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1-1-2009

The Ties That Bind: An Examination of Outgroup Relationships as a Deviant Behavior

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THE TIES THAT BIND: AN EXAMINATION OF OUTGROUP RELATIONSHIPS AS A DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

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March 2009
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ABSTRACT

Contact programs, such as Seeds of Peace, subscribe to the assertion that an

essential element to co-existence between groups with a violent history is to provide

situations in which out-group members are encouraged to form new relationships.

Although the individual may have positive feelings toward out-group members at the

conclusion of the program, he or she must return home to existing social networks, which

may not hold the same tolerant attitudes. This research explores what happens when

individuals present new out-group relationships to existing peer groups. Under what

circumstances, if any, can participants sustain new relationships when they return to their

respective communities where they face the pressures and constraints of their previous

networks and neighborhoods?

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I. INTRODUCTION

In 2000, I traveled to Northern Ireland to study the conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants. During the visit, I was able to talk with various individuals, including Seeds of Peace participants. The Seeds of Peace program is a contact program that brings together young adults from different ethnic and religious backgrounds in order to foster positive relationships between them. The goal of the program is to empower future leaders from conflict regions with skills to advance reconciliation and co-existence.

Beginning in 1993, Seeds of Peace brought Catholics and Protestants from Northern Ireland to an international camp in Maine. The students lived together in cabins, shared their meals, and participated in numerous activities, such as canoeing, swimming, music, drama and sports. The program used face-to-face dialogue to communicate perceptions, ideas, and feelings and to encourage the students to engage in self-reflection in hopes that these exercises would yield understanding and acceptance (*See* www.seedsofpeace.com.). At the conclusion of the program, the students participated in a cultural night, which allowed them to express music, dance and art from their own cultural and religious backgrounds.

The participants of Seeds of Peace were enthusiastic about the time spent with the program. However, when asked about the negative aspects of the program, the participants expressed a disappointment in the lack of out-group contact once they

returned home. Webster's Dictionary defines in-group contact as contact with a group with which one feels a sense of solidarity or community of interests. In contrast, out-group contact is contact with a group that is distinct from one's own. The out-group does not necessarily need to be an object of dislike (although oftentimes the out-group is met with open hostility). Instead, in-group members are *preferred* members. For this study, the in-group and the out-group are defined in terms of ethnic and religious preferences. For example, if an individual self-identified as Catholic, then a self-identified Protestant would be an out-group member.

Participants revealed that once they returned to their respective homes, out-group contact grew less frequent. Some program participants conceded that they abandoned out-group relationships altogether. When asked why relationships with out-group members failed, some participants revealed that it was difficult to sustain out-group relationships because of logistical reasons, such as transportation. Other students identified pressure by existing social networks to abandon new out-group relationships. As a result, I chose to explore the effect of social networks on students who return to their respective communities and present previous social networks with new out-group relationships.

This research addresses the success of new relationships formed through programs that foster out-group relationships. These types of programs focus on relationships between individuals with different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Oftentimes these individuals belong to communities that have experienced aggression and even violence by out-group members. For example, Catholics from Northern Ireland

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tend to highlight the violence and repression carried out against them by factions of the Protestant community (e.g. Bloody Sunday) while Protestants from Northern Ireland tend to highlight the atrocities committed against them by factions of the Catholic community (Bloody Tuesday). During these programs, individuals are expected to form relationships with out-group members, but what happens when these same individuals return to their respective homes and face existing peer groups? Can individuals maintain new out-group friendships with the pressures placed on them by previous social networks that might attempt to limit, or even terminate, out-group contact?

The research question is based on literature, which argues that there is an inverse relationship between out-group relationships and inter-group prejudice levels. In other words, the more intolerant attitudes a peer group holds toward out-group members, the less likely an individual from that peer group will form successful new out-group relationships. For example, the more a Protestant individual hears negative rhetoric against the Catholic community from his peers, the less likely he will be to seek out and sustain new relationships with Catholic individuals. This research reviews the early theories of the contact premise as well as recent propositions in this area. The literature review continues to explore out-group relationships between individuals through the natural desire for group acceptance and obedience. The research investigates both the social controls used by the group and the self-applied pressure to conform to intra-group norms. Finally, the review expands on the social flexibility of an individual within the group by examining the specific role of that person within his or her social community.

This research attempts to determine the sustainability of out-group relationships in conflict areas through survey data collected from Greek and Turkish Cypriots. It uses both quantitative and qualitative analysis to draw conclusions within the political and social context of Cyprus at the time of collection. Finally, several suggestions are made in regards to further research and investigation to the question: can individuals who participate in contact programs sustain out-group relations once they return to their respective communities and face former social networks

II. CASE STUDY: A BRIEF HISTORY OF CYPRUS

Cyprus itself is not the focus of this research. However, in order to enable deeper exploration of out-group relationships once participants who attend contact programs return to their respective homes, the research must explore a contact program in a setting of inter-group conflict. Cyprus provides the reader an indication of the nature and degree of inter-group conflict in which contact programs function. In addition, Cyprus is a concrete example used to illustrate the theoretical and abstract concepts that will be explored throughout this research.

