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Publication Date

2015

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Identity Change in Jewish-Muslim Inter-Group Contact:
A Longitudinal Study of Two Inter-Group Dialogue Programs

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Political Science

by

Johanna Ariel Solomon

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Carrie Menkel-Meadow, Chair
Associate Professor Daniel Brunstetter
Professor Kristen Monroe

2015

DEDICATION

To my grandmother,
Muriel Samuelson Schenker,
who taught me the value of books, diversity,
and strong women.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Identity Change in Jewish-Muslim Inter-Group Contact:
A Longitudinal Study of Two Inter-Group Dialogue Programs

By Johanna Solomon

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

University of California, Irvine, 2015

Professor Menkel-Meadow, Chair

While inter-group contact (Allport, 1954) has long been supported as an avenue toward reconciliation (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Maoz, 2011), recent studies have called into question the benefits of contact programs for minority and underprivileged groups. These studies question if those with less power show reductions in prejudice due to their needs for social justice being subsumed by the majority group's needs and desires (Nadler & Shnabel, 2008; Saguy, Pratto, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2009; Tausch & Becker, 2012). If so, surface level prejudice reduction may not represent reconciliation. As this critique hinges on psycho-social identity change, this dissertation investigates social identity change within two inter-group contact programs.

Two cases are studied: NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change and The Olive Tree Initiative (OTI). Both of these programs bring Jews and Muslims together in facilitated dialogue within the United States, where both groups are religious minorities. NewGround is located in Los Angeles and brings adults together over a period of months in a series of facilitated dialogues. OTI works with college-age students from mainly CA universities. OTI includes both educational sessions and a trip to the Middle East.

A mixed-methods data gathering and analysis approach, including surveys and interviews, is used in this dissertation. The data set was collected from 2010 to 2014 longitudinally, with pre-program and post-program interviews and surveys by cohort. The resulting data set was analyzed in a longitudinal paired-sample design to understand how each individual changed over the course of the programs studied. Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis was used to analyze the interview data. This analysis demonstrated that participants saw identity as a key theme in their experience of inter-group contact. The dissertation later looks more specifically at two key identity-based variables within the survey data set. Statistical analysis shows significant positive changes in identification with both the original in-group and out-group, and similar changes in self-perceptions of efficacy, for participants of both the NewGround and Olive Tree Initiative programs.

Further, gender moderates these results. Men in both programs demonstrated significant positive changes and, in most cases, lower starting values, in identification with the other. Conversely, women demonstrated significant positive changes including, in most cases, lower starting values on self-efficacy measures and then higher degrees of positive change in that dimension.

Implications for the findings and future work are discussed, including how these findings inform literature on the role of women in peace building and future work examining long-term post-program retention of social-identity-based psychological changes and their political results.

Introduction

How to resolve long-standing inter-group conflict is a major concern of politicians, activists, governments, and scholars of peace, conflict resolution, and political psychology. This dissertation examines two inter-group contact (Allport, 1954) programs designed to foster understanding amongst Jewish and Muslim participants in the United States who experience inter-group tension over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I examine these two case studies, The Olive Tree Initiative and NewGround: a Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change, through a mixed-methodological approach utilizing both survey and interview data collected longitudinally before and after each program. The focus of this work is to understand some of the changes individual participants undergo in their social identities. The following dissertation demonstrates that participants identify identity change as important and then looks more closely at two specific measures of change: participants' views of themselves in relation to religious and political groups related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and participants' views of themselves as capable political actors in conflict resolution. As inter-group contact programs have become a substantial part of peace and reconciliation efforts and often focus on creating new leaders who will in turn influence their communities, understanding these individual level changes can lend insight into the potential social and political impacts of these programs.

Inter-group contact programs have been developed to directly combat the mentality of conflict that exists when inter-group tensions span generations, leading to animosity, distrust, and few opportunities for the formation of genuine relationships between individuals of conflicting social groups. In Israel/Palestine this division has come to dominate relations between national

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and religious groups (see conflictive ethos, Bar-Tal, 2007). Today, migration has broadened the nature of ethno-political conflicts. Diaspora, or satellite, communities with strong ideological, family, monetary or ethnic ties to ongoing conflicts exist[1]. These communities are both influential in on-the-ground conflicts, such as Israel/Palestine, and unique in the problems and ideologies that must be considered when addressing the very real conflicts that occur between them, such as those addressed by the programs in this work (Aslan & Tapper, 2011).

These diaspora conflicts also provide a unique opportunity for field testing theories related to peace-building and reconciliation, especially those related to power and inter-group contact. In the United States, especially in regions with large Jewish and Muslim populations such as Southern California, very real conflict around the politics of the Middle East occurs between communities; yet, both religious groups represent minorities within the larger context of American culture.

Intervention programs, especially inter-group contact programs, are numerous and have been used to address inter-group conflicts from Sri Lanka to the Middle East (Kelman, 1998; Pettigrew, & Tropp, 2000). Inter-group contact programs are most frequently run as dialogue groups, where multiple members of two conflicting groups meet repeatedly over the course of a few weeks or months for structured, facilitated dialogue (Maoz, 2000). A variety of types of

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[1] Related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and referred to in this dissertation, are pro-Israeli and pro-Palestinian stances or attitudes. While these are often amorphous and self-defined terms, pro-Israeli most closely matches a political and emotional attitude that promotes security for Israel above all other concerns. This stance in the US also indicates positive affect and general agreement with right wing (as defined in Israel) Israeli policies. Pro-Palestinian stances or attitudes generally stress a two-state solution and human rights needs for the Palestinian people. Issues important to this group include the right of return for Palestinians into Israel, lowering Israeli check points in the West Bank, and issues of international law related to occupation. These two stances are not mutually exclusive, as this dissertation in part demonstrates, but do represented entrenched positioning that often frames these two stances as in opposition to each other.

contact programs now exist addressing a wide variety of inter-group issues (Hammack, Pilecki, & Merrilees, 2014). These include programs designed to address anti-gay discrimination, foster improved black-white relations in the United States, and of course reduce tensions in the Middle East (Nadler & Liviatan, 2006). While some examples exist where entire communities have been trained by these programs, these models most often seek to influence the social fabric through the future work and attitudes of their alumni.

While studies repeatedly show that these programs have immense positive effects on participants and their communities, including reductions in prejudice and increased cooperation (ibid), new streams of literature critique such programs as not properly addressing inter- and intra-group power imbalances (Maoz, 2011; Dovidio et al., 2008). In conflict literature power, inter-racial, cultural or religious inequalities are often demonstrated to exist, and inter-group contact programs are no exception. Studies repeatedly demonstrate differences between the high- and low-powered groups in contact and reconciliation programs (ibid; Saguy, Pratto, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2009). Many of these intergroup programs address long-standing inequalities in societies with current or historical conflicts, where one group is clearly the higher-status social group and another, or multiple others, the lower. The inequalities examined are, in most cases, those that define the inter-group contact; in other words, the groups in the analysis (for example white/ black participants) are also the subjects of the dialogue (in this example black-white relations).

The literature points out that these structural inequalities can create problems within inter-group dialogue. For example, a Palestinian youth might feel unable to confront an Israeli youth about militaristic Israeli policies for fear of encountering that Israeli in the future as a check point guard and therefore might be uncomfortable speaking in an inter-group dialogue

setting. An African American woman might feel similarly disadvantaged in a dialogue with white city councilmen if the rules of dialogue were set to the prevailing majority norms for language use and volume, leaving the woman to feel unable to express herself fully without reprimand.

Moving toward a better understanding of reconciliation outcomes requires further study of the impact differences in social groups, especially where differences between groups in social status or power exist, have on individuals. The Needs-Based Model of Reconciliation demonstrates one reason why examining differences between social groups in peace and reconciliation programs is so important (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). According to these authors, victims and perpetrators in conflicts often hold or held different power positions, with perpetrators having more physical or political power and victims having less. Correspondingly, victims and perpetrators have vastly different emotional needs which must be fulfilled for reconciliation to occur. This theory and related empirical work demonstrates that amongst both individuals and groups, perpetrators have a need for acceptance and victims one for empowerment (ibid; Shnabel et al., 2008). However, theories like this, which demonstrate different needs, hopes, or outcomes for different social groups based on relative group power, have not yet been directly applied to inter-group contact programs.

This dissertation investigates how inter-group contact differentially impacts individuals

of different social groups[2]. This dissertation specifically includes the variables described in past

literature as relating to power differences, including the needs posited by the Needs Based

Reconciliation model (Shnabel et al., 2008), as well as examining factors posited by other

authors as related to relative group power, such as increased assimilation by the lower powered

group (Saguy et al., 2009) and gender (Hammack, 2010).[3] Independent variables include religion

and gender. Dependent variables include identification with the in-group and out-group, and self-

efficacy.

More specifically, these variables are analyzed over the course of two Jewish-Muslim

inter-group dialogue programs based on the principles of inter-group contact and located in

Southern California. This work presents a unique opportunity to investigate whether power

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[2] Inter-group power differences in previous inter-group contact work has included three categories of social status and power that will be investigated in this work: gender, religion, and race. These categories in past work are based on quantifiable political and social power differences including representation in government, possession of arms, and wealth. In most cases, these differences were also related to the studies at hand. For example, the power difference between Jewish Israelis and Muslim Arabs in Israel is salient to discussions of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

In this dissertation, the two key salient groups that arguably show power differences within this study are Jews/ Muslims and Men/Women. As will be discussed in the conclusion, men and women show differences in representation, military involvement and wealth within the context of this study- the United States between approximately 2010 and 2015, with men having more of each than women. Notably, however, the discussion in neither group centered on gender. Jews have been established as a religious minority in the United States for longer than Muslims (see also later discussion) but there is more nuance in this power differences as many during this time frame in this geographic area (Southern California) both are influential minorities, with white Christian groups representing the main source of political, military, and financial power. The groups discussion in both groups did address religious history and differences, both within the US and in the Middle East.

As this study focuses on social power, not individual power, analysis of the relative power (for example the wealth of each participant) was not conducted.

[3] In this work, gender is treated as an inter-group phenomena due to its social construction. While this variable can also be considered intra-group, as for example white men and white women are part of another, larger social group construction of white, the most basic relevant socially constructed groups are examined in this dissertation. While intersectionality was not able to be statistically investigated in this work due to small participant numbers, the author well understands that intersections between religious minority status, gender identity, and other factors may all play into an individuals experience.

differences impact outcomes apart from the victim-perpetrator relationship or within ongoing

violent conflict scenarios. This dissertation asks: What psychological changes do participants

experience during inter-group contact programs?

To address this question, this work examines inter-group contact programs in diaspora or

satellite communities of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict—social groups related to the conflict

through social-identity-based ties but not geographically based in the region where the parent

conflict, here the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, is occurring. In this case, Jews and Muslims in

Southern California in two particular areas of tension—Los Angeles and the University of

California Irvine—who participate in two specific inter-group contact programs form the bases

for analysis. These individuals, while tied to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, do not live amidst it

and are all religious minority members in California. Therefore, unlike in programs with

participants from the Middle East, Jews and Muslims[4] in these programs do not hold different

amounts of power or have structural power over each other.[5]

The methodology of this work is based on a mixed-methods approach (Brady, Collier, &

Seawright, 2004) where qualitative methods are first used to highlight the most prevalent

systematic issues and topics within the programs. Then, quantitative measures follow in order to

look more specifically at certain variables and constructs. Measures are therefore chosen where

ground-up, participant-driven investigation meets with variables highlighted in prior academic

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[4] In the Olive Tree Initiative, non Jewish nor Muslim participants make up approximately 1/3 of the program. These individuals are included in the analysis.

[5] The relationship between Jews and Muslims in the United States is not necessarily equal. However, it is arguably significantly less unequal than in Israel, which has an ethnic democracy favoring Jewish individuals (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007). Religious differences in the outcomes of each study are investigated.

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work. In this case, empathy, identity, and efficacy are highlighted.

The data for this work are derived from multiple organizations in order to confirm results, given the small and specific populations (two specific and non-generalizable inter-group contact programs) being studied. While the studies presented each speak to only the populations studied, as the cases are neither random nor representative of any larger population, taken together they can lend insight more broadly into the role of power in inter-group dialogue where results are confirmational.

This work is based around the empirical exploration of social identity in inter-group contact. The empirical portions of this work are presented as complete but related articles, speaking to the larger argument of the dissertation. Each chapter will explore a sub-section of the theory presented using a specific set of data and corresponding analysis.

The body of the literature review chapter will review the concepts and programs involved in this dissertation to give context to the totality of the work presented. Three empirical, data-driven chapters will then be presented. The third chapter of this dissertation is an in-depth examination of the Olive Tree Initiative through qualitative analysis and methods. It employs Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (Smith et al., 2009) to analyze semi-structured, open-ended interview of participants in the Olive Tree Initiative's 2009 trip to the Middle East. The study finds that students who participate in this trip construct their own change narratives through themes of re-humanization (Davis & Kraus, 1997), empathy (Batson & Ahmad, 2009), and community engagement. The next two chapters, chapters four and five of this dissertation, build empirically on these results, specifically looking at the social identity changes identified by students in their narratives.

These chapters separately examine social identity changes noted both by participants in the prior chapter and in prior literature, focusing first on the chief challenge to inter-group contact—the idea that contact can create assimilation and identity loss especially for those with less social power—then focusing on potential benefits of inter-group contact illustrated by participants and identified as a possible need for lower powered group members by the Needs Based Reconciliation model (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008) but largely absent from the contact literature. Specifically, the fourth chapter looks at social identity in relation to those who are similar and different from participants, positing that individuals will show non zero-sum change (become both more identified with their in-group and with the out-group) on pre- to post-program survey measures of perceptions of similarities. In this case, the other is any member of the out-group with whom an individual traditionally has tension or demonstrates prejudice toward. The final empirical chapter examines empowerment, specifically defined in this study as self-efficacy related to conflict resolution**.**

Finally, this dissertation will conclude with parting thoughts on social identity, power, gender and reconciliation, including possible applications of this work for women in peace building and future research trajectories, including investigations of why individuals choose to join programs and the long-term impact of these endeavors.

Questions

The core questions of this dissertation therefore are: What psychological changes do participants experience during inter-group contact programs, and do these changes differ for different social groups? This includes: Does participation in inter-group contact programs

increase feelings of similarity with the out-group and/or in-group and are these reciprocal? And do members of any group experience find empowerment through contact programs?

Empirical Chapters to be Presented

This dissertation will present three empirical chapters in support of the hypothesis discussed above. These chapters will provide evidence of changes in several psychological themes and variables due to either the Olive Tree or NewGround programs, or both.

The first empirical chapter, entitled *Shifting Perceptions: An Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis Longitudinal Interviews from the Olive Tree Initiative*, will present a qualitative study of the first case study, the Olive Tree Initiative. This study uses a purposefully small sample paired with participant observation to produce an Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (Smith et al., 2009). This analysis demonstrates key lines of change from both the participants' and researcher's perspectives. Data for this analysis were collected through open-ended interviewing with participants in the 2010 OTI 3 trip to the Middle East. A within-subjects design was used, where interviews were conducted both before and after the trips with the majority of the trip participants and answers were paired and compared for each respondent. Themes of change that were discussed by multiple, if not all, respondents are presented. Results indicate that participants changed along several lines, including humanizing the conflict, decreasing in social distancing and prejudice, and increasing perspective taking and empathy.

This chapter examines, from the participants' perspectives, what changes were important to them from before to after the contact program they participated in. This study is important, because it highlights that social identity changes, including shifts in empathy and perspective

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taking, are relevant not only to researchers but also to the participants. Moreover, this study gives a groundwork for examining social identity change as non zero-sum. This chapter also sets the stage for looking at changes in learning and behavior that members of the Olive Tree Initiative felt were important growth points.

The second empirical chapter, is entitled *Creating a Non Zero-Sum Identity: Two Longitudinal Case Studies of Social Identity Shifts during Inter-Group Dialogue.* This chapter addresses the social identity and inclusion aspects of the broader theory using data from both the Olive Tree Initiative and NewGround from 2010 to 2014. It takes the ideas generated by the prior qualitative study and quantifies them, using a measure of inclusion of the other in the self (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992). This measure is designed to show the perceived social identity overlap between an individual and another person or group. In this study, overlap in self-identity with both the traditional in-group and out-group for each participant was measured both before and after the programs. Again, a within-subjects design was employed, pairing longitudinal data within each participant when looking at change.

Overall, the studies presented in this chapter demonstrate identity-related non zero-sum change in the studied Jewish-Muslim contact programs in the United States. The first case study, conducted with NewGround: a Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change, demonstrates that men shift toward more overlap with both their own religious group and their traditional religious out-group (in other words Jews felt more similar to both other Jews and to Muslims). The second study, following up with the Olive Tree Initiative, demonstrates that this effect also holds when looking at the relevant national in- and out-groups in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In both cases, men showed this effect more than women.

Together, these case studies demonstrate both that the contact programs studied increase feelings of social identification with the out-group, especially for men and also that these changes did not decrease identification with the in-group. The found relevance of gender, but not religion, raises questions related to the role of gender and power within these contexts.

Finally, the third empirical chapter presented, *Increasing Self-Efficacy through Contact: Two Longitudinal Case Studies of Self-Efficacy Change Moderated by Gender during Inter-Group Dialogue* examines the variable of empowerment. This variable is both identified by participants, who spoke about learning and skills growth in the interviews presented in Chapter 3, and is noted as a key need for lower-powered groups according to the Needs-Based Reconciliation Model. In response to critique of programs by Saguy et al. (2009), understanding this variable and its change across different social identity groups is important. In this chapter, two longitudinal, paired-sample studies look at differences in self-efficacy change amongst different social identity groups, specifically religious and gender groups, within the NewGround and Olive Tree Initiative programs.

The results presented in this chapter, as with the prior one, demonstrate gendered but not religious differences in change, with in this case women changing more than men in both organizations. The results do not indicate a drop for any social group in self-efficacy from before to after these programs. The findings here support the idea that positive changes in empowerment can be addressed by contact programs.

Conclusions

This work uniquely applies the theory of social-identity-based needs to two Jewish-

Muslim dialogue programs in the United States and speaks to critiques of inter-group contact based on power relations. By using multiple methods and programs outside of any traditional conflict zone, this dissertation is able to investigate what psychological changes take place within participants and then understand how inter-group status moderates these changes.

The results of these studies together lend empirical validation to the possibility that inter-group contact may be one avenue by which social identity needs related to reconciliation might be met. Moreover, results also demonstrate both empowerment and a non zero-sum identity, with no social identity groups studied lowering in in-group identification, out-group identification, or empowerment measures.

This dissertation demonstrates that, even in diaspora communities, inter-group contact may facilitate reconciliation. Moreover, the results of several studies included in this dissertation also point to gender differentiation within psychological changes, highlighting an avenue for future investigation.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

Most scholars of reconciliation programs argue that inter-group contact provides a myriad of societal benefits including the reduction of prejudice. Recent years, however, have seen a growth of criticisms, centering on the role of power in these contact interactions. Authors argue that scholars and activists must pay more attention specifically to minority or underprivileged groups in these interactions. They cite worries that minority or less privileged cultures are not understood but rather subsumed by the majority culture during inter-group contact, leading possibly to less activism for minority rights, evidenced by differing conversational priorities during inter-group dialogues.

This chapter reviews this literature, beginning with the concept of inter-group contact, then looking at origins and essential characteristics of inter-group dialogue programs based on this concept, and the evidence that both supports and questions their efficacy based on power. Finally, this chapter will examine theories of power and identity as they might be applicable in investigating the aforementioned critiques of inter-group contact.

Inter-Group Contact

The Contact Hypothesis states that under the correct conditions, contact between members of different groups will lead to positive inter-group outcomes (Allport, 1954).[6] These conditions are positive inter-group contact, equal-status contact, the pursuit of common goals, and institutional support. According to research, contact meeting these conditions may lead to the perception of both common interests and humanity across groups (ibid).

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[6] Under negative conditions such as threat or stress, increased contact with an out-group can lead to violence (Pettigrew, 1998).

Contact-based peace programs, therefore, often create these conditions to facilitate positive contact and therefore individual- and group-level psychological change. These programs are often held at the group level, bringing a small number of members of two groups together for multiple sessions that hold to a specific outline or organization with the goal of changing inter-group attitudes. There are many types and philosophies behind these programs. For example, some programs focus on discussions of religious differences and some avoid these discussion and focus on creating a common team building exercise or goal, such as building a bridge together (see Moaz, 2000 for further discussion of these differences).

Moreover, these types of programs often interchangeably refer to themselves as contact, encounter, or dialogue programs, often depending on the country or culture within which the program takes place. For example, in the United States where individuals from different cultures often meet but may not discuss controversial matters, the word dialogue is often used. In Israel, where less cultural mixing occurs, programs are often discussed as encounter programs.

The two programs examined in this chapter both use a narrative approach, having both sides hear and understand their own in-group narrative as well as the out-group narrative. Both focus on the idea that there is no one Truth—absolute historical truth—but instead there are many pieces and perspectives, including emotions and facts, that must be understood (Bar-Tal, 2013). Both programs have a dialogue component, an education component, and a project component where participants are expected to apply their learning to the community. For example, the Olive Tree Initiative has classroom courses and preparation about the Middle East and Israeli Palestinian conflict before each trip, has discussions and debrief sessions during the

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trip to share experiences and reactions to the speakers, and holds an additional post-trip course

focusing on creating or building on the trip experiences. NewGround has sessions dedicated to

Middle East history as well as Jewish and Muslim history, includes dialogues about personal

experiences and participant opinions in each session, and requires and supports post-trip projects

and expansions of the NewGround mission such as jointly creating reading groups, charity

projects, and education programs.

Many previous empirical studies either directly address positive contact programs or

focus on validation of the underlying theoretic principles (the contact hypothesis, for example).

Begun by Amir (1969, 1976) and Pettigrew (1998), research into the contact hypothesis has

multiplied. Overall, studies of inter-group contact have confirmed that inter-group dialogues and

other contact-based programs reduce prejudice and decrease negative inter-group emotions

(Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000).[7] In particular, the underlying identity dynamics related to contact

programs are continually studied, refining the basic theory to better understand the identity

mechanisms.

The premise that contact programs help make participants more aware of shared

identities, and that this common or overarching identity drives positives changes, is the basis for

Gaertner and Dovidio's (2000) Common In-group Identity Model (CIIM) and Hammack's (2010)

Overarching Identity Model. These models show that during inter-group contact, participants

come to see themselves as members of common groups (such as Middle Eastern or Human) due

to their participation. Dovidio, Gaertner, Pearson, and Riek (2005) demonstrate that the ability to

hold both specific in-group and common in-group identities is a good predictor of the types of

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[7] This meta analysis also found these findings true cross-culturally.

changes, such as reductions in prejudice, commonly examined in contact programs. While this common in-group identity can create positive changes, Hammack (2010) and others note that social factors outside of the inter-group contact programs such as cultural or gender norms, may reduce the formation of common in-group identification and related changes during an intervention program and/or eliminate there changes after the program have ended.

In regards to field testing the contact hypothesis through targeted contact interventions, Malhotra and Liyanage's (2005) study examining the connection between empathy and an intensive Sri Lankan conflict management program is a good example. Their study measured a key attitude hypothesized to change with positive inter-group contact, empathy, through measuring altruistic giving toward the out-group. This study found significant positive changes in the study group versus the control.

Hammack (2010) studies and compares peace camps involving Jewish and Palestinian youth from the Middle East to the United States. One program, Seeds for Peace, brings together Israeli Jewish and Arab youth in a US-based summer camp setting (Hammack, 2010). The philosophies behind these programs include creating mutual goals, an overarching or common group identity, and story-telling discussing religion. Hammack's chief method is ethnography, including in-depth interviewing, following students over long periods of time and observing the camps themselves. He concludes that these interventions create transcendent identities—identities that make the participant part of a larger group encompassing both original conflicting groups. This exemplifies many peace program studies, relying on subjective qualitative data lacking controls and looking at the production of overarching identities.

Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, and Cytron-Walker (2007) study inter-group dialogues (IGD) at nine different universities using mixed methods. They focus on several core 'conflicts' existing in the United States including inter-gender and inter-racial difficulties, bringing students together in facilitated dialogue. The study includes experimental methods (control and comparison groups), surveys, and qualitative methods (interviews, analysis of videos, content analysis of papers), and longitudinal follow up at one year. Their paper notes the goals of dialogue programs (developing inter-group understanding, fostering positive inter-group relationships, and fostering inter-group collaboration) as well as the theory behind these goals (psychological processes—Guerra et al., 2010; and communication process—Nagda, 2006). The authors find that participants show an ability to think critically about their own group in relationship with other groups, have higher empathy for the other group, and, to a lesser degree, participants understand inequalities between the groups (this did not exist between gender groups) (Nagda & Zuniga, 2003). The study is exemplary in field-testing the efficacy of peace programs in educational settings. However, it is limited as it involves discussions of social conflicts that students may or may not be actively engaged with (such as gender or race).

Power in Contact

Shnabel et al. (2009) note that differences in inter-group power—the relative power one group has in comparison to another—converge with the victim/perpetrator division they discuss in the needs-based reconciliation literature. Perpetrators generally have higher power while victims have lower power relative to each other during conflict. This dynamic may further complicate the outcomes and willingness of participants in inter-group contact programs, but

study of inter-group power differences and their impact is relatively new in the contact literature. Where it does occur, this discussion of power differences in reconciliation programs presents key criticisms of inter-group dialogue process which ignore this dynamic.

Power is important to inter-group contact. Equal status is in fact a core condition of positive outcomes of inter-group contact according to Allport's original work (1954). In reality however true equality is hard to measure or achieve, and equal group status is therefore often problematic during studies of inter-group contact in the field. Researchers have established that this unequal dynamic, especially in situations of ongoing conflict, may have negative political outcomes despite increased positive inter-group feelings, but despite its fundamentality, most inter-group contact work assumes equal status and moves forward without critically evaluating this variable.

Work that does includes Saguy et al.'s (2009) paper that demonstrates inter-group power dynamics not only influence retention of overarching identities, but also behavior during contact programs, and may also have implications for the political change such endeavors are able to achieve. Both Bikmen et al. (2013) and Saguy et al. (2009) demonstrate a preference of higher power group members to discuss commonalities and avoid discussions of inter-group differences or power inequalities during inter-group contact or dialogue programs.

Moreover, additional work demonstrates that contact can even be detrimental to lower powered group members, reducing their motivations toward social change through common identity (Tausch & Becker, 2012). Therefore, outcomes that demonstrate a common, overarching

identity may have negative political ramifications if the reduction of inequality is considered a positive political goal, even while they reduce inter-group prejudice.

Power has also been found to differentially influence the positive impacts of intergroup contact claimed in Pettigrew and Tropp's (2000) meta analysis of contact program outcomes. Hodson and Hewstone (2012) also conducted a meta analysis on the role of inter-group power in contact programming. Both conclude that out-group attitudes are significantly less improved for lower powered group members, compared to higher powered group members.

Qualitatively, Hammack et al. (2014) point out that, "Palestinian participants in the mutual differentiation condition reported higher levels of empowerment and positive mood throughout contact relative to all other participants, suggesting the effectiveness of this approach to challenge power asymmetries and its positivity for the low–status group." In this case, the lower-powered group benefitted most from contact based on mutual differentiation, rather than re-identification with an overarching group. Importantly, this indicates the type of contact program in question may impact the outcomes, especially for lower-powered group members.

Needs in Inter-Group Contact and Reconciliation

Another, perhaps complementary, perspective on power differences in intergroup contact is to look at the needs of each social group as different coming in to the programs and therefore expecting different outcomes from the programs.

According to *Social Identity Theory* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), individuals' self-concept and

self-worth are directly linked to one's membership in relevant social groups. According to Brewer (1993) individuals and groups strive to balance their emotional needs through Optimal Distinctiveness. This theory proposes that group distinctiveness must be balanced with social inclusion. The specific needs demonstrated by individuals and groups relate to that specific group's social status or identity. In order to maintain a positive self-image, individuals must balance their inclusion in social identity groups with positive perceptions of these groups. Needs arise when a threat to either inclusion or positive perceptions occurs (ibid; Walton & Cohen, 2007).

For high-powered groups' members, who enjoy high status and related social privileges, both the perception that they benefit from an unfair system and the socialization into that system which may encourage status over inclusion can leave a need for connection and inclusion (Bekerman & Zembilas, 2011; Halabi et al., 2004). Inter-group contact in particular may bring some of these inequalities to light: if policies that promote the status quo in favor of the current higher-status group are discussed, simply the discussion of power relations may arouse feelings of dissonance or guilt among higher-powered group members, leading to a need for connection with the lower-powered group members that will alleviate the momentary threat to their moral self-image (Sonnenschein, Bekerman, & Horenczyk, 2010).

For lower-powered group members, the relative social status of their group may arouse emotional concerns of being dominated or assimilated (Horenczyk, 2004), which threatens the need for a separate and distinct social identity. The need to maintain a separate identity directly calls for an increase in power that will afford the group this ability. On an empirical level, this

striving for empowerment by relatively lower-status groups is demonstrated repeatedly in social movements literature (Tarrow & Tollefson, 1994).

Conflict resolution and reconciliation literature also holds a body of work addressing social needs. The theory of Needs-Based Reconciliation posits that successful reconciliation must address the socio-emotional needs of individuals (Nadler & Shnabel, 2008; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008) and groups (Shnabel et al., 2009). The model specifically focuses on victims, seen as lower in power, and perpetrators, seen as higher in power, in conflict and post-conflict situations. According to prior literature, victims experience powerlessness (Herman, 1992) and loss of social status (Scheff, 1994), while perpetrators feel that their identity as moral actors is threatened (Exline & Baumeister, 2000). Perpetrators therefore seek belonging and acceptance, while victims seek empowerment.

Nadler and Shnabel (2008) and Shnabel, Nadler, Canetti-Nisim, and Ullrich (2008) discuss multiple ways for victims and perpetrators to fulfill their needs and therefore open the door for the possibility or process of reconciliation. Victims can, for example, seek unilateral revenge and therefore restore their sense of power. However, the authors discuss that this can lead to continued conflict instead of reconciliation. Through dialogue and other reconciliatory processes involving both sides, acknowledgement of responsibility and guilt by perpetrators, along with recognition by the perpetrating group or individuals of victims as capable could fulfill the need of victims for empowerment. Conversely, perpetrators can seek forgiveness and understanding from the victims of the causes or needs that originally compelled them to act violently or negatively in non-unilateral processes (Nadler & Liviatan, 2006).

