabled to detect more significant effects, particularly for Palestinian participants. Moreover, the comparison groups were not included in the analysis due to extremely high attrition, which prevents us from examining whether the long-term change in attitudes is different from those that could be observed among students who did not take part in the encounter. It might be, for example, that the detected erosion in attitudes could have been higher without the encounters, and the encounters did fulfill their role as a barrier from the regressive influence of the negative conflict reality (Salomon, 2006; Rosen & Perkins, 2013; Paolini et al., 2014), and thus even though no significant long-term effects in the sense of more favorable attitudes were found, attitudes could have been much worse without the encounters.

The follow-up questionnaire also assessed the extent to which participants remain in contact with outgroup participants after the encounter, as well as their continuous engagement in related activities. Most participants reported that they kept some form of contact with

outgroup participants, mainly using online platforms. However, less than 20% remained in contact a year later. Further experience in political and volunteering activities was small (< 20%) in both groups, though roughly 30% and 27% of the Jewish and Palestinian participants reported that they took part in additional activities related to Jewish-Palestinian relations after the encounters. Despite the decline in reported readiness for joint activities found in the analysis of long-term effects, a bit more than 70% of the Palestinians are still willing to take part in a dialogue program with Jewish citizens, compared to only 44% of the Jewish participants.

Finally, the research employed unpretested groups in the framework of the Solomon Four Group Design, to assess the threat of pretest sensitization. The analysis of pretest effects found that it is unlikely that the positive short-term effects of the encounter resulted from an undesired reactivity to the pretest questionnaire. The results, however, did raise the possibility that the pretest has an elevating effect on posttest scores of both participants and nonparticipants, predominantly for Jews, but these effects were small and insignificant.

In conclusion, a mixed-model encounter program was found to positively enhance CO in the short term, more so for Jews than for Palestinians, and more so for unmotivated than for motivated participants, but the majority of these effects were found to be only transient. These results, their contribution to relevant field of research, and their limitations are discussed in the wider theoretical and empirical contexts in the final chapter of the dissertation. The results will also serve as a basis for suggestions for future research in the field, and for recommendations to facilitate evidence-based practices of encounters between Jewish and Palestinian youth.

Chapter 4

Emotional and Cognitive Mediating Processes in Effects of Jewish-Palestinian Encounters on Behavioral Intentions and Policy Support

This chapter is a revised version of a paper submitted to *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* in September 2014, co-authored with Prof. Dr. Klaus Boehnke. The paper is adapted for the thesis to avoid unnecessary repetitions.

4.1. Affect and cognition in intergroup relations

Attitude, generally defined as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 1), is commonly regarded as integrating three dimensions of evaluative responses: *affect*, which involves feelings and emotions toward the attitude object; *cognition*, which refers to thoughts or beliefs; and *behavior*, which indicates past or intended actions (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). Nevertheless, cognitive and affective dimensions of overall evaluations are also considered to be somewhat distinct in their formation and manifestations, or different, albeit not independent, responses that attitudes stimulate (See, Petty, & Fabrigar, 2008).

This general distinction also holds for attitudes in the context of intergroup relations, such as prejudice (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993; Stangor, Sullivan, & Ford, 1991). *Cognitive appraisals* in intergroup attitudes refer to perceptions and judgments about the group and the nature of the relations, while *intergroup emotions* are experienced by individuals toward other groups, but are also shared collectively by the ingroup and directed toward outgroup members in intergroup situations and events (Smith et al., 2007).

Emotions have a particularly important role in social and political life and in relations between social groups. According to intergroup emotions theory (Mackie, Maitner, & Smith, 2009; Smith, 1993), affective processes in intergroup relations are generated as a result of appraisals of intergroup-related events, and are in turn activated by association with salient ingroups. Emotions have an important role both in generating and regulating phenomena such as prejudice and hostility, but also in improving intergroup relations. Focusing on the link between emotions and behavior, it was also shown that affect contributes to intergroup behavior even more than cognition, although differential contributions vary across groups, individuals, and situations (Eagly, Mladinic, and Otto (1994; Esses et al., 1993). Emotions directly regulate aspects of intergroup-related behaviors and behavioral intentions, and their functioning can be highly specific (Frijda, 1994, 2004). For example, anger toward the outgroup may lead to support for violence in situations of intergroup conflict (e.g., Halperin, 2011; Halperin & Gross, 2010; Maoz & Mccauley, 2008), while fear can result in avoiding contact (e.g., Miller, Smith, & Mackie, 2004).

4.2. Affective and cognitive mediators of intergroup contact effects

The effects of intergroup contact (see Chapter 3) were studied on both cognitive (e.g., stereotypes) and affective (e.g., emotions) dimensions of prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010). However, studies show that whether manipulated or reported, intergroup contact has positive effects on emotional more than on cognitive dimension of prejudice (e.g., Duckitt, 1992; Swart et al., 2011). Moreover, recent studies on the contact hypothesis shift the focus from merely studying contact effects and the conditions under which they are optimal, to elucidating the facilitation mechanism by which these effects occur (Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). While both affective and cognitive mediators of contact effects were established, it seems that enhancing contact increases positive attitudes primarily though affective mechanisms, and less through cognitive ones (e.g., Pettigrew, 2008; Pettgirew & Tropp, 2008; Swart et al., 2011; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a), or indirectly, through cognitive (e.g., threat) followed by emotional (e.g., fear) mediators (Miller et al., 2004). Direct and positive contact is assumed to increase affective ties with outgroup members and enhances feelings of comfort and liking (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010). Indirect effects were found to operate particularly through the reduction of anxiety by members of majority or advantaged groups (e.g., Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Paolini et al., 2004; Stephan & Stephan, 1985), as well as by increasing empathy toward the outgroup and perspective taking abilities (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Stephan & Finlay, 1999).

Although weaker, mediation effects were also found pertaining to cognitive processes, particularly through knowledge, an outgroup learning process (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008), outgroup variability (Paolini et al., 2004) and perceived threat, particularly for high ingroup identifiers (Tausch, Tam et al., 2007; Wagner, Christ, Pettigrew, Stellmacher, & Wolf, 2006).

4.3. Emotional and cognitive processes in intergroup contact amidst intractable conflict

However, most of the findings on the mechanism of positive contact are largely based on correlational studies, or of evaluations of successful contact interventions that take place in a benign socio-political environment, such as between members of different ethnic or racial groups that are not involved in realistic conflict (Hewston & Brown, 1986; Maoz, 2004a; Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). As a result, most studies on mediators of contact effects focused on positive interactions between group members at the interpersonal level

(Tajfel & Turner, 1986), in which group members interact as individuals, while individual characteristics are emphasized (Amir et al., 1980; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Maoz, 2004a). In Chapter 3 it was explained that in the context of the Jewish-Palestinian conflict, which is characterized by sharp asymmetries and inequalities between the communities, scholars and practitioners recommended that contact interventions focus not only on decategorized contact at the interpersonal level, but also on categorized contact with "confrontational" components (e.g., Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Doubilet, 2007; Maoz, 2004a, 2011; Suleiman, 2004).

A commonly performed *mixed-model encounter* combines these two approaches and often involves a gradual transition from an interpersonal and social contact to intergroup-political interactions (Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007; Maddy-Weitzman, 2007; Maoz, 2004a, 2011; see Chapter 3), primarily through facilitated dialogue (Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Maoz, Bar-On, & Yikya, 2007; Nagda, 2006). While positive contact in the spirit of the contact hypothesis indeed involve more affective than cognitive processes, we may expect that mixed-model encounters, with interactions at the intergroup-political level, facilitate cognitive processes of attitude change no less than affective ones. Although confrontational interactions such as political dialogues may create resentment among participants, particularly members of the advantaged group, and even lead to negative emotions toward the other group (Maoz, Bar-On, & Yikya, 2007), they have the potential to increase understanding of the conflict from the rival's point of view, to elicit cognitive evaluations and re-evaluations of the conflict and the intentions and actions of each side, and thereby to facilitate positive changes in cognitive appraisals, such as conflict-related beliefs and perceptions (Maoz, Steinberg, Bar-On , & Fakhereldeen, 2002).

Indeed, studies show that mixed Jewish-Palestinian encounters result in both cognitive and affective modifications (e.g. Bar & Bargal, 1995; Bekerman, 2009; Maoz, 2000, 2003; Yablon, 2007a, 2009). However, the evidences are not sufficiently convincing in terms of methodological rigor (Nevo & Brem, 2002; Salomon, 2006; see Chapter 3). More importantly, the mechanism underlying the change of attitudes and behaviors through Jewish-Palestinian mixed-model encounters has not yet been adequately examined.

In this chapter, we further analyze the data obtained in the quasi-experimental study presented in Chapter 3 (here including only pretested students in the encounter and comparison group, that is, intervention groups E1 and C1, see Table 12, section 3.6.1), for two main purposes. First, we assessed psychological effects of mixed-model encounters on both emotional and cognitive components of intergroup attitudes. In particular, we focused on

feelings of hatred and empathy toward the outgroup, and hope for positive relations, as indicators of emotional effects, and on perceived threat and awareness of inequalities, as indicators of cognitive effects. Second, we aim to unveil the mechanism through which encounters affect behavioral and political outcomes, which may occur indirectly, through changing emotions and cognitive assessments. A particular attention is paid to the possible functional independency of affective and cognitive processes in influencing contact-related behaviors and policy support.

This chapter continues as follows: First, we briefly explain how the encounter may positively influence each emotional or cognitive construct. Chapter 3 already presented the intervention effects on these constructs, which are included in emotional, cognitive, and political domains of Coexistence Orientation. The analysis in this chapter will reexamine the short-term effects of the studied encounter on these specific constructs, as a necessary stage to obtain residual change scores on which the mediation analysis will be performed (see below). Second, the hypothesized mechanism through which the encounter positively affects contact-related and policy-related attitudes will be explained, based on recent studies in the contact literature, on differential affective and cognitive persuasion-matching effects, and on attitude-behavior consistency. The Method section of this chapter will briefly review the design and measures that were explained in details in the second and the third chapter. This will be followed by a presentation of the analysis, its results, and a summary of the findings vis-à-vis the hypotheses.

4.4. Emotional and cognitive effects of Jewish-Palestinian encounters

Three intergroup emotions are examined in this chapter and are briefly discussed in this section. A more detailed account on these construct and their role in planned encounters is available in the previous chapters. Emotional *empathy* refers to experiencing meaningful feelings of sympathy and compassion, particularly to those who are in need (Davis, 1980, 1994; Stephan & Finlay, 1999; see also Chapter 1, section 2.5.1). We hypothesized that encounters enable participants to empathize with individual outgroup members, which in turn increases general empathy for the outgroup (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). According to Batson, Early, and Salvarani (1997), empathy is likely to appear, be enhanced, and play a role in intergroup relations, when individuals focus on feelings and perspectives of outgroup members, or when they increasingly identify with outgroup members who share personal experiences. Such processes often take place in encounters. Finlay and Stephan (2000) explain that learning about

suffering and discrimination in encounters arouses feelings of injustice and compassion toward the outgroup members, who may be perceived as a victims of the conflict. This exposure can lead to a cognitive dissonance, particularly if attitudes were negative prior to the encounter, which may be resolved by adopting more favorable attitudes. Empathy is often explicitly encouraged during encounters, for example, by stressing the importance of being attentive to the experiences of outgroup participants. *Perspective taking*, which is likely to operate among participants during encounters (see Chapter 2, section 2.7.3.2), was found to increase positive intergroup attitudes through an affective mechanism involving reactive empathy (Batson & Ahmad, 2009; Batson, Early, et al., 1997). Although empathy is frequently reported as a mediator of contact effects (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2010), it has yet to be examined in planned and structured encounters in the context of intergroup conflict.

Hatred as an intergroup emotion is considered to be particularly destructive in conflicts, and often leads to an absolute rejection of the outgroup (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). Hatred leads group members to reject any engagement with outgroup members, and to reject changes to the status quo in the conflict (Halperin et al., 2012). Contact was recently found to be effective in reducing negative emotions (e.g., Binder et al., 2009), and therefore we expected to find lower levels of intergroup hatred among participants of encounters.

Finally, *hope* is an affective construct signifying positive feelings regarding the availability of pathways to achieving desired goals (Snyder et al., 1991). Although hope is regarded as an emotional state, it requires the belief in the possibility to achieve an outcome, and therefore includes a cognitive dimension (Lazarus, 1999). In conflicts, hope can be related to events or outcomes that are anticipated, such as peace, equality, and prosperity. To our knowledge, the role of hope in intergroup encounters has not yet been empirically examined. We expected the encounter to help participants realize that peace and coexistence are desired goals by both groups, and that a shared and peaceful future is possible, thereby increasing mutual feelings of hope for positive Jewish-Palestinian relations.

On the cognitive dimension, *perceived collective threat* refers to the anticipation of negative consequences for the self or the ingroup, by actions of the outgroup as a whole or its members (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Previous research shows that positive intergroup contact facilitates the reduction of threat perceptions (e.g., Tausch, Tam, et al., 2007; Wagner et al., 2006), and that realistic threat is strongly related to intergroup attitudes (Bizman & Yinon,

2001). We propose that the dialogical activities of the encounter facilitate the reduction of mutual perceptions of threat posed by the outgroup.

Finally, we expected the encounter to influence *perceived equality*, which is particularly relevant for asymmetric power relations. This refers to the extent to which group members believe that the same collective and individual rights are bestowed to members of both groups. High perceived equality among members of the advantaged group often result from ignorance or denial of existing inequalities and discrimination. For members of the disadvantaged group, perceived equality may indicate perceptions of deprivation (Foster & Matheson, 1998). Intergroup inequalities constitute a major theme in structured encounter (Bekerman, 2009), and therefore we expected encounters to increase awareness of, and attention to, structural inequalities for Jewish participants.

In sum, based on the characteristics of mixed-model encounters and prior findings, we expected to find both emotional and cognitive effects. Our basic assumption is that to a certain extent, although not exclusively, interpersonal elements of the encounter and decategorized contact positively influence emotions, whereas dialogical and confrontational activities at the intergroup level, involving categorized contact, positively influence perceptions of threat and awareness of the social hierarchy between the groups. The first set of hypotheses can be formulated as follows:

Hypothesis 1.1: Participation in the encounter will increase empathy and hope, and decrease hatred and perceived threat for both Jewish and Palestinian participants.

Hypothesis 1.2: Participation in the encounter will reduce perceived equality for Jewish participants.

4.5. *The differential mediating role of affective and cognitive attitudes in behavioral and policy-related effects of encounters*

To what extent are affective and cognitive processes in intergroup relations independent, and differentially affect intergroup behaviors? As a point of departure, we assume that at least to some extent, behaviors are related to matching categories of attitudes (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Millar and Tesser (1986, 1989) suggested that the intention toward a particular behavior may be based on either cognitive or affective components of the attitude, rather than on a general evaluation. They focused on the orientation toward the behavior to determine the attitudinal dimensions associated with it, and differentiated between *instrumental behavior*,

which relates to accomplishing goals that are independent of the attitude object, and non-instrumental or *consummatory behavior*, in which individuals engage for its own sake. Accordingly, they suggested that the former is likely to be cognitively based, while the latter is more affectively based (see also Millar & Millar, 1998).

Focusing on intergroup attitudes, Dovidio et al. (2002) classified actions that involve interactions with outgroup members as affectively based, due to the role emotions play in intergroup contact (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Islam & Hewstone, 1993), and actions related to political behavior, such as social policy endorsement, as cognitively based, since they involve a greater degree of cognitive appraisals and decision making. This hypothesis was confirmed in both experimental and meta-analytic studies (Dovidio et al., 2002). Relying on studies on emotional versus cognitive appeals, Esses and Dovidio (2002) further suggested that affective and cognitive mechanisms may operate distinctively in modifications of intergroup behavior that is either contact- or policy-related. They confirmed the affective mechanism, and concluded that:

> "Behavioral intentions that are strongly affectively based, such as willingness to engage in intergroup contact, will benefit from strategies to improve emotions toward a group, whereas behavioral intentions that are more cognitively based, such as social policy endorsement, will not" (p. 1212).

Considering the above, we generally expected that the mechanism through which mixed-model encounters positively affect contact-related behavior is more emotional than cognitive, while emotions have limited capacity to account for policy-related outcomes, which are more cognitively driven. Nevertheless, it has already been established that emotions involve motivation for change, and therefore are linked to political action (e.g., Frijda, 2004). Furthermore, Millar and Tesser (1989) also showed that the extent to which affect and cognition differentially relate to subsequent behavior depends on the consistency between the affective and cognitive attitudes, and only high consistency leads to a differential mechanism. Therefore, it seems unlikely that emotional processes do not influence any aspect of policy support, or that cognitive assessments will not affect willingness to interact with outgroup members at any level.

Consequently, we extended the basic hypothesis to two types of contact-related behavioral intentions, and two types of policy support, which may differ in their attitude base. Pertaining to contact, based on the interpersonal-intergroup continuum explicated by Tajfel and

Turner (1986), we distinguished between interactions on an interpersonal basis, such as social or cultural activities, in which group members interact as individuals, and interactions on an intergroup basis, such as political or educational activities, in which individuals represent their respective groups. We hypothesized that *readiness for social contact* is predominantly non-instrumental, and therefore emotionally driven, whereas *readiness for joint activities* is likely to involve instrumental motivations, and therefore is also cognitively driven. Accordingly, we expected the effect of the encounter on readiness for social contact to be mediated by emotions, while on readiness for joint activities also by cognitive assessments:

Hypothesis 2.1: Participation in the encounter will increase readiness for social contact and readiness for joint activities for both Jewish and Palestinian participants.

Hypothesis 2.2: The positive effect of the encounter on readiness for social contact will be mediated mostly by emotional effects (empathy, hope, and hatred), whereas the positive effect on readiness for joint activities will be mediated equally by emotional and cognitive effects (perceived threat and perceived equality).

Pertaining to policy support, we distinguished between support for policies that benefit the outgroup, and policies that harm or restrict its members. In asymmetric conflicts, support for, or rejection of, such policies are mainly relevant for the advantaged group, Israeli Jews in our case. Recent studies found that emotions play an important role in determining political behaviors amidst conflict (e.g., Maoz & McCauley, 2008; Cottrell, Richards, & Nichols, 2010), and that particularly negative emotions (such as fear, hatred, and anger) influence support for policies that restrict or harm the rival group (e.g., Halperin et al., 2009).

Considering these findings, we expected that the encounter effect on support for policies that increase equality and reduce discrimination, if found, will be mediated mostly by cognitive evaluations, such as through the reduction of perceived equality and perceived threat. Higher perceived threat was previously found to decrease support for policies from which the outgroup might benefit (e.g., Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006). Moreover, factual knowledge about the historical background and structural barriers faced by disadvantaged groups can increase awareness to inequalities, and recognition of injustices done by the advantaged group, and consequently to increase support for egalitarian policies (e.g., Eller & Abrams, 2004). On the other hand, the effect on support for policies associated with *political intolerance*, that is, willingness to restrict basic political rights of Palestinian citizens as an "enemy groups" (Halperin et al., 2009; Sullivan et al., 1985), will be more equally mediated by affect and

cognition. Specifically, Halperin et al. (2009) found that perceived threat and hatred predict political intolerance over and above other variables (see also Shamir & Sagiv-Schifer, 2006), and therefore we may expect these particular constructs to mediate the effect. The formulation of the third set of hypothesis for Jews as the advantaged group is as follows:

Hypothesis 3.1: Participation in the encounter will increase support for equal rights and decrease political intolerance for Jewish participants.

