

# Friend or Foe?

Value preferences and the association between  
intergroup relations and out-group attitudes and perceptions

Véronique Eicher

Supervised by

Prof. Dr. Meinrad Perrez

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Genehmigt von der Philosophischen Fakultät auf Antrag der Herren Professoren

Prof. Dr. Meinrad Perez (1. Gutachter),

Prof. Dr. Klaus Boehnke (2. Gutachter).

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Prof. Dr. Luca Zoppelli, Vorsitzender,

Prof. Dr. Thomas Austenfeld, Dekan.

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<sup>1</sup> The thesis deposited in May 2010, which was 191 pages long, included five manuscripts. Due to copyright issues, only the abstracts of these manuscripts will be presented here.

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## **Abstract**

The aim of this dissertation thesis was to analyze the values, out-group attitudes and perceptions of Israeli, Palestinian, American and Swiss students. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been going on for several decades and it is therefore important to understand the values and mutual perceptions of the groups in conflict, as well as of third parties and bystanders. The first major focus of the thesis was the investigation of value preferences and perceived in-group homogeneity of students living in conflict environments (i.e., Israelis and Palestinians) as well as students living in relatively safe environments (i.e., Americans and Swiss). It was shown that Palestinians exhibited the expected 'conflict value pattern' (i.e., valuing Security and Conformity highly and rating Self-Direction, Stimulation, and Hedonism as unimportant) and perceived their in-group members to be very similar. Swiss students confirmed the assumptions for people living in safe environments, while American and Israeli students did neither show the 'conflict' nor the 'non-conflict' pattern. The second focus of the thesis lay on the association between intergroup relations and out-group attitudes and perceptions. It was shown that allied groups (i.e., Americans and Israelis) like each other, see each other accurately and project key values (i.e., Power, and Security) positively onto each other, while enemy groups (i.e., Israelis and Palestinians) dislike each other, do not see each other accurately and project key values negatively onto each other. These results show that the relations between groups do not only affect out-group attitudes, but also influence how accurate and similar other groups are seen to oneself.

**INTRODUCTION**

“Let me say to you, the Palestinians, we are destined to live together on the same soil in the same land.... We who have fought against you, the Palestinians, we say to you today in a loud and clear voice, enough of blood and tears. Enough!”

(Yitzhak Rabin, September 13, 1993)

“We will need more courage and determination to continue the course of building coexistence and peace between us.... Our two peoples are awaiting today this historic hope, and they want to give peace a real chance.”

(Yasir Arafat, September 13, 1993)

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been going on for more than six decades, and it has directly and indirectly lead to several wars and violent uprisings. Although, both groups have shown readiness for peace and compromise in the Oslo Accords in 1993, 18 years later, a compromise still has not be reached. Why is it so difficult to reach a peace settlement between long-lasting conflict groups? One of the aims of this dissertation thesis is to analyze the values, out-group attitudes and perceptions of Israeli and Palestinian students in order to better understand the relation between conflict groups. A second major aim in this dissertation is to analyze attitudes and perceptions not only between conflict groups, but also between groups with different relationships, like allies and third parties. The inclusion of American and Swiss students allowed the investigation of interested third parties’ and neutral parties’ attitudes and perceptions. Starting from these aims, four major research questions were developed:

1. Are value priorities related to the safety of the environment?
2. Is perceived in-group homogeneity related to conflict?
3. Are national identification and contact equally predictive of attitudes towards groups in conflict and groups not in conflict?
4. How are intergroup relations associated with out-group perception?

These four research questions can be summarized into two major focuses of this thesis:

- A. Are value priorities and perceived in-group homogeneity related to the safety of the environment?
- B. Are out-group attitudes and perceptions associated with the relations between groups?

Including students from the four countries mentioned above enabled the investigation of the aforementioned research questions with real-life groups: Israeli and Palestinian students live in a conflict environment, while American and Swiss students live in a relatively safe environment. Additionally, the four countries have different relationships with each other, which allow an investigation of their impact on out-group attitudes and perceptions.

Next to these major focuses of the thesis, a last research question is examined regarding power and ethics among White and Black Americans. As this research question is not analyzed with the same samples as above and the topic is not closely associated with the remaining research questions, the theoretical background will not be included in the broad theoretical background of the thesis but will be briefly outlined in a later chapter.

This thesis is based on five manuscripts that have been submitted or will be submitted to international journals. These five manuscripts constitute the major part of the thesis and they will be preceded by a broad theoretical and empirical background and followed by a general discussion.

In the theoretical and empirical background of the thesis, major concepts, theories, and studies of out-group attitudes, intragroup and out-group perception, and values will be reviewed. Afterwards, concepts of cross-cultural measurement equivalence will be described and the choice of the samples of the cross-cultural study will be explained. The first part will conclude with the development of the four major research questions.

The empirical part of this thesis is composed of seven chapters, five of which are based on manuscripts. As a first step, the student samples used in the cross-cultural study will be described and their adequateness for cross-cultural analyses discussed. In the second chapter, the instruments used in this study will be described and their cross-cultural equivalence will be analyzed. The third to sixth chapters are composed of four manuscripts focusing on the four research questions. The seventh chapter focuses on the research question regarding power and ethics of White and Black Americans along with its theoretical background. Due to copyright issues, only the abstracts of the five manuscripts will be presented here.

In the final part of this thesis, the main results of the empirical part will be briefly summarized and discussed in relation with the major research questions. The thesis will end with an outline of the major strengths and weaknesses of the thesis and a discussion of its implications.

## **THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL BACKGROUND**

The theoretical and empirical background of this thesis will include three major parts. The first and largest part is called Intergroup Relations: Here the social psychological background of this dissertation project will be presented and some of the most prominent theories concerning intergroup relations reviewed. All of these theories are important in intergroup research and the development of the research questions was based on them. The second part focuses on values and value-related research as they are the focus of most of the analyses. The third part will include central concepts of cross-cultural measurement and equivalence of the instruments used in this study will be discussed. Although the focus of this project does not lie in cross-cultural analyses, the inclusion of students from different countries, cultures and with different languages requires that cross-cultural measurement issues are addressed in order to be able to draw meaningful interpretations of the results for the different countries. In a fourth chapter, the choice of the samples of the cross-cultural project will be explained. Finally, four major research questions will be developed and presented in the fifth and last chapter of the theoretical and empirical part.

## **1 INTERGROUP RELATIONS**

The domain of intergroup relations is a relatively new focus of social psychology that has largely emerged after World War II. When are relations considered to be intergroup relations rather than interpersonal? Sherif (1966) defined intergroup behavior as follows: “Whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identification, we have an instance of intergroup behavior” (p. 12). Tajfel (1979) further specifies three characteristics of situations that elicit behavior as group members (intergroup behavior) rather than as individuals (interpersonal behavior):

1. presence of at least two clearly identifiable social categories,
2. low variability between persons in each category in their perceptions, attitudes or behavior,
3. low variability in group members’ perceptions and judgments of other group members.

As these criteria show, intergroup behavior rests on the assumption that people categorize themselves and others into groups. Sumner (1906) introduced the terms of ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ to designate groups to which a person does or does not belong. This process of categorization itself can be seen as the most fundamental in intergroup research. Before describing this process and its consequences in more detail in the following section, the central concepts in intergroup research will be mentioned briefly and differentiated: Stereotype, Prejudice, and Discrimination. All of these concepts represent reactions to other groups that are considered to be different from the in-group. Eagly and Chaiken (1998) distinguish the three concepts by claiming that Stereotypes represent the most cognitive reaction, Prejudice the most affective one, and Discrimination the most behavioral reaction to other groups. In this project, the focus lies on Prejudice and Stereotypes.

### **1.1 Categorization**

#### **1.1.1 Process**

Allport (1954) suggested that the social environment is complex and therefore people try to simplify it by categorization. The concept of categorization was first introduced by the philosopher Plato and picked up by Aristotle, who claimed that categories are distinct entities characterized by properties that are shared by their members (Ackrill, 1963). The process of categorization includes five important characteristics:

1. it creates categories that guide our daily adaptation,

2. is assimilates as much as possible into these categories,
3. the categories allow fast identification of objects,
4. all contents of one category are associated with the same image and emotion,
5. the categories can be more or less rational (Allport, 1954).

In a given social context, people can usually be categorized in a number of different categories or groups (e.g., women, elderly, German, etc.). The choice of categorization group is based on the principle of metacontrast: “a collection of stimuli is more likely to be categorized as an entity to the degree that the average differences perceived between those stimuli are less than the average differences perceived between them and the remaining stimuli that make up the frame of reference” (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994, p. 455).

### **1.1.2 Consequences**

The two major consequences of categorization are an exaggeration on intergroup differences, as well as a minimization of intragroup differences (Brewer & Brown, 1998). This second effect has often been studied in the perception of out-groups: researchers found that out-group members are seen as more similar to one another than in-group members (e.g., Jones, Wood, & Quattrone, 1981; Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, & Kraus, 1995; Mullen & Hu, 1989). This out-group homogeneity effect has been explained by the different amount of information we have of in- and out-group members (Linville, Fischer, & Salovey, 1989), but findings in other studies contradicted this assumption (e.g., Brown & Smith, 1989; Oakes, Haslam, Morrison, & Grace, 1995). Furthermore, it was found that the out-group homogeneity effect is not a universal phenomenon: studies showed for example that minority group members showed in-group rather than out-group homogeneity (e.g., Mullen & Hu, 1989; Simon & Hamilton, 1994) and that dimensions related to the group identity elicited stronger perceived in-group homogeneity while more unrelated dimensions elicited stronger perceived out-group homogeneity (e.g., Kelly, 1989; Simon & Brown, 1987).

The exaggeration of intergroup differences, another consequence of categorization, has often been confirmed in empirical studies (e.g., Robinson, Keltner, Ward, & Ross, 1995; Struch & Schwartz, 1989). This exaggeration leads to in-group attachment and differential behavior to in- versus out-group members. The origin of this differential behavior can be explained in several ways: (1) higher favoritism regarding in-groups without changing the affect towards out-groups, (2) stronger distrust and hostility towards out-groups, or (3) the

product of intergroup competition, where the goal is the achievement of a relative advantage over the out-group (Brewer & Brown, 1998).

Next to these two consequences, categorization has several additional effects on cognitive processing. (1) It was found that information that fits our expectation is more likely to enter our information-processing system and is better remembered than information that conforms less well to our expectations (e.g., Hamilton & Rose, 1980). (2) In 1976, Hamilton discovered an effect he called illusory correlation, which means that people think that category membership covaries with certain behaviors: Interactions with minority group members are distinctive (because they are rare) and encounters with socially undesirable behaviors are distinctive. This double distinctiveness of minority and undesirable is overemphasized in people's judgments, resulting in the assumption of a correlation where none exists (e.g., Hamilton & Gifford, 1976). (3) Categorization leads to a self-confirmatory system: people behave according to their expectations and thus elicit the anticipated behavior (self-fulfilling prophecy, e.g., Snyder & Swann, 1978).

In the following, intergroup relations theories concerning attitudes and in- and out-group perception will be reviewed.

## **1.2 Determinants of Out-Group Attitudes**

As we saw before, Sumner (1906) was one of the first to investigate groups and intergroup behavior and attitudes. In his anthropological work, he observed a supposedly universal tendency for humans to categorize into groups and to experience attachment to the in-group and a preference of the in-group over the out-group. He called this phenomenon ethnocentrism, as "the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (p. 12-13). Several intergroup relations theories have tried to explain negative out-group attitudes by focusing on different aspects. In the following, theories and studies will be regrouped depending on their focus on a) Threat and Conflict, b) In-Group Identification, or c) Contact.

### **1.2.1 Threat and Conflict**

As we saw before, the differential behavior to in- versus out-group members can be caused by intergroup competition and the desire to surpass the out-group on some dimension. This differential behavior (or intergroup discrimination) would be especially strong if the competition was about real and scarce resources, where the gain of one group would necessarily constitute the loss of the other group. Two theories that have focused on

intergroup competition and threat as antecedent for negative out-group attitudes will be presented in the following: Realistic Group Conflict Theory and Intergroup Threat Theory.

### Realistic Group Conflict Theory

Based on the situation of real conflict, Campbell (1965) developed the Realistic Group Conflict Theory. His most central assumption is that intergroup behavior and attitudes reflect the group interests. If the goals of both groups are compatible, there will be no competition and hence attitudes should be positive or at least neutral. If the goals are incompatible and the gain of one group means the loss of another group, attitudes toward the out-group are likely to be negative. In order to test these hypotheses, Sherif and colleagues (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961) conducted a series of field experiments with eleven to twelve year old boys in a summer camp, known as the Robber's Cave Experiments. Before the beginning of the camp, the researchers divided the boys into two groups (neither group knew of the existence of the other), assigned them a living area and asked them to name their group. At first, the groups remained separated and activities favoring cooperation within the groups lead to the development of intragroup friendships. After several days, the two groups of boys were made aware of each other's presence, resulting in a distinction between 'us' and 'them'. The researchers organized several competing activities between the two groups where the winner would get prizes or a trophy. During these encounters, the members of the two groups showed hostility by disrespecting each other's flags, calling each other names and playing tricks on the other group. After thus establishing negative attitudes between the two groups, Sherif and colleagues tried to resolve the conflict by initiating activities in which the two groups had to cooperate in order to achieve a common goal (e.g., water shortage problem, pulling a truck back to the camp). These collaborations lessened the hostility to the point that by the end of the camp, the two groups wanted to ride back on the same bus together (Sherif et al., 1961).

Several other studies confirmed the finding that intergroup competition leads to in-group bias and more negative attitudes toward out-groups than cooperation or independence (e.g., Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian, & Hewstone, 2001; Hefler, Rippl, & Boehnke, 1998; Ryen & Kahn, 1975). Further studies however also showed that intergroup competition was not always necessary to produce in-group bias and hostility towards the out-group (e.g., Brewer & Silver, 1981; Sherif et al., 1961). Additionally, effects of competition on out-group hostility were often found to be weak unless identification with the in-group was high (e.g., Struch & Schwartz, 1989). It therefore seems that while competition over resources certainly



promotes hostility and negative attitudes towards the out-group, it may not be a necessary condition for them to occur. A theory that has developed from Realistic Group Conflict Theory and has tried to explain intergroup discrimination without competition and real conflicts is the Social Identity Theory. This theory will be presented after the review of a second theory that sees threat as antecedent of negative out-group attitudes: Intergroup Threat Theory.

### Intergroup Threat Theory

In 2000, Stephan and Stephan developed a theory trying to explain the formation of prejudice by integrating several theories (e.g., symbolic and modern racism): the Integrated Threat Theory, recently refined into the Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009). The initial theory included four types of threats that were assumed to lead to prejudice, which were narrowed down to two kinds of basic threats: realistic and symbolic (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009). Negative stereotypes, initially viewed as one kind of threat, were found to be a cause of threat, rather than a threat itself (Stephan, Boniecki, Ybarra, Bettencourt, Ervin, Jackson, McNatt, & Renfro, 2002), while intergroup anxiety (initially the fourth kind of threat) was subsumed under symbolic threat as it concerns apprehensions about meeting out-group members. In this theory, realistic group threats are defined as threats to a group's resources and welfare (e.g., actual physical or material harm), whereas symbolic threats are seen as threats to a group's values and ideology (e.g., loss of face or undermining the identity). A central point to be noted is that perceived threat, rather than actual threat, is the focus of this theory as studies have shown that perceived threat was a better predictor for attitudes than actual threat (e.g., Semyonov, Rajzman, Tov, & Schmidt, 2004). The authors postulate several antecedents of threat, including intergroup relations (e.g., relative power, group size, and history of group conflict), cultural dimensions (e.g., individualism-collectivism, power distance, and cultural looseness versus tightness), situational factors (e.g., setting of intergroup interactions, relative power of in- and out-group in this setting, and goals of the interaction), and individual difference variables (e.g., out-group contact, in-group identity, self-esteem).

Several studies confirmed that the different kinds of threat lead to negative attitudes toward out-groups (e.g., Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000; Rippl, Baier, Kindervater, & Boehnke, 2005; Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005).

Furthermore out-group contact (as individual difference variable) has been confirmed as an

antecedent for the perception of threat (e.g., Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000).

Realistic Group Conflict Theory and Intergroup Threat Theory have both proposed that conflict and threat will lead to negative out-group attitudes. These assumptions have been confirmed in several studies, but it was also shown that, while they are certainly sufficient conditions, they may not be necessary for negative out-group attitudes to occur.

### **1.2.2 In-Group Identification**

As we saw before, intergroup competition is not always necessary to produce in-group bias and hostility towards the out-group (e.g., Brewer & Silver, 1981; Sherif et al., 1961). It therefore seems that while real or symbolic threat and conflict certainly promote hostility and negative attitudes towards the out-group, they are not a necessary condition for them to occur. One theory that has tried to explain intergroup discrimination without competition and real conflicts is the Social Identity Theory.

#### **Social Identity Theory**

Social Identity Theory was developed by Tajfel (1981) and is based on the assumption that people strive for a positive self-concept. A positive self-concept can be achieved individually as well as by being a member of a successful group. Three concepts that are particularly relevant in this theory are social categorization, social identity, and social comparison. As we saw before, social categorization is the process of ordering the social environment into groups. Social identity is “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 255). The concept of social comparison goes back to Festinger (1954) who assumed that people need to evaluate their opinions and beliefs and therefore compare them with significant others. Tajfel (1981) postulates that, in situations of social comparison (even without any pre-existing conflicts or competition), the need for a positive social identity will lead to in-group favoritism and bias. In order to test the assumptions of Social Identity Theory, Tajfel and colleagues (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971) developed the minimal group experiment. They divided subjects into two groups depending on which painter they liked best, Klee or Kandinsky. The participants had no interactions with their in- and out-group members, in order to eliminate potential sympathy effects. Afterwards they had to decide how to divide points between two other subjects. The participants knew their own group membership and the group

membership of the two subjects, but did not know who the subjects were. Results showed that participants allocated significantly more points to in-group than to out-group members. In a second study, the researchers analyzed different allocation strategies, namely maximum joint profit for everyone, maximum profit for in-group members, maximum difference in favor of in-group members, and fairness. They found that participants almost never used the maximum joint profit strategy. Instead maximum profit for in-group members as well as maximum difference in favor of in-group members were highly used strategies (Tajfel et al., 1971).

In further studies, the strategy of maximum difference in favor of in-group members was consistently preferred over maximum profit for in-group members (e.g., Doise & Sinclair, 1973), indicating that the relative difference in gains between in- and out-group members is more important than the absolute gain of in-group members. Overall, the studies supported the assumption of Social Identity Theory that people favor in-group members even when groups are based on random criteria and there is no pre-existing conflict between the groups.