The authors discuss these processes mainly at the broad societal level. For example, one

way this needs fulfillment can be achieved is through social connection and integration of the

perpetrator group with the victim group. In this way, both groups can feel re-humanization and

address each other's needs, as above (Staub et al., 2005). Shnabel et al. further argue that the

fulfillment of these socio-emotional needs can lead to social-identity-based changes, such as "the

removal of the negation of the other as a core element in one's own group identity (Kelman,

2008) or the acknowledgment of the interdependence between one's ingroup and its adversarial

outgroup (Kelman, 1999)" (Shnabel et al. 2009, p. 1022).

Work on the Needs-Based Reconciliation Model and other needs focused approaches

considers interactions mainly in the political context, such as formal apologies or messages

between groups during negotiations. This theory has not yet been applied to inter-group contact

work, although the interconnected and social nature of the theory lends itself directly to such

dialogue-based reconciliation programs, and these types of programs are in no way excluded by

any authors who discuss needs in conflict processes as possible avenues for fulfilling these

needs.

Filling the Literature Gap: Power, Identity, and Needs in Contact

This dissertation marries work on power and social needs in the field of inter-group

contact. Specifically, it examines whether and how differences in inter-group power impact the

emotional changes posited by needs based models, such as the Needs Based Reconciliation

model and Social Identity Theory, and by the contact hypothesis, including social identity

inclusion and changes in empowerment.

Needs-based models predict that separate emotional needs must be fulfilled for each

group in order to move forward with reconciliation. Here, inter-group contact is proposed as one avenue for fulfilling these needs, whether between victims and perpetrators or those of different social status.

While this connection has not directly been addressed before in reconciliation literature, evidence in the inter-group contact literature has already suggested that high and low power group members demonstrate different preferences within encounter programs (Saguy, Pratto, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2009). Hammack, Pilecki and Merrilees (2014) also demonstrate that in some conditions of inter-group dialogue, Palestinian youth, considered by the authors to be lower in power than their counterparts, experience greater positive changes in mood and empowerment, as compared to Israeli and US program participants.

This dissertation moves one step further, directly measuring the change over time within identified needs including empowerment and identification during inter-group contact. Moreover, while it applies this theoretical background derived from both experimental and work with inter-group contact programs addressing on-the-ground conflict, it does so with diaspora based programs. These programs address inter-group tensions, but are removed from direct violence. This allows the researcher to better map social group based power differences that are less directly related to the conflict and opens up the study of contact, power, and needs into a new venue.

Hypotheses

Taken together, this literature leads to the hypothesis that inter-group contact may be able to address different social needs for different groups, including needs associated with degrees of

social and political power. Moreover, while social identity theories posit the possibility of multi-layered identities, no studies directly support nor contradict the idea of holding two seemingly competing identities. Therefore, we ask: Does inter-group contact, for any social group, reduce in-group identification in conjunction with raising out-group identification. And does inter-group contact meet the needs of different social identity groups differently?

First, I hypothesize that social identity is non zero-sum and can be raised toward an out-group without lowering in-group identification. This is important when considering the needs especially of lowered powered group and post-contact political efficacy.

Also in line with this, two specific needs are highlighted in the prior literature as key for reconciliation are empowerment or a sense of being able to affect social change for those with less power, and inclusion or identification with the out-group for those with more.

Therefore, I hypothesize that participants in inter-group contact programs will differentially change in their sense of identification as well as their sense of empowerment, according to their relative group status. In other words, higher power group members will change positively and in greater degrees than lower powered group members in feelings of identification with the out-group, and lower power group members will change positively and in greater degrees than higher powered group members in feelings of empowerment.

Chapter 2: Methodology

To answer the above questions, a mixed-methods approach is used in this dissertation. Mixed methods includes both qualitative and quantitative approaches to answer different types of questions or employs a mix of these types of research in data collection or analysis within a line of research or study. This research combines both explanatory and confirming modes of investigation (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). The mixed-methods approach in this dissertation involves the collection and analysis of both survey and interview data. Both of these methods are employed longitudinally before each program cohort enters and after each cohort finishes their inter-group dialogue. The interview data set analyzed using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (Smith et al., 2009) and survey data is statically analyzed. Specifically, these techniques are applied to two case studies. As each empirical chapter represents a slightly different set of data and analysis, the specifics of each research method and data set are provided within these chapters.

Case Study Research Method

The case studies, NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change and The Olive Tree Initiative, greatly impact the methods and findings of this dissertation. These cases are not fabricated by the researcher; they are existing real-world applications of inter-group contact theory with all of the biases and imperfections of real work programs. This enhances the applicability of the findings of this work in real-world settings. It limits, however, the specificity with which causation could be discovered. Isolation or manipulation of one variable in real work settings is difficult if not impossible, and therefore it was important to the researcher to first

understand qualitatively and from the participants' points of view what variables or changes stood out as most important before qualitatively examining these factors.

The differences between the two case studies also provide opportunity to investigate if the changes observed are limited to one specific inter-group contact program, or if they might be more broadly observed. In this way, while the programs have many similarities, their differences also aid in the validity of the research to real-world situations. Notably, however, while this confirmational approach has many benefits, it restricts the comparison between groups in this dissertation. Instead, each case study is separately examined to provide multiple investigations of each hypothesis.

One specific aspect of this methodological approach is that participants are not selected by the researcher. The programs themselves, without influence from the researcher, in conjunction with the participants themselves who are all volunteers, choose the demographic make-ups. This has both positive and negative trade-offs in terms of research findings. Again, the real-world nature of this process of self-selection in forming the groups lends validity to the research, as the research is conducted under non-manipulated conditions.

In this work, for example, both groups are over-represented by women, a finding with implications to be discussed in the conclusion, and they are entirely composed of individuals who prior to the intervention were willing to engage with those dissimilar to themselves (and hence signed up for the programs in question). While in an experimental work, a clean 50/50 or even 100% male and/or 100% female group might be deemed most suitable for investigations that include gender as a salient variable, in inter-group contact programming a skew toward female participants is often the norm (again see later discussion of gender in contact). Similarly,

to the researchers knowledge, no inter-group contact programs exist that are not run on a volunteer basis. While there may be future research trajectories for the study of those normally less willing to join, the skew of participants toward willingness to engage versus unwillingness is simply an artifact of all real-world inter-group contact programming. Therefore, while many factors might contribute causally to the change in the studied variables and these may be impossible to parse out due to the lack of control and manipulation, the broader changes and results of a study of real-world interventions can be seen to more closely relate to other real-life inter-group contact situations.

In this dissertation project, the empirical work first seeks to explain broadly what themes of change participants voice themselves during the interviews. Then, it seeks to contextualize these themes within prior theory and confirm whether the data do or do not conform to the hypothesis of the theory. For this work, the mixed-methods approach involves first conducting a series of interviews paired with participant observation in order to form an in-depth understanding of the particular groups being studied. This is paired with qualitative analysis. Then the research employs pre-program and post-program quantitative survey measures addressing specific variables of importance, as identified by both broader theory and the qualitative analysis, and statistically analyzes these for change and moderators.

More specifically, chapter three focuses on the Olive Tree Initiative. Interviews were conducted before and after the 2010 Olive Tree Initiative trip with over ninety percent of the participants. Interviews were open-ended, encouraging participants to speak about their views of the conflict and expectations (before the trip) or learning (after the trip). In addition, the researcher accompanied the 2010 Olive Tree trip to gain an insider's perspective. This research

was analyzed qualitatively, using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (Smith et al. 2009) to discover the themes of change from the participants' perspectives.

For the next two chapters, both the Olive Tree Initiative and NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change were studied. For this dissertation, observations and surveys of NewGround and Olive Tree participants were conducted with three separate cohorts between 2010 and 2015. Surveys were given both before and after each program and a within-subject design compared results within each subject. One full NewGround retreat as well as approximately ninety percent of all NewGround group sessions during this time were attended by the researcher, along with observations of various post-program projects. Olive Tree Initiative weekly meetings, tabling sessions, and fundraisers as well as Center for Citizen Peace-building Board Meetings and campus events related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were also attended during these years.

For the first survey-based piece the main variable looked at was social identity inclusion—formally called introjection of the self in other (Aron, Aron, & Smollan 1992). This measure directly addresses the component of inclusion Shnabel and Nabler (2008) discuss as key for the higher powered group—the negation of the other as a core element of the self—and acknowledges of interconnection between the in and out-groups (Kelman, 2008; Kelman, 1998). This scale is presented visually, using a series of Venn diagrams, a series of seven sets of two circles that range from not overlapping at all to fully overlapping.

For the second study empowerment is examined. A three-part scale for self-efficacy, consisting of a) self-perception of knowledge b) self-perception of conflict resolution ability and c) self-perception of the ability to share about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was constructed.

These survey measures are examined separately and as a scale.

Surveys were administered to participants within a month of their being chosen for either the NewGround program or the Olive Tree trip. The researcher attended the first meeting of each group after this to answer questions about the studies. Participation rates in each study and for each group, as well as additional methodological details, are discussed further within each chapter.

Analysis of the surveyed variables was conducted for both self-efficacy and inclusive identity measures using statistics to determine whether differences over time were significant and if any moderating variables existed. Both religion and gender were examined as potential moderators as presented in the following chapters. ANOVA and pairwise comparisons were the primary statistical tools used for these studies, as noted in the particular results of each.

Cases Studied

The Olive Tree Initiative

Program Design

The Olive Tree Initiative (OTI) is a structured education and dialogue program that focuses on experiential education about conflict through a two-to-three-week trip to the Middle East. The Olive Tree Initiative was founded, and is now based, at the University of California, Irvine. Participants in the Initiative are college students, generally between 18 and 24 years of age, that attend the Universities that host OTI clubs on campus. At the time of this study, students hailed from Southern California schools that were a part of the University of California (UC)

system including UC Irvine, UCLA, and UC Santa Barbara. A new group of students take this

trip each year and are labeled by the year they travel, with the first trip being designated OTI 1.

The 2010 trip was referred to as OTI 3.

The Olive Tree sends twenty to thirty students each year to the Middle East to meet with

officials, experts, and community members with diverse perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian

conflict. More students on each campus, including alumni and those not chosen or unable to

attend the trips, are involved in club activities. Within the trip participants, the leadership,

graduate students, returning students, and first time UCI students were chosen for balance of

perspectives according to the views of the program organizers—Jewish and Muslim, Pro-

Palestinian and Pro-Israeli, Conservative and Liberal[8]. A third group, those who are neutral or

unaffiliated either politically or religiously with Israel/Palestine are also included in the Olive

Tree Initiative. Students are chosen generally on the basis of two criteria—those who are most

involved and creating a balance between that is ideally 1/3 Jewish, 1/3 Muslim, and 1/3

unaffiliated individuals interested in conflict resolution. There is some deferral to students who

could not attend the following year, for example seniors, but this is secondary to the above

concerns.

Of the UCI undergraduates chosen for this experience from 2010 to 2013, slightly more

than 1/3 were Christian or unaffiliated, approximately 1/3 were Muslim or Arab, and slightly less

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[8] These terms are used in conjunction with current use in the US political spectrum. The term conserva-
tive maps to the conservation of family values (i.e. pro-life, marriage as defined between a man and
woman), states's rights, top-down economics and the freedom to own and carry guns, amongst many oth-
er issues. Liberal maps mostly unto progressive social movements including gay rights and protections,
such as gay marriage, increasing taxes on big business and the wealthiest Americans, uncovering and ad-
dressing racial injustices, and social welfare amongst many other issues. Notably, this dichotomy was
used by the program itself. In the participant data, conservative mapped with Republican and liberal with
Democrat as is consistent with 2010 - current US politics, although there were exceptions to this in indi-
vidual cases.

than 1/3 were Jewish. This slight discrepancy is due to a smaller number of Jewish students on campus and very involved students from the campus's new minor in conflict resolution who are unaffiliated with this conflict. Among the UCI undergraduates chosen for the trip were representatives of campus leadership, Jewish student group leadership, and Muslim student group leadership.

During the trips, there are three components: social bonding time, speakers, and group discussion or debriefings. Social time includes the flight, bus travel, meals, and nightly activities that range from smoking at a hookah bar to (for those over 21) drinking wine at the hotel. The trip includes a balanced, or as balanced as possible[9], itinerary of speakers representing several different Israeli and Palestinian narratives. For example, the OTI 3 trip met with students from local Israeli and Palestinian universities, the architect of the security fence, parents of victims of the conflict, Israeli NGOs supporting equal rights, and high-level UN, Knesset, and PLO representatives as part of approximately seventy speakers met during their 2010 trip. This is based on a speaker matrix ensuring that different viewpoints, both from a political and community role perspective, are heard. When there is time, students and staff also engage in nightly discussions and debriefing sessions in order to share thoughts and opinions on speakers and experiences. In 2012, the trip also began to bring professional psychologists to further this dynamic and ensure the psychological health of students being exposed to potentially disturbing stories and images.

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[9] This balance is determined by trip staff and students. The matrix includes viewpoints from right wing Israeli settler through right wing Palestinian media. Moreover, the balance also refers to with whom the groups meets, including as many different societal roles as possible, from civilians through service and aid workers through government representatives for Israeli Jews, Israeli Arabs, and Palestinians.

Directly before embarking on the Olive Tree trip, students meet at the University of California, Irvine for a week long 'bootcamp' designed to review upcoming speakers, learn basic dialogue skills, and review the history of the region.[10] During the year prior to the trip, many students also take classes on conflict resolution, mediation, religion, and the Middle East. Most, but not all, students also participate in OTI weekly meetings during the year, which include an extensive background in Middle Eastern history and current topics, in order to prepare students for their journey. At UC Irvine, a minor in conflict resolution also allows students to take courses relevant to their travels and to count the trip for course credit.

After the trip, OTI students are expected to follow up on their experiences. Many take a course in Scholarship and Leadership development which gives course credit for applying the lesson of the trip toward campus and community projects. Students also give talks to local groups about their experiences, host speakers on the UCI campus, and help the next cohort fundraise through the organization of an annual fundraising gala, during which a speaker or special guest performs.

Campus Climate

The Olive Tree Initiative was created to cope with conflict, specifically the reaction to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict between the Jewish and Muslim communities of Orange Country,

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[10] Pre-trip surveys given to OTI were administered either before bootcamp or during the first bootcamp session for students that did not have access or time to complete the online survey before this time. Therefore, learning and interaction during bootcamp is taken into account in these studies. Notably, some of the students may have taken courses together or been a part of the larger OTI club before this bootcamp, but that is the defining time that distinguishes trip participants from other campus members and is generally the first time all, or the vast majority of, a trip's participants are physically together in one location for extended amounts of time.

California. University of California, Irvine (UCI), the college at which the group originates,

hosts a diverse student body including many Jewish, Arab, and Muslim students. Many of these

students are involved in campus clubs, such as Anteaters for Israel, Hillel, Students for Justice in

Palestine and the Muslim Student Union. Each of these clubs hosts activities relating to the

conflict and, since the spring of 2002, UCI has been publicly identified by newspapers and

politicians in both the US and abroad as a hotspot for conflict-related activism and division[11].

One example from the pro-Palestinian side of the debate on the UC Irvine campus is

Palestinian Awareness Week, which has carried various slogans and titles over the years. The

week, hosted by the Muslim Student Union (MSU), features a large cardboard wall display

meant to resemble the security barrier dividing much of Israel from the Palestinian territories.

Some incarnations of this wall have included displays of Israeli flags drenched in red paint,

comics with swastikas, and/or mock border procedures.[12] The week also hosts speakers. Some of

these speakers have been accused of anti-Semitism by members of the local and national Jewish

community.

The annual pro-Israel week hosted by the pro-Israel student group is viewed on campus

as avoiding mention of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; this has drawn negative responses from

Muslim and Pro-Palestinian groups. The pro-Israel week generally follows directly the pro-

Palestinian week, but focuses on the ecumenic and scientific contributions of Israel. For

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[11] Articles including those listed here have come out in newspapers in both California and Israel regarding the campus tensions between Jewish and Muslim students around Israel/Palestine at the University of California, Irvine. This is a selection of these articles: http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5240309 NPR March 1 2006; http://www.ocregister.com/articles/cartoons-36131-uci-student.html Orange County Register 2006; http://www.haaretz.com/news/international/california-university-suspends-muslim-union-for-heckling-israel-envoy-as-killer-1.296147 and http://www.scpr.org/news/2011/02/05/eleven-students-charged-disrupting-israeli-ambassa/

[12] See appendix 1 for images.

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example, a key display in 2011 for Israel Week demonstrated how Israel's desalinization technology might help other drought regions such as California. Other events such as the College Republican's 'unveiling of the Mohammed cartoons' in 2006[13] and Israeli Ambassador Oren's speech on campus regarding Israeli-American historical relations in 2011[14] have drawn protest from Muslim students and community members as well. One article on this last event addressed not only the protests aimed at Michael Oren, but also the subsequent arrests and convictions of the protestors, and the highly controversial campus suspension of the Muslim Student Union at the University of California, Irvine later in 2011.

The resulting campus climate has been characterized by severe polarization between pro-Israel and pro-Palestinian groups, making UCI a battleground of competing, mutually exclusive narratives about the conflict that has been the subject of local, national, and international controversy.

My own observations have confirmed that these tensions are continual and far-reaching. On one of my own research trips to the Middle East, a local diplomat presented me with an article about the tensions existing in the US while arguing that US researchers like myself should focus our work more locally. The article was the very same one that addressed the Michael Oren even cited above.[15]

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[13] http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5240309 NPR March 1 2006; http://www.ocregister.com/articles/cartoons-36131-uci-student.html Orange County Register 2006

[14] http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Muslim-students-found-guilty-of-disrupting-speech-2308540.php SF Gate Sept 24 2011

[15] see http://www.haaretz.com/news/international/california-university-suspends-muslim-union-for-heckling-israel-envoy-as-killer-1.296147 and http://www.scpr.org/news/2011/02/05/eleven-students-charged-disrupting-israeli-ambassa/ for article examples

Program Origin

Within this context a group of students engaged in the tensions surrounding the Israeli/ Palestinian conflict and its fallout on the UC Irvine campus decided to create a dialogue group, the Olive Tree Initiative (OTI), which would include members with opposing and varied viewpoints and, eventually, travel to the region to gain first-hand knowledge of the conflict. OTI continues to be a student-based organization at the University of California Irvine formed with the idea that the students should learn first-hand about the conflict they were so passionate about.

The organization formed under the guidance of the Center for Citizen Peacebuilding, a group which ties together community members and the University of California, Irvine in order to promote ground up peace-building education and efforts. The board is not religious in nature, but does include both Jewish and Muslim individuals, as well as those of other religions and non-religious beliefs.

In 2008, OTI first raised enough funds to make the trip to Israel and the Palestinian Territories. While initially the administration at UC Irvine was hesitant to accept or promote University sponsored travel to the Middle East, citing safety concerns, one administrator did attend the first OTI trip. Since that time, and during the time this study was conducted, the Olive Tree Initiative has been embraced by the University not only as a campus club, but as the basis for its minor in conflict resolution. The staff of the Olive Tree Initiative has offices at the University of California, Irvine and a professor of political science serves as a faculty advisor for the group.

While the group continues to be supported by major donors from the Center for Citizen Peacebuilding, it is currently a separate entity from that group. The Olive Tree Initiative is

strongly supported by several boards, many of which have significant overlap with the members of the Center for Citizen Peacebuilding. These include a UC Irvine OTI board and a national board, both comprised of donors and community members.

Program Leadership

The leadership of the Olive Tree Initiative, while somewhat mixed, is majority male. The Olive Tree Initiative's director is a male Christian peacemaker and PhD from UCI. Two religiously unaffiliated (neither Jewish nor Muslim) professors, one male and one female, serve as advisors and regularly accompany the trips (one of whom is herself a mediator).[16]

Each trip also includes one or two returning students who had attended the previous OTI trip (one 2009 OTI trip participant returned in 2010 for example), and the group often meets with alumni currently living in the region. In 2010, one of these returning students was Jewish and a leader in the Jewish community. The other was Arab and Muslim. Similar patterns exist each year. These students also take lesser leadership roles, both helping to bring a longitudinal perspective to discussion and supporting moderate but strong and opposing positions. Finally, two graduate students participated in the 2010 trip simply as participants, and these two students also took moderate but slightly opposite positions, one being Jewish and the other being fairly pro-Palestinian. In 2011, one graduate student who is both Jewish and progressive (pro-Palestinian statehood and equal rights in Israel for Muslims) attended. In 2010, one of the

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[16] One leader is German and was involved in second generation Jewish/German dialogues. Another has some Jewish heritage, but is neither ethnically Jewish (does not have a Jewish mother) nor raised in the Jewish faith. This faculty member considers herself mainly Christian and attends church. The last faculty member has no strong stated religious affiliation.

graduate students provided a strong international law expertise to add another important perspective.[17] Trips continue to actively recruit graduate students with expertise in the region, international law, and personal connections to add additional narratives.

During the time of this study, the education director for the Initiative was a male doctoral student in the UC Irvine political science department. He interacted with students serving as a teacher and mentor at meetings and teaching them about the Middle East. Two staff assistants were appointed during the period of 2010 to 2014. A Jewish male assistant director was appointed for the Olive Tree Initiative. This alumnus of the program later left the position in 2014 and in 2015 no replacement has as yet been named. Additionally, a chief of staff who oversees the administrative side of the Olive Tree was also appointed to work under the director. She is a Jewish woman.

Overall, Olive Tree Initiative staff is therefore majority female and led by an individual that is neither Jewish nor Muslim. During the time of this study, Jews were represented in daily leadership and Muslims were not.

Program Funding

The Olive Tree Initiative is funded in three main ways: The student group works each year toward a common fundraising goal, the community supporters of the Olive Tree Initiative including the boards and the Center for Citizen Peacebuilding make large donations, and the

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[17] These individuals were not included in the subject population of this study.

University of California provides academic and institutional support including office space. Students cover their third of the trip costs directly or through their own fundraising.

Grants and donations cover administrative fees and staff salaries. Supporters include University of California Office of the President; UC Irvine Offices and Centers including the Offices of the Chancellor, Executive Vice-Chancellor and Provost, Vice-Chancellor for Student Affairs, Department for Undergraduate Education, Undergraduate Studies; several UC Irvine Departments; and Centers for Citizen Peacebuilding, Global Peace and Conflict Studies, International Education and Unconventional Security Affairs.

Private donors and granting agencies include the Kugelman, Marisla, Pears, and Samueli Foundations; the Smith Family Trust; and the Alliance for Peacebuilding. In addition, many religious organizations also donate including the Garden Grove Mosque, Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life, the Irvine Episcopal Church, the Islamic Center of Irvine, the Islamic Shura Council of Southern California, the Jewish Federation and Family Services/Rose Project, the Newport-Mesa Irvine Interfaith Council, University Synagogue, St. Mark's Presbyterian Church and the United Congregational Church.[18] The Olive Tree Initiative does not accept any funding from foreign governments or political institutions.

Program Developments

OTI has continued to grow and expand. The Olive Tree Initiative now has student groups addressing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict across California including at the University of Cali-

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[18] More information can be found at: http://www.olivetreeinitiative.org/supporters.

fornia (UC) Irvine, UC Los Angeles, UC Berkeley, UC Santa Cruz, UC San Diego, San Diego State University, and Stanford University. It is developing programs at new campuses in other parts of the United States as well, including two upcoming campuses in Washington D.C. The Olive Tree Initiative has also expanded its purview beyond just the Middle East, creating a Turkey-Armenia trip in 2012. This related but separate group of students and travel experience visits the South Caucuses and studies political tensions in Turkey, Armenia and Georgia. In addition to this expansion into another conflict, the Olive Tree Initiative has also expanded into multiple new campuses and now includes a community trip which mirrors the student experience for community members and donors.

It has also continued to receive awards including an Orange County Community Foundation Grant for Environmental Cooperation and Peacebuilding (2012), a California State Assembly Resolution recognizing the Olive Tree Initiative for outstanding contributions to the community (2011), a Newport-Mesa-Irvine Interfaith Bridge Builder Award (2011), two University of California, Irvine Anteater Awards for Best International Organization awarded by the Associated Students Association at UC Irvine (2010, 2011), a Top Ten Program in Higher Education Award from the U.S. Center for Citizen Diplomacy in cooperation with the U.S. Department of State (2010), a Paul Delp Peacemaker Award (2010) and a University of California Living our Values Award (2009).

NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change

Program Design

NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change (hereafter referred to as New-Ground) is a planned encounter program based on the principles of inter-group contact (Allport, 1954). NewGround addresses Jewish-Muslim tensions in Los Angeles[19] by creating adult (18+) cohorts of approximately 30 participants, half of whom are Muslim and half of whom are Jewish, half of whom are female and half male, who engage in a series of planned dialogue sessions led by a pair of experienced inter-group dialogue facilitators, one of whom is Jewish and the other Muslim.

The program meets bi-weekly over a series of approximately six months and includes readings and outside interaction opportunities such as temple/mosque visits and dinners. Meeting spaces alternate between Jewish spaces such as Jewish Community Centers or Synagogues and Muslim Spaces such as Mosques. Each cohort also attends two weekend retreats together. Recruitment for cohorts occurred in two ways during the time studied: sometimes two religious institutions were contacted and the majority of participants came from those two institutions. Other times public notices or e-mails were shared with and at religious and cultural institutions and amongst alumni to encourage applications from community members. Participants pay a nominal fee to encourage buy-in (Putnam, 2000) and offset program costs.

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[19] It is worth noting that while Jews and Muslims in the United States are likely far closer in social power than Israeli Jews and Israeli Muslims/Arabs, as used in many other studies of contact, that a difference may exist due to both current political situations that produce anti-Muslim prejudices as well as the fact that Jews have historically existed in significant numbers in the US for longer than Muslims. This is evidenced by, among other statistics, the creation of campus Hillels in 1923 while Muslim Student Unions began in 1963 (Aslan and Tapper, 2011).

The sessions are designed to progress from social games focusing on creating inter-group

bonds and friendships, through historical and cultural lessons about each group, to discussions of

the Middle East and local inter-group tensions. Cohorts members are also expected to create

projects after their sessions formally end. These projects have ranged from inter-religious open-

mic nights to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) providing aid to create secular schools in

Gaza.

Each cohort group discusses their personal struggles and accomplishments, receives edu-

cation on conflict styles and active listening, hears from community speakers about anti-Semi-

tism and Islamophobia, and throughout takes time to discuss within the group how members feel

and think about each topic. Fishbowls[20] and other group-facilitation techniques epitomize the

focus on structuring conversations to be productive and encouraging open and personal commu-

nication within the group. The two retreats are scheduled so that one occurs early on in the pro-

gram to acclimate participants and encourage bonding, and the other retreat occurs near the end

to discuss Israel-Palestine in a safe space. These are designed to frame the dialogue.

Throughout, the focus of NewGround is not on Israel-Palestine specifically, but on how

to communicate about difficult topics. Participants are encouraged to start conversations during

the three hour sessions and to continue them over coffee or cupcakes (two popular group

choices) later. In this way, community building is not only accomplished through the final group

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[20] A Fishbowl is an inter-group dialogue technique where two concentric circles of chairs are formed. Af-
ter hearing a speaker on a Jewish topic, for example anti-semitism across history, this fishbowl would be
formed. The first group to discuss the topic would sit in the center and would generally be the group most
closely aligned with the topic. In this example, Jewish participants would sit in the center circle and dis-
cuss the topic, with no comments from the outside circle. Then, the groups would switch. This allows
each group to listen to the other, encourages in-group heterogeneity of opinion and the witnessing of the
other group of this, and discourages divisive dialogue that could lead to each group forming more en-
trenched positions.

projects and alumni involvement, but also by focusing on creating personal connections with other group members.

Program Origin

NewGround originated to address tension and division between the Jewish and Muslim communities in Los Angeles due to perceived differences related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Examples of this tensions during the time of this study include: a piece by the Jewish Journal announcing the arrest of an 'anti-Semitic vandal' with the last name of Hason[21] and another on a popular blog, Rehmat's World, confirming that the Jewish mayor and Attorney General of Los Angeles are boycotting Muslim hotels.[22]

Within this context, a group of Muslim and Jewish community leaders in Los Angeles began NewGround in 2006. Through a concerted effort to understand past failures of Jewish-Muslim dialogue in the area, program founders employed outside consultants to gather information about the needs of the community and past difficulties that might have contributed to negativity around this type of work. The report indicated that similar to the oft-used expression in the Middle East, these groups felt that while they wanted positive change, they did not have a 'partner in peace' on the other side (Bar-Tal, 2013).

At its founding, the program was sponsored by the Los Angeles Council on Human Relations. The Muslim Public Affairs Council and Progressive Jewish Alliance in Los Angeles joined

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[21]http://www.jewishjournal.com/los_angeles/item/anti_semitic_vandal_arrested_on_hate_crime_charges

[22]http://rehmat1.com/2014/05/08/l-a-jewish-mayor-boycotts-muslim-hotels/

forces to officially launch NewGround, hiring one Jewish and one Muslim group facilitator. The group also brought on a rabbi whose focus is inter-faith relations to lead the program, which she did continually during the time of the cohorts studied. NewGround by 2013 operated independently of these three founding groups, but continues to be sponsored by many Jewish and Muslim community partners and hosted by the LA City Human Relations Commission.

Program Leadership

NewGround leadership is overwhelmingly female. During the time of this study, both group facilitators were female—one Jewish and one Muslim. The program head was also female, a Jewish Reform rabbi. The board member with whom the participants had the most contact was a Muslim woman. Moreover, during several events three key alumnae were also present. While other board members were male and the participants were evenly divided by gender, leadership was clearly gender imbalanced.

Program Developments

The NewGround program in 2015 includes a professional fellowship, most closely matching the cohorts studied here and described above, as well as a teen leadership group called MAJIC (Muslims and Jews Inspiring Change). The teen leadership council is run by program alumni and brings together high school students of Jewish and Muslim origins in Los Angeles in a dialogue program.