Hypothesis 3.2: The positive effect of the encounter on support for equal rights will be mediated mostly by cognitive effects (perceived threat and perceived equality), whereas the positive effect on political intolerance will be mediated equally by emotional and cognitive effects (empathy, hope, and particularly hatred).

Finally, although encounters aim to increase support for social policies among high-status group members, we also examined whether they influence Palestinians' support for the inclusion of Jewish citizens in the Palestinian socio-cultural sphere. We speculated that if participation in encounters increases Palestinians' *support for social inclusion*, it may also occur indirectly, through emotional or cognitive processes, although the strength of emotional versus cognitive mediators are difficult to be anticipated. The fourth set of hypotheses pertaining to mediation processes for the disadvantaged group is as follows:

Hypothesis 4.1: Participation in the encounter will increase support for inclusion among Palestinian participants.

Hypothesis 4.2: The positive effect of the encounter on support for inclusion will be mediated by emotional (empathy, hope, and hatred) and cognitive effects (perceived threat and perceived equality).

4.6. Methods

4.6.1. Participants and procedure

A detailed description of the encounter intervention, the experimental research design, and measures is available in Chapter 3, section 3.6. This chapter analyzes data from 153 Jewish and 162 Palestinian high school students who took part in a two-day mixed-method encounter ("Face-to-Face") conducted by Givat Haviva in Israel[5]. Additional 64 Jewish and 119

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[5] The data analyzed in this chapter includes an additional encounter group with 11 Jewish and 14 Palestinian participants, which was not included in the analysis presented in Chapter 3.

Palestinian *nonparticipants* served as the comparison group (total $N = 498$). Most Jewish and Palestinian participants were female (61% and 66%, respectively). Pertaining to cohorts, 41% and 43% of Jews and Palestinians, respectively, were at the 10th grade, 24% and 42% at the 11th grade, and 35% and 16% at the 12th grade. All Palestinians were Muslim, except for three Christian students. Pertaining to religiosity, 33% and 57% of the Jewish participants defined themselves as traditional and secular, respectively. Among Palestinians, 24% defined themselves as "very religious", 55% and 17% as "quite religious" and "a little religious", respectively, and only nine participants were "not religious". With regard to political orientation, 46% of the Jewish students classified themselves in the right or "hawkish" side of the political map, 26% indicated they were on the left or "dovish" side, and 28% held centrist views. Assignment to conditions was based on internal school preferences, resulting in nonequivalent intervention and comparison groups (see Chapter 3).

Each encounter participant took part in one of eight encounter interventions conducted in the period between November 2010 and February 2011. Participants in the comparison condition did not attend any relevant intervention in school framework, and were examined in parallel to encounter interventions. Groups were collapsed across interventions to form two main groups of participants and nonparticipants, and effects were analyzed at the aggregated level. Participants received anonymous self-reported questionnaires in Hebrew (for Jews) and Arabic (for Palestinians), measuring mediating and outcome variables, roughly two weeks before (pretest), and immediately after (posttest) the encounter. The pretest questionnaires were identical for both conditions, while the posttest questionnaire for encounter participants contained additional measures for evaluation. All questionnaires contained several measures not reported in this chapter (see Chapters 2 and 3). They were administered in schools by members of the research team, or at the end of encounters by facilitators. Measures that were not available in Hebrew and Arabic were translated from English (to both languages) or from Hebrew (to Arabic), meticulously back-translated by bilingual translators, and validated in a pilot study (see Chapter 2). References to Palestinian citizens of Israel in the questionnaires were made using the terms "Arabs" and "Arabs in Israel", since these are still widely used in Israeli society.

4.6.2. Measures

The measures for most variables are detailed in Chapter 2 and will be only briefly mentioned here. Hatred, readiness for contact, and readiness for activities were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Perceived equality, support for equal rights, political intolerance, and support for inclusion were measured on a symmetrical 6-point scale, with the anchors 1 (*completely disagree*) and 6 (*completely agree*). Empathy, hope, and perceived threat were measured on a seven-point scale (1 = *completely disagree*, 7 = *completely agree*). All scales were obtained by averaging item responses, with higher scores indicating higher levels in the direction of the measured construct. All measures of the mediators and the dependent variables are available in Appendix A.

Mediators. *Empathy* was measured using a 4-item scale from Davis (1980), adapted for an intergroup context by Malhotra and Liyanage (2005). Scale reliabilities were satisfactory, α = .78 and α = .75 in pretest and α = .84 and α = .78 in posttest, for Jews and Palestinians, respectively. *Hatred* was measured as a chronic emotional sentiment (e.g., Halperin, 2009) using two items representing "hatred" and "hostility". Reliability coefficients were high, α = .81 and α = .82 for Jews, and α = .84 and α = .86 for Palestinians, in pretest and posttest, respectively. The measure of *Hope* was adapted from Smooha (2005) and Stephan (1999), and included four items. The scale had high internal consistency, α = .82 and α = .87 for Jews, and α = .86 and α = .85 for Palestinians, in pretest and posttest, respectively. A measure of *perceived threat* for Israeli Jews was taken from Sullivan et al. (1985) (α = .82 in pretest, and α = .75 in posttest), and a different measure for perceived threat for Palestinians was created based on three items from Smooha's (2005) Index of Arab-Jewish Relations (α = .82 in pretest, and α = .79 in posttest). A 4-item scale for *perceived equality* was constructed using items from Smooha (2005). Reliability indices were rather law, but sufficient: α = .68 and α = .71 for Jews, and α = .58 and α = .66 for Palestinians, in pretest and posttest, respectively. Higher scores represent the perception that there is more equality (i.e., less awareness to inequalities).

Dependent variables. *Readiness for social contact* was measured with a 4-item scale adapted and updated from Bogardus' social distance scale (1925), and used in the Jewish-Palestinian context in several recent studies (e.g., Rosen & Salomon, 2011). Cronbach's alphas were high for both Jews and Arabs in pretest (α = .87 and α = .85, respectively) and posttest (α = .92, α = .88, respectively). *Readiness for joint activities* was measured with a 3-item original scale, with sufficiently high reliabilities (Jews: α = .78, α = .85, Arabs: α = .75, α = .74, in pretest and posttest, respectively). *Support for equal rights* among Jews was measured using a

5-item scale constructed from items included in Smooha's (2005) Index of Arab-Jewish Relations ($\alpha = .90$ in pretest and posttest). A 4-item scale measuring Jews' *political intolerance* toward Palestinian citizens was taken from Halperin et al. (2009). Reliabilities were satisfactory, $\alpha = .69$ in pretest, and $\alpha = .74$ in posttest. Finally, *support for social inclusion*, that is, Palestinians' support for including Jewish citizens in their civil and social spheres in the country, was measured with an original scale consists of three items ($\alpha = .72$ and $\alpha = .80$, in pretest and posttest, respectively).

Covariates. Similarly to the analysis presented in Chapter 3, the current analysis also examined the effects, and particularly mediated effects of the encounter while adjusting for covariates, due to the quasi-experimental nature of the study (see Chapter 3). The measures for these variables are available in Chapter 2, section 2.7.3.2. The analysis in this chapter includes the following covariates: *gender* (1 = female); *religiosity*, recoded as a dichotomous variable with 0 indicating *traditional*, and 1 indicating *secular* for Jews, and a 4-point scale for Palestinians ($M = 2.00$, $SD = 0.74$); *socioeconomic status* (SES) ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 0.69$ for Jews, and $M = 3.19$, $SD = 0.76$ for Palestinians); *frequency of prior contact* ($\alpha = .72$, $M = 2.07$, $SD = 0.69$, and $\alpha = .71$, $M = 2.50$, $SD = 0.76$ for Jews and Palestinians, respectively); *ingroup identification* ($\alpha = .79$, $M = 4.19$, $SD = 0.67$ for Jews, and $\alpha = .80$, $M = 3.86$, $SD = 0.96$ for Palestinians); *political orientation* among Jews ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.34$); and *encounter motivation*, the first item from the baseline measure of readiness for activities ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.18$ for Jews, and $M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.08$ for Palestinians).

4.6.3. Data analysis

The analysis was carried out in two main stages. First, intervention effects were assessed by carrying out a univariate analysis of covariance (ANCOVA), with condition (encounter or comparison) as a between-subject factor, for each effect and for each national group separately, using the pretest as the covariate and the posttest as the dependent variable. This method is recommended for designs with nonrandomized control groups (Dimitrov & Rumrill, 2003). This analysis enabled to examine hypotheses 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, 3.1, and 4.1. Due to selection threat (see Chapter 3), mean effects were adjusted by including the following control variables as additional covariates: gender, socioeconomic status, religiosity, prior contact, ingroup identification, encounter motivation, and political orientation (for Jews only). Encounter motivation was not entered in the analysis for readiness for activities, since it is included in the

pretest measure of the dependent variable. Reported *p* values are two-tailed, unless mentioned otherwise.

Second, we tested the causal sequence of intervention effects to study hypotheses 2.2, 3.2, and 4.2. Mediators and outcomes were operationalized as standardized residualized change scores, obtained by regressing posttest on pretest scores for each variable. We briefly examined an overall correlation matrix of the residualized change scores among participants in the intervention condition. Intervening effects were examined by conducting separate multiple mediation analysis for each outcome and by national group, using the standardized residuals. This method allows examining the unique mediating role of each variable while controlling for others, and is particularly recommended when mediators are correlated (Hayes, 2009). Mediation was examined via both the causal steps approach (Baron & Kenny, 1986), and more recent approaches focusing on the product of coefficients: the Sobel test, and bias-corrected 95% bootstrap confidence intervals (CI) for indirect effects, with 5,000 resamples (Hayes, 2009). We determined effects based on the latter approach. Results are presented without covariates, to enable detecting small but significant indirect effects. Tests were repeated with the same covariates as in the ANCOVAs, and differences in findings are reported. Since standardized residuals were used, unstandardized regression coefficients are presented for comparisons.

For analytic purposes, participants with missing demographic data were excluded from the primary analysis. Additional cases with missing values were deleted listwise, which resulted in the loss of less than 6% of cases in all analyses.

4.7. Results

4.7.1. Intervention effects

Table 30 presents descriptive statistics for all dependent variables (mediators and outcomes). After the intervention, Jewish participants had significantly higher levels of empathy, $F(1, 156) = 12.52$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2_p = .07$, and of hope, $F(1, 156) = 7.44$, $p = .007$, $\eta^2_p = .05$, and lower levels of hatred, $F(1, 155) = 7.85$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2_p = .05$, compared with nonparticipants in the comparison group. The former also perceived less equality between the groups, $F(1, 154) = 11.82$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2_p = .07$, and expressed more support for equal rights, $F(1, 153) = 11.76$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2_p = .07$, compared with nonparticipants. Intervention effects of large sizes were found on readiness for social contact, $F(1, 157) = 26.01$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .14$, and on

readiness for joint activities, $F(1, 158) = 55.13$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .26$, with students in the intervention group exhibiting more readiness than nonparticipants, controlling for pretest scores and other covariates. The analysis revealed no significant intervention effect on perceived threat, $F(1, 155) = 2.23$, $p = .14$, and its effect on political intolerance was significant only according to a more lenient one-tailed test, $F(1, 154) = 3.30$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .02$. When the analysis was performed with only the corresponding pretest measure as covariate, a small but significant effect on perceived threat was obtained, $F(1, 184) = 6.23$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. The effects of pretest scores as covariates were found significant in all tests, and political orientation had a significant effect on posttest scores in all tests except for perceived threat, indicating that leaning to the left is associated with more favorable attitudes.

Parallel tests in the Palestinian sample identified intervention effects in the desired direction on empathy, $F(1, 253) = 6.58$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, and on hope, $F(1, 253) = 17.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .06$. Effects were also significant on readiness for joint activities, $F(1, 254) = 7.08$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, but small and only borderline significant on readiness for social contact, when a one-tailed p value was calculated, $F(1, 251) = 2.62$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2_p = .01$. A significant but small effect was found on support for social inclusion, with Palestinian encounter participants demonstrating higher support than nonparticipants, $F(1, 237) = 3.52$, $p = .03$ (one-tailed), $\eta^2_p = .02$. Finally, the intervention was found to increase perceived deprivation (i.e., to reduce perceived equality), $F(1, 238) = 12.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .05$. There were no significant effects on hatred, $F(1, 252) = 1.32$, $p = .25$, and on perceived threat, $F(1, 248) = 0.004$, $p = .95$. These effects remained insignificant even when covariates were removed from the model. Pretest scores were significantly related to posttest scores in all dependent variables, and significant effects of gender indicated that female participants had higher perceptions of threat and deprivation, and less support for inclusion.

To sum up results on the encounter's direct effects, the results confirm hypotheses 1.2, 2.1, 3.1, and 4.1, but only partially confirm hypothesis 1.1. Although most effects were significant, the effects were weaker on perceived threat and political intolerance for Jews, and there were no effects on hatred and perceived threat for Palestinians. Nevertheless, all variables were retained for the mediation analysis for exploratory purposes.

Table 30. *Mean Values and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) for All Dependent Variables by National Group, Intervention Group, and Testing Time*

	Jews				Palestinians			
	Encounter		Comparison		Encounter		Comparison	
Variables	Pretest	Posttest	Pretest	Posttest	Pretest	Posttest	Pretest	Posttest
Empathy [c]	4.99 (1.02)	5.36 (1.04)	4.46 (1.21)	4.31 (1.34)	4.15 (1.35)	4.34 (1.35)	4.36 (1.38)	4.10 (1.40)
Hatred [a]	2.52 (1.09)	2.09 (0.90)	2.32 (0.97)	2.65 (1.02)	2.55 (1.12)	2.41 (1.08)	2.66 (1.16)	2.63 (1.07)
Hope [c]	4.05 (1.24)	4.13 (1.23)	3.95 (1.15)	3.57 (1.37)	4.42 (1.27)	4.55 (1.28)	4.47 (1.36)	4.02 (1.35)
Perceived threat [c]	3.79 (1.33)	3.57 (1.20)	4.11 (1.44)	4.18 (1.52)	5.68 (1.48)	5.52 (1.30)	5.71 (1.43)	5.60 (1.35)
Perceived equality [b]	2.66 (0.98)	2.40 (0.90)	2.71 (1.03)	2.98 (1.09)	2.19 (0.96)	1.77 (0.98)	2.32 (0.98)	2.24 (0.95)
Readiness for contact [a]	3.06 (1.04)	3.33 (1.04)	2.47 (1.03)	2.13 (0.88)	3.61 (0.95)	3.70 (1.03)	3.29 (1.10)	3.31 (1.09)
Readiness for activities [a]	3.41 (0.91)	3.71 (0.94)	2.88 (1.01)	2.26 (1.04)	3.91 (0.84)	4.00 (0.87)	3.57 (1.08)	3.53 (1.03)
Support for equal rights (J)/ inclusion (P) [b]	4.09 (1.11)	4.38 (1.00)	3.75 (1.31)	3.46 (1.45)	2.40 (1.22)	3.57 (1.29)	2.55 (1.08)	2.35 (1.25)
Political intolerance (J) [b]	3.38 (1.01)	3.32 (0.98)	3.64 (1.13)	3.88 (1.29)				

Note. J = Jews, P = Palestinians. High scores are indicative of higher level in the direction of the measured construct. *N*s range: For Jews, from 149 to 153, and from 58 to 64 in the intervention and comparison conditions, respectively; for Palestinians, from 156 to 162, and from 116 to 118 in the intervention and comparison conditions, respectively, due to missing data.
[a] Range: 1-5. [b] range: 1-6. [c] range: 1-7.

4.7.2. Correlational analysis on residualized change scores

Intercorrelations between changes in emotional and cognitive variables indicate that none of the residualized changes was redundant, or is likely to lead to multicollinearity. Overall, these correlations were stronger for Jewish participants (range between .19 to .42 in absolute value), than for Palestinian participants (range between .04 to .30 in absolute value).

Table 31 presents simple Pearson correlations between residualized change scores of the examined mediators and outcomes, separately for each national group, and only including receivers of the intervention. For Jews, all changes in emotions and cognitive evaluations were significantly related to changes in contact- and policy-related outcomes, except for empathy and political intolerance. All correlations were small to medium sized, and all were in the expected direction. For Palestinian participants, we obtained less significant correlations. Notably, only emotions were related to both contact types. Increased perception of equality was associated with more support for inclusion, although we found that the intervention significantly decreased perceived equality among Palestinians. These results are already suggestive of the role of the affect and cognition in intervention effects on behaviors.

Table 31. *Zero-Order Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Residualized Change Scores of Mediators (Rows) and Outcomes (Column) For Encounter Participants*

Process variables	Jews ($n = 144$)				Palestinians ($n = 151$)		
	Readiness for contact	Readiness for activities	Support for equal rights	Political intolerance	Readiness for contact	Readiness for activities	Support for inclusion
Empathy	.40**	.34**	.30**	-.14	.25**	.23**	.23**
Hatred	-.44**	-.45**	-.27**	.38**	-.32**	-.28**	-.14
Hope	.51**	.46**	.36**	-.30**	.49**	.43**	.42**
Perceived threat	-.34**	-.28**	-.45**	.36**	-.03	-.02	.00
Perceived equality	-.32**	-.46**	-.37**	.27**	.09	.01	.32**

Note. * $p < .05$. * $p < .01$. (two-tailed).

4.7.3. Emotional and cognitive mediators of intervention effects on behavioral and policy outcomes

Table 32 and Table 33 summarize the results of multiple mediation analyses for behavioral outcome, separately for Jews and Palestinians. The analysis enabled to

simultaneously examine the unique and combined contributions of the five potential mediators to intervention effects in the behavioral realm. The information summarized in the tables also includes variance estimates (ΔR^2), which enable to estimate the combined contribution of the mediators for each outcome.

For Jews, all total effects and paths from intervention to mediators were statistically significant. A partial mediation model emerged for readiness for social contact, in which changes in all examined emotions significantly and simultaneously contributed to the total indirect effect, 0.46, 95% CI: [.2634, .6979] (see Table 32). It should be noted that while the correlation analysis indicated that changes in perceived threat and perceived equality were significantly associated with changes in readiness for social contact (see Table 31), their indirect effects in the mediation model were insignificant, indicating that they only indirectly related to readiness for social contact, through emotional processes. With regard to readiness for joint activities, a partial mediation was discovered, with all but perceived threat as significant mediators. The specific effects of hatred and perceived equality were also significant according to z scores. All mediators accounted for 25% in the variance, and the total indirect effect was 0.50, 95% CI: [.3374, .7090]. An almost complete mediation mode with a total indirect effect of 0.46, 95% CI: [.2596, .7003], was achieved for support for equal rights, with significant indirect effects that flow from intervention to perceived threat and equality, and then to policy support. The effects through empathy and hope were also significant, but smaller. While hatred was significantly related to support for equality in the correlation analysis, its indirect effect was insignificant. Finally, as expected, hatred and perceived threat fully mediated the effects on political intolerance. The specific indirect effect of hope was significant as well, but smaller. The total indirect effect was -0.29, 95% CI: [-.4776, -.1315]. All specific indirect effects in all models remained significant even after including covariates, except for empathy and hope as mediators of intervention effects on support for equal rights, which then was only mediated by the two cognitive variables.