Turner (1978) criticized the minimal group experiments regarding three aspects and developed hypotheses deriving from these critics: (1) Turner argued, that subjects in Tajfel's experiments showed in-group favoritism, because it was the only possibility to enhance their self-esteem. He hypothesized, that given the possibility of positive evaluation as individuals, participants would not show in-group favoritism. (2) He claimed that it didn't make sense for participants to show in-group favoritism unless they identified with their in-group. As such he expected that only participants who identified with their in-group would show in-group favoritism. (3) Lastly, Turner argued that monetary reward is not a necessary condition for in-group favoritism, but that it will occur on all dimensions relevant for intergroup comparisons. In several experiments, Turner (1975) confirmed his hypotheses and showed that strong in-group identification is necessary in order for out-group discrimination to occur. Turner's second claim – that only people highly identified with their in-group would show strong in-group favoritism – was the object of much subsequent research and was confirmed in several studies (e.g., Blank & Schmidt, 1997; Mummendey & Simon, 1997; Schnöckel, Dollase, & Rutz, 1999).

### **1.2.3 Contact**

A third factor that has often been studied in relation to out-group attitudes is contact between groups. As early as 1954, Allport introduced the Contact Hypothesis, which at its

simplest states that intergroup contact should lead to a reduction of prejudice and discrimination. However, being aware of potential negative effects of intergroup contact, he also specified several conditions under which contact should occur in order to be successful. (1) *Equal status*: Although equal status is often not given between real-life groups, Allport stressed the importance of both groups having equal status at least within the contact situation. (2) *Common Goals*: Ideally both groups should have to cooperate to achieve a common goal. (3) *Acquaintance potential*: Both groups should have the possibility to get to know each other, so they have to meet frequently and in a context that promotes closeness. (4) *Social and Institutional Support*: Intergroup contact should be more successful if it is explicitly socially sanctioned. If one of these conditions is not met, intergroup contact is likely to produce no change in attitudes and may even have negative effects (e.g., intergroup anxiety). Several studies confirmed the effectiveness of intergroup contact (e.g., Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian, & Hewstone, 2001; Dollase, Ridder, Bieler, Köhnemann, & Weitowitz, 1999; Leong, 2008; Maoz, 2003; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Different theoretical approaches have been used to explain the effectiveness of intergroup contact and its necessary conditions (e.g., Dissonance Theory by Festinger, 1957), the one most influential in current research being social categorization.

As we saw before, social categorization leads to a focus on social identity, which in turn leads to attitudes and behaviors triggered by group membership rather than by the personal identity. Starting from this assumption, three models of categorization in intergroup contact have been developed (Brewer, 2003): (a) the Personalization Model, (b) the Common In-group Identity Model, and (c) the Mutual Differentiation Model.

### Personalization Model

The model is based on the assumption that intergroup contact will be most successful if people see themselves as individuals rather than as representatives of groups (Brewer & Miller, 1984). If people's social identity is salient, the process of categorization will lead to a focus on differences between groups, which is counterproductive to a change in attitudes. Instead, interactions should be structured in a way to make individual identities salient so that participants can get to know each other without the preconceptions associated with the group. Studies have confirmed these assumptions and showed that interactions eliciting personal identities were more successful than others (e.g., Bettencourt, Brewer, Croak, & Miller, 1992; Miller, Brewer, & Edwards, 1985). However an important reproach made to the model is that the change derived from such intergroup contacts does not generalize to other out-group

members, as the contact partner is not seen as a typical member of the out-group but rather as an individual (e.g., Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Experimental studies confirmed this critic of the model (e.g., Johnston & Hewstone, 1992; Wilder, 1984).

### Common In-Group Identity Model

The Common In-Group Identity Model was developed by Gaertner and colleagues (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993) and posits that intergroup interactions should be structured in a manner to draw attention to a superordinate category that includes both the in- and the out-group. By focusing on a higher superordinate category in which people from the two groups are part of one bigger group, differences between the two subgroups should not be accentuated and instead a common in-group identity should develop. Experiments confirm these assumptions (e.g., Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio, Murrell, & Pomare, 1990; Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989). This model has also been subject to criticism as it leads only to a change in attitudes towards a specific out-group that will not be generalized to out-groups not included in the specified superordinate category.

### Mutual Differentiation Model

Hewstone and Brown (1986) proposed to use the need for a positive social identity to reduce negative out-group attitudes. In this model, people should be made aware of their group membership in intergroup interactions and both groups should have distinctive but complementary roles to achieve a common goal. By assigning them distinctive tasks, each group can achieve a positive social identity and by working towards a common goal, both groups have to cooperate. By focusing on the social identities of the groups, changes in out-group attitudes should transfer from specific individuals to the whole out-group, thus avoiding the reproach made to the Personalization Model. The focus on social identities can however also backfire: The notion that the two groups in contact are very distinct will reinforce the in-group out-group categorization and thus strengthen the perceived intergroup differences.

The Intergroup Contact Theory is still the most promising approach to the reduction of prejudice and lies at the core of most anti-discrimination and peace education programs (e.g., Glazier, 2003; Kadushin & Livert, 2002; Salomon, 2004; Tal-Or, Boninger, & Gleicher, 2002; Yablon, 2007).

### **1.3 Determinants of Intragroup Perception**

As we saw before, categorization leads to an exaggeration of intergroup and a minimization of intragroup differences (Brewer & Brown, 1998). This last effect was mostly found for out-groups and called out-group homogeneity effect. Results in studies on in-group homogeneity are less consistent and researchers have tried to define moderators of perceived in-group homogeneity. Two moderators will be presented here: a) Salience of Group Membership and b) Group Size.

#### **1.3.1 Salience of Group Membership**

Turner and colleagues developed the Self-Categorization Theory to explain how and when individuals see themselves as members of groups rather than individuals, or in other words, when social identity becomes more salient than personal identity (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). The central assumption is that self-concepts are self-categorizations that represent different levels of abstraction: seeing oneself as a human, as a group member, or as an individual person. The self-categorizations are based on the principle of metacontrast, which we saw earlier (i.e., people are categorized into one group when the differences within the group are smaller than the differences between the group and other stimuli). According to Turner, reference groups determine which self-categorizations become salient in a certain situation. Once a self-categorization is activated (e.g., group member) the differences within groups are minimized, while the differences between groups are exaggerated.

Several studies confirmed the effect of in-group homogeneity upon activation of a group self-categorization and the presence of reference groups (e.g., Wagner & Ward, 1993; Wilder, 1984). Additionally it was found that different reference groups elicited different self-perceptions, confirming that reference groups can elicit specific self-categorizations (e.g., Hopkins, Regan, & Abell, 1997). Overall, Turner showed that in-group favoritism is only activated when group membership becomes salient and that the self-categorization is influenced by the reference out-group.

#### **1.3.2 Group Size**

A second development and extension of the Social Identity Theory was done by Brewer (1991) with the Optimal Distinctiveness Theory. She assumes that the social identity (as opposed to the personal identity) is activated to satisfy both the need for differentiation from others and the need for inclusion into a larger group. The personal identity fulfills the

need for distinction from others, whereas social identity satisfies the need for inclusion. Optimal distinctiveness is achieved when people are members of groups at a level of inclusiveness “where the degrees of satisfaction of the need for differentiation and of the need for inclusion are exactly equal” (Brewer, 1993, p. 4). She assumes that the distinctiveness of a social identity is context-specific and depends on the frame of reference (e.g., entire human race versus people in a classroom).

As we saw before, results regarding in-group homogeneity were often inconsistent: some studies showed higher levels of in-group homogeneity in intergroup contexts (e.g. Wilder, 1984), whereas others found lower in-group homogeneity in intergroup contexts (e.g., Hinkle, Taylor, Fox-Cardamone, & Crook, 1989). Optimal Distinctiveness Theory can explain these divergent findings by specifying conditions when intergroup contexts should lead to higher or lower in-group homogeneity: When people see themselves as members of large groups, their need for inclusion is fully satisfied but their need for differentiation is not met. Under such conditions, people should try to meet their need for distinctiveness within the in-group and thus show low in-group homogeneity. If, on the other hand, people identify with small and distinctive in-groups, their need for distinctiveness will already be satisfied and as such their need for inclusiveness will manifest in higher in-group homogeneity. Several studies confirmed these assumptions by showing that increasing the need for differentiation lead to lower in-group homogeneity and vice versa (e.g., Pickett, Bonner, & Coleman, 2002; Pickett & Brewer, 2001). Following the same reasoning, it was shown that minority group members (i.e., being part of a relatively small group) show higher in-group homogeneity than majority group members (e.g., Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992). Optimal Distinctiveness Theory can thus explain why intergroup context sometimes leads to in-group homogeneity, but not always.

Two theories have been presented that explain the occurrence of in-group homogeneity with different factors: Turner sees the salience of group membership (through the presence of out-groups for example) to be a precursor of increased in-group homogeneity. Brewer has a different approach and believes that the size and distinctiveness of the in-group will determine in-group homogeneity: The smaller the group, the higher the perceived in-group homogeneity

#### **1.4 Determinants of Out-Group Perception**

While previous theories focused on determinants of out-group attitudes and intragroup perception, several researchers were interested in out-group perception and the content of

stereotypes and images. Fiske and collaborators (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) developed the Stereotype Content Model and focused on Status and Competition as determinants of stereotypes. Alexander and colleagues (Alexander, Brewer & Herrmann, 1999) revised a theory developed by political scientist Richard Herrmann (1985) and included Goal Compatibility, Power, and Cultural Status as determinants of images.

#### **1.4.1 Status and Competition**

Instead of focusing on processes of stereotyping (like categorization processes), Fiske and collaborators (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) concentrated on the content and consequences of stereotypes in the Stereotype Content Model. They assume that stereotypes are based on two dimensions (i.e., warmth and competence) that are predicted by status and competition. Low status and low competition groups (e.g., elderly, housewives) are seen as warm but not competent, while high status and high competition groups (e.g., Asians, Jews) are seen as cold but competent. Low status and high competition groups (e.g., welfare recipients, homeless people) are seen as cold and incompetent, whereas high status and low competition groups (e.g., in-groups, close others) are seen as warm and competent. The accompanying emotions are pity or sympathy for warm but incompetent groups and envy or jealousy for cold and competent groups. Warm and competent groups elicit admiration or pride, whereas cold and incompetent groups trigger contempt and disgust.

Although both dimensions could be confirmed in several studies (e.g., Cuddy, Norton, & Fiske, 2005; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), it seems that the judgment of the warmth dimension is made before the judgment on competence and has more weight in affective and behavioral consequences (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006). Several studies confirmed that the stereotypes led to the expected related emotions (e.g., Cuddy, Norton, & Fiske, 2005; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) and attitudes (e.g., Glick et al., 2006). In an extension of the theory, Fiske and colleagues proposed a specific behavioral pattern to follow the emotions associated with the groups. As the primary dimension, warmth should predict active behaviors like active facilitation (helping) and active harming (attacking) and competence should lead to passive behaviors like passive facilitation (association) and passive harm (neglect) (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006). Several studies looking at the relation between the emotions and behaviors confirmed these assumptions (e.g., Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). Fiske and colleagues renewed interest in the content of stereotypes and explained a major part of stereotype contents with only two dimensions (i.e., warmth and competition). Furthermore, they confirmed that the relationship between groups (i.e., status and competition) determines



stereotype contents. They did however find similar stereotypes (e.g., Jews are seen as competent but cold) from different groups of raters, which shows that the two dimensions (i.e. warmth and competence) may not be sufficient to differentiate between groups. Image Theory will now be presented, which relies also on the relationships between groups, but makes no assumptions concerning specific group stereotypes.

#### **1.4.2 Goal Compatibility, Power and Cultural Status**

Image Theory is a theory of international relations that was developed in the field of political science (Cottam, 1977; Herrmann, 1985) and was recently applied to intergroup relations in social psychology (e.g., Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999). The initial ideas of the theory will be outlined before its application to intergroup relations is presented. Based on the assumption of Boulding (1959) that, “the people whose decisions determine the policies and actions of nations do not respond to the objective facts of the situation ... but to their image of the situation” (p. 120), Herrmann developed several images resulting from the relation between nations. Structural factors determining the images are (1) threat versus opportunity, (2) relative capability, and (3) relative culture. The resulting image (e.g., ally, enemy, barbarian) determines the strategy politicians and decision-makers will follow and how they will interact with leaders from the concerned country. If, for example, another country has mutual interests, the same capability and a similar culture, they will be seen as an ally and cooperation is likely to follow in order to achieve common goals (Herrmann & Fischerkeller, 1995).

Alexander and colleagues (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999) adapted the theory to intergroup relations: They assume that the relationship between groups will determine the image people have of an out-group. The structural factors, adapted from the original theory, are (1) goal compatibility, (2) relative power, and (3) relative cultural status. Several possible images resulting from different combinations of the structural factors can be seen in Table 1.

**Table 1: Several Possible Images in Image Theory**

<i>Image of Out-group</i>	<i>Out-group is seen to have</i>		
	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Power</i>	<i>Cultural Status</i>
Ally	Compatible	Equal	Equal
Enemy	Incompatible	Equal	Equal
Barbarian	Incompatible	Higher	Lower
Dependent	Incompatible	Lower	Lower
Imperialist	Incompatible	Higher	Higher

In the social psychological adaptation of the theory, the focus lies on the attitudes, perceptions, and behavioral consequences resulting from these images. The authors hypothesize that the ally image elicits cooperation and that the group will be seen as good, benign and altruistic. On the contrary, the enemy image triggers threat and possibly attack, and the group will be seen as evil, hostile, and aggressive (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999). Studies in the domain of international relations confirmed the existence of the enemy image in different contexts over the last decades: between the U.S. and Vietnam (White, 1966), between the U.S. and the former Soviet Union (Bronfenbrenner, 1961), and between Israelis and Arabs (White, 1977). In experimental studies, Alexander and colleagues (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999) showed that images can be triggered by appropriate scenarios. In order to replicate these findings in a real-life setting, Alexander and colleagues asked White and Black Americans in different contexts (school with only white students versus school with a majority of Black students) what image they had of the other group (Alexander, Brewer, & Livingston, 2005). The results were as expected, although the enemy and barbarian image could not be differentiated: Among white students, the barbarian-enemy image of Black Americans was associated with the attribution of lower cultural status and goal incompatibility, whereas among black students, the imperialist image of White Americans was associated with a believed higher cultural status and power of White Americans. Another real-life analysis of images in international relations was done by Alexander, Levin, and Henry (2005): They showed that Lebanese students saw Americans as Barbarians and this image was associated with a strong identification with Arabs and Palestinians and low identification with the Western world. These studies by Alexander and colleagues show that Image Theory can be used in intergroup as well as international relations.

Along with the Stereotype Content Model, supporters of Image Theory see the relationship between groups as determinants of images and stereotypes. Image Theory strongly suggests that there are no universal images, shared by all groups, as they are strictly the product of the relation existing between two groups.

## **2 VALUES**

Next to assessing attitudes, a relatively traditional variable in intergroup relations, a second focus was laid on the intergroup perception of values. Stereotypes and images have often been assessed through trait attributions (e.g., Eagly & Kite, 1987; Fiske et al., 2002; Katz & Braly, 1933). There have been several studies, however, that used perceived value similarity and dissimilarity as an indicator of attitudes and stereotypes (e.g., Schwartz, Struch, & Bilsky, 1990; Struch & Schwartz, 1989). This can be explained by the fact that values are more general than traits, more group-based and relevant in guiding people's behavior (Allport, 1961; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987).

### **2.1 Brief History of Major Value Theories**

One of the first researchers to focus on values was Clyde Kluckhohn (1951), who defined them as "a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action" (p. 395). Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck (1961) later developed a theory of values in which they assumed that there are five basic problems that have to be solved by every society: (1) focus on time: past, present or future, (2) relationship between humanity and its natural environment: mastery, submission or harmony, (3) relationship with others: hierarchically, equally or individualistic, (4) prime motivation of behavior: being, being-in-becoming or achieving, and (5) human nature: good, bad or a mixture. The authors believe that the solutions chosen by a society should reflect the values endorsed by that society.

In 1980 and 1991, Hofstede investigated IBM employees from 50 countries regarding four cultural dimensions, he deemed to be most relevant in cross-cultural research: (1) Power distance (accepting power inequality as legitimate or illegitimate), (2) Individualism/Collectivism (emphasizing independence and caring only about immediate family members vs. valuing close relations with members of an extended in-group), (3) Masculinity/Femininity (emphasizing achievement and hedonism vs. relationships and modesty), and (4) Uncertainty avoidance (feeling uncomfortable or comfortable with uncertainty and therefore valuing or avoiding institutions that provide certainty and conformity). Using data from 117'000 respondents, he established an order of nations on each of the four dimensions, which is still widely used today.

Although Hofstede formulated Individualism/Collectivism as a culture-level dimension, Triandis (1995) and other researchers also investigated it as an individual

difference variable (giving priority to personal interests and emphasizing independence and competition vs. giving priority to in-group interests and valuing interdependence and cooperation). In a study performing within-country analyses, Triandis et al. (1993) showed that Individualism/Collectivism is a multidimensional construct (instead of the supposedly bipolar construct) and that several items have different meanings in the different cultures, thus making cross-cultural comparisons difficult.

Ronald Inglehart, who is the Director of the World Values Survey (an academic project started in the early eighties to investigate moral, religious, sociocultural, and political values across cultures), analyzes *changes* in values in different cultures. He hypothesizes that people pursue goals in order of need, “giving maximum attention to the things they sense to be the most important unsatisfied needs at a given time.” (Inglehart, 1971, p. 991). When societies are affected by modernization and industrialization, people consequently adapt their goals and values respectively. By analyzing samples in several Western European countries (i.e., Belgium, Netherlands, France, Italy, Germany, and Britain), Inglehart showed that these changes affect young adults more strongly than older adults, thus leading to intergenerational conflicts in societies affected by these changes. In a more recent study, Inglehart and Baker (2000) analyzed 65 societies and showed both cultural change and persistence of traditions: While economic development pushes cultures in a common direction, they move on “parallel trajectories shaped by their cultural heritages” (p. 49).

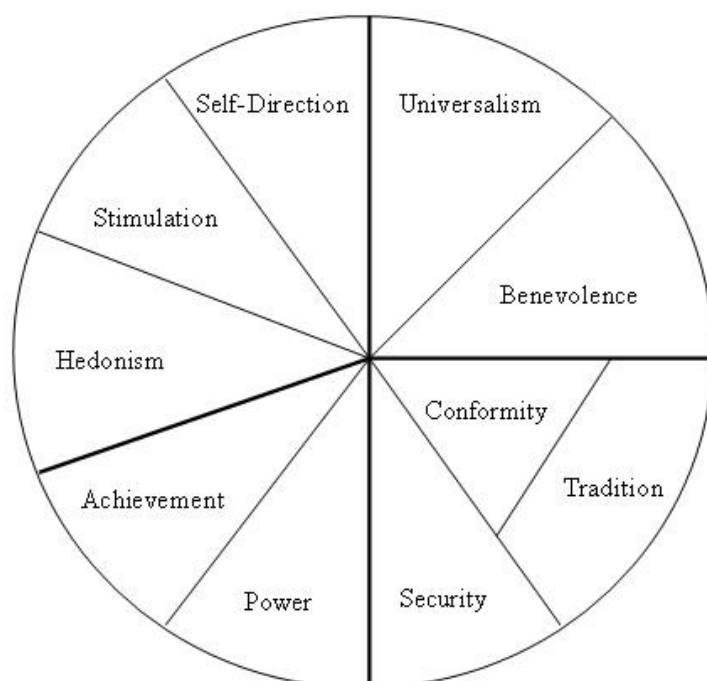
In this dissertation project, the focus was laid on the value theory of Shalom Schwartz, as it investigates values on an individual level and it is the most widely used theory on values in contemporary psychological research. Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) developed their initial theory and instrument from Rokeach’s conception of values: He distinguished between terminal and instrumental values: Terminal values relate to desirable end-states, whereas instrumental values refer to modes of behavior that help to achieve the terminal values. He developed the Rokeach Value Survey, which contains a list of 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values that have to be arranged in order of importance “as a guiding principle in your life” (Rokeach, 1973, p. 27).