NewGround's partners list currently reads like a who's who of Los Angeles in both the

Jewish and Muslim spheres. Partners include religious organization, cultural organization, and

universities. As of 2015 they include American Jewish University (AJU), American Muslim Pro-

fessionals (AMP), Bend the Arc: A Jewish Partnership for Justice, Bilal Center, Birthright Israel

NEXT, Congregation Beth, Shir Shalom, East Side Jews, Hebrew Union College, IKAR syna-

gogue, IMAN Cultural Center, Islamic Center of Southern California, Islamic Law Society of

Southwestern University, Jewish Family Service - Family Violence Project, Jewish World Watch,

King Fahd Mosque of Culver City, Los Angeles Museum of the Holocaust Righteous Conversa-

tions, The Museum of Tolerance, The Muslim Bar Association, Muslims for Progressive Values

(MPV), Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), Muslims Establishing Communities in America

(MECA), National Federation of Temple Youth (NFTY), Progressive Jewish Alliance - Jewish

Funds for Justice, Temple Emanuel of Beverly Hills, the UCLA Department of Jewish Studies,

United Synagogue Youth Far West Region (USY), and the Wilshire Boulevard Temple.

Its financial supporters and backers include numerous foundations and city organizations

including The Angell Foundation, The Joshua Venture Group, The Muslim Public Affairs Coun-

cil, The California Community Foundation One Nation Muslim Civic Engagement Project, and

The City of Los Angeles Human Relations Commission.[23]

Program alumni are also in key change-making positions in Los Angeles, including serv-

ing as rabbis in the Jewish community and helping found The Women's Mosque of America.[24]

NewGround has received local and national acclaim. Among NewGround's accolades are

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[23] http://mjnewground.org/funders-and-partners/

[24] http://womensmosque.com/

awards from Governor Brown as California's 2013 Faith-Based Organization of the Year, an Inter-Faith Leadership Award from the Valley Inter-Faith Council in 2010, a multi-thousand dollar grant from the Jewish Funder Network's Jewish Social Change Matching Grant program in 2014, and an article supporting the program in Israel's chief newspaper Haaretz.[25]

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[25] http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/jewish-world-features/.premium-1.577637

Chapter 3: Shifting Perceptions
An Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis of Longitudinal Interviews from the Olive Tree Initiative

"People have been alienated from each other for so long that they see each other as the other, the enemy." (Namir)

Introduction

Avoiding a cycle of violence after long term ethno-political conflict is often difficult when communities have been enemies and combatants for decades. Dehumanization, the psychological and moral othering of individuals often due to war propaganda and violence, is a social psychological block to community reconciliation. Dehumanization takes a very real toll on relationships and health during and after conflicts. According to Putnam (2000), social capital and community relationships are important for social functions and health. Public health literature demonstrates that negative or stressful social relationships and dehumanization can have detrimental mental and physical health implications (Halpern & Weinstein, 2004).

Specifically cited in these studies, among others, is the lack of empathy and corresponding increase in dehumanization caused by conflict (White, 1991; Kelman, 1998). Reconciliation can therefore be explained partially in terms of empathy. "Perceptual shifts," according to Halpern and Weinstein (2004), "occur when one becomes interested in another's distinct subjective perspective and are central to rehumanization." In other words, reconciliation is a process by which groups see their relationship with others differently and less distantly.

Reconciliation between communities is one important and necessary component of conflict resolution. Reconciliation provides the will towards community building, as well as the positive coexistence necessary for sustaining long-term peace. In the wake of the Israeli-

Palestinian conflict, many reconciliation-focused conflict resolution programs have arisen (see

Nadler & Liviatan, 2006; Maoz, 2000 for examples). Most of these programs, including those

referenced, are in the Middle East or involve participants from that region.

This chapter looks at a unique program that both is based in and addresses tensions

within the United States: the Olive Tree Initiative. This program focuses its energies on conflict

resolution, reconciliation, and education on a United States campus with high Jewish-Muslim

tensions. Little research on such diaspora-based programs exists in the current literature, and

there this study seeks to qualitatively investigate participants' experiences of the program,

beginning to shed light on the psychological changes and possible benefits of such contact.

Inter-group contact literature that critiques inter-group dialogue programs often examines

the processes that occur during such contact. In order to more fully understand the processes and

changes that participants find important, this chapter looks at interviews conducted with Olive

Tree Initiative students both before and after their 2010 Middle East trip experience. Specifically,

the study uses in-depth longitudinal (pre and post program) interviews paired with Interpretive

Phenomenological analysis of these interviews to understand the themes important to the

participants, in order to examine how individuals in a program seeking to address tensions

between Jews and Muslims in the United States change over time. Overall, this chapter

demonstrates that many of the key themes of reconciliation present in the literature, including

social identity based ideas such as the need for increased empathy and rehumanization, are

present in the change narratives of program participants.

Literature Review

Many prior reconciliation interventions are based on the concept of identity change. These interventions often seek to create an overarching or universal identity, which should in turn create in-group bonds and empathy. Prior literature has confirmed that this occurs in inter-group encounter programs (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000 for example meta analysis; Hammock, 2010 for example qualitative analysis). These interventions are based on social identity theory and the contact hypothesis.

The contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) states that, under certain key conditions, contact between any two groups will lead to more positive relations. These conditions include equal status, a common goal, intergroup cooperation toward that goal, and the support of third party or authority figures. Building on this idea, Tajfel and Turner (1979) created social identity theory to expand theoretically upon the contact hypothesis and address more broadly the differentiation that exists between social groups. According to their theory, individuals instinctively divide others into categories (see minimal group paradigm research; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Tajfel, 1979). These authors posit that individuals and groups have needs that lead to the psychological formation of the in-group and out-group. Interventions based upon these theories attempt to move the conflicting groups into the same in-group sphere, building psychological bonding factors such as empathy and reducing divisive factors such as prejudice.

Reconciliation interventions have a long history of study across social science fields as a method of bringing conflicting groups or individuals together through contact-based methods. However, analysis of prior conflict interventions demonstrates several key literature gaps or problems. First, the majority of work on empathy interventions or reconciliation interventions has taken place in peaceful or laboratory climates (e.g., Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003;

Nagda & Zuniga, 2003 for contact work; Betancourt, 2004; White, 1991 for empathy work). This work affords researchers the ability to narrow the focus of studies and control for variables. Moreover, participants often return from such studies to conditions that support the researcher's goals. For example, one key empathy intervention addressing homophobia returned participants to a liberal college environment where the acceptance of fellow students likely reinforced the participant's increased empathy toward gay men (Stephens & George, 2008).

These interventions provide important theoretical and measurement bases for real world interventions, but exclude the context that these necessarily involve. Monroe and Martinez-Martí (2008) demonstrate in a classroom-based empathy intervention that, in context, prejudice is decreased effectively only with long-term, positive contact. Moreover, as Hammack (2010) points out in his study of peace camps (another common real-world intervention bringing youth from various conflicts to the US for a period of contact and cooperation), the cultural and contextual variables of conflict, especially for students returning to conflict zones, break down positive, universal identity formations over time. The author demonstrates that prior socialization of certain groups, such as males in conflict, also decreases the efficacy of some intervention techniques successful in peaceful or laboratory contexts.

Despite these findings, one key study by Malhotra and Liyanage (2005) demonstrates positive change in empathy toward the out-group due to a real-world empathy intervention in Sri Lanka. This study found such empathy change in an experimental, longitudinal intervention that brought members of conflicting groups together in activities specifically designed to create empathy. Members of the study groups were compared to those who did not participate in the empathy targeting groups.

Empathy has been theoretically and experimentally linked to positive reconciliation outcomes. Experimentally, increasing empathy can lead to higher ability to accurately perceive positive traits in others (Davis & Kraus, 1997). Empathy has been shown to increase pro-social behaviors and decrease violence across communities in several studies where participants are given education about the out-group and asked to imagine themselves in the out-groups' situation (see Stephan & Finlay, 1999; Stephens & George, 2008 for examples). More narrowly, empathetic perspective taking, the ability to cognitively imagine what another person might feel in their situation, has been shown to have these positive effects (Bateson & Ahmad, 2009). Bateson and Ahmad (2009) demonstrate different types of empathy, focusing on empathetic perspective taking and empathetic concern as drivers of pro-social behavior. Specifically, perspective taking causes an individual to feel concern or sympathy for someone in a difficult situation, which then causes the observer to want to alleviate the difficulties of the other and act on this impulse.

Figure 1: Structural Equation Model of Reconciliation (Figure 2 from Betancourt, 2004)
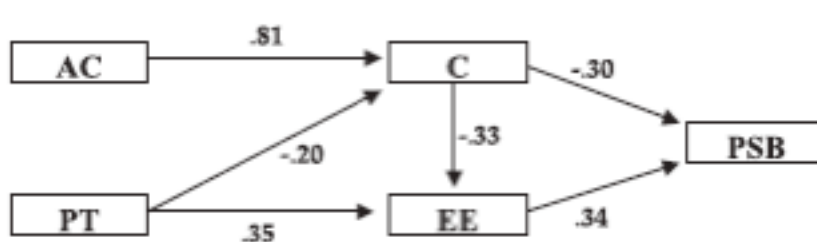

FIGURE 2 Attribution-empathy model of helping behavior with parameter estimates from LISREL. Test for the analysis of structural equations. $\chi^2(3, N = 150) = 2.37, p = .499$. PT = perspective of potential helper; EE = empathetic emotions; PSB = prosocial behavior; AC = causal attributions of need; C = perceived controllability.

Betancourt (2004) builds on White's (1991) theory of empathy and pro-social behavior to create a model for the interactions between these variables. This model incorporates both identity and empathy variables, including attribution, empathetic emotions, and empathetic perspective taking. Attribution, one aspect of in-group bias and identity, is important to understanding how individuals think about interactions with out-groups. According to the theory of attribution error, individuals tend to incorrectly attribute negative experiences to the out-group's character and positive experiences of the out-group to the situation. For example, if a member of the out-group receives a good grade one might attribute this to an easy test, while a bad grade would be attributed to lack of effort. Reducing this error is a clear indication of barriers between groups being broken down (for a review of attribution see Weiner, 1995). This incorporation of theories is key to evolving a working model of reconciliation.

Overall, Betancourt's model, tested in a laboratory environment, provides theoretical and statistical support for field-based work. However, while there is a large and growing literature on inter-group contact, the literature specifically on facilitating empathy across cultural divides and in real world conflict remains minimal (Junn & Morton, 1995; Rosler, Cohen-Chen, & Halperin, 2015).

Other conflict models incorporate empathy as a factor in narrative discourse. Bar-Tal (2007) demonstrates the conflictive ethos as existing in conflictual areas. This ethos demonstrates both a general community mindset that is low in perspective taking and empathy, and is high in in-group biases such as prejudice and attribution error. Overall, the ethos results in zero-sum thinking; black-and-white and all-or-nothing thinking prevails. This ethos, according to

Bar-Tal, must be changed to a mindset that includes empathy and coexistence in order for conflictive states to subside.

While based on different methodological perspectives, these theories share similar variables and concepts. The conflictive ethos encompasses social identity and emotional variables including prejudice and empathy. At the most basic levels, these theories capture a movement from negative psychological distance and simplification toward closeness, nuance and heterogeneity. Perspective taking, the ability to envision the perspective of the 'other,' is key in each theory to beginning the sequence of reconciliation. It begins a path that can lead to empathy and cooperation instead of continuing conflict or violence

The Current Work

This chapter examines one particular identity and empathy intervention based in inter-group contact work, The Olive Tree Initiative, addressing the tensions between Jewish and Arab/ Muslim communities in the Middle East that resonate among diaspora populations, specifically with students at American college campuses such as UC Irvine (UCI). This work explores how participants experience this program using a qualitative approach, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006), to examine the experiences of individuals who have participated in this program within the larger context of the program, school, communities, and international conflict in which these participants interact.

Case Studied

The Olive Tree Initiative trip includes all the necessary components of a potentially successful, contact-based, empathy and identity intervention. The trip includes a balanced[26] itinerary of speakers representing several different Israeli and Palestinian narratives. For example, the OTI 3 trip studied in this chapter met with students from local universities, the architect of the security fence, parents of victims of the conflict, Israeli NGOs supporting equal rights, and high-level UN, Knesset, and PLO representatives as part of the approximately seventy speakers met during their 2010 trip. This roster is based on a speaker matrix ensuring that different viewpoints are heard not only on the political scale but also from those with different community roles.

Moreover, the group is led by individuals unaffiliated with the main ethnic groups involved. These individuals, a Christian peacemaker and PhD from UCI and two religiously unaffiliated (neither Jewish nor Muslim) professors, serve as third-party discussion facilitators (one of whom is herself a mediator). The group works each year toward a common fundraising goal and experiences the three-week trip and its challenges together. Moreover, as all participants were UCI students, relatively equal status was also achieved. This fulfills the various criteria behind successful inter-group contact as per the literature presented.

OTI also meets the criteria of an empathy intervention. Specifically, OTI focuses on learning multiple perspectives, respecting opinions, and getting to know each other. Along with the balanced and varied itinerary, a key component of each OTI trip (the OTI trip studied is the third trip, and the fourth trip is already organizing) is the nightly reflection. This is a time when participants discuss both the events of the day and their goals, hopes, feelings, and personal

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[26] Or as balanced as possible according to the methods described in the introduction.

experiences. Reflections encourage empathy though openness, honesty, and a sense of common humanity within the group. In 2012, the trip also began to bring professional psychologists to further this dynamic.

Methodology

This study employs open-ended interviews which take place within approximately one month before and one month after the Olive Tree Initiative Trip as one part of larger ethnographic study of the group. The interviews questions were broad and constructed so as not to be leading. Example questions were: tell me about yourself, please describe the history of the conflict, please describe the current conflicts in the Middle East, and tell me about your experience. Questions did not specifically target any psychological variable. This is important as it allowed each participant to speak to the themes that were important to them about Israel/Palestine, their inter-group contact experience, and themselves. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 1.5 hours.

The longitudinal nature of this study allows documentation of participants' changes across time. This is important as it allows documentation of changes for individuals in both similar themes, as well as for shifts in what general themes are important to the group.

Analysis

The interviews were analyzed using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), a method that unpacks, as described below, individuals' accounts of their experiences of specific events (Smith et al., 2009). This method of analysis, which requires the small study populations

and in-depth knowledge of participants or organizations studied, pairs well with the intense interview techniques and ethnography undertaken for this chapter (Morrow, 2005).

This analysis was conducted by pairing categories of analysis derived from both grounded analysis of the interview data and from existing theories presented in prior literature. For the grounded approach, interviews were coded using Dedoose[27], an online program designed to ensure both confidentiality and help analyze qualitative data, by working up from coding all emotions, attitudes, beliefs, etc to creating key categories of spoken about by participants.

In the IPA approach, the data set was also coded for categories generated through past literature review and researcher questions; as the study is not blinded and the researcher had extensive background in the above literature, category naming and construction was therefore mutually constructed, with the researcher finding academic concepts and terms most closely matching with the categories discussed most often by the participants. The categories and sub-categories that emerged demonstrate the topics spoken about by participants.

Due to the vastly varied nature of the interviews, all psychological categories spoken about as having changed over the course of the trip by a participant and/or observed by the researcher to have changed when comparing the pre and post trip paired sample interviews, by or with 20% or more of study participants are included. They are not in any way ranked by importance, as this was not determined in this study nor a goal of the study. Instead, this study seeks to describe the variety of psychological changes that may be associated with participation in inter-group contact.

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[27] www.dedoose.com/

Generating categories from the participants narratives and using their own words to demonstrate these categories lends authenticity to the analysis. While topics are named according and discussed in the context of past literature, participants' own words demonstrate their experiences directly. Therefore, quotes and stories that best represent these categories are used to illuminate the change categories identified from an emic point of view.

This method is suitable for analysis of a reconciliation program such as the Olive Tree Initiative due to its idiographic focus. IPA allows a researcher to unpack individuals' accounts of events, in this case a trip to the Middle East, that the study participants have experienced (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006). This method is enhanced by a longitudinal design, allowing both the researcher and participants to reflect on changes that occur over time, possibly due to the experiences in the program.

Specifically, this analysis method, which focuses on the discovery of new and/or important phenomena (Haverkamp, Morrow, & Ponterotto, 2005) is used in conjunction with previous literature to discover whether previous categories of analysis hold for participants of the Olive Tree Initiative, a group based in diaspora communities and therefore unlike many prior studies, as above. This allows for both the emic perspectives (the perspective of the participants) and etic perspectives (the observer or researcher's perspective) to be taken into account (Smith et al., 2009) to help contextualize the experiences of participants in prior literature without losing new or novel categories or information. The literature is also used throughout this chapter to provide possible context for the categories highlighted by the participants themselves.

Study Participants

IPA has been shown to be most useful when small, purposeful samples are used (Osborn & Smith, 2008). In the case of this study, this call for a small sample was paired with a methodological desire to study representative members of an entire population. In this case, the majority of the entire population of the intervention group, the Olive Tree Initiative, was able to be interviewed and analyzed for one year.

Participants in this study are OTI trip participants that have not been on a prior OTI trip. Of this group, the vast majority of students chosen for the trip agreed to participate in this study, which was voluntary. For this type of qualitative analysis, this high participation rate allowed for a robust examination of the population in question: participants in the Olive Tree Initiative. Overall, twenty-three students participated in this study, including six Jewish students, eight Muslim students, and nine unaffiliated students (some of whom were Christian-Arabs). Within these groups were thirteen female participants and ten male. This was 92% of the 25 trip participants. Also notably, over sixty percent of participating students reported being leaders of campus, religious, or ethnic organizations.

Results

Empathy: Humanization of the Conflict

General Perception: Non Zero-Sum to Social Conflict

The Olive Tree Initiative spoke about or demonstrated shifts in their perception of the Arab-Israeli/Israeli-Palestinian conflict. At the outset, many students spoke about the conflict as

a zero sum, simple-to-quantify situation; resources, land, victimhood, and truth were necessarily finite and unidimensional. There was one main 'problem' that needed to be resolved or death with in order to resolve the situation. "The conflict," according to one Christian female before the trip at Time 1, "is about a finite resource, land" (Mary). Many other students mirrored this concept.

After the trip, at Time 2, when students spoke about their perception of the conflict, this view shifted from a focus on finite resources to less tangible challenges. An unaffiliated female expressed this shift. She stated at Time 2, "the conflict started about land, but now it is about trust" (Claire). One Muslim male participant noted at Time 2 that, contrary to the way he previously conceptualized the region (at Time 1), Jewish Israelis and Arabs "live separately but in the same city" (Namir). Some students, like this one, directly countered previously zero-sum or black and white thought patterns directly, discussing trust, coexistence, and cohabitation of land as important for current and future peace efforts, and conversely viewing their lack as the main source of conflict—as opposed to the resource or moral battle many perceived before the intervention.

Rational Explanations to Empathetic Concern

The participants in the Olive Tree Initiative spoke of shifts in empathy, and especially in empathic concern and perspective taking. They did so in remarkably similar lines to those researchers have observed, demonstrating that their perspectives align well with previous academic discourse such as that of Bateson and Ahmad (2009), discussed previously. As one

Muslim female student explains in her Time 2 interview, "The trip humanizes people; it counters the lack of empathy" (Selina). In statements like this, students directly addressed the very ideas upon which this intervention was based—counteracting dehumanization through empathy and contact—without having background in these terms and being blind to prior research.

Emotional components, especially empathetic concern, stood in contrast to the rationality some participants believed should be applied to the conflict before the trip, demonstrating one specific aspect of the humanization of the conflict. This was often expressed as an opening up to one's own emotional responses as a first step in envisioning the perspective of someone living in the conflict zone. As one female, Christian student (Nancy) noted after the trip at Time 2:

> "I like to think of myself as rational, but I was struck by moments when I couldn't process things rationally. For example, in Sderot, the rocket shelters. I understand about PTSD; kids can't sleep, moms have panic attacks… rockets attacked just 2 days ago. I felt afraid and threatened; rational thought about choices went out the window and I was furious about international law and about people living like this. My faith in rationality was shaken."

Concern or empathy for those in the region was expressed in several post-trip interviews. "I recognize now how intense the intifada was… how much it scared people," expressed Chad at Time 2. Another student noted in her Time 2 interview that "after speaking with the holocaust survivor… I felt like I hadn't really listened. Emotions and security became real justifications" (Rachael). Specifically, these students identified post-trip that while previously they found 'facts' to be valid information and personal experiences and emotions to be inconsequential, now they understood the cumulative and important impact of these personal narratives on the conflict and could not dismiss them.

Not only did students connect this to their views of those in the region, but also those in diasporas. One Muslim female, Nadia, noted in her Time 2 interview that "everything" stems from the lack of interaction. She included specifically dehumanization, stereotypes, and media misperceptions as the most pressing problems in, and in regards to, the Middle East. Students, including Nadia, Mary, and Matthew identified a need, especially for those in US diaspora communities, for humanizing both the ethnic and religious other during their Time 2 interviews that was not present during their initial Time 1 interviews. These statements were often representative of student's contemplations of how the trip shaped their viewpoints on the conflict on campus and closer to home.

At Time 2, after the trip, these statements were interlinked with sentiments of understanding or connection to the other Olive Tree Initiative participants. "The trip," Selina noted, "made me more sympathetic. Seeing [the Jewish students] and how much it meant to them, it made me feel more connected. Having discussions, it just humanized people." Another student at Time 2 also picked up on this feeling of increased connection to the group. "Students' ability to be so honest" surprised Namir. He noted that "criticisms of their own communities made me feel connected to them." Through the humanization and complication of Olive Tree Initiative group members, in addition to the experiences in the region, some students were able to see the more nuanced and social components of the conflict and relate to them[28].

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[28] No corresponding psychological or identity distance from other students on campus was discussed by participants.

Multiplying Perspectives and Narratives

This empathetic shift accompanied a broader shift toward examining multiple perspectives. "The conflict is about human rights, basic dignity. You need to understand different perspectives. To say you've considered everything is impossible" (Rachael in discussion about what she had learned from her trip experience during her Time 2 interview). Similarly, another student emphasized the need to consider the narratives of other instead of, as he had previously expressed during his Time 1 interview, trying to find the underlying facts and base decisions upon these incontrovertible details. In reference to the on-the-ground situation in the Middle East, he eloquently stated during his time 2 interview "I learned that I 'know' nothing. There are multiple truths" (Aalim, air quotes used by participant).

Historical 'Truths'

The vast majority of participants at Time 2, nearly 90%, when asked to describe the history of the conflict post-intervention, discussed that there were multiple viewpoints and histories involved. Many participants echoed the sentiment during their post-trip Time 2 interviews that "to many people there are many different histories" (Aalim). Similarly, others referred to the need to understand more than the surface stories involved in tense, real-world, contextualized events. "The conflict," Mary noted during her Time 2 interview, "is complicated. You can't take what you see at face value; you need back story."

Students recalled examples from the trip itinerary, specifically the intentional juxtaposition of speakers from opposing or contradictory perspectives, as models for their newly complicated world-views during their Time 2 interviews. One unaffiliated female, Laura, gave

the example during her Time 2 interview of hearing Danny Tirza, an Israeli military official that

helped build the wall and "the other guy from the NGO" who pointed out the political

implications of the wall for the future state of Palestine within an hour of each other as an

example of juxtaposition that helped her understand the complexity of the conflict. She

continued to state that she understood that both were telling the truth despite different

perspectives.

After experiencing different perspectives and narratives in the region, students reflected

upon ideas of multiple 'truths' (air quotes used by multiple participants), parallel discussions of

history, and even the diversity of names used for events during interviews. Many saw not only

the need to broaden the extent of their understanding, but the depth as well.

Experiential Empathy Education

Post-intervention interviews at Time 2 also demonstrated that this effect was and could be

generalized. This reflects an educational aspect of the intervention; students spoke about taking

what they learned in the specific context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and applying this

perspective taking and non zero-sum viewpoint beyond the context of Israel and Palestine to

their own lives.

In discussing how people interact with each other, both in the conflict and on campus,

Melissa noted at Time 2 that "we need to branch out of the bubble we are in. Put the media and

books aside and hear from people on the ground. Open your eyes. Become open minded."

Another student addressed the need to understand emotions without discounting them, even if

they motivate decisions she does not agree with. She stated during her Time 2 interview that she

learned that "you cannot touch personal stories. Fear is legitimate" (Jennifer).

Prejudice and Out-Group Identification

Another broad theme that presented itself during interviews was a transformation in the

way participants spoke about the 'other.' Often this included changes in the way historical and

current blame was placed, the way the out-group was seen as homogeneous or not, and the way

individuals saw their in-group as similar or very different from the out-group. Much of this

discussion reflects a shift toward lower in-group/out-group bias, or prejudice.

Attribution: Personal (or Group) versus Situational

Intention

To demonstrate this shift in attribution, we can examine the way students spoke about the

intentions of Zionists, Jews, and Palestinians before the Olive Tree trip. Before the intervention,

during his Time 1 interview, one Muslim male student spoke about the fact that, thousands of

years ago, 'Jews left the land.' When they returned, he continued, they 'forced out' the

Palestinians, creating a human rights crisis (Amal). This idea reflects an attribution to a group

rather than a situation. This same attribution of blame and intentions is stated more succinctly by

another student before the intervention during her Time 1 interview, "Jews took the

land" (Christie).

According to attribution theory (Weiner, 1995), group or personal attribution for negative events demonstrates a prejudice against the aforementioned group; they are seen as an out-group and therefore viewed as having intentional negative motivations. If the participant's in-group had done the same, by this theory, the crisis would instead have been blamed on the situations rather than personal/group intentions. Below nuance to attributional ideas and shifts from the above ideas of intentional aggression and hurt as seen in Time 2 interviews are explored.

Aggression

Several participants discussed blame in terms of innate characteristics of certain groups, such as aggression, in their pre-trip Time 1 interviews. According to prejudice literature, attribution of aggression as a trait and the intention to harm is often seen as stereotypical of an out-group a (Ramasubramanian, 2007). Before the intervention at her Time 1 interview, one Muslim female (Aisha) stated that the IDF and Israel were clearly the only aggressors. Another Muslim male student (Nadir) commented that the IDF wanted to kill Palestinians and make their lives miserable.

Post-intervention, in Time 2 interviews, blame was either attributed as shared or situational. For example, some students spoke about shared aggression: "It's all a matter of perspective. There are not victims and aggressors, although Israelis do have the power to do more" (Nancy). Other participants, including both Nadir and Aisha quoted above, also noted that blame for aggression was often shared between multiple aggressors including governments, terrorists, and militaries. Very rarely (2 of the 23 individuals interviewed) did participants target blame only toward specific religious groups after the Olive Tree trip.

After the intervention, a shift for most students who discussed this topic occurred. Many participants attributed the start of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to situational factors. Oftentimes blame for the problems in the conflict changed to broader, more humanitarian or historical issues for which neither the Jews nor Arabs were directly responsible, including colonialism. For example, in her Time 2 interview Maya blamed the start of the conflict on the "mismanagement of the British mandate." This type of statement places the blame on the situation or an outside third party, reflecting an attributional shift, which, in literature on prejudice, demonstrates a shift away from strong out-group prejudice or less out-group bias, as discussed above.

Victimhood

Literature on victimhood suggests that in intractable conflict situations, groups feel an exclusive right to victimhood (Bar-Tal, 2013). In concert with this literature, not only was there a shift in participants narratives away from blame of the 'other' or out-group for aggression and intentional hurt, but corresponding shifts from Time 1 interviews to Time 2 interviews in belief in the exclusivity of the in-group as victims.

Before the trip, during her Time 1 interview, a Muslim female, Aadila, noted that victims were all Palestinian citizens—excluding suicide bombers who were not victims. Victims, for many participants, were thought of less along ethnic or religious lines after the trip at Time 2; often victims were spoken of at this time as all citizens in the region or all those experiencing violence. After the trip most participants refused to choose one victim. One exemplary quote from post-trip, Time 2, interview was from a formerly anti-Israeli Defense Force student who

stated that "Victims are Palestinians living in Gaza and the West Bank, sometimes Israeli Arabs, Israelis on the borders and in the IDF who don't abuse power but are misperceived as aggressive…" (Maya). Her acknowledgment that even members of that organization, the IDF, could be hurt by the ongoing conflict highlights a shift in her own prejudices and perceptions of regional victimhood.

In-Group Identification

During post-trip interviews, over half the participants addressed their own identity. Many mentioned not only that the trip built an overarching identity, creating a self-perception that they were not only Jewish or Muslim, Pro-Israeli or Pro-Palestinian, but also members of the Olive Tree Initiative or Semitic People; participants also spoke about a strengthening of their own pre-trip in-group identities. No participant mentioned these two components as being mutually exclusive or distance from non-trip participants.

Building Overarching Identity

After the trip, participants spoke about themselves as members of the Olive Tree Initiative not only for this trip but for life; for example, they referred to themselves using nicknames shared across group members (the Olives) and spoke about continuing work together on both conflict-related and personal projects. Many friendships, and a few romantic relationships, have formed within and across ethnic group boundaries as well, some lasting years after specific trips.

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Reaffirming Cultural Identity

Students that spoke about identity also often reaffirmed their pre-trip (Time 1) self-concept. One Jewish female, Hannah, noted during her Time 2 interview that she continued to be pro-Israel and conservative, although she now expressed an understanding of the other perspective and questions the occupation. A Muslim female, Rashida, expressed a similar identity phenomena during her post-trip Time 2 interview, noting that she now had "stuff to back up" her beliefs. "I learned about myself and where I came from," one Palestinian-American male, Alam, discussed similarly in his Time 2 interview, "[and] now I understand why I was told what I was told."

How students conceptualized their role on campus is another example of identity affirmation, especially within specifically pro-Israeli or pro-Palestinian groups such as Students Supporting Israel or Students for Justice in Palestine. Several students involved in these groups mentioned that they would change something about their involvement in these groups after the trip, but that these changes in activity helped affirm their commitment to the groups. One student stated in her Time 2 post-trip interview that the experience "hasn't influenced the start [of her volunteer activities with the campus Jewish group], but has influenced the direction" (Maya).

Applied Learning

Many of these aforementioned plans and changes highlight the application of students' learning to their lives outside of the Olive Tree Initiate group. In addition to these mentions,

participants also directly spoke about the impact of the program as educational and something they would seek to apply to other situations.