For Palestinian participants (see Table 33), the total effect on readiness for social contact was marginally significant ($p = .054$). The paths from intervention to hatred and perceived threat as potential mediators were insignificant. All mediators were still retained in the analysis, to enable detecting significant intervening variables and to obtain independent mediation paths. Effects on both contact types were significantly and completely mediated by increased hope. Empathy also significantly mediated the effect on readiness for social contact, but not according to the Sobel test. Finally, indirect effects on support for social inclusion went through two

variables that operated in opposite directions: participation increased hope, which increased support for inclusion, but also increased perceived deprivation, which decreased support for inclusion. In other words, perceived deprivation *suppressed* the positive intervention effects on support for inclusion. Figure 8 shows a dual mediation model with only hope and perceived equality as intervening variables. The model demonstrates the mediating role of hope, in contrast to the suppressing role of perceived equality in the effect, which leads to an insignificant total indirect effect of 0.01, 95% CI: [-.1400, .1532]. When the analysis is performed only with perceived deprivation as a mediator, the direct effect ($b = 0.43$, $p = .001$) is larger than the total effect ($b = 0.28$, $p = .03$). The findings for all models are valid even after accounting for shared associations between the covariates and the modeled variables.

In sum, the results of the multiple mediation analysis partially confirm hypothesis 1.2. Emotional and cognitive variables mediated the effects on contact-related behavioral intentions for both national groups. The envisioned differential effect of the two types of mediators was confirmed only for Jews, for there were no significant cognitive mediators in the effect on readiness for joint activities for Palestinians. The results also confirm hypothesis 3.2. The effect on support for equal rights among Jews was mostly mediated by cognitive variables, but the effect on political intolerance was mediated by both emotions (hatred) and perceptions (threat). Finally, hypothesis 4.1, which did not refer to differential affective and cognitive mediational effects, was confirmed, with one emotional mediator (hope) and one cognitive suppressor (perceived equality).

Table 32. *Summary of Results for Multiple Mediation Models Predicting Contact- and Policy-Related Outcomes from Intervention Condition For Jews*

DV	Total effect	Direct effect	Mediators	Effect of IV on M	Effect of M on DV	Indirect effect	CI: LL	CI: UL
Readiness for contact	$b = 0.93$, $p < .001$ $R^2 = .18***$	$b = 0.47$, $p = .002$ $\Delta R^2 = .27***$	Empathy	0.66***	0.19*	0.12*	.0273	.2584
			Hatred	-0.67***	-0.19**	0.13*	.0393	.2647
			Hope	0.47**	0.28***	0.13*	.0461	.2764
			Threat	-0.35**	-0.15	0.05	-.0004	.1542
			Equality	-0.62***	-0.04	0.02	-.0554	.1190
Readiness for activities	$b = 1.25$, $p < .001$ $R^2 = .27***$	$b = 0.72$, $p < .001$ $\Delta R^2 = .25***$	Empathy	0.66***	0.20*	0.13	.0298	.2814
			Hatred	-0.67***	-0.23**	0.16*	.0593	.3102
			Hope	0.47**	0.19*	0.09	.0229	.2159
			Threat	-0.35**	-0.10	0.04	-.0230	.1437
			Equality	-0.62***	-0.20*	0.12*	.0351	.2594
Support for equal rights	$b = 0.73$, $p < .001$ $R^2 = .11***$	$b = 0.27$, $p = 0.54$ $\Delta R^2 = .29***$	Empathy	0.66***	0.16	0.10	.0089	.2668
			Hatred	-0.67***	-0.09	0.06	-.0297	.1781
			Hope	0.47**	0.16*	0.07	.0087	.2018
			Threat	-0.35**	-0.34***	0.12*	.0322	.2493
			Equality	-0.62***	-0.17*	0.10	.0179	.2374
Political intolerance	$b = -.33$, $p = .03$ $R^2 = .04**$	$b = -.04$, $p = .79$ $\Delta R^2 = .21***$	Empathy	0.66***	0.02	0.01	-.0741	.0964
			Hatred	-0.67***	0.20**	-0.14*	-.2638	-.0517
			Hope	0.47**	-0.13*	-0.06	-.1519	-.0040
			Threat	-0.35**	0.21**	-0.07	-.1774	-.0171
			Equality	-0.62***	0.06	-0.03	-.1119	.0281

Note. Intervention condition (independent variable, IV) was coded 1 = participants, 0 = nonparticipants. M = mediator, DV = dependent variable. $n = 181$. ΔR^2 refers to the variance added by including the mediators in the model. Changes in all mediators and outcomes are operationalized as residualized change scores from pretest to posttest. CIs (confidence interval) are biased corrected, reflecting 95% confidence achieved with 5,000 bootstrap resamples; LL = lower limit, UL = upper limit. For better comparability, four decimal places for CIs are displayed.
* $p \le .05$. ** $p \le .01$. *** $p \le .001$.

Table 33. *Summary of Results for Multiple Mediation Models Predicting Contact- and Policy-Related Outcomes from Intervention Condition For Palestinians*

DV	Total effect	Direct effect	Mediators	Effect of IV on M	Effect of M on DV	Indirect effect	CI: LL	CI: UL
Readiness for contact	$b = 0.24$, $p = .054$ $R^2 = .01*$	$b = 0.03$, $p = .83$ $\Delta R^2 = .21***$	Empathy Hatred Hope Threat Equality	0.39** -0.14 0.50*** -0.03 -0.48***	0.12 -0.21** 0.30*** 0.03 0.02	0.05 0.03 0.15** 0.00 -0.01	.0042 -.0175 .0612 -.0274 -.0855	.1331 .1047 .2743 .0110 .0458
Readiness for activities	$b = 0.32$, $p = .005$ $R^2 = .03**$	$b = 0.11$, $p = .35$ $\Delta R^2 = .19***$	Empathy Hatred Hope Threat Equality	0.39** -0.14 0.50*** -0.02 -0.46***	0.07 -0.19** 0.29*** 0.03 -0.03	0.03 0.03 0.14* 0.00 0.02	-.0115 -.0135 .0743 -.0259 -.0373	.0911 .0911 .2515 .0121 .0779
Support for social inclusion	$b = 0.28$, $p = .03$ $R^2 = .02*$	$b = 0.23$, $p = 0.11$ $\Delta R^2 = .20***$	Empathy Hatred Hope Threat Equality	0.39** -0.16 0.50*** -0.02 -0.46***	0.11 -0.07 0.24*** 0.00 0.26***	0.04 0.01 0.12** 0.00 -0.12*	.0024 -.0068 .0542 -.0163 -.2367	.1221 .0585 .2239 .0184 -.0467

Note. Intervention condition (independent variable, IV) was coded 1 = participants, 0 = nonparticipants. M = mediator, DV = dependent variable. $n = 252$. ΔR^2 refers to the variance added by including the mediators in the model. Changes in all mediators and outcomes are operationalized as residualized change scores from pretest to posttest. CIs (confidence interval) are biased corrected, reflecting 95% confidence achieved with 5,000 bootstrap resamples; LL = lower limit, UL = upper limit. For better comparability, four decimal places for CIs are displayed.
* $p \le .05$. ** $p \le .01$. *** $p \le .001$.
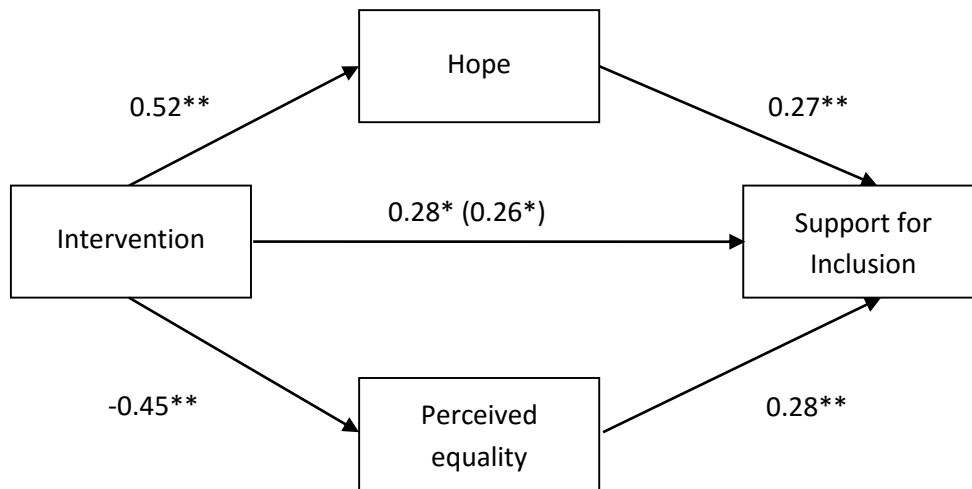
Figure 8. Dual mediation model associating Palestinians' encounter participation with support for social inclusion through hope as mediating and perceived equality as suppressing the effect. $n = 252$. For intervention, 0 = comparison, 1 = intervention. Mediators and outcomes are residualized change scores from pretest to posttest. Unstandardized regression coefficients are presented. Along the path from intervention to support for inclusion, the coefficient in parentheses represents the direct effect. Model $R^2 = .20$, $p < .001$. Specific indirect effect through hope = 0.14, 95% CI: [.0699, .2492]. Specific indirect effect through perceived deprivation = -0.13, 95% CI: [-.2432, -.0521]. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

4.8. Summary

Despite the considerable body of research on planned intergroup encounters amidst ethno-national conflicts, too little is known about the underlying process by which they improve intergroup attitudes. The fourth chapter of the thesis attempted to narrow this gap by examining mediational processes in mixed-model encounters between Jews and Palestinians. In particular, it attempted to evaluate the attitude-based process through which participation in such encounters influences intergroup behaviors in the domains of contact and policy. For this purpose, we assessed theory-guided models, focusing on affective and cognitive processes that we assumed to take place during encounters, and which to some extent are expected to differentially lead to behavioral intentions.

The results of Chapter 3 already showed that Jewish-Palestinian encounters improve attitudes in emotional, cognitive, behavioral, and political domains. The results of this chapter once again demonstrate encounters' efficacy in leading to both affective and cognitive attitudinal modifications. This supports our expectation that when contact takes place at the

intergroup-level, and participants engage in activities as representatives of their respective groups, it can lead group members not only to "feel" toward the outgroup, but also to "think" about it, to evaluate and re-evaluate their own beliefs vis-à-vis the other group, and ultimately to modify their perceptions (Bekerman, 2009; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Maoz, 2010; Salomon, 2004). Nevertheless, we found that effects are smaller among Palestinians, whose levels of hatred toward, and perceived threat from, the rival group remained unchanged.

We also found effects pertaining to behavioral intentions and policy support. There were large encounter effects for Jewish participants in willingness to engage in contact and joint activities. After the encounter, Jewish participants were also more willing to extent equal rights to the Palestinian minority, and to a lesser extent, less inclined to support policies that restrict the political freedom of that group. Similarly, among Palestinian participants, there was a parallel, though smaller, increase in willingness to include Jewish citizens in the Palestinian social sphere.

However, the main focus in this chapter has been the role of emotions and cognitive evaluations in mediating the relationship between encounter participation and behavioral and political outcomes. We found that to a large extent, the latter occur indirectly, through both emotional and cognitive processes. As expected, we found that encounters improve readiness for interpersonal contact with outgroup members through an affective mechanism. In addition, among Jews, encounter effects on readiness to perform behaviors that involve interaction at the intergroup level, additionally result from a decrease in perceived equality. Among Palestinians, higher hope strongly mediates effects on both contact types.

Pertaining to policy support, we found that encounters' effect on support for equal rights among Jews largely results from reduction in perceived threat, and greater awareness of inequalities and discrimination. Nevertheless, increased empathy and hope still play a role in this effect. We can speculate that participation results in a cognitive dissonance among some Jewish participants, due to the discrepancy between their negative attitudes toward Palestinian citizens, and their increased awareness to inequalities and discrimination, which evoked feelings of empathy and a sense of injustice (see also Stephan & Finlay, 1999). The safe environment in the encounter enables them to work through their feelings and thoughts, and therefore to avoid an unwanted defensive mechanism.

Furthermore, among Jews, participation reduces support for intolerant policies toward the Palestinian minority, mainly through decreased feelings of hatred and reduced perceptions

of threat. This mirrors the findings of Halperin et al. (2009), according to which perceived threat and hatred are the most important factors shaping support for such restrictive policies against threatening minorities. We were further able to demonstrate the role of these constructs not only in predicting political intolerance, but also in facilitating its reduction.

Finally, for our indicator of political attitudes among members of the Palestinian minority that are favorable toward Israeli Jews, we found an inconsistent mediation model (MacKinnon, Krull, & Lockwood, 2000). Removing the negative effect of perceived deprivation increases the magnitude of the positive effect on support for inclusion. Nevertheless, it seems that hope overrides perceived deprivation. By increasing hope, the encounter also increases support for inclusion, despite stronger awareness of inequalities.

Hypotheses 2.2 and 3.2 attempted to predict the differential role of emotions and cognitive assessments in the effects of the encounter on readiness for interpersonal- and intergroup-level interactions with outgroup members, and in its effects on support for equal rights and political intolerance among Jewish participants. Based on research on the affective and cognitive bases of attitudes in general and of intergroup attitudes in particular (e.g., Millar & Tesser, 1986; Esses & Dovidio, 2002), we asked to assess the extent to which contact intentions are emotionally-driven, while policy support are cognitively-driven. Our hypotheses took into consideration that not all contact intentions are likely to be consummatory, while not all political attitudes are likely to be instrumental. On the one hand, willingness to engage in interpersonal contact was found to be emotionally driven, while cognitive assessments were found to be stronger than emotions in mediating effects on support for equality, which may suggest that the former is consummatory, while latter is more instrumental (Millar & Tesser, 1986). On the other hand, willingness to engage in intergroup activities and support for intolerant policies were both emotionally and cognitively driven among Jews. It is possible that contact-related behavior at the intergroup level is perceived by individuals as more instrumental than at the interpersonal level, as we suggested. The consistency in affective and cognitive processes in the encounter is further discussed in the thesis' Discussion, where several limitations of the mediation analysis and recommendations based on the findings are also presented.

Chapter 5

Discussion

"I really enjoyed it. I took with me a lot of things from this seminar and I expanded my knowledge. I saw things that I didn't know before. There were various opinions with which I sometimes agreed and sometimes didn't, but there will always be disagreements, in every situation, and we must learn how to reach a compromise. I went out of this encounter with a good feeling, and it was an experience that only a few go through. I hope that there will be a continuation to this"

(Maya, participant from Ra'anana, Encounter 3)

I saw that there are two different sides, and that you [the Jews] have opinions and stigmas against us. My stigmas on you were changed following this encounter"

(Mahmoud, participant from Sachnin, Encounter 3)

The rift between Jews and Palestinians in Israel is one of the main challenges facing the State of Israel. Although Jewish and Palestinian citizens live in neighboring towns, they only rarely engage in meaningful contact and establish social relations. As Abu-Nimer and Lazarus (2007) put it, "enemy avoidance is embedded in the routines of everyday life to the point that cultivating relationships with people from the other side is seen as anomalous, subversive, or utterly unthinkable" (p. 22). And still, despite the mutual animosity and high levels of physical and mental segregation between the communities, joint activities and interventions in a wide variety of shapes and forms have enriched the social and educational spheres in the Holy Land throughout recent decades. Among these activities, planned and structured youth encounters are outstandingly popular, building upon theories of prejudice reduction, mainly the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), and later ideas about reconciliation (Maoz, 2004a, 2011). This thesis has concentrated on a particular subtype of encounters between Jewish and Palestinian youth, conducted in a school setting, which attempts to offer a balance or integration between two competing models that emerged in the local scene: one that promotes interpersonal interactions and emphasizes harmony and coexistence, and one that promotes categorized interactions and intergroup dialogue, and emphasizes confrontation (Doubilet, 2007; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Maoz, 2004a, 2011). These encounters, referred to here as mixed model encounters, generally aim to increase mutual understanding, cooperation, and eventually reconciliation. They mix between the coexistence and the confrontational models in hope to enjoy the advantages each model offers to improving intergroup relations amidst ongoing conflict and asymmetric power relations, while mitigating its potential disadvantages. In a way, mixed-

model encounters aims to satisfy the need to reduce prejudice and increase positive attitudes, while encouraging participants to confront the structural impediments for reconciliation.

The extent to which they are successful in doing so has been the main research question explored in this thesis. The point of departure was that first, there is an evident lack of studies on the effects of such encounters, and second, even studies that were conducted and published often suffer from major limitations, mostly on methodological background, which hinder the ability to truly determine the effectiveness of this popular activity. In response, the present study evaluated the outcomes of "Face-to-Face", a mixed-model encounter program for Jewish and Palestinian high school students conducted by Givat Haviva. In doing so, it utilized a quasi-experimental design that attempted to compensate for the expected self-selection bias, to rule out unwanted measurement effect, particularly pretest sensitization, and to evaluate the longitudinal effects of the encounters. To achieve these goals, the complex design included two intervention groups, namely the encounter group of Jewish and Palestinian participants and the comparison group of nonparticipants. Each intervention group completed questionnaires measuring the dependent variables at four different time points: before, immediately after, two to four weeks after, and one year after taking part in an encounter (for participants) or in parallel times (for nonparticipants). The field experiment also utilized the Solomon Four Group Design (S4GD), and accordingly, included unpretested groups of participants and nonparticipants.

The last chapter of this thesis will discuss the main findings of the thesis from its three partially-independent chapters, and present their contribution to the existing literature in various fields of research. It will be argued that this work extends previous research on intergroup contact and peace education, and makes a significant contribution to the study of intergroup encounters amidst conflict. Limitations and directions for further research will also be presented, followed by practical recommendations for planning and executing encounters in deeply-divided societies such as Israel.

5.1. Intergroup coexistence and its psychological dimensions: measuring Coexistence Orientation among Jews and Palestinians in Israel

The second chapter of this thesis laid the foundation for the intervention study in the third chapter, by theorizing, measuring, and thoroughly assessing the index of Coexistence Orientation (CO), a concept referring to a psychological state of mind that individual members

of groups in conflict should have when the groups wish to, or are about to, enter a preliminary stage of positivity in the processes of peacebuilding and reconciliation.