## **2.2 Schwartz Value Theory**

### **2.2.1 Theoretical Background**

In 1987, Schwartz and Bilsky developed a “theory of the universal types of values” (p. 550) and along with former researchers (e.g., Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1973) defined values as “(a) concepts or beliefs, (b) about desirable end states or behaviors, (c) that

transcend specific situations, (d) guide selection or evaluation of behaviors and events, and (e) are ordered by relative importance” (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, p. 551). The authors claim that there are three types of requirements that are universal: a) biological needs, b) needs for successful interpersonal interactions, and c) needs for the survival and welfare of groups. From these requirements, the authors developed seven motivational domains, which they divided into three different categories depending on whose interests are served: individual interests (Enjoyment, Achievement, and Self-Direction), collective interests (prosocial, Security, and Restrictive-Conformity), and mixed interests (Maturity). Schwartz (1992) later extended these seven motivational domains to eleven value types, ten of which could be confirmed in cross-cultural samples: Self-Direction, Stimulation, Hedonism, Achievement, Power, Security, Conformity, Tradition, Benevolence, and Universalism. These ten value types can be subdivided into two dimensions: Self-Transcendence (Benevolence and Universalism) versus Self-Enhancement (Achievement and Power) and Openness to Change (Self-Direction, Stimulation, Hedonism) versus Conservation (Security, Conformity and Tradition) (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1: The Quasi-Circumplex Model of the Schwartz Value Survey**

In order to test the assumed universality of the ten value types, Schwartz developed the Schwartz Value Survey based on previous values research (e.g., Rokeach, 1973). It consists of 56 value-items (with an additional explanatory phrase for each item), which represent the ten value types. The ten value types along with their respective items are described in Table 2. A more detailed description of the survey is found below in the section ‘Schwartz Value Survey’.

The first large empirical investigation of the universality of the ten value types was done with teacher and student samples from twenty different countries (representing thirteen different languages) (Schwartz, 1992). Smallest Space Analyses were done in order to investigate if the items were located in the space corresponding to the expected value types. Overall, the empirical results confirmed the existence of ten different value types with the items belonging to the assumed value types. Schwartz and Sagiv (1995) confirmed the existence of the ten value types and the pattern of the two theoretically expected dimensions again in 88 samples from 40 countries. Additionally they identified 45 of the initial 56 value-items that have highly consistent meaning across the 40 countries, and which they recommend using for cross-cultural analyses. Recently, Schwartz (2007) investigated the concept of morality in relation to his value theory. In a previous study (Schwartz, 1995; as cited in Schwartz, 2007), Israeli students judged items representing Security, Conformity, Tradition, Benevolence, and Universalism as moral. In order to investigate the inclusiveness of our moral universe (do we think we have to be moral only to people close to us or to everyone?), Schwartz specifically investigated Universalism: As we saw in Table 2, universalism is composed of 8 items, 4 of them referring to the welfare of people beyond the in-group (i.e., equality, social justice, broadmindedness, and a world at peace). Schwartz found that the location of these four items predicted the moral inclusiveness of the participants: When these items were closely related to moral items (i.e., items representing Benevolence, Security, Conformity, and Tradition), people had a broader moral universe (including out-groups as well as in-groups).

**Table 2: Schwartz Value Survey: 10 Value Types with 56 items**

<i>Value Type</i>	<i>Items</i>
<i>Self-Direction</i>	creativity, freedom, independent, curious, choosing own goals
<i>Stimulation</i>	a varied life, an exciting life, daring
<i>Hedonism</i>	pleasure, enjoying life
<i>Achievement</i>	successful, capable, ambitious, influential, (self-respect), (intelligent)
<i>Power</i>	social power, authority, wealth, preserving my public image, (social recognition)
<i>Security</i>	family security, national security, social order, reciprocation of favors, clean, (sense of belonging), (healthy)
<i>Conformity</i>	politeness, self-discipline, obedient, honoring parents and elders
<i>Tradition</i>	respect for tradition, humble, moderate, accepting my portion in life, devout, (detachment)
<i>Benevolence</i>	helpful, honest, forgiving, loyal, responsible, (a spiritual life), (meaning in life), (true friendship), (mature love)
<i>Universalism</i>	social justice, equality, a world at peace, a world of beauty, unity with nature, wisdom, broadminded, protecting the environment, (inner harmony)

*Note.* Items in brackets should not be used in cross-cultural analyses (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001)

In order to investigate similarities and differences in value priorities across countries, Schwartz and Bardi (2001) looked at the value hierarchy across 56 nations: They collected data from students and/or teachers and in 13 nations they collected an additional representative sample. Two value types that were equally important on average in all countries over all samples (students, teachers, and representative) were Benevolence and Power: Benevolence was always considered the most important and Power the least important value. However the hierarchy of the rest of the value types was also surprisingly similar: Self-Direction and Universalism were second or third most important, Security, Conformity, and Achievement varied between fourth, fifth, and sixth place and Hedonism, Stimulation, and Tradition ranged from the seventh to the ninth place. This suggests that cultural similarities in the importance of values seem to outweigh cultural differences.

### **2.2.2 Schwartz Value Survey**

Starting from Rokeach's value survey (Rokeach, 1973), Schwartz developed the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS, Schwartz, 1992) to test the assumption of ten universal value types. The SVS consists of 56 value-items, 30 of them being nouns (e.g., social power, national security) and 26 of them being adjectives (e.g., ambitious, loyal). The items have to

be rated on how important they are as ‘a guiding principle’ in the life of the participants on a 9-point-scale from -1 (*opposed to my values*) to 7 (*of supreme importance*). These 56 items can then be divided into the ten value types mentioned before. In order to test if the theoretical assumption of the quasi-circumplex model of ten value types can be confirmed empirically and is the best possible configuration, Schwartz and Boehnke (2004) tested several empirical models with 46 samples from 27 countries. They found that the best model to represent the data was the theoretically expected quasi-circumplex model with some refinements: they found that Universalism as well as Security can be divided into two subgroups if one is specifically interested in the subcategories (one more focused on the self and the other one more focused on groups and society).

### **2.3 Value Research**

Since the development of the Schwartz Values Theory, most researchers have relied on the SVS or an alternative version derived from the Schwartz Value Theory when measuring values (e.g., PVQ, Schmidt, Bamberg, Davidov, Herrmann, & Schwartz, 2007; Schwartz, Melech, Lehmann, Burgess, Harris, & Owens, 2001; SSVS, Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005). Values have been investigated amongst others in relation to personality (e.g., Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994; Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna, Vecchione, & Barbaranelli, 2006; Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, & Knafo, 2002), religiosity (e.g., Schwartz & Huismans, 1995), well-being (e.g., Roccas, Horenczyk, & Schwartz 2000; Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000), voting (Barnea & Schwartz, 1998), and society variables like democratization and development (Schwartz & Sagie, 2000). Only research directly relevant for the analyses in this dissertation thesis, namely behavior, gender, environment, and intergroup relations, will be presented here.

#### **2.3.1 Values and Behavior**

As the definition of values suggests, values should “guide selection or evaluation of behaviors” (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, p. 551). In order to test this assumption, Bardi and Schwartz (2003) compiled a list of behaviors relating to the ten value types and looked at the association between self-reported value importance and self-reported value behavior. The correlations ranged from  $r = .30$  to  $r = .68$ : Benevolence, Security, Achievement, and Conformity had relatively low correlations with related behavior, whereas Stimulation, Tradition, and Hedonism were highly correlated with the associated behavior. In further studies, looking at the relation between self-reported value importance and other-reported



value behavior (partners and peers), correlations varied in a similar range and pattern (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). Caprara and Steca (2007) analyzed the relation between prosocial values (i.e, Benevolence and Universalism) and prosocial behavior: Benevolence and Universalism had a direct effect on prosocial behavior (ranging from  $r = .38$  to  $r = .59$  across different age groups), as well as an indirect effect through self-efficacy beliefs. Knafo, Daniel, and Khoury-Kassabri (2008) investigated the link between values and self-reported violent behavior in adolescents and found that Power was related positively, while Universalism and Conformity were related negatively to violence. Ryckman, Van den Borne, Thornton and Gold (2005) investigated the relationship between values and Organ Donation Registration and found that Universalism, Benevolence, Stimulation, and Achievement significantly predicted Organ Donation Registration. These studies show that values are indeed associated with their respective behavior and as such help to predict people's behavior. Additionally studying what people believe which values are important to other groups indicates what motives people attribute to other groups and is thus a subtle measure of out-group perception.

### **2.3.2 Values and Gender**

In their theoretical framework of values, Schwartz and colleagues (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990) did not include specific predictions about possible gender differences. However, several researchers have been interested in possible differences between men and women in relation to values: Do women have different value priorities than men? Do values have the same meaning for men and for women? Struch, Schwartz, and van der Kloot (2002) investigated the meaning of basic values for men and women with teacher and student samples from over 60 countries. Across countries, they found no consistent differences between men and women regarding the meaning of the ten value types. Schwartz and Rubel (2005) investigated gender differences in value priorities with 127 samples from 70 countries and found that men attributed more importance to Power, Stimulation, Hedonism, Achievement, and Self-Direction than women, while women rated Benevolence and Universalism as more important than men. Overall however, differences between countries and age groups were stronger than differences between men and women. In a detailed investigation of gender differences in relation to gender equality (with representative and student samples from 68 countries), Schwartz and Rubel (2009) showed that gender differences in Benevolence, Universalism, Power, Achievement, and Stimulation were stronger in countries with high gender equality than with gender inequality. The authors explain this finding by suggesting that people in egalitarian societies have more freedom to

pursue values they really care about than people in countries with high gender inequality. These studies show that there are some differences regarding the average value priorities between men and women and they are as expected by gender stereotypes: women believe Self-Transcendence values to be more important, while men rate Self-Enhancement and Openness to Change values as more important. These gender differences are however not as strong as cultural differences.

### **2.3.3 Values and Environment**

As we saw before, Schwartz and colleagues have stated that values stem from three types of universal requirements (i.e., biological needs, needs for successful interpersonal interactions, and needs for the survival and welfare of groups) (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). These needs may change depending on the environment people live in (e.g., the political environment, the relative safety of the environment). Bardi and Schwartz (1996) investigated the impact of the former Communist regime on the value structure of eight East European countries (e.g., Bulgaria, Poland) compared with twenty mostly democratic countries. They found that, contrary to the theoretically opposed motivations, items from Universalism (i.e., a world at peace, social justice, equality) were closely related to items from Security (i.e., social order, national security) in the East European samples. Furthermore, Schwartz and Bardi (1997) showed that samples from East European countries rated Conservatism and Hierarchy as more important and Egalitarianism, Affective, and Intellectual Autonomy as less important than samples from West European countries that had not experienced Communist regimes in the recent past. Schwartz and colleagues also focused on the relation of values and fear: Boehnke and Schwartz (1997) showed that fear of conventional or nuclear war was related positively to Universalism, Benevolence, and Security for German and Israeli students. Furthermore, Schwartz, Sagiv, and Boehnke (2000) showed in German and Israeli samples, that worries on a micro-level (about the self) were associated with higher Power and Hedonism, while worries on a macro-level (about society and the world) were associated with higher Universalism and Benevolence. Although the causal direction in these last studies (Boehnke & Schwartz, 1997; Schwartz, Sagiv, & Boehnke, 2000) is unclear (does the unsafe environment and worries make people value Security more or do people who value Security perceive the environment as more dangerous than others?), the results show that values and the environment are clearly related.

### **2.3.4 Values and Intergroup Relations**

As values are supposed to be relatively stable over time (as we saw in the definition) and are more group-based than traits, they are interesting to study in the context of intergroup relations. Do values predict out-group attitudes? Are they associated with intergroup violence? How do people perceive values from other groups? Struch and Schwartz (1989) investigated perceived value similarity and dissimilarity as mediator between perceived conflict and out-group aggression. They found that perceived value dissimilarity was strongly correlated with out-group aggression and trait inhumanity attributed to the out-group. Specifically for people highly identified with their in-group, perceived conflict predicted higher value dissimilarity which in turn predicted higher out-group aggression. Schwartz, Struch, and Bilsky (1990) investigated the mutual value perception of Israeli and German students and found that perceived value similarity was associated with readiness for out-group contact. Sagiv and Schwartz (1995) investigated the relationship between value priorities and readiness for out-group contact between Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs and showed that readiness for out-group contact was associated positively with Universalism and Self-Direction and negatively with Security, Tradition, and Conformity. Schwartz (2007) investigated the predictive power of Benevolence and Universalism for attitudes towards immigrants and showed that high Benevolence and Universalism led to more positive attitudes. Leong (2008) analyzed the association between values and attitudes toward immigrants and found that Security and Achievement were related negatively to positive attitudes, whereas Stimulation was related positively to favorable attitudes. Austers (2002) investigated the accuracy of value perception between minority and majority groups and showed that minority group members were more accurate in attributing values to majority group members than vice versa. All these studies confirm that values can be used as predictors and indicators of attitudes and stereotypes in intergroup research.

### **3 CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH**

Although this dissertation thesis does not focus on cross-cultural differences, the inclusion of students from different countries, cultures, and with different languages, requires cross-cultural measurement issues to be considered.

Van de Vijver and Leung (1997) posit that there are several things to be aware of in cross-cultural research. (1) *Sample Selection*: Cultures can be selected because they are convenient (e.g., researchers have contacts or are on a sabbatical in a foreign country). These analyses are often done without any specific expectations and therefore the interpretation of differences is mostly post-hoc. When researchers have specific hypotheses, they systematically sample the cultures of interest. If the expected differences are found, they can be embedded in a theoretical framework and be interpreted in a meaningful way. Random sampling of cultures is often done when researchers want to test the universality of their theory (e.g., Schwartz, 1992). (2) *Homogeneity of Samples*: Subjects in the different countries should be relatively similar and comparable regarding their background characteristics. If differences between countries are found, they should be attributable to cultural differences and not to alternative explanations (e.g., different educational background). (3) *Instrument Selection*: In cross-cultural studies, researchers have to decide if they want to use the same instrument across cultures or if they want to adapt it to the different countries. In order to facilitate comparisons across countries, van de Vijver and Leung (1997) recommend using the same instrument across cultures if possible. (4) *Language*: If participants speak different languages, researchers have to make sure that all language versions of the instrument are adequate. The most common procedure is the translation-back-translation method, in which one person translates the instrument and a different person translates it back. (5) *Instrument Equivalence*: The adequacy of the instrument has to be tested in order to be able to interpret possible differences between countries. The different levels of equivalence will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

#### **3.1 Cross-Cultural Equivalence**

##### **3.1.1. Levels of Cross-Cultural Equivalence**

Hui and Triandis (1985) discussed four major types of cross-cultural equivalence that have to be considered and tested before analyzing and interpreting data across countries. (1) *Conceptual/Functional Equivalence*: A concept is said to be conceptually equivalent if it means the same in all countries. Functional equivalence refers to the fact that the analyzed behavior (or more generally the analyzed variable) has similar goals across countries (e.g.,

acts of aggression are functionally equivalent if people in all countries want to achieve the same goal with it). Accordingly, the concept should have the same antecedents, consequences, and correlates in all countries. (2) *Equivalence in Construct Operationalization*: This type of equivalence refers to the transition from theory to measurement. In order for an instrument to be equivalent, the construct has to be operationalized in the same procedure and it has to be meaningful across cultures (e.g., if aggression is measured by counting verbal insults, this operationalization cannot be used in a study with deaf or mute people). (3) *Item Equivalence*: This type of equivalence requires the first two types of equivalence. If a construct has the same meaning in all countries and it is operationalized in the same way, then researchers have to make sure that it is measured by the same instrument in order to compare groups numerically. This means that all cultures should receive the same items and these items should have the same meaning for subjects from all countries. (4) *Scalar Equivalence*: Scalar Equivalence presupposes the first three types of equivalence and requires that the construct is measured on the same metric (e.g., on a scale from 1 to 6, the value 4 is the same in intensity or degree in all countries). Although scalar equivalence is ideal for cross-cultural comparisons, it is the most difficult to achieve.

There are several possible analyses to test the different levels of equivalence (also called invariance), but most researchers agree that the Multi-Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MGCFA) is the most powerful and reliable one (e.g., Steenkamp & Baumgartner, 1998). Steenkamp and Baumgartner (1998) describe the successive steps of MGCFA to test the different levels of equivalence mentioned above. (1) The first analysis of the MGCFA is called *configural invariance* and tests whether the same items correspond to the same factor across all countries. This step corresponds to the conceptual/functional and operationalizational equivalence (the first two steps of equivalence by Hui & Triandis, 1985). In order for this step of invariance to be supported, the model with the items relating to the factor has to fit the data well and the loadings of the items have to be significant. In statistical terms, this means that the same items load on the same factor (they have to be statistically different from zero), but there are no constraints made as to the size of the loadings. (2) If configural invariance is supported, the second level to be tested is *metric invariance*: This level corresponds to metric equivalence and tests whether the scale intervals are the same across all countries. If the items are metrically invariant, structural models can be tested cross-culturally. In order to test this statistically, all factor loadings are constrained to be equal across all countries. If these restraints do not result in an unsatisfactory model fit, metric invariance is supported. (3) *Scalar invariance* is the third step in invariance testing and

corresponds to scalar equivalence: It tests whether differences in means are due to differences in the underlying constructs and is therefore a necessary precondition for mean comparisons across countries. Statistically, it is tested by constraining all factor loadings to be equal across countries (metric invariance) as well as constraining all intercepts of the items to be equal across countries. Steenkamp and Baumgartner (1998) discuss several more levels of invariance (i.e., factor covariance invariance, factor variance invariance, and error variance invariance), but they are not relevant for the analyses in this thesis and will therefore not be described here.

While reviewing the different levels of measurement invariance, it was said that all factor loadings and/or all intercepts have to be equal across countries for full measurement invariance. While this is theoretically the most correct way of testing invariance, it often does not work in practice. Byrne and colleagues (Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthén, 1989) have therefore tested the concept of partial measurement invariance where the same constraints are assumed at the different levels, but they do not have to be confirmed for all factor loadings and/or intercepts. They showed that even if only two items are metrically invariant (out of all items), metric invariance is still given, now called partial metric invariance. When testing for scalar invariance based on partial metric invariance, only the intercepts of the metrically invariant items should be set equal. If at least two of the remaining intercepts can be constrained to be equal without getting an unacceptable model fit, partial scalar invariance is achieved (Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthén, 1989).