Students in OTI mentioned engaging in a wide variety of pro-social behaviors after the trip during Time 2 interviews. These ranged from volunteering in hospitals to running minority-rights groups to working as housing staff mentoring younger students. As with organizations directly involved with the Middle East, the direction of student's behaviors, if not their level of involvement, was reported by these participants to be impacted by the intervention. For example, one student, Tiffany, planned to work in high school outreach, an ongoing University of California Irvine campus program, and stated so in her Time 1 interview. At Time 2 she said she hoped to integrate her new knowledge into lesson plans. Melissa noted her goal of "bridging the gap between youth" by teaching them to "understand the other side" in her Time 2 interview addressing the same high school outreach program where she was also a volunteer. She also one of several students who stated plans during her Time 2 interview to visit temples and mosques to speak to youth about her experience.

Alternately, students involved in religious organizations (Jewish, Muslim, and Christian) spoke in their post-trip interviews at Time 2 about hoping to help others in these groups understand multiple perspectives and avoid aggressive or aggravating statements during campus and public events. Anna, for example, noted hoping to help those in her campus cultural group "engage in respectful dialogue, show many narratives, and show that there are humans involved" during her Time 2 interview. Another student, Hassan, discussed helping his religious group "move past barriers, elevate discourse and talk about real people" during his Time 2 interview. Hassan hoped to help "reflect the reality of complexity" in the region.

Discussion

Thematic analysis of the interview indicates four main categories that form both an emic and etic perspective. These are humanization, prejudice, identity, and application of education.

Students discussed that the trip humanized the conflict, shifting their perspectives from concrete factual debates to concerns about the human individuals and groups that fell victim to regional violence. Participants shifted the way they viewed the historical narrative of the Middle East; from a black–and-white account of borders and wrongs, participants found they could not discount often contradictory personal and group historical conflict narratives. Emotions and emotional needs were legitimized.

In addition, some students felt the experience of the Olive Tree Initiative humanizing the other, leading students to demonstrate and comment on an increase in perceptions of nuance and heterogeneity within out-groups. Within this, many students came to express empathy toward all those impacted negatively by the conflict and some stated they saw this shift in empathy as importantly mirroring a shift they saw as necessary for Middle Eastern peace-building.

As part of the decrease in perceived homogeneity of the out-group, the members of the Olive Tree Initiative demonstrated when comparing pre and post trip interviews and themselves spoke about changes in their inter-group prejudices. In some cases blame for historical events shifted notably from the out-group to more situational factors, such as colonialism. Similarly, victimhood and negative attributes such as aggression gained nuance and were for several participants no longer divided by in-group/out-group lines after the trip to the Middle East.

Individuals in the Olive Tree Initiative also demonstrated and spoke about changes in identification pre- and post-trip. After the trip, many students used inclusive language in reference to both traditional out-group members and for the Olive Tree group in general. However, many of the same students also spoke about feeling more connected and grounded to their traditional in-groups, such as Jewish students to the Pro-Israeli political group on campus or Judaism.

Finally, students emphasized various applications of their experiential educations. This included applying the educational or narrative approach to their own clubs or organizations, sharing their experiences outside the Olive Tree Initiative, and becoming more involved in campus and group leadership. Affirming this sentiment, not one but six students out of twelve lifetime awardees who won the campus Dalai Lama scholarships have been Olive Tree members after their trips seeking to create peace-building and inter-faith initiatives[29].

On campus, observed changes in campus climate and inter-group dynamics indicate that these shifts have created a corresponding shift in behavior and campus climate; students did not simply say they would apply their learning, they did so. For example, many Olive Tree Initiative students took leadership roles after the trip and there have been shifts in how campus groups interact. Jewish and Muslim groups instead of only protesting each other, also table across from each other (fall 2013). The 'Wall' for which the Muslim Student Union (MSU) is so famous has over the years subtly but importantly changed from seeming anti-Semitic to the outside observer, to being pro-Palestinian, pro-two state solution, and at times anti-Israeli policy/human rights violations (changes observed between fall 2009 and spring 2013). Before some MSU speakers

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[29] See http://www.vcsa.uci.edu/DalaiLamaScholarship/ for more information on the award and recipients.

have been brought to campus, the OTI group including Jewish student leaders has been asked about how this would be perceived, and changes have been made to invited speaker lists to avoid unintentional controversy, including changing speakers or inviting additional speakers with different perspectives to demonstrate diversity of opinion (fall 2010). Moreover, the six Dalai Lama scholars have created several inter-faith programs and a Peace Week on campus now held between the pro-Palestinian and pro-Israeli weeks.

Students have also generalized their learning beyond their interactions over the Middle East conflict. OTI students in 2013 created a program similar to OTI Israel-Palestine going to Turkey-Armenia, as well as a Global Peace-building club to apply skills closer to home.

Tensions do remain however. In 2013, the UCI student government passed a Boycott Divest and Sanction bill against Israel.[30] OTI students were not involved in the crafting of this bill, nor was the majority of the campus. However, while this ignited tensions, it is an example of OTI students putting their conflict resolution skills to work, as both Jews and non-Jews from the organization actively worked to reverse this and educate the campus at large before an informed and inclusive re-vote. Events like the various pro-Israeli and Palestinian weeks, on-the-ground violence, and incidences of racism in the larger southern California area continue to create some tension on campus.

Conclusion

This work demonstrates several marked shifts felt by participants in the Olive Tree Initiative. While one student participants on such a trip changed on many levels, the importance

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[30] No action in accordance with this bill was taken by University Administration.

of this project lies in understanding which shifts were perceived by the students themselves.

Many of the shifts spoken about by the students lie in the realm of social identity. These include

humanization of the other, reductions within in/out-group effects such as prejudice, and

identification changes. In addition to these changes, students spoke about engagement and

efficacy on campus in their respective ethnic, religious, or cultural groups.

Limitations

One important limitation of this study is self-selection bias. Participants elected to be in

the Olive Tree Initiative and in the study. They are not necessarily representative of the broader

UCI or California community. Moreover, they were generally not extreme in viewpoints and

clearly, even prior to the intervention, participants were willing to engage in activities with those

of different political views and ethnicity. Dehumanization was therefore expected to be low and

pro-social behavior, cooperative and empathetic tendencies high at the outset. In addition, the

most noticeable limitation of this study is the small number of participants per cohort. While

necessarily small due to the expensive nature of the intervention, this makes an understanding of

group dynamics along historical lines difficult.

This challenge is a very real one to interventions of all kinds; even in conflict zones,

negotiations, or peace camps, only those that are willing to come to the table can be included. It

is specifically addressed by choosing a methodology that is descriptive and qualitative in nature.

Moreover, the methods of this chapter are specifically focused on understanding the content of

participants' thoughts on their own experiences. By examining the Olive Tree as a whole

population, albeit one that might lend insight into others, instead of through quantitative,

randomly assigned methods designed to be representative of a larger group, we can gain specific insight into the felt changes of this group.

In addition, this intervention exists within the diaspora Jewish and Muslim communities of Orange County. Therefore, while the dynamics of this intervention may contribute to understanding *possibilities* for contact groups in general and may usefully speak to possibilities for application of inter-group contact in addressing diaspora tensions, the dynamics described here may be completely different from inter-group contact involving those from or in the Middle East or any other on-the-ground conflict.

Future Work

Work broadening and testing the themes presented in this chapter by looking theoretically at such models as Bateson's empathy model (Bateson & Ahmed, 2009), which indicates that emotional perspective taking can lead to pro-social inter-group behaviors, or Shnabel and Nabler's (2008) Needs-Based Reconciliation model, which indicates that different groups have different needs in order to reconcile, both of which support the themes discussed, may usefully connect work on this specific population to the broader literature and understanding of peace and reconciliation initiatives. As the themes presented here surround issues of perspective taking including empathy, prejudice, and narrative changes, they closely speak to the same themes presented in these theories and lend qualitative evidence to these models as mechanisms and pathways for change due to such inter-group contact interventions.

Future work may also address recent extensions and critiques of these models, qualitatively and quantitatively, including gender and power inequalities (Saguy et al., 2009), which

were not clearly observed within the themes presented by participants and therefore not reported in this work. Specific questions and a second study where participants are divided by power or gender might helpfully illuminate whether students felt these factors influenced their experiences. Notably, they were not spoken about during interviews spontaneously or differently by race, religion, or gender and hence in this chapter no such breakdown is presented.

One clear avenue of future work stemming from this research is further examination of the themes presented through quantitative study. By examining more closely variables such as prejudice, identity, and efficacy, which can be quantified, surveys or experimental work before and after the Olive Tree Initiative program can lend insight and significance to the observed and reported changes seen in this chapter. Work examining these variables using pre- and post-trip surveys will be presented in chapters three and four. This work will also investigate moderators, such as gender and religious differences that were, as noted, not differentiated in this chapter.

There are many other additional avenues of work. These include examinations that expand the longitudinal nature of this work. For example, interviewing alumni at various career stages would valuably add to discussion of the retention of change and material after programs. Follow-up surveys and a more systematic evaluation of career paths are underway. Questions of where the careers of students lead, whether students continue to value and give back to the organization, and what friendships and activities are created from this experience can shed light on the behaviors and community impacts of this program. Other avenues include comparative work with other programs in the American Jewish and Muslim communities, addressing different inter-group tensions, and on the ground in conflict zones.

Conclusions

This study gives voice to a population that has undergone a specific experience particular to their lives, but also an experience crafted on the basis of principles of peace education and reconciliation widely used in peace-building. It speaks powerfully to the change occurring over the course of the program, highlighting the felt differences in conceptualizations of conflict, prejudice, identity, and empathy from before to after the Olive Tree Initiative trip.

The study findings, while not generalizable due to their focused and qualitative nature, open up a variety of themes for future investigation that are applicable to many political issues and questions external to this one Jewish-Muslim dialogue program. These themes speak to the experience of participants involved in inter-group dialogue and lend new avenues for the explo-ration of the psychological changes which take place during such endeavors.

Chapter 4: Creating a Non Zero-Sum Identity
Two Longitudinal Case Studies of Social Identity shifts during Inter-Group Dialogue

Introduction

Expanding on the previous chapter's finding that social identity themes are prevalent in the shifting perceptions of Olive Tree participants, this chapter seeks to examine one specific aspect of social identity particularly relevant to reconciliation efforts. The chapter examines how participants view themselves in relation to others of both similar and different social, religious and national groups.

Kelman (2008) writes that a core component of intractable conflict is the psychological exclusion of the enemy out-group from any similarities with the self. This chapter examines contact-based inter-group dialogue programs as a means of ameliorating this psychological barrier to conflict resolution and reconciliation. Presented here is a new look at identity in inter-group contact. While previous theories such as Gaertner and Dovidio's (2000) Common In-group Identity Model (CIIM) and Hammack's (2010) overarching identity concept focus on creating a common and superordinate identity through inter-group contact, these and many other common measurements of identification in psychology and political science assume that while individuals can hold layered or multifaceted identities, in- and out-group identification is zero-sum. This presents a real and present concern for using contact as a means of creating change in negative inter-group relations, as recent work addressing power relations in contact programs indicates that simply cueing an overarching identity, or lowering the in-group identity's salience, can

reduce the lower powered group's motivation toward social change (Saguy et al., 2009; Greenaway et al., 2011).

Many newer contact-based programs, however, are based on a narrative model that attempts to convey to participants that there are multiple valid back stories and perceptions about a conflict (Brunstetter et al., 2014; Maoz, 2011). While these programs also follow the traditional, theoretical components of good contact programs such as creating relatively equal status in the group and encouraging common goals, they also emphasize sharing and curiosity about the perceived historical, cultural, and political differences between the groups. This is a distinctly non zero-sum approach; one narrative or group does not need to be less 'right' than another. Instead, individuals in these programs are encouraged to perceive the humanity and truth of both their own group and the other.

For many Jews and Muslims living in the United States, humanization or dehumanization of their socially and politically relevant in- and out-groups in the Middle East (Israelis or Palestinians) may have political implications through lobbies such as AIPAC (the American Israel Public Affairs Committee), AAPAC (the Arab American Political Action Committee) or other social and monetary regional ties. The ability of narrative contact programs to create this non zero-sum dynamic may not only address direct inter-group tensions, such as black-white relations in the United States or Israeli-Arab relations in Israel; they may also be relevant where diaspora or other related populations have strong social identification with different 'sides' of a violent conflict, such as American Jews with Israel or Muslims with Palestine. Lowering prejudice and creating positive relations between these US diaspora groups may be no less

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important than doing the same with groups living within conflict zones. However, the relevant

overarching identity in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Middle Eastern, would not be salient to

the Jews or Muslims participating in non Middle Eastern contact program or those not from this

region. A Non Zero-Sum Identity approach where multiple narratives were validated and

explored, however, might be more promising.[31]

Here, two longitudinal paired-sample field studies, both addressing real world dialogue

groups that focus on narrative development, examine the possibility that inter-group identity is

non zero-sum, both in regards to the groups directly participating in the intervention (Jews and

Muslims) and in regards to politically relevant groups of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Israelis

and Palestinians). In other words, this chapter asks: Can someone feel closer to the out-group

through intergroup contact without losing their in-group identity, which is so important to social

capital?

In Study 1, an multi-year examination of a Jewish-Muslim dialogue group run through

the Los Angeles City Council was conducted, with identification with the in-group and out-group

(Jewish or Muslim) measured. In Study 2, members of a campus dialogue group bringing

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[31] In much of the United States, and especially in Southern California, there is a strong affiliation between Jews and support for Israel and Muslims and support for Palestine. While, especially for Palestine, this is not a congruent social grouping, this holds. In particular, Muslim Student Unions and activist groups appeal to both Arab-Muslims as Arabs who should identify with Palestinians and to black American Muslims who are encouraged to identify not only with the Muslim majority (and expressly not the Jewish Israeli) in Palestine but also to the history and perception of common oppression. Persian and Arab Jews as well as non-Muslim (Christian) Palestinians complicate these dynamics, but nonetheless, as this study will check and demonstrate, in America the divide is Jewish-Muslim and Israeli-Palestinian and therefore this dissertation will use these group and terms.

together Jews, Muslims, and non-affiliated students to discuss the Israeli-Palestinian[32] conflict is followed over multiple years, and identification with Israelis and Palestinians is measured. Both of these programs took place in Southern California, addressing ongoing and acute tensions between Jewish and Muslim communities there relating to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Both focus on a dual narrative approach, while although similar to a story telling or narrative approach, focuses on mutual recognition of historical and social narratives in addition to expressing multiple perspectives. In each case, these programs were based on Allport's (1954) model of intergroup contact and met his conditions. Both longitudinal surveys and open-ended interviews were conducted to understand whether the identity dynamics in such groups were zero sum or non zero-sum and how identity shifts occurred within participants.

Contact

In conflict, group divisions can become extreme, creating not just out-groups, but enemy groups or 'others [33]'(Staub, 1989; Staub et al., 2005) that are excluded from normal human reactions such as sympathy and empathy (Fein, 1993). The hypothesis states that under the

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[32] While many have argued for the term 'Israeli-Arab'conflict and for Jewish-Arab diaspora relations to be used in this work, the use of Arab is problematic. While many individuals of Arabic dissent are Muslim and do feel strongly Pro-Palestinian, Christian and Jewish Arabs also exist. Jewish-Arabs, many of whom moved to Israel during the years following the state's creation due to animosity in their home states, are often particularly supportive and fervent in their beliefs regarding the Middle East. Moreover, Southern California has a thriving Persian-Jewish population. Therefore, to best connect with the appropriate political tensions, Israeli-Palestinian is used in this work to refer to the conflict in the Middle East. Jewish-Muslim is used to refer to the tensions in the US that relate to the on the ground conflict in the Middle East.

[33] This term is used to refer to whatever group one feels is very unlike themselves. The term is derived from work on 'othering,'the psychological tendency to divide people into those like, in-group members, and unlike, out-group members, oneself. This tendency has been show to become more extreme in situations of conflict (Staub and Bar-Tal, 2003).

correct conditions, contact between members of different groups will lead to positive inter-group outcomes (Allport, 1954). These conditions are: positive inter-group contact, equal status contact, the pursuit of common goals, and institutional support. According to research, contact meeting these conditions may lead to the perception of both common interests and humanity across groups (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000[34] [35]). [36]Contact-based peace programs, therefore, are often based on creating these conditions to facilitate positive contact resulting in individual and group-level psychological change.

Many empirical studies either directly address positive contact programs or focus on validation of the underlying theoretic principles (the contact hypothesis, for example). Begun by Amir (1969, 1976) and Pettigrew (1998), research into the contact hypothesis has multiplied. Here, I will briefly examine several lines of contact research relevant to the present work, including a few key prior field studies of contact programs using different methods and identity work based on contact.

In regards to field testing the contact hypothesis through targeted contact interventions, Malhotra and Liyanage's (2005) study examining the connection between empathy and an intensive Sri Lankan conflict management program is a good example. Their study measured a key attitude hypothesized to change with positive inter-group contact, empathy, through measuring altruistic giving toward the out-group. The study used an experimental design that

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[34] Under negative conditions such as threat or stress, increased contact with an out-group can lead to violence (Pettigrew, 1998).

[35] This meta analysis also found these findings true cross-culturally.

[36] For the sake of brevity, interventions meeting the conditions of the contact hypothesis are referred to as those with 'positive contact.'

assigned some participants to empathy treatment groups and others to a neutral control condition, making it uniquely able to determine that the intervention led to the change observed. This study found significant positive changes in the study group versus the control.

Hammack (2010) studies and compares peace camps involving Jewish and Palestinian youth from the Middle East. Hammack's chief method is ethnography, including in-depth interviewing, following students over long periods of time and observing the camps themselves. He concludes that these interventions create transcendent identities—identities that make the participant part of a larger group encompassing both original conflicting groups. This exemplifies many peace program studies, relying on subjective qualitative data lacking controls and looking at the production of overarching identities.

Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, and Cytron-Walker (2007) study inter-group dialogues (IGD) at nine different universities using mixed methods. They focus on several core 'conflicts' existing in the United States, including inter-gender and inter-racial difficulties, bringing students together in facilitated dialogue. The study includes experimental methods (control and comparison groups), surveys, and qualitative methods (interviews, analysis of videos, content analysis of papers) and longitudinal follow up at one year. Their paper notes the goals of dialogue programs (developing inter-group understanding, fostering positive inter-group relationships, and fostering inter-group collaboration) as well as the theory behind these goals (psychological processes—Guerra et al., 2010; communication processes—Nagda, 2006). The authors find that participants show an increased ability to think critically about their own group in relationship with other groups, have higher empathy for the other group, and to a lesser degree

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participants understand inequalities between the groups after the program (this did not exist between gender groups) (Nagda & Zuniga, 2003). The study is exemplary in field-testing the efficacy of peace programs in educational settings. However, it is limited as it involves discussions of social conflicts that students may or may not be actively engaged with (such as gender or race).

The underlying identity dynamics related to contact programs is continually studied in this field, both as an outcome of contact and a driver of change. Two recent directions in research related to inter-group contact are refining the basic theory to better understand the identity mechanisms related to these positive changes due to inter-group contact programs, and working on the power dynamics relevant to intergroup contact. The premise that contact programs help make participants more aware of shared identities, and that this common or overarching identity drives positives changes, is the basis for the Gaertner and Dovidio's (2000) Common In-group Identity Model (CIIM) and Hammack's (2010) Overarching Identity Model. These models show that during inter-group contact, participants come to see themselves as members of common groups (such as Middle Eastern or Human) due to their participation. Dovidio, Gaertner, Pearson, and Riek (2005) demonstrate that the ability to hold both specific in-group and common in-group identities is a good predictor of the types of changes, such as reductions in prejudice, commonly examined in contact programs. While this common in-group identity can create positive changes, Hammack (2010) and others note that prior social categories or cultural factors, such as gender, may moderate this effect.

Equal status, a core condition of inter-group contact according to Allport's original work (1954), is often problematic during studies of inter-group contact in the field. Researchers have established that this unequal dynamic, especially in situations of ongoing conflict, may have negative political outcomes despite increased positive inter-group feelings. Saguy et al. (2009) demonstrate that inter-group power dynamics not only influence retention of overarching identities, but also influence behavior during contact programs, and may also have implications for the political change such endeavors are able to achieve. The authors demonstrate that high and low power group member's preferences for discussion topics during contact differ, with members of the low powered group preferring to discuss inequalities and differences, while members of the high powered group prefer discussions relevant to the common identity discussed above. Moreover, additional work (Greenway et al., 2011) demonstrates that contact using the standard program model can even be detrimental to low powered group members, reducing their motivations toward social change through common identity. Therefore, outcomes that demonstrate a common, overarching identity may have negative political ramifications if the reduction of inequality is considered a positive political goal, even while they reduce prejudice.

The programs studied in this work address this issue in two ways. First, the two studies discussed in this work include contact between two US minority groups with approximately equal populations in California, and therefore inter-group power is in some respects rendered as equal as possible in a field study. In addition, these programs are narrative-based, making sure to give equal time and consideration to both points of view and to consider both as valid. The programs tested in this chapter seriously consider both the desire for contact programs to create

understanding of the out-group, while also working actively to keep a distinct in-group identity intact.

Nonetheless, this chapter will examine the potential influence of inter-group power dynamics, including those of religious and political affiliation to unequally powered groups in the Middle East, and of gender, which stands as an ongoing and fairly ubiquitous power gap world-wide. Moreover, in this chapter, the ability of programs to actually preserve in-group identity while strengthening out-group identification (or overarching identification) is not taken for granted, and therefore in-group identification is not used as an independent variable.

While previous studies have established that contact can successfully create, at least in the short term, reduced prejudice and an overarching inter-group identity, no model of identity that measures in- and out-group identity as non zero-sum has yet been established. As this is a core argument in theories of why conflict, especially intractable conflict, occurs, testing whether contact programs can create Non Zero-Sum Identity outcomes is important understanding contact and potential peace programs. The present research presents a new model of in-group/out-group identification, the Non Zero-Sum Identity model, which can be employed to test these possibilities.

Non Zero-Sum Identity

Model

As Sen (2006) eloquently points out, an increasingly political and 'solitarist' perception

of human identity that pigeonholes individuals and societies, for example into being 'Muslim' or

'Arab,' is a good way to misunderstand nearly everyone. As prior research has amply

demonstrated, individuals are capable of identification along multiple lines and different

identities have different and sometimes situationally dependent salience (see Social Identity

Complexity by Roccas and Brewer 2002 for one example). One of the most prevalent identity

models used in contact work currently, Gaertner and Dovidio's (2000) Common In-group

Identity Model (CIIM) indeed proposes that one can identify both with the in-group and a

common identity. The non-zero-sum identity model extends this concept of dual identification

one step further, proposing that, through empathy and understanding developed during contact

based programs, it is possible to both identify with the in-group and the out-group, if to differing

levels. Moreover, this model does not propose that an increase in out-group identification will

reduce in-group identification. Instead, the model explores the possibility that these

identifications move independently.

While this model does not replace other models, it demonstrates an important additional

aspect in the formation of social identification. The vast majority of previous psychological and

political research employs either categorical or scale models for identity. This means that a

participant can either choose between a series of options (Republican or Democrat; African

American, Caucasian, Latino, or Asian; Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Hindu, or atheist; etc) or they

can express their level of identification with their in-group on a Likert scale (from 1 to 7, how

important is being American to you). In these cases, identification is most often measured as an independent variable. This allows researchers to understand the differences in strong and weak social group identification on outcome variables (Leach at al., 2008). In contact situations, identity can be seen as instead an outcome or dependent variable. Change toward identification may be just as important as the level of identification reported.

Similarly, many lay theories[37] regarding contact assume that increased understanding of the out-group will diminish ties to the in-group and possibly even create contempt toward the in-group (Wallach & Wallach, 2000). Alternatively a lay theory also exists that no change occurs and that the programs are used for the purposes of covering the inter-group problems without having an impact[38]. While this lay theory has never been empirically validated, neither has it been expressly tested.

I propose that identification toward the in-group and out-group can be measured separately. By doing so, we can examine many aspects of identification specific to contact. In looking at such a model, it is not the absolute position of an individual in relation to their in or out-group that matters, but their relative one. In contact programs, this model predicts that ideally an increase in both in-group and out-group identification will occur, effectively gaining the benefits of reduced prejudice while also holding on to in-group uniqueness necessary for creating change (or at minimum, that no lessening of in-group identity will occur and

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[37] A lay theory is a popular idea presented in non-academic ways and without tested empirical evidence. Lay theories are often based on single incidents or the ideas or fears of influential groups. They fgain popular support and momentum and become part of the popular discourse around any given topic.

[38] See http://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2011/01/the_olive_tree_initiative_a_fi.html for one example of such an article regarding the Olive Tree Initiative in 2011.

identification with the out-group with increase.) Moreover, this type of change, I predict, would empower and enable individuals to return to their communities with a new outlook on the other, rather than divide them from their pre-existing communities on the basis of no longer identifying with them after their encounter.

Methods

Aron and Aron's identity measure tests the introjection of the self in the other. In other words, this general construct examines how much an individual feels they are similar to, or a part of, a group (Aron, Aron, & Smollan 1992). According to Betancourt (2004) and Bateson et al's (2009) models of empathy development, it is empathy and perspective taking that lead to positive pro-social changes due to inter-group contact. As Aron and Aron's measure directly addresses these identity components that are targeted by narrative-based contact programs (rather than indirectly through prejudice), it is particularly useful in examining the non zero-sum identity.

In examining the possibility of non zero-sum identity, this measure can be modified to test an individual's identification with each relevant social or political group. In the studies below, it was the core dependent variable tested.

Figure 2: Inclusion of Self in Other/Empathy Scale

Please circle the picture below which best describes your relationship with the other specified. For this set of pictures, 'other' refers to {Jewish, Muslim, Palestinians, Israelis}.
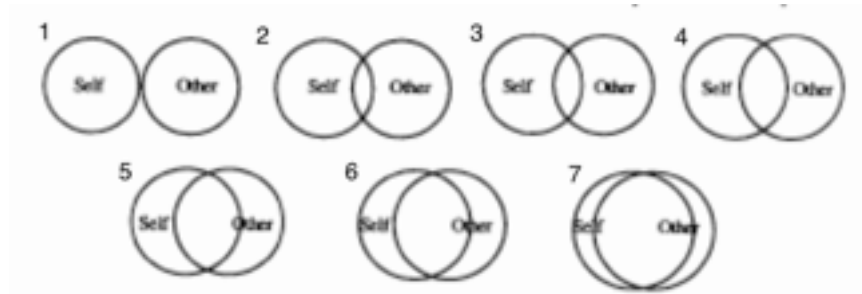
Hypothesis

1. The narrative-based contact program will produce positive changes in identification with the out-group and maintain or enhance identification with the in-group.

2. Change toward one's identified in-group and the out-group (here Jews and Muslims) in the contact program will be non zero-sum. In-group and out-group identification values will not detract from each other.

3. This will also hold true for change toward the in- and out-groups politically relevant to individuals in the contact programs (here Israelis and Palestinians).

4. Relative inter-group power will impact change, with high power group members showing greater identity change (Saguy et al., 2009). If relatively equal status exists between Jews and Muslims, there should be little or no impact of religious identity. Gender identity, however, remains unequal in the United States and therefore should show differences with men changing more in out-group identification.

Study 1: NewGround

The first study examines contact between Jewish and Muslims students within a planned encounter program called NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change. It tests the hypothesis that identification with the in-group and out-group can be non zero-sum, where the in-group and out-group are those groups (Jewish and Muslim) directly involved in the inter-group encounter.

Methods

Participants

Approximately 84% of the 50 participants in the NewGround program between 2011 and 2013 participated in Study 1. A total of 42 participants, 15 (35.7%) men and 27 (64%) women, completed both pre and post surveys. 22 (52%) of these were Jewish and 20 (48%) were Muslim. Demographic indicators in the study demonstrate that overall, the population was highly educated, middle to upper class, and politically liberal, a finding expected in such groups.

Procedure

Time 1 (T1) questionnaires were distributed to 50 first-time NewGround participants. Time 2 (T2) questionnaires were administered between 6 and 7 months later, approximately one month after the end of the NewGround program. Interviews were conducted during the same time-frame. Participants received neither academic credit nor monetary compensation for their participation in this study.

Measures

Independent Variables

Various standard independent descriptive variables were measured in this study. These included socioeconomic measures of education and age as well as questions about parents' country of origin. In addition, open ended questions about the specific program and individual's roles in the community were also asked. For example, participants were asked to explain any leadership roles they held in their communities, what they felt they would or had gained from the program, and any anticipated or realized concerns they had regarding the program.

The main independent variable of this study was participation in the contact program, NewGround, with all members of the study having participated, thus indicating the relevance of examining change over time from before participation to after participation.

Moderating Variables

Religion and gender, due to their influence on power and division within the participants, will be examined as potential moderators in this study.

Criterion Variables

The main dependent variable measured at Time 1 and Time 2 was identification with the in-group and out-group (via the modification of Aron, Aron, and Smollan's 1992 scale as above).

Survey

Participants' feelings of closeness and empathy with the main groups involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict was measured with a modified 'introjection of the self in other' scale, tapping in to the degree of closeness of the self to Muslims and Jews (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992).[39] Specifically, this scale measures the degree to which participants feel cognitively and emotionally connected to each group. This measure is employed in tests of identification with specific in-groups and out-groups in this study. The measure is derived from psychological literature on object relations (Clair, 2004) and versions of it have been used to test in-group identification (Tropp & Wright, 2001) in previous literature.

One set of images for self and Muslims and one for self and Jews was presented. Responses were reported in this one item measure by circling the desired image on a Likert-type scale which ranged from 1 (circles more separated) to 7 (circles most overlapping).

Results of this scale demonstrate empathy toward each group separately, an important methodological improvement over political or opinion scales that require participants choose their viewpoint on a continuous scale between pro-Israeli and pro-Palestinian. Instead, this less overt measure allows separate answers, leading to important information on how identity is formed and if participants can potentially gain positive/inclusive perspectives toward both/all groups involved in a conflict.

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[39] Not all of these comparisons were included on the original 2010 survey and therefore results for some are not reported due to the number of answers being too low to reach appropriate power. However, results are used qualitatively and due to positive feedback to these extra measures, would be used in future studies.

