CONFRONTING THE INTRACTABLE:

AN EVALUATION OF THE SEEDS OF PEACE EXPERIENCE

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public

Abstract

This study investigated the impact of participation in the Seeds of Peace International Summer Camp program on attitudes toward perceived enemies and in-group members. Specifically, individuals' social dominance orientation, stereotype attributions, closeness to own and out-group members, attitudes about peace, beliefs about ability to think independently and ideas about how to facilitate peace were examined. Three groups of adolescents were studied: Israeli, Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers who came from Jordan and Egypt. Two hundred and forty eight adolescents between the ages of 14 and 17 participated in Study 1, and a 62 participant sub-sample of the original group participated in the follow up study. For Study 1, adolescents provided information regarding demographics and responded to the survey questions in person, at the two sessions of the Seeds of Peace International Summer Camp in Oxford Maine during the period of June to August, 2006. Participants completed the questionnaires upon arrival at the camp, and again on their last day in Maine before returning to the Middle East. For the follow up study, the questionnaires were posted on a secure website, where campers from the previous summer could complete the online measure via internet connections. This website was made available ten months after the first group of campers had returned home, and remained live until one year after the first group of campers had arrived in Maine.

The two studies together revealed several important findings. Results from Study 1 indicated that campers from each of the three groups investigated support practices that foster social change. The camp experience did not affect Social Dominance Orientation, however, experiences at the Seeds of Peace summer camp were associated with changed

stereotype attributions of warmth and competence. The results indicated that Israeli, Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers' ratings of warmth and competence were improved with respect to Israelis and Palestinians, although improvements were the result of elevated ratings by the in-group. Participation in the Seeds of Peace summer camp program was not found to affect ratings of Israeli competence by any of the three rating groups; however, Palestinians were rated as more competent by Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers following camp than they were on the initial surveys. Participants' beliefs in the other side's willingness to work toward peace were also more positive following their camp experience. Importantly, the results revealed that participating in this encounter-based program was not associated with a distancing from in-group members, indicating that although the camp experience could be perceived as threatening to group membership, campers were able to remain close with their own group while also becoming closer to the out-group. Campers' suggestions about whom and what need to change in order for there to be peace in the Middle East indicated that the majority of participants believed that both sides needed to make changes to political policies, and to work harder on compromise in order to realize peace.

The results of the follow up study conducted ten months after camp had ended, were also revealing. Generally, participants from each of the three groups rated Israelis and Palestinians differently with respect to warmth, competence, willingness to work for peace, and tendency the to think independently. Ratings of own groups were more elevated than were ratings of out groups, which was consistent with findings from Study 1. Ratings of closeness to own group had not changed after campers were back in their home regions after their camp experience; for Non-Palestinian Arab campers, ratings of

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closeness to the out group were stronger on the follow up survey than they were initially. Consistent with the pre and post camp findings from Study 1, most participants cited compromise and changing political practices as most important for bringing peace to the Middle East. They also indicated that both sides need to make changes in order for there to be peace in the region.

The present research supports previous findings that the use of coexistence programs as a means to improve intergroup relations is generally beneficial in the short term. The results also highlighted the importance of the experience of participating in the Seeds of Peace camp program to changing feelings about the out-group. The significant contributions of the current research include underlining the importance of intergroup contact, the experience of living with perceived enemies, and becoming ready to listen to the other side, in order to change beliefs held about them.

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the courageous young men and women who choose understanding

over hatred, words over weapons and peacemaking over violence.

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An Overview of the Jewish-Israeli and Arab Conflict

The history of the land known today as Israel is one of change. Both the Jewish-Israelis and the Palestinians have their own perspectives on the region's history and original inhabitants. Attempts to accurately record the "true" history of ancient Israel and Palestine depend on the interpretation of both Biblical and modern positions, and require a good deal of assessment of legend and documented fact (Miller & Hayes, 1986).

The Hebrews arrived in Canaan around 1800 B.C.E., and formed settlements alongside the Canaanites. The Hebrews came to Canaan from Mesopotamia, and believed that their God, Yahweh, had promised them this new land. The region's borders have been in dispute from this early beginning. In one section of the book of Genesis, Yahweh offers the lands between the Euphrates and the Nile to Abraham, but in another, He promises only Canaan. Not all of the Hebrews stayed in Canaan. Some emigrated to Egypt, where they were subsequently enslaved. In a series of battles, and with Moses as their leader, they pushed northward back to Canaan, enslaving many of the Canaanites (Epp, 1970; Ciment, 1996). At approximately the same time as the Hebrews arrived in Canaan, so did the Philistines, the ancient ancestors of modern Palestinians. They became the most serious rivals of the Hebrews, who by this time were known as Israelites. The two groups clashed over such issues as land entitlement and religious ideology (Epp, 1970; Ciment, 1996).

King Solomon of the Israelites commissioned the building of the First Temple of Jerusalem, and re-named the kingdom as Judea. Following Solomon's death, Assyrians conquered part of the kingdom, and the Babylonians captured Jerusalem and destroyed the Temple. They also captured and exiled the priestly and aristocratic caste of Israelites.

The Israelites who were not captured by the Babylonians scattered across the Middle East. Since the third century B.C.E., the land was repeatedly conquered by the Hittites, Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks and Romans. In the fifth century B.C.E., the Babylonian Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem by the ruling Hellenistic kingdoms that survived Alexander the Great. These states gave way to the Roman Empire and Emperor Antipater of the first century B.C.E. This period saw the building of the Second Temple of Jerusalem, on the same spot as the First Temple had been. By the year 66 C.E., the Judean uprising had begun. Soon after came the second Diaspora which brought destruction of the Second Temple in the year 70 C.E. (Epp, 1970; Ciment, 1996). After the Roman conquest and the destruction of the second temple, the Jewish people were scattered across Europe and the Middle East and specifically barred from entering Jerusalem (Ciment, 1996).

In the period following Alexander's conquests (approximately 332 B.C.E. until approximately 640 C.E.), the Middle East was dominated by Greek and Latin-speaking rulers (Miller & Hayes, 1986). The rise of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula led to the Arab conquest of Jerusalem in 638 C.E., six years after the death of the prophet Mohammed. Once under Arab control, Jerusalem became a holy centre for Muslims. The Mosque Al-Aksa had stood since Byzantine times, and in approximately 691 C.E., construction of the Dome of the Rock was completed. It was believed to be constructed upon the rock which had been visited by Mohammed, and where Abraham prepared to offer Isaac to God (Epp, 1970).

Until the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century, Palestine was ruled by a succession of Arab spiritual leaders, known as caliphs, headquartered in Baghdad and

Damascus. Under the Ottomans, Palestine was administered as though it were split in two – the western portion was controlled by Baghdad, while the eastern portion was controlled by Damascus and treated as an annex of Syria. Jerusalem itself was treated as a semiautonomous sub-province within Syria (Epp, 1970; Ciment, 1996). By the end of the nineteenth century, an intellectual and cultural revolution began with the Arabs living in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Ottoman Empire was beginning to fall, and reformist Sultans appealed to the Arab masses to drive out Europeans, such as the British and French, who were viewed as interlopers (Ciment, 1996). Arab nationalism reached its apex with the expulsion of the British and French from Arab areas, such as the Middle East and north-eastern Africa, and with the creation of several independent Arab states (Alexander & Kittrie, 1973). It was widely believed by the Arabs that the final integration of the Arab people would not be complete until "the last vestiges of imperialism" had been removed from the Middle East (Alexander & Kittrie, 1973; 3). The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the end of World War I set the stage for current Middle Eastern politics (Miller & Hayes, 1986).

Despite a continued Jewish presence in the region throughout the years, many Jews had been expelled by the Romans and Babylonians. Those who had left their homes following the expulsion did not return to the region until the late 1800s, under the influence of the Zionist movement and the growing prevalence of anti-Semitic policies in Europe. The organization of the Zionist movement began in 1897, with Jewish leaders formally calling for the restoration of the Jewish national home in Palestine (Bard, 2001). The movement emphasizes the national, as well as the religious and cultural affinity of the Jews, and views the creation of Israel as its highest achievement (Alexander &

Kittrie, 1973). Upon their arrival in the land their ancestors once called home, the Jewish

pioneers were faced with a population of Palestinians who had laid claim to the land.

The Palestinians viewed these new arrivals as invaders, just as they had viewed the

British and Ottomans who had occupied their land in the past (Guyatt, 1999). In the

1930s, a local Arab leader named Auni Bey Abdul-Hadi suggested that the sudden influx

of Jewish Zionists threatened the security of Arab property and homes (Bard, 2001). This

conflict over ancestral rights to the land escalated further when Zionist leaders declared it

to be their own, promised to them from God, and that the Palestinians had no such claim

to it (Bard, 2001).

Following the Holocaust, in which almost one-third of the world's Jewish

population were murdered, the call for a Jewish homeland became even stronger (Guyatt,

1999). In 1947, when Jews began arriving en masse, violent conflict erupted over

settlement and land rights. Haganah, the Israeli army, was founded to ensure the safe

passage of supplies and people from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The founding of the state of

Israel in 1948 and the immediate invasion by neighbouring Arab nations marked the

beginning of over half a century of continuous conflict (Guyatt, 1998; Bard, 2001).

In the months before June 1967, Egypt expelled the United Nations Emergency

Force from the Sinai Peninsula, increased its military activity near the border, and called

for unified Arab action against Israel. In June 1967, the Israeli army launched a pre-

emptive attack on Egypt's air force. Jordan then attacked the Israeli cities of Jerusalem

and Netanya. By the end of the war, Israel had gained control of the Gaza Strip, the Sinai

Peninsula, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. The outcome of this war has had a

lasting affect on the geopolitics of the region (Ciment, 1997; Guyatt, 1999; Lapping &

Percy, 2000). The influx of Jews that began in the 1950s and the Six-Day War in 1967

acted as catalysts for Palestinian-Arab nationalism becoming a significant political

movement, especially after Israel's capture of the West Bank (Bard, 2001).

<center>Perceived Intractability of the Conflict</center>

Despite many attempts at making peace, such as the signing of the Oslo accord in

1993, hardship and conflict have still been prominent aspects of the social climate

(Guyatt, 1998). It is this ideological confrontation between Arab and Jewish nationalism

that fuels the core conflict between these two groups. Jewish Zionist and Palestinian

Nationalist narratives undermine the rights of the other to land and homes (Alexander &

Kittrie, 1973). Denouncing the claims of Palestinian nationalists, Zionists point to the

fact that there has never been an official political or administrative entity known as

Palestine (Ciment, 1996). Palestinian nationalists point out that they have been

dispossessed of their homeland by war, annexation and Jewish colonization (Stephan,

Hertz-Lazarowitz, Zelniker & Stephan, 2004). Destroying or discrediting the other

group's narrative is central in the establishment and maintenance of the ongoing conflict

(Gur-Ze'ev, 1999).

When adversaries have grave doubts about the ability of achieving any major

breakthroughs in negotiations, resolution is least likely to be achieved (Ross & Stillinger,

1991). The numerous failed attempts at resolving the conflict between Jewish Israelis

and Palestinian Arabs likely contributes to the view that conflict between these two

groups is intractable. In addition to such a bleak view, both sides also see themselves as

victims, perpetuating the cycle of violence between the Israelis and the Palestinians

(Nadler, 2002; Nadler & Liviathan, 2004; Nadler & Liviathan, 2006). According to

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Scheff (1994), secure social systems allow for bonds to form between groups, even if intergroup relations have not always been positive. Protracted conflict causes these bonds to become broken, and result in intensely negative emotions such as shame and rage. Instead of working toward repairing social bonds, people become entrenched in their negative way of thinking about the other side, which detracts from the motivation to resolve the conflict.

Furthermore, categorizing others on the basis of group identity has been associated with changes in perceptions of those others. They may be seen as "guilty by association," despite having no personal involvement in the conflict (Branscombe, Slugoski & Kappen, 2004), which may in turn perpetuate hostile feelings toward the other side. Research has shown however, that re-categorizing former out-group members as belonging to a more inclusive super-ordinate category can lead to reductions in inter-group conflict and antipathy (Sherif, 1958; Gaertner et al., 1993). In the Middle East, dialogue programs and conflict resolution workshops are designed to develop warmer relations between Jewish and Arab people (Abu-Nimer, 1999). When the Intifadat al-Aksa began in October, 2001, the ability of educators to bring Jewish-Israelis and Arabs together for these planned encounters became more difficult than it had previously been (Halabi, 2002). Despite the increased efforts made by members of both sides, the divide between Jews and Arabs has grown wider since the October 2001 uprising (Rabinowitz & Abu-Baker, 2002).

The current research is intended to gain an understanding of the deep-seated resentment of both sides and the processes by which this resentment can turn into tolerance. It is an attempt to understand the psychological factors that contribute to the

conflict resolution process, and to explore the effects of inter-group contact. Specifically, two studies will examine whether a coexistence program that brings together Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian adolescents can help these young adults to move past the perceived intractability of intergroup conflict, learn to communicate with their enemies, and establish and maintain more positive attitudes toward the other side.

This research will attempt to illuminate whether coexistence training, provided to participants in the Seeds of Peace program, changes attitudes and perceptions of conflict. The results obtained and the conclusions drawn from this research have real-world relevance and application: to understand why the Arab-Israeli conflict is so intractable, we must understand the people involved, and how they feel about the other side. This research provides a formal evaluation of the immediate and longer-term effects of the Seeds of Peace summer camp program by investigating campers' attitudes and beliefs about the other. Such an evaluation of the Seeds of Peace program has not previously been undertaken, and the results will assist the organization in understanding the specific impact of their programming on the youth of Israel, Palestine and other Middle Eastern countries.

<div align="center">Seeds of Peace</div>

In 1993, John Wallach was working as a journalist in Washington D.C. He was a foreign correspondent on the Middle East, and after the first attacks on the World Trade Center that year, he became inspired to take action. Wallach approached Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres at a dinner party, and asked him whether Israel would be willing to send some young people to a camp designed to promote peace if it were in the United States. Peres agreed, and Wallach promptly made a toast announcing Seeds of Peace. He

then challenged Egyptian ambassador Sayed Ahmed al Maher to also agree. Ahmed al Maher did, and the first session at the Seeds of Peace International Camp began in Oxford County, Maine. Wallach insisted that the camp be located there, because that location is neutral for both groups of campers, and the environment is idyllic and peaceful (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000).

The first summer, the Seeds of Peace camp was for males only, and hosted 20 Israelis, 15 Palestinians and 10 Egyptians. Following pressure from the media, the organization and participating countries allowed girls to attend the program. The composition of the camp's total population is engineered so that 40% of the campers are Israeli, and 50% of the Arabs are Palestinian. In total, Palestinians and Israelis make up approximately two thirds of the campers (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000). In the summer of 2006, the Middle Eastern campers were joined by 14 campers from India, 14 from Pakistan, two from Afghanistan, and some small groups of Americans, who were included in programming in order to provide them with exposure to different cultures and points of view. The participants in the Seeds of Peace program are between the ages of 14 and 17 years old, which is an important age. Morally, they are still open to changing their beliefs of what is right and wrong, and are at the stage of moral development where peers are the most influential factor in decision making (e.g., Kohlberg & Kramer, 1969).

Campers are escorted from their home countries by an adult, usually an educator from their country. These adults, called Delegation Leaders, meet with their groups twice weekly, and act as resources for the campers. They participate in their own coexistence program with the leaders from the other delegations.

The first few days of camp are difficult for the Delegation Leaders and the campers. Many of the children are afraid of one another and refuse to sleep on the first night when they are expected to stay in the same bunks as campers from their conflict groups (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000).

The campers become members of three small groups, in addition to the overall camp cohort: their bunk, which has eight campers; their table in the dining hall, which has ten campers, and their coexistence group, which has twelve campers. To ensure open communication, English is the only official language spoken while at camp. When the rule is broken, campers are immediately asked to translate what they had said (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000).

Sports are used as a psychological unifier and as a tool to increase self-confidence. The campers have the opportunity to partake in water and land sports with teams composed of young people from all of the regions represented at camp, and are encouraged to cheer one another on if they are not directly involved in the game. Campers are constantly reminded of how valuable their experience at camp is, and are encouraged to make the most out of every moment (Wilson, T.[1], August 19, 2005, personal correspondence). In order to increase group cohesiveness and promote awareness, each morning the camp flag and the delegation flags are raised and the national anthems of each represented nation are sung (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000).

The stereotypes that the campers hold of one another are often a result of their experiences and home environment. The noun "Arab" is an insult in Hebrew slang – for

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[1] Tim Wilson is the director of the Seeds of Peace International Summer Camp, and was also a director of the Centre for Coexistence in Jerusalem.

example, if you do not play soccer well, you are said to "play like an Arab" (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000; 14). On the other side, one Palestinian school book that was in use as recently as the year 2000 reported that Jews will abandon their deceitful ways "when the donkeys stop braying and the serpents stop biting" (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000; 14). John Wallach held the belief that the most effective way to break down such stereotypes was through building personal relationships. As a result, the campers are strongly encouraged to make at least one friend from their conflict group.

Each day, for an hour and a half, the campers participate in coexistence sessions. During these sessions, they have the opportunity to express their opinions, challenge one another, and share their reactions to camp and to current world events. The sessions are composed of mixed nationalities, for example, one coexistence group could include four Israelis, four Palestinians, and four Egyptians, Jordanians or Americans. The coexistence facilitators use a variety of techniques to build rapport and trust and to encourage the campers to get to know one another. Role plays, photographs, art, music, and discussions are all used to achieve the goal of opening lines of communication (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000).

When the campers arrive for coexistence sessions, meeting new people forces them to confront the stereotypes that they hold. Early in the camp session, the discussions that take place during coexistence focus on heated issues like the Holocaust and the establishment of a Palestinian state. The campers rarely listen to each other; instead they use the time when someone is speaking to prepare their own next statement (Wilson T., August 19, 2005, personal correspondence). At times, the campers may become emotional or angry at themselves or their fellow delegation members. Often,

they are influenced by what they have learned of their own national narrative. It is the role of Seeds of Peace to help them work through their feelings, and help them reconcile their new feelings about the other side with the information they have learned (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000). It is usually during the second week of the camp session that the campers become tired of fighting and decide to start to listen and work with one another (Wilson T., August 19, 2005, personal correspondence).

While every precaution is taken to ensure the safety of the campers and staff at Seeds of Peace, there are occasional crises that arise. There are two types of crises: internal, which result from situations that develop at the camp; and external, which are caused by events and pressures in the world away from Maine. A terrorist bombing, for example, would constitute an external crisis. When these circumstances arise, campers are challenged to keep trusting their new friends and talk though the event. It is often during these situations that the camp reaches an important turning point (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000).

When the campers return to their homes, they are thrown back into an environment that fosters hatred and prejudice. Camp directors have suggested that many of the campers are nervous about going back home and explaining their experience to friends and family. Many campers have indicated through Internet-based chat boards that they go through rejection, isolation, blame and ridicule and they must decide whether to hold onto their camp experience or to shut it out (Worchel, 2005). Some choose to confront their friends and family the way they were confronted during dialogue sessions at camp, challenging their beliefs about the other side. They are forced to change their

social systems, because they realize that the status quo is no longer sufficient (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000; Wilson, 2005, personal communication).

To support camp alumni, Seeds of Peace publishes a newspaper and maintains a website with discussion boards that campers can use to keep in contact with one another. Additionally, until the autumn of 2006 they staffed the Seeds of Peace Center for Coexistence in Jerusalem. Through their regional offices, Seeds of Peace maintains contact with hundreds of camp graduates, and organizes events such as seasonal four-day seminars, advanced coexistence programs, language courses and speaking engagements for campers in the area.

Psychological Barriers to Conflict Resolution

Barriers to conflict resolution are strategic or psychological processes that cause negotiations and problem solving to be more difficult. Employing deliberate negotiation strategies, such as deception or secrecy in order to achieve a goal create strategic barriers to conflict resolution (Ross & Stillinger, 1991). For example, one side or both may negotiate in a fashion that conceals opportunities for compromise or exchange which could be beneficial to each side (Ross & Stillinger, 1991). Psychological barriers are cognitive in nature, and relate to the psychological effects of the conflict process. They include situations where parties seek advances that are proportionate to the weight of their respective claims (Ross & Stillinger, 1991; Bazerman, Lowenstien & White, 1992). Two parties are likely to have different views on the nature of the conflict that they are trying to reduce through the negotiation process; each side is likely to feel that they have been more frequently wronged, and are more entitled to have their concerns heard (Asch,

1952; Ross & Stillinger, 1991). Programs such as Seeds of Peace strive to overcome these psychological barriers.

Group status can greatly affect the attitude of group members toward intergroup contact and conflict resolution efforts. In Israel, Jewish Israelis are the majority, higher status group, where Palestinians are the minority, lower status group (Maoz, 2000). Psychologically, members of majority and minority groups have their own challenges with which to contend when considering participation in cross-group encounters (Devine & Vasquez, 1998). The concerns of the majority status group typically involve being perceived as prejudiced by those in lower status groups, while the minority status group is typically more concerned with becoming the object of prejudice by those in higher-status positions (Plant & Devine, 2003; Shelton, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). In cross-group interactions, majority status group members do not tend to consider themselves in terms of status (e.g., Pinel, 1999; Leach, Snider & Iyer, 2002), whereas minority status group members tend to be aware of their position as the lower status group (Goffman, 1963; Jones, 1984). As such, they have more negative expectations for intergroup encounters (e.g., Tropp, 2005).

A meta-analysis conducted by Tropp & Pettigrew (2005) indicated that the prejudicial attitudes expressed by members of majority and minority groups during contact experiences vary significantly in terms of the social status of the groups involved. Tropp & Pettigrew (2005) suggest that for members of lower status groups, ongoing salience of their own group's devalued status may inhibit the potential for positive outcomes of contact with higher status groups. Alternatively, members of majority-status groups are not likely to experience this type of continual devaluation. These results

suggest that exposure to prejudice from the majority-status group can create more negative feelings about one's own group, if they are in the minority (Tropp, 2003).

Culture and ethnicity are closely related concepts that are major drivers in defining the lines between in- and out-groups. In a recent study, Shelton, Richeson and Salvatore (2005) members of ethnic minority groups who expected to be the target of prejudice experienced more negative emotional reactions during intergroup contact with the ethnic majority group. Minority group members who did not expect to be the target of prejudice were found to voluntarily disclose less information compared with those who had anticipated prejudice (Shelton, Richeson & Salvatore, 2005). Individuals' levels of implicit racial bias are associated with behaviours reflective of greater discomfort during interracial relations (Dovidio et al., 1997). Furthermore, people who harbour more negative explicit racial attitudes have been found to activate stereotypes more readily than individuals with less explicitly biased attitudes (Lepore & Brown, 1997). These findings have major implications for conflict resolution between in-groups and out-groups, in that these interracial biases, negative attitudes and fear of prejudice may hinder progress.

Ethnocentrism is the tendency to view the world from the perspective of one's own culture (e.g., LeVine & Campbell, 1972), and is a further psychological barrier to inter-group conflict resolution. Programs that bring together individuals from opposing sides of a conflict are progressing in the right direction; however, even these programs put individuals who are willing to make the first move at risk for ostracism from their own group (Worchel, 2005). Ethnocentric conflict is difficult to resolve because the issues are so ingrained into each group's social identity. Each side believes in its

superiority, which provides a foundation for ethnocentric attitudes (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Bar-Tal, 1990). Within the context of intergroup conflict, violence or political strife erupts as a result of contradictory goals and interests held by groups over such issues as territory, religion and values. Some of these conflicts are tractable, resolved quickly through the use of institutionalized processes. Others, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict are intractable and carry on for decades with violence and deep animosity (Bar-Tal, Kruglanski & Klar, 1989; Bar-Tal, 1990; Bar-Tal, 1998).