### **3.1.2 Cross-Cultural Equivalence of the Schwartz Value Survey**

In addition to empirical investigations of the presence of the ten value types in different countries (e.g., Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995), there have been several studies regarding the cross-cultural equivalence of the SVS. Spini (2003) analysed the configural, metric, and scalar invariance of the SVS in student samples from 21 countries with a multi-group confirmatory factor analysis (as described above). He included all 56 items and found configural and metric invariance for almost all of the 45 items that Schwartz and Sagiv (1995) recommend including in cross-cultural analyses. Scalar invariance could not be achieved for any of the value types, which suggests that mean comparisons across cultures should be done with caution in his samples. Steinmetz and colleagues (Steinmetz, Schmidt, Tina-Booh, Wiczorek, & Schwartz, 2007) investigated the measurement invariance of a different instrument of the Schwartz Value Theory, the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ), in a German sample. They wanted to test if the measurement

invariance would hold over three educational groups. The authors found full metric invariance over all groups. Regarding scalar invariance, they found partial invariance for all groups for almost all value types except for Tradition, Self-Direction, Hedonism, and Universalism. For these value types, the highest educational group was not invariant. In the most recent investigation of measurement invariance, Davidov and colleagues (Davidov, Schmidt, & Schwartz, 2008) tested the cross-cultural equivalence of a shorter version of the PVQ across 20 European countries. They included all value types simultaneously (Multi-Group Simultaneous Confirmatory Factor Analysis) and tested for configural, metric, and scalar invariance. They found a 7-factors-version of the theory (integrating Power and Achievement, Conformity and Tradition, and Benevolence and Universalism) to be configurally and metrically invariant across all countries. Full scalar invariance was not achieved, but partial scalar invariance was found for several subsets of countries.

In order to test measurement invariance of the Schwartz Value Survey for the samples involved in this study, the results of a multi-group confirmatory factor analysis will be presented at the beginning of the empirical part of this thesis.

#### **4 CHOICE OF SAMPLES**

As indicated in the introduction, this dissertation thesis focuses on two global research questions: (a) Are value priorities and perceived in-group homogeneity related to conflict environments? (b) Are out-group attitudes and perceptions associated with the relationships between groups? As these research questions were to be analyzed with real-life groups, it was decided to recruit students from different countries that would meet the criteria as close as possible.

##### **4.1 Israeli and Palestinian students**

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been going on for more than six decades and has often erupted in deadly violence. Israeli and Palestinian students are therefore members of different groups, who stand in direct conflict with each other. This conflict should influence their mutual out-group attitudes and perceptions. Additionally, students of both groups have been growing up in a climate of fear and violence and this conflict environment is expected to elicit different value preferences than more safe environments. On a ranking of the global peace index (developed by the Institute for Economics and Peace) Israel ranks 144/149 and is thus one of the most un-peaceful countries in the world (the ranking for Israel includes both Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories).

##### **4.2 American students**

The U.S. is currently the most powerful and influential nation in the world, as it is the “sole state with preeminence in every domain of power – economic, military, diplomatic, ideological, technological and cultural – with the reach and capabilities to promote its interests in virtually every part of the world” (Huntington, 1999, p. 36). As such, the U.S. is involved in many political relations between countries. Additionally, apart from the terror attacks in 1993 and 2001, the U.S. has not experienced foreign attacks on its mainland since World War II. On the ranking of the global peace index, the U.S. ranks 85/149, thus being assessed as much more peaceful than Israel and the Palestinian Territories. American students should therefore not feel threatened in their everyday lives, opposed to Israeli and Palestinian students.

*Relations with Israel.* The U.S. was the first country to recognize the state of Israel and for the last several decades, Israel has been the largest annual recipient of direct U.S. economic and military assistance (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007). In opinion polls, Americans and Israelis consistently see each other as friends and allies (Ma’agar Mochot, 2009; The



Harris Poll, 2007). Due to this cooperation and mutual attitudes, the U.S. and Israel can be considered to be allies.

*Relations with the State of Palestine.* The U.S. has not recognized Palestine as a state, but there is a diplomatic mission of Palestine in Washington. The U.S. has allocated funds in domains like humanitarian assistance and economic development to the Palestinian Authority since 1994 (Mark, 2005) and it has been involved in several successful peace treaties involving Israel and Palestine. As such, the U.S. does have positive relations with Palestine, but as opinion polls suggest, these are not as positive as the ones with Israel: When asked who they have more sympathy for in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 38% to 59% of Americans say they have more sympathy for Israelis, while only 7% to 20% have more sympathy for Palestinians (Gallup Poll, 2009). Palestinian polls, on the other hand, show that most Palestinians held the interference of the U.S. responsible for the Palestinian crisis in October 2006 (i.e, possibility of civil war, closure of Gaza strip) (Palestinian Center for Public Opinion, 2006). The relationship between the U.S. and the State of Palestine is therefore relatively complex, and it is difficult to assess what attitudes students from both groups will have of one another and how these will influence their perception.

#### **4.3 Swiss students**

Switzerland has been neutral since 1816 and as such has avoided alliances that might entail military, political, or direct economic action. This makes them an excellent control group when assessing how relations determine attitudes and images. Additionally, as Switzerland has not participated in a foreign war since 1815, Swiss students live in a non-conflict environment and do not have to worry about attacks or military interventions in their everyday lives. As a result, Switzerland ranks amongst the top 20 (rank 18) most peaceful countries in the world.

*Relations with Israel and the State of Palestine.* Switzerland recognized the state of Israel in 1949 and although it did not recognize Palestine as a state, it has granted a specific diplomatic status to a Palestinian representation. Additionally, it supports programs for civilian peace-building and dialogue projects between Israelis and Palestinians, including the Geneva Initiative.

#### **4.4 Student samples**

The samples in this cross-cultural project comprise students from the four participating countries described above. The decision to recruit students from the different

countries, rather than other adults was based on a number of factors. (1) *Convenience*: Due to the cooperation with professors from different universities in Israel, the Palestinian Territories and the U.S., it was easier and more convenient to recruit students to participate in this study than other adults. (2) *Homogeneity*: As we saw before, the samples in cross-cultural analyses should be as similar as possible between countries, to ensure that eventual differences are due to group and culture rather than to other factors (e.g., educational level). Students represent a more homogeneous set of people regarding their age and education than other adults in a society and therefore allow better cross-cultural comparisons. (3) *Implications*: Students represent the future leaders in their countries and it is therefore important to investigate their attitudes and perceptions of out-groups. Their image of other groups and their attitudes towards others can have far reaching consequences especially if they hold public offices or decision-making positions in the future.

Next to these advantages of student samples, however, there is also a major disadvantage due to the fact that students are not typical members of a society and results can therefore not be generalized to all people of the nation under study.

## **5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

In the theoretical and empirical background of this dissertation thesis, several theories from intergroup and value research have been presented, along with empirical evidence from several studies. In the following, the four major research questions of the present thesis will be developed and presented.

### **5.1 Values**

Values have been extensively researched in different nations and cultures and in relation to many different variables (e.g., Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994; Boehnke & Schwartz, 1997; Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, & Knafo, 2002; Ryckman, Van den Borne, Thornton, & Gold, 2005; Schwartz & Bardi, 1997; Schwartz & Huisman, 1995; Schwartz & Rubel, 2009). In this dissertation project, the focus was laid on the relation between values and the safety of the environment. Do people in unsafe environments have different value priorities than people in a safer context? As we saw before, Schwartz' conceptualization of values supposes that values derive from different types of universal requirements like biological needs or the need for the survival and welfare of groups. As such, environments eliciting higher existential insecurity, like conflict regions, might promote different values than relatively safe environments, where self-development related values might be considered more important. A study showed that single extreme events (attack on the WTC in September 2001) changed the value preferences of Finnish students for a short time: Security became more and Stimulation less important shortly after the attack (Verkasalo, Goodwin, & Bezmenova, 2006). This project is supposed to extend this finding by investigating the values of students living in conflict and non-conflict environments. Whereas the changes in values after a single extreme event were short-term and the value preferences bounced back to their original level after several weeks, it is interesting to analyze if long-lasting threat and conflict will promote different value priorities than more safe environments. In line with Schwartz' reasoning and the study of Verkasalo and colleagues, it was hypothesized that students living in a prolonged conflict situation would have different value priorities than students living in a safe environment. More specifically, Israeli and Palestinian students, who have been living in a conflict situation for over six decades, are expected to have different value preferences than American and Swiss students. Because Israeli and Palestinian students are more often confronted with life-threatening conditions (themselves or close others), they should place higher importance on Security and Conformity and less importance on Self-Direction, Stimulation, and Hedonism than American and Swiss students. This research question will be

analyzed in the first manuscript called ‘Comparing Value Preferences and Perceived In-Group Similarity between People Exposed and Not Exposed to an Intractable Conflict’ and can be summarized as follows:

RQ1: Are value priorities related to the safety of the environment?

## **5.2 Intergroup relations**

Intergroup relations have been studied under many different aspects, some of them being group-based like status (e.g., Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992), group size (e.g., Voci, Hewstone, Crisp, & Rubin, 2008) or conflicts between groups (e.g., Sherif et al., 1961), while other researchers have focused on individual variables like social dominance orientation (e.g., Pratto, Tatar, & Conway-Lanz, 1999), authoritarianism (e.g., Frindte, Wettig, & Wammetsberger, 2005), the strength of in-group identification (e.g., Duckitt & Mphuting, 1998) or contact experiences (e.g., Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian, & Hewstone, 2001). Additionally there are different outcomes that have been investigated like resulting in- and out-group attitudes (e.g., Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian, & Hewstone, 2001), in- and out-group perceptions (e.g., Alexander, Brewer, & Livingston, 2005), or intergroup behavior (e.g., Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971).

### **5.2.1 Intragroup Perception**

Several researchers have looked at the intragroup perception and studied how it is influenced by different variables. The best documented result in intragroup perception is the homogeneity effect: It is a result of the process of categorization by which differences between groups are exaggerated while differences within groups are minimized (Brewer & Brown, 1998). Although the perceived homogeneity of the out-group (the so called out-group homogeneity effect) was studied most often (e.g., Jones, Wood, & Quattrone, 1981; Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, & Kraus, 1995; Mullen & Hu, 1989), there have been some studies investigating the conditions under which the in-group is seen as homogeneous rather than heterogeneous (e.g., Kelly, 1989; Mullen & Hu, 1989; Simon & Brown, 1987; Simon & Hamilton, 1994). Following the assumptions of Self-Categorization Theory, in-group homogeneity should be highest when group membership is made salient and when out-groups are present. As these effects have mostly been found in experimental studies with artificially created groups (e.g., Kelly, 1989; Pickett, Bonner, & Coleman, 2002; Simon & Brown, 1987), one of the goals of this project is to analyze the homogeneity effect in real-life groups. Additionally, to my knowledge, there has only been one study using values as the basis of in-

group homogeneity: Austers (2002) analyzed the differences in perceived in-group homogeneity of minority and majority groups by correlating the self-rated importance of value types with the importance attributed to members of the own group. Here, a similar analysis will be done, based on value-items rather than on value types. In line with Self-Categorization Theory, Israeli and Palestinian students are expected to perceive their in-group as more homogeneous (operationalized by seeing typical in-group members as similar to themselves) than American and Swiss students, as the intergroup context is more salient for them due to the conflict than for other students. This research question will also be analyzed in the first manuscript called 'Comparing Value Preferences and Perceived In-Group Similarity between People Exposed and Not Exposed to an Intractable Conflict' and can be summarized as follows:

RQ2: Is perceived in-group homogeneity related to conflict?

### **5.2.2 Out-Group Attitudes**

Researchers have been studying the origins of out-group attitudes for several decades. Different theoretical approaches have been used to explain negative out-group attitudes: Proponents of the Realistic Conflict Theory see them as the result of competition over resources, while Intergroup Threat Theory sees them as the consequence of threat (e.g., Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000; Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005). Supporters of Social Identity Theory, on the other hand, believe the need for a positive social identity to be the source of negative out-group attitudes (e.g., Doise & Sinclair, 1973). The authors of the Intergroup Contact Theory focus on changing negative attitudes to more positive ones and believe that contact under the right circumstances can lead to positive attitudes (e.g., Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian, & Hewstone, 2001; Leong, 2008; Maoz, 2003; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Integrating the assumptions from these different theories, this thesis focuses on the predictive validity of national identification and contact under conflict and non-conflict conditions. Is national identification equally important when predicting attitudes towards people with which one is in conflict than towards people with which one has a neutral or positive relationship? And does contact have the same positive effect for groups in conflict than for groups in non-conflict? These questions have been analyzed in short-term conflict situations (e.g., Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian, & Hewstone, 2001) but the goal of this study was to study these effects in long-term conflict groups (i.e. Israelis and Palestinians) contrasting non-conflict groups. Following Realistic Group Conflict Theory and Intergroup Threat Theory, Israeli and

Palestinian students should have more negative attitudes towards each other than American and Swiss students have. According to the reasoning of Social Identity Theory, students who identify strongly with their national group should have stronger negative attitudes than students who are less identified with their in-group. Finally, in line with Intergroup Contact Theory, students who have had contact with the other group are expected to have more positive attitudes than students who never had contact. The analysis of this research question will be presented in the second manuscript called 'Contact and National Identification as Predictors of Out-Group Attitudes in Conflict and Non-Conflict Groups'.

RQ3: Are national identification and contact equally predictive of attitudes towards groups in conflict and groups not in conflict?

### **5.2.3 Out-Group Perception**

Next to attitudes, out-group perception is one of the most often studied topics in intergroup research. In this dissertation project, the focus was laid on two aspects of out-group perception: projection of values and accuracy of value perception.

#### **Projection**

Do people assume that other groups have similar value priorities than themselves? Does the assumed similarity, also called projection, apply to all out-groups equally or are there differences depending on which group is assessed? Image Theory is based on the idea that other groups are seen as allies, or enemies, based on the relation between these groups. The enemy is seen as being aggressive, evil, and hostile, while the ally is perceived to be good, altruistic, and benign (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1961; White, 1966, 1977). Following several studies showing that perceived value dissimilarity is strongly predictive of out-group aggression (e.g., Struch & Schwartz, 1989), one of the goals of this thesis is to investigate if assumed similarity and dissimilarity in key values is related to the images described above. Deriving from the images of Image Theory, allies are expected to be seen as relatively similar in values, while enemies should be seen as having more dissimilar values from the own. In the specific context of this study this means that Israeli and Palestinian students (enemies) should see each other's values as more dissimilar from their own than Americans' values (ally and ally of the enemy). Furthermore, due to the alliance between Israelis and Americans, American students should see Israelis (ally) as having more similar values to themselves than Palestinians (enemy of the ally). Finally, Swiss students, who are in no specific relationship with either of the groups, should not differentiate between them and

should see all groups as having equally similar values to themselves. These hypotheses will be tested in the third manuscript called ‘Value Differentiation between Enemies and Allies: Value Projection in National Images’.

### Accuracy

Do students know which values are important to people of other countries? Are there gender differences in how accurate students are? Is accuracy associated with the relationship between countries? Accuracy on group-level has mostly been studied with traits and opinions and several moderating factors like gender, power, and conflict have been investigated. Accuracy of value stereotypes has been analyzed by Austers (2002) and Li and Hong (2001), who looked at the moderating effect of minority/majority group membership. This study also focuses on value accuracy, but investigates the moderating effect of the relationship between groups (conflict or no conflict). As we saw before, categorization into different groups leads to an exaggeration of between group differences as well as better processing and remembering of expected than unexpected information (e.g., Hamilton & Rose, 1980; Robinson, Keltner, Ward, & Ross, 1995; Struch & Schwartz, 1989). This consequence on information processing and the exaggeration of group differences is likely to be more pronounced in conflict situations where group memberships are more salient (Turner et al., 1987). As such, Israeli and Palestinian students are expected to see each other less accurately than American and Swiss students do. Furthermore, Israeli and Palestinian students should see Americans’ values more accurately than they see each other’s values. These hypotheses will be analyzed in the fourth manuscript called ‘Do I know what’s important to you? Accuracy of Israeli and Palestinian students’ mutual perceptions’.

The last major research question of this thesis can be summarized as follows:

RQ4: How are intergroup relations associated with out-group perception?

**EMPIRICAL PART**

The empirical part of this thesis comprises seven chapters. Firstly, the student samples used in the cross-cultural project will be described and their representativeness and adequateness for cross-cultural analyses discussed. In a second step, the questionnaire used in the cross-cultural project will be described and cross-cultural equivalence of the measures will be analyzed. The third to sixth chapters are composed of four manuscripts focusing on the different research questions. The third chapter concentrates on the first two first research questions. The third research question will be analyzed in the fourth chapter and the last research question will be investigated in two manuscripts in the fifth and sixth chapters. The seventh chapter presents a fifth manuscript focusing on the research question involving power and ethics of White and Black Americans along with its theoretical background. Due to copyright issues, only the abstracts of the five manuscripts will be presented here.



### **1 SAMPLE DESCRIPTION**

The participants in this cross-cultural study are students which were recruited at universities in the different countries between December 2004 and December 2008. The initial data sample included 228 American, 283 Israeli, 225 Palestinian, and 372 Swiss students. Students in Israel and the Palestinian Territories were recruited by local professors and their collaborators who agreed to help with the data collection (see acknowledgments). In Israel the participating universities were the Ben Gurion University of the Negev (Beersheba), the University of Haifa (Haifa), and the Open University of Israel (university by distance education). In the Palestinian Territories, students participated from the An-Najah National University (Nablus), the Al-Quds University (Jerusalem), the Bethlehem University (Bethlehem), the Birzeit University (Ramallah), the Hebron University (Hebron), and the Al-Azhar University (Gaza). In the U.S., students were recruited at the University of Connecticut. Students from this university are mostly from Connecticut (76%) but there are students from 46 of the 50 states, as well as international students. In Switzerland, German language students were recruited at different universities (e.g., Berne, Zurich, Lucerne), but the majority were students from the University of Fribourg, which has a high percentage of students from different regions in Switzerland (77%).

In order to get a homogeneous student data set, it was decided to exclude participants who did not meet the minimum criteria of nationality and age.

*Nationality criterion.* After looking at the requirements for naturalization of the different countries involved, specific criteria were decided for the different countries. In the U.S., all students who had American nationality and had come to the U.S. at age 15 the latest were included. In the Palestinian Territories, all students who had been born in the Palestinian Territories, or had Palestinian nationality and had immigrated at the age of 15 were included. In Israel, all students who had been born in Israel, or were of Jewish religion and had immigrated at the age of 15 the latest were included. In Switzerland, only students who had the Swiss nationality were included.

*Age criterion.* All participants, who were older than 30 at the time of data collection, were excluded.

With these nationality and age criteria, 25 American (11%), 45 Israeli (15.9%), 51 Palestinian (22.7%), and 62 Swiss (16.7%) students were excluded from all analyses. The characteristics of the resulting sample can be seen in Table 3.