Data Analytic Strategy

Correlational data was statistically analyzed using a repeated measure ANOVA to test study hypotheses one and two: change toward in-group and out-group, in respect to change between T1 and T2 for identification with Jews and with Muslims for each demographic group. A repeated-measures study design demonstrated change was due to the program (the IV); outside variables such as historical events were considered qualitatively to check for potential confounds in the data.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

As a test of measures, pre-intervention identification with the in-group and out-group were analyzed to ensure that respective in-group preferences were in existence before the programs began. On average, Jews felt themselves highly identified with other Jews (mean 5.778 of 7 possible, SD 1.114) and much less identified with Muslims (mean 2.900, SD 1.373). Similarly, Muslims felt themselves to be highly identified with other Muslims (mean 5.833, SD 1.200) and much less identified with Jews (mean 3.790, SD 1.437). Results demonstrated that in-group identification was significantly higher than out-group identification for both Jews $t(20)=$ -7.770, $p<.000$ and for Muslims $t(18)= -5.036$, $p<.000$.

Change over Time: Do contact programs have the effect of making participants feel closer to the in-group or out-group?

In line with hypotheses 1 and 2, repeated-measures ANOVA results revealed that mean scores on the measures changed over time. Hypothesis 1, which predicts stability or positive change in identification toward the in-group and positive change toward the out-group, is confirmed. Results from Jewish and Muslim, and well as male and female sub-samples were substantially similar to the overall group and therefore the overall analysis is shown. Table 1 shows that changes in identification toward both the in-group and the out-group were non-negative. Participants reported significantly higher levels of out-group identification at Time 2 than at Time 1.

Table 1. Changes in Identification with In-Group and Out-Group means over time, NewGround

	Identification with Out-group		Identification with In-group	
	Mean	*F*	*M*ean	F
Time1	**3.129**	**1.28431**	**5.7**	**1.1188**
Time2	**4.0645**	**1.1814**	**5.9**	**1.18467**
Difference	**0.9355****	**1.34004**	**0.2**	**1.49482**

* p< .05, **p <.005

0 Sum or Non Zero-Sum: Is there a negative correlation between change toward the in-group and change toward the out-group?

Confirming Hypothesis 2, changes in in-group identification was not significantly correlated with out-group identification in either the overall sample or the samples from either

religious group. There is, in fact, positive, if non-significant, correlation (r= 0.192, ns) between changes in in-group and out-group identification between Time 1 and Time 2.

Moderation: What is the role of relative power in Non Zero-Sum Identity changes?
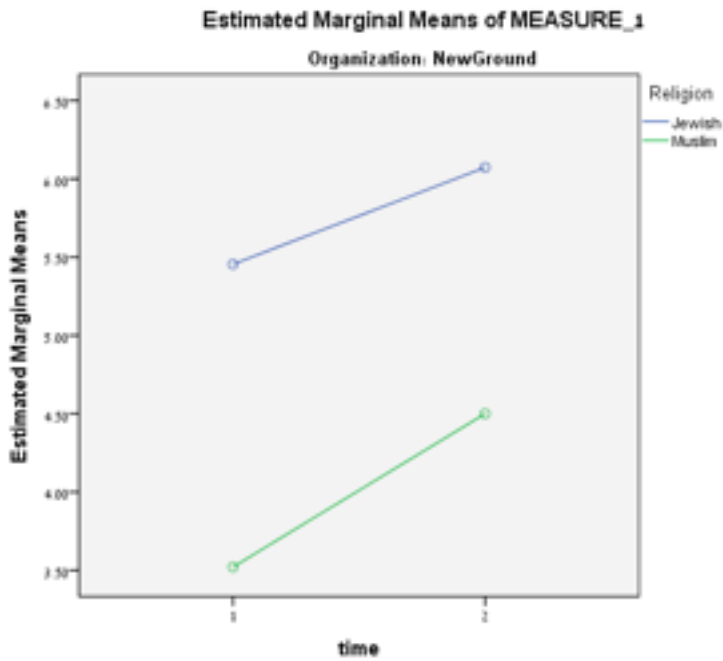
Religious Identity

In NewGround, there is a significant positive change toward the out-group in both cases (Jews toward Palestinians and Muslims toward Israelis). Using a 2 (Religion: Muslim vs. Jews) x 2 (Time 1 vs Time 2) mixed ANOVA, overall (combined) results reveal a main effect of religion $F(1, 42)= 56.884, p< .001$ toward Muslims and $F(1, 42)= 27.562, p < .001$ toward Jews) whereby individuals changed more, by religion, toward the out-group than toward the in-group (so Muslims toward Jews and vice versa). Toward Muslims, mean Jewish change was .947 (significant at $p <.05$) and Muslims changed non-significantly. Toward Jews, mean Muslim change was .979 (significant at $p <.05$) and Jews changed non-significantly.

As this combines with initial differences in religion (with individuals scoring, as expected, more highly identified with their in-group than out-group at both T1 and T2), the lack of change toward the in-group may indicate ceiling effects. Notably, there is no negative change, on average, for Jews toward Jews or Muslims toward Muslims.

Graph 1. NewGround change, by participants' religion, toward the identity with Muslims


Estimated Marginal Means of MEASURE_1

Organization: NewGround
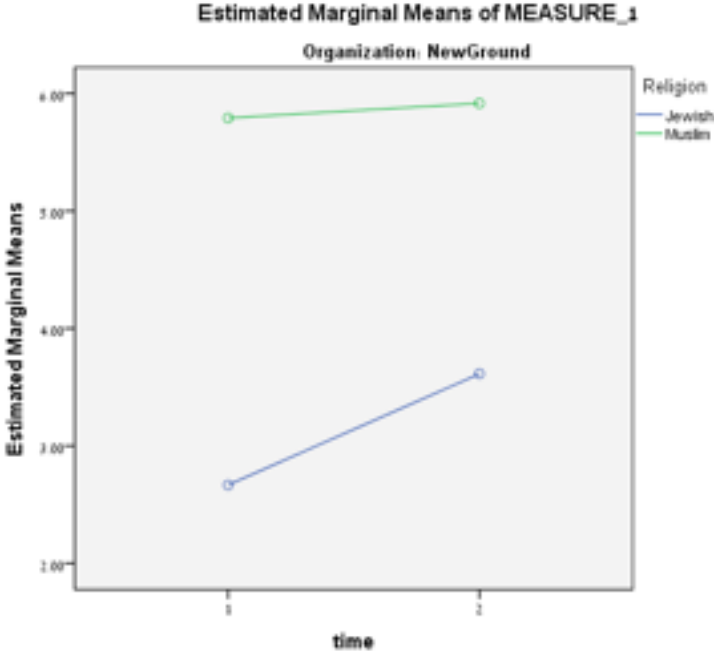
Graph 2. NewGround change, by participants' religion, toward the identity with Jews

Estimated Marginal Means of MEASURE_1
Organization: NewGround

Gender Identity

A 2x2 mixed ANOVA of gender (women vs men) and time (Time 1 vs. Time 2) on identification with Muslims reveals no main effects nor interactions. Toward Islam, men and women do not show any significant differences in the way they change.

Graph 3. NewGround change, by participants' gender, toward the identity with Muslims

Estimated Marginal Means of MEASURE_1
Organization: NewGround
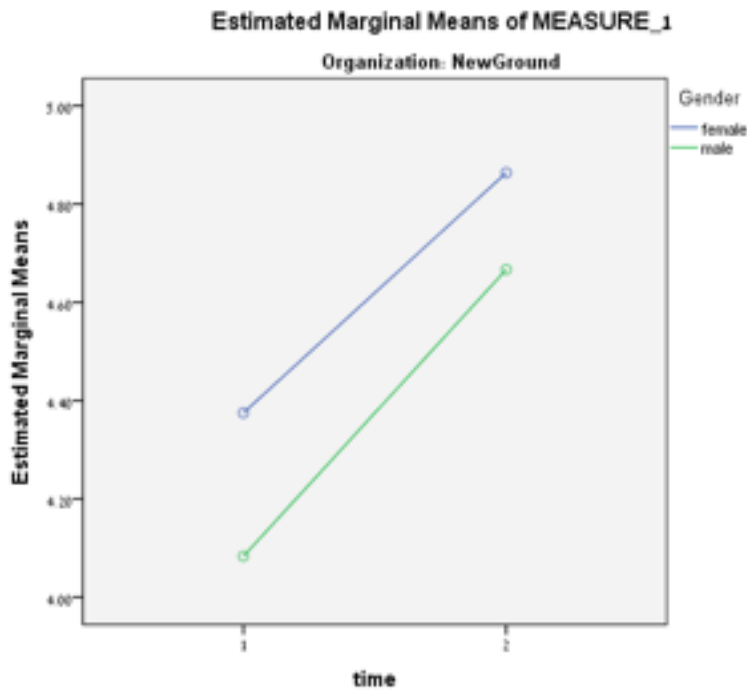
While much greater division in starting points exists between the genders, a 2x2 mixed ANOVA of gender (women vs men) and time (Time 1 vs. Time 2) on identification with Jews reveals no main effects nor interactions. Pair-wise comparison reveals that only men show significant change (on average 1.217, significant at $p<.05$) over time. Results again indicate that a ceiling effect may be in place here, as both genders on this measure end in approximately the same place.

Graph 4. NewGround change, by participants' gender, toward identity with Jews

Estimated Marginal Means of MEASURE_1

Organization: NewGround
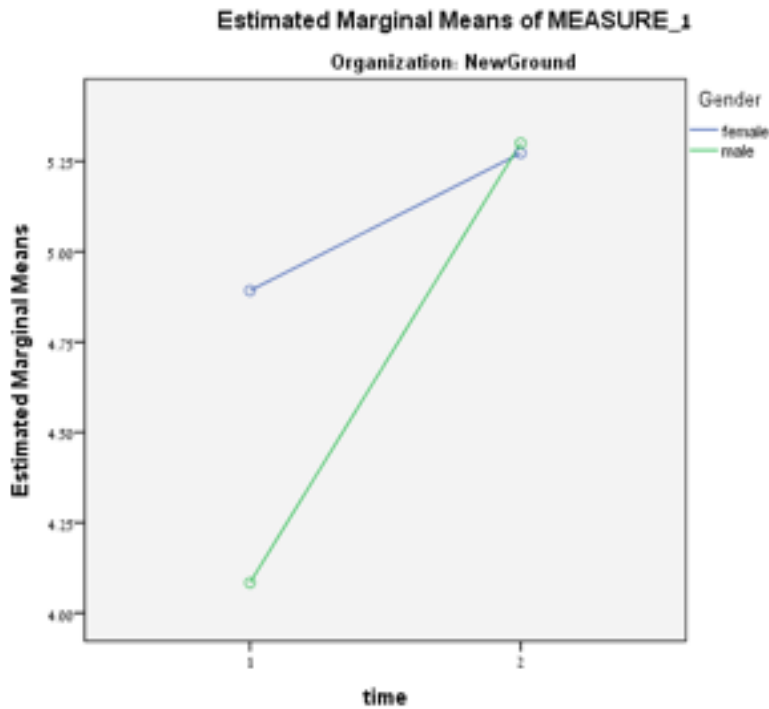
Discussion

The results of this study clearly indicate that the possibility of a non zero-sum identity

change exists and that it is possible to tap into this non zero-sum aspect of identity through

contact programs. In other words, it is possible raise out-group identification without the

negative effects of lowering in-group identification found to be problematic in prior work.

Changes due to the NewGround contact intervention toward both the in-group and out-group in

this program, Jews and Muslims, showed positive trends. While change toward the in-group was

small, indicating stability in this aspect of identity throughout the program, change toward the

out-group was larger and significant. These findings strongly support Hypothesis 1, that such

programs can increase out-group identification and either reinforce or at least hold stable in-

group identification.

Hypothesis 2, that such changes will be non zero-sum in nature, meaning that increased identification with the out-group will not therefore decrease identification with the in-group, is also supported by the results of this study. There is no negative correlation between in- and out-group change, indicating that this contact-based program created Non Zero-Sum Identity changes; enhancing identification with the out-group did not lower identification with the in-group.

The relation of the non zero-sum identity to power is harder to distinguish in this study and therefore hypothesis 4 is more difficult to support. As predicted, the only truly significant power relation was demonstrated by changes in male identification with Jews. However, due to low overall participant numbers, Jewish and Muslim men cannot be divided in this analysis. Trends for gender do indicate that women begin more identified with both the in-group and out-group and that men change more than women in identification measures, as supported by the significant change among them toward Jews.

No significant difference between Jewish and Muslim participants is demonstrated in this study, which may indicate that within this encounter, the negative effects of contact on in-group identification and negative effects due to lower status may be less than in other forms of inter-group contact programs. We believe, as discussed above, this is due to the minority status of both groups in the United States and to the design of the programs, which does not only emphasize commonalities but rather narratives, and therefore may avoid possible effects of hegemonic cultural normalization.

However, this study is limited. First, as it uses a new measure and a unique group, replication of non zero-sum changes due to contact is necessary. Second, as the political situation

shifted several times during the course of data collection, it is difficult to exclude confounding historical variables. While interviews with participants indicated that the program was more relevant for the change seen, further studies are necessary to demonstrate causality between the program and the change demonstrated. Third, this study tests only identification with the groups participating in the encounter, not the politically relevant out-groups that are actually engaged in violent conflict in the Middle East. Finally, due to small numbers, the impact of power relations, and especially gender relations, on the results is difficult to discern.

Study 2 addresses these limitations. Not only does Study 2 seek to replicate the results with another narrative based contact program, the program chosen is qualitatively different from that in study one. The program in Study 1 addresses adults (ages 18 to 60) and the program in Study 2 addresses college students (ages 18 to 22). Moreover, while the program in Study 1 takes place only in Los Angeles, the program in Study 2 incorporates travel to the Middle East in support of the narrative approach. By examining two very different, but commonly narrative-based, programs, we can better determine if it is the program type, and not the individual program itself, that creates the changes seen.

Study 2 also seeks to address the limitation in measurement and population size of Study 1. Study 2 measures instead of religious affiliation, socio-political affiliation. This important link to the political situation broadens the implications of a non zero-sum identity into the larger conflict arena. It also incorporates larger numbers of participants, allowing for more nuanced results and examination of power differences related to religious and gender identity.

Study 2: The Olive Tree Initiative

The second study examines contact between Jewish and Muslims students within a planned encounter program called the Olive Tree Initiative. It tests the hypothesis that identification with the in-group and out-group can be non zero-sum, where the in-group and out-group are those groups that are politically relevant (Israeli and Palestinian) but indirectly involved in the inter-group encounter.

Methods

Participants

Approximately 83% of the 90 participants in the Olive Tree Initiative program between 2011 and 2013 participated in the research study. A total of 75 participants, 30 men (40%) and 45 women (60%), completed both pre and post surveys and were included in the analyses. 20 of these were Jewish (27%) and 22 Muslim (30%). The remaining 43% of participants were Christian or non-religious. Over 60% of participating students were campus, religious, or ethnic organization leaders.

Procedure

Time 1 (T1) questionnaires were distributed to 90 first-time Olive Tree Initiative participants. Time 2 (T2) questionnaires were administered between 1.5 and 2.5 months later, approximately one month after the end of the Olive Tree Initiative program. Interviews were conducted during the same time-frame. Participants received no academic credit or monetary compensation for their participation. Two students were removed from analysis due to advanced

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knowledge of the research questions and special status as graduate student colleagues of the researcher.

Measures

Independent Variables

Various standard independent descriptive variables were measured in this study. These included socioeconomic measures of education and age as well as questions about parents' country of origin. In addition, open-ended questions about the specific program and individual's roles in the community were also taken. For example, participants were asked to explain any leadership roles they held in their communities, what they felt they would or had gained from the program, and any anticipated or realized concerns they had regarding the program.

The main independent variable of this study was participation in the contact program, the Olive Tree Initiative, with all members of the study having participated.

Moderating Variables

Religion and gender, due to their influence on power and division within the participants, will be examined as potential moderators in this study.

Criterion Variables

The main dependent variable measured at Time 1 and Time 2 was identification with the in-group and out-group (via the modification of Aron, Aron and Smollan's 1992 scale as above).

Survey

To assess the participants' feelings of closeness and empathy with the main groups involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, modified empathy scales asking closeness of the self to Israelis and Palestinians were used as in Study 1 (Aron, Aron, & Smollan 1992).[40]

Analytic Methods

Survey data sets were statistically analyzed using longitudinal (pre-post) paired sample ANOVA. These tests were two-tailed and statistical significance was set at 0.05. Correlational data were also examined in respect to change between T1 and T2 for identification with Israelis and with Palestinians for each demographic group. The paired sample design may demonstrate change is due to the program (the IV); outside variables such as historical events are considered qualitatively to check for potential confounds in the data.

Results

Demographic indicators in the study demonstrate that overall, the population was in the process of being college educated and hailed from middle to upper class families. The sample was politically liberal, a finding expected in such groups.

There was a slight skew amongst the non-Jewish and non-Muslim affiliated students in this study toward a Pro-Palestinian (or more Palestinian identified) stance, partially due to co-identification across conflicts amongst lower powered groups; several students that were neither

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[40] Not all of these comparisons were included on the original 2010 survey and therefore results for some are not reported due to the number of answers being too low to reach appropriate power. However, results are used qualitatively and due to positive feedback to these extra measures, would be used in future studies.

Jewish nor Muslim identified as Armenian or with United States minority ethnic or racial groups.

Where this may have impacted the results, it is noted; however, as power divisions between Jews

and Muslims (not pro-Israeli and Palestinian) are examined, this is controlled for in key analysis.

Similarly, and also an expected result of being on a college campus, Jewish students also

demonstrate a skew toward liberal attitudes, as demonstrated in the preliminary analysis.

Analysis

Preliminary Analyses

As a test of measures, pre-intervention identification with the politically relevant in-group

and out-group were analyzed to ensure that respective in-group preferences were in existence

before the programs began. In other words, it was ensured that Jews identified more with Israelis

and Muslims more with Palestinians.

On average, Jews felt themselves somewhat identified with Israelis (mean 4.182 of 7

possible, SD 0.9817) and only slightly less identified with Palestinians (mean 3.929, SD 1.639).

Muslims felt themselves to be highly identified with Palestinians (mean 5.191, SD 1.662) and

much less identified with Israelis (mean 2.714, SD 1.056). Results demonstrated that in group

identification was significantly higher than out-group identification for Muslims $t(21) = -5.630$,

$p < .000$, but not for Jews $t(14) = -.649$, $p < .531$ (ns). While Jews do show a slight preference, they

show neither particularly strong nor weak identification with either national group.

Jews do identify significantly more with Israelis than do Muslims $t(33)= 4.413$, $p<.000$. However, they do not show the same feeling of dis-similarity that Jews showed toward Muslims and Muslims toward Jews in Study 1 nor Muslims toward Israelis here in Study 2.

Israelis are still considered the relevant in-group for Jews, and Palestinians the relevant out-group, but care was taken to ensure that results were similar with and without this tie.

Change over Time: Do contact programs have the effect of making participants feel closer to the politically relevant in-group or out-group?

To confirm Hypothesis 3, that non zero-sum changes would hold for politically relevant in and out-groups, a paired sample repeated-measures ANOVA revealed that mean scores on the measures changed over time. Results from Jewish and Muslim, and well as male and female sub-samples were substantially similar to the overall group and therefore the overall analysis is shown.

Table 2 shows that changes in identification toward both the in-group and the out-group were positive, which in this case was Israelis and Palestinians. As in Study 1, changes toward the Out-Group were significant at the $P < .05$ level.

Table 2. Changes in Identification with In-Group and Out-Group means over time, Olive Tree Initiative

	Toward Out-group		Toward In-group	
	mean	f	mean	f
Time1	3.4348	1.27301	4.7273	1.51757
Time2	4.1739	1.92241	5.0909	1.65929
Difference	0.73913*	1.34004	0.36364	1.49482

* indicates P< .05, ** indicates P<.005

0 Sum or Non Zero-Sum: Is there a negative correlation between change toward the in-group and change toward the out-group?

Further confirming hypothesis 2, while in Study 1 positive, but non-significant, correlations between aspects of non zero-sum identification toward politically relevant groups were found, within the Olive Tree Initiative there is highly-significant positive correlation between change toward politically relevant in- and out-groups (r=0.616, p<.001). This is notably the opposite of a zero sum identity change due to the program.

*Moderation*: What is the role of relative power in Non Zero-Sum Identity Changes?

Religious Identity

Using a 2x2 mixed ANOVA model to examine differences between participating religious groups, results reveal a main effect for religion as seen in Study 1; $F_{(3, 75)}=3.413$, p<.05) toward

Palestinians but not toward to Israelis, whereby individuals changed more, by religion, toward

the out-group than toward the in-group (so Muslims toward Israelis and vice versa). There were

no significant interactions; Jews and Muslims changed in very similar ways toward both in- and

out-groups.

As this combines with initial differences in religion (with individuals scoring, as

expected, more highly identified with their in-group than out-group at both T1 and T2 in most

cases), the lack of change toward the in-group may indicate ceiling effects as in Study 1.

Notably, there is no negative change, on average, for Jews toward Israelis or Muslims toward

Palestinians.

Graph 5. OTI change, by participants' religion, toward identity with Palestinians
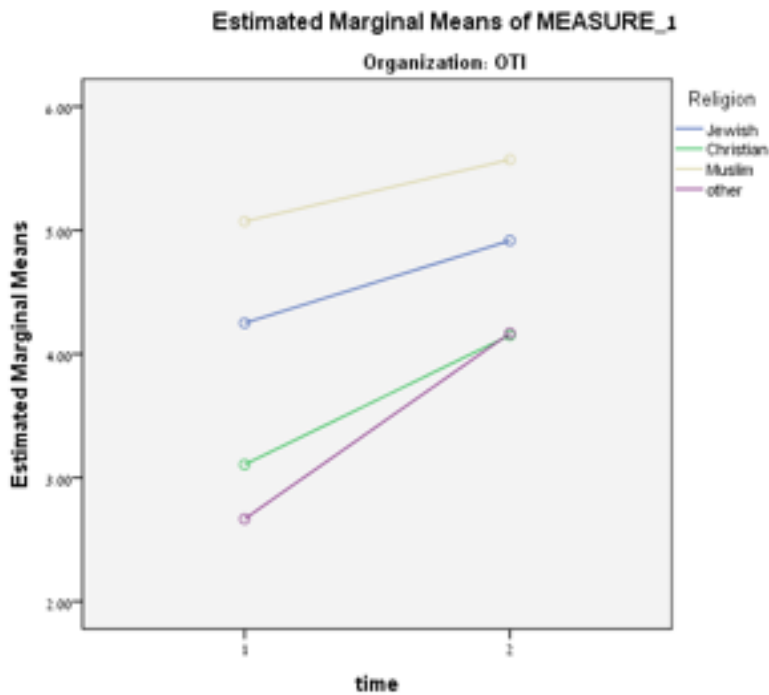
Graph 6. OTI change, by participants' religion, toward identity with Israelis

Estimated Marginal Means of MEASURE_1

Organization: OTI
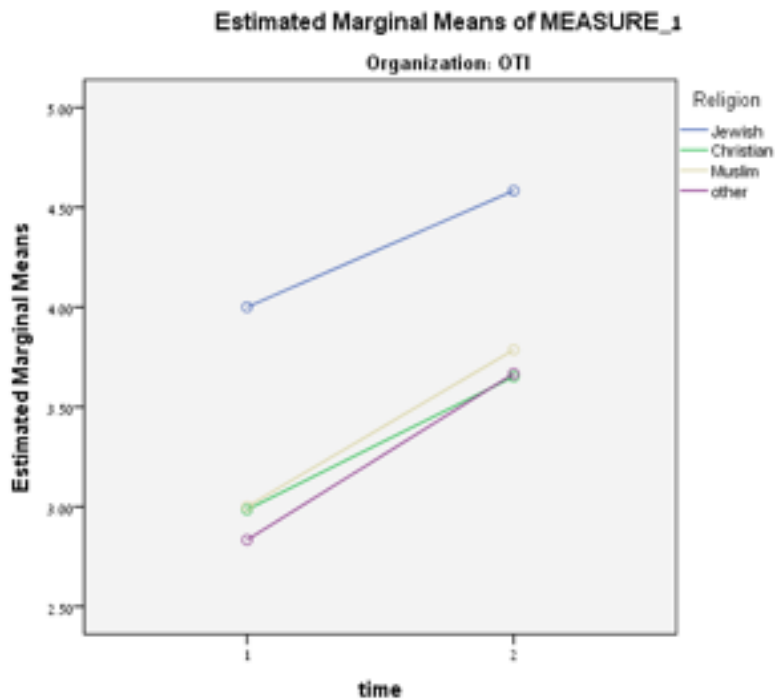
Gender Identity

The results also indicate a gender main effect $F(1, 75)=6.352$, p<.05 toward Palestinian identity but not Israeli. Toward Palestinians, men change significantly (1.155 on average at p<.05), but not women, with men changing more than women. This is consistent with Study 1 results.

Graph 7. OTI change, by participants' gender, toward identity with Palestinians

Estimated Marginal Means of MEASURE_1

Organization: OTI
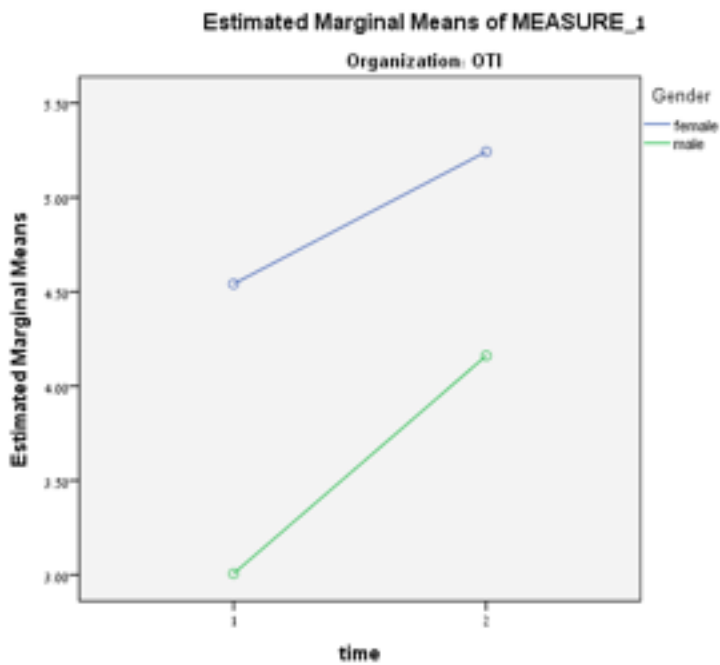
Toward Israelis the results are also consistent with Study 1 and with the outcomes toward

Palestinians. There is significant change for men (1.042 mean change, $p<.05$), but not women,

with men showing greater positive change. Again, women begin with higher levels of

identification toward both groups and may demonstrate ceiling effects.

Graph 8. OTI change, by participants' gender, toward identity with Jews
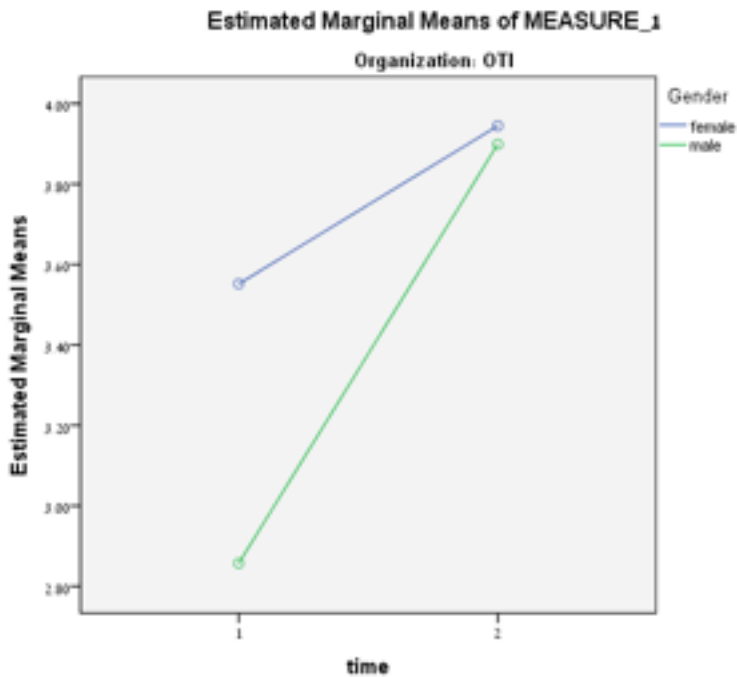
Discussion

Study 2 confirms the results of Study 1 in support of hypothesis 1, that changes toward

the in-group will be stable or positive and changes toward the out-group will be positive due to

narrative-based contact programs, showing that positive change toward the out-group is

significant in both cases. This is especially relevant given that Jewish participants did not feel

significantly differently about their connection with Israelis and Palestinians at Time 1. However,

both Jews and Muslims changed toward their respective out-groups (Palestinians and Israelis) in

much the same way as each other and as Jews did toward Muslims and Muslims toward Jews in

Study 1, which indicates that the identity change mechanism for Jews held Palestinians as the

out-group and Israelis as the in-group as presumed.

Study 2 also again demonstrates that there is no negative correlation between identification change toward the in-group and toward the out-group, even when the in- and out-groups discussed are politically relevant social identity groups and not the groups specifically represented in the encounter program. Moreover, results from this study show change in identification with the politically relevant out-group and in-groups to be significantly positively correlated. This strongly supports hypothesis 2, that change will be non zero-sum in nature, as well as 3, that this will hold not only for direct social identity groupings, but those more distant such as political affiliations in a conflict abroad.

Relating to hypothesis 4, that power differences will impact change: as in Study 1, results demonstrate little difference in the way Jews and Muslims are impacted by the programs, despite the potential for more power differences to impact change, as this program more strongly relates to asymmetric power dynamics in the Middle East. However, gender results are again shown to be more significant, demonstrating potential differences in power and socialization between the men and women who engage in inter-group contact. This may be explained in two ways: that gender is the relevant high and low power factor in the United States, or that socialization into masculine and feminine traits and psychology impacted change (or these may be highly inter-related). Ceiling effects, especially for women in identification measures, are again seen in the results of this study.