Models of Intergroup Relations within the Jewish-Arab Conflict

The Contact Model

The Contact Model proposes that personal experience with the other side enhances opportunities for mutual acquaintance and understanding among interacting group members (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969). Contact often changes attitudes and relations between diverse ethnic groups, and interpersonal experience with members of an out-group has been associated with acceptance of those out-group members (Miller & Brewer, 1984). According to a meta-analysis of the available literature written on the Contact Hypothesis, greater intergroup contact leads to less intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Additionally, Allport (1954) has suggested several conditions that should be met in order for contact to have a positive impact. These conditions include support for the contact by authority figures, equal status of interacting groups, and cooperation between these interacting groups (see Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Amir & Ben-Ari, 1985 for full reviews). Sherif's (1958) *Robber's Cave* studies showed that when assigned given superordinate goals and equal footing, the "Rattlers" and "Eagles" were able to effectively work together to successfully solve problems that neither group

of boys could have solved alone. Furthermore, the successes experienced led to reduced friction and an overall feeling of camaraderie by the end of the study (Sherif, 1958; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961).

The intergroup situation between the Jews and Arabs in Israel creates difficulty in bringing the two populations together within the suggested conditions to participate in a contact situation. Among the threats to Allport's conditions are the perceived separation of the two sides and inequity in terms of group size, which create objective barriers that prevent positive contact (Ben-Ari & Amir, 1985; 1989). These barriers are further compounded by language problems, as many Jews and Arabs do not speak one another's languages (Ben-Ari, 2004). Perhaps the greatest challenge to present-day contact situations in Israel is that close relations between Arabs and Jews are considered to be highly undesirable and threatening by both sides (Ben-Ari, 2004).

Within the context of Seeds of Peace, the main function of participating in the summer camp program is to encourage contact between young members of conflicting groups. From the moment that campers arrive until the moment that they return home, they are forced to live with one another, and hear what fellow campers have to say. In many cases, the campers become close to those from the other side of the conflict, and may even consider keeping contact with them after the camp experience has ended. At camp, everyone is encouraged to use English as a means to communicate, in order to avoid language barriers. They are encouraged to participate in sporting activities, thus providing super-ordinate goals to work toward. More than anything else, they are encouraged to really speak with and listen to the other side, as well as to understand their pain, their struggle and the reason for their participation in the camp program. Support

for the contact hypothesis would manifest as more positive attitudes and more specifically, increased feelings of closeness toward the out-group.

The Information Model

According to the Information Model, (Triandis, 1975) it is possible to improve intergroup relations by providing information about the groups to one another via media or educational programs. If ignorance breeds prejudice (e.g., Stephan & Stephan, 1984), information that is inconsistent with stereotypes is likely to weaken the connection between the category label and stereotypic characteristics (Stangor & Lange, 1994). In turn, enhancing familiarity with the target group increases the likelihood that new cognitive representations will be established with regard to out-group members (e.g., Brewer, 1988). Several cognitive processes are at work during exposure to information that can hinder the process of accommodating new and possibly contradictory, information to previously formed schemas (Fiske & Neuberg, 1989). These include the tendency to prefer in-group characteristics, even in the absence of conflict with the out-group (Tajfel, 1981); social categorization, which can accentuate in-group similarities (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Tajfel & Turner, 2001); and the cognitive processing of new information (Fiske & Neuberg, 1989). Finally, people tend to seek out and attend to information that confirms their negative expectations about the out-group (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Despite these barriers, some positive effects of information have been reported; training based on the Information Model has yielded positive change toward Egyptians amongst a specifically selected group of Jewish-Israeli students who participated in an organized trip to Egypt. Specifically, Jewish-Israeli students who received specially-designed booklets about Egypt and Egyptians before embarking on the

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trip gave more positive appraisals and indicated more positive attitudes toward Egyptians following the trip than did students who did not receive the booklet (Amir & Ben-Ari, 1985).

At the Seeds of Peace camp, daily dialogue sessions are conducted in order to encourage the campers to speak to one another about their values, experiences, culture and feelings about the conflict. They are given assistance with talking about contentious issues, in the context of an educational session, guided by trained facilitators. Questions are encouraged, and campers are asked to speak out loud about their concerns. Often, campers challenge one another during dialogue sessions, but eventually come to see that the other side has made some valid arguments and points (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000). The information model predicts that accommodating new facts and ideas about the out-group will lead to the fading of stereotypes and more positive evaluations of the other side's attitudes. In the case of Seeds of Peace, learning new information about the other side should result in more positive evaluations of out-group attitudes about making and maintaining peace and ability to base decisions on facts, rather than propaganda.

The Metacognitive Model

According to the Metacognitive Model (Ben-Ari, 2004), discovering the consequences of stereotyping and bias can lead to more positive perceptions of the out group. The model is based on the concept that thinking about our thoughts can aid in self-monitoring and allow individuals to evaluate their progress in processing information (Jost, Kruglanski & Nelson, 1998). The purpose of engaging in such thought processes is to develop an understanding of the biases inherent to each side's position. Such training

is assumed to make individuals more cautious in their social judgements and perceptions (Ben-Ari, 2004).

Training programs that teach metacognitive awareness focus on processes like social categorization, in- and out-group distinctions and stereotyped thinking. These programs draw attention to the undesirable consequences of such thinking, and foster greater openness to new information regarding the out-group. Prescriptive elements are also emphasized, with special consideration given to how one should think in order to prevent socially ignorant judgement-making (Ben-Ari, 2004).

When campers first arrive at the Seeds of Peace summer camp, many are highly-guarded, and highly self-monitoring. Nobody wants to be seen as a sympathizer with the other side right away (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000). By participating in camp programming and dialogue sessions, and by becoming familiar with table and bunk mates, the campers may begin to challenge themselves in terms of how they regard the other side, and how they regard their own side of the conflict as well. According to the Metacognitive Model, the campers will begin to realize that part of their reason for regarding the other side negatively is because of the stereotypes they hold to be true about out group members. As such, the camp experience should be associated with a change in personal biases about campers' own attitudes about willingness to engage in the peace process and ability to make decisions for themselves.

Intergroup Contact through Planned Encounters

The field of bringing conflicting parties together to gain personal experience with one another is known as "encounter work" (e.g., Katz & Kahanov, 1990; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004; Halabi, Sonnenschein & Friedman, 2004; Suleiman, 2004). The

primary goals of this sort of contact between groups are to raise awareness and sensitivity to the personal experiences of out-group members, and to encourage empathy between conflicting parties. Facilitators tend to emphasize similarities between group members, in the hopes that the other side will be viewed as human, rather than being vilified (Katz & Kahanov, 1990). This type of work ties three models of intergroup relations together by focusing programming on the strengths of each. Bringing the groups together in a controlled environment is consistent with the Contact Model of intergroup relations. In many cases, participants are challenged to confront the stereotypes and assumptions that they have of one another and are encouraged to correct these biases, consistent with both the Information and Metacognitive Models.

Intergroup encounters are important, because they provide participants with the tools that will empower them analyze, and subsequently change their social reality. Coexistence workshops that have taken place in Israel are generally designed along a continuum that places human relations at one end, and conflict resolution at the other. The human relations approach is meant to emphasize the common ground among participants from both sides (Miller & Brewer, 1984), whereas the conflict resolution approach is intended to emphasize participants' roles as representatives of their delegations, and encourage them bridge the goals of each side (Abu-Nimer, 1999).

Interactions that occur at an interpersonal level versus those that occur at the intergroup level are a constant dilemma in Jewish-Arab planned encounters. This issue can be conceptualized as the outlook of the 'political being' versus the 'psychological being'. Arab participants tend to lean towards a political group orientation, along with a relative avoidance of exposing differences of opinion among themselves (Katz &

Kahanov, 1990). The Arab participants and facilitators have also been found to favour

political topics, whereas Jewish participants prefer to focus on more neutral issues (Maoz,

2000a, 2000b). Jewish participants also tend to show more vulnerability in terms of

expressing doubt (Katz & Kahanov, 1990). The Arab participants' behaviour may be a

reflection of their desire to make their side known to the majority (Maoz, 2000a).

In order for coexistence workshops to be successful, Suleiman (2004) suggested

that encounters must be managed in such a way that dialogue is encouraged and

supported. The development of facilitation techniques suitable for politically charged

group interaction is also essential.

Planned Encounters in the Real World

Peace education programs are not uncommon in the Middle East, but results

appear to vary. Biton (2002) found that Jewish and Palestinian participants in a school-

based peace education program that involved students reading about the other side were

less likely to support war as a means of attaining group goals than were non-participants,

after the educational intervention ended. Furthermore, hostility toward Jews increased

among Palestinian non-participants, but not among Palestinians who had been a part of

the peace education program (Biton, 2002). Conversely, Bar-Natan (2004) suggested that

while friendship plays a role in the propensity to legitimize the perspective of the other

side, these effects may be only temporary, and people may return to their prejudices and

stereotypes once time passes and they are away from members of the other side.

In 1979, the School for Peace (SFP) was founded in the Jewish-Arab village of

Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam. At the time of its founding, the SFP was home to 50

Jewish and Arab families who came together to search for ways to advance peace. More

than 30,000 Jews and Palestinians have taken part in SFP projects since the inception of the institution (Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004). School for Peace encounter workshops generally are comprised of 14-16 Jews and Arabs. Each group is headed by two facilitators; one Jewish, the other Palestinian. These workshops are guided by three assumptions: that people's identities and behaviours are based upon stable, deep-seated conceptions and beliefs that are resistant to change (e.g., Bion, 1961); that the "group" is more than the sum of its individual members (e.g., Brown & Hewstone, 1986; Tafjel & Turner, 1986); and that within the small group is a microcosm of reality wherein all elements existing in society at large may be found (e.g., Freud, 1921). For a full discussion of these assumptions, see Halabi & Sonnenschein (2004). Within the encounters at the SFP, power relations tend to change only when the Arab group (the historically more subordinate group) becomes stronger, which forces the Jewish group (the historically more dominant group) to change (Sonnenschein, Halabi & Friedman, 1998).

In 1992, Bargal and Bar described a series of three-day workshops held at the SFP for Palestinian and Jewish-Israeli youths. Over 3,000 adolescents participated between 1985 and 1988. The workshops began with a warm-up session, devoted to contact-building among participants and facilitators. During this opening, participants discussed their expectations and desires for the workshops, and then designed a realistic plan. Meaningful acquaintanceships were formed through the use of interpersonal techniques and games, as well as spending free time in a mixed setting.

The second day of the workshop was devoted to activities that allowed the participants to become more familiar with one another's culture through discussions of

issues like parent-child relationships and home life. Discussions also focused on the

differences between the more traditional Arabic culture and the more westernized Jewish

culture. The final day was spent focusing on identity formation. Political and social

aspects of self-identity were discussed and participants were required to face the

problems of stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination behaviours. Each side, with the

help of the facilitators, acknowledged that their group's actions had a negative impact on

the other side (Bargal & Bar, 1992).

Overall findings indicated that both groups benefited from the workshop with

regard to three areas: Sincerity and openness to the other group, readiness to make and

maintain contact with the other group, and ability to "live with" the conflict (Bargal &

Bar, 1992; 150). In the years these workshops were conducted, the television and radio

media as well as the educational system outside of the strictly Palestinian areas were pro-

Israeli, which may have bolstered in-group support amongst Israeli participants. The

authors suggest that results observed from the Palestinian participants may be attributed

to the contact experience. While the results of these workshops appear promising, it is

essential to bear in mind that the Arab-Jewish conflict is (in many ways) a win-lose

situation, making workshops extremely complex for the participants and facilitators

(Bargal & Bar, 1990a; 1992).

Aside from intergroup conflict, a major problem with the Arab-Israeli conflict is

that lines have been drawn within groups themselves. "Doves" favour negotiation and

problem solving with the out-group, and have an orientation towards cooperation and

making concessions. "Hawks" favour a tough defence of collective interests, value

determination, and have an orientation toward struggle (Rubin, Pruitt & Kim, 1994; Rouhana, O'Dwyer & Morrison-Vaso, 1997).

Maoz (2003) attempted to examine how Doves and Hawks within the Jewish-Israeli side respond to grassroots meetings with Palestinians. Approximately 100 students from Israeli and Palestinian high schools participated in two-day encounters during the spring of 1998. Results were based on pre- and post-encounter surveys, as well as observations at the coexistence sessions. Despite the pre-encounter attitudes of the Hawks, these planned encounters were found to induce a favourable change in the attitudes of both factions. Following participation, the Doves were highly satisfied with the encounter, and viewed it as improving their attitude toward the other side. The Hawks, however, gave lower satisfaction ratings, but did show a significant increase in feelings of social closeness toward the other side following the encounter (Maoz, 2003).

In order to study the effects of participation in the Seeds of Peace summer camp program, the initial characteristics of the Israeli, Palestinian, and non-Palestinian Arab groups were examined through the use of surveys that were administered before and after camp. By investigating the responses given to the questions posed, the goal was to find out whether certain characteristics of each group influence the degree to which attitudes change toward the other side, and whether these are similar characteristics for all three groups.

Study 1 Measures and Predictions

Demographic Questionnaire

      The first questionnaire in the pre-camp survey package was a short demographic questionnaire (see Appendix A). Items pertained to the camper's age, number of years of formal education, city of residence, family members living in the home, and access to television and internet in the home. This information was collected in order to compare responses from people of the same and differing cultural groups and home regions. The campers were assured that the information that they provided through this questionnaire would be used only to report on general trends, rather than singling out their own responses.

Question 1: Does the Seeds of Peace camp experience lead campers to change their evaluations of social hierarchies in their home regions?

Social Dominance Orientation Scale[2]

      Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) is a construct that measures the degree to which members of a society minimize group conflicts by creating consensus on ideologies that promote the superiority of one group over another (Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994). In general, minority group members may evaluate the social status quo as unfair, and will try to narrow the social distance between themselves and the majority, whereas the majority group may evaluate the social status quo as acceptable (Suleiman, 2004). The SDO scale that was used in this research was a slightly modified version of the Pratto et al. (1994) scale that was designed to

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[2] It is important to note that the majority of measures used in this study have typically been used to study the attitudes and beliefs of American college students.

measure the extent to which one desires that their own group dominate over out-groups in a social context.

The SDO scale that was included in the survey package for the Seeds of Peace campers was an eight-item inventory (see Appendix B). The campers were asked to rate their responses to the items using a Likert scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree with the statement) to 7 (strongly agree with the statement). The items represent social views that participants may hold (e.g., "Some people are more deserving than others"). Of the eight SDO questions, four are reverse coded (e.g., "All humans should be treated equally) in order to obtain a total SDO score. As a measure, the SDO scale used for Study 1 taps into the degree to which campers have changed the way they think about their social relationship with the other side during their time at camp. Test reliability for this scale has been assessed using American, Arab-Israeli, Jewish Israeli and Lebanese participants, and was established to range from .78 for a Jewish Israeli sample to .92 for an American sample (Levin & Sidanius, 1999; Henry, Sidanius, Levin & Pratto, 2005). The inter-item reliability of the 8-item SDO scale was assessed using the current study's data, and was .73.

The first research question investigates whether the experience at the Seeds of Peace camp was associated with changed evaluations of the legitimacy of inequity in the social system present in campers' home regions. Specifically, I predict that:

1.1.1 The camp experience will result in lowered Social Dominance Orientation, as a result of integrating new information about the out-group.

Scores on the SDO measure should decrease (indicating a more egalitarian attitude), suggesting that a shift in attitude away from the current social hierarchies is

associated with the contact and camp experience. Learning more about the other side

should show campers that the current social hierarchies are not mutually beneficial, and

should thus result in a decrease in SDO.

Question 2: Does the experience at the Seeds of Peace camp foster a change in

attitudes toward the other side?

Stereotyping Inventory

Stereotype Content (e.g., Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 2002) proposes that the two

primary dimensions of stereotyping are competence and warmth, although mixed clusters

combine high warmth with low competence to create a paternalistic cluster; or high

competence with low warmth to create an envious cluster. The paternalistic cluster

depicts the out-group as disrespected, but pitied (Katz, Wackenhut & Hass, 1986),

whereas the envious cluster depicts the out-group as highly competent, but not warm.

Jewish people have been perceived enviously by American college students, due to anti-

Semitic notions of a Jewish economic conspiracy (Glick & Fiske, 2001a, 2001b). Recent

research conducted on stereotypes of Palestinians by Muslims in Israel indicates that

Palestinians are perceived as moderately warm and moderately competent (Cuddy, Fiske

& Glick *in press*). By linking intergroup attitudes to status and independence, stereotype

content suggests how prejudice is likely to be affected by changing the social

circumstances under which groups relate to one another (Fiske et al., 2002). This

measure also taps into the Contact model and the Information model of interpersonal

relations, as it can be used to assess the degree to which participants have changed the

way they think about the other side following a direct encounter and opportunity to

accommodate new information into previously existing schemas. The relationship

developed with out-group members should therefore impact ratings of out-group warmth and competence.

This measure was designed by choosing six warmth and two competence items from the original list of 27 items studied by Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick (2002). These items were chosen to balance high and low warmth and high and low competence (see Appendix C). The campers were asked to rate Arab-Israelis, Americans, Egyptians, Indians, Israelis, Jordanians, Pakistanis, and Palestinians along these eight characteristics, and also to rate themselves as individuals on the same eight items. Ratings were made according to a five-point Likert scale, where a rating of 1 indicated strong disagreement with the characteristic, and a rating of 5 indicated strong agreement with the characteristic. Scale reliability was originally assessed to range from .90 for warmth items to .97 for competence items (Fiske, Cuddy, Xu & Glick, 2002). The scale reliabilities for Warmth and Competence were assessed for the current study, and were established to be .53 for Israeli Warmth, .67 for Israeli Competence, .51 for Palestinian Warmth and .52 for Palestinian Competence.

The second research question investigates whether the contact experience with the other side fosters attitude change amongst the Middle Eastern groups at camp. Two hypotheses are associated with the role of stereotyping:

1.1.2   The accommodation of new information, coupled with the contact experience at the Seeds of Peace camp, will result in more positive stereotypes of the out-group.

The Contact, and Information hypotheses predict that engaging out group members in an encounter and learning more about them will change the way they are

viewed (e.g., Allport, 1954; Triandis, 1975; Amir & Ben-Ari, 1985). As a result, ratings of warmth and competence should be more positive on the post camp questionnaires than they are on the pre camp questionnaires. More specifically:

1.1.3 Following the camp experience, ratings by out group members of Israeli warmth and Palestinian competence will show positive gains as a result of participation in camp programming.

Research on stereotyping has suggested that while Jewish Israelis may be seen as competent, they may not be seen as warm (Glick & Fiske, 2001a, 2001b). Thus, there is the potential for gains in Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers' ratings of Israeli warmth as a result of participation in the Seeds of Peace camp experience. This predicted increase in ratings of warmth may be the result of the contact experience at camp, and the participants learning that Jewish people may not be as cold as their stereotype suggests. Some lower status groups have been rated in the literature as warm, but disrespected (Katz, Wackenhut & Hass, 1986). Israeli campers may therefore come to view Palestinians as more competent following camp than their initial ratings suggest.

Question 3: Does the contact experience at camp cause campers to feel closer to their own group and their out-group once camp has ended?

Own-Group and Out-Group Closeness Questions

The asymmetry of power in the Jewish-Arab conflict compels minority group members – in this case, the Palestinians – to have a greater degree of involvement in issues related to the intergroup conflict due to the lack of government support for peace building initiatives (Suleiman, 2004).

Own-group closeness can be conceptualized as the degree to which the in-group is included in the self (e.g., Tropp & Wright, 2001). Own-group identity and closeness to out-group were measured by asking three questions, although only the first two were included in analysis (see Appendix F): "To what extent do you feel close to other people from your own group"; "To what extent do you feel close to people from your conflict group"; and "To what extent do you feel your group is unique and special". The campers were instructed to indicate their reaction to these questions by using a five-point Likert scale, where a rating of 1 indicated "a very small extent", and a rating of 5 indicated "a very large extent". Test reliability of similar Own-Group and Out-Group Closeness questions has been established to range from .80 for an Arab sample to .92 for a Jewish sample (Levin & Sidanius, 1999).

For Israeli campers, Palestinians and Non-Palestinian Arabs are considered the out-group. For Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers, Israelis are considered the out-group. There is one prediction associated with the Seeds of Peace experience's effect on closeness to campers' own and out groups:

1.3.1 In-group closeness will not change as a result of camp participation, but closeness to the out-group will be elevated following camp programming.

Examining closeness is the most direct way to test whether the contact experience at the Seeds of Peace camp is effective for increasing more positive feelings toward the out-group. Given the research on the contact experience and the models of intergroup contact, it is predicted that while in-group closeness may not change, campers will indicate feeling closer to the out-group after their camp experience (e.g., Allport, 1954; Sherif et al., 1961; Suleiman, 2004). Changes on the in-group and out-group closeness

questions from pre- to post-camp surveys will indicate whether personal contact and

coexistence training has had an impact on ratings of closeness to out-group members.

Racial Attitudes Questions[3]

Added to the questionnaire containing the SDO scale were three questions based

on the concept of Aversive Racism (AR) (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), adapted from

Weigel & Howes' (1985) measure of symbolic racism. Aversive Racism is described as

the extent to which people who endorse egalitarian, non-prejudiced views outwardly

harbour inward discriminatory attitudes (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). According to

research on AR, many people who support egalitarian principles may unconsciously

harbour negative feelings and beliefs about disadvantaged groups. Aversive racists

therefore experience unconscious negative feelings toward the out group, and

ambivalence between their non-prejudiced beliefs and their negative feelings toward out-

groups (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). In the current study, these three items were used as a

measure of closeness to the out group, in that responses indicate the extent to which an

individual would be willing to socialize and be seen socializing with someone from the

other side. Furthermore, the items were less subtle than typical Aversive Racism items.

As such, the scale used in this research is referred to as Racial Attitudes (RA).

Three RA items were posed to the campers, on the same page as the SDO

questions. Their relation to feeling close to the out-group was the focus of data analysis

with this measure. These three questions were answered according to the same seven-

point Likert scale used for the SDO items, and assessed campers' attitudes toward the

other side (e.g., "It would bother me if someone from the other side joined the same

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[3] The three Racial Attitudes questions used in the survey packages were based on the concept of Aversive Racism (see Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000 for a full review), but were used for the purpose of assessing closeness to out group members.

group that I belong to"). Test reliability for these items was established to be .71 for American participants by Dovidio & Gaertner (2000), and .68 for the current sample. There is one prediction about the affect of participation in the Seeds of Peace program on Racial Attitudes items:

1.3.3 Campers will show more positive Racial Attitudes as a result of the contact experience at the Seeds of Peace summer camp program.

The Contact hypothesis (e.g., Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969) predicts that participants should feel closer to out-group members, and more accepting of them following the contact experience. It is expected the RA measure will reveal such a change, and campers will be more willing to consider socializing with out-group members.