Concepts such as reconciliation and coexistence have gradually gained importance in the social-psychological literature of intergroup relations (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2000, 2004; 2009; Kriesberg, 1998a, 2001; Lederach, 1997; Nadler & Saguy, 2004; Rouhana, 2004, 2011; Stephan, 2008; Worchel & Coutant, 2008). Reconciliation between parties in conflict, such as Israeli Jews and Palestinians, is not easy to achieve (Bar-Tal, 2009; Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2005; Nadler & Saguy, 2004; Rouhana, 2004, 2011). The route to reconciliation involves bridging between contested national narratives and historical truths, accepting mutual responsibility for past injustices, and embracing feelings of collective guilt and forgiveness (Bar-Tal 2000, 2009; Meierhenrich, 2008). These should lead to fundamentally changing political and societal systems to accommodate a new, harmoniously relationship on the foundation of equality and dignity. In contrast, the road to establishment coexistence, seems, at least theoretically, more simple. In essence, it "merely" requires individuals in both societies (and their respective leaderships) to embrace the idea of positivity in their relationship with the other group, and to be willing to make the efforts to engage in a process of reconciliation (Bar-Tal, 2004, 2005; Kriesberg, 1998a, 2001; Smooha, 2010). Although not desirable for the long-run, coexistence marks a prominent shift from mutual animosity and violence. When achieved, coexistence is not the final station on the way to intergroup harmony, but perhaps the first one (Bar-Tal, 2004; Bekerman, 2011; Bloomfield, 2006). Coexistence, therefore, signifies a more moderate, pragmatic, and less naïve possibility for positive relations.

The second chapter of this thesis contributes to the literature on coexistence in both theoretical and empirical ways. While previous studies focused mostly on the political and structural aspects of coexistence, its psychological aspects, which are no less important, were largely neglected (Bar-Tal, 2004, 2005, Smooha, 2010). Moreover, the existing body of work is mainly theoretical, and there is neither consensual understanding of coexistence, nor a clear framework for its operationalization (see Pankhurst, 1999).

To date, there has been no available instrument to assess the extent to which Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel are oriented toward intergroup coexistence. It seemed, therefore, timely to compile an index that would enable to comprehensively assess this orientation using quantitative measurement tools, and particularly its emotional, cognitive, motivational, behavioral, and political dimensions. Accordingly, this thesis provided valuable knowledge about the orientation of each group toward coexistence, the relationship between the constructs

and domains that are enclosed in this orientation, and the utility of the latter to enhancing our understanding of intergroup attitudes amidst conflict. High orientation toward Jewish-Palestinian coexistence among group members is envisioned to make a meaningful contribution to Israeli society in its transition from conflict and reconciliation. It is assumed that enhancing group members' CO would create the social atmosphere and institutional support for promoting meaningful constructive dialogue, forgiveness, and all-encompassing societal effort toward reconciliation (Bar-Tal, 2004, 2005; Smooha, 2005, 2010).

It should be emphasized that even when the majority in each society are considered to be mutually oriented toward coexistence and coexistence largely characterizes the social and political systems in the country, there are likely to be ideological and political groups that refuse to adopt the necessary composite of positive attitudes that coexistence requires, and in general, reject the process of reconciliation (Bar-Tal., 2011). Nevertheless, as Bar-Tal and Bennink (2004) explain, when such groups are marginal and cannot alter the overall peaceful climate, formerly rival groups may still be able to move forward in the ladder of positive relations (see also Bar-Tal, 2011; Kriesberg, 2001; Rouhana, 2004). It should also be stressed that coexistence is not a desirable solution for intergroup conflict, but merely a temporarily arrangement, a prerequisite and a prelude to more advanced harmonious steps (Bar-Tal, 2004; Bloomfield, 2006; Kriesberg, 1998a). Coexistence was even criticized for essentially being a balanced framework for an imbalanced reality that will gain nothing but the perpetuation of existing inequalities and unjust political arrangements, and thus serving the needs of the advantaged majority while ignoring those of the disadvantaged minority (see Jamal, 2011; Rouhana, 2004, 2011; Rouhana & Ghanem, 1998).

5.2. The short-term effects of mixed-model encounters between Jewish and Palestinian youth

The third and fourth chapters of the thesis presented a detailed analysis of the effects of "Face-to-Face" encounters. Chapter 3 examined the extent to which the encounter in this framework can increase CO among participants, ultimately testing the general hypothesis that such encounters can improve attitudes that are associated with coexistence (a "deeper" attitude change required by reconciliation was not examined). The analysis found significant effects of the encounter on Overall CO and on attitudinal constructs in all domains of CO for the short term, that is, when the dependent variables were measured immediately after the intervention. The positive immediate effects of the encounters, with mostly large effect sizes, suggest that

the participants are able to generalize what they learned and experienced while interacting with specific outgroup participants to the entire outgroup (Pettigrew, 1997; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010). No positive effects were observed in the comparison groups that completed the measures in parallel, and in fact, particularly among Jews, there was a significant negative effect in several indicators of Emotional, Motivational, and Behavioral CO among nonparticipants. These results are overall compatible with previously obtained results on the psychological effects of Jewish-Palestinian encounters in Israel, when these were measured for the short term (e.g., Bar & Bargal, 1995; Maoz, 2000, 2003; Mollov & Lavie, 2007; Yablon, 2007a, 2009). Nevertheless, the results reported in Chapter 3 expand existing knowledge, by examining and confirming positive intervention effects on variables that were not previously examined in mixed-model encounters, such as empathy (Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005, Schroeder & Risen, in press; Yablon, 2009), hope (Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut, & Drori, 2008; Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006), support for equal rights, and political tolerance (Halperin et al., 2009; Maoz & McCauley, 2008). These newly found effects and replicated effects were obtained in a large sample and were significant even while adjusting for a large set of covariates, including demographic, sociopolitical, and personality variables.

However, most positive effects were smaller among Palestinian participants compared to Jewish participants. This finding is consistent with prior studies suggesting that contact effects are stronger for majority than for minority group members across racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Maoz, 2000, 2003; Salomon, 2011; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005b). The results also show that for the Jewish group, not only that the domains of CO were highly correlated, the effects of the encounter were also quite consistent across the domains. On the other hand, among Palestinian encounter participants, the cognitive domain of CO, as indicated by perceptions of threat and negative images of the Jewish group, was not positively affected by the encounter. Although the sample is not representative of the Jewish and Palestinian populations in Israel, relatively low levels of Cognitive CO were found among Palestinians in Chapter 2, and also among both participants and nonparticipants at baseline in Chapter 3. These include negative stereotypes that indicate anti-Semitic perceptions (Kaplan & Small, 2006; on anti-Semitism in the Palestinian society see Herf, 2013). A particularly explanation for the weak effects in the cognitive domain among Palestinian may be that despite the structure of the encounter that integrates coexistence and confrontational models of encounters, the elements of communalities and positive contact were eventually more dominant than the political and confrontational ones.

Research on asymmetric conflicts has largely focused on prejudice and stereotypes among members of advantaged groups, while paying less attention to negative attitudes held by disadvantaged minorities (Dovidio, 2001; Dovidio et al., 2010; Saguy et al., 2012). The imbalanced focus on the Jewish majority's attitudes is also highly salient in the contemporary literature on Jewish-Palestinian relations (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2013; Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). This may be justified considering the power disparities between the groups and findings that show that prejudice in the majority group often leads to discrimination even nowadays (Dovidio, 2001). However, coexistence requires that both groups hold positive or at least neutral image of the other group, and therefore it is equally important to increase Cognitive CO among Palestinian citizens.

5.3. Do the encounters preach to the already converted?

One of the goals of the analysis in Chapter 3 was to examine the effects of the self-selection bias and possible differential effects for motivated and unmotivated participants. Several findings suggest that contrary to the common belief or often-heard criticism (e.g., Boehnke et al., 2011; Salomon, 2009; Steinberg, 2013), intergroup encounters do not necessarily affect only individuals who are inclined to be affected, despite the common selection bias that was also detected in this study. In fact, several results suggest that the opposite might be true.

First, despite the strong element of volunteerism, the sociopolitical diversity of the encounter group challenges the idea that encounters address a homogeneous population of like-minded participants who already hold favorable, reconciliatory beliefs and attitudes (Steinberg, 2013). In terms of political orientation, although Jewish participants were on average more leftist than nonparticipants, political orientation was only weakly correlated with willingness to take part in a Jewish-Palestinian encounter ($r = .23$, $p = .002$ for Jewish participants and nonparticipants combined), and indeed, participants were students from all levels of the political spectrum. Considering that participation is rarely involuntary, this suggest that even those who are not likely to hold favorable intergroup attitudes still choose to engage in a face-to-face interaction with members of the other group and to participate in an intergroup dialogue. These results are consistent findings by Maoz (2010), who showed that although most Jewish participants are not orthodox in terms of religiosity, as was in our case, they are diverse in terms of Jewish ethnicity, political affiliation, and socioeconomic status. Still, despite this detected heterogeneity, the majority of participants (above 70% in both national groups) reported high

motivation for encounters, while the majority of nonparticipants (roughly 70% in both groups) expressed low motivation for encounters.

More importantly, the analysis that incorporated motivation groups found that not only that positive effect occurred among participants with both high and low motivation for encounters, but also that for almost all dependent variables and for both national groups, the effects were stronger among low- compared to high-motivated participants. These finding strengthen the internal validity of the results by reducing the possibility that the intervention effects resulted from selection bias, but even more importantly, they suggest that mixed-model encounters can convince the unconvinced and not only affect those who already hold favorable attitudes. The finding that contact positively affects less motivated participants with lower initial CO may also challenge the belief that high prejudice is a potential barrier to prejudice reduction through contact (see Stephan, 1987; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010). It is also congruent with prior findings that contradict this belief, even in the context of intractable conflicts. For example, Maoz (2003) found that less motivated encounter participants, with right-wing political orientation and "hawkish" perceptions about the conflict, gained favorable perceptions to a higher extent than their motivated left-wing counterparts. In their meta analysis of contact effects, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) also showed that when participants are not necessarily volunteering for contact, the effects on the latter of prejudice was even larger than when selection bias was salient. With regard to high-motivated participants in this study, it should be stressed that their attitudes across the indicators and domains of CO were already quite favorable at baseline, and it would be, perhaps, unrealistic to expect their attitudes to further improve following one intervention.

5.4. Positive effects of mixed-model encounters are short-lived

All the effects discussed so far were assessed by comparing pretest with posttest scores, when the latter were obtained at the end of the encounters. The positive and substantial immediate effects revealed in this study are important by themselves, and demonstrate the utility of mixed-model encounters in bringing about positive effects on intergroup attitudes among Jews and Palestinians. However, the encounter practitioners often aim higher, and wish to facilitate a lasting process that will contribute to efforts to improve intergroup relations at the macro level. Studies on various peace education interventions with a follow-up measurement (e.g., Rosen & Salomon, 2011 ; Salomon, 2006, 2009; Schroeder & Risen, in press) found that

positive effects tend to decay shortly thereafter, when participants return to their respective communities and are "reintegrated" into the conflict.

This study assessed the intermediate- and long-term effects of the encounter. To the author's knowledge, no studies using quantitative methods to assess long-term effects of Jewish-Palestinian encounters such as those conducted by Givat Haviva were published in the past. Unfortunately, it was found that the positive and encouraging effects detected in the near-term dwindled over time, and left no traces when measured a year afterwards, when former participants were in their authentic life settings. The only exceptions were the effects on hatred among Jews and perceived threat among Palestinians. Prolonged encounter effect were also found for perceived outgroup variability when examining the intermediate-term effects of the encounters a few weeks afterwards. The perceived heterogeneity of the outgroup is particularly important, since only when participant internalize the personal diversity of the other group, they are likely to generalize positive attitudes they gain from the specific outgroup participant with whom they interacted to the entire outgroup (Er-rafiy & Brauer, 2013; Hewstone & Hamberger, 2000; Islam & Hewstone, 1993).

These findings should, however, be interpreted cautiously due to the high attrition, which resulted in attrition bias among Jewish participants. As a result, the analysis was not optimal and could not be performed by comparing scores between the encounter and the comparison group, and eventually focused only on trends among participants. However, the bias among Jewish participants was in favor of those who completed the follow-up test a year after taking part in encounters, in the sense that the latter were found to improve more than dropouts from pretest to posttest. For this reason, the attrition bias may even strengthen the conclusion that there were no substantial long-term effects. If there were no enduring effects among those who showed exceptionally high improvement after the encounter, it is not likely that among those who did not particularly improved after the encounter, long-term effects would have been detected.

Our results are seemingly inconsistent with those recently obtained by Schroeder and Risen (in press), who showed that positive effects of encounters between Jews and Palestinians eroded but remained significant nine months after the encounters. Nevertheless, the intervention they examined consisted of a three-week summer-camp in a neutral location abroad, which may have been more intense and meaningful for participants, and therefore lead to a more profound experience than the two-day encounter studied here. Moreover, the aforementioned study was likely to result in a selection bias, since participants were carefully-selected young leaders, who

were more inclined to social and political involvement. Moreover, no comparison groups were included in that study.

Our results are, however, in concordance with the common view that due to the negative sociopsychological dynamics of the conflict (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2007, 2013; Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2011), one-time, short interventions cannot exert a substantial impact on intergroup attitudes and beliefs (see Rosen & Perkins, 2013; Rosen & Salomon, 2011). Abu-Nimer and Lazarus (2007) argue that participants, especially from the disadvantaged group, often experience a deep contradiction between the hope for a better future the encounter instills in them, and the power structure and negative reality of the conflict that strikes them outside the encounter, probably already during the first days afterwards. Feelings of hope are particularly hard to be improved before a substantial process of peacebuilding begun, since Jewish and Palestinian youth are unable to imagine the benefits of peaceful relations and reconciliation. Although participants demonstrated a better ability to imagine a peaceful future immediately after the encounter, it did not withstand the widespread collective despair that is perpetuated by the continuing negative realty (Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut, & Almog, 2008; Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006; Lazarus, 1999).

These results, however, do not rule out a possible preventing effect that was suggested by Salomon (2004, 2006). It can be that the positive experience in the encounter, as evident by the positive short-term effects, prevented detrimental effects of following negative direct or indirect (e.g., media-mediated) contact, or other negative conflict-related experience, that would have occurred without the intervention (see Paolini et al., 2014). The encounter may have equipped some participants with cognitive skills to refrain from generalizing negative experiences, and may have even changed the mental representation of the conflict and the other group (Bar-Tal & Teichmen, 2005), and therefore it may serve as a buffer against the harmful effect of the continuing reality of the conflict.

A final note about the findings of long-term effects pertains to the sharp decline in participants' readiness for contact as found approximately one year after the encounters in both national groups. How can this sharp decline be explained? One possibility is that a true decline in readiness for contact was observed, perhaps since the encounter already fulfilled the desire to engage in interactions with outgroup members. The immediate increase in readiness for contact and joint activities was observed only among low-motivated participants, while high-motivated participants in both national groups did not change their Behavioral CO during the encounter. It is possible that after the encounter, motivated participants lost interest in further

interactions. Another possibility is that scores on Behavioral CO among participants in the pretest and posttest were positively biased. During the period of the encounter, participants anticipated the encounter and developed expectations, and as a result their reported motivation may have been inflated, and returned to normal when measured in a later point in time, when there were no expectations for any particular contact-related activity.

5.5. *Mixed-model encounters do not decrease minority group members' awareness to inequalities*

Recent studies on the relationship between prejudice reduction and collective action found that positive intergroup contact can be detrimental to social justice, because it can decrease awareness of injustices among members of disadvantaged groups, and consequently their willingness to engage in collective action to fight discrimination (Dixon et al., 2010; Dixon et al., 2012; Dovidio et al., 2008; Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008). Ironically, when disadvantaged participants increase liking and trust for the advantaged participants, they might think that discrimination is less harmful for their group, and that efforts to change the power relations can only disrupt the efforts to achieve positive relations (Saguy et al., 2009).

The results of the analysis in Chapter 3 disconfirm this hypothesis when it comes to mixed-model encounter, which were not found to decrease perceived deprivation among Palestinian participants. Participation in the encounter, in fact, increased awareness to inequalities among both Jews and Palestinians. The mediation analysis in Chapter 4 also showed that the increase in awareness to Jewish-Palestinian inequalities among Palestinians (manifested in lower scores on perceived equality) suppressed the effect on support for inclusion of Jews in the Palestinian social space, although the positive effect on hope was sufficient to mediate a positive effect on support for inclusion. These results indicate that mixed-model encounters, which emphasize both communalities and differences and do not neglect the political dimension of the relationship between the groups, may not be detrimental to social action. This finding is consistent with studies of racial dialogue workshops in the US that found support for increasing awareness of social inequalities among both Whites and Blacks (e.g., Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003, see Dessel & Rogge, 2008). Mixed-model encounters involving facilitated dialogue do not aim only to reduce prejudice, but also to increase awareness to structural inequalities that negatively affect the disadvantaged group, as well as commitment to challenging these inequalities through social involvement and activism (Abu-

Nimer & Lazarus, 2007; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Maoz, 2004a, 2011). As a result, they may avoid the pitfall of positive contact described in the literature.

5.6. Differential emotional and cognitive mechanisms of mixed-model encounters' effects

The fourth chapter of the thesis aimed to elucidate the mechanism by which mixed-model encounters between Jews and Palestinians improve intergroup attitudes, while focusing on variations in affective-cognitive mechanisms that increase favorable policy support and behavioral. Overall, the results confirm that utilizing positive contact and dialogue may increase desired intergroup behaviors and policy endorsement toward reconciliation, by enhancing positive emotional sentiments, increasing majority members' awareness of inequalities, and reducing perceptions of negative outgroup intentions.

In a way, in Chapter 4 the encounter was utilized as a real-life laboratory in order to learn about the differential role of affect versus cognition in intergroup behaviors, out of the assumption that mixed-model encounters involve both emotional and cognitive mechanisms, as opposed to a more "traditional" positive contact in the spirit of the contact hypothesis that was found to work mostly through affective processes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Nevertheless, the overarching hypothesis that emotional and cognitive processes in Jewish-Palestinian encounters will differentially influence contact-related and policy-related behaviors, respectively, due to the different bases of attitudes influencing these behaviors (Millar & Tesser, 1986, 1989; Esses & Dovidio, 2002), is only partially confirmed.

Particularly, in agreement with recent findings on peace education in Israel (Yablon, 2008) and on imagined contact effects (Husnu & Crisp, 2010), it was found that emotional rather than cognitive mediation effects took place in the encounter's effect on readiness for social contact. Moreover, the positive effect on support for equal rights among Jewish participants was mostly cognitively-based, mediated by increased awareness to inequalities and reduced perceptions of outgroup threat. Nevertheless, readiness for a more instrumental type of contact, namely joint intergroup activities, was found to be both emotionally- and cognitively-driven, and so does less support for policies that restrict the rights of the disadvantaged minority.