While this study is limited due to its population (college students), these students also represent not only a different demographic group from that studied in Study 1, but also a particularly important one, as college-age young adulthood is seen as a time of identity development (Erikson, 1959). Moreover, the group studied here has a possible confound—the

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presence of third party participants who were neither Jewish nor Muslim. While standing alone this might bring into question the results found, in comparison with the group in Study 1, the striking similarity in results indicates that it is the broad program type, not the specific makeup of the group, that shows this type of change.

General Discussion

The two studies presented here address two programs that represent some of the most different cases possible to study within narrative-based contact programs in the same demographic area. One study includes working adults and a strict moderated dialogue format. The other study involves college students who actually travel to the Middle East. However, results are startlingly similar between the two studies.

Identity in both Studies 1 and 2 is demonstrably changed (positively) over the course of the interventions. In both these studies, change toward the out-group was significant and positive. In both studies, this change did not show any negative correlation with identification with the in-group, confirming a non zero-sum identity. In fact, no loss of identification in any core category occurred; instead, individuals seem to identify slightly more or at the same levels with their in-group, and significantly more with the out-group. In Study 2, a positive correlation between changes in identification with the politically relevant in and our groups was shown, which may indicate that these highly conflictive political identities are, instead of zero-sum, actually additive in nature if properly addressed in a contact program.

While no core differences were found between the way Jews and Muslims change in identification toward their religious or political in-groups (Jews and Muslims or Israelis and

Palestinians), the genders do show significant differences. In three of the four cases presented, men change significantly more than women in identification toward the given out-groups. These gendered changes occur regardless of religious affiliation.

While these studies are limited by their lack of a control group (one was attempted but follow up was minimal in the pilot and not continued in the larger study design) their design (paired comparison) and the addition of careful ethnographic work lessens the chances that historical confounds created the changes seen. Many other potential limitations are addressed through the pairing of these two studies.

Overall, this chapter demonstrates that a new paradigm in identity work is needed to understand narrative-based contact programs and the Non Zero-Sum Identity changes they produce. The model provided is validated by both studies, showing that positive changes in traditional out-group identification do not negatively impact in-group identification. This model may provide the basis for testing many aspects of identity change in contact.

In the world of peace-building, these implications must be studied to understand and find ways to gain the positive effects of contact without lowering the motivation toward equality and change of the lower-powered group. Moreover, the finding alone that this type of program is highly effective in US diaspora communities that hold strong political and social ties to the Middle East is one of note. While further work is needed to understand whether the non zero-sum program model will hold up under conditions of strong power inequalities, as exist on the ground in Israel-Palestine, the existence of such programs and their ability to successfully create non zero-sum change has the potential to change the political landscape of inter-religious relations amongst diasporas as studied in this chapter. As diaspora communities, or any socially

affiliated community related to the Middle East, have strong ecumenical and social ties to their perceived homeland, influencing these groups toward non zero-sum positive contact and the resultant identity and prejudice changes produced may change the path of their funds from supporting conflictual policies to more egalitarian or peace-building ones within the Middle East.

Similarly, the finding that such programs disproportionately impact men toward positive identification with the other may also indicate an important avenue of use and research for contact programs. As men dominate the social and political landscape, not only in the United States but also in the Middle East, these programs' ability to influence those in power may be a boon to their ability to lead to real political change.

Future work will address both the role of gender and on-the-ground power relations as these apply to non zero-sum or narrative contact programs. As these programs seem to provide one potentially powerful way to increase and socialize men toward higher levels of inter-group understanding, the question remains: what benefits come to women from the programs? The next, ongoing step in research along this vein examines other dynamics of narrative based inter-group contact programs, including the role of efficacy and self-perceptions of knowledge on the non zero-sum identity. In addition, ongoing work will address the demographic challenges of such voluntary programs, including recruitment of those with more conservative or extreme viewpoints, as these individuals might be most skeptical of the possibility for non zero-sum change.

This chapter demonstrates a new direction in identity-based research, both looking at and validating a new non zero-sum of identity change and related narrative-based contact programs. It highlights substantial differences between men and women in their change due to such

programs, and begins to examine the role of power as it differs amongst religious groups in the United States, genders, and politically relevant groups in the Middle East. While this represents a beginning and an expansion of previous theories of multifaceted identities, this author believes it is an important starting point for examining whether contact programs can address the problematic aspects of loss of motivation through common identification, while continuing to instill lower levels of prejudice and higher levels of inter-group pro-social behaviors, especially in regard to potentially conflictual political issues.

Chapter 5: Increasing Self-Efficacy through Contact
Two Longitudinal Case Studies of Self-Efficacy Change Moderated by Gender during
Inter-Group Dialogue

Introduction

This chapter examines inter-group contact as an avenue for empowering individuals involved in peace and reconciliation efforts. Most work on inter-group contact focuses on the higher power group and the psychological changes that most benefit this group, including increased identification with the out-group (Saguy, 2009). However, many program designers and facilitators, including those from both NewGround and the Olive Tree Initiative, recognize that individuals from different social identity groups may change differently during contact and may have different motivations and goals related to their inter-group contact experience. For example, in both inter-group contact programs studied, women join at a higher rate than men, possibly indicating an inter-group difference in motivations to join such programs.

Therefore, this chapter specifically looks at differences in empowerment between different social identity groups, paying special attention to groups under-represented in prior findings. The two studies presented in this chapter investigate empowerment changes during the NewGround and Olive Tree Initiative inter-group contact programs and whether this change is significant for members of different social identity groups including men and women, Jews and Muslims. An inter-group contact specific self-efficacy variable was constructed and tested for these studies, which measures self-perceptions of political efficacy and knowledge in and around situations of inter-group conflict, referred to in short as self-efficacy or empowerment.

While the two studies presented here address programs with similar contact models, henceforth referred to as dual narrative models, where the history and perspectives of both sides are complicated, voiced, and honored as valid, there are programmatic differences between them relevant to this chapter. The two programs have a key difference notable for the study of potential gendered change as found in the last chapter presented: one program is headed by three women and the other by a man. This difference allows investigation of whether this variable is a necessary factor in the empowerment of women. In order to investigate whether contact programs change self-efficacy due to the gender of leadership creating a behavioral model or mentor, or whether the change is due to the content of the programs, the two case studies chosen here differ in their leadership's gender. Study 1 revolves around a group with multiple female leaders, NewGround. Study 2 will demonstrate data from a program with a single male leader, the Olive Tree Initiative.

While this study cannot exclude leadership gender as an influential factor, it is important to investigate whether female leadership is necessary for self-efficacy change among women, as prior literature has indicated that representation can have strong political impact, including in dialogues. According to Monroe and Martinez-Marti (2008), exposure to strong female leadership can impact how individuals react to women. Specifically, Monroe's study found that students had lower levels of prejudice toward women after participation in a class led by women. Further, Tate (2003) discusses the concept of representation for lower-powered groups as important for the self-image and concepts of what is possible for those social-identity groups they represent. This is especially important if power, or a confluence of gender and power, impact participants in the studied programs.

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Overall, this chapter demonstrates that these inter-group contact programs raise self-efficacy related to inter-group conflict for participants overall. Also, in both case studies, on the aggregate measure, women changed significantly more than men in a positive direction, a finding that importantly addresses the concerns of prior researchers. These findings of moderation are limited by the small participant numbers. However, they indicate the possibilities for interventions and inter-group reconciliation programs like NewGround and the Olive Tree Initiative for increasing political efficacy and conflict resolution skills for members of diverse social groups.

Background

Inter-Group Contact

Inter-group contact is the key theory behind many inter-group reconciliation programs, including those studied in this chapter. The Contact Hypothesis states that under the correct conditions, contact between members of different groups will lead to positive inter-group outcomes (Allport, 1954). These conditions are: positive inter-group contact, equal status contact, the pursuit of common goals, and institutional support. According to research, contact meeting these conditions may lead to the perception of both common interests and humanity across groups (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000[41] [42]). Contact-based peace programs, therefore, are often based on creating these conditions to facilitate positive contact and therefore individual and group-level psychological change. These programs are often held at the group

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[41] Under negative conditions such as threat or stress, increased contact with an out-group can lead to violence (Pettigrew, 1998).

[42] Notably, this meta analysis also found these findings true cross-culturally.

level, bringing a small number of members of two groups together for multiple sessions that hold to a specific outline or organization with the goal of changing inter-group attitudes.

Many empirical studies either directly address positive contact programs or focus on validation of the underlying theoretic principles (the contact hypothesis, for example). Begun by Amir (1969, 1976) and Pettigrew (1998), research into the contact hypothesis has multiplied. Some prominent studies of intergroup contact and its outcomes include Malhotra and Liyanage's (2005) field study examining the connection between empathy and an intensive Sri Lankan conflict management program, Hammack's (2010) study comparing peace camps involving Jewish and Palestinian youth from the Middle East, and Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, and Cytron-Walker's (2007) study of inter-group dialogues (IGD) at nine different universities using mixed methods. That last study focuses on several core 'conflicts' existing in the United States including inter-gender and inter-racial difficulties, bringing students together in facilitated dialogue. This study notably includes gender as a core conflict, not a moderator, but demonstrates many facets of the study of social identity in groups in contact.

Self-Efficacy in Contact and Conflict

In previous contact research, self-efficacy and empowerment measures have been used indirectly in relation to intergroup contact in several ways. First, self-efficacy has been examined in relation to indirect forms of intergroup contact, including vicarious and imagined contact. Mazziotta et al. (2011) demonstrate that self-efficacy expectancy mediates both the impact of vicarious contact on inter-group attitudes and willingness for direct contact. Stathi, Crisp, and

Hogg (2011) also look at indirect contact and self-efficacy, demonstrating that contact self-efficacy, or self-efficacy related to confidence joining or participating in inter-group contact, is most raised when imagined contact was with a typical out-group member and the group, not individual, was focused upon.

Self-efficacy measures have also been used in the clinical sense. Hutchinson et al. (2014), for example, study the effects of intergroup contact between staff and patients with intellectual disabilities, finding that contact raises self-efficacy. This model of intergroup contact as a training exercise pertains to many situation of intergroup contact, especially those where conflict resolution skills workshops and conversations with out-group members model situations that might be encountered later; however, this study and population differ considerably from inter-group contact being used to ameliorate intergroup tensions.

One study, by Baysu et al. (2014), investigates more direct links between inter-group contact and self-efficacy where inter-group tensions may play a key role in inter-group relations. This study examined the role of group size on minority student success and looked at inter-group friendships and their impact on self-efficacy in different situations. While their results are promising, as are many other studies of inter-group contact in schools, these results are limited to children in classroom settings without specific contact related programming.

Power in Contact

According to Ramsbotham, Miall, and Woodhouse (2011) in power theory and Gilligan and Attanucci (1988) in discussion of emotion, different groups have different social and emotional needs. Much of the literature differentiating between different social identity or power

based groups in inter-group contact programs focuses on the topics that high- and low-powered group members prefer to or are willing to discuss during inter-group contact. Both Bikmen et al. (2013) and Saguy et al. (2009) demonstrate a preference of higher-power group members to discuss commonalities and avoid discussions of inter-group differences or power inequalities.

Shnabel and Nadler (2008) discuss that members of different identity and power groups have different needs; in order to n order to reconcile perpetrators (those of higher power) required acceptance, and victims (those of lower power) required empowerment. The authors posit that the higher powered group members begin empowered and therefore do not require this element, and lower powered group members simply by being victims in the eyes of others have acceptance. The needs, then, are for that which each group lacks.

Here, this theory is expanded to look at the needs of those with different amounts of power who participate in contact programs. Higher power subjects including men (in comparison to women) and Jewish Israelis (in comparison to Arab Muslims or non-Jewish Israelis), in previous contact literature, are shown to make identity based changes (see chapter three; Saguy et al., 2009). Similar to the acceptance sought by the perpetrators in Shnabel and Nadler's studies, these individuals seek and recognize an empathetic connection to the 'other' during inter-group contact as demonstrated in chapter two.

Qualitatively, Hammack et al. (2014) point out that, "Palestinian participants in the mutual differentiation condition reported higher levels of empowerment and positive mood throughout contact relative to all other participants, suggesting the effectiveness of this approach to challenge power asymmetries and its positivity for the low-status group." In this case, the lower-powered group benefitted most from contact based on mutual differentiation, rather than

re-identification with an overarching group. Importantly, this indicates the type of contact

program in question may impact the outcomes, especially for lower-powered group members.

In line with both the Hammack study and the Needs-Based Reconciliation Model, lower

power group might feel a program was most successful and worthwhile if they gained

empowerment from it. Therefore, while self-efficacy or empowerment is far less studied than

more traditional change markers such as prejudice reduction or identification in inter-group

contact, it may be key to understanding the involvement and prospects for lower powered

individuals who engage in such programs.

The Current Work

While many studies have demonstrated that inter-group power differences can impact the

course of contact programming, no prior studies have addressed the role of power in self-efficacy

change during structured inter-group contact or encounter programs in a quantitative manner.

Contact/dialogue programs are most often used in political situations and to address the

intergroup tensions related to longstanding inter-group violence, and the current investigation is

important as the effectiveness of contact programs at accomplishing this goal for those of lower

powered groups has been brought into question. Saguy et al.'s (2009) study, *The Irony of

Harmony,* and others like it (see Greenway et al., 2011) bring the role of inter-group contact in

political empowerment for lower powered groups into question by demonstrating that post-

participation, some individuals were less likely to engage in political activities. This chapter

therefore seeks to specifically examine the lived experience of program participants to

investigate whether any groups show a rise or decline in self-efficacy related to conflict and peace-building activities.

Methods

The data reported in this chapter were collected from pre- and post-program surveys given to participants in two inter-group contact programs between 2010 and 2014. These programs both focus on Jewish-Muslim inter-group dialogue and have shown similar changes in other measures of inter-group contact success, such as prejudice reduction and identity-based changes. The programs also have similar sub-components, including training in conflict resolution, education about the conflict, and discussions.

The self-efficacy measure used in these studies consisted of three questions. These were Likert scale based questions on self-perceptions of knowledge about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, one's ability to engage in conflict resolution activities, and one's ability to engage in discussion about conflictual issues.

Both pre- and post-test, these measure showed high reliability. The Cronbach's Alpha for the self-efficacy sale was .724 for the pre-test and .807 post-test. Items were not highly correlated, with no inter-item correlations below .385 pre-test and .483 post, indicating that the items measured separate concepts as part of the self-efficacy scale.

Hypothesis

1. Contact programs, due to components on conflict resolution training and experiential education, will lead to positive changes in self-efficacy for participants.

2. Those with lower social status or inter-group power (women and Muslims) will show greater

   change in self-efficacy measures, as this is the area of need for the lower powered groups. As

   men and Jews will in not be dis-empowered and will participate in the same trainings, no

   reciprocal change is expected and therefore with this sample size no interaction effects are

   predicted.

Study 1: NewGround

The first study examines contact between Jewish and Muslims adults within a planned

encounter program called NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change. It tests the

hypothesis that such programs will increase self-efficacy self-report measures for participants,

and it examines the role of power as related to both gender and religion[43].

NewGround is it designed to meet the conditions of positive contact as laid out by Allport

(1954) and the program makes extra efforts to include trained facilitators, diverse participants,

and equal representation of Jews and Muslims in leadership and facilitation. The only element

that is unevenly distributed is gender roles; all the leaders of NewGround that participants

interacted with on a weekly or bi-weekly basis were female. The program, during the time of this

study, was headed by a female reform rabbi. The facilitators of the program were also both

female, one Jewish woman and one Muslim one. The key board member most observed at

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[43] It is worth noting that while Jews and Muslims in the United States are likely far closer in power differ-
ence than Israeli Jews and Israeli Muslims, as used in many other studies of contact, that a difference may
exist due to both current political situations that produce anti-Muslim prejudices as well as the fact that
Jews have historically existed in significant numbers in the US for longer than Muslims. This is evi-
denced by, among other statistics, the creation of campus Hillels in 1923 while Muslim Student Unions
began in 1963 (Aslan and Tapper, 2011).

NewGround events was a Muslim woman. Alumni, who were sometimes incorporated into events and sessions, and were also in majority women.

Methods

Participants

Approximately 84% of the 50 participants in the NewGround program between 2011 and 2013 participated in Study 1. A total of 42 participants, 15 (35.7%) men and 27 (64%) women, completed both pre and post surveys. 22 (52%) of these were Jewish and 20 (48%) were Muslim. Demographic indicators in the study demonstrate that overall, the population was highly educated, middle to upper class, and politically liberal, a finding expected in such groups.

Procedure

Time 1 (T1) questionnaires were distributed to 50 first-time NewGround participants. Time 2 (T2) questionnaires were administered between 6 and 7 months later, approximately one month after the end of the NewGround program. Interviews were conducted during the same time-frame. Participants received neither academic credit nor monetary compensation for their participation in this study.

Measures

Independent Variables

Various standard independent descriptive variables were measured in this study. These included socioeconomic measures of education and age as well as questions about parents' country of origin. In addition, open-ended questions about the specific program and individual's roles in the community were also asked. For example, participants were asked to explain any leadership roles they held in their communities, what they felt they would or had gained from the program, and any anticipated or realized concerns they had regarding the program.

The main independent variable of this study was participation in the contact program, NewGround, with all members of the study having participated, thus indicating the relevance of examining change over time from before participation to after participation.

Moderating Variables

Religion and gender, due to their influence on power and division within the participants, will be examined as potential moderators in this study.

Criterion Variables

Three main dependent variables were measured at Time 1 and Time 2: self-evaluations of knowledge about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, self-evaluation about one's abilities related to conflict resolution, and self-evaluation about one's ability to successfully engage with difficult conversations. These three measures comprised one scale on self-efficacy, although due to

differences in how each changed, analysis is presented separately as well as using the overall scale.

Data Analytic Strategy

Correlational data sets were statistically analyzed using a repeated measure ANOVA to test study hypotheses one and two. A repeated-measures study design demonstrated change was due to the program (the IV); outside variables such as historical events were considered qualitatively to check for potential confounds in the data. Pairwise comparisons were used to look at the nuances in the data and probe more specifically for differences in possible moderating variable effects.

Results

*Change Over Time***:** Does the NewGround Program have the effect of making participants feel greater self-efficacy?

In line with hypothesis 1, which predicts that positive change in self-efficacy will occur from Time 1 (before the program began) to time 2 (after the conclusion of the program), participants show positive changes in self-efficacy both for the scale measure and each component thereof. Overall, paired sample T-tests showed that participants changed on average .51 on a 7 point scale from an pre-program average of 2.7549 to a post program average of 3.2647, with a standard deviation of .56993—a change significant at the .000 level.

Using two 2 (Religion: Muslim vs. Jewish; Gender: Male vs. Female) x 2 (Time 1 vs Time 2) mixed ANOVAs, overall (combined) as well as component scale results reveal a main

effect for time. On self-perceptions of knowledge, $F(1,42)= 10.803$, p<.005. On self-perceptions

of conflict resolution skills, $F(1,42)= 9.475$, p<.005. On ability to discuss conflict related topics,

$F(1,42) = 8.6$, p< .01).

Moderation: What, if anything, moderates this effect?

Overall, NewGround women change significantly, on average .55682 on a 7 point scale

or from self-efficacy scale averages of 2.6190 (SD .180) to 3.2063 (SD .157) (p < .000). Men

also change significantly, changing on average .38462 on a 7 point scale or from 2.9744 (SD .

228) to 3.3590 (SD .198) (p < .05).

Graph 9. NewGround change, by participants' gender, on scale self-efficacy
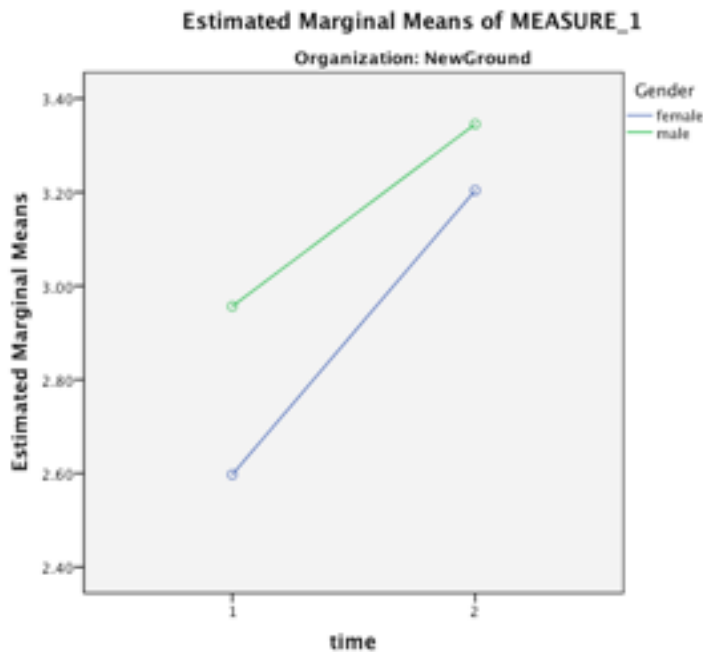
Muslims also change more than Jews (.56250 in comparison to .46296 average change

respectively in a 7 point scale or from 2.817 (SD .206) to 3.354 (SD .179) on average for

Muslims and 2.736 (.205) to 3.194 (.177) for Jews in the overall self-efficacy measure, both of which are significant at p< .005.

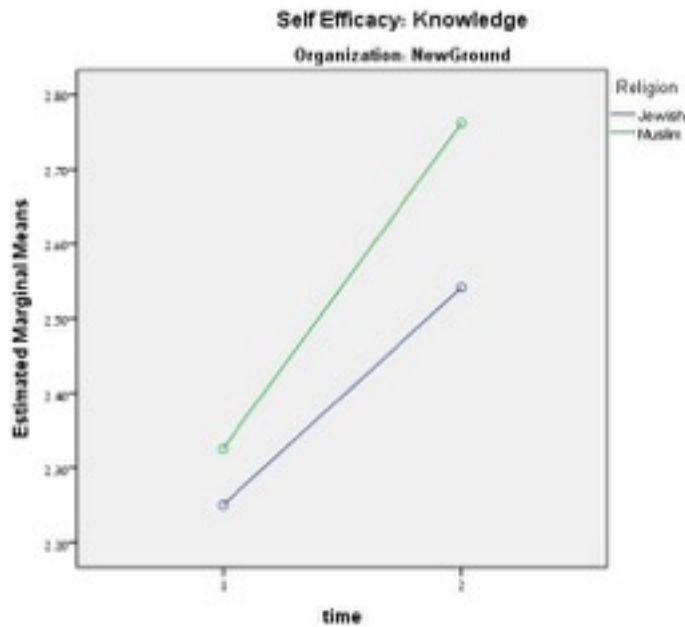Graph 10. NewGround change, by participants' religion, on scale self-efficacy
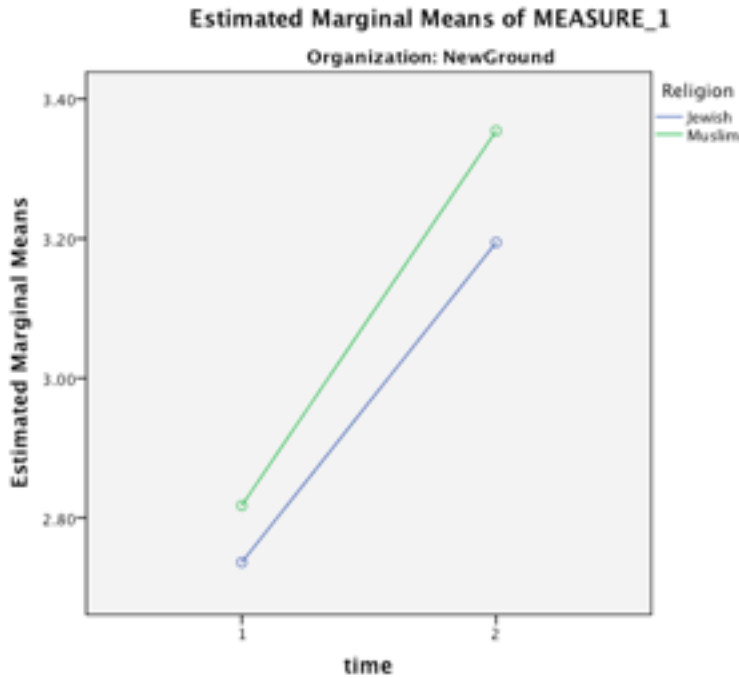
While neither change is significantly different (p= 0.3210 for gender and 0.6187 for religion) due to the small N of this study, these trends are still considered important. Moreover, the mirrored effect whereby in both cases the theoretically lower powered group changed more than the higher powered led to indications that further investigation into the data was necessary. Therefore, the following represents the data divided by sub-type of self-efficacy. For this, pairwise comparisons between groups were used to understand the change differences in more detail. Further evidence of power divisions resulting in different self-efficacy change outcomes are demonstrated in these results.
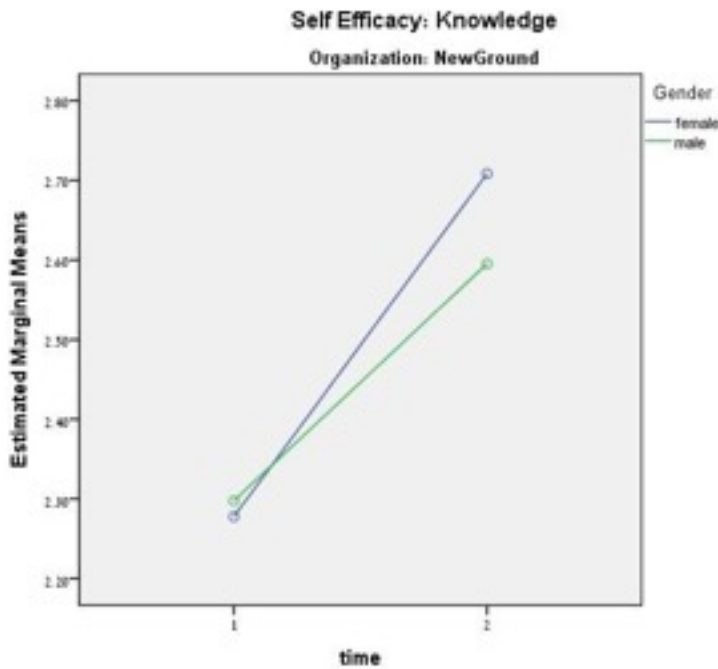
For Self-Efficacy perceived knowledge:

Pairwise comparisons reveal that the higher powered group (Jews and Men) in the NewGround program do not change significantly on self-perceptions of knowledge about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, while the lower powered groups do. Average change is significant for Muslims ($p < .01$) but not for Jews ($p > .05$) on this question. Muslims changed on average .437 on a 7 point scale, Jews .292. Similarly, average change of .431 is also significant for women ($p < .005$) but not average change of .298 for men ($p > .05$).

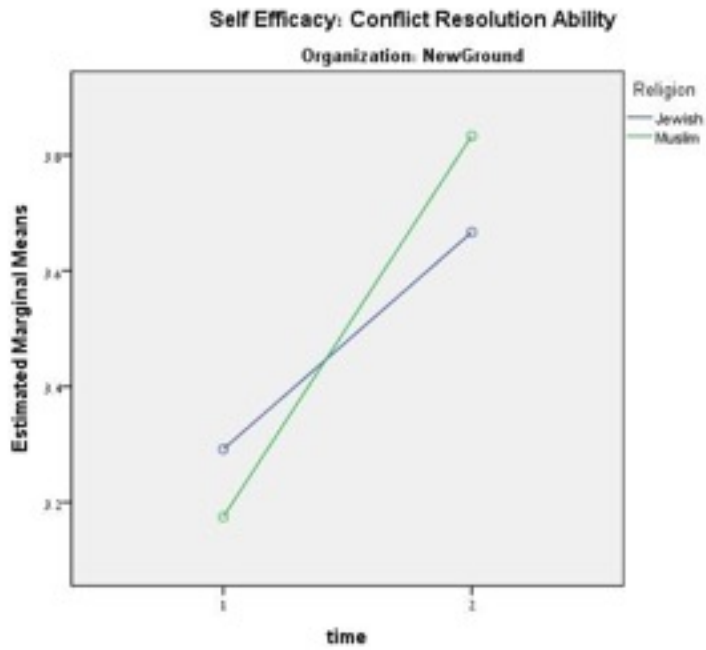Graph 11. NewGround change, by participants' religion, knowledge

Graph 12. NewGround change, by participants' gender, knowledge

Self Efficacy: Knowledge
Organization: NewGround

For Self-Efficacy conflict resolution skills:

Pairwise comparisons reveal that the higher powered group (Jews and Men) in the
NewGround program do not change significantly on self-perceptions of conflict resolutions
skills, while the lower powered groups do. Average change is significant for Muslims ($p < .01$)
but not for Jews ($p > .1$) on this question. Muslims changed on average .659 on a 7 point scale,
Jews .375. Similarly, average change of .653 is also significant for women ($p < .005$) but not
average change of .381 for men ($p > .1$).

Graph 13. NewGround change, by participants' religion, conflict resolution abilities

Graph 14. NewGround change, by participants' gender, conflict resolution abilities
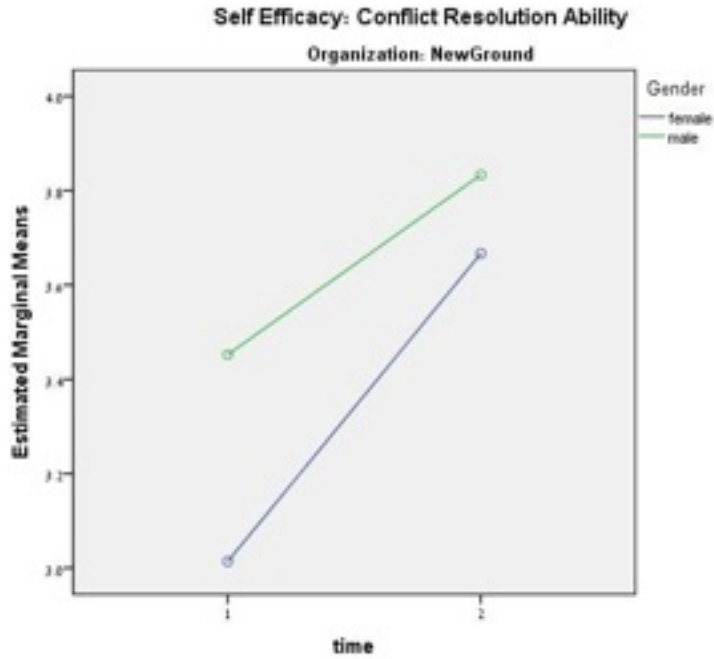
For self-efficacy related to ability to discuss the conflict:

Similarly to the above categories, women show significant change in their perceived abilities to discuss the conflict, with an average change of .736 on a 7 point scale (p< .005). Men again do not change significantly, changing only .488 points (p >.1).