Question 4: Do campers' evaluations of each group's interests in resolving the conflict change as a result of program participation?

Attitudes about Peace and Independent Thinking Tasks

Previous research has suggested that partisans use egocentric reasoning when thinking about their rivals. That is, they tend to think mostly about their own position and underlying ideological principles when attempting to estimate the opinions of the other side (e.g., Chambers et al., 2006; Chambers & Melnyk, 2006). The Attitudes about Peace and Independent Thinking tasks measured the extent to which participants estimated the other side's interest in peace and how independently their group is able to make decisions. The Attitudes about Peace Task included in the survey packages for Study 1 contained seven items (see Appendix D) which were divided into two scales. The first scale examined participants' attitudes and interest in peacemaking, and included items 1-5. The remaining two items formed an Independent Thinking measure. For all

items, campers were asked to place an 'X' along lines that corresponded to themselves, their in-group and their out-group. The reliability of the Attitudes about Peace items was established to be .83, when Israelis were the target group and .66 when Palestinians were the target group. The Independent Thinking questions had a reliability coefficient of .61 for Israelis as the target group, and .54 for Palestinians as the target group. There is one prediction related to campers' attitudes about peace and independent thinking:

1.4.1 Campers will represent the other side more positively on the Attitudes about Peace and Independent Thinking tasks following their camp experience.

Due to the empirical evidence for the efficacy of contact (e.g., Amir, 1969; Bargal & Bar, 1992), both sides should represent the other side more positively on the Attitudes about Peace and Independent Thinking questions following their camp experience. Furthermore, accommodation of new information should lead to more positive evaluations of the other side's attitudes about making and maintaining peace, as well as their likelihood of thinking for themselves. Changes to these items will indicate whether participants have used the facts and experiences from camp to change their view of the other side's commitment to peace. Significant changes to the placement of responses on the Attitudes about Peace task and the Independent Thinking task will indicate whether participants have been affected by their personal experience with out-group members.

Directed Narrative

In the pre-camp survey package, the Directed Narrative measure consisted of only one question: "What changes do you think need to occur for peace to come about?" Campers were instructed to list as many changes as they could think of. The post-camp survey package added three additional questions about the campers' experience at Seeds

of Peace (see Appendix E). The purpose of asking these open-ended questions was to gain insight into whether the campers felt as if they, their group, or the out-group had changed. The campers were instructed to respond to the questions in English or in their native language. Campers' responses were coded into one of six categories: Anti-violence, Compromise, Changes to how the media presents the conflict, No resolution, Changes to government or political policies, and Recognizing the rights of the other side. Four independent raters coded the Directed Narrative data, and reliability coefficients ranged from .92 for No Resolution to .98 for Changes to government and political policies. Responses were also coded according to the subject of the suggestion: camper's own group, out group, or both groups. Reliability coefficients were .99, .99 and .98 respectively for subject coding. One prediction is associated with how the Seeds of Peace experience will affect campers' reports of the changes in society that will be necessary in order to realize peace in Israel and Palestine.

1.4.2   Following their camp experience, each group will be more willing to admit to their own side's accountability in prolonging the conflict.

According to the Metacognitive Model (Ben-Ari, 2004) and the concept of metacognition (Jost, Kruglanski & Nelson, 1998), people are able to consider the implications of their biases and stereotypes toward other groups. Participating in the Seeds of Peace experience should related to understanding that the conflict is not solely the fault of just one side. As such, campers should use a combination of an increased metacognitive awareness and information they have learned about each side's experience when indicating who and what need to change, in order for peace to be realized. Examining the participants' responses to the Directed Narrative measure will indicate

whether they believe that changes in society should be the responsibility of their own group or the out-group. The post-camp Directed Narrative will also reveal how their experience at camp has changed their perspective on their own groups and on out-group members.

In summary, this research is expected to show that there are many benefits associated with participating in the Seeds of Peace summer camp program. Campers from each of the three groups are expected to make positive gains toward changing their negative ways of thinking about the other side. By the end of camp, it is expected that campers will come to have a more positive view of the other side than they had before camp began, and to be more moderate than extreme in their positions about how to work toward peace.

Study 1 Method

Participants

　　Study 1 was conducted from June to August, 2006 at Sessions 1 and 2 of the

Seeds of Peace International Summer Camp. The participants were the campers that

attended from all regions of the Middle East: Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Palestine. The

summer 2006 camp season brought in a total of 339 campers. Of these, 248 were from

the Middle East, 30 from South Asia, and the remaining 61 were Americans[4]. The

gender distribution was approximately equal, with slightly more girls attending camp

than boys. The age of the campers ranged from 14 years, one month to 17 years, ten

months, with a mean age of 15 years, five months. Most campers had completed at least

nine years of schooling when they arrived at camp, and were from both metropolitan and

rural communities. Most of the Middle Eastern campers were either Muslim or Jewish,

but there were several Jordanian campers who reported their religion to be Christianity,

and several Israeli campers who reported that they are Druze. The Pakistani campers

were all Muslim, the Indian campers were all Hindu, and the American campers were

mixed – some were Muslim, some Jewish, some Christian, and some were reported

atheists.

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[4] The South Asian and American campers were asked to fill out pre and post camp surveys, but the data are not included in this research. It was analyzed to provide Seeds of Peace with information concerning the campers and mean changes from pre to post camp.

Table 1

Middle Eastern Participant Demographics

Delegation	Number	Average Age	Percentage Male	Percentage Female	Average Years of Education
Egyptians	24	14.79	46	54	9.87
Israelis	116	15.02	47	53	9.30
Jordanians	24	14.88	42	58	10.71
Palestinians	85	15.27	47	53	10.17
Arab-Israelis	13	14.83	23	77	9.18

Data collection

The pre-camp data for Study 1 were collected at the Seeds of Peace International Camp on June 16-17, 2006 for session 1, and on July 24, 2006 for Session 2. The summer of 2006 was one of great turmoil in the Middle East. There was active conflict between Israel, Hamas militants in Gaza and the West Bank, and Hezbollah in Lebanon. Due to border control policies and ongoing fighting between Hamas militants and the Israeli army, none of the campers or staff members who were meant to attend camp over the summer were allowed to leave the Gaza strip. Additionally, the violence between Israeli forces and Hezbollah guerrillas began in late July, as the first session of camp ended. Aggressive shelling, air raids and evacuations continued through August while camp was in session. This sudden burst of violence may have led to systematic differences in the topics discussed at camp and in the campers' attitudes about the other side; however, these differences between Session 1 and Session 2 were a matter of timing, and are a fact of life in that region of the world.

As the bus loads of campers arrived at the camp, the children were escorted to the dining hall where the surveys were administered before the campers had any contact

experiences with one another. The camp counsellors and facilitators were available to assist with translation questions, and I was available to answer questions about the survey itself.

Each camp session lasted for three and a half weeks. On the last full day of camp, the campers filled out the post-camp surveys. These data collection sessions took place on July 15th, 2006 for session 1, and on August 17th, 2006 for session 2. The campers were asked to fill out the surveys in the dining hall, all at the once in order to save time during their busy last day.

Study Design

The data for Study 1 were collected during the summer of 2006. The follow up study data were collected in the spring of 2007. The timeline below details the data collection dates for the entire study:

	Pre Camp	Post Camp
Session 1 Data Collection	June 16-17, 2006 (Session 1)	July 15, 2006 (Session 1)
Session 2 Data Collection	July 24, 2006 (Session 2)	August 17, 2006 (Session 2)
Follow Up Data Collection		
Began:	March, 2007	
Completed:	June, 2007	

The two camp sessions were composed of statistically similar Middle Eastern campers; therefore the pre-camp survey information from Session 2 will generally serve as a control for the post-camp survey information from Session 1. That is, effects of the camp experience will be tested by comparing post camp surveys from Session 1 campers to pre camp surveys from the Session 2 campers.

The study design is represented pictorially below:
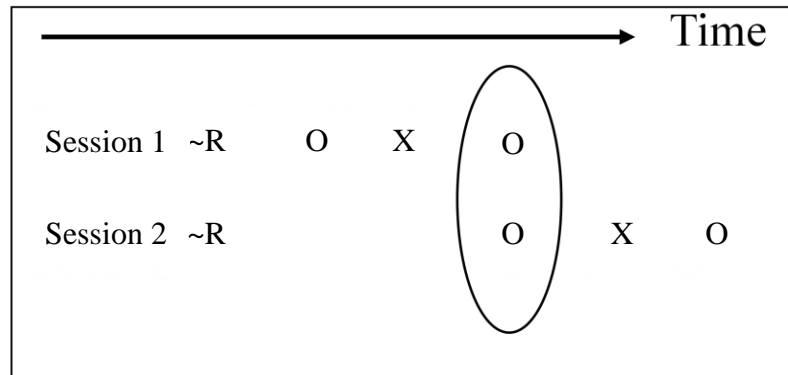
Participants were split into two camp sessions, each lasting three and a half weeks. Campers were quasi-randomly assigned to sessions, based on their preference for which session to attend and the balance of numbers for the camp population. There were approximately 8 days between the end of the first session, and the beginning of the second. To determine if selection effects existed, the data from the pre-camp surveys of Session 1 and Session 2 campers were compared. To attempt to control for history and maturation, which are potential threats to the internal validity of this study (e.g., Cook & Campbell, 1979), the data from Session 1 post-camp and Session 2 pre-camp surveys were compared. In the event where there were differences in the pre-camp data, a full analysis of the Session 1 pre and post camp and Session 2 pre and post camp data was conducted and presented in the main body of the thesis. This method investigates whether effects were replicated for groups in each session. This analysis allowed for the investigation of how history and maturation could have potentially affected the patterns of data that were observed. These full analyses are presented in Appendix J, unless otherwise noted. These data were written into the Appendices, rather than the quasi-experimental data because they are not as strong a control for history.

There are three sets of analyses that will be conducted for each section of the Results section. The first deals with the comparison of Session 1 pre-camp survey responses to Session 2 pre-camp responses. This set of analyses will show whether the campers from each session have similar attitudes about the other side, about the social relationships between their side and the other side, and about their view of the conflict in general.

The second set of analyses deals with the comparison of the pre and post-camp surveys, with Session 1 and Session 2, as described above. The results reported from these analyses will reveal whether changes have occurred within each session as a result of the camp experience. These results will be reported in full in Appendix J, rather than in the body of the thesis, unless session effects were discovered in the comparison of pre-camp samples.

In order to make solid claims about the efficacy of the Seeds of Peace experience, a third set of analyses will be conducted, which will deal with the quasi-experimental manipulation – participation in the Seeds of Peace camp program. Session 1 post-camp survey information will be compared to Session 2 pre-camp survey information in order to determine whether participating in the camp program is associated with attitude change amongst Israeli, Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab groups. The pre-post comparison is limited with respect to assessing changes resulting from camp, as the passage of time brought changes in events occurring in the conflict itself. In order to disentangle effects of camp from change related to events external to the camp, assessments that occurred close together in time will be compared, namely the post-test results from the first session

with the pre-test assessments of from the second session. The validity of this comparison is bolstered by the similarity in pre-tests results from both groups. Additionally, whenever these cross-session comparisons differ from the within-session comparisons contained in Appendix J, the differences will be presented.

In total, 116 Israeli campers, 95 Palestinian Campers and 36 Non-Palestinian Arab campers participated in Study 1. Seventeen Israeli campers arrived a few days late for Session 1 due to travel problems. There are no pre-camp data for those campers; however, they did complete the post-test measures.

Study 1 Results

Unless otherwise noted, the data analysis for each measure was conducted by first comparing the Session 1 and Session 2 pre camp data, in order to determine whether there were differences between the sessions. These analyses were conducted using univariate ANOVA tests investigating Session (2 levels) and Group (3 levels), and reporting only those effects that involved session. Next, the pre and post camp data were compared to examine changes that resulted from the Seeds of Peace experience. If there were no session effects, then the effects of Seeds of Peace were analyzed by comparing the pre-session data for Session 2 with the post-session data from Session 1, thereby controlling for the time of measurement. The analysis is a 2 (pre versus post camp experience) x 3 (raters; i.e., Israeli's, Palestinians, or non Palestinian Arabs), with both factors being between-subjects. If session effects were found in the first set of analysis, then the data for both sessions was fully analyzed within a 2 (pre versus post camp experience) x 3 (raters) x 2 (session) analysis in which experience was a within-subjects factor and raters and session were between subjects factors. The full analysis was required because differences between Session 1 post test and Session 2 pretests were confounded by initial differences between campers in the two sessions, and could not be attributed to camp experience. For completeness, if no session effects were found, the full set of results for each measure was reported in Appendix J.   Least Significant Difference (LSD) procedures determined whether there were any post hoc Group effects attributable to participation in the Seeds of Peace summer camp program.

The ANOVA tests that were conducted used ratings and scores on the measures as dependent variables, and Session, Experience and Group as fixed factors. Although

Group was included, these effects will not be reported in the pre camp comparison samples. Rather, they are reported fully in the pre camp versus post camp comparisons. Finally, Sex was initially included as a fixed factor; however, it was not a significant component in any of the analyses and was subsequently dropped from testing.

Social Dominance Orientation Measure

Comparison of pre-camp samples

The means and standard deviations of the cell values are reported in Table 2. The main effect of session was not significant, nor did session interact with group, suggesting that the campers from the two camp sessions recorded similar responses to the items on this measure at the pre-test.

Table 2

Pre-camp Average Social Dominance Orientation Scores

Raters	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	1.87 (0.77)	2.28 (0.88)
Palestinians	2.82 (0.96)	2.69 (0.99)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	2.62 (0.96)	2.71 (0.92)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale values ranged from 1 to 7. Higher values indicate higher SDO.

Comparison of Session 2 pre experience to Session 1 post experience data

The means and standard deviations of the cell values are reported in Table 3.

Table 3

Average Social Dominance Orientation Scores, by Experience

Raters	Session 2 (pre)	Session 1 (post)
Israelis	2.28	2.16
	(0.88)	(0.96)
Palestinians	2.69	2.65
	(0.99)	(0.87)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	2.71	2.51
	(0.92)	(1.22)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale values ranged from 1 to 7. Higher values indicate higher SDO.

This analysis revealed a main effect of Group, F (2, 242) = 5.95, p = .003, η^2 = 0.047. Post hoc testing using LSD analysis showed that Israeli campers indicated a stronger preference for changing the current social situation than did the Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers. It is noteworthy however, that the average scores of all three groups are within the lower half of the SDO scale, suggesting that campers from each of the three groups support changing the current social system. The lack of differences between the post experience and pre experience groups suggests that the SOP program itself did not impact the campers' Social Dominance Orientation.

Stereotyping Inventory

Comparison of pre-camp samples

This section will present first the information pertaining to stereotypes held of Israelis, and then those held of Palestinians.

Table 4

Pre-camp Average Ratings of Israeli Warmth and Competence

	Warmth		Competence	
Rater	Session 1	Session 2	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	3.29	3.17	4.29	4.25
	(0.54)	(0.44)	(0.59)	(0.47)
Palestinians	2.25	2.57	3.64	3.25
	(0.73)	(0.59)	(1.25)	(1.15)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	2.48	2.66	4.02	3.87
	(0.46)	(0.57)	(0.75)	(0.85)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale values ranged from 1 to 5. Higher values indicate more positive ratings.

The item average means and standard deviations are reported in Table 4. Ratings of Israeli Warmth did not yield any significant differences between the two camp sessions, nor were there any Session x Group interactions. The same results were obtained for the data pertaining to Israeli Competence. These results indicate the Session 1 and Session 2 pre-camp averages are not significantly different from one another when Israelis were the target group.

Table 5

Pre-camp Average Ratings of Palestinian Warmth and Competence

	Warmth		Competence	
Rater	Session 1	Session 2	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	2.96	3.35	3.05	3.46
	(0.67)	(0.67)	(0.77)	(0.77)
Palestinians	3.77	4.06	3.65	3.76
	(0.94)	(0.94)	(1.02)	(1.02)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	3.49	3.35	3.60	3.63
	(0.45)	(1.12)	(0.67)	(0.71)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale values ranged from 1 to 5. Higher values indicate more positive ratings.

The item average means and standard deviations for data pertaining to Palestinian Warmth and Competence are reported in Table 5. The analysis of ratings of Palestinian Warmth and Competence did not yield any significant differences between Session 1 and Session 2 pre camp averages. Furthermore, analysis did not yield any significant interactions.

Comparison of Session 2 pre experience to Session 1 post experience data

The information pertaining to stereotypes held of Israelis will be presented first, followed by the information pertaining to stereotypes held of Palestinians. The item average means and standard deviations for stereotypes of Israelis and Palestinians are reported in Tables 6 and 7 respectively.

Table 6

Average Ratings of Israeli Warmth and Competence, by Experience

	Warmth		Competence	
Rater	Session 2 (pre)	Session 1 (post)	Pre Experience	Post Experience
Israelis	3.17	3.42*	4.24	4.23
	(0.44)	(0.51)	(0.47)	(0.68)
Palestinians	2.57	2.75	3.25	3.28
	(0.59)	(0.54)	(1.14)	(0.77)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	2.66	(2.79)	3.87	3.78
	(0.58)	(0.58)	(0.85)	(0.70)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
* indicates significance at or below the $p < .05$ level.
Scale values ranged from 1 to 5. Higher values indicate more positive ratings.

The first analysis pertained to stereotype ratings of Israeli Warmth. The ANOVA conducted on these data revealed a significant main effect of Experience, $F(2, 243) = 5.30$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = 0.058$; Israelis were rated warmer following camp than they were on

the initial survey. Individually[5], Israelis were the only group of campers who had significantly more positive evaluations of Israeli warmth as a result of participation in Seeds of Peace, $t(112) = 2.80$, $p = .006$. Additionally, analysis yielded a significant main effect of Group, $F(2, 243) = 38.84$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.242$. Post hoc testing using the LSD method yielded significant differences between ratings of Israeli warmth reported by the three groups. Israeli campers gave more positive ratings of Israeli Warmth than did Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers, $p < .001$. These results suggest that despite going through the camp program and the trend toward elevated means for Israeli warmth, the Israeli campers rated Israelis as warmer than did the Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers.

The analysis of ratings of Israeli Competence revealed a significant main effect of Group, $F(2, 243) = 34.20$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.220$, but no significant effect of Experience. Post hoc testing revealed that Israeli campers rated Israelis as more competent than did the Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers, $p < .001$. These results indicate that ratings of Israeli competence did not change as a result of participation in the SOP program. It is noteworthy however, that Israelis were rated to be high in competence by all parties.

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[5] Individual group effects were examined in the absence of an interaction with Experience because the theories tested evaluate change in the out-group. Examining individual effects differentiates change as a result of program participation in the out-group from change in the in-group.

Table 7

Average Ratings of Palestinian Warmth and Competence, by Experience

Raters	Warmth		Competence	
	Session 2 (pre)	Session 1 (post)	Session 2 (pre)	Session 1 (post)
Israelis	3.05 (0.49)	3.18 (0.63)	3.46 (0.77)	3.70 (0.75)
Palestinians	3.65 (0.57)	3.90* (0.53)	3.76 (1.03)	4.06 (0.79)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	3.60 (0.67)	3.77 (0.50)	3.63 (0.71)	3.81 (0.76)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

* indicates significance at or below the $p < .05$ level.

Scale values ranged from 1 to 5. Higher values indicate more positive ratings.

The first analysis pertaining to Palestinian ratings tested stereotype ratings of Palestinian Warmth. The ANOVA conducted on these data revealed a significant main effect of Experience, $F (2, 243) = 4.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.018$; Palestinians were rated as warmer following camp than they were on the initial survey. Individually, Palestinian campers had significantly more positive evaluations of Palestinian warmth as a result of participation in Seeds of Peace, $t (93) = 2.18$, $p = .031$, as did Non-Palestinian Arab campers, $t (40) = 2.08$, $p = .041$. There was additionally a main effect of Group, $F (2, 243) = 37.56$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.236$. Post hoc testing using the LSD method showed that Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers gave more elevated ratings of Palestinian warmth than did Israeli campers, $p < .001$. These results suggest that although going through the SOP camp program had an impact on how the campers rated Palestinians with respect to how warm they are perceived to be, Palestinian campers themselves gave the most elevated ratings.

The ANOVA conducted on ratings of Palestinian Competence revealed a marginally significant effect of Experience, F (2, 243) = 3.62, p = .06, η^2 = 0.058: following camp, Palestinians were rated as more competent. There was additionally a significant main effect of Group, F (2, 243) = 3.75, p = .02, η^2 = 0.030. Post hoc testing showed that Palestinian campers rated Palestinians as more competent than did Israeli campers, p = 0.23. Furthermore, Palestinian campers rated Palestinians as more competent than did Non-Palestinian Arab campers, p = 0.23. These results indicate that there were no significant changes in beliefs about Palestinians by Israelis or Non-Palestinian Arabs as a function of participation in the SOP program.

Own-Group and Out-Group Closeness Questions

Comparison of pre-camp samples

The means and standard deviations of the questions pertaining to Question 1, "To what extent do you feel close to people from your own group?" are reported in Table 8, and those pertaining to Question 2, "To what extent do you feel close to people from your conflict group?" are reported in Table 10.

Table 8

Pre-Camp Ratings of Closeness to In-Group

Raters	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	4.07 (0.93)	4.16 (0.87)
Palestinians	4.31 (0.76)	3.91 (0.87)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	4.21 (0.78)	3.67 (1.08)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
       Scale values ranged from 1 to 5. Higher values indicate more closeness.

The analysis of the in-group closeness question revealed a main effect of Session, F (1, 226) = 4.48, p = .04, η^2 = 0.019. These results indicate that Palestinian and Non-

Palestinian Arab campers in Session 1 reported feeling significantly closer to their own

groups than did the campers from the same delegations in Session 2. Israeli campers did

not show this session difference in their ratings of in-group closeness. In order to fully

examine the effects of SOP experience, the full analysis follows.

Full analysis of In-group closeness

Table 9

Ratings of Closeness to In-Group, by Session and Experience

Rater	Session 1 pre	Session 1 post	Session 2 pre	Session 2 post
Israelis N = 100	4.07 (0.93)	4.32 (0.76)	4.16 (0.83)	4.46* (0.65)
Palestinians N = 96	4.31 (0.76)	4.48 (0.72)	3.91 (0.87)	3.92 (0.94)
Non-Palestinian Arabs N = 36	4.21 (0.78)	4.04 (0.81)	3.67 (1.08)	3.50 (0.52)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale values ranged from 1 to 5. Higher values indicate more closeness.

The analysis of in-group closeness yielded only a significant effect of experience

for Israeli campers in Session 2, $t(112) = 2.15$, $p = .034$. There were significant main

effects of Session, $F(1, 226) = 9.17$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .039$ and Group, $F(2, 226) = 4.62$, p

$= .011$, $\eta^2 = .039$. There was, additionally, a significant Session x Group interaction, F

$(2, 226) = 5.97$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .05$. This interaction was broken down by collapsing over

SOP experience, and examining the differences between each group and session. The

results of the Independent-Samples t-tests yielded significant differences between the

Israeli and Palestinian campers in Session 2, $t(124) = 3.68$, $p < .001$, as well as the Israeli

and Non-Palestinian Arab campers in Session 2, $t(69) = 4.80$, $p < .001$. Israeli campers in

the second session felt closer to their in-group than did either Palestinian or non-

Palestinian Arabs. There were no significant differences in either session between the Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers' responses.