Overall, the theoretical framework on differential affective and cognitive drives of intergroup attitude changes was discovered to be limited in its ability to exclusively explain attitudinal processes that occur in encounters. Consequently, interpretations that relate to the

specific emotional, cognitive, and behavioral constructs were shown to fit the data more appropriately. We already know that in intractable conflicts, emotions play a substantial role even in seemingly instrumental or "rational" behaviors (e.g. Bar-Tal et al., 2007; Cottrell et al., 2010; Halperin et al., 2009; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000). Collective emotions are embedded in societal beliefs, shared by society members, experienced in a long-term context, and often determine responses to conflict-related events and situations (Bar-Tal, 2013; Bar-Tal et al., 2007; Halperin, 2011). For example, it was found that perceived threat can increase outgroup anger, fear, and other negative emotions, particularly if the threat can potentially involve injustice and loss of resources (e.g., Leidner et al., 2013; Renfro et al., 2006; see Stephan et al., 2009). The functioning of emotion and cognition in intergroup relations is therefore likely to be bidirectional and more complex than operationalized and described in this study, and actions and behaviors are likely to be determined by more complex attitudinal processes (see also Halperin et al., 2011).

5.7. Receiving the pretest may have affected the posttest, but pretest sensitization did not occur

To the author's knowledge, this study is the first attempt to control for measurement effects by employing the S4GD in the context of Jewish-Palestinian encounters. It should be mentioned that the analysis of measurement effects was rather exploratory and limited due to the quasi-experimental design, which does not enable to draw clear-cut conclusions pertaining to pretesting effects and pretest sensitization.

Overall, the data do not offer any support for the theoretical possibility that encounters' effects are merely a measurement artifact, and it is highly unlikely that the act of pretesting in this study significantly influenced posttest scores on the dependent variables differentially for participants and nonparticipants. At best, reactive, but not interactive effects, were found. In the Jewish group, there were infrequent, small, and mostly insignificant differences between participants who received the pretest and those who received a placebo test instead. These effects, however, were similar for both encounter participants and nonparticipants. This indicates that asking participants about their intergroup attitudes may by itself constitute a small intervention that increases positive attitudes. Nevertheless, there were no significant interactions between the intervention and pretesting conditions in all but one indicator of CO in the Palestinian group, namely support for improving relations. This allows drawing the conclusion that although the pretest may have positively altered posttest scores, pretest

sensitization did not occur in this study. In conclusion, the concern that encounter effects merely reflect pretesting bias has not been substantiated.

5.8. On "good" and "bad" encounters: What can go wrong?

The mixed-model approach was set into practice by educators and scholars who wished to enjoy the advantages of both ideal types of contact interventions thoroughly described by Maoz (2004a, 2011; see also Doubilet, 2007): the interpersonal, psychological, harmonious model, to which the original Allport's hypothesis direct, and the more critical, conflict-oriented but "constructively constructed" model, which comes from a perhaps less naïve outlook and more realistic assumptions about the nature of asymmetric intergroup conflicts and what it takes to resolve them from the bottom up. The question that arises is, does the mixed-model encounter program studied here truly enjoy the best of both worlds, or is it inevitably prone to suffer from their impediments?

In general, the results of the analysis correspond to the theoretical expectations and do indicate that at least for the short term, encounters are effective and successful. However, the data were obtained from seven specific encounters, and were analyzed at the aggregate level. Figure 9 illustrates mean pretest and posttest scores in Overall CO for each specific encounter, separately for each group. Any inference from this analysis is limited due to the small number of cases in each encounter, and therefore a proper statistical analysis of cross-encounter effects was not performed in the thesis. The graphs demonstrate that the success or failure of encounters in improving intergroup is markedly contextual, and no specific encounter is like other. Some encounters produce a positive attitude change, while others are largely unable to elicit significant changes.

The ability of a particular encounter to improve attitudes depends on a multitude of interconnected and complex factor, most of which cannot be easily measured and assessed. Both group-level and individual-level factors and both internal and external factors play a role in the success or failure of encounters (Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Maoz, 2004, 2011). For example, each encounter is embedded in a particular sociopolitical context, and is influenced by the characteristics and baseline attitudes of participants and the dynamic that is created between themselves and between them and the facilitators. Research demonstrated that various educational interventions may fail when they are, for instance, implemented in a non-supportive

environment, not suitable for the particular participants, and not carried out as planned (Riley-Tillman & Burns, 2011).
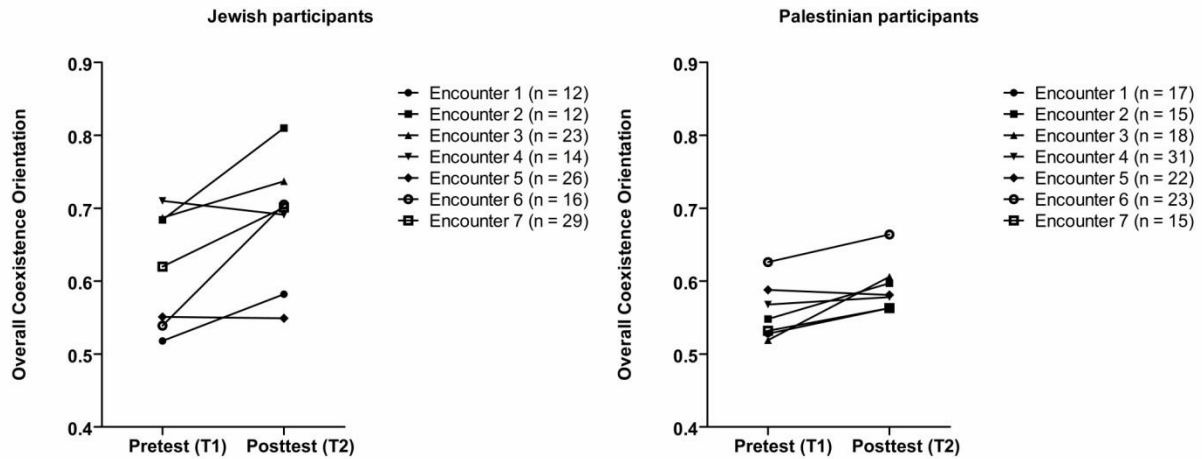
Figure 9. Mean Overall Coexistence Orientation scores at pretest (T1) and posttest (T2) for the encounter group by specific individual encounters, separately for Jews (left) and Palestinians (right). Scores range between 0 and 1. High scores indicate higher orientation toward coexistence.

In any case, it is clear that while some encounters are characterized by constructive processes that increase favorable attitudes, others are more vulnerable and can be quite destructive (Maoz, 2011). It is possible that the destructive elements result from the confrontational, rather than from the harmonious elements of the encounter. Talking about politics with Jewish and Palestinian youth is not an easy task, and the dialogical process is not a linear process of positive transformation (Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Maoz, Bar-On, & Yikya, 2007; Nagda, 2006). In dialogues, participants are confronted with the narratives and perspectives of the other group and create psychological defense mechanisms. They may become frustrated and exhausted. Participants often interrupt and contradict each other, and the encounter may escalate to the extent that personal relationships built in the initial social activities cannot be restored. Moreover, for many participants, the encounters serve as an opportunity to confirm the other's guilt and to find evidence that their collective beliefs and emotions are justified (Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007; Maoz, 2000, 2003, 2011; Ron & Maoz, 2013; Steinberg & Bar-On, 2007). Indeed, many dialogue encounters end up in a deadlock due to increasingly divergent positions characterizing each national group. Each group sees itself as a victim, and demands the other group to admit guilt for past events and make the necessary

concession that would allow the communities to coexist (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2011; Smooha, 2010).

On the other hand, if encounters are voided of any confrontational element, the minority group might be reluctant to continue engaging in this endeavor. As recently demonstrated in numerous studies (see Saguy et al., 2012), while Jews, as members of the advantaged majority, tend to prefer joint activities that are held in positive atmosphere and emphasize communalities between the groups, Palestinians, as members of a disadvantaged minority, aspire to change the reality of the conflict, and therefore prefer contact to focus on power asymmetries and on discussions about how to overcome them.

Positive contact in the spirit of Allport's conditions (1954; Amir, 1969) may reduce prejudice in the advantaged group, but it may also make members of the disadvantaged group feel frustrated, leaving them relatively unaffected by the manipulations. Therefore, while confrontational encounters may be perceived as controversial by members of the advantaged group, who prefer to engage in politically-neutral interactions, a transition to a more egalitarian society requires direct confrontation and ultimately collective action. Refraining from talking about the conflict may increase affection and reduce prejudice, at least for members of one group, but a more complex process is needed if we aim to also change political attitudes and behaviors, and help to bring about an actual change and facilitate viable reconciliation.

5.9. Contributions to the literature

This study is a pioneer work in evaluating the long-term effects of planned encounters between antagonistic groups involved in intractable conflicts in general, and of mixed-model encounters between Jews and Palestinians in Israel in particular. As such, it aims to make a significant contribution to relevant fields of research. Several field-specific contributions should be particularly mentioned, although the various aspects of the design and the analysis detailed below contribute to more than one particular field.

5.9.1. Contribution to the study of intergroup contact

This thesis has the potential to contribute to the literature on intergroup contact. First, significant and positive contact effects were revealed using research methods that are much needed but seldom used, and in a sociopolitical context that is somewhat overlooked in the

contact literature. While most studies on the contact hypothesis utilize a cross-sectional design or panel surveys examining retrospective reports on contact (Christ & Wagner, 2013; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010), this study examined the effects of face-to-face contact in a real life intervention involving interaction between groups while utilizing an experimental design. This enabled to establish causal relationships between contact and a wide variety of intergroup attitudes. Moreover, while most studies focused on the effects of contact on majority or advantaged group members (Tropp, 2006; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005b; Vezzali et al., 2010), this study was able to demonstrate positive contact effects among both high-status and low-status groups, although the effects on the former were overall larger. The lack of field studies on contact effects has also been stressed (Paluck & Green, 2009), together with the need to assess contact effects in the context of intractable conflicts, and particularly in the conflict between Jews and Palestinians (Maoz, 2010, 2011). The positive effects revealed in this study, at least for the short run, confirm that even under the intense sociopsychological dynamics of intractable conflicts, contact can improve attitudes and contribute to perceptions and beliefs that are compatible with coexistence.

Second, the current study examined the effects of encounters on a wide variety of intergroup beliefs, attitudes, emotions, and behavioral intentions included in the evaluation framework and the index of CO, including constructs that were rarely or never examined before in the contact literature, such as intergroup hope, political intolerance, and openness to alternative information about the conflict.

Third, using multiple repeated measures of the dependent variables, this study was able to assess the durability of positive contact effects, a particular aspect of research that so far lacked proper attention (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; Swart et al., 2011; Vezzali et al., 2010).

Finally, this study, to the author's knowledge, is the first to address the mechanism through which encounters between groups involved in an asymmetric conflict improve attitudes by examining mediated outcomes. Although somewhat exploratory, the analysis explicated various paths in the complex mechanism by which encounters lead to changes in behavioral intentions and policy support. While most previous studies on the mechanism of contact effects found that the affective path is more salient than the cognitive one (Pettgirew & Tropp, 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2000, 2005a), the results of this study showed that in planned encounters that involves both interpersonal- and intergroup-level interactions, cognitive processes are no less important than affective ones, especially with regard to effects on political attitudes.

Furthermore, the mechanism of encounters' effects offered in this thesis may be exceptionally valid since it is based on data obtained in a field experiment, thus reflecting more natural intergroup processes. Since intergroup attitudes were examined both before and after the encounter, and the design included a comparison group, it was possible to perform the mediation analysis on residual gains and therefore to analyze real changes in attitudes, in contrast to many studies that examine mediation processes using data collected in one point in time (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008).

5.9.2. Contribution to the study of peace education

This thesis has the potential to make a meaningful contribution is the study of peace education, and particularly of peace education evaluation. In a way, this study takes a different approach than the current trends in the field, particularly in research conducted in the Israeli-Palestinian context, which focuses more process-, discourse-oriented and qualitative evaluations of interventions involving encounter and dialogue (e.g., Bekerman, 2007, 2009; Maoz, 2010, 2011; Maoz, Bar-On, & Yikya, 2007; Maoz, Bekerman, & Sheftel, 2007; Ron & Maoz, 2013; Ross, 2014). Studies taking a "hard science" approach and attempting to employ sound experimental techniques, whether in laboratory or field setting, do not exist in abundance (Maoz, 2011; Paluck & Greemn, 2009). The theoretical approaches applied in this study, and to some extent the methods it uses, may also be described as grounded more in contemporary social and political psychology, than in the "conventional" streams of research in peace education.

The lack of interest in systematic evaluation is not unique to peace and coexistence organizations. Educational interventions are relatively understudied, and it is not uncommon that intervention practices are not grounded in sound research-based knowledge (Burns, et al., 2012). Still, quantitative evaluations to verify the effectiveness of interventions are no less important, and are necessary to establish causal relationship between interventions and outcome measures, with a broader aim to scale up activities and achieve evidence-based practice (Burns et al., 2012; Riley-Tillman & Burns, 2011). Needless to say, systematic outcome evaluations are often required for obtaining financial support for educational practices, and for gaining the support of policy makers. Unfortunately, in term of methodological rigor, research on peace education still lags behind, and the practice of peace education and encounter-based interventions has outpaced its evidentiary support (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Nevo & Brem, 2006; Salomon, 2006, 2009). This study, therefore, may contribute to

strengthening methodological rigor in the field, or at least to increasing awareness to the need for more sound methodological approaches. This contribution can lead to improving existing practices and promoting successful practices, and to facilitating a better integration between research and practice.

Not only in the peace education literature, but also in social psychology, there have been calls for more rigorous studies on prejudice reduction using experimental methods (Binder et al., 2009; Paluck & Green, 2009; Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). This study attempted to maximize validity through both the design and the analysis, which enabled to control for major confounders and expected threats. This study is also a pioneer in applying a design with pretesting conditions, based on the S4GD, to study intergroup encounters. The results largely confirm that pretest sensitization does not constitute a major problem in the measurement of encounter effects, although the pretest itself may have a unique contribution to intergroup attitudes. Examining measurement effects was important particularly considering the extensive use of pretest-posttest designs in studies on intergroup encounters (Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Stephan & Stephan, 2001).

Finally, this study was unique in its attempt to compensate for self-selection bias. Steiner et al. (2010) recommend that in the presence of such bias, researchers should reduce it in the analysis by including covariates that are closely related to the selection process, in addition to the pretest scores on the dependent variable. They found that particularly effective covariates are personal motivational factors that are associated with allocation to experimental conditions. In our case, individual motivation to attend a Jewish-Palestinian encounter was found to be strongly related to the selection process, and indeed, performing an adjustment through motivation-based stratification largely reduced the nonequivalence that resulted from a biased selection process to the intervention conditions.

5.9.3. Contribution to the study of intergroup conflict

Finally, this research endeavor makes several theoretical and empirical contributions to the study of intergroup conflicts. Recent years have seen a mushrooming of studies on group-based emotional and the role they play in various stages of intergroup conflict (e.g., Halperin, 2011; Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut, & Drori, 2008; Halperin et al., 2011; Yablon, 2008), but their role in intergroup encounters received little attention (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2000, 2005a; Vezzali et al., 2010; Yablon, 2007a). This study paid a particular

attention to the role of group-based emotions in encounters amidst protracted conflict, both as direct effects and as mediators of further effects on political attitudes and behaviors. In general, it adds to the growing body of evidence showing that in intergroup conflict, affect is no less important than cognition in determining political attitudes, and especially the role hope (e.g., Halperin, Bar-Tal, Nets-Zehngut, & Almog, 2008; Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal), hatred (e.g., Halperin, 2008; Halperin et al., 2009) and empathy (e.g., Stephan & Finlay, 1999) play in support for intergroup-related policies and political intolerance amidst conflict (see also Halperin, 2011; Maoz & Mccauley, 2008). In particular, it adds to the existing knowledge on the role of emotions in the conflict's de-escalation and in the process of reconciliation (Halperin et al., 2011).

The mediation analysis in Chapter 4 showed that behaviors and political attitudes in conflicts are not only based on intergroup emotions and cognitive appraisal, they are also, at least to some extent, *driven* by the latter. For example, while previous research found that negative emotions such as hatred are associated with political intolerance (Halperin et al., 2009, 2012), the results of the mediation analysis in Chapter 4 show that such emotions also have a crucial role also in the processes of reducing political intolerance. Jewish-Palestinian encounters provided a unique opportunity to add to the existing knowledge on variations in affective-cognitive attitudinal bases of behaviors in intergroup conflict (e.g., Esses & Dovidio, 2002), and to contribute to understanding the susceptibility of attitudes and behaviors to emotion-focused versus attribute-focused attitude change that may occur during encounters.

Finally, the results add this growing body of research in social and peace psychology that attempts to understand the sociopsychological dimensions of positive intergroup relations in the framework of theories on coexistence, reconciliation, and other forms of positive intergroup relations after conflict (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2004; Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Baron, 2008; Kelman, 2004; Kriesberg, 1998a, 2001; Rouhana, 2004, 2011; Stephan, 2008; Worchel & Coutant, 2008). Particularly, this study developed a conceptual and empirical framework to understand the psychological underpinnings of a minimally-positive form of relations that is described under the term coexistence (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2004, 2005; Smooha, 2005, 2010), and to measure it in the context of Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel.

5.10. Limitations and suggestions for future research

Some important methodological and theoretical limitations should be carefully considered when interpreting the results of the thesis and warrant further research. These limitations are discussed below in division to several aspects and themes of the thesis.

5.10.1. Reevaluating the index of Coexistence Orientation

Several limitations should be mentioned with regard to the conceptual and empirical evaluation framework that was developed in the second chapter of the thesis and was used to measure the intervention effects in the third chapter. First, pertaining to the process of developing the context and the measures, the readers are urged to keep in mind that the suggested structure of the meta-construct of CO and its hierarchic structure of domains and indicators, although based on an extensive theoretical review, constitute only one specific framework out of many possible ways to understand and operationalize the spectrum of beliefs, attitudes, and emotions associated with coexistence in general and with Jewish-Palestinian coexistence in particular. Despite the advance made in the field, there are still evident inconsistencies in the definitions and understanding of the background concepts that were used to develop a systematic definition of CO, such as peace, coexistence, reconciliation, and harmony, whether they refer to the process through which intergroup relations are transformed after conflict, or to the desired end-state of that process (Bloomfield, 2006; Dwyer, 1999; Meierhenrich, 2008; Rouhana, 2011). As a result, there can be many ways to conceptualize and operationalize the relevant sociopsychological constructs that are associated with each concept describing positive intergroup relations such as coexistence.

The framework of CO largely followed the works of Daniel Bar-Tal and his colleagues on reconciliation and coexistence, which is almost inclusively based on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (e.g., Bar-Tal., 2000, 2004, 2005, 2009; Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003). Moreover, the voluminous theoretical framework to understand reconciliation and coexistence in these works is to some extent more relevant to the external Israeli-Palestinian conflict than to the internal Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel. Bar-Tal (2004) explicitly mentioned that coexistence should not be perceived as a favorable accommodation between communities that share social and political institutions after the conflict. In any case, the lack of consensual definition of coexistence, and particularly of its psychological bases and

consequences (Bar-Tal, 2004, Kriesberg, 1998a, 2001), constitutes a major challenge in its measurement.