**Table 3: Characteristics of the Data Sample**

	<i>Americans</i>	<i>Israelis</i>	<i>Palestinians</i>	<i>Swiss</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>N</i>	203	238	174	310	925
<i>Age: M (SD)</i>	19.0 (1.11)	24.4 (2.31)	21.6 (2.54)	23.3 (2.42)	22.3 (2.97)
<i>% Women</i>	54.2	68.5	75.3	51.9	61.1
<i>% Christian</i>	59.6	0.0	16.7	85.1	44.7
<i>% Jewish</i>	11.8	98.3	0.0	0.0	27.9
<i>% Muslim</i>	1.0	0.0	82.2	0.3	15.8
<i>% other</i>	27.6	1.7	1.1	14.6	11.6
<i>% Lower to Middle Class</i>	24.7	34.7	42.7	23.2	30.2
<i>% Middle to Upper Class</i>	75.3	65.2	57.2	76.8	69.9

As Table 3 shows, gender distribution was about even in the American and Swiss sample, but there was a majority of women in the Israeli and Palestinian samples. The samples were all significantly different in age, but the range was quite small. American and Swiss students were in a higher social class than Palestinian students, but the effect size was quite small.

### **1.1 Representativeness**

In order to investigate the representativeness of the data, the sample data will be compared to population data from the different countries.

As we saw before, students were recruited at different universities in Israel and the Palestinian Territories, and in Switzerland, a high percentage of students was from different regions. However, students in the U.S. were only recruited at the University of Connecticut, which is located in the North East of the U.S. The Northeast is the wealthiest region in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009) and is known for its political liberalism. Results from the American sample can therefore not be generalized to students from other regions in the U.S., who might not have the same socio-economic level and political orientation.

As there are no consistent data on religion demographics of student populations, the religious representativeness of the student samples will be assessed with reference numbers from population data. In 2007, 78.4% of Americans had Christian faith, 1.7% was Jewish, and 0.6% was Muslim (Pew Research Center, 2008). As can be seen above, the American sample in this study included much more Jewish students (11.8%) than would be expected by the religious distribution in the population. In Israel, 76.2% of the population is Jewish,

16.1% is Muslim, and 2.1% is Christian (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2009). As Jewish Israelis were specifically recruited for this Israeli sample, the religious distribution is not representative. This restriction to Israeli Jews entails that the generalization of the Israeli results can only be done to Israeli Jewish students, opposed to all Israeli students. According to the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (2007), 97% of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza has Muslim faith, while only 3% is Christian. This religious distribution is not mirrored in the present sample, as there are much more Christian students than would be expected by the population numbers. In Switzerland, 79.6% has Christian faith, 4.3 is Muslim, and only 0.3% is Jewish (Bovay, 2004). These data are more or less reflected in the Swiss sample above.

The unequal gender distribution in the Israeli and Palestinian samples is certainly not representative of student populations, but statistics available from several of the Palestinian Universities show that there is a majority of female students varying from 58% (An-Najah University) to 70% (Hebron University). As such, the unequal gender distribution in the Palestinian Territories was partly due to an unequal gender distribution existing in the student population.

In sum, the samples in this study are not completely representative for the different populations. They are however adequate for cross-cultural analyses, as the four samples are fairly homogeneous regarding age, educational level and social class so that cross-cultural comparisons can be done and interpreted adequately. Due to the unequal gender distribution, most analyses will be done separately for men and for women.

## **2 DESCRIPTION AND CROSS-CULTURAL EQUIVALENCE OF THE INSTRUMENTS**

In this chapter, the measures used in the cross-cultural project will be presented and described. In a second step, the translation procedure will be described and cross-cultural equivalence analyses of the scales will be done.

### **2.1 Instruments**

Participants completed a questionnaire containing (1) demographic information (e.g., age, gender, socio-economic situation, and religion), (2) questions about their contact experiences with students of the other countries, (3) questions about the importance of their nationality and religion, (4) an attitude scale, and (5) a value scale. The last three measures were asked from four different perspectives for American, Israeli, and Palestinian students: the own perspective, the perspective of a typical in-group member, and the perspectives of a typical student of the other two nations (Swiss were asked to complete these measures five times). In the following, only the attitude scale will be described in more detail. The value scale (i.e., the Schwartz Value Survey) has been described in detail in the theoretical background section, and the remaining questions are single items, which can be seen in the questionnaire in the appendix.

#### **2.1.1 Attitude Scale**

Attitudes were assessed with five statements, derived from the Social Distance Scale from Bogardus (1933). The statements were asked for three groups (i.e., American, Israeli, and Palestinian students) and were rated on a 5-point scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*absolutely*): “I think it would be interesting to have American / Israeli / Palestinian fellow students”, “The world would be better if there were no Americans / Israelis / Palestinians”, “It would be good if there were no Americans / Israelis / Palestinians living in my country”, “I wouldn’t mind having an American / Israeli / Palestinian as a friend”, and “It would bother me if I had American / Israeli / Palestinian neighbors”. The second, third and fifth items were recoded, so that higher numbers indicate positive attitudes.

### **2.2 Translation Procedure**

The questionnaire was first constructed in German. The SVS already existed in the four languages needed in this study: Arabic, English, German, and Hebrew. The rest of the questionnaire was translated into English and afterwards back-translated into German. For the German version of the SVS, we used an authorized version available in the computer

software ZIS Version 8.0 (Glöckner-Rist, 2004). We slightly modified single items, to make them more convenient for our German-speaking Swiss participants. To obtain a Hebrew and Arabic version of the SVS, we contacted Shalom Schwartz and he cordially sent us the requested forms. However, the Arabic version was a draft, for which we did further language evaluations. The remaining items and the attitude scale had to be translated from German to Arabic, English, and Hebrew.

*Arabic version.* We used a translation office in Damascus to check the Arabic version of the questionnaire and this version was then improved by Izdehar Al Hassan, who is a professional translator. With her, we discussed different variations of the translation of difficult concepts to make sure that the Arabic meaning was as close as possible to the English meaning. This version was then proofed and again slightly adapted by Sami Adwan, who was our cooperation partner at the University of Bethlehem. In addition, his collaborator did a back-translation, which we then compared with the English version. We discussed inconsistencies and questions with Sami Adwan. To be sure that the Arabic version of the questionnaire was equivalent to the original version, we did a last check with the help of Monaf Alnahar, who speaks Arabic, English, and German fluently.

*English version.* We prepared an adapted English translation from the original German questionnaire. This version was checked by Tessa West and David Kenny, our American cooperation partners. From the American version we obtained a back-translation to German by an English native speaker, that we used to check and to ensure that the questionnaires were completely equivalent in both languages.

*Hebrew version.* The English translation, which was checked as described above, was translated to Hebrew by Jenny Kurman and back-translated to English by Tal Hirsch. We then compared the back-translation with the initial English version, discussed critical issues, and thus ensured the equivalence of the Hebrew version.

### **2.3 Equivalence Levels**

As we saw before in the theoretical section on cross-cultural equivalence, several levels of invariance are a necessary precondition for meaningful cross-cultural analyses. These equivalence analyses will be done with a multi-group confirmatory factor analysis (MGCFA) in the Structural Equation Modeling Program AMOS. Only the equivalence analyses for the attitude scale and the Schwartz Value Survey will be presented here, as the MGCFA is only applicable to scales, not to individual items.

### **2.3.1 Configural Equivalence**

The first level of equivalence is necessary for all cross-cultural analyses and as we saw before, it tests whether the same items correspond to the same factor across all countries. In order to test this level of invariance, the factor (i.e., attitude or value type) with its corresponding items is tested for all countries simultaneously. If the model fit indices are satisfactory, configural invariance is achieved. The indices used to evaluate the fit of the models and which will be presented in the following are the Comparative Fit Index (*CFI*), the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (*RMSEA*), and the Chi-Square with the degrees of freedom. The *CFI* should be above .90 and the *RMSEA* below .08 to be acceptable (Kline, 2005). Tables 4 and 5 present the results for the models with configural equivalence.

**Table 4: Model Fit Indices for Configural Invariance for the Attitude Scale**

<i>Attitude towards</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	$X^2$	<i>df</i>	<i>Notes</i>
<i>Americans</i>	.986	.035	22.74	12	1 correlation between error variances
<i>Israelis</i>	.991	.036	22.88	12	1 correlation between error variances
<i>Palestinians</i>	.974	.075	46.92	9	2 correlations between error variances

**Table 5: Model Fit Indices for Configural Invariance for the SVS**

<i>Value Type</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	$X^2$	<i>df</i>	<i>Notes</i>
<i>Self-Direction</i>	.994	.015	19.13	16	1 correlation between error variances
<i>Stimulation</i>	.999	.013	4.58	4	
<i>Hedonism</i>				0	cannot be tested
<i>Achievement</i>	.998	.014	9.55	8	
<i>Power</i>	.983	.057	16.00	4	1 correlation between error variances
<i>Security</i>	.958	.036	44.54	20	
<i>Conformity</i>	.980	.038	18.47	8	
<i>Tradition</i>	.988	.019	21.59	16	1 correlation between error variances
<i>Benevolence</i>	.980	.026	32.19	20	
<i>Universalism</i>	.955	.037	136.28	60	5 correlations between error variances

As we can see, all attitudes and value types are configurally invariant across all countries. In the attitudes scale, several error variances have been correlated with each other in order to improve fit. The correlations were done between positively worded items and between negatively worded items. In four value types (i.e., Self-Direction, Power, Tradition, and Universalism), the error variances of some items have also been correlated with each other. All of these correlations are between items whose meanings are close: (1) Self-Direction: creativity and curious, (2) Power: wealth and preserving the public image, (3)

Tradition: moderate and humble, (4) Universalism: four correlations between items focused on people (equality, social justice, world at peace, broad-mindedness) and 1 correlation between items focused on nature (protecting the environment, world in beauty). Model fit indices for Hedonism could not be computed, as it is constructed of only 2 items and is thus saturated ( $df = 0$ ). Overall, the results show that the items used to construct the respective value types are valid for all samples. This level was a prerequisite for the achievement of metric equivalence, which will be tested next.

### **2.1.2 Metric Equivalence**

As we saw before, the second level of equivalence tests whether the scale intervals are the same across all countries. If the items are metrically invariant, structural models can be tested cross-culturally. In order to test this level of invariance, the item loadings for one factor (i.e., attitude or value type) are constrained to be equal for all countries simultaneously. If the model fit indices are satisfactory, metric invariance is achieved. The indices used to evaluate the fit of the models are the same as above. Table 5 presents the results for the models with metric equivalence.

**Table 6: Model Fit Indices for Metric Invariance for the Attitude Scale**

<i>Attitude towards</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>X<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Notes</i>
<i>Americans</i>	.986	.027	30.45	20	1 correlation between error variances
<i>Israelis</i>	.980	.041	43.22	20	1 correlation between error variances
<i>Palestinians</i>	.968	.061	63.99	17	2 correlations between error variances

**Table 7: Model Fit Indices for Metric Invariance for the SVS**

<i>Value Type</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>X<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Notes</i>
<i>Self-Direction</i>	.975	.023	41.45	28	
<i>Stimulation</i>	1.00	.000	5.02	7	
<i>Hedonism</i>				0	cannot be tested
<i>Achievement</i>	.990	.022	24.44	17	
<i>Power</i>	.951	.054	47.55	13	
<i>Security</i>	.934	.038	67.63	29	partial invariance
<i>Conformity</i>	.975	.029	30.43	17	
<i>Tradition</i>	.960	.028	43.49	25	partial invariance
<i>Benevolence</i>	.979	.021	45.01	32	
<i>Universalism</i>	.924	.042	210.79	81	

The model fit indices in Tables 6 and 7 show that all attitudes and value types are metrically invariant across all countries. Hedonism was again saturated ( $df = 0$ ), which means that the fit indices could not be computed. Two value types (i.e, Security and Tradition) show only partial invariance, which means that not all item loadings are invariant across the countries. As Byrne and colleagues (Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthén, 1989) have shown, invariance of at least two item loadings per factor (i.e. value type) is enough for cross-cultural analyses to be valid. As such, metric equivalence is given for all value types and structural analyses can be done across countries.

### **2.1.3 Scalar Equivalence**

The last level of equivalence to be analyzed in this thesis tests whether differences in means are due to differences in the underlying constructs and is therefore a necessary precondition for mean comparisons across countries. In order to test this level of invariance, the item loadings for one factor (i.e., attitude or value type) are constrained to be equal for all countries simultaneously (metric invariance) as well as the intercepts of the items. The indices used to evaluate the fit of the models are again the same as for configural equivalence. Tables 8 and 9 presents the results for the models with scalar equivalence.

**Table 8: Model Fit Indices for Scalar Invariance for the Attitude Scale**

<i>Attitude towards</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>X<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Notes</i>
<i>Americans</i>	.716	.103	241.65	28	1 correlation between error variances
<i>Israelis</i>	.940	.060	96.78	28	1 correlation between error variances
<i>Palestinians</i>	.874	.100	211.52	25	1 correlation between error variances

**Table 9: Model Fit Indices for Scalar Invariance for the SVS**

<i>Value Type</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>X<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Notes</i>
<i>Self-Direction</i>	.927	.036	74.00	34	partial invariance
<i>Stimulation</i>	.915	.073	59.51	10	partial invariance
<i>Hedonism</i>	.951	.072	17.14	3	
<i>Achievement</i>	.955	.039	55.12	23	partial invariance
<i>Power</i>	.943	.048	59.32	19	partial invariance
<i>Security</i>	.929	.038	73.68	32	partial invariance
<i>Conformity</i>	.913	.047	69.65	23	partial invariance
<i>Tradition</i>	.893	.044	77.04	28	partial invariance
<i>Benevolence</i>	.903	.038	103.94	44	
<i>Universalism</i>	.911	.043	242.88	90	partial invariance



As we can see in Table 8, only the attitude towards Israelis reaches scalar invariance: This means that the attitudes towards Americans and Palestinians should not be compared by their means across our samples. Table 9 shows that all value types - with the exception of Tradition - show scalar invariance across all countries. The *CFI* for Tradition is slightly below the acceptable .90 threshold, so that mean comparisons across countries should be done with caution for this value type. Most value types show partial scalar invariance (with the exceptions of Hedonism and Benevolence), but as we saw before, this does not pose a problem for cross-cultural analyses. With this last level of equivalence, the means of the value types can be compared across countries.

In sum, these results show that the attitude scale is adequate for structural analyses across countries, while it should not be used for mean comparisons. The value scale, on the other hand, is adequate for the following analyses with the student samples from Israel, the Palestinian Territories, Switzerland, and the U.S. This finding is very important, as the value scale has, to my knowledge, never been administered to Palestinian students. With these analyses, it was therefore confirmed that the Schwartz Value Survey can also be used in the Palestinian Territories and the constructs are understood in the same way as in other countries.

### **3 VALUES AND INTRAGROUP HOMOGENEITY**

The third chapter in this empirical part of the thesis presents the abstract of the first manuscript focusing on the first two major research questions: Are value priorities related to the safety of the environment and is perceived in-group homogeneity related to conflict? The manuscript is entitled ‘Comparing Value Preferences and Perceived In-Group Similarity between People Exposed and Not Exposed to an Intractable Conflict’ and the authors are Veronique Eicher and Peter Wilhelm.

#### **3.1 Comparing Value Preferences and Perceived In-Group Similarity between People Exposed and Not Exposed to an Intractable Conflict**

The aim of this article was to investigate value preferences and perceived in-group similarity of people exposed to an intractable conflict (i.e., Israelis and Palestinians) versus people not exposed to such a conflict (i.e., Americans and Swiss). We therefore asked 901 students from the aforementioned countries to evaluate the importance of values for themselves and for a typical member of their own group. As expected, Palestinians placed higher importance on Security and Conformity and less importance on Self-Direction, Stimulation, and Hedonism than people from other nations. Additionally they perceived typical Palestinians to be more similar to themselves than other participants did. Israelis, however, did not show the expected value pattern and did not see typical members of their nation as more similar to themselves than Americans and Swiss did. Additionally, Israelis had very similar value preferences as Americans, while Swiss differed significantly on most values from both Americans and Israelis. This last result suggests that the often proclaimed common western value system seems to be more heterogeneous than would be expected from political rhetoric.

#### **4 OUT-GROUP ATTITUDES**

This chapter focuses on the third research question: Are national identification and contact equally predictive of attitudes towards groups in conflict and groups not in conflict? The manuscript is entitled ‘Contact and National Identification as Predictors of Out-Group Attitudes in Conflict and Non-Conflict Groups’ and the author is Veronique Eicher. The abstract of this manuscript follows below.

##### **4.1 Contact and National Identification as Predictors of Out-Group Attitudes in Conflict and Non-Conflict Groups**

The aim of this study was to analyze the predictive strength of contact and national identification in conflict and non-conflict groups. American, Israeli, Palestinian, and Swiss students completed a questionnaire assessing their identification with their national group, their contact frequency and pleasantness with and their attitude towards students from the other groups. As expected, frequency and pleasantness of contact were both strong positive predictors of out-group attitudes, although pleasantness of contact overrode the effect of frequency. The predictive strength of contact for out-group attitudes was the same for both groups in conflict and groups not in conflict. National identification was confirmed to be a mostly negative predictor, although it was a positive predictor for Israeli students when assessing Americans. This suggests that national identification can be a positive predictor when assessing attitudes toward allied groups. These results confirm the positive outcome of contact between groups and show that it is as effective between groups in conflict as between groups not in conflict. Additionally, it was shown that national identification does not always have negative effects on out-group attitudes, but can indeed promote positive attitudes.

## **5 OUT-GROUP PERCEPTION: PROJECTION**

The fourth research question will be analyzed in this chapter as well as the next: How are intergroup relations associated with out-group perception? The present chapter consists of the abstract to a manuscript entitled ‘Value Differentiation between Enemies and Allies: Value Projection in National Images’ and the authors are Veronique Eicher, Felicia Pratto, and Peter Wilhelm.

### **5.1 Value Differentiation between Enemies and Allies: Value Projection in National Images**

We examined images of national out-groups using value projection and expected different levels of projection from in-groups to out-groups depending on the relationship between participants’ groups. We expected higher projection to ally than to enemy groups, whereas we expected no difference in projection to out-groups with neutral relations. Analyzing these expectations with national groups, our study included Israeli, Palestinian, American, and Swiss participants. As expected, allies projected Security and Power to a higher degree to each other than to enemies, and enemies did not show any - or even negative - projection onto each other. The ally of the enemy (Americans) was projected to less negatively by Palestinians than vice versa, pointing to the higher complexity of third party images opposed to the more classical ally and enemy images. As expected, Swiss students showed almost no difference in projection to the different out-groups. These results confirm that the relationship between groups (e.g., alliance, enmity) rather than a consensual view of particular nations determines images.

## **6 OUT-GROUP PERCEPTION: ACCURACY**

This chapter also focuses on the last research question: How are intergroup relations associated with out-group perception? The manuscript is entitled ‘Do I know what’s important to you? Accuracy of Israeli and Palestinian students’ mutual perceptions’ and the authors are Veronique Eicher and Peter Wilhelm. The abstract of this manuscript follows below.

### **6.1 Do I know what’s important to you? Accuracy of Israeli and Palestinian students’ mutual perceptions**

The purpose of this paper was to analyze the accuracy of value stereotypes for conflict and non-conflict groups along with gender of the perceiver and target as potential moderator. American, Israeli, Palestinian, and Swiss students were asked to rate which values were important to them and what they thought which values were important to students from the other groups. Results showed that, as expected, students from conflict groups did not assess each other as accurately as students from other groups. Additionally, in the Palestinian Territories, male targets were assessed more accurately than female targets, which might be explained by the lower gender equity in Palestine but might also stem from the news coverage of the conflict. Overall, this study showed that it is relatively difficult for opponents to know, which values are important to the other group, which makes conflict resolution all the more difficult.