Comparison of pre camp data – out group closeness

The analysis of the pre camp out-group closeness question did not reveal any significant effects or interactions. These results indicate the Session 1 and Session 2 pre-camp totals were not significantly different from one another.

Table 10

Pre-Camp Ratings of Closeness to Out-Group

Raters	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	3.24 (0.52)	3.05 (0.84)
Palestinians	3.13 (0.67)	3.09 (0.99)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	3.40 (0.48)	3.27 (1.13)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
          Scale values ranged from 1 to 5. Higher values indicate more closeness.

Comparison of Session 2 pre experience to Session 1 post experience data

The means and standard deviations of the in-group closeness question are reported in Table 11.

Table 11

Ratings of Closeness to Out-Group, by Experience

Raters	Pre Experience	Post Experience
Israelis	3.05	3.82*
	(0.84)	(0.93)
Palestinians	3.09	3.50*
	(0.99)	(1.00)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	3.27	4.04*
	(1.13)	(0.75)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
        * indicates significance at or below the $p < .05$ level.
        Scale values ranged from 1 to 5. Higher values indicate more closeness.

The analysis of out-group closeness scores revealed a main effect of Experience,

$F (1, 243) = 21.38$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.081$. These results indicate that those who had

participated in the Seeds of Peace summer camp program felt significantly closer to out

group members than did those who had not yet completed their camp session. Testing

the individual effects of experience revealed a significant increase in ratings of closeness

for each of the three groups of campers; $t (112) = 4.64$, $p < .001$ for Israeli campers, $t (93)$

$= 1.97$, $p = .052$ for Palestinian campers and $t (34) = 2.41$, $p = .021$ for Non-Palestinian

Arab campers.

Racial Attitudes

Comparison of pre-camp samples

The means and standard deviations of the cell values are reported in Table 12.

The main effect of Session was not significant nor were there any Group x Session

interactions, suggesting that the campers from the two camp sessions recorded similar

responses to the items on this measure at the pre-test.

Table 12

Pre-camp Racial Attitudes Average Scores

Raters	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	2.75 (1.09)	2.92 (0.89)
Palestinians	4.21 (1.18)	4.02 (1.26)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	3.61 (0.82)	3.28 (1.01)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale values ranged from 1 to 7. Higher values indicate a higher degree of RA.

Comparison of Session 2 pre experience to Session 1 post experience data

The means and standard deviations of the cell values are reported in Table 13.

Table 13

Racial Attitudes Averages, by Experience

Raters	Session 2 (pre)	Session 1 (post)
Israelis	2.92 (0.89)	2.94 (1.03)
Palestinians	4.02 (1.26)	4.05 (1.29)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	3.28 (1.01)	3.54 (1.05)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale values ranged from 1 to 7. Higher values indicate a higher degree of RA.

This analysis revealed a main effect of Group, $F(2, 242) = 24.60$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.169$. Post hoc testing showed that Palestinian campers' ratings were more indicative of feeling uncomfortable with the idea of socializing with the other side than were those of Israeli campers, $p < .001$ and those of Non-Palestinian Arab campers, $p = .004$. Non-Palestinian Arab campers' ratings were more indicative of discomfort with the idea of socializing with the other side than were those of Israeli campers, $p = .037$. These results

indicate that Palestinian campers expressed the most discomfort out of the three groups of campers with the idea of socializing with members of the out-group. Israelis were the most comfortable with the idea of spending time socially with members of their out group. Furthermore, the results indicate that participating in the SOP camp experience did not alter the campers' RA attitudes.

Attitudes about Peace

Comparison of pre-camp samples – Self data

The analysis of the Attitudes about Peace measure was broken down into two separate sets. Reported first is the analysis of data pertaining to campers' "Myself" ratings, or ratings of their own attitudes about the peace process. Following the "Myself" results are the results pertaining to campers' ratings of Israelis and Palestinians. The means and standard deviations pertaining to the Self AP data are reported in Table 14.

Table 14

Pre-camp Average Attitudes about Peace Ratings for "Myself"

Raters	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	120.87	118.25
	(13.60)	(13.84)
Palestinians	90.49	102.09
	(30.59)	(25.66)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	114.83	115.16
	(18.81)	(16.37)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale measurements ranged from 0 to 145 millimetres. Higher values indicate more interest in peace.

Testing the pre-camp "Myself" AP data did not yield any significant differences between Session 1 and Session 2 responses, nor were there any significant Session x Group interactions.

Comparison of Session 2 pre experience to Session 1 post experience Self data

The means and standard deviations of the cell values are reported in Table 15.

Table 15

Average Attitudes about Peace Ratings for "Myself"

Raters	Session 2 (pre)	Session 1 (post)
Israelis	118.25 (13.84)	119.53 (15.93)
Palestinians	102.09 (25.66)	106.17 (22.33)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	115.16 (16.37)	116.12 (15.73)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale measurements ranged from 0 to 145 millimetres. Higher values indicate more interest in peace.

Testing the "Myself" AP data revealed a main effect of Group, $F (2, 225) = 13.21$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.105$. Post hoc testing using LSD comparisons revealed that both Israeli and Non-Palestinian Arab campers rated themselves to be more positive and proactive about peace than Palestinian campers rated themselves to be. There were no significant differences between pre and post experience groups.

Comparison of pre-camp samples - Group data

The means and standard deviations of the cell values for these analyses are reported in Table 16.

Table 16

Pre-camp Average Attitudes about Peace Ratings of Israelis and Palestinians

Israelis as target:		
Raters	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	104.91	95.08
	(22.00)	(22.3)
Palestinians	48.55	43.37
	(32.76)	(30.74)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	41.83	49.03
	(22.22)	(29.31)
Palestinians as target:		
Raters	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	81.34	63.07
	(28.53)	(28.07)
Palestinians	85.14	93.08
	(26.35)	(24.11)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	84.01	90.12
	(31.46)	(33.19)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale measurements ranged from 0 to 145 millimetres. Higher values indicate more interest in peace.

Testing the Israeli target group AP data revealed that there were no significant differences between Session 1 and Session 2 campers' responses. For the Palestinian target group data, there was a significant Group x Session interaction, $F(2, 225) = 5.67$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2 = 0.289$. Decomposing the interaction revealed significantly lower ratings of Palestinians by Israelis at the Session 2 than in Session 1 pre test, $t(98) = 3.18$, $p = .002$. These results indicate a pre-existing difference between the sessions in the way in which Israeli campers rated their Palestinian counterparts and thus the full analysis pertaining to Palestinians as the target group will be reported for this variable.

Comparison of Session 2 pre experience to Session 1 post experience data for Israelis as target

The means and standard deviations of the cell values are reported in Table 17.

Table 17

Average Attitudes about Peace Ratings of Israelis

Raters	Session 2 (pre)	Session 1 (post)
Israelis	95.08	107.74*
	(22.33)	(19.41)
Palestinians	43.37	63.67*
	(30.74)	(31.73)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	49.03	77.46*
	(26.31)	(22.63)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
* indicates significance at or below the $p < .05$ level.
Scale measurements ranged from 0 to 145 millimetres. Higher values indicate more interest in peace.

Testing the Israeli target group AP data revealed a main effect of Group, F (2, 242) = 90.19, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.43$ and a main effect of Experience, F (1, 242) = 27.52, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.10$. Testing the individual effects of experience revealed a significant increase in evaluations of Israeli attitudes about peace for each of the three groups of campers; t (112) = 3.32, $p < .001$ for Israeli campers, t (93) = 3.09, $p = .002$ for Palestinian campers and t (34) = 3.46, $p < .001$ for Non-Palestinian Arab campers. Israeli campers rated Israelis as more positive and proactive about the peace process than the Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers rated Israelis to be. Despite the difference in the group ratings, these results suggest that going through the SOP camp program had an impact on how the campers rated Israelis, with scores being elevated following the camp experience.

Analysis of Attitudes about Peace data for Palestinians as target

The means and standard deviations of the cell values for AP items are reported in Table 18.

Table 18

Average Attitudes about Peace Ratings of Palestinians, by Session and Experience

	Pre Experience		Post Experience	
	Session 1	Session 2	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	81.34	63.08	91.75	85.26*
N = 100	(28.53)	(28.07)	(30.80)	(29.70)
Palestinians	85.14	93.08	100.10*	104.22
N = 95	(26.35)	(24.11)	(23.21)	(23.76)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	84.01	90.12	93.72	88.47
N = 36	(31.46)	(33.19)	(26.57)	(37.60)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale measurements ranged from 0 to 145 millimetres. Higher values indicate more interest in peace.
* indicates significance at or below the $p < .05$ level.

ANOVA analysis yielded a significant main effect of SOP experience, $F(1, 225)$ = 18.66, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.077$, indicating that Palestinians were rated to be more interested in peace on the post camp surveys than they were on the pre camp surveys. Testing the individual effects of experience revealed a significant increase in evaluations of Palestinian attitudes about peace for Palestinian campers in Session 1; $t(56) = 3.22$, $p < .001$, and for Palestinian campers, $t(36) = 2.03$, $p = .040$ and Israeli campers $t(34) = 4.10$, $p < .001$ in Session 2. Additionally, this analysis revealed a significant effect of Group, $F(2, 225) = 10.65$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .086$ as well as a significant Session x Group interaction, $F(2, 225) = 3.97$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .034$. Investigation of this interaction indicated that Israeli campers in Session 1 rated Palestinians as more interested in peace than did those in Session 2, $t(98) = 3.18$, $p = .002$. Post hoc testing using LSD comparisons revealed that on the Session 1 surveys, Palestinian campers rated Palestinians as more interested in peace than did the Israeli campers, $p < .001$. On the

Session 2 surveys, the Palestinian campers rated Palestinians as more interested in peace than did both the Israeli ($p < .001$) and Non-Palestinian Arab campers ($p = .044$).

Independent Thinking Task

Comparison of pre-camp samples – Self data

The analysis of the Independent Thinking task was broken down into two separate sets. Reported first is the analysis of data pertaining to campers' "Myself" ratings, or ratings of their own tendency to think for themselves, and ignore "propaganda". Following the "Myself" results are the results pertaining to campers' ratings of Israelis and Palestinians. The means and standard deviations pertaining to the IT data are reported in Table 19.

Table 19

Pre-Camp Average Independent Thinking Ratings for "Myself"

Raters	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	117.94	118.51
	(24.03)	(19.59)
Palestinians	102.60	115.32
	(40.24)	(29.23)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	122.44	114.55
	(20.21)	(25.39)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale measurements ranged from 0 to 145 millimetres. Higher values indicate belief of greater tendency to think independently.

The "Myself" data from the IT task did not reveal any significant differences between the Session 1 and Session 2 campers' responses, nor were there any significant Session x Group interactions. These results suggest that there was no difference between the sessions.

Comparison of Session 2 pre experience to Session 1 post experience Self data

The means and standard deviations of the cell values pertaining to Independent

Thinking are reported in Table 20.

Table 20

Average Ratings of Independent Thinking for "Myself", by Experience

Raters	Session 2 (pre)	Session 1 (post)
Israelis	118.51 (19.59)	117.98 (22.28)
Palestinians	115.32 (29.23)	96.67* (37.54)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	114.55 (25.39)	114.17 (24.33)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale measurements ranged from 0 to 145 millimetres. Higher values indicate
belief of greater tendency to think independently.
* indicates significance at or below the $p < .05$ level.

The "Myself" IT data did not reveal an overall effect of Experience, however,

there was a significant decrease in Palestinian campers' evaluations of their own

tendencies to think independently, $t(93) = 2.58$, $p = .011$. The data additionally revealed

a main effect of Group, $F(2, 225) = 4.68$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = 0.04$. Post hoc testing using LSD

comparisons revealed that Israeli campers rated themselves to be independent in their

thinking, and more likely to use facts to make decisions than Palestinian campers rated

Palestinians to be. There were no significant differences between pre and post experience

for the "Myself" data.

Comparison of pre-camp samples – Group ratings

The means and standard deviations pertaining to IT for Israelis and Palestinians as

the target group are reported in Table 21.

Table 21

Pre-camp Average Ratings Independent Thinking Ratings of Israelis and Palestinians

Israelis as target:		
Raters	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	103.62	97.68
	(29.99)	(27.76)
Palestinians	48.26	60.04
	(36.29)	(37.46)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	53.83	48.58
	(46.53)	(47.38)
Palestinians as target:		
Raters	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	78.58	59.57
	(32.57)	(35.49)
Palestinians	95.33	102.20
	(36.72)	(32.27)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	86.46	87.08
	(47.02)	(35.09)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale measurements ranged from 0 to 145 millimetres. Higher values indicate belief of greater tendency to think independently.

Testing the Israeli target group IT data revealed that there were no significant effects or interactions between the Session 1 and Session 2 pre-test responses. For the Palestinian target group data, analysis yielded a significant Group x Session interaction, F $(2, 225) = 3.07$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = 0.03$. Decomposing the interaction yielded significantly lower ratings of Palestinians by Israelis in Session 2, in comparison to the Session 1 pre test, $t(98) = 2.72$, $p = .01$. Due to the effects of Session observed when Palestinians were the target group, a full analysis of the Palestinian target data follows.

Comparison of Session 2 pre experience to Session 1 post experience IT data for Israelis as target

The means and standard deviations of the cell values are reported in Table 22.

Table 22

Average Ratings of Israeli Independent Thinking

Raters	Session 2 (pre)	Session 1 (post)
Israelis	97.68 (27.76)	103.99 (27.04)
Palestinians	60.04 (37.46)	66.36 (36.01)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	48.58 (47.38)	65.03 (33.68)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale measurements ranged from 0 to 145 millimetres. Higher values indicate belief of greater tendency to think independently.

Testing the Israeli target group IT data revealed a main effect of Group, F (2, 242) = 41.27, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.25$ and a main effect of Experience, F (1, 242) = 3.71, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = 0.15$. Israeli campers rated Israelis as more capable of thinking independently, more likely to base decisions on facts and rationality, and less affected by media and government "propaganda" than the Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers rated Israelis to be. Additionally, the effect of Experience indicates that after completing the SOP camp program, campers rated Israelis as more likely to think independently than they rated them before the camp program began.

Analysis of the Independent Thinking task for Palestinians as the target group

The means and standard deviations of the cell values for IT items are reported in Table 23.

Table 23

Average Independent Thinking Ratings of Palestinians, by Session and Experience

	Pre Camp		Post Camp	
	Session 1	Session 2	Session 1	Session 2
Israelis	78.58	59.57	78.95	76.20*
N = 100	(32.57)	(35.49)	(40.69)	(38.07)
Palestinians	95.33	102.20	100.21	111.10
N = 95	(36.73)	(32.27)	(27.68)	(25.55)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	86.46	87.08	106.93	84.62
N = 36	(47.02)	(35.09)	(29.60)	(39.76)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale measurements ranged from 0 to 145 millimetres. Higher values indicate belief of greater tendency to think independently.
* indicates significance at or below the $p < .05$ level.

Analysis of the data yielded a significant main effect of Group, $F(2, 225) = 23.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .173$, and of SOP experience, $F(1, 225) = 6.84$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = 0.029$, a significant Session x Group interaction, $F(2, 225) = 3.06$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = .026$ and a marginally significant SOP Experience x Group x Session interaction, $F(2, 225) = 2.29$, $p < .06$, $\eta^2 = 0.025$.

The three-way interaction was analyzed by looking at the pre and post experience IT ratings given by each group of campers in each session. These results revealed that Israeli campers in Session 1 evaluated Palestinians more positively than did the Israeli campers in Session 2, $t(40) = 1.93$, $p = .061$. The Israeli campers in Session 2 also rated Palestinians as more independent in their thinking after camp ended than before it began, $t(58) = 4.78$, $p < .001$. Post hoc testing using LSD comparisons among the three groups revealed that Non-Palestinian Arab and Palestinian campers did not significantly differ in their ratings of Independent Thinking for Palestinians as a group. Israeli campers rated

Palestinians as less independent in their thinking than did Palestinian campers, $p < .001$, and Non-Palestinian Arab campers, $p < .001$.

Directed Narrative

Analyses were conducted on the responses given by the campers to the Directed Narrative questions concerning who and what needs to change, in order for there to be peace in the Middle East. There were two coding categories for the responses: what and who needs to change.

What needs to change?

Campers' responses to the DN question at the pre camp data collection revealed that many felt that both groups involved in the conflict need to make changes in order for peace to come about. Suggestions were coded as: using non-violent means to resolve the conflict (AV); compromising (C); using the media to educate people about the other side (M); not resolving the conflict at all (NR); making changes to the political system (PC), or recognizing the rights of the other side (RR). Figure 1 shows the frequencies of each category response by each of the Israeli, Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab groups:

Figure 1

Pre-Camp Indications of Changes Required for Peace
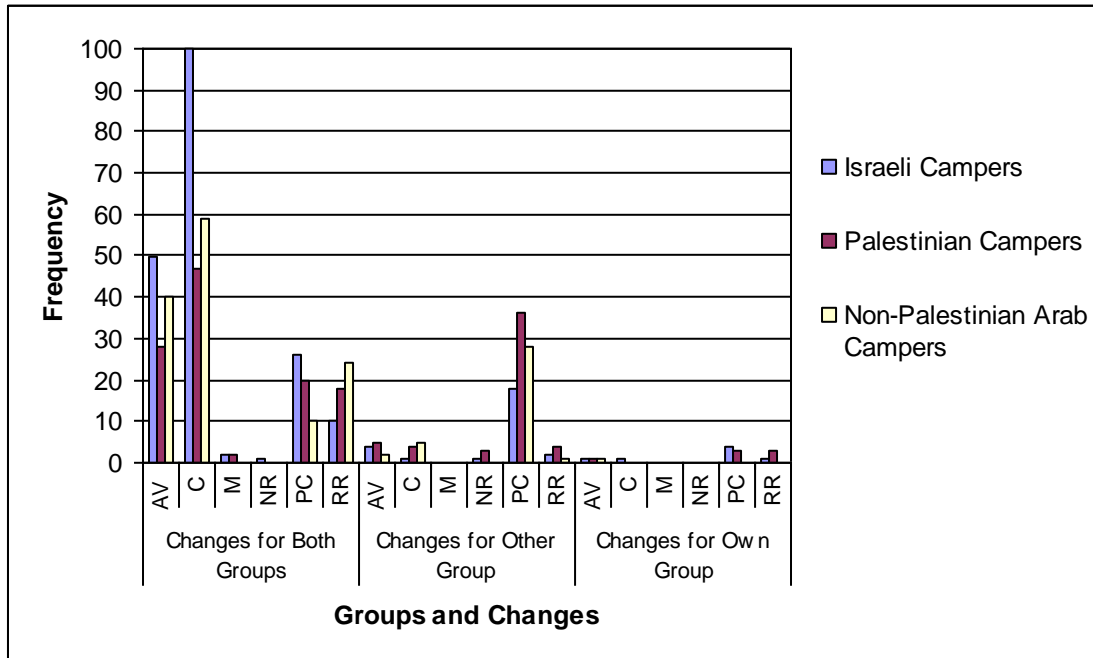
Examining the adjusted standardized residuals (z-scores) of the cross tabulations revealed that Israeli campers were more likely to indicate that both groups should compromise than change anything else. They also indicated that the other side should make some political changes, in order for peace to be realized more often than was expected. Palestinian campers were more likely to indicate that both groups should not use violence, and should compromise than to suggest any other action. They also wrote that the other side should either concede or change their political practices more often than suggesting any other change for the other side. Finally, they wrote that their own group should stand up to receive rights and recognition more often than was expected. Non-Palestinian Arab campers indicated that both groups should avoid violence, should

compromise and should recognize each other's rights. They also wrote that the other side should change their political practices more often than was expected.

Post camp, the campers were asked the same question about whom and what needs to change in order for there to be peace in the Middle East. Figure 2 shows the frequencies of each category response by each of the Israeli, Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab groups:

Figure 2

Post-Camp Indications of Changes Required for Peace
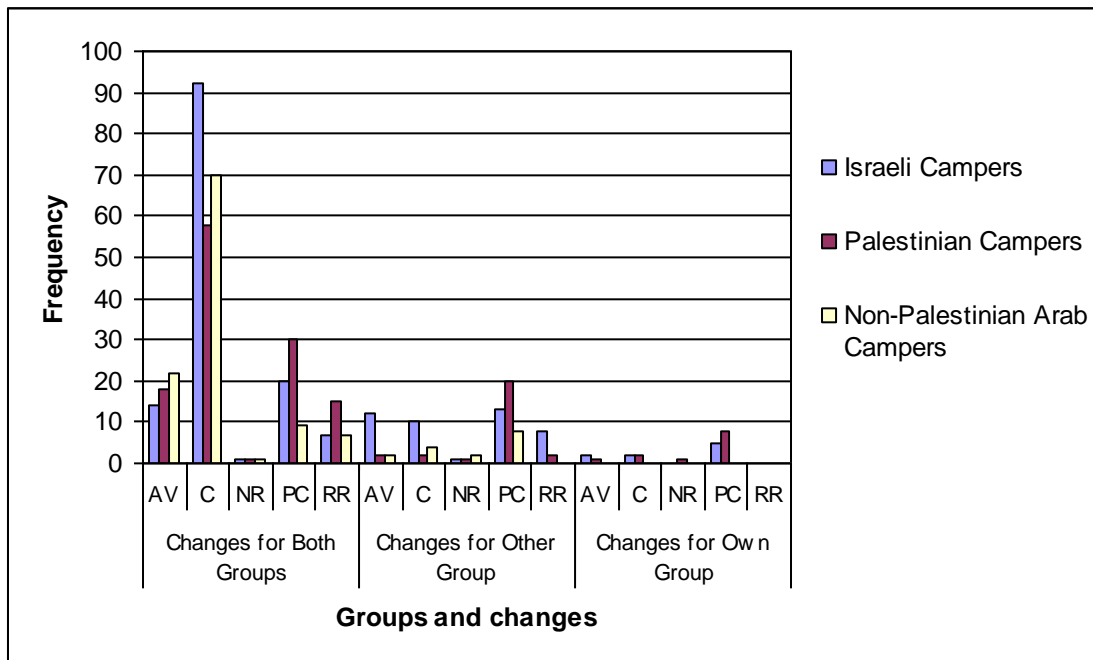
Examining the adjusted standardized residuals (z-scores) of the cross tabulations revealed that similar to their pre camp responses, Israeli campers were more likely to indicate that both groups should compromise than change anything else. They also indicated that the other side should make some political changes, in order for peace to be realized more often than was expected. The post camp change was that Israeli campers

also indicated that their own side needs to make political changes as well. Palestinian campers were more likely to indicate that both groups should compromise than they were to suggest any other action. They also wrote that the other side should change their political practices more often than suggesting any other change for the other side. Non-Palestinian Arab campers indicated that both groups should compromise. They also wrote that the other side should concede, or change their political practices more often than was expected.

Who needs to change – pre camp suggestions

The cell means and standard deviations pertaining to the campers' pre-test ideas about who should change are presented in Table 24.