One of the aims of the analysis in Chapter 2 was to examine relationships between theoretical domains of CO, and therefore composite scores were calculated for each domain regardless of the dimensional structure of Overall CO. Nevertheless, the results do not particularly support the suggested hierarchical structure. For Jews, the correlations between the domains were highly strong (all $r \geq .65$, $p < .001$), while for Palestinians, the emotional, motivational, and behavioral domains were highly intercorrelated ($r \geq .61$, $p < .001$), and only the cognitive domain was not strongly associated with other domains. Principal Component Analysis did not confirm that the domain structure of CO is also the meta constructs' dimensional structure. In the Jewish sample, the analysis shows that all twelve indicator subscales were factorially reduced to a single dimension that explains 55.31% of the variance (eigenvalue = 6.64). Palestinians' CO indicator subscales were loaded on two components, one with six subscales measuring Emotional, Motivational, and Behavioral CO (eigenvalue = 3.53, explaining 39.21% of the variance), and another component with the subscales indicating Cognitive CO (eigenvalue = 1.61, 17.83% of the variance). This may suggest that the Overall CO as it was operationalized in this study is more uni- than multi-dimensional among Jews, while it may be structured into two dimensions among Palestinians.

With regard to Emotional CO, two important group-based emotional sentiments were not included in the index as indicators but it can be argued that they are no less important to understand the emotional orientation toward coexistence, namely fear (Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006) and anger (Halperin & Gross, 2010). Fear may be particularly important in the context of Emotional CO since it has been described as a primary emotion dominating hope in intractable conflicts (Bar-Tal, 2001; Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal., 2006). Future studies would benefit from further refinement of the framework and the inclusion of additional and alternative indicators across all domains, and preferably those already found to have a central role in intergroup conflict.

5.10.2. Design limitations

Despite the attempt to utilize a methodologically-sound design, while acknowledging the limitations that stem from field experiments on educational interventions, several limitations of the design must be addressed. Most of these limitations, however, were

anticipated in the planning stage of the study and thoroughly addressed in the presented analysis.

First, self-selection constitutes a major threat to valid causal inference, and is a notable constrain in planned encounters (e.g., Yablon, 2012). Selection bias, caused due to the lack of randomized selection to experimental conditions, was expected, detected, and addressed rather extensively in the analysis of the intervention effects. In attempt to adequately control for this threat, differences in baseline scores in influential individual-level variables between the participating and nonparticipating groups were compensated through analysis of covariance and stratification. However, the results of this study confirming causal hypotheses should still be carefully considered. Alternative explanations, particularly those related to sample bias, cannot be ruled out, since unmeasured variables may still intervene in the association between the intervention and the response variables. An additional limitation related to the nonequivalence of the encounter and comparison groups was that no sufficient knowledge on the selection process to the encounter was gathered. Steiner et al. (2010) recommend that when selection bias is likely, researchers should investigate it to allow better reduction of that bias in the analysis. In addition to personal motivations, the selection process in schools may have involved other factors, including parental permission, teachers' assessments, and more. These factors may be significantly related to the outcome of interest in this study.

The inclusion of pretest conditions according to the underused S4GD has been, to put it blatantly, both a blessing and a curse. While enabling to rule out the concern that encounters' effects are merely a reflection of testing effects, it significantly reduced the power of the analysis by decreasing the sample size. This was particularly devastating to the analysis of long-term effects, which was further affected by high attrition and attrition bias, leading to the inability to offer a proper analysis of the durability of the effects. Braver and Braver (1988) suggested to use meta-analytic techniques to combine data from both pretested and unpretested groups into a single statistic, in order to increase the power of the analysis to detect treatment effects (see also Sawilowsky et al., 1994). However, since random assignment was not possible and preexisting differences between participants and nonparticipants across the dependent variables were detected, this and similar techniques could not be used.

Nevertheless, the author still urges researchers in the field to make use of the S4GD. Despite the disadvantages, this procedure, particularly if applied in randomized experiments, allows a maximum control of measurement reactivity and can strengthen both the internal and the external validity of the results. More research using this design can also help understanding

what measurement tools are more at risk of igniting pretest sensitization, and what can be considered as safe from the threats such as priming and learning. Future research may also help to address individual-level and contextual variables that moderate pretesting effects (Braver & Braver, 1988; Sawilowsky et al., 1994). And still, future research applying the S4GD, particularly in longitudinal studies, should take into consideration the possibility of high attrition and adjust the required sample size accordingly.

Finally, this study did not succeed in preventing a high dropout of students from the posttest to the follow-up test. To avoid the high cost of conducting paper questionnaires in school settings, a decision was made to conduct the follow-up test using online questionnaires. This required sending individual invitations to students who left contact details, but many of could not be reached, and particularly those who took part in an encounter when they were at the 12th grade level and at the time of follow-up testing were not in the school system anymore. In addition, many of those who were invited chose to refrain from further participation. A certain amount of attrition was anticipated when the research was designed, but the actual attrition was larger than expected. Future studies should be more aware of the difficulties to obtain data from former encounter participants outside any institutionalized framework. More importantly, an attrition bias was detected in the Jewish sample, according to which participants who completed the fourth questionnaire were more positively affected by the encounter compared to those who dropped out. In sum, due to high attrition, it was not possible to examine long-tern effect among encounter participants in comparison to nonparticipants, who may have grown at that time in similar or different directions. This limitation, as explained above, warrants caution when interpreting the results of the long-term assessment.

Despite these design and procedural drawbacks, most of which were beyond the control of the researcher, the strength of this study is in its unique design, which may even be seen as a breakthrough in the study of intergroup encounters, in terms of the ability to establish causal relationships considering familiar constrains in the field.

5.10.3. Measurement limitations

Several limitations of measurement should be considered. First, with regard to the subscales used to measure specific indicators within each domain of CO, it should be noted that since the index included a relatively large number of subscales, each comprised only a small number of items, which led to apply a rather low threshold of reliability. Measuring a multitude

of attitudinal constructs was seen as advantageous to comprehensively assess the effects of the encounter, but this may have increased the error in measurement, and consequently led to invalid results.

Second, several indicators exhibited negative skew, suggesting a threat of ceiling effect which may compromised further analyses. Particularly, the 3-item measure of perceived threat for Palestinians (constructed using items from Smooha, 2005) may have not properly differentiated between high and low perceptions of collective threats. One possible flaw of the subscale might be that while the items in the parallel subscales measuring Jews' perceived threat addressed perceptions of threat imposed by outgroup members, the measure for Palestinians referred to threat imposed by the State, the latter of which may be perceived as more imminent (see also Rouhana, 1997; Smooha, 1999).

Third, the unexpectedly weak and inverse correlations between perceived variability and other indicators of Cognitive CO among Palestinians may be the result of a poor measure. Perceived variability was assessed using only two items (adapted from Kashima and Kashima, 1993), which may have not been properly understood by the respondents. An alternative measure was used by Islam and Hewstone (1993), who asked respondents to rate the qualities they would attribute to an average outgroup member, and then to an extreme outgroup member, and inferred perceived variability from the difference between the ratings. Applying this measure could have been advantageous to understand perceptions of group heterogeneity, particularly among adolescents, but would have been too time consuming and could not be utilized in this study. Additional research that addresses these limitations and employs alternative and validated measurements is warranted.

Finally, a possible instrumentation or mode effect should be considered. While the first three measurements were conducted using paper-based questionnaires, the follow-up test utilized a web-based questionnaire. The variation in the employed measurement instrument may result in overestimating or underestimating the durability of the intervention effects. Nevertheless, the association between posttest scores and follow-up test scores was sufficiently high for most variables, which suggests that the mode of questionnaire had no major influence on the results. Prior research found little evidence for differences between the two modes of anonymous questioning among high-school students (e.g., Denscombe, 2006).

5.10.4. Limitations of the study of emotional and cognitive mediators of encounters' effects

With regard to the analysis of the encounter's mechanism offered in Chapter 4, it should be stressed that contact workshops may not be the ideal setting to examine such processes. First, the encounter itself was treated as a "black box", and the mechanism described above was not directly observed, but rather inferred from the statistical analysis, the encounter's characteristics, and the existing literature. A causal sequence from certain attitude changes to behavioral intentions was depicted, but all variables were measured simultaneously. Second, manipulation of affect and cognition in the framework of the minimal-group paradigm may be more suitable for examining such processes due to the complexity of the psychological dynamics of intergroup conflicts. Finally, it is probable that due to the important role that emotions play in intergroup behavior in general (e.g., Stangor et al., 1991) and in intergroup conflicts in particular (e.g., Halperin et al., 2011), affective and cognitive processes leading to changes in attitudes and behaviors toward antagonistic groups are intertwined and cannot be disentangled using experimental techniques.

Much further research is needed to disentangle affective and cognitive processes in intergroup contact, using direct observations and careful, multiple lab experiments (see Todd & Galinsky, 2014). Priming for specific group-based emotions or perceptions may still be more revealing of micro-level processes than field experiments such as the one carried out in this thesis. Moreover, other potentially important mediators of contact effects, such as trust and anxiety (e.g., Turner, West, & Christie, 2013), should be addressed in future research on Jewish-Palestinian encounters.

5.10.5. Generalizability of the results

A few lines should be dedicated to discussing the limited generalizability of the results. First, the ecological validity of the research setting is estimated to be high. Ecological validity is one of the strongest advantages of a field experiment, and threats to validity of the intervention were largely removed by the finding that the pretest did not sensitized the participants (Campbell & Stanley, 1963; Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). Nevertheless, the external validity of the findings, as well as their applicability to similar interventions in other conflicts, may be limited. First, the ability to generalize the results to the entire Israeli and Palestinian populations in Israel (whether only to youth or also to the adult populations) is

limited. Although, as demonstrated above, the samples were heterogeneous, participants were not randomly drawn from the respective populations.

Research on encounters' effectiveness is extremely scarce worldwide (e.g., Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Nevo & Brem, 2002; Paluck & Green, 2009). This study was designed, implemented, and reported with great concern to the specific sociopolitical context in which the studied intervention took place, which may limit its generalizability to other contexts of intergroup conflicts and divided societies. The intervention itself is, to a large extent, anchored in a particular historical, social, and cultural context of conflict and asymmetric power relations (Smooha, 2010), and is designed to address issues that are critical to the Jewish-Palestinian intrastate rivalry (Maoz, 2011; Suleiman, 2004). Furthermore, this study examined only one model of encounter, namely the mixed-model, out of many other available models (Doubilet, 2007; Maoz, 2004a, 2011; Suleiman, 2004). Since a wide array of contextual factors play a role in planned intergroup encounters and their effectiveness, it is sufficiently hard to assess the extent to which the findings of this study can be generalized to other interventions in the Jewish-Palestinian/ Israeli-Arab context, let alone to other societies.

On these grounds, comparative research is needed to identify the strengths and weaknesses of this and other popular model. Comparative research is also necessary to establish the extent to which the effects of encounters are similar to those of other peace interventions in classroom (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005; Salomon, 2011). Finally, field experiments should be utilized to study encounters in other regions of conflicts, such as Northern Ireland (e.g., Tausch, Hewstone, et al., 2007; Tausch, Tam, et al. 2007), Sri Lanka (e.g., Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005), Cyprus, and the Balkans.

5.10.6. Additional suggestions for future research

A few suggestions can be made with regard to the index of CO. First, although the operationalization of the concept was made specifically for the context of Jewish-Palestinian internal relations, it may be adapted to other contexts of intergroup conflicts using the same of similar domains and indicators. Future studies may also seek to adapt the index to the context of the external Jewish-Palestinian relations, and compare between the orientation of Israeli Jews toward Palestinian citizens of Israel and their orientation toward noncitizens from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and similarly, between the orientation of Palestinian citizens and noncitizens toward Israeli Jews. Second, research on reconciliation and coexistence can also

substantially benefit from qualitative studies on CO. Studies utilizing interviews and focus groups among youth from both groups can help in identifying the factors that may facilitate or hinder the improvement of CO. Third, in this study, the interrelationships between the CO domains were examined for each national group separately. This study did not seek to establish the cross-cultural equivalence of the index between Jews and Palestinians, since the index was group-specific. Nevertheless, future studies may examine the extent to which the structure of the index varies across groups using confirmatory procedures. Finally, this study examined several demographic, sociopolitical, and personality antecedents of CO. Future research is needed to examine further antecedents. CO is also expected to related to other personal constructs that gained importance in social psychology, such as support for democracy and other value orientations (e.g., Inglehart, 2003), belief in a just world (e.g., Furnham, 2003), nonviolent dispositions, and various behavior pertaining to social and political activities (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009).

Additional suggestions for further research on intergroup encounters in general, and on mixed-model Jewish-Palestinian encounters in particular, are made in the following paragraphs. First, the general call for more experimental and methodologically-rigorous studies should be overemphasized. As stated above, methodology has so far received too little attention by scholars studying the outcome of peace education and intergroup encounters, in the Jewish-Palestinian context or in other regions of conflict. Methodological rigor should be a substantial consideration in research not only to facilitate valid causal inferences, but also to help practitioners to improve existing programs, find effective models of intervention, and improve weak models. Although difficult to achieve due to field constraints, randomized experiments on encounters are still essential to establish their effectiveness (Boehnke et al., 2011; Nevo & Brem, 2002; Salomon, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Yablon, 2009, 2012).

Second, more assessment of the durability of encounters' effects are needed, preferably with large initial samples of participants that can absorb a possibly high attrition. Assessing long-term effects is particularly important to determine the extent to which participants become *agents of coexistence* in their communities (Anderson & Olsen, 2003; Bekerman, 2007). This potential contribution of encounters goes beyond the psychological influence on individual participants, and may be described as a transfer effects from participants to others in their close social circles and in the wider society. Transfer effects can manifest in two particular ways. First, participants can influence peers and family members to improve their attitudes following their positive experience in the encounter. Recent studies showed the benefits of extended

contact (the "extended contact hypothesis", Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, Paolini, & Christ, 2007), according to which the mere knowledge that an ingroup friend has an outgroup friend increase positive attitudes toward the outgroup. In a similar manner, it might be that knowing about a positive encounter experience of an ingroup friend may be sufficient to significantly improve attitudes toward the rival group. Second, positive effects on behavioral intentions can ultimately mobilize participants to engage in social and political activities that promote coexistence and reconciliation. These activities can be in the framework of NGOs and civil society initiatives, as well as in movements working to promote Jewish-Palestinian coexistence and reconciliation. The encounter programs themselves can facilitate such transfer effects (see below). Furthermore, the extent to which encounters have a preventive function (Salomon, 2006), and serve as a buffer from later negative contact and experiences (see Paolini et al., 2014), can only be examined in experimental studies with control groups and repeated measurements.

Third, several differences between Jews and Palestinians in processes and outcomes of encounters were revealed in Chapters 2 and 3. However, cross-group comparison has not been the focus of this study. The experience of Jews and Palestinians in the encounter, as members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups involved in an asymmetric conflict, is fundamentally different, and scholars have recognized the different needs, motivations, and orientations of each group pertaining to encounters (e.g., Abu-Nimer, 2004; Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Maoz, 2011; Saguy et al., 2012; Suleiman, 2004). Further research is still needed to empirically address group-specific domains in which encounters influence participants.

Fourth, this study assessed the level of CO across domains and indicators over time, under the assumption that the latter may reflect rather stable beliefs, attitudes, and emotional sentiments. However, the extent to which explicit measures detect stable attitudes depends on the strength of these attitudes. High test-retest reliabilities were found in Chapter 2, and strong correlations were found between scores obtained in a gap of approximately one year (see Chapter 3), which may confirm the relative stability of the CO and its levels (see Chaiken, Pomerantz, & Giner-Sorolla, 1995). Still, intergroup attitudes are often highly contextual, and as the conflict continues to evolve, new information and events are likely to continue influencing processes of attitude formation and change (Bar-Tal et al., 2007; Halperin et al., 2011). It is recommended that future research on encounters utilize more advanced and implicit measures of intergroup attitudes, such as the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee,

& Schwartz, 1998). Although research successfully demonstrated that contact is associated with less implicit intergroup bias (e.g., Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007), it is not known yet whether such effects can also be achieved through mixed-model encounters between members of groups in conflict, such as Jews and Palestinians in Israel.

Fifth, although a large set of variable were examined in this study, future research should consider examining the effects of intergroup encounters on additional central constructs in intergroup relations, such as trust (e.g., Boehnke & Rippl, 2012), and willingness to forgive the other group (e.g., Noor , Brown , Gonzalez, Manzi, & Lewis, 2008), both of which are important psychological components of reconciliation (Dwyer, 1999; Lederach, 1997; Meierhenrich, 2008; Nadler & Liviatan, 2006), which were not yet examined in the Jewish-Palestinian context.

A final suggestion for future research is made with regard to possible cross-encounter variations that were only briefly mentioned above. Much research is needed to identify and examine both individual-level and higher-level factors that determine the magnitude and the direction of intervention effects, as well as conditions under which dialogue can be fruitful (see Christ & Wagner, 2013). So far, there have not been any quantitative studies systematically addressing moderators of encounters' effects. Since participants are nested in individual encounters, research can also benefit from using Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) to examine the contribution of various factors to the effectiveness of encounters.

5.11. Practical implications

5.11.1. The index of Coexistence Orientation as a practical tool

Before presenting several recommendations to improve the effectiveness of the encounters, it might be worth to mention several practical implications that are related to the evaluation framework, the index of CO. The applicability of the concept and the index to study intergroup processes was demonstrated in the main analysis of intervention effects in the third chapter. Similar to other established indices of attitudes and opinions related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, such as the Index of Arab-Jewish Relations (Smooha, 2005, 2010), the Peace Index (see Oren & Bar-Tal., 2007), and the Equality Index (Haider, 2009), the index of CO can also be used to monitor trends over time, and as a practical tool for organizations working to promote coexistence and reconciliation, in order to evaluate educational activities such as Jewish-Palestinian encounters. Moreover, the identified subgroups of coexistence *orientations* within each society in the cluster analysis in Chapter 2 may serve as specific target

groups for tailor policies and intervention programs. This is particularly important for the Palestinian group, where it was found that around 64% are either moderately or highly oriented toward coexistence in all domains except for Cognitive CO, which remains lower across most orientation profiles. Interventions that would particularly address common negative stereotypes and perceptions of threat for Palestinian individuals who are already oriented in other domains may be particularly beneficial.

5.11.2. Advancing the practice of planned encounters

Although they have yet to remarkably change the nature of Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel, encounters continue to take place despite the absence of a significant process of peace and reconciliation. The results of this study may bear the potential to improve encounters that involve a dual coexistence-confrontation process, as well as encounters utilizing different models and approaches. Three complementary types of recommendations are hereby suggested, two of which refer to components that should be integrated into the encounters and can be readily implemented, while the third refers to follow-up component that may facilitate sustainable and enduring positive effects.