## **7 RACE, POWER, AND ETHICS**

This last empirical chapter presents a manuscript based on an American adult sample and treating a different topic than the previous manuscripts: Power Types of White and Black Americans. First a brief theoretical background of the Power Basis Theory is given, from which the research question of the manuscript was developed.

### **7.1 Power Basis Theory**

Pratto, Lee, Tan, and Pitpitan (in press) developed the Power Basis Theory on the premise that there are several types of basic needs, that people try to fulfill: (1) the need for wholeness of body and psyche, (2) the need to consume resources, (3) the need to interact competently with one's environment, (4) the need to care for others, (5) the need for social approval, and (6) the need for reproduction. From these needs, the authors developed several types of powers that can either threaten or fulfill these needs: (1) wholeness and violence, (2) resources and their control, (3) knowledge, (4) care for others and obligations, (5) belonging to a community and legitimacy, and (6) sexual attractiveness.

The fact that there are different types of power implies that people can possess one type of power (e.g., material resources) without having another type of power (e.g., sexual attractiveness). People can therefore vary in the overall amount of power they have, but also regarding the specific types of power they possess. Pratto and colleagues outline two major ways in which power can be used: (1) People can influence others by offering or refusing to fulfill their needs and desires and thus enabling or preventing them from meeting their needs. (2) People can decide which kinds of power are fungible by agreeing to exchange one form of power with another one (e.g., material resources for legitimacy). Generally, the domains of power typically associated with men (e.g., force, legitimacy, resources) are more fungible than power types associated with women (e.g., sexual attractiveness, obligations to others) as these are more personal. These differences in fungibility can help to explain the source and persistence of power inequality: one party may have many different forms of power and thus possess more power than another party, but if their types of power are also highly fungible, they will be able to gain more power (e.g., giving material resources to endorse politicians) and thus maintain their relative advantage over others.

Research involving Power Basis Theory was done in relation with the content of stereotypes (e.g., Pratto & Lee, 2005), and equality between people (e.g., Pratto, Pearson, Lee, & Saguy, 2008). In the manuscript related to Power Basis Theory, the effectiveness and ethicality of different power types was examined for Black and White Americans. The

manuscript is entitled ‘Ethics versus Pragmatics in the Fungibility of Power: Asymmetries for U.S. Blacks and Whites’ and the order of authors is as follows: Felicia Pratto, Eileen V. Pitpitan, Melissa-Sue John, Amy Huntington, Veronique Eicher, Judy Y. Tan and Nicole Overstreet. The abstract of this manuscript follows below.

### **7.2 Ethics versus Pragmatics in the Fungibility of Power: Asymmetries for U.S. Blacks and Whites**

Two community surveys tested whether pragmatic and ethical considerations about power use are symmetrical for Black and White Americans. For White targets, both how much Whites were perceived to use particular types of power and how ethical each type of power is were related to the power type’s perceived efficacy. For Black targets, the association between ethics and efficacy was significantly stronger than for Whites, and the degree Blacks were perceived to use each power type was unrelated to perceived efficacy. Results support the *ethics constraint hypothesis*: power efficacy is contingent on ethical judgments more for subordinate than for dominant groups. Implications for double standards, pathways to power, and for changing racial power are discussed.

**DISCUSSION**

The aim of this dissertation thesis was to analyze the values, out-group attitudes, and perceptions of real-life conflict and non-conflict groups. Israeli, Palestinian, American, and Swiss students were asked which values were important to them and what they thought which values were important to typical in-group members and students from other nations. Following the four research questions outlined in the theoretical and empirical background of this thesis, the results of the present thesis will be discussed. Afterwards, the findings will be integrated and major strengths and weaknesses of the thesis will be presented. Finally, implications of the results found in this thesis will be outlined.



## **1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

In this section, the results of the four major research questions of this thesis will be summarized and discussed.

### **1.1 Values**

In the theoretical background of this thesis, it was hypothesized that students living in conflict environments would have different value preferences than students living in a safer environment. This was already confirmed in the context of short-term threats (e.g., Verkasalo, Goodwin, & Bezmenova, 2006) and political environments (e.g., Bardi & Schwartz, 1996). In this thesis, it was shown that Palestinian students do indeed rate Security and Conformity as more important and Self-Direction, Stimulation, and Hedonism as less important than students from other countries. Israeli students, however, do not show this 'conflict value pattern' and are overall closer to American students regarding their value preferences than to Palestinian students. Swiss students, on the other hand, show the 'non-conflict value pattern', valuing Security and Conformity less and Self-Direction, Stimulation, and Hedonism more than students from other countries. This means that only Palestinian and Swiss students showed clear 'conflict' and 'non-conflict' patterns while Israeli and American students were 'in between'. This may be due to the fact that Palestinian students are constantly reminded of the conflict by security check points and high casualties (i.e., conflict environment), while Swiss students do not have to feel threatened in their everyday life (i.e., peaceful environment). Palestinians and Swiss thus represent two 'extremes' in conflict exposure, which might be the reason why hypotheses were clearly confirmed for these groups but not for the others. Israelis and Americans, on the other hand, are both involved in a conflict, but do not have to feel threatened in their everyday lives. This might explain, why they do not clearly show the 'conflict' nor the 'non-conflict pattern'. It might therefore be expected that while students in unsafe environments do have different value preferences than students in safe environments, the actual threat in everyday life may be more important than the fact of being in conflict or not. As the groups in this study had culturally different backgrounds, it is however also possible that the differences found in value preferences are attributable to cultural differences and not to the different conflict exposure of the groups. In order to be able to differentiate these two possible causes, it would be necessary to investigate people with different conflict exposure, but similar cultural backgrounds like people from the Republic of Ireland and people from Northern Ireland. In sum, in order to definitely confirm

the association between value preferences and conflict exposure, further studies are necessary.

### **1.2 Intragroup Perception**

A second research question related to the safety of the environment was analyzed concerning perceived in-group homogeneity: In line with former research (e.g., Lee & Ottati, 1995; Rothgerber, 1997), it was expected that students living in conflict environments (i.e., Israelis and Palestinians) would experience higher threat levels, and would therefore see their typical in-group members as more similar to themselves than students living in a more peaceful environment (i.e., Americans and Swiss). As expected, Palestinian students did perceive typical in-group members to be more similar to themselves than students from other countries, but this was not true for Israeli students. As said before, this may be due to the different threat experience of Israeli and Palestinian students: If Israeli students do not feel threatened in their everyday lives, they will not see their typical in-group members as particularly similar to themselves. Another possible explanation for the differences in perceived similarity is the degree of collectivism of the countries involved. Hofstede (2010) showed that the U.S., Switzerland, and Israel are more individualistic than several Arab countries (the Palestinian Territories were not included in the database). This would explain why American, Israeli, and Swiss students do not see themselves as similar to their in-group members, while Palestinian students, who are more collectivistic, do. In order to separate these two possible explanations, it would be necessary to compare groups with equal individualistic-collectivistic levels and differing threat levels. This might be done in countries, where different regions are exposed to different threat levels, for example.

### **1.3 Out-Group Attitudes**

Research on out-group attitudes showed that conflict and strong in-group identification are negatively associated with out-group attitudes (e.g., Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian, & Hewstone, 2001; Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005), while quantity and quality of contact are related to positive attitudes (e.g., Leong, 2008; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). In this thesis, it was shown that the relationship between groups (e.g., conflict, alliance), more so than just conflict, determines out-group attitudes: Israeli and Palestinian students have negative attitudes towards each other, but Palestinian students also have a relatively negative attitude towards Americans although they are not involved in a direct conflict. As the U.S. has often sided with Israel in the past, Palestinians may see them as an

indirect opponent and therefore have relatively negative attitudes towards them. As expected, national identification was generally a negative predictor for positive out-group attitudes, but there was one case where it actually fostered positive attitudes: The more Israeli students identify with their national group, the more positive is their attitude towards Americans. This surprising result might be explained by the fact that Israeli students probably see the U.S. as ally and thus may extend their identification to them, leading to positive attitudes. This would again point to the importance of the relationship between groups. The investigation of quantity and quality of contact confirmed that both are positive predictors of positive out-group attitudes, but quality of contact is much more important than quantity.

The effects of relationship between groups (e.g., conflict, alliance) and contact pleasantness were overall stronger than the ones for national identification and frequency of contact. Pleasantness of contact especially was a constant and strong positive predictor for out-group attitudes, even between groups in conflict. This means that, even for people who have been in conflict with each other for several decades, like Israelis and Palestinians, and who do not have a lot of contact, pleasant contact experiences lead to positive attitudes towards each other.

Furthermore, the effect of these contact experiences seems to have generalized to other members of the group. This finding is surprising, as contact studies have shown that the positive effects of carefully structured contact experiences often do not generalize to other members of the out-group (e.g., Johnston & Hewstone, 1992; Wilder, 1984). This suggests that natural occurring contact is more effective in changing generalized out-group attitudes than structured and planned intergroup contact, which has often been the focus of previous contact studies. This may be due to the fact that people in planned contact situations (like dialogue programs) may see others as atypical members of the other group, who are particularly open-minded and friendly. As such, their attitude towards these atypical members would not necessarily generalize to other out-group members as they do not believe other members to be similar. If, on the other hand, people meet out-group members in their everyday lives, they may see them as more typical members of the other group, and their attitude towards this member might generalize more easily to other members of that group. This does, however, not mean that planned and structured intergroup contact does not have a positive and effective impact on attitudes. As natural occurring contact cannot be influenced, it is important to specifically design opportunities for people to meet in intercultural training or peace education programs. The contact opportunities in these programs should however

allow for unstructured and natural interactions so that group members learn to see each other in a more natural way and may generalize these experiences to other group members.

#### **1.4 Out-Group Perception**

Out-group perception was analyzed in two ways in this thesis: projection of values and accuracy of value perception.

In the first manuscript investigating out-group perception, the focus lay on value projection to members of different out-groups. Projection of values was analyzed and differential projection depending on the intergroup relationship was anticipated (e.g., Herrmann, 1985; Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999). More specifically, it was expected that the values would be projected to a higher degree to allied out-groups (i.e., Americans and Israelis) than to enemy out-groups (i.e., Israelis and Palestinians). Additionally, neutral groups (i.e., Swiss) were expected to project equally to all out-groups (i.e. Americans, Israelis, and Palestinians). These assumptions were only confirmed for Power and Security. Power and Security are projected positively to allies, but negatively to enemies. Swiss students do not differentiate in their projection to the different groups with the exception of Security, which they project positively to Americans but negatively to Israelis and Palestinians. Beside these results differentiating allies and enemies, it was shown that Americans project more positively to allies (Israelis) than to enemies of the ally (Palestinians), and Palestinians project to a higher degree to allies of the enemy (Americans) than to the enemies themselves (Israelis). These results confirm that projection is not the same for all countries but actually depends on the relationship existing between the groups.

Out-group perception was also analyzed by looking at the accuracy of value stereotypes of people from other groups. The process and consequences of categorization lead to the expectation that people from groups in conflict would be assessed less accurately than others (e.g., Lilli & Rehm, 1988; Robinson, Keltner, Ward, & Ross, 1995; Struch & Schwartz, 1989). Results in this thesis confirmed that people from groups in conflict (i.e., Israelis and Palestinians) are less accurate in assessing each other's values than people from other groups (i.e., Americans and Swiss). Additionally, Palestinian students are not accurate in assessing Americans, which can be explained by the fact that they may see the U.S. as an ally of Israel. This pattern would indicate again that the relationship between groups, more so than just conflict, would lead to higher or lower accuracy of value stereotypes.

Integrating the findings of the projection and accuracy analyses, it was shown that out-group perception is strongly influenced by the relationship between groups. This means

that perception of groups which one is in conflict is influenced by the conflict existing between the groups. The resulting misperceptions have been discussed by the political scientist White (1966, 1977) in the context of Vietnam-American and Arab-Israeli relations. By demonizing the opponent in conflict situations (through propaganda and political speeches), the conflict and resulting use of violence is justified: White (1977) showed for example that both Israelis and Arabs claimed that “they [the other side] were the aggressors in all four wars” (p. 205). These misperceptions thus prolong the conflict by rationalizing and justifying own behavior and demonizing that of the opponent. It is therefore important to analyze out-group perception to know which misperceptions are present, to be able to focus on them in peace education programs. Making both groups aware of their (often mirrored) mutual perceptions facilitates perspective-taking, which is often considered to be a first step towards conflict resolution (e.g., White, 2004)

## **2 INTEGRATING THE FINDINGS**

One of the strengths of this thesis is the investigation of several research questions with the same samples. In the following, the findings of the research questions will be integrated into the two major focuses of this thesis:

- A. Are value priorities and perceived in-group homogeneity related to the safety of the environment?
- B. Are out-group attitudes and perceptions associated with the relations between groups?

### **2.1 Values and Perceived In-Group Homogeneity**

It was shown that Palestinian students value Security and Conformity highly, while they believe Self-Direction, Stimulation, and Hedonism to be unimportant. Additionally, Palestinian students saw typical Palestinians as relatively similar to themselves. All of these results confirmed the assumptions regarding students living in threatening conflict environments. Swiss students, on the other hand, showed the opposite pattern in value preferences and saw typical Swiss as relatively dissimilar to themselves. Thus, they confirmed the expectations for students living in peaceful environments.

Israeli and American students were very similar regarding their value preferences and saw their typical in-group members also as equally similar. They did neither explicitly show the 'conflict' nor the 'non-conflict pattern'. This might be due to the fact that both countries are officially involved in a conflict (Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Iraq war), but they may not feel threatened in their everyday lives.

These findings do not allow a confirmation or disconfirmation of the assumption that people in conflict environments have different value preferences and higher perceived-in-group homogeneity than people in safe environments. While it was confirmed for some groups, it was not confirmed for others. It is interesting to note, that both hypotheses were either both confirmed (for Palestinian and Swiss students) or both disconfirmed (for American and Swiss students). This means that when students showed the expected value preferences, they also showed the expected perceived in-group similarity. This suggests that the two assumptions do indeed seem to be associated, although the present results cannot confirm that the common cause is experienced threat. Further research, for example with students living in threatening conflict situations, is therefore needed in order to answer this question satisfactorily.

## **2.2 Out-Group Attitudes and Perceptions**

In order to investigate the second major research focus of this thesis, the findings on out-group attitudes and perceptions will be integrated and possible patterns based on intergroup relations will be discussed.

### **2.2.1 Enemies**

It was shown that Palestinian students have a relatively negative attitude towards Israelis, do not know which values are important to them, and project key values in conflict relations (i.e., Power, and Security) strongly negatively to them. Israeli students, on the other hand, do also have a negative attitude towards Palestinians, but are moderately accurate in assessing Palestinian values, and project key values only slightly negatively to them. These results suggest that overall enemies do not like each other very much, do not assess each other very accurately and project key values negatively onto each other. This pattern can be explained by the conflict between the groups: By projecting own values negatively to enemies and thus seeing them as very different from oneself, it is easier to dehumanize them (Haslam, 2006) and thus justify the continuation of the conflict. Additionally, as people do not know what is important to the enemy, they can image that the behavior of the other group is based on different motives than their own: For example, people might attribute a desire for Power to their enemies, while they believe their own behavior to be caused by a need for Security. These out-group attitudes and perceptions thus help to prolong and justify the enmity between the groups.

### **2.2.2 Allies**

The results of the present thesis have shown that Israeli students have a positive attitude towards Americans, know which values are important to them and project key values strongly positively to them. American students do also have a positive attitude toward Israeli students, are moderately accurate in assessing their values and project key values positively to them. In sum, allies like each other, know which values are important to each other and project own values positively. This shows that an alliance between groups has positive effects on intergroup attitudes and perceptions, which help to reinforce the cooperation between groups and thus stabilize the relationship. Additionally, results in the first manuscript showed that Israelis and Americans share similar value preferences, which further strengthens the alliance between the two countries.

### **2.2.3 Allies of the enemy and Enemies of the ally**

American and Palestinian students have a complex relationship that cannot be reduced to enmity or alliance. Deriving from the Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-American relationships, the American-Palestinian relation can probably best be described as Americans being the ally of the enemy of Palestinians, and Palestinians being the enemy of the ally of Americans. It was shown that Palestinian students like Americans moderately, but do not know which values are important to them and do not project key values to them. American students, on the other hand, like Palestinians, are moderately accurate in assessing their values, but project key values negatively to them. The patterns of these two images are thus not identical: While the enemy of the ally seems to be less disliked than the ally of the enemy, the ally of the enemy is not projected to negatively, contrary to the enemy of the ally. These findings indicate that the enemy of the ally is seen more positively than the ally of the enemy. This might be explained by the fact that allies of the enemy may be more important in the outcome of conflicts than enemies of the ally. This will be illustrated by the allies of the enemy (i.e., Americans) and enemies of the ally (i.e., Palestinians) in this thesis: Americans might decide to get involved in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians and thus further strengthen Israelis' position in the conflict. It would therefore make sense for Palestinians to be cautious of Americans. Palestinians, on the other hand, might try to interfere in the relationship between Israelis and Americans, but this would have no negative consequences for Americans. Thus, it makes sense that Americans do not have a particularly negative image of Palestinians. This illustration is not a likely scenario but it may help to explain the diverging images of enemy of ally and ally of enemy in this thesis. In different conflict situations, e.g. if the enemy of the ally would be powerful enough to involve the ally of the enemy into the conflict (e.g., by attacking them), the negativity of these images might change and the enemy of the ally might be seen as negatively as the ally of the enemy.

### **2.2.4 Neutral relations**

Switzerland has no particular political relationship with any of the other countries and can thus be analyzed as control group. As was shown, Swiss students have a positive attitude towards all students from the countries. They are very accurate in assessing American and Palestinian values, but are only moderately accurate in assessing Israelis. Regarding projection of key values, they do not project them to Israelis and Americans, but they do project them somewhat to Americans. These results show that, although Swiss students have the same relationship with all groups, they are differentially accurate in assessing the



different groups. This difference may be due to a better knowledge or easier readability of some groups over others: As we saw before, Swiss students have more contact with Americans than with Israelis and Palestinians, and Palestinians are overall more easily read than Israelis.

### **2.2.5 Patterns in relationships**

Overall, the relations based on alliance and enmity showed fairly consistent patterns: While allies are liked, assessed accurately and projected to positively, enemies are disliked, not seen accurately and projected to negatively. These attitudes and perceptions reinforce the nature of the relationship and thus help to prolong the alliance or enmity.

The picture was less clear for enemies of the ally and allies of the enemy: While the enemy of the ally seems to be less disliked than the ally of the enemy, the enemy of the ally is projected to negatively, opposed to the ally of the enemy. This pattern might be specific to the groups in this thesis, and it is difficult to speculate if these results would be the same if the power dynamics were different.

Overall, these findings suggest that out-group attitudes and perceptions are indeed associated with the relationship between groups. These relationships can be relatively straightforward like allies, enemies, or neutral relations, but can also be more complex like the one between the ally of the enemy and the enemy of the ally. Further research is needed in order to investigate these more complex relationships and their impact on out-group attitudes and perceptions.