Table 24

Average Number of Pre-Camp Suggestions for Each Group

Own Group	Raters	Session 1	Session 2
	Israelis	0.02	0.05
		(0.13)	(0.26)
	Palestinians	0.23	0.13
		(0.68)	(0.51)
	Non-Palestinian Arabs	0.00	0.02
		(0.00)	(0.14)
Other Group			
	Israelis	0.42	0.43
		(1.07)	(1.12)
	Palestinians	0.30	1.13*
		(0.60)	(2.28)
	Non-Palestinian Arabs	2.45	1.60*
		(3.99)	(1.27)
Both Groups			
	Israelis	0.08	1.63*
		(0.33)	(1.86)
	Palestinians	3.47	1.92*
		(2.67)	(1.27)
	Non-Palestinian Arabs	5.50	3.92*
		(3.41)	(3.04)

* indicates significance at or below the $p < .05$ level or greater.

Analysis of the pre-camp suggestions for what campers' own sides can do in order to realize peace did not reveal any significant effects of Experience or Group. The data pertaining to what the other side could do showed a significant Session x Group interaction, $F (2, 244) = 7.97, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.061$. This interaction was the result of Palestinian campers in Session 2 writing more suggestions for the other side than did the Palestinian campers in Session 1, $t (84) = 4.56, p < .001$, and Non-Palestinian Arab campers in Session 2 writing more suggestions than their compatriots in Session 1, $t (47) = 3.40, p < .001$. When the suggestions for what both sides could do together were

examined, analysis yielded a Session x Group interaction, $F(2, 244) = 14.73, p < .001, \eta^2$ = 0.108. This interaction was the result of Israeli campers in Session 1 writing more suggestions than those in Session 2, $t(116) = 9.47, p < .001$, Palestinian campers in Session 2 writing more suggestions than those in Session 1, $t(84) = 7.79, p < .001$ and Non-Palestinian Arab campers in Session 1 writing more suggestions than their compatriots in Session 1, $t(47) = 8.91, p < .001$.

Who needs to change – Session 2 pre camp versus Session 1 post camp

The means and standard deviations related to this analysis are reported in Table 25. Due to the differences between Session 1 and Session 2 pre camp surveys, the full design will be presented.

Table 25

Average Number of Changes for Each Actor, by Session and Experience

Raters	Session 1		Session 2	
	Pre Experience	Post Experience	Pre Experience	Post Experience
Own Group				
Israelis	0.02	0.07	0.05	.0.08
N = 61	(0.13)	(0.31)	(0.26)	(0.33)
Palestinians	0.23	0.14	0.13	0.07
N = 55	(0.68)	(0.58)	(0.51)	(0.38)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.05
N = 24	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.14)	(0.20)
Other Group				
Israelis	0.42	0.33	0.43	0.43
N = 77	(1.07)	(0.89)	(1.12)	(1.17)
Palestinians	0.30	0.35	1.13	1.58
N = 72	(0.60)	(0.85)	(2.28)	(2.71)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	2.45	0.30*	1.60	0.75
N = 31	(3.99)	(0.78)	(1.27)	(2.11)
Both Groups				
Israelis	0.08	1.50*	1.63	1.70
N = 77	(0.33)	(1.79)	(1.86)	(1.63)
Palestinians	3.47	1.26*	1.92	1.07*
N = 72	(2.67)	(1.62)	(1.27)	(1.45)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	5.50	2.29*	3.92	2.33*
N = 31	(3.41)	(1.50)	(3.04)	(1.43)

* indicates significance at or below the *p* < .05 level or greater.

There were no significant effects of Experience or Group related to changes suggested for participants' own group. Analysis of suggestions written for the other side yielded a significant Experience x Group interaction for Session 1, $F(2, 108) = 22.71$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.174$ and Session 2, $F(2, 136) = 3.25$, $p < .042$, $\eta^2 = 0.046$. Decomposition of this interaction revealed that in Session 1, Palestinian campers wrote more suggestions

before camp than after it, t (54) = 2.53, p = .017, as did Non-Palestinian Arab campers, t (23) = 3.00, p = .006. In Session 2, Palestinian campers wrote marginally more suggestions before camp than after it, t (29) = 1.95, p = .057, and Non-Palestinian Arab campers wrote significantly more suggestions on the pre-camp survey, t (23) = 7.54, p < .001.

The second question on the post camp Directed Narrative concerned campers' feelings about the other side, and whether there had been any change in the way they felt. The results indicated that most campers expressed feeling more positive about their fellow campers from out-groups, and very few reported feeling more negative about these people, although a substantial number of Palestinians and Israelis did not respond to this question.

Table 26

Feelings about the Other Side – Post camp only

	Palestinians	Israelis	Non-Palestinian Arabs
Positive	54%	66%	96%
Negative	7%	5%	4%
No Response	39%	29%	0%

The final question on the post camp Directed Narrative asked campers to indicate which groups they thought had changed since the beginning of their camp experience together.   Because their responses were different, Egyptians and Jordanians were separated to report this data.

Table 27

Which Groups Have Changed – Post camp only

	Egyptians	Israelis	Jordanians	Palestinians
Other Side	9%	8%	25%	11%
Own Side	0%	7%	4%	3%
Both Sides	79%	74%	46%	70%
Don't Know	4%	4%	21%	10%
No Change	8%	7%	4%	6%

Chi-squared analysis revealed that campers from each group chose "Both Sides" most often, when responding to the question about who had changed, $\chi^2_{(df = 12, N = 250)} =$ 52.115, $p < .001$. When only "Other Side" and "Own Side" were examined, chi-square analysis revealed that campers indicated that the other group had changed more often than they indicated that their own group had, $\chi^2_{(df = 3, N = 250)} = 9.23$, $p = .025$.

Study 1 Discussion

Participation in the Seeds of Peace summer camp program had several effects on adolescents' attitudes about members of "the other side," and about the possibility for improved relations between Jewish Israelis and Palestinians. In general, out-groups were seen in a more positive light following the camp experience than they were before camp began. Many campers' responses to survey items suggested that they had changed their attitudes and beliefs about the other side, and many indicated that both their own side and the other had made some changes to advance peace in the Middle East.

Social Dominance Orientation

Social Dominance Orientation is the expressed degree to which people desire or oppose oppressive relationships between social groups (Pratto et al., 1994). Those who are high in SDO are expected to support practices that help to maintain social hierarchies and dominant-oppressive relationships between groups. Conversely, those who are low in SDO are expected to support practices designed to overthrow these hierarchies by whatever means necessary (Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a; Pratto et al., 1994; Levin & Sidanius, 1999).

The first research question investigated whether the experience of attending the Seeds of Peace summer camp program and having extended contact with out-group members could be related to a shift in Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). It was expected that following camp, campers' ratings would reflect more egalitarian views of how social systems should be. The current research found that the Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab groups of campers showed higher SDO than did the Israeli campers, who are the higher status group in Israel. This finding was surprising, given that in the

literature concerning SDO it is typically the higher-status groups that are supportive of social hierarchies (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a; Pratto et al., 1994). In this case, it is possible that the young Israelis who attended the Seeds of Peace summer camp were more interested in equality than are young Israelis in general. Their interest in participating in dialogue and coexistence programming sets them apart from other people of their age, and they may hold different views about how society should be. Another potential explanation for this finding relates that the democratic tradition in Israel, which would make the general population more egalitarian in their views. This orientation toward egalitarianism may cause discomfort with either the real or imagined subjugation of Palestinians.

The SDO-related hypothesis stated that campers would indicate a greater interest in equality following their camp experience. The results did not show a significant difference between the SDO scores of campers who had completed camp versus those who had not yet begun their program. These results seem at first counter-intuitive, however it is important to note that each of the three groups' average scores were well within the lower quarter of the scale, thus suggesting that campers from all three groups support practices that would foster change. That the Israeli campers appeared to endorse ideas in support of social equality and improved relations could indicate that as the social and economic majority, these campers may feel that their group is more responsible for demonstrating that peaceful and equal relations between Israelis and Palestinians is possible. From the moment that adolescents apply to attend the Seeds of Peace Summer Camp, they must make clear that they strongly desire a change in group relations, and a shift in the social system. The results that were observed suggest that the campers

maintained their desire to reduce the divide between higher and lower status groups (Henry et al., 2005). These young people may hold onto strong beliefs about their own side and the other side of the conflict, but above all they must demonstrate that they want the dominant-oppressive relations between factions to change. Furthermore, it appears that participating in the camp experience did not significantly shift their SDO and that the campers left camp wanting a social change just as much as they wanted it when they arrived.

Stereotyping Inventory

Research conducted with American college students on stereotyping has suggested that while some high status groups may be seen as competent, they may not be seen as warm (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 2001a, 2001b). It was predicted that Palestinian campers would rate Israelis as competent, but not warm. Conversely, low status groups have been rated in the literature as warm, but incompetent (Fiske et al., 2002). Israeli campers were predicted to rate Palestinian campers as warm but not as highly competent. The results obtained from the Stereotyping Inventory were generally in line with the hypotheses, and also showed an elevation in ratings of Israeli warmth and Palestinian warmth and competence following the camp experience. It is important to note, however, that these increases reflect ethnocentrism – the in-group, rather than the out-group showed significant changes as the result of participation in the Seeds of Peace summer camp program. There were no changes to out-group stereotypes of warmth or competence.

Overall, both Israeli and Palestinian campers rated their own group's warmth and competence more positively than did any other group. When pre and post experience

samples were compared, the Seeds of Peace camp experience was associated with an increase in positive stereotyping of Israelis and Palestinians by the campers. It is interesting to note that while the Israeli, Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers all reported more positive ratings of warmth; it was the in-group ratings that were the most dramatically increased after participants had completed the camp program. That is, Israeli campers were observed to rate Israelis more positively than did the other groups of campers, and Palestinian campers rated Palestinians more positively than did the other groups of campers. Importantly, the experience of SOP involved campers listening to other members of their own group in the context of group discussions of peace and conflict in their region. They were sensitive to the out group, but more so to the characteristics they saw in the in-group.

Campers' ratings of competence were dependent on the target. Israelis as a group were seen as highly competent from the outset, a result that has been established in the literature (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 2001a; 2001b). It is not surprising then, that effects of camp experience were not observed in the stereotype ratings of Israeli competence. Attributions of Palestinian competence were affected by camp experience, although marginally. Each of the three groups of campers gave more positive ratings of Palestinian competence following their participation in the Seeds of Peace summer camp program, but the most dramatic increase was in ratings by the Palestinian campers. This perceiver difference was not originally predicted in the Stereotype Content Model (Glick & Fiske, 2001a; 2001b). In the current research, the lower status group – Palestinians, as well as the high status group (Jewish Israelis) rated their own group to be more competent than warm.

Closeness to Own and Out Groups

The second research question examined whether the Seeds of Peace experience was associated with campers feeling closer to their out-groups once camp had ended. Given the research on the contact experience and the models of intergroup contact, it was predicted that while in-group closeness may not change, campers would indicate feeling closer to their out-group after their camp experience. The Contact Hypothesis predicts that participants should feel closer to the other side and more accepting of them following the contact experience (e.g., Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Miller & Brewer, 1984).

Examining the changes to ratings of in-group closeness revealed differences between the first and second sessions of campers. The Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers in Session 1 reported feeling significantly closer to their own groups than did the campers from the same delegations who attended Session 2. In addition to the session effects, group effects were observed, which indicated that the Israeli campers who attended Session 2 felt significantly closer to their own group both pre and post camp. An encouraging result stemming from the in-group closeness results was that there was no decrease in the amount of closeness the campers felt toward their fellow group members as a result of participating in Seeds of Peace. The Seeds of Peace program thrusts the campers into an environment that could be threatening to the way they feel about being an Israeli, a Palestinian, an Egyptian, Jordanian or member of another group at camp. Rather than feeling more distant from their group identity and own group members, campers' responses suggest that the camp experience did not change their feelings about being who they are.

The findings related to closeness to out-group members were contradictory to those reported by Tropp, Stout, Botswain, Wright & Pettigrew (2006), who found that when group membership is specifically mentioned – as it often is at Seeds of Peace - group members may feel reduced trust toward and acceptance of the out-group. Perhaps the most important finding of the current study was that campers reported feeling significantly closer to out-group members following their camp participation. In the study conducted by Tropp et al., (2006), feelings of mistrust and rejection by the other side were related to expectations of negative cross-group interactions. At the Seeds of Peace summer camp, campers are encouraged to make at least one friend from the other side, and listen to what each other have to say. This positive attitude may be a factor in allowing the two sides to feel closer to one another by the end of camp.

The perceived social distance between Israelis as the dominant group in Israel and Palestinians as the subordinate group may have influenced the way in which campers from Israel and Palestine felt about one another by the end of camp. Palestinian nationalism and pride does not allow for feeling "close" with Israelis, and it may therefore have been very difficult for Palestinian campers to admit that they had become friendlier or more sympathetic toward Israelis. Additionally, with fewer Palestinian campers attending the summer program, those who did participate may have felt the effects of peer pressure, as adolescents often feel. Allowing oneself to sympathise with "the enemy" may be seen as traitorous to one's own side, so the Palestinian campers may have felt more guarded about the relationships they developed at camp, as well as the way they responded to the survey.

Racial Attitudes

The Common In-group Identity Model (e.g., Brown & Hewstone, 2005) suggests that re-categorizing groups and creating larger goals can positively impact the behaviours associated with Aversive Racism, and bring groups closer. Such results were also described by Mufazer Sherif (1958), following his landmark research at the Robber's Cave Boy Scout camp. Through sporting activities, the sharing of meals and cabins and dialogue sessions, the Seeds of Peace summer camp strives to break down delegations and encourage the campers to think of one another as members of the same superordinate group – young adults who are fighting to change their social and political climate. In the current study, the questions pertaining to racial attitudes were used as a measure of closeness to out-group members and yielded significant differences between the three groups targeted for analysis. The questions specifically asked about willingness to associate with members of the other side socially, for example, as members of the same social group. The experience of participating in the Seeds of Peace program did not appear to have an effect on campers' indications of willingness to socialize with people from the other side. Of the three groups at camp, Palestinian campers showed the most reluctance to socialize or be seen socializing with out group members. These results further illustrate the difference in mindset between Israeli and Palestinian youth, and echo the findings of the own-group and out-group questionnaire.

Attitudes about Peace and Independent Thinking

The final research question concerned campers' perceptions of their own-groups and out-groups, and whether they change as a result of program participation. It was predicted that both sides would represent the other side more positively on the Attitudes

about Peace and Independent Thinking questions following their camp experience, as a result of the shared contact and learning experiences that each camper had over their three weeks at camp. A prediction was drawn from the Metacognitive Model of intergroup relations (Ben-Ari, 2004) that campers would realize through their experience at Seeds of Peace that they are, in reality, not as positive about peace or independent in their thinking as they originally had believed. Additionally, it was hypothesized that each side may be more willing to admit to their own group's accountability in prolonging the conflict. Finally, to gain further understanding of the impact of camp experience, responses to the Directed Narrative were examined in order to determine whether campers believed that changes in society should be the responsibility of their own-group or the out-group. The post-camp Directed Narrative was also used to reveal how campers' experiences at camp have changed their perspectives on own-group and out-group members.

The examination of the data pertaining to the Attitudes about Peace questions was broken down into three sets of analyses. The first pertained only to how campers viewed themselves in terms of their willingness to work toward peace and end violence. The results revealed that Israeli campers rated themselves the most positively, followed by the Non-Palestinian Arab campers. Palestinian campers rated themselves the least positively out of the three groups. The results therefore do not support the hypothesis drawn from the Metacogntiive Model, as ratings of willingness to make and maintain peace did not change as the result of participation in camp programming.

Examining the differences between the group ratings showed that both Israeli and Palestinian campers rated their own groups as more positive and proactive about the

peace process than the out-group rated them to be. Despite the own-group bias, ratings from all three groups for both targets (Israelis and Palestinians) showed positive gains as a result of participation in the Seeds of Peace camp program. Participating in the daily dialogue sessions and engaging in discussion and debate with members from the other side may have given campers a greater understanding of the entire issue, leading them to begin to overcome the biases which previously prevented them from listening to or trusting out-group members. These results are in line with previous findings (e.g., Pronin, Puccio & Ross, 2002) that when a contentious issue is negotiated, people respond more positively when they are presented with both sides of the issue.

Similar to the structure of the data analysis for the Attitudes about Peace questions, the Independent Thinking questions were examined for group and experiential differences in "self" and group ratings. The means of the "self" data revealed that Israeli campers rated themselves to be independent in their thinking and more likely to use facts when making a decision to a greater extent than the Palestinian campers rated themselves to be. The experience of participating in the Seeds of Peace program had an effect on the "self" ratings of the Independent Thinking questions for Palestinian campers, suggesting that while the Israeli and Non-Palestinian Arab campers maintained their personal belief that others are more biased than themselves (e.g. Pronin, Gilovitch & Ross, 2004; Pronin & Ross, 2006), the Palestinian group may have begun to overcome this type of thinking.

The comparison of the group Independent Thinking data revealed effects of camp participation and group membership. The cell means indicated that when Israelis were the target group, Israeli campers were found to give the most positive ratings. Similarly, Palestinian campers gave the most positive ratings when Palestinians were the target.

Both groups of campers indicated that their own side was less likely to fall victim to government propaganda, and be more likely to think on their own about conflict issues than the others rated them to be. Looking at the trend shown in the means suggests that both Israeli and Palestinian campers rated the other side as significantly less interested in developing peace and ending violence than their own side was and Israeli campers rated Palestinians as significantly more likely to be "brainwashed" and attend to propaganda.

These results illustrate the phenomenon of False Polarization (e.g., Ross & Stillinger, 1991), in which partisans exaggerate estimations of their adversaries' views on the "other" side and the "own" side, resulting in underestimations of common ground and unwarranted pessimism about the possibility of reaching agreement (Ross, 2006). The elevated ratings following the camp experience suggest that by participating in camp programming, these adolescents begin to overcome their tendencies to exaggerate estimations of the other side. The improvement in ratings is encouraging, but was not so substantial that the out group was rated to be as independent in their thinking as the in group. The finding that camp experience made a difference to ratings of "my group" and "their group" suggests that hearing the rationale for the other side, presented by representatives of those out-groups, has made a difference in the way participants think of "us" and "them", and may pave the way for more open relationships and dialogue.

Directed Narrative

In order to understand the attitudes and beliefs held of the other side, campers were asked to write a few sentences about what they thought needed to change, in order for peace in the Middle East to be realized. Previous research on adolescents' views of the causes of the Jewish-Israeli and Arab conflict (e.g. Bizman & Hoffman, 1993;

Hoffman & Bizman, 1996) revealed that the transition to adolescence is a critical developmental period in the evolution of children's thoughts about antagonistic group interactions. Among adolescents, the more stable the perceived cause of the conflict, the greater the perceived likelihood of the conflict repeating itself over time. Responses were analyzed both pre and post camp to see if there were any changes in response trends.

When asked before completing their camp program, most of the campers' suggestions involved both groups making a change to improve relations in the Middle East. While many indicated that the "other group" should make changes, very few campers suggested that their own side do something unilaterally to end violence and conflict. Most of the campers' responses involved making compromises, striving to end violence or having the other side make changes to their political practices. Israeli campers were more likely to indicate that both groups should compromise to reach an agreement than to suggest any other options. They also indicated more often than would be statistically expected that the other side should make political changes. Conversely, Palestinian campers were more likely to indicate that both groups should strive to end violence, and should compromise. They also frequently suggested that the other side (Israelis) should concede or change their political practices. Finally, a set of responses unique to the Palestinian campers was that their own side should stand up to be recognized, and be given their rights as citizens of a nation called Palestine. The Egyptian and Jordanian campers who composed the Non-Palestinian Arab sample most often indicated that both groups should make efforts to diminish violence in the region, and that they should compromise and recognize each others' rights to homes and countries.

Upon completion of their experience at the Seeds of Peace summer camp, participants were again asked to write down their ideas about what needs to change, in order for there to be peace in the Middle East. Similar to their pre-camp responses, most campers indicated that both sides needed to make changes far more often than they chose either their side or the other. Lewin (1948) described a mature view of conflict that involves the understanding that the conflict reflects mutual incompatibility between two parties, and does not arrive as a sole result of the actions committed by one side. The findings from the current study that campers generally ascribed responsibility of making changes to both sides involved in the conflict is indicative of this mature view (Lewin, 1948). All three groups of campers indicated that compromise would be the most important thing to bring about peace. Israeli campers further indicated that the other side (Palestinians) should create changes in their political practices and government, but they also indicated that their own side (Israelis) needs to make those changes as well. In addition to suggesting that both groups work together to compromise in order to reach agreement, Palestinian campers were also likely to propose that Israelis change their government and its political practices. Finally, Non-Palestinian Arab campers indicated that Israelis should concede and change their government in order for peace to be realized.

Overwhelmingly, most of the campers' ideas about who needed to make changes in order for peace to be realized in the Middle East centered on both sides doing something to change the situation. Before their experience at the SOP camp began, there were more suggestions that "the other side" should make changes to aid the progression of peace. When the campers were asked again on their last day of camp about their ideas

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for how to make peace a reality, there were fewer ideas that involved just the other side. It is possible that hearing the ideas and narratives of out-group members at camp allowed campers to realize that the other side is also interested in ending the violence and conflict in the region. As a result of the collaborative atmosphere at camp and the nature of the programming, it is likely that on the last day of camp, the campers were more willing to express ideas about what "we" can do together, rather than ideas about what "you" can do alone.

In addition to asking campers how they felt about changes necessary to make peace possible in the Middle East, they were also asked on the post camp questionnaire about their feelings toward the other side and about which groups they thought had changed since the beginning of camp. Most campers expressed feeling more positive about fellow campers from their out-groups, and very few reported feeling more negative about out-group members. Egyptian and Jordanian campers gave the most positive evaluations of the other side, while Palestinian campers gave the least positive evaluations of the other side. Many of the campers who responded to the final question indicated that both sides of the conflict had changed due to their time at camp, and many believed that the other side had changed.

Conclusions and Future Directions

The current study's evaluation of the Seeds of Peace program revealed that the camp experience was associated with changes relative to stereotypes of warmth and competence, closeness to the other side and evaluations of the other side's attitudes about peace and ability to think independently. The data suggest however, that many of the changes observed were the result of ethnocentrism – especially for the stereotyping

measures. The strongest evidence for the efficacy of the camp program in terms of

feeling more positive about the other side were the results from the "closeness to the out-

group" measure. Campers from each of the three groups studied felt closer to the other

side as a function of participating in the camp program. This finding is in line with

results discussed by Tropp and Pettigrew (2005), who suggested that a contact experience

could be related to stronger positive effects for affective measures than for those that

were cognitively-oriented. The implications of these findings suggest that future

evaluations of the Seeds of Peace program should focus more on examining the

emotional aspects of the experience, such as the development of friendship and empathy,

rather than concentrating on stereotypes and attitudes. Such an evaluation may

demonstrate much stronger effects relative to program participation than those evidenced

in the current study.

This research has demonstrated that co-existence contact experiences are a

promising means to reduce hatred and violence between groups involved in an intractable

conflict. This research was not without its limitations, however, many of which have been

previously noted. Future research could remedy some of these issues. Most notably

absent from the current research was a comparison or control group. Due to the political

climate and the safety concerns for participants, it was not possible to collect data from

individuals not directly associated with Seeds of Peace in the Middle East. If a joint-

initiative study could be run, with the assistance of research facilities located in Israel and

the Palestinian Territories, such an undertaking would likely be successful. Despite the

lack of a comparison group in the current research, cohort control in this study allowed

for the study of change while controlling for the characteristics of the participants as well as the general timing of data collection.