Attention to important variables. The results point out several important attitudinal variables that should be directly or indirectly addressed during the encounter. First, it is of vital importance that the activities in the encounter aim to enhance feelings of hope among participants. It was found that hope has a particularly important role in mediating behavioral effects among Palestinian participants, and a significant role among Jews as well. Facilitators should aim to alleviate feelings of hope among participants by allowing them to actively imagine a reality of peace and coexistence, for example, through simulation activities in which students can practice cooperation and reflect on its advantages. According to Lazarus (1999), hope is a motivating emotion for members of disadvantaged groups, but can also be a source of mobilization and activism among majority members (Bar-Tal, 2001).

Another emotional reaction found to have a central role in the encounter is empathy. The empathic process in the encounter is central to the experience of participants, but similar to other encounter programs (Batson & Ahmad, 2009), the role of empathy is not clearly specified in the activities of the studied program. Reactive empathy can be enhanced by the facilitators, who can explicitly encourage participants to sympathize with members of the other group when they share their experiences (Finlay & Stephan, 2000). For example, role-playing

exercises were suggested as empathy-inducing activities (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Facilitators should also help participants to understand and work through the wide range of emotions they experience during the encounter.

Finally, the finding that Cognitive CO is weakly affected by the encounter among Palestinians might indicate that the fears of the Palestinian group from threats posed by the State and the Jewish majority, as well as their negative stereotypes of Jewish citizens, are not sufficiently addressed during the activities and discussions that take place in the encounters. The mediation analysis showed that cognitive processes are no less important than affective ones in a mixed-model encounter, and therefore they should be equally addressed before and during the encounter. The cognitive component of the encounter can be enhanced by providing participants with objective information about the other group, preferably in the preparation stages, and by increasing participants' awareness to commonly-held negative stereotypes in each society toward the other. Dialogical activities can then help to reducing negative stereotypical perceptions and collective threats by sharing personal experiences and impressions. The encounter should provide students with a safe environment to confront their own negative feelings and perceptions, and to assist outgroup participants in confronting theirs.

Advanced emotional and cognitive techniques. Although the studied encounter program is well-designed and most activities result from many years or experience and theories of prejudice reduction, it is the author's impression that many activities and techniques are also somewhat outdated, while more advanced and innovative techniques with supporting research are insufficiently implemented. A more evidence-based approach to the planning and structuring of encounters, drawing from recent advanced techniques in the literature, may lead to more effective practices. Specifically, several techniques that are relatively simple and can be integrating into existing activities showed promising results in empirical tests.

First, facilitators may directly address the threat posed by negative emotions on intergroup attitudes by increasing self-regulation skills among participants (Gross & Thomspon, 2007). This may include training participants to use advanced techniques of emotion regulation, such as *cognitive reappraisals* (Halperin, Porat, Tamir, & Gross, 2011), which may decrease negative emotional reactions to conflict-related events. Halperin et al. (2013) showed Jewish participants anger-inducing pictures and videos and trained them to analyze the former objectively and discreetly. It was found that such analytic skills can decrease negative emotions and promote favorable political attitudes even a few weeks after a single

training session. Encounter workshops may apply such training methods and facilitate a discussion among students about the negative effects of negative emotional reactions.

Second, the need to increase empathic concerns to outgroup members during the encounter is also related to techniques of cognitive empathy, namely perspective taking. As a disposition, perspective taking was found in this study to be an important antecedent of CO and of the effects of encounters, thus confirming previous studies that showed the importance of perspective taking in intergroup contact (Barton & Ahmad, 2009; Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Perspective taking, however, can also be directly manipulation in intergroup interventions, by asking participants to think, speak, or write about the conflict from the perspective of an outgroup member, usually in response to a particular situation, and while doing that, to imagine that person's mental state, or their own mental state as if they experienced this situation themselves (Todd & Galinsky, 2014). Experimental studies found positive effects of manipulated perspective taking, and even enduring effects (e.g., Batson, Polycarpou, et al., 1997; see Todd & Galinsky, 2014). In planned encounters, the facilitators can, for example, instruct participants to attempt to take the perspective of outgroup members in response to experiences narrated by the latter, and to share their imagined-other experience with other participants in the group discussions.

Finally, the encounters can, perhaps, facilitate the reduction of prejudice and increase support for egalitarian policies more effectively by reminding participants that members of the other group, and not only their own group, and individuals who are different from each other and possess diverse characteristics, which may be positive or negative (e.g., Brauer & Er-rafiy, 2011; Er-rafiy & Brauer, 2013). This process of increasing outgroup variability already occurs indirectly during the encounter (e.g., Abu-Nimer & Lazarus, 2007; Maoz, 2003), but perceptions of variability can be further enhanced using direct means. A common manipulation of perceived variability involves presenting participants with profiles of outgroup individuals with different appearances, personalities, and hobbies (e.g., Er-rafiy & Brauer, 2013). It should be noted, however, that increasing perceived variability by presenting only positive examples or too likable individuals may either induce homogeneity or be perceived as a manipulative persuasion tactic, both of which can be detrimental to improving attitudes (Er-rafiy & Brauer, 2013). Moreover, in the context of intergroup conflicts, it might be more useful to focus on heterogeneity in ideologies and beliefs within each group, rather than on personal traits.

5.11.3. Achieving sustainability through follow-up activities

Some of the aforementioned techniques can by themselves facilitate sustaining results since they provide participants with skills that can potentially mitigate the negative effect of re-entry. Rosen and Perkins (2013) referred to such activities and processes as *sustaining components* (p. 96). However, to have a real sustaining impact, encounters much incorporate mechanisms for follow-up activities, aiming to further engage participants in direct or mediated contact, to maintain the positive effects that were accomplished, and perhaps also to have a larger impact on the societies and to facilitate coexistence *writ large*.

According to Maoz (2011) none of the existing encounter programs has an explicit mechanism for continuous involvement of participants in the topic and in collective action. In the follow-up questionnaires completed by participants in this study, it was found that although many participants are interested in follow-up encounters and dialogues with members of the rival group, less than 20% of them reported that a year after the encounter they still have contact with outgroup participants. A few measures can be taken to directly increase the sustainability of the effects.

First, the practitioners should encourage continuous communication and further interactions between participants after the encounter. This may include creating platforms for online communication (such as groups in social networks), and even offering to host follow-up encounters with the same ingroup and outgroup participants. The responsibility for such platforms and further contact can also be assigned to the participating schools of each specific encounter, which may create local partnerships and organize further official or unofficial encounters. Jewish-Palestinian school partnerships born out of encounters may even lead to cooperation in other areas, and this by itself can be a major contribution of the encounters to coexistence in the country. Moreover, continuous interactions may lead to the development of close friendships between participants. Cross-group friendship was found to be a particularly powerful form of positive contact (e.g., Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Paolini et al., 2004; Schroeder & Risen, in press; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, Paolini, & Christ, 2007). Several studies examined the potential of intergroup friendship to develop through encounter workshops and its association with more favorable attitudes (e.g., Bar-Natan et al., 2008; See Salomon, 2009). Schroeder and Risen (in press) found that Jewish and Palestinian participants of a three-week summer camp who established close relationship with outgroup members during and after the intervention were positively affected by the encounter more than participants who did not pursue friendly relations with outgroup participants.

Second, participants should be encouraged to take part in additional projects and initiatives in the coexistence field, not necessarily with outgroup participants, particularly projects that involve a prolonged collaboration. These activities can be social or cultural, such as music, theater, and sports activities, many of which do exist in Israel and offered to Jewish and Palestinian youth by various organizations (see Introduction), or they can be political and related to social activism in coexistence and peace movements (for example, projects carried out by the Association for the Advancement of Civic Equality, Sikkuy, www.sikkuy.org.il). To achieve follow-up involvement, the practitioners can present participating schools or even the participating students themselves with opportunities for social and political involvement, or even initiate such projects themselves. For example, Seeds of Peace (Maddy-Weitzman, 2007) offer follow-up programming for alumni of the intervention, which includes workshops on various topics, such as the role of the media in conflict and conflict mediation. Computer-mediated techniques can also be utilized to perform further structured interventions that involve virtual contact. It has been suggested that virtual contact involves less anxiety than physical contact, and even that Allport's conditions for optimal contact can be better achieved in online intergroup contact (Amichai-Hamburger & McKenna, 2006). For example, Yablon (2007b) studied a three-month internet-based intervention for Israeli Jews and Palestinians and found that it increased mutual acceptance and understanding.

Finally, the program can also elicit transfer effects by involving participants' families and their local communities, which can also moderate possible relapses caused by post-encounter negative influences of significant individuals in the participants' close social environment (Rosen & Perkins, 2013).

5.12. Concluding remarks

The take-home message of this thesis is that mixed-model Jewish-Palestinian encounters are effective in improving beliefs, attitudes, and emotions that are associated with coexistence among both Jews and Palestinians, but these effects are likely to be transient,. It is evident that sustainable transformation requires tailored mechanisms to challenge the appeal of competing forces in the daily lives of participants.

Encounters are only one component of a rich and diverse collage of practices encompassing peace education, people-to-people initiatives, prejudice reduction interventions, multiculturalism workshops, and many other activities that take place in a war-torn land. At the

macro level, it is clear that despite the enormous efforts and resources invested in these practices throughout the past two decades, they have not yet elicited a substantial bottom-up reconciliation process (e.g., Steinberg, 2013). On the other hand, despite this seemingly failure, it is possible that things could have been much worse without all these activities. As suggested by Salomon (2006, 2011), the effectiveness of peace education may not be manifested in an improvement in attitudes and relationships, but in preventing the aggravation of the latter. If this is true, intergroup encounters and similar activities may still cement the infrastructure that is needed for a societal change.

Evidently, Jews and Palestinians in Israel cannot truly reconcile with each other as long as there is no peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as long as the State of Israel does not adopt policies that abolish all forms of discrimination and promote the integration of Palestinian citizens in Israeli society, and as long as there is no coordinated societal effort to achieve coexistence and reconciliation involving all major social, cultural, and political institutions in the country (see Bar-Tal, 2004, 2011, 2013; Rouhana & Ghanem, 1998; Smooha, 1992, 2010).

In fear that in the absence of long-term effects, policy makers and donors will be encouraged to divest themselves from peace education, it seems imperative to emphasize that activities such as encounters create a unique, enriching, and memorable experience for adolescents who are forced to live in a society ridden by a complex intractable conflict. At the time of writing, many of the Jewish encounter participants who were included in this study are soldiers in the Israeli army, some of them may even have experienced the devastating nature of the conflict by participating in the Israel-Gaza War of summer 2014, while most Palestinian participants are starting their life as adult members of a disadvantaged minority, possibly experiencing structural barriers for success in a country that does not provide them a sense of belonging. For both groups, the encounter in Givat Haviva was an overall positive experience they will remember for many years, an experience that is likely to become a positive component in their repertoire of experiences in the conflict.

Understanding the nature, outcome, and working mechanisms of planned encounters still demands further efforts, and particularly more rigorous research. Encounters and other peace-oriented activities should continue to be implemented and improved, and perhaps in the future, they will ignite a real process of reconciliation in the Holy Land, among leaders and people alike.

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Appendices

Appendix A: The Index of Coexistence Orientation

Respondents are asked to rate their level of agreement with the following items. Different items for Jews and Palestinians are presented separately, with items for Jews on the right side of the table.

Emotional Coexistence Orientation	
Empathy [a]	
1. I would get very angry if I saw a Jewish/Arab Israeli person ill-treated	
2. It upsets and bothers me to see Israeli Jews/Arabs who are helpless and in need	
3. I can understand how certain political issues might upset Jews/Arabs in Israel very much	
4. I would get emotionally involved if a Jewish/Arab person that I knew was having problems	
Hope [a]	
5. In the future, there will be friendly relations between Arabs and Jews in Israel	
6. In the future, Arabs and Jews in Israel will live in the same neighborhoods	
7. Jews and Arabs in Israel will one day be able to truly get along	
8. Mutual understanding between Jews and Arabs in Israel is an achievable goal	
Hatred [b]	
9. I feel hostility toward Israeli Arabs/Jews	
10. I feel hate toward Israeli Arabs/Jews	

Cognitive Coexistence Orientation	
Perceived threat [a]	
11. Arab citizens of Israel endanger Israel's security	11. I fear of severe infringement of the rights of Arab citizens
12. Arab citizens of Israel endanger Israel's Jewish character	12. I fear of state violence against Arabs
13. Arab citizens of Israel endanger Israeli democracy	13. I fear of population transfer (mass expulsion) of some Arab citizens
Stereotypes [a]	
14. Most Arabs in Israel support terror	14. Most Jews in Israel are racist
15. Israeli Arabs do not care for human life	15. Most Jews in Israel are ready to give up self-respect for comfort, money, and personal advancement
16. The state is doing too much for the Arabs in Israel	16. Jews have lots of irritating faults
17. Most Arab citizens would never achieve the cultural level of the Jews	17. Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind
18. I am not ready to have an Arab as a superior in a job	18. Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want
Perceived variability [a 1]	
19. Israeli Arabs/Jews are all completely different from one another	
20. Among Israeli Arabs/Jews, there are many different types of people	

Motivational Coexistence Orientation	
Support for improving relations [a]	
21. We must promote mutual understanding between Arabs and Jews in Israel	

22. Arabs and Jews can never get along, therefore there is no point in trying to improve relations between them *

23. We must make efforts to promote good relations between Jews and Arabs in this country

Interest in the outgroup [c]

24. I am interested in knowing more about the life of Jewish/Arab citizens in the country

25. It is important that Jewish and Arab citizens in the country get to know each other

26. I want to get to know Israeli Arabs/Jews better

27. I am interested in movies/books that present the Arab-Palestinian/Jewish point of view of the conflict

28. I am interested that articles from Arab/Jewish media will be translated into Hebrew/Arabic

Behavioral Coexistence Orientation

Readiness for social contact [b]

29. I am willing to meet Israeli Arabs/Jews

30. I am willing to study together with Israeli Arabs/Jews

31. I am willing to host Israeli Arabs/Jews in my home

32. I am willing to be friends with Israeli Arabs/Jews

Readiness for joint activities [b]

33. I am interested in participating in a Jewish-Arab workshop

34. I am interested in working with Israeli Jews/Arabs to improve relations

35. I am interested in studying in a mixed Jewish-Arab school

Political Coexistence Orientation (Jews only)

Perceived equality [c]

36. There is no discrimination against the Arab minority in Israel

37. The standard of living of Israeli Arabs is not different than that of the Jews

38. A Jewish citizen in Israel has more rights than an Arab citizen *

39. Israeli Arabs should have nothing to complain about when it comes to living conditions in Arab villages

Support for equal rights [c]

40. There should be equality between Arab citizens and Jews in individual rights

41. Arab citizens have a right to live in the country as a minority with full civil rights

42. I support equal rights to the Arab citizens in Israel

43. The state must do more to promote equality between Jewish and Arab citizens

44. Arab citizens should be allowed to live in any locality they would like

Political intolerance [c]

45. The state should restrict the possibility of Israeli Arabs to bring their family members to Israel

46. The state should cancel the citizenship of Israeli Arabs who are not loyal to the state of Israel

47. The state should put Israeli Arabs under surveillance (phone, email) in order to deal better with the terror/missile threat

[a] Seven-point scale ranging from 1(*completely disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*)

[b] Five-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*)

[c] Six-point scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 6 (*completely agree*)

[1] Not included in the Behavioral Coexistence Orientation scale due to low reliability.

* Reversed item

Appendix B: Statistical tables

Table B.1. *Results of Principal Component Analysis with Varimax Rotation for Emotional Coexistence Orientation, with Items Measuring Hatred, Empathy, and Hope*

Subscales and items	Jews (n = 399)			Palestinians (n = 363)		
	F1	F2	F3	F1	F2	F3
Empathy[1]						
1. I would get very angry if I saw a Jewish/Arab Israeli person ill-treated	**.83**	.17	-.23	.17	**.71**	-.06
2. It upsets and bothers me to see Israeli Jews/Arabs who are helpless and in need	**.86**	.22	-.21	.19	**.81**	-.13
3. I can understand how certain political issues might upset Jews/Arabs in Israel very much	**.70**	.15	-.06	-.01	**.72**	.05
4. I would get emotionally involved if a Jewish/Arab person that I knew was having problems	**.77**	.25	-.10	.25	**.70**	-.31
Hope[1]						
5. In the future, there will be friendly relations between Arabs and Jews in Israel	.18	**.81**	-.11	**.77**	.20	-.20
6. In the future, Arabs and Jews in Israel will live in the same neighborhoods	.18	**.77**	-.12	**.77**	.16	.01
7. Jews and Arabs in Israel will one day be able to truly get along	.17	**.87**	-.11	**.82**	.10	-.14
8. Mutual understanding between Jews and Arabs in Israel is an achievable goal	.36	**.60**	-.27	**.79**	.09	-.18
Hatred[2]						
9. I feel hostility toward Israeli Arabs/Jews	-.12	-.18	**.90**	-.12	-.15	**.91**
10. I feel hate toward Israeli Arabs/Jews	-.25	-.16	**.87**	-.20	-.07	**.90**
Eigenvalue	2.81	2.58	1.79	2.67	2.28	1.84
% of variance	28.09	25.75	17.86	26.75	22.79	18.38

Note. Factor loadings over .40 appear in boldface.

[1] Measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*complete disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*).

[2] Measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*).

Table B.2. *Results of Principal Component Analysis with Varimax Rotation for Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, with Items Measuring Perceived Threat, Stereotypes, and Perceived Variability among Jews*

Subscales and items	Jews (*n* = 389)		
	F1	F2	F3
Perceived threat			
1. Arab citizens of Israel endanger Israeli democracy	.37	**.53**	-.08
2. Arab citizens of Israel endanger Israel's Jewish character	.27	**.87**	-.06
3. Arab citizens of Israel endanger Israel's security	.39	**.80**	-.05
Stereotypes			
4. Most Arabs in Israel support terror	**.74**	.36	-.14
5. Israeli Arabs do not care for human life	**.79**	.24	-.17
6. The state is doing too much for the Arabs in Israel	**.67**	.34	-.10
7. Most Arab citizens would never achieve the cultural level of the Jews	**.81**	.22	-.07
8. I am not ready to have an Arab as a superior in a job	**.77**	.21	-.14
Perceived Variability			
9. Israeli Arabs are all completely different from one another	-.02	-.09	**.86**
10. Among Israeli Arabs, there are many different types of people	-.23	-.02	**.77**
Eigenvalue	3.46	2.17	1.41
% of variance	34.63	21.65	14.14

Note. Factor loadings over .40 appear in boldface. All items were measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*complete disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*).