However, on this measure, the results are reversed for the Jewish-Muslim pairwise comparison, compared to the above measures. In this case, Jewish participants changed more than Muslim participants (.708 and .516 respectively). The change for Jews was significant (p<. 05) while the Muslim change showed only a trend (p = .092).

Graph 15. NewGround change, by participants' religion, dissemination

Self Efficacy: Motivation to Share/ Discuss
Organization: NewGround
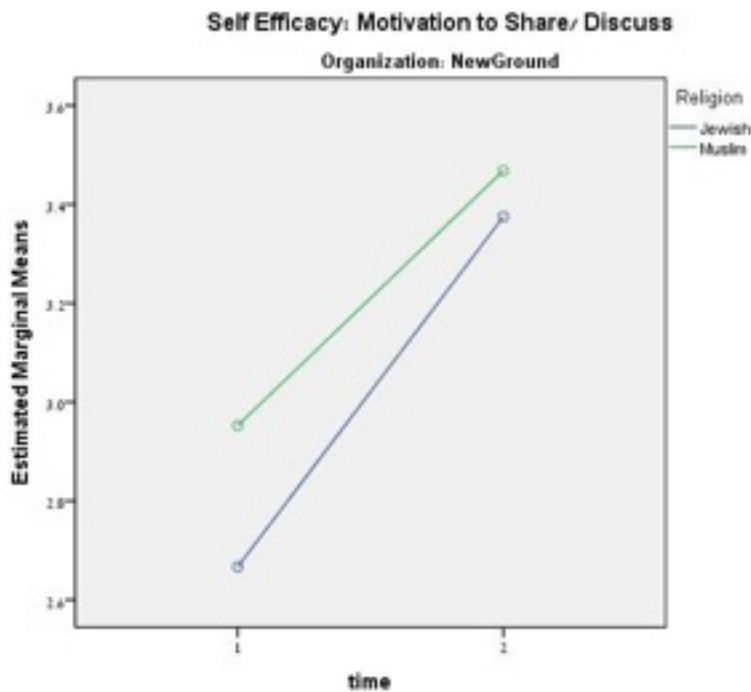
Graph 16. NewGround change, by participants' religion, conflict resolution abilities

Self Efficacy: Motivation to Share/ Discuss

Discussion

The results from this study demonstrate that in the NewGround program, self-efficacy is raised significantly from the start to the end of the endeavor.

Differences by gender and religion, while not interactions, are indicated in pairwise comparison results. These results consistently demonstrate that women change significantly on all measures, as well as in aggregate scale results. Men do show significant change in scale results, but show no significant change when examining the sub-questions separately.

Religion shows slightly mixed results in this study. As with gender, no interactions are present and both religions do change significantly in the overall scale results. However, on two of the three self-efficacy questions, Muslims change significantly while Jews do not. On the third

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scale, while this finding is reversed, Muslims also show a trend toward positive change that is close to significance.

Due to greater than 80% participation over three years of NewGround cohorts in the study, while results may or may not apply to a broader population, this study indicates that the NewGround program does increase this important factor in the application of conflict resolution skills and identity changes found to increase due to contact programs (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000 for meta-analysis).

This study, however, is limited to one program and said program includes more female presence in positions of power than others. It is therefore unclear if the change demonstrated is due to the process of inter-group contact (Allport, 1954) or to extended interactions with female power figures leading to emulation or copying behaviors (Monroe & Martinez-Marti, 2008; Tate, 2003).

Study 2 therefore examines a similar contact program, the Olive Tree Initiative, with high-powered leadership of the opposite gender (male) than NewGround, to investigate whether the gendered impact is due to representation or the process of contact. Notably, as the comparison program is led by neither a Jew nor a Muslim, but by a Christian, the representation factor does not apply to the religion variable in the second study. This importantly mirrors the above study, where religion was evenly balanced, so that in neither is religious representation a factor.

Study 2: The Olive Tree Initiative (OTI)

The second study examines contact between Jewish and Muslims students within a planned encounter program called the Olive Tree Initiative. It tests not only the hypothesis that contact programs create positive changes in self-efficacy for participants, but if these changes can occur during contact regardless of the representation of the in-group in leadership positions within the program. The majority of the leadership of the Olive Tree Initiative during the time of this study was male, including a male executive director.

Methods

Participants

Approximately 83% of the 90 participants in the Olive Tree Initiative program between 2010 and 2013 participated in the research study. A total of 75 participants, 30 men (40%) and 45 women (60%), completed both pre and post surveys and were in the analyses. 20 of these were Jewish (27%) and 22 Muslim (30%). The remaining 43% of participants were Christian or non-religious. The majority of these were Christian; only 5 respondents on this scale reported no religious affiliation.[44] Over 60% of participating students were campus, religious, or ethnic organization leaders.

Procedure

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[44] While results are reported for all categories empirically studied, the other or unaffiliated religious category does not rise to the participant numbers for statistical accuracy. Therefore, while included in the graphs so as not to exclude any study data, this category is not considered in the discussion. Further studies hope to address this possibly interesting group and gap in this study.

Time 1 (T1) questionnaires were distributed to 90 first-time Olive Tree Initiative participants. Time 2 (T2) questionnaires were administered between 1.5 and 2.5 months later, approximately one month after the end of the Olive Tree Initiative program. Participants received no academic credit or monetary compensation for their participation. Two students were removed from analysis due to advanced knowledge of the research questions and special status as graduate student colleagues of the researcher.

Measures

Independent Variables

Various standard independent descriptive variables were measured in this study. These included socioeconomic measures of education and age as well as questions about parents' country of origin. In addition, open ended questions about the specific program and individual's roles in the community were also asked. For example, participants were asked to explain any leadership roles they held in their communities, what they felt they would or had gained from the program, and any anticipated or realized concerns they had regarding the program.

The main independent variable of this study was participation in the contact program, the Olive Tree Initiative, with all members of the study having participated, thus indicating the relevance of examining change over time from before participation to after participation.

Moderating Variables

Gender, due to its influence on power and division within the participants, will be examined as a potential moderator in this study.

Criterion Variables

Three main dependent variables were measured at Time 1 and Time 2: self-evaluations of knowledge about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, self-evaluation about one's abilities related to conflict resolution, and self-evaluation about one's ability to successfully engage with difficult conversations. These three measures comprised one scale on self-efficacy, although due to differences in how each changed, analysis is presented separately as well as using the overall scale.

Data Analytic Strategy

Correlational data sets were statistically analyzed using a repeated measure ANOVA to test study hypotheses one and two. A repeated-measures study design demonstrated change was due to the program (the IV); outside variables such as historical events were considered qualitatively to check for potential confounds in the data. Pairwise comparisons were used to look at the nuances in the data and probe more specifically for differences in possible moderating variable effects.

Results

Change Over Time: Does the Olive Tree Initiative program have the effect of making participants feel greater self-efficacy?

In line with Hypothesis 1, which predicts that positive change in self-efficacy will occur from Time 1 (before the program began) to time 2 (after the conclusion of the program), participants show positive changes in self-efficacy. Moderation by religion produces less clear results. Using a four or two (Religion: Muslim, Jewish, Christian, Other; Gender: male or female) x 2 (Time 1 vs Time 2) mixed ANOVA, overall (combined) results reveal a main effect for time. In addition, overall, paired sample T-tests showed that participants changed on average 0.86364 on a 7 point scale from a pre-program average of 4.7273 to a post-program average of 5.5909, with a standard deviation of 1.29574—a change significant at the .000 level.

*Moderation*: What, if anything, moderates this effect?

While no interaction effects are present, no decrease was expected for either gender, and due to the small N of this study, participant numbers are likely not large enough to show more subtle interactions. However, pairwise comparison by gender shows that women begin below men in the Olive Tree Initiative in self-efficacy, but end higher; at Time 1, women report an average of 4.5897 on a 7 point scale and at Time 2 they report 5.6154, a difference of 1.02 (SD 1.2726, p<.05). Men, on the other hand, move from 4.9259 on a 7 point scale to 5.5566, a change of .6297 (SD 1.368, p >.2, NS).

Graph 17. Olive Tree Initiative change, by participants' gender, self-efficacy scale
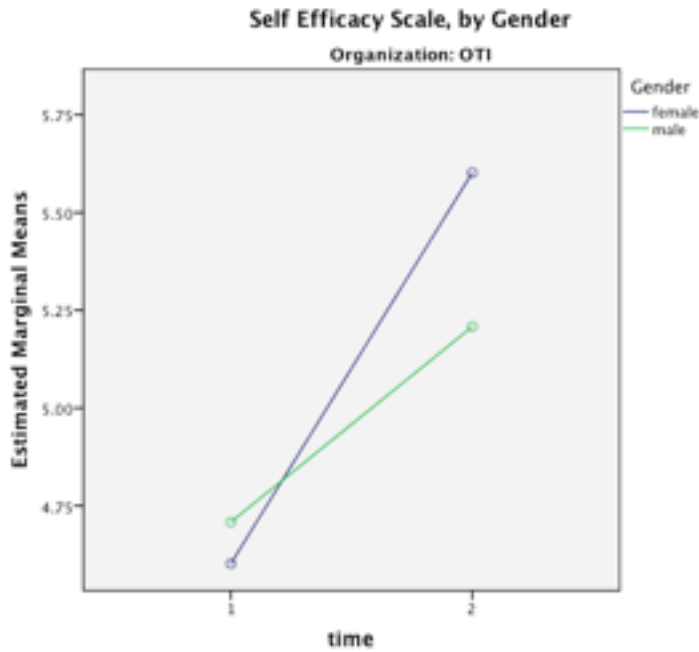
On the self-efficacy scale, $F_{(1,3)}= 3.99$, $p<.05.$, a main effect for religion was found. Jewish participants changed an average of 1.19 points on a 7 point scale, or from 5 to 6.190. Christians change on average .708 points, from 4.917 to 5.625. Muslims changed on average .667 points, or from 4.333 to 5. These changes were not significant at the .05 level. Pairwise comparisons revealed that Jewish students changed significantly more than others.

Graph 18. Olive Tree Initiative change, by participants' religion, self-efficacy scale
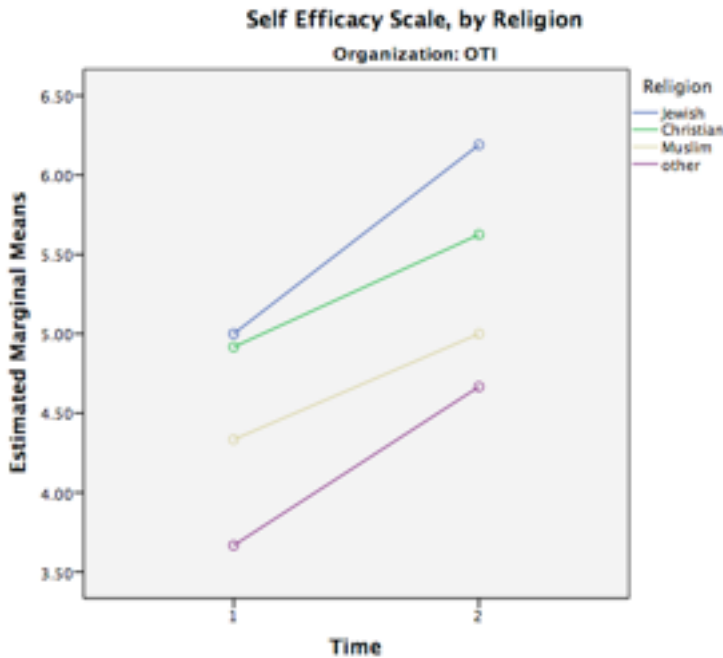

Moderation Breakdown: Do these results change by scale components?

In this study, unlike the last one, a breakdown of scale components demonstrates that the three components were not equal in change; the results demonstrate that on some scales, participants changed significantly while on others, they do not. On most scales, the trend toward gender differentiation in change is upheld. However, due to reduced power of this small-scale study, and with the multiple religious groups involved, results on religion are more difficult to discern, and their moderation may not be statistically notable or viable.

On the knowledge sub-scale, change over time is confirmed at p< .001. No interactions effects were found. Main effects for religion are also demonstrated and are in line with those discussed above. On this sub-scale, Jewish participants moved from 5.917 to 6.458, which did not represent a significant change. Christians similarly moved positively from 5 to 6.1, a change

that was significant at p = .037. Muslims showed a trend moving from 5.125 to 6.125 with a

significance of .62. Pairwise comparisons showed no differences at either T1 or T2 between any

religious groups involved in this study.

Graph 19. Olive Tree Initiative change, by participants' religion, knowledge
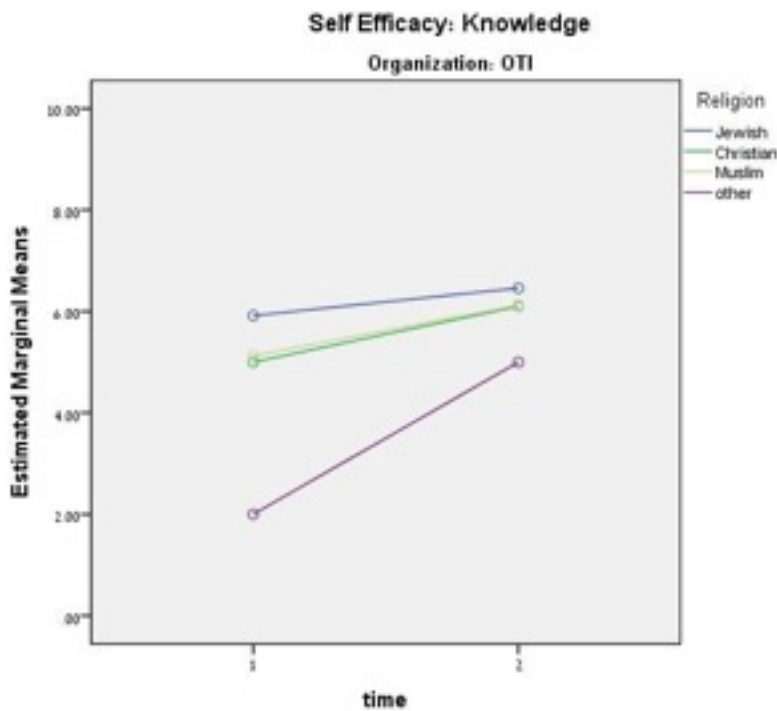
On this sub-scale, both men and women change significantly, with women moving from

5.194 to 6.039 (p = .025) and men moving from 4.625 to 6.062 (p = .005). Again there is no

significant difference found through pairwise comparisons between men and women during

Time 1 or Time 2.

Graph 20. Olive Tree Initiative change, by participants' gender, knowledge


Self Efficacy: Knowledge
Organization: OTI
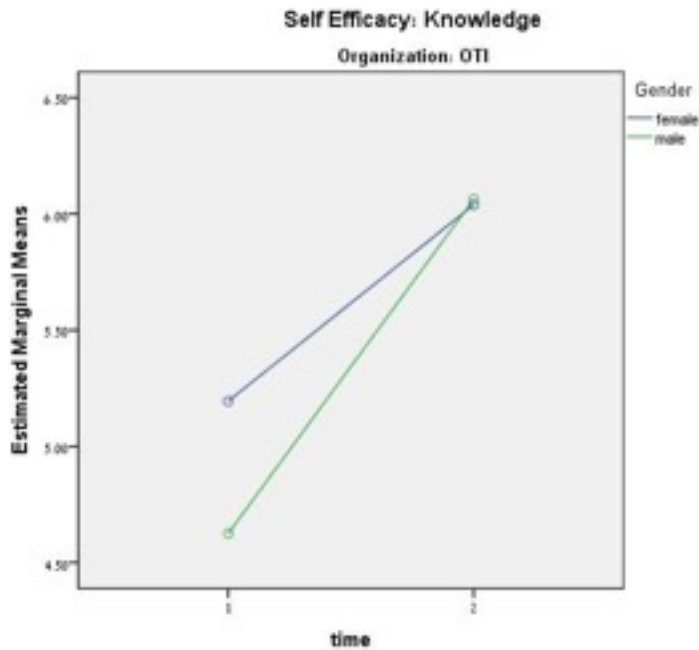
The sub-scale which assesses participants' perceptions of their own conflict resolution abilities shows very little significant change for this organization. There are no main or interaction effects for religion. Jewish participants are the only group to change significantly, from 4 to 5.583 (p = .037). No other group shows significant change on this measure. Moreover, there are no significant differences demonstrated at T1 or T2 in pairwise comparisons.

Graph 21. Olive Tree Initiative change, by participants' religion, conflict resolution ability
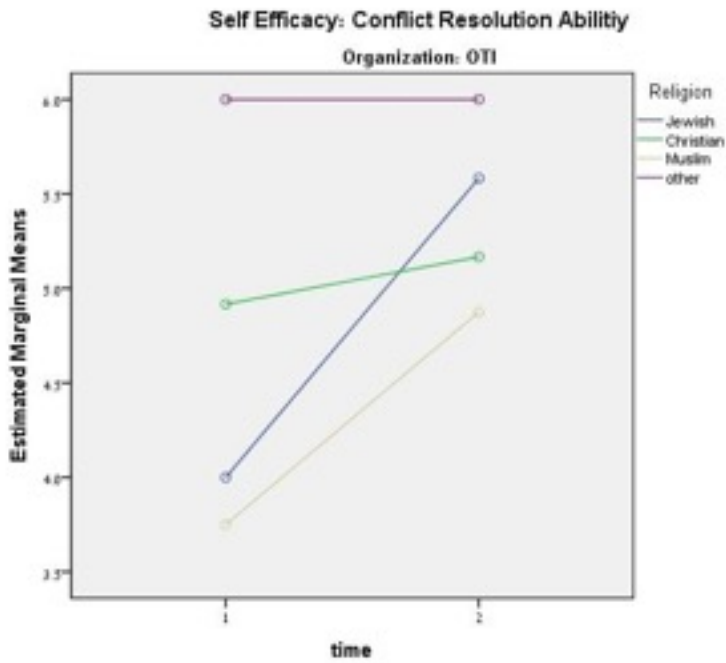
Similarly there are no significant differences for men or women separately, or between men and women at T1 or T2 for this sub-scale. Trends indicate women near significance at p = .082 for change, and women changed on average more than men. Women changed .972 points (on a 7 point scale) while men only changed .750 on average.

Graph 22. Olive Tree Initiative change, by participants' gender, conflict resolution ability
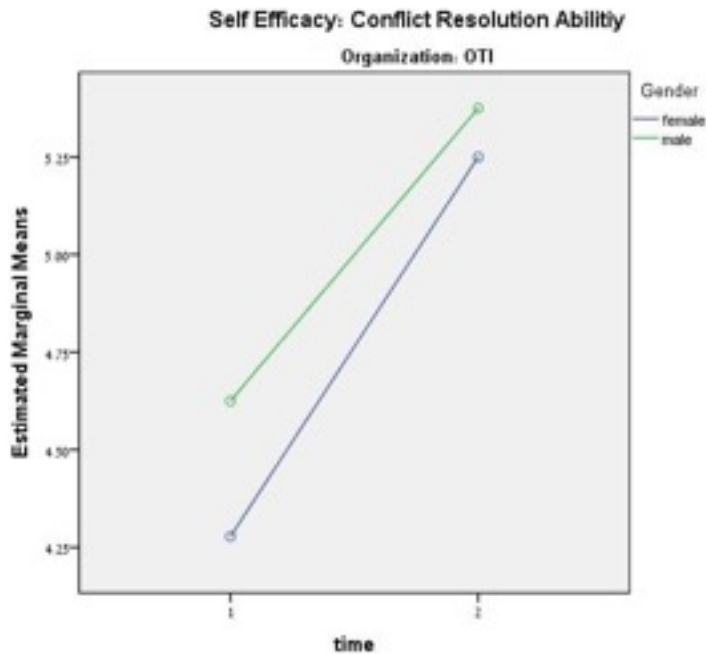
On the last sub-scale, participants' motivation to share and/or discuss what they have learned, there is again very little significant change within the Olive Tree Initiative group that would strongly indicate moderation. There is no significant change related to the different religious groups, and pairwise comparisons revealed no differences at T1. At T2 a difference between Jewish and Muslim participants, significant at $p = .016$, does emerge, indicating Jewish participants ended with higher motivation to share than Muslim participants. However, as neither the T1 value nor change was significantly different, this is a small gap.

Graph 23. Olive Tree Initiative change, by participants' religion, dissemination

Self Efficacy: Motivation to Share/ Discuss

Organization: OTI
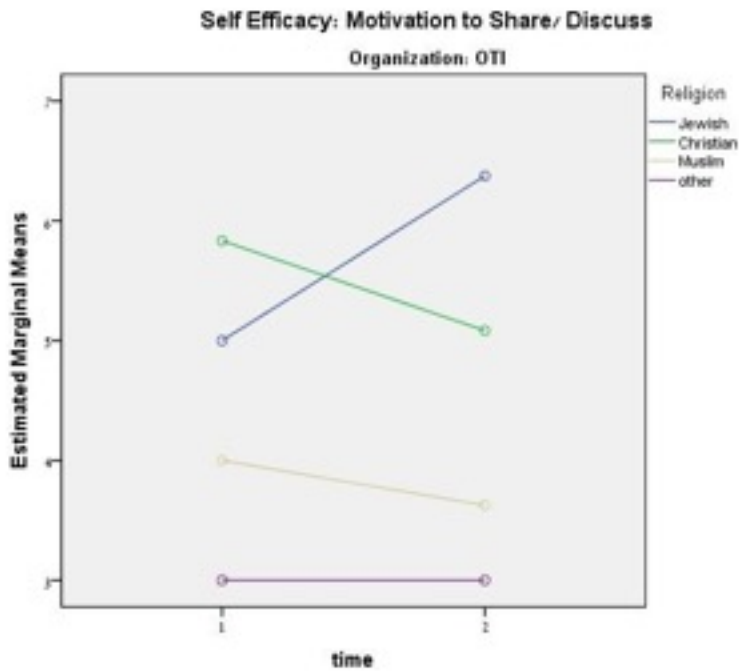
For gender on this variable there was again little to no significant change. There was no significant change for men or women over time separately or between men and women at T1 or T2. Women did change to a greater degree, on average 1.083 points on a 7 point scale, than men, who changed on average .688.

Graph 24. Olive Tree Initiative change, by participants' gender, dissemination

Self Efficacy: Motivation to Share/ Discuss
Organization: OTI
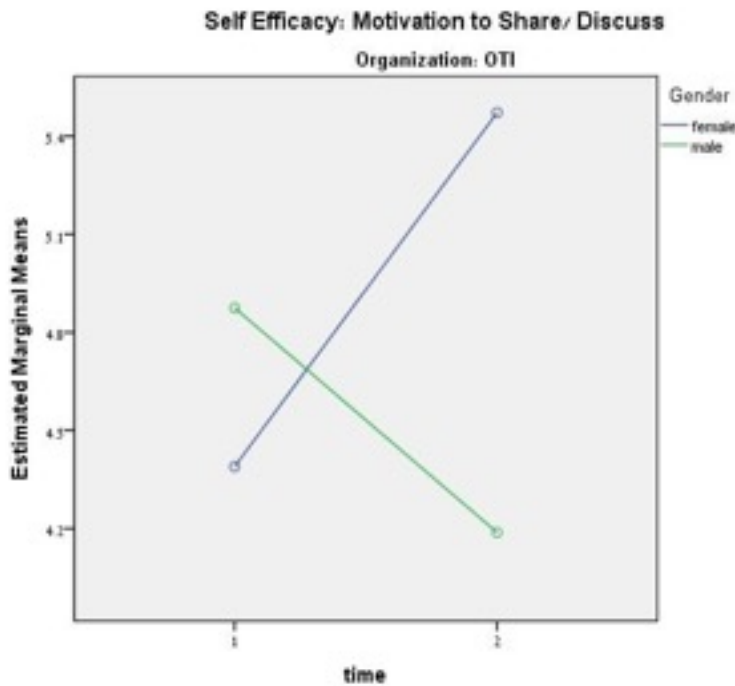
Discussion

Similarly to Study 1, the results of Study 2 support both Hypothesis 1 and 2. In this study,

it is again confirmed that overall group shows a rise in self-efficacy and that this change varies

depending on the relative power, in this case by gender, of the participant, if less clearly than in

case study one. Power change by religion, as expected, is not demonstrated in most breakdowns.

Within the NewGround participants studied, while men report an increase in self-efficacy, it is

non-significant. Women, on the other hand, change to a greater degree and this change is

significant. This study of the Olive Tree Initiative demonstrates that women show greater self-

efficacy change than men within a contact program that is male led.

Notably, in this study looking at the separate measures instead of the aggregate provides

mixed results. These results indicate that while women may change on average more than men, it

is not to such a degree that it gains significance until the measures are formed into an aggregate scale. In the case of this study, the aggregate scale is most meaningful as it has the most statistical power. Two of three sub-scales demonstrate that women change a greater amount than men. The third demonstrates statistically significant change for both genders. On the overall scale, women change significantly more than men, as in the previous case study.

The lesser change seen within two of three sub-scales for the Olive Tree Initiative may be due to the academic surroundings of the Olive Tree Initiative. As the trip studied lies within a University where many students are exposed to coursework in conflict resolution and dialogue, these components may not be uniquely influenced by the trip.

Religion measures throughout, both in the scale and breakdown, do not show consistent results that would indicate that participation in this group significantly changes one religious group more than others in self-efficacy.

While this study is again limited to the Olive Tree Initiative, and again includes relatively small N, like the study of NewGround, it well represents the population involved in the program with an over 80% participation rate.

Conclusion

The two studies presented here address two programs that represent both male and female gendered leadership. One program, NewGround is led by women and the other, the Olive Tree Initiative, men. Results are similar within both studies, showing that the programs, as Hypothesis 1 would predict, create positive overall changes in self-efficacy.

Moreover, as per Hypothesis 2, women on the scale show significantly greater change than men. This result is stronger in the case of NewGround as it is confirmed by each component of the scale, while in the Olive Tree Initiative individual scale components show inconclusive results do to a lack of statistical power. Notably, religion is not shown to be a significant or consistent moderator in either case study.

Limitations

While these studies are limited by their lack of a control group (one was attempted but follow up was minimal in the pilot and not continued in the larger study design) their design (paired comparison) and the addition of careful ethnographic work lessens the chances that historical confounds created the changes seen.

Self-selection is also a limitation of this study. The mechanisms of the change, including the over-representation of women which may facilitate the effect shown, are beyond the scope of this study due to this limitation. This is a significant limitation, as critical mass theory demonstrates that the over-representation of women in inter-group contact programs may impact the psychological outcomes for women in these conditions (see Kanter, 1977; Karpowitz, Mendelberg, & Shaker, 2012; as well as the conclusion of this dissertation for further discussion of this issue).

Many other potential limitations are addressed through the pairing of these two studies, and their real-world nature adds additional validity. Therefore, these results may be generalized with caution, as the change demonstrated seems to occur due to the programming and inter-group contact, not the gender of the leader nor historical circumstances.

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Overall Conclusions

This chapter represents a starting point for research into two necessary but relatively under-explored topics in the inter-group contact literature: the role of gender and the role of self-efficacy in reconciliation and more specifically inter-group contact program design, implementation, and impact. Future research, especially research that might include control samples or random samples from participants in contact programs would provide insight into the generalizability of these results. Larger samples of programs in regions where women have differing degrees of relative power might also speak to the interactions between gender and self-efficacy change. Narrative studies of the women involved in such programs, their needs, and the lives they lead after such endeavors might help us understand the political and psychological long-term impact of inter-group contact programs, as studied here.

These studies demonstrate theoretically potential for contact related programs to play a part in empowering lower-powered groups, especially women. With the growing popularity of inter-group programs, especially in settings outside of on-the-ground conflicts such as within diaspora communities in the United States, there is perhaps hope that contact programs might empower women with the confidence, skills, and self-efficacy needed to enter and master the political and social frontiers of peace-building and reconciliation.

According to the United Nations, while representation of women in government is on the rise, increasing 11.3 percent from 1995 to 2014, women are still grossly underrepresented in the international political sphere, making up less than 22 percent of national parliamentarians (Inter-

Parliamentary Union, March 2014). Women's role in official peace-building is perhaps even more absent. In 2011, only four women participated on negotiation teams out of the multitude of individuals working on fourteen different United Nations negotiations (UN Secretary-General's report to the Security Council on women, peace and security, S/2012/732). Anderlini (2007) in *Women in peace building: what they do, why it matters* demonstrates repeatedly that women benefit peace building efforts, citing a UN officer who would out that women are the best humanitarian workers in crisis, citing women as among the most committed to peace building and calling for recognition and respect for women's work in the field. In both United States and global efforts toward peace and reconciliation, these studies point to one avenue where women might be empowered, reflecting both a possible need and solution to address the relative lack of female involvement in high level diplomatic and governmental efforts.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This dissertation examines changes in psychological variables that address social identity needs, including empowerment and inclusion of or identification with the other, over the course of inter-group contact. Through a multi-modal approach, it explores how individuals involved in two southern Californian Jewish-Muslim inter-group dialogue programs change over time. The dissertation uniquely examines relative change, rather than absolute values, for the variables and themes studied in order to understand the dynamic nature of these variables for participants. In other words, it studies psychological changes over time.

This work employs a unique data set collected from 2010 to 2014 including interview and survey data on participants of NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change and the Olive Tree Initiative. The data are analyzed using both statistical and qualitative methods.

Coming into this work, prior literature presented concerns regarding inter-group contact programs. Specifically, scholars such as Saguy voice concerns that inter-group contact programs will reduce the political efficacy of lower powered groups by transforming lower powered group members. Specifically, the author feels that through identification with the high powered group, lower powered group members will be less willing to protest or demand change of that group. For example, that Arab Israeli citizens might protest less for social change toward equality for their group within Israel after an encounter program (Saguy et al., 2009).