Examining the data that were collected but not analyzed for this study from other conflict region groups (e.g., Indian and Pakistani campers) would also contribute to understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Seeds of Peace program. This data may yield information not taken into consideration when studying the Jewish Israeli and Arab conflict, due to the differences in culture, history and root of the conflict. Finally, the development and implementation of a structured interview, rather than reliance on self-report surveys would likely improve the quality of the data collected. While language barriers were an issue with the current research, such an interview could be conducted in the campers home language, adding to the validity of the results obtained.

Follow Up

The follow up study was developed using the results obtained from the initial study of the efficacy of the Seeds of Peace summer camp program, in order to follow up with the campers from the 2006 sessions at the camp. The data were collected approximately 10 months after the group of campers returned home from their camp experience in Maine. Results from Study 1 indicated that participating in the Seeds of Peace summer camp program led to changes in stereotype attributions, feelings toward the out-group, and attitudes about the other side's commitment to building understanding and tolerance. Study 2 was designed to investigate whether these positive effects would still remain, even after the adolescents returned to their home regions in the Middle East.

Follow Up Measures

The survey package was similar to that from Study 1, and included: a modified demographic Questionnaire (see Appendix G), a slightly modified version of the Ambivalent Stereotyping Questionnaire (see Appendix H), the Own-Group and Out-Group Closeness questions, the Attitudes about Peace Task, the Independent Thinking Task, and three open-ended questions about peace. Finally, campers were asked about their willingness to work toward peace in their home regions, and about whether they have kept in touch with any campers they met during their stay in Maine.

Follow Up Prediction

2.1.1 Many of the positive effects of participation in the Seeds of Peace camp will remain, but have begun to fade, as the campers have been in their home environments for nearly one year.

The follow up to the first study was conducted in order to investigate whether the effects of camp that were observed though the first study would still be present after the campers had been back in their home cities for an extended period of time. Previous research has revealed that coexistence and peace education programming yield mixed results, although most findings indicate that short-term results are positive. If campers attend the Seeds of Peace summer camp and then return to their home environments, it is likely that the effects of camp will begin to fade, due to the oppositional environment. As such, the positive effects of camp observed in Study 1 will be stronger than the effects observed one year later. The fact that these participants attended camp however, should indicate that they are more tolerant of the other side as a result of their experiences at camp.

Follow Up Method

Participants

The participants for this follow up study were "Seeds" who attended the Seeds of

Peace International Summer camp in 2006. The focus was on Israeli and Palestinian

campers, although Non-Palestinian Arab campers were invited to participate as well.

Due to the approximately equal gender distribution at camp, the same gender balance for

Study 2 was sought. The ages of the participants ranged from 14 to 18 years old.

Table 28

Demographics of Follow up Study Participants

Delegation	Number	Average Age	Percentage Male	Percentage Female	Average Years of Education
Israelis	31	15.03	48.4	51.6	10.87
Palestinians	16	15.18	50.0	50.0	11.56
Non Palestinian Arabs	15	15.00	60.0	40.0	10.32

These participants represented a sub-sample of those who participated in Study 1.

The larger Study 1 sample included 116 Israeli campers (47% Males, 53% females), 85

Palestinian campers (35% males, 65% females) and 48 Non-Palestinian Arab campers

(44% males, 56% females). Data used for the follow up study were matched using the

participants' unique subject numbers with their original pre and post camp data, collected

in the summer of 2006. Only the follow up participants' data were used to analyze the

results of the follow up study.

Data collection

The follow up was conducted as an Internet-based survey study. The contact

information for graduates of the Seeds of Peace summer program was obtained from the

Tel Aviv offices of Seeds of Peace, and campers from Israel, Palestine, Egypt and Jordan were contacted about participation. It was only possible to contact campers who had provided their email addresses to Seeds of Peace. The Internet-based survey remained online for a period of approximately four months, from the beginning of March until mid-June of 2007, in order to ensure a large enough sample size. Campers from both 2006 camp sessions were sent an initial email requesting their participation. Two weeks later, a reminder email was sent, and another was sent three weeks after that. In addition, Seeds of Peace posted the information about the study on SeedsNet, the discussion forum for camp alumni. By June 2007, response rates had fallen, and conditions began to deteriorate in the Gaza Strip and West Bank due to fighting between Hamas and Fatah parties. There was concern that the political climate would have a negative impact on both participation levels and the responses tendered by Palestinian participants.

Study Design

It is important to note that the sample of participants in the follow up was composed of 27% of the original Israeli campers, 16% of the original Palestinian campers and 44% of the original Non-Palestinian Arab campers who participated in Study 1. This sub-sample of participants was somewhat different from their Study 1 counterparts who did not participate in the follow up, in that their ratings were more elevated on certain measures than were the ratings of the entire Study 1 sample. They may have additionally been more biased toward Seeds of Peace, and toward coexistence and peacemaking programs in general. In addition, this subsample may have been more moderate in their position than was the Study 1 sample at large. The differences between the means for the measures on the follow up sample and the overall sample are reported in Appendix K.

The implications of this difference on the follow up results may be that the conclusions drawn may be more valid for individuals who maintain contact with Seeds of Peace and that the majority of campers who attend camp may be losing touch with the organization.

Follow Up Results

Unless otherwise noted, the analyses conducted for the follow up study consisted of planned contrasts between the pre camp and follow up data and the post camp and follow up data (Time 1 vs. Time 3 and Time 2 vs. Time 3). Repeated measures MANOVA tests were used to detect differences between the three data collection points, and simple contrasts were conducted to determine the direction of these differences. If Group effects are found in the absence of an interaction with Time, they will not be reported, as they do not qualify the results.

Stereotyping Inventory

The means and standard deviations involved with this analysis are reported in Table 29.

Table 29

Comparison of Pre, Post and Follow Up Stereotypes of Warmth and Competence

	Warmth		Competence	
Raters	Israeli	Palestinian	Israeli	Palestinian
Pre camp (Time 1)				
Israelis	3.46	2.98	4.22	3.37
	(0.40)	(0.37)	(0.56)	(0.71)
Palestinians	3.04	3.27	3.27	4.30
	(0.88)	(0.71)	(1.29)	(0.92)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	3.12	3.30	4.21	3.46
	(0.42)	0.55	(0.67)	(1.05)
Post camp (Time 2)				
Israelis	3.29	3.21	4.16	3.26
	(0.43)	(0.46)	(0.48)	(0.71)
Palestinians	3.34	3.24	3.50	4.40
	(0.73)	(0.38)	(1.08)	(0.61)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	3.12	2.93	3.75	3.85
	(0.29)	(0.35)	(1.09)	(1.10)
Follow up (Time 3)				
Israelis	3.24	3.13	3.82	3.26
	(0.40)	(0.41)	(0.80)	(0.68)
Palestinians	2.89	3.26	3.35	3.67
	(0.37)	(0.43)	(0.92)	(0.77)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	3.17	3.18	3.75	3.54
	(0.33)	(0.35)	(0.43)	(0.77)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Scale range was 1 to 7. Higher values indicate more positive attributions.

Analyzing the data pertaining to Israeli warmth using simple contrasts comparing the follow up data to both the pre-camp and post-camp responses did not yield any significant results pertaining to Time.

Analysis of the Palestinian warmth data revealed a Time x Group interaction when post camp responses were compared to follow up responses, $F (2, 59) = 3.96$, $p = .024$, $\eta^2 = 0.118$. This interaction was driven by Non-Palestinian Arab campers rating Palestinians as warmer on the Time 2 survey than at Time 3, $t (15) = 2.02$, $p = .05$. The difference in Time 1 versus Time 3 ratings was not significant.

Analyzing the data pertaining to Israeli competence yielded a significant

difference between the Time 1 and Time 3 data, $F(2, 57) = 3.93$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = 0.065$.

This contrast indicated that ratings of follow up participants' ratings of Israeli

competence were higher pre camp than they were one year later. The Time 2 versus

Time 3 ratings of Israeli competence was not significant.

When Palestinians were the target, the contrast comparing Time 2 responses to

Time 3 responses yielded a significant difference, $F(1, 57) = 8.07$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = 0.124$,

indicating that responses were more positive on the post camp than the follow up

questionnaires. The Time 1 versus Time 3 comparison of Palestinian competence was

not significant.

Own-Group and Out-Group Closeness

The means and standard deviations involved with this analysis are reported in

Table 30.

Table 30

Comparison of Pre, Post and Follow Up Ratings of Closeness to In and Out Groups

Raters	In group closeness	Out group closeness
Time 1		
Israelis	4.20	3.10
	(0.75)	(0.73)
Palestinians	3.75	3.13
	(0.77)	(0.80)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	4.00	3.16
	(1.13)	(0.64)
Time 2		
Israelis	4.45	4.10
	(0.67)	(0.75)
Palestinians	3.51	3.17
	(1.27)	(1.04)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	4.27	4.33
	(0.70)	(0.62)
Time 3		
Israelis	4.11	3.26
	(0.87)	(0.84)
Palestinians	3.97	2.37
	(0.86)	(0.50)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	4.17	4.03
	(0.88)	(0.85)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Scale range was 1 to 5. Higher values indicate higher degree of closeness.

The in-group closeness data did not yield any significant results pertaining to

Time. These non significant findings suggest that all three of the participant groups felt

the same amount of closeness to their in group members over time.

Contrasting the out-group data collected at Time 1 with the Time 3 data revealed

a significant Time x Group interaction, $F(2, 59) = 8.02$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.214$.

Exploration of this pre camp versus follow up interaction revealed that Palestinian

campers felt significantly less close to their out-group at Time 3 than at Time 1, $t(15) =$

2.84, p = .012. Moreover, Non Palestinian Arab campers were found to feel closer to

their out group at Time 3 than at Time 1, t (14) = 2.81, p = .014.

Attitudes about Peace Task

In order to analyze the Attitudes about Peace (AP) data, three sets of analyses

were conducted. The ratings of Self, Israelis as target and Palestinians as target were

separately examined. The means and standard deviations pertaining to the AP task are

presented in Table 31.

Table 31

Comparison of Pre, Post and Follow Up Attitudes About Peace

Raters	Ratings of Self	Ratings of Israelis	Ratings of Palestinians
Time 1			
Israelis	118.64	91.83	62.80
	(11.77)	(29.12)	(33.30)
Palestinians	99.03	50.61	95.53
	(35.39)	(40.58)	(32.56)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	117.37	46.49	85.09
	(14.43)	(29.42)	(23.08)
Time 2			
Israelis	122.35	113.20	95.69
	(11.19)	(16.15)	(26.86)
Palestinians	107.35	66.87	92.70
	(24.61)	(46.38)	(31.47)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	116.35	77.45	95.79
	(15.27)	(23.58)	(29.44)
Time 3			
Israelis	115.92	92.81	78.46
	(19.28)	(12.91)	(18.82)
Palestinians	95.19	79.87	95.53
	(24.34)	(29.55)	(16.75)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	115.42	73.12	80.27
	(21.73)	(27.20)	(25.91)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
     Scale range was 0 to 145. Higher values indicate more positive attributions.

For the "Self" ratings, the simple contrast revealed that the Time 2 data were significantly more positive than were Time 3 ratings, $F(1, 59) = 3.92$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = 0.062$. Given that in Study 1, there was no change as a result of camp experience, these scores suggest deterioration over the year since camp ended. The Time 1 versus Time 3 contrast was not significant.

Analysis of the AP data contrasts when Israelis were the target revealed two Time x Group interactions: the first for the contrast of pre camp to follow up data, $F(2, 58) = 4.80$, $p = .012$, $\eta^2 = 0.142$, and the second for the post camp versus follow up contrast, $F(2, 58) = 6.33$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = 0.179$. These interactions were decomposed and revealed several significant differences. Israelis were more positive about their own group on the post camp than the follow up questionnaires, $t(30) = 6.40$, $p < .001$. Palestinians were significantly more positive about Israelis on the follow up questionnaire than they were on the pre camp questionnaire, $t(14) = 2.56$, $p = .022$, as were Non-Palestinian Arab campers, $t(14) = 3.33$, $p = .005$.

Analysis of the AP data contrast when Palestinians were the target yielded a significant effect of Time for the Time 2 versus Time 3 responses, $F(1, 58) = 4.92$, $p < .030$, $\eta^2 = 0.078$, indicating that campers were more positive about Palestinian attitudes toward peace on the post camp survey than they were on the follow up. This difference between the post camp and follow up responses was further examined, and revealed that Israelis were more positive about Palestinians on the post camp questionnaires than on the follow up, $t(30) = 2.99$, $p = .005$. The Time 1 versus Time 3 contrast was not significant.

Independent Thinking Task

Next, the data pertaining to the Independent Thinking questions were investigated. The means and standard deviations of the IT data are reported in Table 32. The analyses were conducted in the same manner as they were for the AP data, breaking the analysis into three parts: Self as target, Israelis as target and finally, Palestinians as target.

Table 32

Comparison of Pre, Post and Follow Up Independent Thinking

Raters	Ratings of Self	Ratings of Israelis	Ratings of Palestinians
Time 1			
Israelis	121.48	98.69	65.15
	(12.32)	(30.14)	(38.73)
Palestinians	100.43	60.36	94.08
	(40.98)	(48.17)	(36.46)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	129.37	45.18	101.09
	(8.64)	(38.97)	(44.47)
Time 2			
Israelis	117.92	108.56	88.80
	(20.47)	(24.39)	(30.95)
Palestinians	91.87	63.73	96.43
	(39.24)	(36.65)	(38.71)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	120.80	61.78	107.47
	(22.47)	(40.51)	(29.35)
Time 3			
Israelis	117.97	102.64	68.96
	(24.68)	(26.29)	(29.29)
Palestinians	119.76	59.24	112.82
	(24.15)	(43.93)	(23.12)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	126.79	61.49	90.10
	(13.64)	(31.37)	(31.14)

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
 Scale range was 0 to 145. Higher values indicate more positive attributions.

Analysis of the Self IT contrasts revealed a significant difference between the Time 1 and Time 3 data, $F(1, 57) = 3.20$, $p = .048$, $\eta^2 = 0.101$, suggesting that ratings were more positive on the follow up survey than they were on the pre camp survey. Additionally, there was a marginal interaction between the Time 2 and Time 3 data, $F(1, 57) = 3.807$, $p = .054$, $\eta^2 = 0.097$. Decomposing this interaction revealed that Palestinian campers gave more positive Self ratings on the follow up questionnaire, $t(14) = 2.21$, $p = .043$ than on the post camp questionnaire.

Analysis of the IT data when Israelis were the target yielded a significant effects of Time, $F(2, 56) = 3.09$, $p = .053$, $\eta^2 = 0.099$, however neither contrast was individually significant (Time: Time 1 versus Time 3, $F(1, 56) = 1.00$, *ns*; Time 2 versus Time 3, $F(1, 56) = .37$, *ns*. Time x Group: Time 1 versus Time 3, $F(2, 56) = .56$, *ns*; Time 2 versus Time 3, $F(2, 56) = .09$, *ns)*.

Examining the post camp versus follow up IT data contrast where Palestinians were the target revealed a Time x Group interaction, $F(4, 114) = 2.88$, $p = .026$, $\eta^2 = 0.092$. This interaction was decomposed and revealed that Israelis were more positive about Palestinians on the post camp questionnaires than they were on the follow up questionnaires, $t(30) = 3.27$, $p = .003$.

Directed Narrative

What needs to change?

On the follow up survey, the campers were asked the same question about who and what needs to change in order for there to be peace in the Middle East as they were asked on the pre and post camp questionnaires the year previous. Categories for the participants' responses were identical to those used in Study 1: Ideas about rejecting

violence (AV); Compromising (C); Making changes to how the media present the issues involved in the conflict (M); No Resolution (NR); Making changes to the government or political system (PC), and Recognizing the rights of the other side (RR). Figure 3 shows the frequencies of each category response by each of the Israeli, Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab groups:

Figure 3

Follow Up Ideas of Who and What Need to Change, in Order to Facilitate Peace
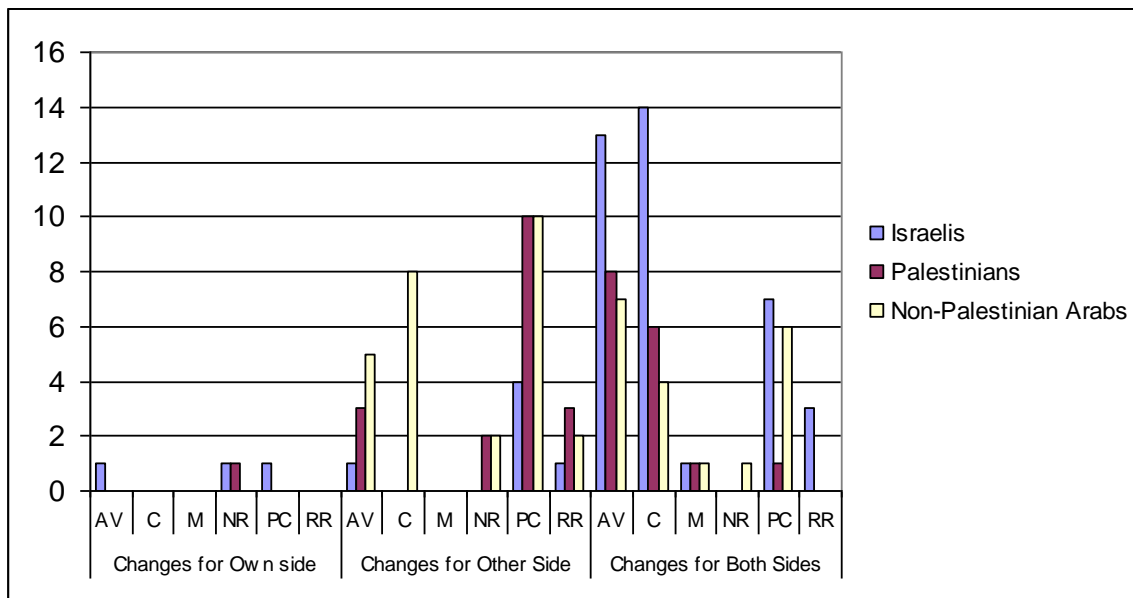
Examining the adjusted standardized residuals (z-scores) of the cross tabulations revealed that, Israeli campers were more likely to indicate that both groups should compromise and recognize each other's rights than change anything else. Palestinian campers wrote that the other side should change their political practices more often than suggesting any other change for the other side. Non-Palestinian Arab campers indicated that the other groups should avoid using violence, and that they should compromise and

make changes to their political systems. They also wrote more often than was expected that both sides should change their political practices.

Who needs to change?

The cell means and standard deviations pertaining to the campers' ideas about who should change are presented in Table 33.

Table 33

Follow up Average Number of Changes for Each Actor

Raters	Own Group	Other Group	Both Groups
Israelis	0.23	0.73	7.27
	(0.51)	(1.04)	(3.68)
Palestinians	0.56	2.94	7.06
	(1.31)	(3.68)	(4.36)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	0.00	3.33	8.75
	(0.00)	(1.92)	(4.88)

<u>Note</u>: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

In terms of who should change, analysis using planned contrasts revealed a main effect of Actor. The mean number of ideas for how one's own side could change was significantly less than the number of ideas suggested for how the other side could change, $F (1, 51) = 30.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.373$, and for how both sides could make changes, $F (1, 51) = 143.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.738$. Additionally, the number of ideas suggested for how both sides could make changes was greater than the number of ideas suggested for how people on the other side could change in order to facilitate peace, $F (1, 51) = 47.67$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.483$.

Finally, a Repeated Measures ANOVA was conducted in order to determine whether the campers' suggestions of who needs to act had changed as a result of their

SOP experience. The means and standard deviations pertaining to this analysis are

included in Table 34:

Table 34

Average Number of Changes for Each Actor, at Each Data Collection Period

Pre-Camp			
Raters	Own Group	Other Group	Both Groups
Israelis	0.08	0.19	2.31
	(0.27)	(0.49)	(1.57)
Palestinians	0.25	1.50	2.19
	(0.68)	(2.50)	(2.56)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	0.00	0.83	3.33
	(0.00)	(1.53)	(2.27)
Post-Camp			
Raters	Own Group	Other Group	Both Groups
Israelis	0.38	0.31	3.69
	(0.20)	(0.68)	(3.55)
Palestinians	0.25	0.31	4.12
	(0.77)	(0.60)	(3.63)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	0.00	0.25	3.83
	(0.00)	(0.62)	(3.56)
Follow Up			
Raters	Own Group	Other Group	Both Groups
Israelis	0.23	0.73	7.27
	(0.51)	(1.04)	(3.68)
Palestinians	0.56	2.94	7.06
	(1.31)	(3.68)	(4.36)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	0.00	3.33	8.75
	(0.00)	(1.92)	(4.88)

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

The analysis of the planned contrasts yielded significant Time x Actor

interactions. The contrast of the Time 1 versus the Time 3 data yielded a difference in

the average numbers of ideas reported about how both groups could change, $F(1, 51) =$

7.12, p = .010, $\eta^2 = 0.123$. There were more ideas on the follow up than on the pre-camp

surveys about how both groups could change than ideas for what only the other side

could do, $F(1, 51) = 7.10$, p = .010, $\eta^2 = 0.122$. The contrast of the Time 2 versus the

Time 3 data also yielded a significant difference in the average numbers of ideas reported

for own group versus both groups, $F(1, 51) = 15.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.228$ and other group

versus both groups, $F(1, 51) = 25.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.332$. In each case, there was a

greater number of ideas written on the follow up than on the post-camp survey for things

that both sides could do in order to facilitate peace than there was for own or other side.

Summary of follow up results

Each of the measures used on the follow up study showed some degree of either

maintenance or slippage when compared to the data from the Time 1 (pre camp) and

Time 2 (post camp) ratings given by the same participants. Table 34 details where

maintenance and slippage were observed. In instances where a Time x Group interaction

was observed, the details are reported within the table.

Table 35

Maintenance of results between Time 1 and Time 3, and Time 2 and Time 3

	Time 1 versus Time 3	Time 2 versus Time 3
Stereotyping Israeli Warmth	no change	no change
Stereotyping Israeli Competence	*Time 1 > Time 3*	no change
Stereotyping Palestinian Warmth	no change	*Time 2 > Time 3*
Stereotyping Palestinian Competence	no change	*Time 2 > Time 3*
Closeness to In-Group	no change	no change
Closeness to Out-Group	*Time 1 > Time 3 for Palestinians; Time 1 < Time 3 for Non-Palestinian Arabs*	no change
Attitudes about Peace – Rating Self	no change	*Time 2 > Time 3*
Attitudes about Peace – Rating Israelis	*Time 1 < Time 3 for Palestinians and Non-Palestinian Arabs*	*Time 2 > Time 3 for Israelis*
Attitudes about Peace – Rating Palestinians	no change	*Time 2 > Time 3*
Independent Thinking – Rating Self	*Time 1 < Time 3*	*Time 2 < Time 3 for Palestinians*
Independent Thinking – Rating Israelis	no change	no change
Independent Thinking – Rating Palestinians	no change	*Time 2 > Time 3 for Israelis*

Follow Up Discussion

Following up with Seeds of Peace campers approximately one year after their return from camp allowed for an investigation of the longevity of the effects observed immediately following camp, in Study 1. In general, this follow up study showed that ratings of out groups were generally most positive at the end of camp, on the post-camp surveys. Many campers' responses to the follow up survey items suggested that their positive feelings about the other side that had been indicated on the post-camp surveys had begun to fade. It is possible that participants had begun to think the out-group as a whole, rather than focusing on their experience with representatives of the other side who were at camp. The fact that these adolescents were willing to participate in a follow up survey, especially given the political climate in Israel and the Palestinian territories during the follow up data collection period, speaks to their dedication to work toward peace.