Table B.3. *Results of Principal Component Analysis with Varimax Rotation for Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, with Items Measuring Perceived Threat, Stereotypes, and Perceived Variability among Palestinians*

Subscales and items	Palestinians (*n* = 334)		
	F1	F2	F3
Perceived threat			
1. I fear of severe infringement of the rights of Arab citizens	.09	**.90**	.10
2. I fear of state violence against Arabs	.11	**.92**	.07
3. I fear of population transfer of some Arab citizens	.19	**.76**	.12
Stereotypes			
4. Most Jews in Israel are racist	**.78**	.03	.06
5. Most Jews in Israel are ready to give up self-respect for comfort, money, and personal advancement	**.71**	.08	.12
6. Jews have lots of irritating faults	**.85**	.11	.08
7. Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind	**.75**	.22	.10
8. Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want	**.78**	.13	.12
Perceived Variability			
9. Israeli Jews are all completely different from one another	.04	.06	**.88**
10. Among Israeli Jews, there are many different types of people	.26	.20	**.75**
Eigenvalue	3.12	2.34	1.42
% of variance	31.16	23.43	14.23

Note. Factor loadings over .40 appear in boldface. All items were measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*complete disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*).

Table B.4. *Results of Principal Component Analysis with Varimax Rotation for Political Coexistence Orientation, with Items Measuring Perceived Equality, Support for Equal Rights, and Political Intolerance among Jews*

Subscales and items	Jews (n = 389)		
	F1	F2	F3
Support for equal rights			
1. There should be equality between Arab citizens and Jews in individual rights	**.85**	-.14	-.08
2. Arab citizens have a right to live in the country as a minority with full civil rights	**.85**	-.05	-.11
3. I support equal rights to the Arab citizens in Israel	**.85**	-.25	-.07
4. The state must do more to promote equality between Jewish and Arab citizens	**.80**	-.20	-.28
5. Arab citizens should be allowed to live in any locality they would like	**.77**	-.29	-.10
Political intolerance			
6. The state should restrict the rights of Arabs in Israel	**-.61**	**.43**	.02
7. The state should restrict the possibility of Israeli Arabs to bring their family members to Israel	-.13	**.80**	-.02
8. The state should cancel the citizenship of Israeli Arabs who are not loyal to the state of Israel	-.19	**.72**	.13
9. The state should put Israeli Arabs under surveillance (phone, email) in order to deal better with the terror/missile threat	-.33	**.59**	.19
Perceived equality			
10. There is no discrimination against the Arab minority in Israel	-.22	.16	**.78**
11. The standard of living of Israeli Arabs is not different than that of the Jews	-.09	.18	**.75**
12. A Jewish citizen in Israel has more rights than an Arab citizen	-.06	.17	**-.62**
13. Israeli Arabs should have nothing to complain about when it comes to living conditions in Arab villages	-.38	.33	**.59**
Eigenvalue	4.14	2.10	2.08
% of variance	31.80	16.13	16.00

Note. Factor loadings over .40 appear in boldface. All items were measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*complete disagree*) to 6 (*completely agree*).

Table B.5. *Numbers of Encounter Participants by National Group, School Location, Grade-level, and Pretesting Conditions for Each Specific Encounter*

Encounter	Jews/Palestinians	School location	Grade-level	E1	E2	E3	Total
Encounter 1	Jews	Nesher	12th	13	11	3	27
	Palestinians	Sachnin	12th	18	20	4	42
Encounter 2	Jews	Beit-Yerach	10th	15	4	4	24
	Palestinians	Sachnin	10th	15	16	3	34
Encounter 3	Jews	Ra'anana	10th	26	12	3	41
	Palestinians	Sachnin	10th	21	10	0	31
Encounter 4	Jews	Nesher	10th	16	11	8	35
	Palestinians	Kfar Kara	10th	31	13	5	49
Encounter 5	Jews	Mevaseret Harel	11th	13	7	2	22
			12th	5	4	6	15
		Hod-Hasharon	11th	8	1	2	11
	Palestinians	Kfar Kara	11th	24	13	3	40
Encounter 6	Jews	Modi'in	12th	17	13	15	45
	Palestinians	Kfar Kara	11th	13	5	0	18
			12th	11	7	10	28
Encounter 7	Jews	Modi'in	12th	29	15	8	52
	Palestinians	Kfar Kara	12th	15	10	17	42
Total	Jews						272
	Palestinians						284

Note. E1 = Pretested participants. E2 = Placebo-tested participants. E3 = Unpretested participants.

Table B.6. *Numbers of Jewish Nonparticipants in the Comparison Group by School Location, Grade-level, and Pretesting Conditions for Each Specific Comparison Group*

Group	Compatible encounter	School	Grade level	C1	C2	C3	Total
Comparison 1	Encounter 1	Nesher	12th	13	19	9	41
Comparison 2	Encounter 2	Beit-Yerach	10th	13	12	7	32
Comparison 3	Encounter 3	Ra'anana	10th	8	5	5	18
Comparison 4	Encounter 4	Nesher	10th	7	2	4	13
Comparison 5	Encounter 7	Ma'ale	10th	4		4	8
		Shacharut	11th	19		8	27
Total				64	38	37	139

Note. C1 = Pretested nonparticipants. C2 = Placebo-tested nonparticipants. C3 = Unpretested nonparticipants.

Table B.7. *Numbers of Palestinian Nonparticipants in the Comparison Group by School Location, Grade-level, and Pretesting Conditions for Each Specific Comparison Group*

Group	Compatible encounter	School	Grade level	C1	C2	C3	Total
Comparison 1	Encounter 1	Sachnin	11th	17	14	6	37
Comparison 2	Encounter 2	Tamra 1	11th	20	27	8	55
Comparison 3	Encounter 3	Tamra 2	10th	27	13	12	52
Comparison 4	Encounter 4	Kfar Kara	10th	25	12	9	46
Comparison 5	Encounter 6	Shfar'am	11th	30	14	9	53
Total				119	80	44	243

Note. C1 = Pretested nonparticipants. C2 = Placebo-tested nonparticipants. C3 = Unpretested nonparticipants.

Table B.8. *Intercorrelations among Indicators of Coexistence Orientation Measured at T1 for Jewish Participants (below the Diagonal) and Nonparticipants (above the Diagonal)*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Empathy	--	.37**	-.36**	-.40**	-.47***	.33**	.64***	.64***	.54***	.51***	-.35**	.54***	-.44**
2. Hope	.47***	--	-.44***	-.66***	-.60***	.14	.60***	.50***	.59***	.54***	-.10	.62***	-.43**
3. Hatred	-.33***	-.41***	--	.57***	.63***	-.22	-.46***	-.30*	-.42**	-.28*	.32*	-.43**	.55***
4. Perceived threat	-.42***	-.47***	.54***	--	.83***	-.08	-.54***	-.43**	-.66***	-.64***	.37**	-.59***	.60***
5. Stereotypes	-.48***	-.41***	.44***	.63***	--	-.15	-.65***	-.50***	-.56***	-.55***	.52***	-.66***	.62***
6. Perceived variability	.34***	.19*	-.15	-.15	-.28**	--	.37**	.13	.19	.05	-.15	.36**	-.20
7. Support for improving relations	.51***	.61***	-.38***	-.31***	-.41***	.23**	--	.61***	.46***	.51***	-.41**	.56***	-.45***
8. Interest in the outgroup	.48***	.48***	-.30***	-.34***	-.45***	.19*	.56***	--	.57***	.64***	-.25	.65***	-.33*
9. Readiness for social contact	.55***	.56***	-.34***	-.47***	-.50***	.10	.52***	.64***	--	.76***	-.21	.58***	-.54***
10. Readiness for joint activities	.53***	.62***	-.37***	-.45***	-.44***	.18*	.56***	.67***	.80***	--	-.24	.50***	-.40**
11. Perceived equality	-.32***	-.21*	.26**	.36***	.42***	-.17	-.39***	-.32***	-.35***	-.37***	--	-.30*	.30*
12. Support for equal rights	.60***	.56***	-.36***	-.50***	-.56***	.33***	.45***	.37***	.49***	.46***	-.30***	--	-.56***
13. Political intolerance	-.47***	-.44***	.33***	.56***	.62***	-.17*	-.38***	-.41***	-.49***	-.45***	.32***	-.49***	--

Note. Listwise deletion, participants: n = 133, nonparticipants: n = 61. High scores in all variables indicate a higher degree of the measured attitude
* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

Table B.9. *Intercorrelations among Indicators of Coexistence Orientation Measured at T1 for Palestinian Participants (below the Diagonal) and Nonparticipants (above the Diagonal)*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Empathy[a]	--	.40***	-.25**	-.02	-.24*	.21*	.38***	.43***	.49***	.45***
2. Hope[a]	.51***	--	-.36***	.07	-.30**	.16	.77***	.55***	.58***	.70***
3. Hatred[a]	-.35***	-.39***	--	-.12	.46***	-.10	-.44***	-.29**	-.31**	-.37***
4. Perceived threat	.02	.02	.00	--	.22*	.22*	.07	.14	.18	.15
5. Stereotypes	-.22*	-.22**	.35***	.28**	--	.30**	-.36***	-.19*	-.26**	-.29**
6. Perceived variability	.20*	.08	-.15	.24**	.31***	--	.10	.24*	.15	.11
7. Support for improving relations	.44***	.65***	-.40***	.28**	-.17*	.19*	--	.56***	.52***	.69***
8. Interest in the outgroup	.50***	.51***	-.23**	.19*	-.13	.31***	.52***	--	.50***	.57***
9. Readiness for social contact	.56***	.64***	-.43***	-.02	-.23**	.23**	.51***	.48***	--	.72***
10. Readiness for joint activities	.50***	.60***	-.28**	.11	-.13	.19*	.51***	.49***	.69***	--

Note. Listwise deletion, participants: $n = 142$, nonparticipants: $n = 109$. High scores in all variables indicate a higher degree of the measured attitude
* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

Table B.10. *Intercorrelations among Indicators of Coexistence Orientation Measured at T2 for Jewish Participants (below the Diagonal) and Nonparticipants (above the Diagonal)*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Empathy	--	.51***	-.47***	-.46***	-.62***	.42**	.71***	.76***	.52***	.50**	-.30*	.66***	-.63***
2. Hope	.45***	--	-.40**	-.42**	-.48***	.45***	.56***	.52***	.50***	.57***	-.13	.50***	-.51***
3. Hatred	-.27**		--	.52***	.57***	-.35**	-.52***	-.32*	-.39**	-.39**	.27*	-.44**	.68***
4. Perceived threat	-.34***	-.31***	.45***	--	.77***	-.30*	-.47***	-.41**	-.59***	-.62***	.19	-.46***	.70***
5. Stereotypes	-.52***	-.46***	.49***	.53***	--	-.36**	-.61***	-.53***	-.59***	-.56***	.41**	-.55***	.75***
6. Perceived variability	.26**	.18*	-.12	-.17	-.25**	--	.49***	.48***	.25	.25	-.26*	.47***	-.43**
7. Support for improving relations	.57***	.60***	-.54***	-.36***	-.63***	.24**	--	.72***	.49***	.46***	-.40**	.69***	-.62***
8. Interest in the outgroup	.54***	.40***	-.41***	-.27**	-.47***	.30***	.67***	--	.54***	.56***	-.38**	.63***	-.53***
9. Readiness for social contact	.50***	.55***	-.52***	-.39***	-.49***	.10	.50***	.59***	--	.79***	-.16	.50***	-.61***
10. Readiness for joint activities	.52***	.57***	-.54***	-.37***	-.56***	.14	.61***	.59***	.77***	--	-.16	.49***	-.52***
11. Perceived equality	-.36***	-.39***	.44***	.26**	.49***	-.37***	-.55***	-.47***	-.31***	-.43***	--	-.26	.36**
12. Support for equal rights	.49***	.47***	-.38***	-.51***	-.56***	.19*	.52***	.37***	.44***	.54***	-.36***	--	-.62***
13. Political intolerance	-.30***	-.46***	.53***	.55***	.54***	-.13	-.40***	-.29**	-.49***	-.50***	.30***	-.47***	--

Note. Listwise deletion, participants: n = 135, nonparticipants: n = 57. High scores in all variables indicate a higher degree of the measured attitude

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

Table B.11. *Intercorrelations among Indicators of Coexistence Orientation Measured at T2 for Palestinian Participants (below the Diagonal) and Nonparticipants (above the Diagonal)*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Empathy[a]	--	.53***	-.47***	-.22*	-.26**	.24*	.56***	.47***	.42***	.41***
2. Hope[a]	.42***	--	-.45***	-.09	-.24*	.30**	.70***	.65***	.61***	.53***
3. Hatred[a]	-.27**	-.42***	--	.31**	.36***	-.13	-.42***	-.31**	-.48***	-.39***
4. Perceived threat	-.08	-.12	.07	--	.49***	.27**	-.05	.07	-.21*	-.09
5. Stereotypes	-.38***	-.37***	.37***	.23**	--	.13	-.21*	-.07	-.28**	-.16
6. Perceived variability	.13	.15	-.01	.32***	.10	--	.30**	.31**	.07	.14
7. Support for improving relations	.44***	.64***	-.38***	-.02	-.35***	.29***	--	.66***	.65***	.62***
8. Interest in the outgroup	.33***	.51***	-.22**	.12	-.19*	.31***	.42***	--	.57***	.51***
9. Readiness for social contact	.39***	.61***	-.39***	-.10	-.37***	.12	.53***	.53***	--	.85***
10. Readiness for joint activities	.34***	.60***	-.41***	-.06	-.39***	.09	.55***	.51***	.74***	--

Note. Listwise deletion, participants: $n = 142$, nonparticipants: $n = 109$. High scores in all variables indicate a higher degree of the measured attitude
* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

Table B.12. *Intercorrelations among Domains of Coexistence Orientation Measured at T1 for Jewish Participants (below the Diagonal) and Nonparticipants (above the Diagonal)*

Domains	ECO	CCO	MCO	BCO	PCO	OCO
ECO	--	.75*	.73*	.65*	.72*	.88*
CCO	.66*	--	.61*	.67*	.76*	.88*
MCO	.65*	.47*	--	.65*	.65*	.83*
BCO	.63*	.53*	.70*	--	.59*	.85*
PCO	.65***	.71*	.57*	.61	--	.85*
OCO	.86*	.81*	.81*	.85*	.84*	--

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, PCO = Political Coexistence Orientation, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. Listwise deletion, participants: $n = 135$, nonparticipants: $n = 61$. Higher values in all domains indicate higher orientation to Jewish-Palestinian coexistence.
* $p < 0.001$.

Table B.13. *Intercorrelations among Domains of Coexistence Orientation Measured at T1 for Palestinian Participants (below the Diagonal) and Nonparticipants (above the Diagonal)*

Domains	ECO	CCO	MCO	BCO	OCO
ECO	--	.21*	.70***	.67**	.87**
CCO	.20*	--	.10	.05	.40**
MCO	.65**	-.08	--	.68**	.84**
BCO	.69**	.09	.62**	--	.85**
OCO	.88**	.41**	.76**	.84**	--

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. Listwise deletion, participants: $n = 143$, nonparticipants: $n = 111$. Higher values in all domains indicate higher orientation to Jewish-Palestinian coexistence.
* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < .001$.

Table B.14. *Intercorrelations among Domains of Coexistence Orientation Measured at T2 for Jewish Participants (below the Diagonal) and Nonparticipants (above the Diagonal)*

Domains	ECO	CCO	MCO	BCO	PCO	OCO
ECO	--	.68*	.75*	.62*	.76*	.88*
CCO	.62*	--	.57*	.66*	.70*	.86*
MCO	.70*	.53*	--	.58*	.76*	.84*
BCO	.72*	.54*	.66*	--	.57*	.81*
PCO	.71*	.72*	.62*	.62*	--	.88*
OCO	.88*	.79*	.83*	.87*	.85*	--

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, PCO = Political Coexistence Orientation, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. Listwise deletion, participants: $n = 135$, nonparticipants: $n = 57$. Higher values in all domains indicate higher orientation to Jewish-Palestinian coexistence.
* $p < 0.001$.

Table B.15. *Intercorrelations among Domains of Coexistence Orientation Measured at T2 for Palestinian Participants (below the Diagonal) and Nonparticipants (above the Diagonal)*

Domains	ECO	CCO	MCO	BCO	OCO
ECO	--	.36**	.69**	.61**	.86**
CCO	.38**	--	.08	.23*	.51**
MCO	.63**	.13	--	.67**	.81**
BCO	.63**	.32**	.64**	--	.86**
OCO	.85**	.58**	.78**	.86**	--

Note. ECO = Emotional Coexistence Orientation, CCO = Cognitive Coexistence Orientation, MCO = Motivational Coexistence Orientation, BCO = Behavioral Coexistence Orientation, OCO = Overall Coexistence Orientation. Listwise deletion, participants: $n = 146$, nonparticipants: $n = 114$. Higher values in all domains indicate higher orientation to Jewish-Palestinian coexistence.
* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < .001$.

Table B.16. *Descriptive statistics (M (SD)) of Coexistence Orientation Domains at T1, T2, and Pre-post Gain Scores for T3 Tested and T3 Untested Encounter Participants by National Group*

Domains	Time	Jews		Palestinians	
		T3 tested (n = 54)	T3 untested (n = 71)	T3 tested (n = 56)	T3 untested (n = 76)
Emotional CO	T1	0.598 (0.198)	0.599 (0.151)	0.606 (0.198)	0.537 (0.174)
	T2	0.681 (0.169)	0.665 (0.151)	0.593 (0.198)	0.592 (0.168)
	T2-T1	0.083 (0.142)	0.066 (0.144)	-0.012 (0.157)	0.055 (0.156)
Cognitive CO	T1	0.604 (0.206)	0.606 (0.175)	0.318 (0.183)	0.297 (0.188)
	T2	0.650 (0.157)	0.655 (0.175)	0.309 (0.176)	0.352 (0.164)
	T2-T1	0.045 (0.169)	0.048 (0.164)	-0.010 (0.211)	0.054 (0.182)
Motivational CO	T1	0.690 (0.172)	0.691 (0.147)	0.709 (0.184)	0.681 (0.186)
	T2	0.768 (0.167)	0.748 (0.154)	0.748 (0.170)	0.735 (0.165)
	T2-T1	0.078 (0.173)	0.057 (0.130)	0.039 (0.152)	0.054 (0.157)
Behavioral CO	T1	0.552 (0.240)	0.586 (0.230)	0.707 (0.212)	0.671 (0.208)
	T2	0.630 (0.255)	0.639 (0.218)	0.713 (0.216)	0.696 (0.235)
	T2-T1	0.078 (0.199)	0.053 (0.188)	0.006 (0.208)	0.026 (0.210)
Political CO	T1	0.592 (0.177)	0.605 (0.137)		
	T2	0.648 (0.155)	0.643 (0.139)		
	T2-T1	0.055 (0.142)	0.038 (0.127)		
Overall CO	T1	0.608 (0.171)	0.617 (0.138)	0.585 (0.152)	0.546 (0.128)
	T2	0.675 (0.155)	0.670 (0.141)	0.591 (0.151)	0.594 (0.141)
	T2-T1	0.068 (0.128)	0.053 (0.119)	0.006 (0.119)	0.047 (0.110)

Note. CO = Coexistence Orientation. T2-T1 refers to pre-post gain scores by subtracting T1 scores from T2 scores. Scores on all variables range between 0 and 1.