### **3 STRENGTHS**

The present thesis has several strengths, which will be outlined in the following.

#### **3.1 Real-Life Groups**

Many studies in the domain of intergroup relations are experimental studies in which groups are artificially created. One of the strongest points of this thesis is the analysis of intergroup relations based on real-life groups that have different relationships with each other (e.g., enmity, alliance, neutrality, etc.). As such, it was possible to investigate how people from groups with different long-lasting relationships feel towards and see each other. Artificially created conflict or allied groups may be induced to feel hostile or friendly towards another group, but they won't have the same intensity of feelings or history of the relationship. Effects found with experimental groups may therefore give a biased estimate of out-group attitudes and perceptions, which are often developed over a longer period of time.

Additionally, in real-life conflict, there are many different actors that are indirectly involved, which are often not considered in experiments, like allies, allies of the enemy, enemies of the ally, neutral third parties, etc. These are natural byproducts of international situations and are important in understanding the dynamics of international relations and negotiations. It is however difficult to convey these kind of relations in experiments (e.g., through vignettes) as they are often not clearly defined. In this cross-cultural project, for example, Americans can be seen as allies to Israelis and as such as an ally of the enemy to Palestinians. This description would however ignore the fact that the U.S. is also a mediator in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and has been part of successful peace treaties between these groups. The complexities of intergroup relations can therefore best be captured with real-life groups, where knowledge and perception of the relations are implicitly known by the different group members.

Lastly, results and interpretations from real-life conflict groups can have implications for intercultural training or peace education programs, which experiments often cannot provide. As experiments are often done with artificially created groups, it is difficult to generalize findings to real-life situations and groups. For example, contact in a carefully structured experiment setting between artificially created conflict groups is a very different experience than contact in less structured settings between real-life conflict groups. Real conflict partners may feel fear and hatred towards the other, which makes the contact experience much more difficult to handle and much more likely to have opposite effects than contact between artificially created groups.

In sum, analyzing the present research questions with real-life groups adds to the significance of the results and interpretations. Additionally, it enables a better representation of different intergroup relations than would be possible in an experiment.

### **3.2 Palestinian Sample**

One of the strengths of this thesis is the inclusion of a Palestinian sample, consisting of students living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Former studies focusing on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have often included Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs as conflict groups within Israel. There have been, however, few psychological studies contrasting Israelis and Palestinians living in the Palestinian Territories (one of the few research projects including both Israeli and Palestinian students is the 'Political socialization of youth in the new states of Germany, Israel and the West Bank' by Hans Oswald, Hilke Rebenstorf, Zvi Eisikovits, Bernard Sabella, and Karin Weiss; Rebenstorf, Weiss, & Oswald, 2003). In this cross-cultural project, Palestinian students were specifically asked about their attitude towards and perceptions of Israelis, so that the results of both groups could be compared and contrasted. It is especially important to include both conflict groups, as only a complete picture of all parties involved, can lead to significant results that may give suggestions for conflict resolution strategies.

Additionally, the Schwartz Value Survey has, to my knowledge, never been used with a Palestinian sample. This Palestinian sample will thus add to the large database that Schwartz and colleagues from all over the world have started. The cross-cultural equivalence of the Palestinian sample was also tested and it was shown that the instrument can be adequately used with Palestinian students.

### **3.3 Integration of Findings**

As we saw before, all the results of this thesis were based on the same samples. By analyzing different research questions regarding out-group attitudes and out-group perception with the same samples, it was possible to integrate the different results in a more global picture of how the students from the different countries see and like each other. It was shown for example, that Palestinian students do not like Israelis, do not know which values are important to them and project Benevolence, Power, and Security negatively to them. It was thus possible to look at patterns between these three measures and see if they were associated for the different intergroup relations studied in this thesis. This enabled a broader analysis of intergroup relations and their impact on attitudes and perceptions.

## **4 LIMITATIONS**

Aside from these strengths, the present thesis has several weaknesses that will be discussed in the following.

### **4.1 Samples**

#### **Students**

As we saw before, it was decided to recruit students for the participation in this cross-cultural project. The choice to recruit students was based on several reasons (e.g., homogeneity concerns, the practical implications of analyzing students rather than other adults, etc.), which were explained in a previous section. Aside from several advantages, analyzing students does however also limit the population to which results can be generalized. Students are not typical members of a society and results can therefore not be generalized to all people of that nation. In the domain of value preferences especially, Karakitapoglu and Imamoglu (2002) showed that students typically rate different values as important, than adults of the same nationality. The results on value preferences described in the first manuscript can therefore not be generalized to other people from the participating countries. Additionally, the results on out-group attitudes and perceptions cannot easily be generalized to other adults from these nations, as students might be more open-minded and have more knowledge of other cultures, which may influence their attitudes and perceptions.

#### **Representativeness**

As we saw in the description of samples, the geographical and religious representativeness is not given in all samples: Results from American students cannot be generalized to all American students, and results from the Israeli sample can only be generalized to Israeli Jewish students. The Palestinian sample included more Christian students than would have been expected by the distribution in the population, while the American sample included more Jewish students. Additionally, the Israeli and Palestinian samples included a majority of women. Some of these differential distributions may have strengthened intergroup relations effects: Arab Israelis, for example, probably would have had a more accurate perception of Palestinian students than Jewish Israelis did. Other effects may have been weakened by the uneven distribution: Israeli and Palestinian women may have been less hostile towards the other group and thus had less negative attitudes towards them than men might have had. These limitations have to be kept in mind when interpreting and generalizing the data.

## **4.2 Questionnaire**

### Length

All of the results from the cross-cultural project were based on one questionnaire of approximately 20 pages. The main part of the questionnaire was the Schwartz Value Survey, which included 56 value-items. This survey was completed four times by American, Israeli, and Palestinian students and five times by Swiss students. As such, the questionnaire was very long and redundant, so that participants may have gotten tired and less attentive while completing the questionnaire. In order to prevent that a possible fatigue effect always affected the same perspective, out-group perspectives were balanced. Additionally, participants returning incomplete questionnaires (more than 14 items missing per perspective) were excluded from the analyses in order to ensure valid data. Nevertheless, it is possible that participants did not complete all perspectives equally conscientious due to the redundant nature of the task.

### Social Desirability

It is possible that participants in the study were influenced by social desirability when completing the questionnaire. Schwartz, Verkasalo, Antonovsky, and Sagiv (1997) analyzed social desirability in relation to the Schwartz Value Questionnaire in Israel and Finland and showed that socially desirable responding did not affect self-reported values. As such, the results concerning the self-reported value importance should not be influenced by social desirability. It is however possible, that values attributed to the other groups were influenced by a desire to appear tolerant and open-minded. If that was the case, results regarding out-group perception were biased towards positivity, so that actual out-group perception would be more negative (more negative projection and less accuracy) than found in this thesis. As such it represents a conservative bias and would not favor the hypotheses testing in this thesis.

## **5 IMPLICATIONS**

It was shown in this thesis, that out-group attitudes and perceptions are influenced by the relationship existing between these groups. As the students samples used in this study were not completely representative, it would be interesting to investigate representative samples from the population of the different countries in order to compare the results. As students are often more open-minded than other adults (Karakitapoglu & Imamoglu, 2002), results should be even stronger for representative adults from the different populations than for students, but further research is needed to test this assumption.

There are some practical implications than can be drawn from the results found in this thesis. The finding that out-group attitudes and perceptions are associated with the relationship between groups, points to the importance of intercultural training and peace education programs. By giving people the opportunity to meet members of other groups, get to know them, their perspective, and their history, they may be able to change their attitude and stereotypes and thus may be more willing to resolve the conflict. Knowing that conflict does not only influence attitudes, but also the accuracy of value perception and projection of values shows that knowledge and information about the other group should be an integral part of such programs. As is stated in the preamble of the UNESCO constitution: “Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed.”

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**APPENDIX**

A Complete Questionnaire: Version for American students



UNIVERSITY OF FRIBOURG SWITZERLAND  
DEPARTMENT FOR PSYCHOLOGY

**Cross-Cultural Project:  
Own Values and the Perception of Values and Attitudes  
of Students in other Countries (IP)**

With the following questionnaire we want to study the mutual perceptions of values in a cross-cultural context.

We want to investigate which values are important for students of different nations. We further want to study what concept students have of other students who live in a different country and belong to another nation and culture. We would like to find out if these concepts correspond to the self-description of students from these other countries.

Please take yourself some time to complete the questionnaire. Previous studies have shown that it takes about one hour to answer all the questions. Allow yourself a break if you get tired and then continue to answer the remaining items.

Some of the questions might be difficult to answer. However, please try to complete every question by choosing the answer that seems most appropriate to you.

If you have further questions please do not hesitate to contact us.

Peter.Wilhelm@unifr.ch

Veronique.Eicher@unifr.ch

We thank you for your participation.

Dr. Peter Wilhelm

Lic. phil. Veronique Eicher

## Background Information

Date: \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

1. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

2. Gender:                   ① male                   ② female

3.        **What        is        your        major?**        \_\_\_\_\_

4. Which nationality do you have?   <sub>1</sub> American  
<sub>2</sub> Other (which?): \_\_\_\_\_

4.a How many years have you been living in the US? \_\_\_\_\_

4.1 How important is your nationality to you?

not important at all	unimportant	rather unimportant	rather important	important	very important
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

4.2 If you could choose, would you rather be another nationality?

not at all	rather not	undecided	rather yes	yes	absolutely
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

4.3 Would you fight for your country?

not at all	rather not	undecided	rather yes	yes	absolutely
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

4.4 Would you be willing to die for your country?

not at all	rather not	undecided	rather yes	yes	absolutely
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

5. Religion:                   <sub>1</sub> Roman catholic  
<sub>2</sub> Protestant  
<sub>3</sub> Jewish  
<sub>4</sub> Muslim  
<sub>5</sub> Non-denominational  
<sub>6</sub> Other (which?): \_\_\_\_\_

5.1 How important is your religion for you?

not important at all	unimportant	rather unimportant	rather important	important	very important
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

5.2 How often do you practice your religion?

not at all	once a year or less	several times a year	a once a month	a several times a month	a once a week	a several times a week	a Everyday	several times a day
⑦	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧

- 6. Where do you live?** <sub>1</sub> With my parents  
<sub>2</sub> Dormitory in a student residence  
<sub>3</sub> Apartment sharing community  
<sub>4</sub> Own apartment  
<sub>5</sub> Other living situation (which?): \_\_\_\_\_

**7. How is your current financial/economic situation?**

- miserable                  bad                  rather bad                  rather good                  good                  very good  
 ①                                  ②                                  ③                                  ④                                  ⑤                                  ⑥

**8. What kind of social class does your family belong to?**

- Lower class                  Lower middle class                  Upper middle class                  Upper class  
 ①                                  ②                                  ③                                  ④

**9. Which ethnic group do you belong to?**

- <sub>1</sub> European  
<sub>2</sub> Asian  
<sub>3</sub> Afro-American  
<sub>4</sub> American Indian  
<sub>5</sub> Arab  
<sub>6</sub> Latin American  
<sub>7</sub> mixed ethnic origin  
<sub>8</sub> other (which?): \_\_\_\_\_

*Questions about encounters with members of another nationality*

**O1\_I: Have you ever been to Israel?**    ① Yes                  ② No

**O2\_I: Have you ever had contact with Israelis?**

- no                                  once                                  several times                  often                                  very often  
 ②                                  ①                                  ②                                  ③                                  ④

**If you already had contact:**

**O3\_I: How did you experience the personal contact with Israelis overall?**

- very unpleasant    Unpleasant                  rather unpleasant                  Neutral                  rather pleasant                  pleasant                  very pleasant  
 ①                                  ②                                  ③                                  ④                                  ⑤                                  ⑥                                  ⑦

**O4\_I: Please mark, how much you agree with the following statements:**

<b>O4_I: Contact with Israelis</b>	not at all	rather not	undecided	rather yes	absolutely
a) I think it would be interesting to have Israeli fellow students	①	②	③	④	⑤
b) The world would be better if there were no Israelis	①	②	③	④	⑤
c) It would be good if there were no Israelis living in my country	①	②	③	④	⑤
d) I wouldn't mind having an Israeli as a friend	①	②	③	④	⑤
e) It would bother me if I had Israeli neighbors	①	②	③	④	⑤

**O1\_P: Have you ever been in Palestinian territories?** ① Yes ② No

**O2\_P: Have you ever had contact with Palestinians?**

no                      once                      several times                      often                      very often  
 ①                      ②                      ③                      ④

**If you already had contact:**

**O3\_P: How did you experience the personal contact with Palestinians overall?**

very unpleasant    unpleasant                      rather unpleasant                      neutral                      rather pleasant                      Pleasant                      very pleasant  
 ①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥                      ⑦

**O4\_P: Please mark, how much you agree with the following statements:**

<b>O4_P: Contact with Palestinians</b>	not at all	rather not	undecided	rather yes	absolutely
a) I think it would be interesting to have Palestinian fellow students	①	②	③	④	⑤
b) The world would be better if there were no Palestinians	①	②	③	④	⑤
c) It would be good if there were no Palestinians living in my country	①	②	③	④	⑤
d) I wouldn't mind having a Palestinian as a friend	①	②	③	④	⑤
e) It would bother me if I had Palestinian neighbors	①	②	③	④	⑤

**O6: How likely is it within the next ten years that Israelis and Palestinians live in peace?**

very unlikely                      unlikely                      rather unlikely                      rather likely                      likely                      Very likely  
 ①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥

**O6i: Has the violent escalation of the conflict in Lebanon, Israel and Palestine during the summer of 2006 changed your opinion about Israelis?**

My opinion about Israelis has become:

much worse                      worse                      rather worse                      has changed                      not slightly better                      better                      much better  
 ①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥                      ⑦

**O6p: Has the violent escalation of the conflict in Lebanon, Israel and Palestine during the summer of 2006 changed your opinion about Palestinians?**

My opinion about Palestinians has become:

much worse                      worse                      rather worse                      has changed                      not slightly better                      better                      much better  
 ①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥                      ⑦

**O7: Please evaluate how different/similar US-Americans and members of the other two nations are:**

	very different	different	rather different	rather similar	similar	very similar
a) US-Americans and Israelis are:	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
b) US-Americans and Palestinians are:	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
c) Israelis and Palestinians are:	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥



**O8: Do you read newspaper articles or watch television reports that discuss the situation in Israel or Palestine?**

not at all

rarely

sometimes

often

very often

①

②

③

④

⑤

\*\*\*\*\*

### Own Values

The following list contains different values. Which values are important in your life, which values are less important or not important for you?

Please rate how important each value is for you **as a guiding principle in your life**. Use the rating scale below:

① means: the value is not at all important, it is not relevant as a guiding principle for you

③ means: the value is important

⑤ means: the value is very important

The higher the number, the more important is the value as a guiding principle in your life.

[-1] is for rating any values opposed to the principles that guide you

⑦ is for rating a value of supreme importance as a guiding principle in your life; ordinarily there are no more than two such values

For each value, mark the number that indicates the importance of that value for you personally. Try to distinguish as much as possible between the values by using all the numbers.

Please read the values in the list, first. Then choose the one that is most important to you and rate its importance (usually not more than two values are of supreme importance). Next, choose the value that is most opposed to your own values and rate it -1. If there is no such value, choose the value least important to you and rate it 0 or 1, according to its importance. Then rate the rest of the values.

	<b>Own Values</b>	opposed my values	to not important		important		very important	of supreme importance		
1	<b>Equality</b> (equal opportunity for all)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	<b>Inner harmony</b> (at peace with myself)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	<b>Social power</b> (control over others, dominance)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	<b>Pleasure</b> (gratification of desires)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	<b>Freedom</b> (freedom of action and thought)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	<b>A spiritual life</b> (emphasis on spiritual not material matters)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	<b>Sense of belonging</b> (feeling that others care about me)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	<b>Social Order</b> (stability of society)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	<b>An exciting life</b> (stimulating experiences)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	<b>Meaning in life</b> (a purpose in life)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	<b>Politeness</b> (courtesy, good manners)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	<b>Wealth</b> (material possessions, money)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	<b>National Security</b> (protection of my nation from enemies)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	<b>Self-Respect</b> (belief in one's own worth)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	<b>Reciprocation of favors</b> (avoidance of indebtedness)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16	<b>Creativity</b> (uniqueness, imagination)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	<b>A world at peace</b> (free of war and conflict)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	<b>Respect for tradition</b> (preservation of time-honored customs)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	<b>Mature love</b> (deep emotional and spiritual intimacy)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20	<b>Self-discipline</b> (self-restraint, resistance to temptation)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21	<b>Detachment</b> (from worldly concerns)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	<b>Family security</b> (safety for loved ones)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	<b>Social Recognition</b> (respect, approval by others)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	<b>Unity with nature</b> (fitting into nature)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	<b>A varied life</b> (filled with challenge, novelty and change)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	<b>Wisdom</b> (a mature understanding of life)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	<b>Authority</b> (the right to lead or command)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	<b>True friendship</b> (close, supportive friends)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29	<b>A world of beauty</b> (beauty of nature and the arts)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	<b>Social justice</b> (correcting injustice, care for the weak)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30a	<b>Privacy</b> (right to obtain privacy)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Below you'll find another list with 27 concepts which represent values. Please rate how important these values are **as a guiding principle in your life**.

Please proceed in the same way as before. First read every value in the list. Then, choose the one that is most important for you and rate its importance (usually not more than two values are of supreme importance). Next, choose the value that is most opposed to your values. Then rate the rest of the values.

OV	Own Values	opposed to my values	to not important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31	<b>Independent</b> (self-reliant, self-sufficient)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32	<b>Moderate</b> (avoiding extremes of feeling and action)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33	<b>Loyal</b> (faithful to my friends, group)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34	<b>Ambitious</b> (hardworking, aspiring)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35	<b>Broad-minded</b> (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36	<b>Humble</b> (modest, self-effacing)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37	<b>Daring</b> (seeking adventure, risk)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38	<b>Protecting the environment</b> (preserving nature)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39	<b>Influential</b> (having an impact on people and events)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40	<b>Honoring of parents and elders</b> (showing respect)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41	<b>Choosing own goals</b> (selecting own purposes)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42	<b>Healthy</b> (not being sick physically or mentally)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43	<b>Capable</b> (competent, effective, efficient)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44	<b>Accepting my portion in life</b> (submitting to life's circumstances)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45	<b>Honest</b> (genuine, sincere)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46	<b>Preserving my public image</b> (protecting my 'face')	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47	<b>Obedient</b> (dutiful, meeting obligations)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48	<b>Intelligent</b> (logical, thinking)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49	<b>Helpful</b> (working for the welfare of others)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50	<b>Enjoying life</b> (enjoying food, sex, leisure, etc.)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51	<b>Devout</b> (holding to religious faith and belief)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52	<b>Responsible</b> (dependable, reliable)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53	<b>Curious</b> (interested in everything, exploring)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54	<b>Forgiving</b> (willing to pardon others)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55	<b>Successful</b> (achieving goals)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56	<b>Clean</b> (neat, tidy)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57	<b>Self-indulgent</b> (doing pleasant things)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

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## US-American Values

What are **US-American Values**? Which values would a "typical US-American" regard as important, which values would he/she rate as less important?