Stereotyping Inventory

The results of the follow up survey items pertaining to stereotypes of warmth illustrated that stereotypes of warmth did not generally change in the long-term as a result of participation in the Seeds of Peace camp program. Israelis were not seen as any more or less warm on the follow up survey than they were on the follow up participants' pre and post camp surveys, one year before. Participants' ratings of Palestinian warmth on the follow up showed slippage from their ratings on the post camp survey, when Palestinians were rated to be the most warm.

The participants' ratings of Israeli and Palestinian competence showed change between the three data collection points. When Israelis were the target, participants'

ratings were higher on the pre camp surveys than they were on the follow up. Ratings of Palestinian competence on the follow up survey slipped from their post camp levels, but did not slip as far as the pre camp survey ratings.

Stereotypes and attitude formation are susceptible to peer pressure. It can be very difficult to change the way a person feels about another person, or group of people, when they are surrounded by others who are very much against the out-group (e.g., Newcomb, 1942). The results of the current study suggest that interpersonal experience with out-group members can be associated with acceptance, as predicted by the Contact Model of intergroup relations (e.g., Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Miller & Brewer, 1984), but that this acceptance may wane as time passes. In the case of these participants, they have been thrust back into environments that view relations between Jewish Israelis and Palestinians as undesirable and threatening (Ben-Ari, 2004).

When the participants in the current study attended the Seeds of Peace camp, they were confronted with information contrary to that which they receive in their home regions from their friends and families. This new information, paired with the opportunities to really come into contact and get to know members of the out-group may have brought about a temporary attitude change in the campers that was captured on the post camp surveys. Those post camp survey results may have been elevated due to a combination of the new information coming from the other side directly and the contact experience itself. Campers may have responded to survey items thinking of their new friends from the other side, rather than seeing "Israelis" or "Palestinians" as an unknown group. Now that the former campers have been back in their home regions for some time, they may show reduced sensitivity in their perceptions of the out-group (e.g., Hewstone,

Islam & Judd, 1993). That is, they may have again begun to group "all Israelis" or "all Palestinians" in their perceptions of these groups, rather than focusing on the Israelis or Palestinians that were friends at camp. In addition, people tend to seek out information that confirms their negative theories about the other side (Stephen & Stephen, 1985). With all of the negative political events and violence in the Middle East over the last year, it is not surprising that the previous gains made in seeing the out-group more positively have begun to fade.

Own-Group and Out-Group Closeness

The in-group closeness data from the follow up study are similar to the data from Study 1, indicating that there were no significant changes observed as a function of the passage of time. Contrasting how close participants reported feeling to their out-group on the follow up with their reports on the pre and post camp measures yielded mixed results. The Palestinian respondents indicated feeling less close to their out-group (Israelis) one year after camp began than they felt before camp began. This finding may be the result of the factors discussed above, or may be due to rising political tensions. Despite this discouraging finding, Non-Palestinian Arab campers reported feeling closer to their out-group on the follow up survey than they did on the pre camp survey, before their SOP experience began. Previous research has demonstrated that when people are involved in a shift toward a more inclusive social categorization, for example as Seeds of Peace campers rather than "Israelis" or "Palestinians", they may begin to evaluate out-group members more positively (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005), and thus feel more close to the other side.

The Information Model of intergroup contact (Triandis, 1975) predicts that positive gains can be made by providing information about the groups to one another through media sources or educational programming about the other side. The Seeds of Peace program takes educational programming one step further by allowing each side to tell its story in its own words and encouraging the other side to do the same. The results of the out-group closeness investigation suggest that especially for Non-Palestinian Arab campers, receiving this information has made a long-term change in the way out-groups are perceived. The enhanced familiarity that was bred during their Seeds of Peace experience has likely created new cognitive representations of out-group members (e.g., Brewer, 1988). One of the goals of the Seeds of Peace summer camp is to have each camper make at least one friend from the other side. Their techniques of allowing peers to share stories and feelings with one another may be one of the great strengths of this program.

Attitudes about Peace

The examination of the AP data was broken down into three separate analyses, one each for data pertaining to Self, Israelis as the target group, and Palestinians as the target group. The Self ratings of interest in working toward peace were more elevated immediately following camp than they were on the follow up questionnaire. Given the political climate in the Gaza Strip at the time that all of the data, including the follow up data were being collected, participants may have felt disconnected from their own group members, and concerned about the ongoing violence in their region. Reminding them about working toward resolving the conflict may have made them feel less enthusiastic about peace and the peace process.

When participants were asked to rate Israelis' interest in creating peace, Israeli participants were more positive about their own group's position on the post camp questionnaire than on the follow up. Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab participants however, were more positive about Israeli intentions on the follow up questionnaire than they were on the initial survey, before the camp experience began. Asking the participants to rate Palestinian interest in peace showed that ratings were more positive on the post camp questionnaire than they were on the follow up survey. Despite the peak of elevated ratings following camp, Israeli participants rated Palestinians as more interested in peace on the follow up questionnaire than on the pre camp survey.

The intergroup dialogue sessions that are an integral part of the Seeds of Peace summer camp allow Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers to engage in face-to-face discussions about conflict, social justice, and social actions. Having people from both sides of the conflict show understanding and appreciation of the other side's suffering may be more beneficial than the contact experience alone (e.g., Sherman, Nelson & Ross, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 2004). According to the Metacognitive Model of intergroup contact (Ben-Ari, 2004), positive changes in intergroup perceptions can be attained by creating an intergroup awareness. That is, considering the consequences of stereotyping and biased attitudes can allow greater openness to new information about that group. During the Seeds of Peace camp experience, participants are forced to do this at every activity, meal, sporting event and dialogue session. The entire purpose of the camp is to teach adolescents how to have an open mind, in order to prevent socially ignorant thinking. While the follow up survey did not show that the campers kept their heightened opinions of the other side as elevated as they were on the last day of camp,

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gains have certainly been made: none of the three groups reverted to attitudes that were held about the other side before the camp experience began.

Independent Thinking

The Independent Thinking task was analyzed with the same structure as the Attitudes about Peace task, examining group differences and effects of SOP for ratings of Self, Israelis and Palestinians. Analyzing the Self data revealed that in general, participants rated themselves as thinking more independently on the follow up questionnaire than on the pre camp questionnaire. This result is in contrast to that obtained in Study 1, where Palestinian campers' ratings of their own ability to think independently was significantly lower than the Self ratings given by the other two groups of campers.

When respondents were asked to rate Israelis' tendencies to think independently, the follow up ratings were not as elevated as were the post camp ratings. There were no significant differences between Time 1 and Time 3 or Time 2 and Time 3 ratings of Israeli independent thinking. When Palestinians were the target, Israeli campers rated Palestinians more positively on the post camp (Time 2) survey than on the follow up (Time 3).

One of the most fundamental difficulties with the Jewish Israeli – Palestinian conflict is that the issues are so ingrained into each side's social identity that each side believes in its superiority and objectivity about the conflict (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Bar-Tal, 1990). The results of the Independent Thinking task demonstrate that each side has remained stuck in the belief that it is more capable of thinking independently than the other side believes them to be. This problem could potentially be remedied by further

training in thinking about one's own thinking, as per the Metacognitive Model of intergroup contact (Ben-Ari, 2004). This model prescribes self-monitoring to allow individuals to continually evaluate their progress when processing information about their own side and the other. While the Seeds overcame many of the psychological barriers to resolving their issues, the results of the Independent Thinking task suggest that respondents maintain the belief that their side is more correct than the other in the way they think and make decisions.

Directed Narrative

Participants in the follow up study were asked to write as many ideas as they could about what needs to change, in order for there to be peace in the Middle East. The data from Study 1 indicated that campers generally ascribed responsibility for the conflict to both sides, and suggested that there should be more compromise and changes to government policies. The follow up data also indicate compromise and changing political practices as the most common ideas for how to facilitate peace. Overwhelmingly, respondents from each of the three groups studied suggested that both sides of the conflict needed to do some work in order to realize peace in the Middle East. Only the Non-Palestinian Arab group neglected to make even one suggestion that their own side alone could do something to help resolve the conflict. They however, were the group that wrote the most ideas out of each of the three populations studied.

While it was not directly analyzed, it is clear that participants wrote more ideas about how to bring about peace on the follow up study than they did on the pre and post camp questionnaires. Anecdotally, these suggestions were more detailed than were the

suggestions on either of the two other surveys, suggesting that the respondents spent more time thinking about how to create peace than they previously spent.

Conclusions and Future Directions

This follow up study of the impact of Seeds of Peace on adolescents' beliefs about "the other side" has shown that it is possible to maintain a more positive attitude toward a perceived enemy following an intense contact experience. Like Study 1, the follow up study would have benefited from the inclusion of a control or comparison group, however due to logistical constraints and the current political climate in Israel and the Palestinian territories, it was not possible. Future research of this nature should endeavor to include control participants, in order to draw clear conclusions about the long-term efficacy of encounter-based programs.

The Seeds of Peace organization has been operating their International Summer Camp since June, 1993. Future studies that include camp alumni from as far back as the camp's inaugural year should be undertaken, to provide a clear picture of the long-term benefits of participation in the Seeds of Peace program. Conducting such research would also allow the scientific community and program managers alike to detect exactly where the program could be bolstered, in order to provide longer term benefits. Although the current study attempted to examine the long-term benefits of participation, the degree of participation was problematic. If future studies of former campers are to be undertaken, improved recruitment methods, such as having staff members from Seeds of Peace or even campers themselves become more involved in contacting potential participants, the result would likely be higher numbers of participants.

General Discussion and Conclusions

As a whole, the results of the current research are positive, and bode well for the use of coexistence programs as a means to increase mutual understanding and development of relationships for parties involved in intractable conflict. The Seeds of Peace experience provides a safe place to begin building trust, because it is a non-binding interaction (Kelman, 2005). As such, gains were observed immediately following the camp experience, and in several instances attitudes remained more positive one year after camp began than they were before the camp experience.

In order to maximize the benefits of participation in the Seeds of Peace camp program, there are several changes that could be implemented. The current evaluation of the program has shown that cognitive orientations, such as stereotypes, are resistant to change. The Common In-Group Identification Model (e.g., Brown & Hewstone, 2005) suggests that in order to begin to break down stereotypes, it is necessary to de-categorize groups. Every morning, the campers and staff at the Seeds of Peace camp participate in flag raising and anthem-singing – an activity that could potentially make salient the different groups at camp. According to Pettigrew (1998), initially de-emphasizing and then later re-introducing group differences can create an optimal plan of action for deriving positive outcomes from intergroup contact.

Emphasizing superordinate goals has been demonstrated to bring together opposing sides (e.g., Sherif, 1958). There are many activities at the camp that require campers to collaborate in order to achieve such goals, for example scaling the "high ropes" course, but there may be ways to build more common-goal setting into the program. Having the campers work together to come up with solutions to problems not

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directly related to their conflict may impact their thinking about one another. Realizing

that you must rely on someone who you do not inherently trust could potentially be a

turning point in the relationship between the sides, and would build on John Wallach's

goal of having campers learn to trust and empathize with the out-group.

Finally, having campers commit to participate in two or three coexistence or

peace-building programs after they've returned home could be important to the

maintenance of feelings of closeness toward the other side, and positive evaluations of

their attitudes toward the peace process. While participation in such activities is

encouraged, there are currently no requirements for campers to participate in any further

programming once their session at camp has ended.

The current research is not without its limitations. The follow up study had a very

small number of participants, and therefore lacked a high degree of statistical power.

Due to the nature of the follow up study, this small sample may have also been biased

toward Seeds of Peace and coexistence programs in general, calling into question the

ability to generalize the results of the follow up to all Seeds of Peace participants.

Another limitation of both the initial and follow up studies is that it is impossible to

control for the occurrence of war and violence. During data collection at the Seeds of

Peace camp and the follow up study there were episodes of intense conflict in Israel, the

Gaza Strip and Lebanon, which may have influenced participants' camp experience.

The strengths and contributions of the current research outweigh its shortcomings.

Conducting this evaluation of the Seeds of Peace program has allowed for insight into the

immediate effects of an encounter experience with perceived enemies. The investigation

of this real-world population provided insight into the psychological changes that do and

do not occur as a result of participation in an intense contact experience. Furthermore, this research used measures that have formerly been used with North Americans, and has provided the scientific community with data pertaining to Middle Eastern populations, and how the results may replicate previous findings. This is especially true for the data collected on stereotypes, attitudes about peace and independent thinking. Finally, many of the encounter experience studies that have been published to date (e.g., Bargal & Bar, 1992; Biton, 2002; Maoz, 2003; Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004) do not provide follow up research findings. In addition to providing an in-depth analysis of the immediate effects of the Seeds of Peace program, the current studies go one step beyond, and provide insight on the maintenance and slippage of observed effects, one year after camp has ended.

The effects observed are in line with previous attempts to educate and develop positive relations between conflicting sides. C. Stephan and colleagues (2004) found that educational encounters led participants to increase awareness of the differences between the groups, and value them by focusing on changing the attitudes and behaviours of minority groups. Intergroup dialogue studies (e.g., Bargal and Bar, 1992) have placed emphasis on interactive components, such as those used by the Seeds of Peace staff. In these programs, conflict is often brought out into the open, and discussed, and participants are encouraged to express their emotions and discuss their reactions to prejudice and stereotypes. These intergroup dialogue studies have typically led to mixed outcomes, with some years being more successful than others at realizing attitude changes. The Seeds of Peace goal of having each camper "make one friend" during their experience at camp may be the key to prolonging the positive changes that begin at camp

(e.g. Bar-Nathan, 2004).   The mixed results from the current study are in line with these findings, and suggest that the rapidly changing political climate in the Middle East is a difficult barrier to resolving issues between groups who have a history of protracted conflict (Bargal & Bar, 1992). If each Seeds of Peace camper were to participate in a coexistence or dialogue exercise after leaving camp, it could make a difference in the maintenance of positive feelings toward out group members.

As Seeds founder John Wallach wrote, "Seeds of Peace, in the final analysis, is a detoxification program. It allows the accumulated generations of hatred to pour out" (Wallach, Wallach & Lukoski, 2000; 114). The results of this research indicate that intergroup stereotypes can be positively changed. Now more than ever, it is necessary to have programs like the Seeds of Peace International Summer Camp. It is not just Jewish Israelis, Palestinians and Non-Palestinian Arabs who benefit from the experience of the camp. Indian and Pakistani youth have had opportunities to learn about each other and appreciate the struggles of the other side. Campers from the Balkans, the United States and Afghanistan have also had opportunities to attend the camp in Maine. With the current number of civil wars, international conflicts and global tension, it is imperative that today's young people have a chance to meet with one another and build relationships that their leaders are too afraid to forge.

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Appendix A

Pre-camp Demographic Questionnaire – Study 1[6]

Please fill in the information below.

Is this your first summer at Seeds of Peace?   Yes_____   No_____

       If no, how many summers have you spent at camp? _____

Age (in years): _____

City of residence: _____

Do you reside in a refugee camp: Yes_____   No_____

Number of years _____
in school:

In which city do _____
you attend school?

Languages spoken: _____

Which family members live in your home with you (please check)
_____ Mother
_____ Father
_____ Brothers   Number of brothers: _____
_____ Sisters   Number of sisters: _____
_____ Grandparents Number of grandparents: _____
_____ Other family members   Number: _____

Do you have a television in your home?   Y   N

Do you have Internet Access in your home?   Y   N

---

[6] On the cover page of the survey package, campers were asked to indicate from which country they came, their gender, and their religion.

Appendix B

Social Dominance Orientation and Racial Attitudes Measure

Instructions: Please rate your feelings about the following statements on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), by circling your choice below. There are no right or wrong answers. Please attempt to answer each question; however, if you are uncomfortable answering any of the questions below, you may skip that item.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

1. **Some groups of people are simply not the equals of other groups.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

2. **This region would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people are.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

3. **Some people are more deserving than others.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

4. **Some people are inferior to others.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

5. **Equality among people would benefit everyone.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

6. **If people were treated more equally, we would have fewer problems in this region.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| strongly disagree | | | neutral | | | strongly agree |

7. **In an ideal world, all nations would be equal.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| strongly disagree | | | neutral | | | strongly agree |

8. **All humans should be treated equally.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| strongly disagree | | | neutral | | | strongly agree |

9. **The other side shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| strongly disagree | | | neutral | | | strongly agree |

10. **I would feel self-conscious talking to a person from the other side in a public place.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| strongly disagree | | | neutral | | | strongly agree |

11. **It would bother me if a person from the other side joined the same group that I belong to.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| strongly disagree | | | neutral | | | strongly agree |

Appendix C

Stereotyping Inventory

Instructions: Please circle your ratings of how you think the following groups are viewed by society according to the guideline below. Then, please fill in your rating of your own feelings about them using the same scale.

There are no right or wrong answers. Please attempt to answer each question; however, if you are uncomfortable answering any of the questions below, you may skip that item.

1	2	3	4	5
disagree strongly		neutral		agree strongly

Americans		
Society Rating	*Trait*	*Your Rating*
1 2 3 4 5	Arrogant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Intelligent	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Confident	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Greedy	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Helpful	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Hostile	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Tolerant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Warm	1 2 3 4 5

Afghans		
Society Rating	*Trait*	*Your Rating*
1 2 3 4 5	Arrogant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Intelligent	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Confident	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Greedy	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Helpful	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Hostile	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Tolerant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Warm	1 2 3 4 5

Egyptians		
Society Rating	*Trait*	*Your Rating*
1 2 3 4 5	Arrogant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Intelligent	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Confident	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Greedy	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Helpful	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Hostile	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Tolerant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Warm	1 2 3 4 5

Indians		
Society Rating	*Trait*	*Your Rating*
1 2 3 4 5	Arrogant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Intelligent	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Confident	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Greedy	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Helpful	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Hostile	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Tolerant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Warm	1 2 3 4 5

Israelis		
Society Rating	*Trait*	*Your Rating*
1 2 3 4 5	Arrogant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Intelligent	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Confident	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Greedy	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Helpful	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Hostile	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Tolerant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Warm	1 2 3 4 5

Jordanians		
Society Rating	*Trait*	*Your Rating*
1 2 3 4 5	Arrogant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Intelligent	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Confident	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Greedy	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Helpful	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Hostile	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Tolerant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Warm	1 2 3 4 5

Palestinians		
Society Rating	*Trait*	*Your Rating*
1 2 3 4 5	Arrogant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Intelligent	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Confident	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Greedy	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Helpful	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Hostile	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Tolerant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Warm	1 2 3 4 5

Palestinian/Arab-Israelis		
Society Rating	Trait	Your Rating
1 2 3 4 5	Arrogant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Intelligent	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Confident	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Greedy	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Helpful	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Hostile	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Tolerant	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Warm	1 2 3 4 5

Appendix D

Attitudes about Peace and Independent Thinking Tasks

Instructions: Please read the statements at either ends of the lines below. Please mark an "X" where you think the person or group indicated belongs on the line. There are no right or wrong answers.

Myself   _____
Arab-Israelis   _____
Egyptians   _____
Israelis   _____
Jordanians   _____
Palestinians   _____

Do not care about   Care a lot about
the peace process   the peace process

Myself   _____
Arab-Israelis   _____
Egyptians   _____
Israelis   _____
Jordanians   _____
Palestinians   _____

Do not think that   Believe strongly that
peace is possible   peace is possible

Myself   _____
Arab-Israelis   _____
Egyptians   _____
Israelis   _____
Jordanians   _____
Palestinians   _____

Do not treat all people   Treat all people
with respect   with respect

Myself
Arab-Israelis
Egyptians
Israelis
Jordanians
Palestinians

Will never make compromises	Will make compromises

Myself
Arab-Israelis
Egyptians
Israelis
Jordanians
Palestinians

Use violence to achieve goals	Do not use violence to achieve goals

Myself
Arab-Israelis
Egyptians
Israelis
Jordanians
Palestinians

Do not base decisions and judgements on facts and reality	Base decisions and judgements on facts and reality

Myself
Arab-Israelis
Egyptians
Israelis
Jordanians
Palestinians

Have been "brainwashed"	Are independent thinkers

Appendix E

Directed Narrative[7]

Instructions: Please respond to the questions below by listing as many experiences or thoughts as you are able. You may answer in English or in your native language.

1. What changes do you think need to occur for peace to come about? Please list as many changes as you can.

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

2. Has your experience at Seeds of Peace changed how you feel about the other side?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

3. Have your group or the other side changed in any way?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

4. To what extent do you think the other side was represented at camp as a group?

1	2	3	4	5
not at all		somewhat		very well

---

[7] Note: The pre-camp Directed Narrative asked only the first question. The full version in this Appendix is the post-camp version.

Appendix F

Own-Group and Out-Group Closeness Questions

Instructions: Please rate the following statements on a scale of 1 (very small extent) to 5 (very large extent), by circling your choice below. There are no right or wrong answers. Please attempt to answer each question; however, if you are uncomfortable answering any of the questions below, you may skip that item.

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
very small extent		neutral		very large extent

1. **To what extent do you feel close to other people from your own group?**

1	2	3	4	5
very small extent		neutral		very large extent

2. **To what extent do you feel close to people from your conflict group?**

1	2	3	4	5
very small extent		neutral		very large extent

3. **To what extent do you feel your group is unique and special?**

1	2	3	4	5
very small extent		neutral		very large extent

Appendix G

Demographic Questionnaire – Follow Up

Gender: Male_____ Female_____

During which summer(s) did you attend the Seeds of Peace Summer Camp (e.g., 1995, 1996)?
 _____

Age (in years): _____

City of residence: _____

Number of years _____
of education:

Languages spoken: _____

Which family members live in your home with you (please check)
_____   Mother   _____Spouse
_____   Father   _____Children
_____   Brothers   _____Number of Brothers
_____   Sisters   _____Number of Sisters
_____   Grandparents   _____Number of Grandparents
_____   Other   _____Other

Do you have a television in your home?   Y   N

Do you have Internet Access in your home?   Y   N

Since camp ended, have you participated in any Seeds of Peace programs?   Y   N
        If yes, how often: Once   5 times or less   10 times or less   More than 10 times
        If yes, what sort of activities have you participated in?
        _____
        _____

Since camp ended, have you participated in other coexistence programs?   Y   N
        If yes, how often: Once   5 times or less   10 times or less   More than 10 times
        If yes, what sort of programs?
        _____
        _____

Appendix H

Stereotyping Inventory – Follow Up

Instructions: Please circle your ratings of how you think the following groups are viewed by society according to the guideline below. Then, please fill in your rating of your own feelings about them using the same scale.

There are no right or wrong answers. Please attempt to answer each question; however, if you are uncomfortable answering any of the questions below, you may skip that item.