Through an examination of prior literature on power and needs for social group and in inter-group contact, this concern led to two specific research questions: Does inter-group contact, for any social group, reduce in-group identification in conjunction with raising out-group

identification. And does inter-group contact meet the needs of different social identity groups differently?

Key Results

The results of this dissertation first provide insight into the various themes of participants' change, from their perspective, from within the Olive Tree Initiative. Themes highlighted include social identity changes, changes in identification with the in- and out-group including humanization of the other, changes in self-perception of conflict knowledge and desire to apply learned concepts, and an increasingly narrative cognitive approach to history.

These results are further explored in the proceeding chapters, which strongly support the hypothesis that while out-group identification is raised through inter-group contact, as demonstrated by previous literature repeatedly, this does not create a corresponding decrease within in-group identification. This is termed non zero-sum change. These results, presented in chapter four, show that it is possible for inter-group contact programs to raise or sustain levels of in-group identification while leading participants to also better understand and relate to the 'other.'

Second, results also support the hypothesis of differing psychological change dependent on social group. This picture notably, is complicated. The social identity groups most associated with change differences are male and female gender groups, which do correspond with many of the needs presented and, as discussed below, do represent differentially powered groups in the United States where these studies took place. In line with this, men show more change in identification with the other than do women, and women show more change in empowerment.

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Table 3: Key Findings Summary

	Key Findings	Moderators
Overall Findings	Positive Relative Changes (Change over Time) in key Needs based Variables over course of Diaspora-based Jewish-Muslim inter-group contact	
Ch 3: Shifting Perceptions	Key Themes: - Identity (Humanization, Prejudice reduction, Identity inclusion) - Narrative historical approach - Application of education	
Ch 4: Non Zero-Sum Identity	Overall Non Zero-Sum Identity	Gender—with men showing more change
Ch 5: Self Efficacy	Overall Empowerment (Self-Efficacy increase in conflict resolution abilities and motivation to share)	Gender—with women showing more change in scale measures and most, but not all, sub-scales

Empirical Chapters and Results Presented

This dissertation presented three empirical chapters investigating the role of gender as it moderates changes in social identity, perspective taking, and self-efficacy over two inter-group dialogue programs. These programs, the Olive Tree Initiative and NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change, are both United States Southern Californian Jewish-Muslim inter-group dialogue programs focusing on listening to and respecting multiple narratives and perspectives surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Overall, this dissertation shows that both programs successfully help participants broaden their perspectives, leading to more inclusive identification for men and more self-efficacy for women.

The first of these chapters *Shifting Perceptions: An Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis of Longitudinal Interviews from the Olive Tree Initiative,* is a qualitative study of the Olive Tree Initiative 2010 trip. It uses both qualitative interview techniques and analysis to understand from participants' perspectives what important changes are undergone during the program and how participants apply those changes to their lives. The results demonstrate several themes of perspective taking, including increases in empathy, increased validation of emotions, and complications of the historical narrative to include multiple viewpoints. Participants also spoke about the ways in which they could improve their own and others' lives through what they had learned in the program and how they planned to apply this learning.

The themes derived from these interviews broadly gather around the ideas of perspective taking, a part of social identity and empathy, and applications of learning or empowerment. In these interviews, power relations did not rise to the surface as a key theme within participants' awareness. However, the idea that self-identification could hold both one's own group-based

perspectives, as well as tolerate as valid those of others, was prominent. In light of prior work

which demonstrates negative changes for the low power group when identifying with the higher

one, the subsequent chapters examine the role of power relations between groups to better

understand the changes high and low power group members undergo. While these chapters

confirm the positive direction of changes over time within members of both the Olive Tree

Initiative and NewGround programs, they also demonstrate that the magnitude of these changes

depends on gender.

Creating a Non Zero-Sum Identity: Two Longitudinal Case Studies of Social Identity

Shifts during Inter-Group Dialogue addresses first this identity dynamic. The study separately

examines identity change toward participants' pre-program in-groups and their out-groups. For

this chapter, quantitative methods are used for both data collection (surveys) and data analysis.

The results indicate that participants make positive changes not only toward their out-group,

mirroring the understanding and perspective taking of Study 1, but also toward identification

with their in-groups. The results also indicate that while most individuals in the study make

positive changes toward both groups, the magnitude of this change is gender dependent. This

holds for both NewGround, a program led by women, and for the Olive Tree Initiative, a

program led by a man. These results demonstrate that this gendered change is not due to

leadership, but might instead by due to the fulfillment of different needs for each identity group.

The next study investigated empowerment. This final empirical study, entitled: *Increasing*

Self-Efficacy through Contact: Two Longitudinal Case Studies of Self-Efficacy Change

Moderated by Gender during Inter-Group Dialogue, is again quantitative in both data collection

methods and analysis, using surveys and various statistical tools. The results of this study

indicate again that while positive change over time occurs for all participants in both the Olive Tree and NewGround groups, this change is quantitatively different for men and women. Women change on the self-efficacy scale and on sub-scales more than men.

The results of all three empirical chapters indicate that participants in inter-group contact self-identify many positive psychological changes that they undergo during the programs, including humanization of the other and empowerment. Chapters three and four additionally indicate that the variables predicted to differ in the strength of their growth due to inter-group social power, specifically identification and empowerment, do change in different ways for two distinct social groups. These groups do not mirror the power difference between Israelis and Palestinians found in previous literature (Saguy, 2009). Instead, the main social demographic difference found was between men and women. No negative changes, such as dominated in-group identification or diminished self-efficacy are indicated for any group.

Understanding the Gender Results

The gendered findings presented in this dissertation may have multiple, and possibly confounded, explanations. The next section of this conclusion will seek to enumerate the two that have been highlighted in peace-building literature as plausible causal contributors. Notably, this work cannot claim that either theory is the correct one, simply that both seem likely to have contributed to the results.

Gender and Power in America

The first theory is Needs-Based Reconciliation and the idea, as presented earlier in this

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work, that power plays a key role in behavior and outcomes during inter-group contact programs. This power-related line of research is currently prominent in inter-group contact work and therefore guided much of the hypothesis of this research. Notably, although religious and ethnic group differences were investigated, and at times are presented in in this dissertation, no such traditional overarching power-based inter-group divisions were found in this work.

Instead in this work, gender was found to be the key dichotomous and moderating variable. Women began lower in empowerment and showed greater positive change in this variable. Men began lower in identification with the out-group and changed more on that variable. These changes mirror the needs presented by the Needs-Based Reconciliation Model (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008) for higher and lowered powered group members engaging in inter-group reconciliation where higher power group members would need inclusion and lower powered group members would need empowerment and edification. In the studies presented in this dissertation, therefore, men mirrored the changes predicted for a higher power group and women mirrored the changes predicted of a lower powered group in inter-group contact.

For power to be an explanatory variable in the gendered differences demonstrated in this dissertation, gender within the setting of these studies must be highly correlated with existing power inequalities. And during the course of writing this work, many have questioned if true differences in power exist within the United States. However, there is, in 2015 American society, still a clear power difference between men and women, with women holding measurably less social, political, military, and economic power. While within the US an entire literature exists to expound upon the existence of such an inequality, there are also some key and simple facts that demonstrate well this dichotomy.

In the United States of America, both historically and currently, many of the chief

indicators of power are skewed in favor of men. Historically, the United States was founded with

only white men having the right to vote and hold property. While these political policies have

been replaced and women now hold both these rights, the attitudes and cultural norms of the

United States still reflect these original values. Bederman (2008) attributes these gaps to the

longstanding cultural elevation of manliness in the United States. He argues that historically, the

role of men has been valued above that of women from the settling of the west through the

development of the United States as a significant hegemonic power largely through military

might.

Women in the United States also continue to fight for equal rights in the armed forces

and among many other male dominated avenues to power, including within the political

spectrum. Unlike many other nations, the United States has yet to elect a female president and

lacks equal gender representation in congress and the Supreme Court. As of 2015, only 20 of the

100 US Senators and 84 of the 435 House Delegates in the US Congress are women. Only three

of the nine members of the Supreme Court are women (Center for American Women and

Politics, 2015).

This political power gap is just one manifestation of the stratification of power (Giddens

et al., 2014) which exists between men and women in the United States. There are also many

current examples of differential power between men and women in the United States. Elias

(2008) writes about gender discrimination at work, Nadal et al. (2012) write about the impact of

sexism on women's mental health and development, and Brady et al. (1995) write about gender

bias in the classroom, just to show the tip of the iceberg. Two key indicators of unequal power relations often discussed in American society are sexual assault and unequal wages.

According to the United States based Rape, Abuse, and Incest National Network (RAINN), as of 2015, one in six women will be the victim of sexual assault within her lifetime, with the vast majority of these assaults perpetrated by men. Rape is categorized as a sexual crime based in power. Not only are black, American Indian, and mixed-race women more likely to be raped than white women or any category of men, the crime itself is seen as one motivated by dominance and the assertion of power over another, not sexual needs (Filipovic, 2013).

Work differences also demonstrate a modern power gap between men and women. Figart et al. (2005) show that not only is traditional 'women's work' such as teaching valued less than traditionally men's work such as the military or law both culturally and financially, but women also make less money than men for the same level of experience and job responsibilities. In September of 2014, the American Association of University Women conducted a report entitled "The Simple Truth about the Gender Pay Gap" reviewing the realities of pay and gender. Their report documents the reality of gender inequality in the United States in economic terms and notes that not only does this gap exist, but it exists in each and every US state. Moreover, lower powered groups such as women of color experience a greater gap than women with high powered racial social identifications. Other women's interest groups, such as the Institute for Women's Policy Research, concur, stating that on average women make 78 cents for each dollar earned by a man, a 22% pay gap (Hegewisch et al., 2014).

Moreover, while this gap is by no means only American, O'Conner et al. (1999) discuss the United States as having more gendered politics than Australia, Canada, and Great Britain in

their book *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*.

If this power gap is at least in part explanatory of the results of the gender differences demonstrated in this dissertation, then this work may indicate that not only can inter-group contact fulfill the needs identified by the Needs-Based Reconciliation Model (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008) but also that these needs apply to high and low power groups within a society, such as men and women, even if that particular relationship is not the topic of the dialogue, such as was the case for the Jewish-Muslim dialogue programs studied here.

Gender and Empathy

Men and women in the United States are socialized into different roles, including taking different roles in groups, where women focus on socio-emotional group needs and men on tasks (Anderson & Blanchard, 1982; Carli, 2001; Eagly & Karau, 1991). This socialization may impact participants' reactions to the inter-group dialogue programs presented.

Burton discussed the idea that there are certain universal drives for security, identity and recognition (Ramsbotham, Miall, & Woodhouse, 2011). These needs are strongly associated with inter-group contact, helping form the theory behind Kelman's Problem Solving Workshops (Kelman, 1993), in which he pioneered programs specifically designed to facilitate inter-group contact between conflicting groups. In *Combining Empathy with Problem Solving*, Battit, Steiner, and Kirschner (2009) discuss the addition of empathy theory to this model, which aligns with American gendered socialization. This edition is important, as empathy has been identified as a social psychological variable that is different for men and women.

Gilligan and Attanucci (1988) discuss gender and empathy in the context of moral development theory. They note that men focus on social relationships in a hierarchical or power-based manner, while women most value inter-personal connection and social responsibility. In other words, empathy and inter-personal identification are held in higher regard or as more important by women.

In the case of the studies presented, this can be seen in the results. Women begin higher in identification with the out-group than men. While men change more, this may by due to a female ceiling effect; women have less far to grow in empathy and identification than men. Conversely, Gilligan's theory also speaks to empowerment, as it states that men are socialized to seek power in relationships more than women are and to value hierarchy more. This can also be seen as explanatory of the higher empowerment of men at the start of programs and the programs' ability to shift women further in empowerment.

Therefore, another explanation, and likely contributing factor to and of the results, is the differential socialization of men and women in the United States of America. These two dynamics are not mutually exclusive. In fact, they may be tightly linked in American Society. While some inter-group contact programs may both directly and indirectly address empathy, the opportunity to further study the needs of different social identity groups in inter-group contact, due to socialization, power, and likely many other factors is demonstrated in this dissertation.

Future Work

Future work may address many of the limitations and implications of these studies, or extend them. As mentioned, work looking at these variables with different groups, looking at

gendered differences under different power conditions, and examining many of the causal

mechanisms for change would be very useful in understanding the roles of power and gender in

empowerment and identity changes due to inter-group contact.

In addition, work examining intersectionality and the compounding effects of power

differences, for example looking at the differences in empowerment changes between male and

female Palestinians in an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue group, would significantly advance our

understanding of the role of power in change. For this type of work investigating qualitative role

dissonance, for example between the social role of the higher powered gendered group (men)

and that of the lower powered political position (for example Palestinian men in an Israeli-

Palestinian dialogue), would also help contextualize the needs of participants in inter-group

dialogue programs and reconciliation more generally. Intersectionality may also be important in

understanding identity hierarchies, non zero-sum identities, and nuances of how participants act

during programs and feel about them after.

Additionally, future work examining how identification with the in- and out-groups

changes during contact would be fruitful. Examining whether this is non zero-sum in other cases,

whether there are types of contact programs that this does and does not hold for, and whether this

change is actually positively linked are possible future avenues of work. For example, a study

with more participants might indicate whether there is a positive link between growing in

identity with the out-group and more recognition of the in-group. Alternately, programs that

focus more or less on avoiding discussion of difference might differentially impact this Non

Zero-Sum Identity Change; programs that avoid discussion of difference might indeed show

zero-sum change while those, like the two programs studied, that do address differences might show the opposite.

In addition to these specific extensions of the work presented in this dissertation, there are also many avenues to expand this research more broadly. Two of these stand out as essential to understanding the process of inter-group contact and the changes that relative inter-group power differences create. The studies presented in this work explore the process of inter-group contact and their immediate longitudinal effects. As demonstrated previously and within this work, numerous studies point to the potential of intergroup contact to promote the reduction of prejudice and to lead to positive changes in attitudes toward out-group members. However, this potential can be realized only when group members are *willing* to enter situations of intergroup contact and only if the changes are retained after the contact occurs.

Therefore, framing these studies, continuing research looks at why high and low powered individuals might choose to engage in inter-group contact and what the results of inter-group contact are for alumni of these programs. Examining willingness for inter-group contact, two lines of research are being pursued to help theoretically and empirically understand the impact of power. The first is the creation of a theoretical framework for understanding the barriers and the motivations that predict and explain why members of differentially powered groups would be willing to engage in encounter programs or other forms of structured contact interventions being held in settings of inter-group conflict. This line of research considers the socio-psychological barriers and the pragmatic concerns that may prevent groups and individuals from engaging in intergroup contact.

Lay theories have been demonstrated to have impact on a variety of human behaviors including those related to physical health (Wang, Keh, & Bolton, 2010; McFerran & Mukhopadhyay, 2013) and inter-group prejudice (Rosner & Hong, 2010). As Jain, Mathur, and Maheswaran (2009) demonstrate in research examining consumer behavior, lay theories can specifically impact approach and avoidance. Therefore, in more empirical terms, work is also being conducted examining the lay theories that high and low powered groups hold which might impact their willingness to join inter-group dialogue programs.

Alumni work examining the long term impact of contact programming on NewGround and Olive Tree Initiative participants is also underway. This work will look at both traditional measures of program success with alumni, such as alumni achievements and giving, as well as many of the social-psychological measures presented in this dissertation. Focus groups are also planned with alumni from both programs in order to understand the challenges participants face when returning to their communities and in implementing their ideas and post-program projects. Within this work, special attention will be paid to traditionally lower powered group members, including women and Muslims, to examine how these individuals engage with their communities. Specifically, the researcher will be looking to trace the progress, or lack thereof, from empowerment in contact programs to behavioral and community level changes.

Limitations

While the data and results presented support the hypothesis that inter-group contact will generate specific social gains in identification and empowerment, the application of these results

is limited. The studies presented well represent the populations of the Olive Tree Initiative and NewGround, having upwards of 80% of program participants as respondents in both interview and survey data. However, without applicable randomization and controls, the results generated in this dissertation are not generalizable to other populations.

Moreover the small numbers of participants in these studies only allow for limited power in statistics. Particularly in the *Self-Efficacy* chapter, data on religious differences in change within the Olive Tree is limited in its statistical power due to very small populations. This means that while results are not presented as significant for religion as a moderator in this study, it is unclear if in reality these differences exist or not. Therefore, within these studies, only the largest effects are acknowledged in the statistics presented. In addition, there is a greater chance that outliers or individual differences might have impacted the data, as compared to larger studies where outliers are clear and averages are based on a greater number of participants.

This dissertation is descriptive. It demonstrates that both the Olive Tree Initiative and NewGround accomplish psychological changes in line with power based changes predicted by a particular model. However, without experimental controls, these methods cannot make a causal argument for how or why these changes occur.

This means that while within a known power difference, inter-group contact is shown to change the high and low power group differently, we do not know why from this work. There are in fact several lines of research which might shed some light upon the results shown, as described above.

In addition, there is extensive work describing men and women in the context of group work and discussion that points out gendered differences between these social groups in their

behavior during dialogues. Notably, these differences are not separate from power differences and do not detract from such explanations or arguments, but they are useful in understanding the observations of this work. For example, literature indicates that where women are the majority in a dialogue or classroom, and especially when decision making requires a majority, women tend to participate more (Karpowitz, Mendelberg, & Shaker, 2012; Dindia & Allen, 1992; Kanter, 1977). This is especially relevant to the data described in this work, as in both the Olive Tree Initiative and NewGround, there was a skew toward female participation, as reflected in the study participant numbers. This limits the findings of this work, as they cannot necessarily speak to programs that are evenly male/female or skewed toward male participation. Future work would need to address these gender balance issues. However, this skew toward female participants is due to real world self-selection and may therefore reflect a gender bias in participation in such programs.

Moreover, our understanding of the role of power in the magnitude of change is also limited in this work, as differences in power between social identity groups were not manipulated. In other words, from these studies we cannot determine if any difference in power between two social groups would have an impact or if this specific difference in power between men and women in California Jewish and Muslim communities creates the conditions for the changes seen—or, alternatively, if the magnitude of change depends on power, which could only be seen if different data points from differentially powered groups could be gathered. Studies in which this dynamic can be accounted for, for example by measuring these changes within different European populations where women have greater and lesser degrees of public power

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(Dahlerup, 1988; Norris, 1985) might get closer to demonstrating this, but not rule out other contributing factors.

One of these contributing factors that cannot be ruled out is gendered socialization. The power difference and related changes between men and women, as observed in this dissertation, may or may not produce similar results as other power differences, for example between religious groups or political groups.

In addition to this, due to the programmatic differences between the Olive Tree Initiative and NewGround, the results cannot be compared between programs. This is especially notable as OTI, while focusing on Jewish/Muslim and pro-Israeli/pro-Palestinian relations, includes participants that are neither Jewish nor Muslim. While the impact of this difference is not investigated in this dissertation, it is one of many limitations that may form the grounds for future work.

Nonetheless, this analysis casts insight into the identities and roles of women in peace building.

Implications for Reconciliation work: Gender and Identity in Peace building

You need us because we women are willing to sit together on the same side of the table and together look at our complex joint history, with the commitment and intention of not getting up until—in respect and reciprocity—we can get up together and begin our new history and fulfill our joint destiny.

- Terry Greenblatt, speaking before the UN Security Council in May 2002 (in Anderlini, 2007, p. 53)

Holding complex identities and empathizing with others are linked in peace building literature. Women have played a varied role in peace building efforts, but in many cases are under-represented despite proven track records of success in understanding multiple perspectives and therefore acting as successful intermediaries and representatives. As Anderlini (2007) points out, women are stellar humanitarian workers and committed peace builders, but do not always find the field accessible or gain recognition and respect for their work in it. Women are excluded from peace building often, according to Anderlini, due to its place as an extension of war efforts; as women are seen as less violent or unable to handle combat situations by many (see US policy on women in combat for just one example; McSally 2007) and negotiations and peace efforts are seen as a contiguous part of war, women are excluded as not having been participants in the original war and therefore unnecessary or not a party to the conflict.

However, as women are not only combatants in war, but also suffer in a multitude of ways as victims of war (as mothers, victims of rape, etc) and are members of a social group encompassing more than half the world's population, many women are taking a stand and asking for a place in peace building efforts.

One example of both a reason for the inclusion of women in official peace talks and a reason for their exclusion, is 'women's issues.' These issues, including family topics such as reunification and citizenship, the role of less powerful groups in state governance, and prosecution of crimes against humanity such as rape, are not solely women's concerns. Moreover, while these issues are often high priority for women, this does not exclude women from being capable of discussion of military borders, trade, or any other issues likely to surface

during a negotiation. However, the perception that women will only focus on so called 'women's issues' and that these issues should be discussed post-peace negations or that their discussion will be an extension of 'western' cultural norms often impedes female participation.

UN resolution 1325 recognizes these points and calls for increased female participation in all stages of conflict resolution and reconciliation[45]. While this has given women in many nations a legal framework to fight for more inclusion, men still frame the process and dialogue due to ingrained power differences. This includes less representation in governments—less than 22 percent of national parliamentarians are women (Inter-Parliamentary Union, March 2014)—and in peace negotiations (UN Secretary-General's report to the Security Council on women, peace and security, S/2012/732). In the Middle East, women were among the key actors in the 1993 Oslo peace process, but by 1999 a Palestinian activist and former Palestinian Authority spokesperson pointed out that the patriarchal norms had been re-established (Anderlini, 2007). This lack of equal representation within peace efforts can reflect and support established power inequalities within societies both before and after peace talks.

This is considered by many to be a disservice especially to developing nations who face increased challenges post-war and often higher rates of the recurrence of violence due to issues such as poverty and lack of resources including food and water. If sustainable development is a goal post war, then the exclusion of fifty-three percent of your population is a disservice to society (Conaway & Martinez, 2004). Many sustainability focused peace-building programs in these areas specifically target women for this reason. From micro lending (Sanyal, 2009) to post-conflict public health (Heise et al., 1994) women have been identified as sustainers of

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[45] http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/

development and peace, even when they are not equally represented in crafting national level peace programs and negotiations.

People-to-people peace efforts, also termed citizen peace building, with inter-group contact representing one section of these efforts, are, however, often organized and led by women. Of the two groups studied in this work, one is run by women and had greater than fifty percent female participation and the other, while run by men, also had greater than fifty percent female participation. An example of this in the field is Search for Common Ground (SFCG), founded in 1996. As described by Kulp in Zelizer and Rubinstein (2009), SFCG is an Angolan group that since 2004 has specifically used a gender mainstreaming approach targeting women for empowerment as conflict mitigators in their own communities. This group trains and supports women in their new roles and finds that common experiences amongst women across groups is a strength for their conflict resolution work. Further, Babbitt, Steiner, and Kirschner (2009) find that in their work with inter-group problem solving in Israel, women are also key. These authors and other note that facilitating emotions that are socially gendered to be female strengths, such as empathy as discussed above, as core components of problem solving work is a strong asset and necessary addition to programs (ibid; Zelizer & Rubinstein, 2009).

The idea, then, of examining an avenue of peace building (inter-group contact programs) in which not only do women often make up more than fifty percent of the membership, but also men might come to understand better the role of women and women might come to feel they have gained the skills and efficacy necessary to become further involved in peace efforts, may be one way in which academicians can aid in peace efforts.

Final Conclusion and Contributions

This dissertation examines two Jewish-Muslim inter-group dialogue programs based on inter-group contact in the United States. It applies the idea of social-identity-based needs to contact theory purposely within diaspora communities outside of traditional conflict zones. The dissertation is descriptive, looking at what changes take place within participants from both programs and differences between social identity groups in the ways these changes manifest.

This dissertation demonstrates that social needs do matter in inter-group contact. The main contributions of this dissertation to the literature are based on the idea that measurement of social needs requires a relative approach, measuring the changes in the relative positions of various variables, rather than their absolute values, and moreover, that this change is important in understanding the experiences and outcomes of different social identity groups.

This dissertation finds several such changes over time. It importantly contributes to our understanding that social identification with an out-group may not diminish identification with the in-group, and that inter-group contact can fulfill social-identity-based needs including identification and empowerment differentially for members of different social identity groups.

In the studies of this dissertation, gendered variables and change were consistently found. Descriptively, participants described empathy (see Gilligan discussion above), an emotion valued highly by women, as key in changes in perceptions of the conflict, the history of the Middle East, and their traditional out-groups. The identity changes seen in the next study also mirror changes seen in prior work; overall there is increased openness to identification with the other and there is gendered change whereby men started lower in out-group identification than women and grew more. This is in line with other studies which have found that those with more relative power in

inter-group dialogues change more on this dimension. Other than verification of prior works and the understanding of gender as key in multiple ways to inter-group contact outcomes, the key contribution of this study is its expansion of identity concepts and measures.

Sen (2006) points out that belonging to multiple membership groups may be important in different circumstances and that these identities may compete for priority. Sen describes a choice for priority of identities that is without a disavowal of any of them. Identities are plural and possibly divergent. Further, Sen describes the two typical manners by which he sees academic investigations of identity: identity disregard and singular affiliation. These concepts are directly addressed in this work, which first prioritizes identity and its different facets as important in conflict resolution and second qualitatively questions the idea of a singular affiliation, even in regards to the in- and out-groups directly involved in conflict. Sen's idea of multiple affiliations is confirmed in this dissertation, where in-group identification was not lowered due to increased out-group identification; instead identification even amongst those groups with traditional or ethnic tensions in these studies was shown to be non zero-sum.

Change toward a multifaceted identity, especially amongst men who historically have more power and influence in formal business and government settings, alone may be an argument toward the continuation and propagation of inter-group contact programs. Women, however, do not leave without benefiting from inter-group contact as well. Just as women are socialized toward empathy and therefore may show ceiling effects (not having as much room to grow) regarding identification with the other, men tend to already feel knowledgeable and powerful as they are socialized to. Women in the United States have more room to grow in this area, and the programs studied both show marked improvements for female participants in the

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area of self-efficacy. This measure and result is also a novel contribution; something rarely studied prior to this work in the field of inter-group contact.

These results also address concerns, at least partially and in one particular circumstance, related to lower-powered groups in inter-group contact by parsing out different change variables and examining them separately by both gender and religion. Specifically, results demonstrate that there may be other reasons and benefits for lower-powered group members to joining such programs, including increased understanding of them by the higher-powered group and growth in self-efficacy.

The results here speak specifically to gender and not to differences between or among religious or ethnic groups. Addressing and acknowledging these differences may aid in practical applications of peace-building, such as increasing opportunities for women in peace building and helping men better understand issues traditionally referred to as 'women's' or minority issues. In addition, this emphasis on illuminating different contact benefits may be important for understanding what individuals need in order to take part in the process of reconciliation and how to frame programs or frameworks to meet these individuals' needs. This may apply to groups embroiled in inter-group conflict, post-conflict reconciliation, or even to community building between groups experiencing structural inequalities or other more indirect types of inter-group conflict as demonstrated in this work. While there may be multiple causal factors to these findings, these results highlight both a need and an avenue for engaging the topic of gender in peace-building.

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Appendix

The Olive Tree Initiative

OTI Welcome Back Event Poster
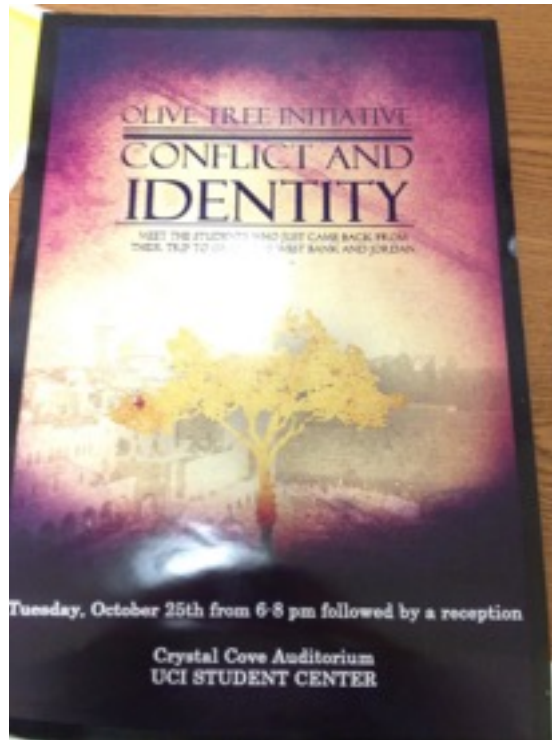
Olive Tree Welcome Back Event Speakers waiting to Speak

Images from OTI 2010 Trip

Speaker from Israeli Jewish Settlement in West Bank

Speaker from Sderot, Israel in Indoor Playground

Speakers from Palestinian Organizations in West Bank

UC Irvine Campus

Pro-Palestinian Week 2010

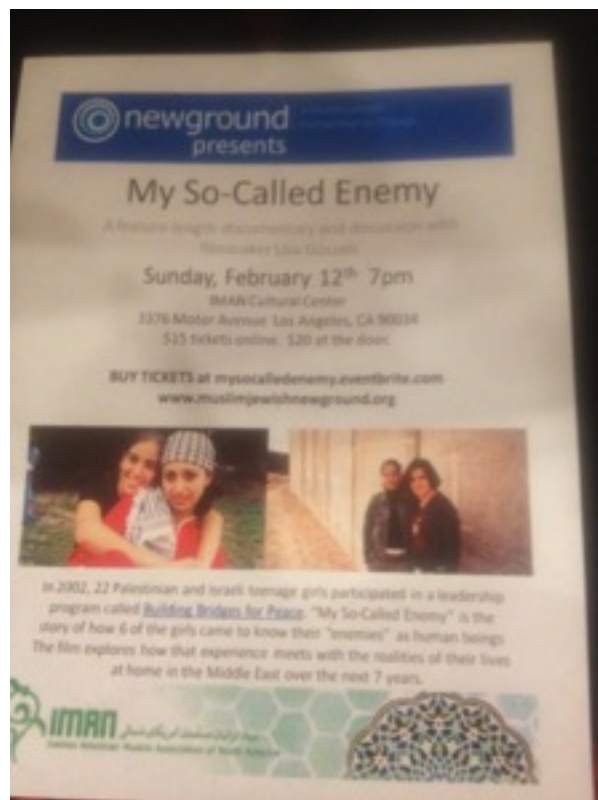

Pro-Palestinian Week 2011

NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change

NewGround Event Flier

NewGround Identity Activity