Inter-communal struggles are not a new phenomenon; however, inter-communal conflicts have received renewed interest from the international community. Inter-group conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, Palestine, Israeli, Kashmir, Rwanda and Iraq are now at the forefront of international relations. Those who recognize that the world is inter-dependent recognize that inter-group conflict affects the financial, political and social stability of the world. Therefore, inter-group conflict has taken a vanguard position within local, regional and international communities.

Although, I also have a personal interest in Cyprus because my family is Greek-American, I chose Cyprus primarily because I was able to obtain research about out-group relationships through an established contact program. Cyprus is an excellent example of inter-communal conflict that originated centuries ago between two groups with different religious and cultural ideals. The conflict has waxed and waned over the

years with violent spikes and relatively peaceful periods. It is a classic example of two cultures that collided and asserted their individual right to rule supreme.

Prior to 1570, Greeks were the majority population under the strict control of the Venetian Empire. In 1570, the Ottoman Empire took control of Cyprus from the Venetian Empire. The Ottoman Empire immediately began to settle former Venetian estates with Turkish Muslims loyal to the Ottoman Empire (Kyle, 1983). The Greek Cypriot population accepted Ottoman control because they experienced a relaxation of the strict rules established under the Venetian Empire. However, in 1821, mainland Greece rebelled and won independence from the Ottoman Empire. New independence led to the mainland notion of *enosis*: a unification of all culturally Greek territory, which included Cyprus (Kyle, 1983). The idea of enosis spread quickly among Greek Cypriots and found steadfast support and enthusiasm throughout the island population.

In 1878, under the Congress of Berlin, Britain leased the island of Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire. The Congress of Berlin allowed the Sultan to retain nominal sovereign rights in exchange for a British rapid deployment force to deter the emergent threat of the Russian Tsar (Kyle, 1983). However, the agreement did allow the Sultan to retain a substantial amount of control over the Cypriot population. For example, the Sultan made political modifications, which included the establishment of a Cypriot Legislature, comprised of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots (Kyle, 1983). The Congress of Berlin was important to the Turkish people because it cemented the notion that possession of the island was vital to Turkey's strategic security. Later, Turkish

nationalists would assert that Turkey never ceded to an independent Cyprus, but rather, temporarily turned over administrative duties to the British.

In 1930, spurred on the by the idea of enosis, Greek Cypriot politicians walked out of the Legislature and demonstrators burned government buildings to the ground. In response, Britain deported the Archbishop, censored the press, outlawed political parties and the banned the Greek national flag (Kyle, 1983). As a result, trade unions became the lone platform by which to oppose colonial establishment and thus, became a powerful tool in the organization and coordination of Greek Cypriots. This came back to haunt the British when, in 1941, Britain repealed the law that outlawed political parties and the first Greek Cypriot party to form was the communist party, AKEL (Library of Congress, 2004). AKEL organized a campaign to elect Archbishop Markarios III, controlled protests, supported strikes, protested elections and stressed grievances in hopes of achieving unification with mainland Greece.

In 1950, two men emerged in direct opposition to British occupation. Archbishop Markarios III, who was elected President with significant aid from AKEL, favored unification with mainland Greece. He attempted unification through a political campaign, which included platforms, referendums and campaigns. Another influential individual in the turbulent history of Cyprus is Colonel, and later General, George Grivas, a Greek Cypriot. Educated in Athens, Colonel Grivas was an avid follower of the principles of a free market economy. He formed the first terrorist[1] organization (Chi) to

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[1] For the purposes of this thesis, a terrorist organization is defined as one that utilizes violence against members of either its own population or another population in order to achieve political objectives. In this case, Chi used violence against Turkish Cypriots in order to achieve communist ideals. Later, the

fight the ideals of communism. These groups drew on guerilla tactics learned in the

Colonel's extensive military career (Kyle, 1983). Although Colonel Grivas established

Chi to fight for the principles of communism, splinter groups would later embrace the

ideals of enosis. The main targets would shift from anti-communist establishments to

Turkish Cypriots and eventually include those who did not agree with the organizations

methods to achieve enosis (Foustas, 106). Eventually, Archbishop Markarios himself

would become a target of the splinter group EOKA-B. Although these two men strived

to achieve the same goal, the methods utilized to achieve them would put them at odds

throughout their lifetime. Archbishop Markarios III would continue to favor a peaceful

political road to enosis while Colonel Grivas would come to favor a violent and

antagonistic approach to unification with Greece.