1	2	3	4	5
disagree strongly		neutral		agree strongly

Israelis	
Your Rating	*Trait*
1 2 3 4 5	Arrogant
1 2 3 4 5	Intelligent
1 2 3 4 5	Confident
1 2 3 4 5	Greedy
1 2 3 4 5	Helpful
1 2 3 4 5	Hostile
1 2 3 4 5	Tolerant
1 2 3 4 5	Warm

Palestinians	
Your Rating	*Trait*
1 2 3 4 5	Arrogant
1 2 3 4 5	Intelligent
1 2 3 4 5	Confident
1 2 3 4 5	Greedy
1 2 3 4 5	Helpful
1 2 3 4 5	Hostile
1 2 3 4 5	Tolerant
1 2 3 4 5	Warm

Appendix I

Commitment to Peace[8]

Instructions: Please indicate your rating of how willing you are to work toward peace, followed by your rating of how hopeful you are about peace in the Middle East.

1. **How willing are you to work toward peace in your region?**

1	2	3	4	5
very willing		neutral		very unwilling

2. **How hopeful are you that peace will be realized in the Middle East?**

1	2	3	4	5
very hopeful		neutral		not at all hopeful

3. **What do you think needs to change, in order for there to be peace in the Middle East?[9]** (open ended)

4. **What do you think your own side needs to change, in order for there to be peace in the Middle East?** (open ended)

5. **What do you think the other side needs to change, in order for there to be peace in the Middle East?** (open ended)

---

[8] Questions 1 and 2 of this measure were included upon the request of Seeds of Peace. The data obtained from these two questions were not analyzed or included in the current research.
[9] The data from question 3 were analyzed and included in the current research. Responses to questions 4 and 5 were not usable for the purposes of analyses.

Appendix J

Comparisons of pre and post camp data[10]

Social Dominance Orientation

  An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted using pre-camp and post-camp

SDO total ratings as the repeated measures factor (SOP experience), and Session and

Group as between-subjects factors. The means and standard deviations of the cell values

are reported in Table 36.

  Table 36

Average Social Dominance Orientation Scores, by Session and Experience

Raters	Session 1 pre	Session 1 post	Session 2 pre	Session 2 post
Israelis N = 100	1.87 (0.77)	2.16 (0.96)	2.28 (0.88)	2.71 (1.06)
Palestinians N = 95	2.82 (0.96)	2.65 (0.87)	2.69 (0.99)	3.22 (1.01)
Non-Palestinian Arabs N = 36	2.62 (0.96)	2.51 (1.22)	2.71 (0.92)	3.54 (0.89)

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

  The analysis of this data revealed a marginally significant interaction between

SOP experience and Session, $F(1, 225) = 3.59$, $p = .059$, $\eta^2 = 0.016$. Breaking down this

interaction using two Paired-Samples t-tests revealed that while there was no significant

difference between the pre and post camp SDO scores for Session 1 campers, there was a

marginally significant effect of camp experience for the Session 2 campers, $t(136) =$

-1.89, $p = .06$. These results suggest that the campers from Session 2 gave ratings that

---

[10] Means presented in Appendix J may differ from those presented in the body of the thesis due to the use of Series Mean interpolation, rather than Linear Interpolation as the method of imputing missing data points.

were more indicative of a social dominance orientation following their camp experience than they had before their participation in Seeds of Peace.

There was also a significant effect of Group, F (2, 225) = 14.92, p < .001, η^2 = .117. These results indicated that Israeli, Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers responded to the SDO items in different ways. Post hoc testing, using Least Significant Difference (LSD) comparisons, revealed that Israelis supported equality to a much greater extent than did Palestinian campers and Non-Palestinian Arab campers. Palestinians and Non-Palestinian Arab campers did not significantly differ in their responses to the SDO items. Finally, there was a marginally significant effect of session, F (1, 225) = 3.76, p = .054, η^2 = .488; SDO scores of Session 2 campers were higher than those who participated in Session 1.

Stereotyping Inventory

Four univariate ANOVAs were conducted using the pre and post camp Warmth and Competence scores for Israelis and Palestinians[11]. This series of analyses used the Warmth or Competence scores before and after camp as the repeated measure (SOP experience), and Session and Group as between subjects factors. The information pertaining to stereotypes held of Israelis will be presented first, followed by the information pertaining to stereotypes held of Palestinians. The means and standard deviations of the cell values for stereotypes of Israelis and Palestinians are reported in Tables 37 and 38 respectively.

---

[11] Although this measure was given to all campers, many chose not to respond to the stereotyping questions pertaining to the other side.

Table 37

Average Ratings of Israeli Warmth and Competence, by Session and Experience

Raters	Session 1		Session 2	
	Pre Experience	Post Experience	Pre Experience	Post Experience
Warmth				
Israelis	3.34	3.47	3.26	3.38
N = 71	(0.56)	(0.61)	(0.44)	(0.54)
Palestinians	2.21	2.73	2.37	2.68
N = 55	(0.85)	(0.66)	(0.53)	(0.69)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	2.49	2.69	2.33	2.95
N = 22	(0.50)	(0.71)	(0.43)	(0.49)
Competence				
Israelis	4.30	4.32	4.31	4.35
N = 85	(0.61)	(0.67)	(0.48)	(0.57)
Palestinians	3.64	3.26	3.06	3.15
N = 76	(1.21)	(0.81)	(1.19)	(1.05)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	4.08	3.84	3.89	3.83
N = 28	(0.77)	(0.82)	(0.99)	(0.75)

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

The first analysis was of the effects of experiencing the SOP camp on stereotype ratings of Israeli Warmth. There was a main effect of SOP experience for both camp sessions, $F (1, 142) = 23.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.140$. There was additionally, a significant SOP experience x Group interaction, $F (2, 142) = 3.12$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = 0.042$. Repeated measures t-tests were conducted in order to decompose this interaction. These analyses revealed that Israeli campers rated their own group as more warm following their camp experience, $t (99) = -2.94$, $p = .004$. Additionally, Palestinian campers rated Israelis as more warm following camp, $t (95) = -3.53$, $p < .001$, as did Non-Palestinian Arab campers, $t (35) = -3.08$, $p = .004$. These results suggest that the experience of participating in the SOP camp was related to the Israeli, Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers' increased attributions of Warmth toward Israelis, while the interaction

suggested that the differences between pre and post camp were greatest for the Palestinian campers.

The between-subjects analysis revealed a significant effect of Group, $F(2, 142) = 50.94$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .418$. Post hoc tests using LSD comparisons showed that Israelis rated their own group as significantly warmer than did the Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab campers. The ratings of the Palestinian and Non-Palestinian Arab groups were not significantly different from one another.

The second analysis pertained to the stereotype ratings of Israeli Competence. SOP experience did not result in any changes in ratings of Israeli competence, however there was a significant effect of Group, $F(2, 183) = 38.74$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .297$. Post hoc testing using LSD comparisons revealed that Israeli ratings of Israeli competence were higher than the ratings attributed by the other two groups. Additionally, the Non-Palestinian Arab campers rated the Israeli campers as more competent than the Palestinian campers judged them to be.

Table 38

Average Ratings of Palestinian Warmth and Competence, by Session and Experience

	Session 1		Session 2	
	Pre Experience	Post Experience	Pre Experience	Post Experience
Raters				
Warmth				
Israelis	2.97	3.12	2.96	2.84
N = 61	(0.59)	(0.74)	(0.56)	(0.56)
Palestinians	3.94	3.93	3.71	3.78
N = 55	(0.56)	(0.64)	(0.57)	(0.47)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	3.61	3.72	3.65	3.74
N = 24	(0.48)	(0.51)	(0.70)	(0.49)
Competence				
Israelis	3.36	3.77	3.36	3.35
N = 77	(0.69)	(0.79)	(0.93)	(0.89)
Palestinians	4.03	4.09	3.78	4.36
N = 72	(0.97)	(0.81)	(1.14)	(0.79)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	3.27	3.85	3.64	4.00
N = 31	(1.21)	(0.87)	(0.74)	(1.02)

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

The first analysis for campers' ratings of Palestinians pertained to the impact of the SOP experience on stereotype ratings of Palestinian Warmth. There were no main effects of or interactions with campers' Seeds of Peace experience, however there were group differences in ratings of Palestinian warmth, $F(1, 134) = 49.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .423$. Post hoc testing using LSD comparisons indicated that the Palestinian campers rated their own group as significantly warmer than did the Israeli and Non-Palestinian Arab campers. Additionally, the Israeli campers gave significantly lower warmth ratings of Palestinians than did the Non-Palestinian Arab campers.

The second analysis pertained to the stereotype ratings of Palestinian Competence, and revealed a main effect of SOP experience; ratings of Palestinian competence increased overall following the experience at camp, $F(1, 174) = 13.32$, $p <$

.001, $\eta^2 = 0.071$. Additionally, there was a significant three-way SOP experience x Group x Session interaction, $F(2, 174) = 3.61$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = 0.040$ which moderated the main effect of SOP experience. A series of paired-samples t-tests showed that Israeli campers in Session 1 rated Palestinians as more competent following their camp experience, $t(40) = -3.66$, $p < .001$. The Palestinians campers in Session 2 rated their own group as more competent following their experience at the SOP camp, $t(66) = -3.25$, $p = .002$, and the Non-Palestinian Arab campers in Session 1 rated Palestinians as more competent following their camp session, $t(23) = -2.19$, $p = .04$.

In addition, the between-subjects analysis yielded a significant effect of Group, $F(1, 174) = 12.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .123$. Post hoc testing using LSD comparisons indicated that the Palestinian campers rated their own group to be significantly more competent than did the Israeli and Non-Palestinian Arab campers. The difference between the Israeli and Non-Palestinian Arab campers' ratings of Palestinian competence was not significantly different.

Out-group Closeness

An ANOVA test was conducted using pre and post camp out-group closeness scores. SOP experience was a repeated measure, and Session and Group were between subjects factors. The means and standard deviations of the cell values are reported in Table 39

Table 39

Ratings of Closeness to Out-Group, by Session and Experience

Raters	Session 1 pre	Session 1 post	Session 2 pre	Session 2 post
Israelis N = 100	3.24 (0.52)	3.76 (0.92)	3.05 (0.84)	4.08 (0.75)
Palestinians N = 96	3.13 (0.67)	3.52 (1.01)	3.09 (0.99)	3.60 (1.02)
Non-Palestinian Arabs N = 36	3.40 (0.48)	4.04 (0.75)	3.27 (1.13)	3.50 (1.17)

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Analysis of the out-group closeness data yielded a significant main effect of SOP experience, $F (1, 226) = 36.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.138$. There were no significant interactions with SOP experience; campers in all groups felt closer to campers from the other side after their experience at SOP. A marginally significant main effect of Group, $F (2, 226) = 2.53$, $p = .082$, $\eta^2 = .022$ was also found. Post hoc LSD comparisons showed that Israeli and Palestinian campers reported feeling closer to the other side than did Non-Palestinian Arab campers.

Racial Attitudes

An ANOVA test was conducted using pre-camp RA and post-camp RA average ratings as the repeated measures factor (SOP experience), and Session and Group as between subjects factors. The means and standard deviations of the cell values are reported in Table 40.

Table 40

Average Racial Attitude Scores, by Session and Experience

Raters	Session 1 pre	Session 1 post	Session 2 pre	Session 2 post
Israelis N = 100	2.75 (1.09)	2.88 (1.07)	2.92 (0.89)	3.06 (1.19)
Palestinians N = 96	4.21 (1.18)	4.00 (1.34)	4.03 (1.26)	4.14 (0.94)
Non-Palestinian Arabs N = 36	3.61 (0.83)	3.46 (1.05)	3.28 (1.01)	3.80 (1.21)

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

The analysis of the data did not yield any significant main effects or interactions with SOP experience, suggesting that the racial attitudes that campers held were not affected by camp experience. There was a significant effect of Group, $F(2, 226) = 39.11$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .258$. Post hoc LSD comparisons showed that Palestinian campers were more likely to agree with the items (e.g., "I would feel self-conscious talking to someone from the other side in a public place) than were the Israeli campers and the Non-Palestinian Arab campers. In addition, the Non-Palestinian Arab campers were more likely to endorse these items than were the Israeli campers.

Attitudes about Peace Task – "Myself" data

An ANOVA test was conducted using pre- and post-camp AP average ratings as the repeated measures factor (SOP experience), and Session and Group as between subjects factors. Each camper's "Myself" ratings were compared with their in-group and out-group ratings. The means and standard deviations of the cell values are reported in Table 41.

Table 41

Average Attitudes about Peace Ratings, by Session and Experience

Raters	Session 1 pre	Session 1 post	Session 2 pre	Session 2 post
AP Self				
Israelis	120.87	122.34	118.12	119.40
N = 100	(13.60)	(13.48)	(13.93)	(15.28)
Palestinians	89.51	104.05	102.04	111.11
N = 96	(31.21)	(22.48)	(26.55)	(20.15)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	114.12	116.04	113.02	112.90
N = 36	(18.93)	(16.10)	(16.11)	(21.90)
AP In-Group				
Israelis	104.78	107.74	95.43	106.85
N = 100	(22.27)	(19.41)	(22.33)	(18.82)
Palestinians	84.14	100.40	92.93	105.99
N = 96	(26.87)	(24.45)	(24.87)	(24.09)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	86.34	94.65	95.98	87.58
N = 36	(30.00)	(26.67)	(31.66)	(39.30)
AP Out-Group				
Israelis	80.59	87.51	62.89	85.25
N = 100	(28.46)	(29.93)	(28.17)	(29.69)
Palestinians	51.83	61.02	42.79	68.82
N = 96	(33.02)	(32.88)	(31.03)	(35.45)
Non-Palestinian Arabs	43.26	79.19	44.21	92.11
N = 36	(21.55)	(21.45)	(24.94)	(33.61)

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

The analysis of the "Myself" data yielded a significant main effect of Experience, $F (1, 197) = 5.92$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .029$, as well as an Experience x Group interaction, $F (2, 197) = 4.73$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .046$. Using Independent Samples t-tests to decompose the interaction revealed that pre camp, Israeli campers gave more positive ratings of themselves than the Palestinian campers gave to themselves, $t (180) = 6.55$, $p < .001$. The results were in the same direction post camp, $t (201) = 3.53$, $p < .001$. Additionally, Palestinian campers were more negative about themselves pre camp than were Non-

Palestinian Arab campers, $t(115) = -3.12$, $p = .002$. Post hoc testing using LSD

comparisons did not reveal any significant findings.

Comparing the pre camp "Myself" and the Group data yielded a significant

Experience x Group interaction, $F(4, 416) = 5.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .052$. Decomposing the

interaction revealed that for "Myself" data, Israeli campers gave more positive ratings

than did Palestinian campers, $t(180) = 6.55$, $p < .001$. The same pattern was observed

for the in-group ratings, $t(193) = 2.48$, $p = .014$, and for the out-group ratings, $t(193) =$

5.88, $p < .001$. Furthermore, Israeli campers gave more positive ratings than did Non-

Palestinian Arabs of their in-group, $t(134) = 2.65$, $p = .009$, and of their out-group, t

$(134) = 4.82$, $p < .001$. Finally, Non-Palestinian Arab campers gave more positive

"Myself" ratings than did Palestinian campers, $t(115) = 3.12$, $p = .002$. Between-subjects

analysis revealed a significant main effect of Group, $F(2, 208) = 26.43$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 =$

.203 as well as a significant Session x Group interaction, $F(2, 208) = 3.58$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 =$

.033. Post hoc testing using LSD comparisons revealed that this interaction was driven

by the difference between Israeli "Myself" ratings, and those given by campers in the

other two groups. Israelis were more positive about their "Myself" ratings than were

Palestinian campers, $p < .001$, and the Non-Palestinian Arab campers, $p < .001$.

The post camp "Myself" and Group data comparison yielded a significant

Experience x Group interaction, $F(4, 462) = 7.60$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .062$. Decomposing the

interaction revealed that for "Myself" data, Israeli campers gave more positive ratings

than did Palestinian campers, $t(201) = 3.53$, $p < .001$. The same pattern was observed

for the out-group ratings, $t(211) = 4.25$, $p < .001$. Furthermore, Israeli campers gave

more positive ratings than did Non-Palestinian Arabs of their in-group, $t(150) = 3.64$,

$p = .009$ – a result that was also observed in the pre camp analysis. Finally, Palestinian campers gave more positive ratings of their in-group than did Non-Palestinian Arab campers, $t(131) = 2.25$, $p = .02$. For out-group ratings however, the Non-Palestinian Arab campers' ratings were more positive, $t(131) = 2.09$, $p = .04$. Between-subjects analysis revealed a significant main effect of Group, $F(2, 231) = 9.20$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .074$. Post hoc testing using LSD comparisons revealed that Israeli "Myself" ratings were significantly more positive than those given by Palestinian campers, $p < .001$, and those given by Non-Palestinian Arab campers, $p = .05$.

Independent Thinking Task – "Myself" data

An ANOVA test was conducted using pre- and post-camp AP average ratings as the repeated measures factor (SOP experience), and Session and Group as between subjects factors. Each camper's "Myself" ratings were compared with their in-group and out-group ratings. The means and standard deviations of the data are reported in Table 42.

Table 42

Average Independent Thinking Ratings, by Session and Experience

Raters	Session 1 pre	Session 1 post	Session 2 pre	Session 2 post
IT Self				
Israelis N = 100	120.87 (13.60)	122.34 (13.48)	118.12 (13.93)	119.40 (15.28)
Palestinians N = 96	89.51 (31.21)	104.05 (22.48)	102.04 (26.55)	111.11 (20.15)
Non-Palestinian Arabs N = 36	114.12 (18.93)	116.04 (16.10)	113.02 (16.11)	112.90 (21.90)
IT In-Group				
Israelis N = 100	120.87 (13.60)	122.34 (13.48)	118.12 (13.93)	119.40 (15.28)
Palestinians N = 96	89.51 (31.21)	104.05 (22.48)	102.04 (26.55)	111.11 (20.15)
Non-Palestinian Arabs N = 36	114.12 (18.93)	116.04 (16.10)	113.02 (16.11)	112.90 (21.90)
IT Out-Group				
Israelis N = 100	120.87 (13.60)	122.34 (13.48)	118.12 (13.93)	119.40 (15.28)
Palestinians N = 96	89.51 (31.21)	104.05 (22.48)	102.04 (26.55)	111.11 (20.15)
Non-Palestinian Arabs N = 36	114.12 (18.93)	116.04 (16.10)	113.02 (16.11)	112.90 (21.90)

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Examining the "Myself" data for the IT questions alone did not reveal any significant effects, suggesting that there were no differences between groups or sessions on responses to these questions. The analysis of the "Myself" versus Group IT data yielded a significant Experience x Group interaction, $F (4, 416) = 2.53$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .024$. Using Independent Samples t-tests to decompose the interaction revealed that pre camp, Israeli campers gave more positive IT ratings of themselves than the Palestinian campers gave to themselves, $t (193) = 2.10$, $p = .037$. Additionally, Israeli campers gave more positive IT ratings of themselves than did Non-Palestinian Arab campers,

t (134) = 2.10, *p* = .038. Between subjects analysis revealed a significant main effect of Group, *F* (2, 208) = 4.20, *p* = .04, η^2 = .039 as well as a significant Session x Group interaction. Post hoc testing using LSD comparisons revealed that this interaction was driven by the difference in Israeli and Non-Palestinian Arab ratings. Israeli campers felt more positively about their out-group than did the Non-Palestinian Arab campers, *p* = .05.

The post camp "Myself" and Group IT data comparison yielded a significant Experience x Group interaction, *F* (4, 448) = 4.61, *p* < .001, η^2 = .040, as well as a three-way Experience x Session x Group interaction, *F* (4, 448) = 5.40, *p* < .001, η^2 = .046. In order to decompose this interaction, two one-way ANOVA tests were conducted. The first ANOVA collapsed over group, and the second over Session. The results of these analysis indicated that "Myself" ratings in Session 2 were more positive than in Session 1, *F* (1, 229) = 6.08, *p* = .014. In-group ratings were also more positive in Session 2 than they were in Session 1, *F* (1, 248) = 3.89, *p* = .05. When the data were collapsed over Session, the analysis revealed that Israeli campers gave more positive ratings of their out-group than did the other two groups of campers, *F* (1, 224) = 3.89, *p* = .022. Between-subjects analysis revealed a significant main effect of Group, *F* (2, 224) = 5.43, *p* < .001, η^2 = .046, suggesting that group membership played a role in the way a participant would respond to the IT questions. Post hoc testing using LSD comparisons revealed that Israeli "Myself" ratings were significantly more positive than those given by Palestinian campers, *p* = .01.

Original Sample versus Follow Up Sample Means

Stereotyping Inventory

	Pre Camp Ratings		Post Camp Ratings	
	Overall	Follow Up	Overall	Follow Up
Israeli Warmth				
Israelis	3.17	3.46*	3.42	3.29
Palestinians	2.57	3.04*	2.75	3.34*
Egyptians & Jordanians	2.66	3.12*	2.79	3.12*
Israeli Competence				
Israelis	4.24	4.22	4.23	4.16
Palestinians	3.25	3.27	3.28	3.50
Egyptians & Jordanians	3.87	4.21	3.78	3.75
Palestinian Warmth				
Israelis	3.05	2.98	3.18	3.21
Palestinians	3.65	3.27*	3.90	3.24*
Egyptians & Jordanians	3.60	3.30	3.77	2.93*
Palestinian Competence				
Israelis	3.46	3.37	3.70	3.26*
Palestinians	3.76	4.30	4.06	4.40
Egyptians & Jordanians	3.63	3.46	3.81	3.85

Closeness to in- and out-groups

	Pre Camp Ratings		Post Camp Ratings	
	Overall	Follow Up	Overall	Follow Up
In-group Closeness				
Israelis	4.16	4.20	4.32	4.45
Palestinians	3.91	3.75	4.48	3.51*
Egyptians & Jordanians	3.67	4.00	4.04	4.27
Out-Group Closeness				
Israelis	3.05	3.10	3.82	4.10
Palestinians	3.09	3.13	3.50	3.17
Egyptians & Jordanians	3.27	3.16	4.04	4.33

Attitudes about Peace

	Pre Camp Ratings		Post Camp Ratings	
	Overall	Follow Up	Overall	Follow Up
Ratings of Self				
Israelis	118.25	118.64	119.53	122.35
Palestinians	102.09	99.03	106.17	107.35
Egyptians & Jordanians	115.16	117.37	116.12	116.35
Ratings of Israelis				
Israelis	95.08	91.83	107.74	113.20
Palestinians	43.37	50.61	63.67	66.87
Egyptians & Jordanians	49.03	46.49	77.46	77.45
Ratings of Palestinians				
Israelis	63.08	62.80	91.75	95.69
Palestinians	93.08	95.53	100.10	92.70
Egyptians & Jordanians	90.12	85.09	93.72	95.79

Independent Thinking

	Pre Camp Ratings		Post Camp Ratings	
	Overall	Follow Up	Overall	Follow Up
Ratings of Self				
Israelis	118.51	121.48	117.98	117.92
Palestinians	115.32	100.43*	96.67	91.87
Egyptians & Jordanians	114.55	129.37*	114.17	120.80
Ratings of Israelis				
Israelis	97.68	98.69	103.99	108.56
Palestinians	60.04	60.36	66.36	63.73
Egyptians & Jordanians	48.58	45.18	65.03	61.78
Ratings of Palestinians				
Israelis	59.57	65.15	78.95	88.80
Palestinians	102.20	94.08	100.21	96.43
Egyptians & Jordanians	87.08	101.09	106.93	107.47