In answering the following questions, please try to imagine **a typical US-American of your own gender**. That is to say, try to imagine a "typical female US-American" if you are a woman and a "typical male US-American" if you are a man.

Please try to rate **how important the following values are for a typical US-American of your own gender as a guiding principle in her/his life**.

Please proceed in the same way as before when you rated your own values.

Read the values in the list. Choose the one that is most important to a "typical US-American" and rate its importance (usually not more than two values are of supreme importance). Next, choose the value that is most opposed to the values of a "typical US-American". Then rate the rest of the values.

	<b>US-American Values</b>	opposed his/her values	to not important		important		very important	of supreme importance		
1	<b>Equality</b> (equal opportunity for all)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	<b>Inner harmony</b> (at peace with myself)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	<b>Social power</b> (control over others, dominance)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	<b>Pleasure</b> (gratification of desires)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	<b>Freedom</b> (freedom of action and thought)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	<b>A spiritual life</b> (emphasis on spiritual not material matters)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	<b>Sense of belonging</b> (feeling that others care about me)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	<b>Social Order</b> (stability of society)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	<b>An exciting life</b> (stimulating experiences)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	<b>Meaning in life</b> (a purpose in life)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	<b>Politeness</b> (courtesy, good manners)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	<b>Wealth</b> (material possessions, money)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	<b>National Security</b> (protection of my nation from enemies)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	<b>Self-Respect</b> (belief in one's own worth)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	<b>Reciprocation of favors</b> (avoidance of indebtedness)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16	<b>Creativity</b> (uniqueness, imagination)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	<b>A world at peace</b> (free of war and conflict)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	<b>Respect for tradition</b> (preservation of time-honored customs)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	<b>Mature love</b> (deep emotional and spiritual intimacy)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20	<b>Self-discipline</b> (self-restraint, resistance to temptation)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21	<b>Detachment</b> (from worldly concerns)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	<b>Family security</b> (safety for loved ones)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	<b>Social Recognition</b> (respect, approval by others)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	<b>Unity with nature</b> (fitting into nature)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	<b>A varied life</b> (filled with challenge, novelty and change)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	<b>Wisdom</b> (a mature understanding of life)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	<b>Authority</b> (the right to lead or command)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	<b>True friendship</b> (close, supportive friends)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29	<b>A world of beauty</b> (beauty of nature and the arts)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	<b>Social justice</b> (correcting injustice, care for the weak)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30a	<b>Privacy</b> (right to obtain privacy)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Below you find again the second list with 27 concepts which represent values. Please rate how important these values are for a **typical US-American of your own gender as a guiding principle in her/his life**.

Please proceed in the same way as before. Read the values in the list. Choose the one that is most important to a “typical US-American” and rate its importance (usually not more than two values are of supreme importance). Next, choose the value that is most opposed to the values of a “typical US-American”. Then rate the rest of the values.

	<b>US-American Values</b>	opposed to his/her values	to not important	important	very important	of supreme importance				
31	<b>Independent</b> (self-reliant, self-sufficient)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32	<b>Moderate</b> (avoiding extremes of feeling and action)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33	<b>Loyal</b> (faithful to my friends, group)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34	<b>Ambitious</b> (hardworking, aspiring)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35	<b>Broad-minded</b> (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36	<b>Humble</b> (modest, self-effacing)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37	<b>Daring</b> (seeking adventure, risk)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38	<b>Protecting the environment</b> (preserving nature)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39	<b>Influential</b> (having an impact on people and events)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40	<b>Honoring of parents and elders</b> (showing respect)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41	<b>Choosing own goals</b> (selecting own purposes)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42	<b>Healthy</b> (not being sick physically or mentally)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43	<b>Capable</b> (competent, effective, efficient)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44	<b>Accepting my portion in life</b> (submitting to life's circumstances)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45	<b>Honest</b> (genuine, sincere)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46	<b>Preserving my public image</b> (protecting my 'face')	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47	<b>Obedient</b> (dutiful, meeting obligations)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48	<b>Intelligent</b> (logical, thinking)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49	<b>Helpful</b> (working for the welfare of others)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50	<b>Enjoying life</b> (enjoying food, sex, leisure, etc.)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51	<b>Devout</b> (holding to religious faith and belief)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52	<b>Responsible</b> (dependable, reliable)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53	<b>Curious</b> (interested in everything, exploring)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54	<b>Forgiving</b> (willing to pardon others)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55	<b>Successful</b> (achieving goals)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56	<b>Clean</b> (neat, tidy)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57	<b>Self-indulgent</b> (doing pleasant things)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**A1. How important is the US-American Nationality for a typical US-American of your own gender?**

not important at all    unimportant    rather unimportant    rather important    important    very important

①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥

**A2. Would a typical US-American of your own gender fight for his/her country?**

not at all                  rather not                  undecided                  rather yes                  yes                  absolutely

①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥

**A3. Would a typical US-American of your own gender be willing to die for his/her country?**

not at all                  rather not                  undecided                  rather yes                  yes                  absolutely

①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥

**A4. How important is Religion for a typical US-American of your own gender?**

not important at all    unimportant    rather unimportant    rather important    important    very important

①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥

**A5. How is the financial/economic situation of a typical US-American of your own gender?**

very bad                  bad                  rather bad                  rather good                  good                  very good

①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥

**A6. How would a typical US-American of your own gender rate the following statements?**

	not at all	rather not	undecided	rather yes	absolutely
<b>A6_I: Contact with Israelis</b>					
a) He/she thinks it would be interesting to have Israeli co-workers	①	②	③	④	⑤
b) He/she thinks the world would be better if there were no Israelis	①	②	③	④	⑤
c) He/she thinks it would be good if there were no Israelis living in his/her country	①	②	③	④	⑤
d) He/she wouldn't mind having an Israeli as a friend	①	②	③	④	⑤
e) It would bother him/her if he/she had Israeli neighbors	①	②	③	④	⑤
<b>A6_P: Contact with Palestinians</b>					
a) He/she thinks it would be interesting to have Palestinian co-workers	①	②	③	④	⑤
b) He/she thinks the world would be better if there were no Palestinians	①	②	③	④	⑤
c) He/she thinks it would be good if there were no Palestinians living in his/her country	①	②	③	④	⑤
d) He/she wouldn't mind having a Palestinian as a friend	①	②	③	④	⑤
e) It would bother him/her if he/she had Palestinian neighbors	①	②	③	④	⑤

**A8: What does a typical US-American of your own gender think, how likely it is within in the next 10 years that Israelis and Palestinians live in peace?**

very unlikely                  unlikely                  rather unlikely                  rather likely                  likely                  very likely

①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥

**A8i: Has the violent escalation of the conflict in Lebanon, Israel and Palestine during the summer 2006 changed the opinion that a typical US-American of your own gender has about Israelis?**

A typical US-American's opinion about Israelis has become:

much worse	worse	rather worse	has changed	not slightly better	better	much better
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

**A8p: Has the violent escalation of the conflict in Lebanon, Israel and Palestine during the summer of 2006 changed the opinion that a typical US-American of your own gender has about Palestinians?**

A typical US-American's opinion about Palestinians has become:

much worse	worse	rather worse	has changed	not slightly better	better	much better
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

**A9: How difficult/easy was it for you to rate how a typical US-American of your own gender would answer these questions?**

very difficult	difficult	rather difficult	rather easy	easy	very easy
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

\*\*\*\*\*

### Israeli Values

What are **Israeli Values**? Which values would a "typical Israeli student" rate as important, which values would he/she rate as less important?

In answering the following questions, please try to imagine a **typical Israeli student of your own gender**. That is to say, try to imagine a "typical female Israeli student" if you're a woman and a "typical male Israeli student" if you're a man

Please try to rate, **how important the following values are for a typical Israeli student of your own gender as a guiding principle in her/his life**.

Please proceed in the same way as before when you rated your own values. Read the values in the list. Choose the one that is most important to a "typical Israeli student" and rate its importance (usually not more than two values are of supreme importance). Next, choose the value that is most opposed to the values of a "typical Israeli student". Then rate the rest of the values.



	<b>Israeli Values</b>	opposed his/her values	to not important			important		very important	of supreme importance	
1	<b>Equality</b> (equal opportunity for all)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	<b>Inner harmony</b> (at peace with myself)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	<b>Social power</b> (control over others, dominance)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	<b>Pleasure</b> (gratification of desires)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	<b>Freedom</b> (freedom of action and thought)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	<b>A spiritual life</b> (emphasis on spiritual not material matters)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	<b>Sense of belonging</b> (feeling that others care about me)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	<b>Social Order</b> (stability of society)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	<b>An exciting life</b> (stimulating experiences)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	<b>Meaning in life</b> (a purpose in life)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	<b>Politeness</b> (courtesy, good manners)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	<b>Wealth</b> (material possessions, money)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	<b>National Security</b> (protection of my nation from enemies)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	<b>Self-Respect</b> (belief in one's own worth)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	<b>Reciprocation of favors</b> (avoidance of indebtedness)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16	<b>Creativity</b> (uniqueness, imagination)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	<b>A world at peace</b> (free of war and conflict)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	<b>Respect for tradition</b> (preservation of time-honored customs)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	<b>Mature love</b> (deep emotional and spiritual intimacy)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20	<b>Self-discipline</b> (self-restraint, resistance to temptation)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21	<b>Detachment</b> (from worldly concerns)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	<b>Family security</b> (safety for loved ones)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	<b>Social Recognition</b> (respect, approval by others)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	<b>Unity with nature</b> (fitting into nature)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	<b>A varied life</b> (filled with challenge, novelty and change)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	<b>Wisdom</b> (a mature understanding of life)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	<b>Authority</b> (the right to lead or command)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	<b>True friendship</b> (close, supportive friends)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29	<b>A world of beauty</b> (beauty of nature and the arts)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	<b>Social justice</b> (correcting injustice, care for the weak)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30a	<b>Privacy</b> (right to obtain privacy)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Below you see again the second list with 27 concepts which represent values. Please rate how important these values are for a **typical Israeli student of your own gender as a guiding principle in her/his life**.

Please proceed in the same way as before. Read the values in the list. Choose the one that is most important to a “typical Israeli student” and rate its importance (usually not more than two values are of supreme importance). Next, choose the value that is most opposed to the values of a “typical Israeli student”. Then rate the rest of the values.

	<b>Israeli Values</b>	opposed his/her values	to not important		important		very important	of supreme importance		
31	<b>Independent</b> (self-reliant, self-sufficient)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32	<b>Moderate</b> (avoiding extremes of feeling and action)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33	<b>Loyal</b> (faithful to my friends, group)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34	<b>Ambitious</b> (hardworking, aspiring)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35	<b>Broad-minded</b> (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36	<b>Humble</b> (modest, self-effacing)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37	<b>Daring</b> (seeking adventure, risk)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38	<b>Protecting the environment</b> (preserving nature)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39	<b>Influential</b> (having an impact on people and events)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40	<b>Honoring of parents and elders</b> (showing respect)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41	<b>Choosing own goals</b> (selecting own purposes)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42	<b>Healthy</b> (not being sick physically or mentally)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43	<b>Capable</b> (competent, effective, efficient)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44	<b>Accepting my portion in life</b> (submitting to life's circumstances)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45	<b>Honest</b> (genuine, sincere)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46	<b>Preserving my public image</b> (protecting my 'face')	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47	<b>Obedient</b> (dutiful, meeting obligations)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48	<b>Intelligent</b> (logical, thinking)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49	<b>Helpful</b> (working for the welfare of others)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50	<b>Enjoying life</b> (enjoying food, sex, leisure, etc.)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51	<b>Devout</b> (holding to religious faith and belief)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52	<b>Responsible</b> (dependable, reliable)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53	<b>Curious</b> (interested in everything, exploring)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54	<b>Forgiving</b> (willing to pardon others)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55	<b>Successful</b> (achieving goals)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56	<b>Clean</b> (neat, tidy)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57	<b>Self-indulgent</b> (doing pleasant things)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**I1. How important is the Israeli Nationality for a typical Israeli student of your own gender?**

not important at all	unimportant	rather unimportant	rather important	important	very important
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

**I2. Would a typical Israeli student of your own gender fight for his/her country?**

not at all	rather not	undecided	rather yes	yes	absolutely
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

**I3. Would a typical Israeli student of your own gender be willing to die for his/her country?**

not at all	rather not	undecided	rather yes	yes	absolutely
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

**I4. How important is Religion for a typical Israeli student of your own gender?**

Not important at all	unimportant	rather unimportant	rather important	important	very important
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

**I5. How is the financial/economic situation of a typical Israeli student of your own gender?**

very bad	bad	rather bad	rather good	good	very good
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

**I6. How would a typical Israeli student of your own gender rate the following statements?**

	not at all	rather not	undecided	rather yes	absolutely
<b>I6_A: Contact with US-Americans</b>					
a) He/she thinks it would be interesting to have US-American fellow students	①	②	③	④	⑤
b) He/she thinks the world would be better if there were no US-Americans	①	②	③	④	⑤
c) He/she thinks it would be good if there were no US-Americans living in his/her country	①	②	③	④	⑤
d) He/she wouldn't mind having an US-American as a friend	①	②	③	④	⑤
e) It would bother him/her if he/she had US-American neighbors	①	②	③	④	⑤
<b>I6_P: Contact with Palestinians</b>					
a) He/she thinks it would be interesting to have Palestinian fellow students	①	②	③	④	⑤
b) He/she thinks the world would be better if there were no Palestinians	①	②	③	④	⑤
c) He/she thinks it would be good if there were no Palestinians living in his/her country	①	②	③	④	⑤
d) He/she wouldn't mind having a Palestinian as a friend	①	②	③	④	⑤
e) It would bother him/her if he/she had Palestinian neighbors	①	②	③	④	⑤

**I7. Does a typical Israeli student of your own gender wish to live in peace with Palestinians?**

never	rather not	undecided	rather yes	yes	very much
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

**I8. What does a typical Israeli student of your own gender think, how likely it is within the next ten years that Israelis and Palestinians live in peace?**

very unlikely	unlikely	rather unlikely	rather likely	likely	very likely
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

**I8p: Has the violent escalation of the conflict in Lebanon, Israel and Palestine during the summer of 2006 changed the opinion that a typical Israeli student of your own gender has about Palestinians?**

A typical Israeli student's opinion about Palestinians has become:

much worse	worse	rather worse	has changed	not slightly better	better	much better
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

**I9: How difficult/easy was it for you to rate how a typical Israeli student of your own gender would answer these questions?**

very difficult	difficult	rather difficult	rather easy	easy	very easy
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

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### **Palestinian Values**

What are **Palestinian Values**? Which values would a "typical Palestinian student" rate as important, which values would he/she rate as less important?

In answering the following questions, please try to imagine a **typical Palestinian student of your own gender**. That is to say, try to imagine a "typical female Palestinian student" if you're a woman and a "typical male Palestinian student" if you're a man.

Please try to rate, **how important the following values are for a typical Palestinian student of your own gender as a guiding principle in her/his life.**

Please proceed in the same way as before when you rated your own values. Read the values in the list. Choose the one that is most important to a "typical Palestinian student" and rate its importance (usually not more than two **values are of supreme importance**). Next, choose the value that is most opposed to the values of a "typical Palestinian student". Then rate the rest of the values.

	<b>Palestinian Values</b>	opposed his/her values	to not values important			important		very important	of supreme importance	
1	<b>Equality</b> (equal opportunity for all)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	<b>Inner harmony</b> (at peace with myself)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	<b>Social power</b> (control over others, dominance)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	<b>Pleasure</b> (gratification of desires)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	<b>Freedom</b> (freedom of action and thought)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	<b>A spiritual life</b> (emphasis on spiritual not material matters)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	<b>Sense of belonging</b> (feeling that others care about me)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	<b>Social Order</b> (stability of society)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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10	<b>Meaning in life</b> (a purpose in life)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	<b>Politeness</b> (courtesy, good manners)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	<b>Wealth</b> (material possessions, money)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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14	<b>Self-Respect</b> (belief in one's own worth)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	<b>Reciprocation of favors</b> (avoidance of indebtedness)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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24	<b>Unity with nature</b> (fitting into nature)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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26	<b>Wisdom</b> (a mature understanding of life)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	<b>Authority</b> (the right to lead or command)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	<b>True friendship</b> (close, supportive friends)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29	<b>A world of beauty</b> (beauty of nature and the arts)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	<b>Social justice</b> (correcting injustice, care for the weak)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30a	<b>Privacy</b> (right to obtain privacy)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Below you see again the second list with 27 concepts which represent values. Please rate how important these values are for a **typical Palestinian student of your own gender as a guiding principle in her/his life**.

Please proceed in the same way as before. Read the values in the list. Choose the one that is most important to a “typical Palestinian student” and rate its importance (usually not more than two values are of supreme importance). Next, choose the value that is most opposed to the values of a “typical Palestinian student”. Then rate the rest of the values.

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31	<b>Independent</b> (self-reliant, self-sufficient)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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35	<b>Broad-minded</b> (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36	<b>Humble</b> (modest, self-effacing)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37	<b>Daring</b> (seeking adventure, risk)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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39	<b>Influential</b> (having an impact on people and events)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40	<b>Honoring of parents and elders</b> (showing respect)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41	<b>Choosing own goals</b> (selecting own purposes)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42	<b>Healthy</b> (not being sick physically or mentally)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43	<b>Capable</b> (competent, effective, efficient)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44	<b>Accepting my portion in life</b> (submitting to life's circumstances)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45	<b>Honest</b> (genuine, sincere)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46	<b>Preserving my public image</b> (protecting my 'face')	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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57	<b>Self-indulgent</b> (doing pleasant things)	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



**P8. What does a typical Palestinian student of your own gender think, how likely it is within the next ten years that Israelis and Palestinians live in peace?**

- very unlikely      unlikely      rather unlikely      rather likely      likely      very likely  
 ①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥

**P8i: Has the violent escalation of the conflict in Lebanon, Israel and Palestine during the summer of 2006 changed the opinion that a typical Palestinian student of your own gender has about Israelis?**

A typical Palestinian student’s opinion about Israelis has become:

- much worse      worse      rather worse      has changed      not slightly better      better      much better  
 ①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥                      ⑦

**P9: How difficult/easy was it for you to rate how a typical Palestinian student of your own gender would answer these questions?**

- very difficult      difficult      rather difficult      rather easy      easy      very easy  
 ①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥

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**Some additional questions concerning the study**

**X1: How long did it take you to complete the questionnaire? \_\_\_\_\_ minutes**

**X2: How difficult was it to answer the questions?**

- very difficult      difficult      rather difficult      rather easy      easy      very easy  
 ①                      ②                      ③                      ④                      ⑤                      ⑥

**X3: How did you experience the questionnaire?**

	not at all	slightly	fairly	very	extremely
a) long	①	②	③	④	⑤
b) boring	①	②	③	④	⑤
c) interesting	①	②	③	④	⑤
d) annoying	①	②	③	④	⑤
e) exciting	①	②	③	④	⑤
f) offending	①	②	③	④	⑤

Thank you very much for your patience  
 in completing our questionnaire