Although the Turkish people rejected the idea of enosis, they refrained from

action because they were satisfied with their status under British rule. Turkish Cypriots

assumed that if the British withdrew from Cyprus, the island would return to Turkey

under the British Congress of Berlin (Turkish Cypriots did not recognize the 1923 Treaty

of Lausanne, in which Turkey relinquished all rights to the island) (Library of Congress,

2004). However, in 1957, the EOKA, a nationalist resistance movement, became popular

within Greek Cypriot communities. Although many Greek Cypriots viewed EOKA as a

progressive organization dedicated to self-determination, many others viewed EOKA as a

terrorist organization with separatist ideals (Fouskas, 106). In response to the EOKA,

Turkish Cypriots established their first resistance movement (Volkan) which also utilized

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organization evolved into one that used violence against both Greek and Turkish Cypriots to achieve the
political goal of enosis.

guerilla warfare. Volkan was the first Turkish Cypriot terrorist organization dedicated to

the protection of Turkish Cypriot interests against the Greek aspirations of enosis

(Library of Congress, 2004).

The 1950's saw a decline in the power of the British Empire. In 1959, Britain

tired of the constant threat of guerilla warfare, proposed The MacMillan Plan. The

MacMillan Plan was an agreement hammered out by the countries of Britain, Greece and

Turkey, which, in theory, established an independent Cyprus. The plan established a

power-sharing government under the Cyprus Constitution and the Treaties of

Establishment. However, the concern of those who established the MacMillan Plan was

not Cypriot independence nor democratic freedoms, but rather western defense interests

against encroaching communist ideals. Article 4 of the Treaty of Guarantee states:

> In the event of a breach of the provision of the present Treaty,
> Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom undertake to consult
> together with respect to the representations or measures necessary
> to ensure observance of these provisions. In so far as common or
> concerted action may not provide possible, each of three guaranteeing
> powers reserves the right to take action with the sole aim of
> re-establishing the state of affairs created by the present Treaty
> (Fouskas, 116).

Although the MacMillan Plan may have sought to bestow a degree of independence to

Cyprus, the obvious concern was not for Cypriot independence, but rather for the security

of western values.

It should not have been a shock that Greek Cypriots were disappointed that they

had not achieved unification with mainland Greece. Many Greek Cypriots vowed to

continue the fight for enosis. In opposition, Turkish Cypriots, pleased the MacMillan

Plan had provided a framework for a power-sharing government, abandoned earlier

demands for partition (Library of Congress, 2004). Divergent interests and a growing resentment played out to the detriment of both parties. The breakdown of the legislature occurred over the issue of a Cypriot military force. Greek Cypriot leaders wanted an integrated military while Turkish Cypriot leaders wanted separate units based on ethnic background. The leaders could not reach agreement and, thus, abandoned plans for a Cypriot military. As a result, the government could not perform an essential function of all governments, which is to protect the population. Because of this breakdown, splinter groups, like the EOKA and TMT, started to smuggle weapons and train with respective military forces placed on the island.

In the past, Turkish Cypriots had mixed into main towns and villages sharing space, coffee shops and wedding festivities with Greek Cypriots. Although intermarriage was uncommon, cooperation on social and economic issues remained the norm. An unfortunate consequence of the government breakdown was the migration of Turkish Cypriots into enclaves. Some Turkish Cypriots moved on their own volition afraid of the escalating violence while others were forced to abandon their homes by the TMT attempting to consolidate the population (Library of Congress, 2004). This migration had enormous effects as it concentrated the Turkish population for the first time. By early 1970, the island was partitioned between those living in Greek areas and those living in Turkish enclaves.

The Greek Archbishop remained President but his legitimacy and, thus, his authority did not extend into Turkish Cypriot enclaves. Neither Greek Cypriots nor Turkish Cypriots viewed the present administration, which included President Markarios,

as an entity that could protect them or their interests. Instead, Greek Cypriots relied on the EOKA and mainland Greek military troops to protect their interests while Turkish Cypriots relied on the TMT to protect the borders of their enclaves. Meanwhile, Greek Cypriots were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with President Makarios' inability to achieve enosis. Violent splinter groups, dedicated to enosis continued to gain support on the island (Foustas, 119). Paramilitaries, led by General Grivas and the Greek military junta (which ruled mainland Greece) extended their targets, which would eventually include Markarios himself.

President Markarios' situation worsened when EOKA – B, built up by Colonel Grivas and supported by the Greek junta was organized to overthrow him. Although President Markarios discovered the assassination plot and banned the group, his days were numbered. When President Markarios sent a letter to Athens, advising it to withdraw its remaining 650 military personnel, he sealed his fate. The recently established Greek government responded by sending orders to overthrow Markarios and take possession of the island. Greek troops, with the support of EOKA – B, acted on the order and President Markarios, afraid for his life, fled the island. Nicos Sampson, a known EOKA – B member, was appointed new interim President. Turkey, afraid that the new government would force Turkish Cypriots from the island, sent Turkish troops to defend Turkish Cypriots from the alleged terrorists. Three days later, Sampson resigned as President and the military junta on mainland Greece collapsed (Library of Congress, 2004). These developments averted the immediate threat of war, but by this time, Turkey had already established its position on the island.

Following widespread and profound fighting in 1974, the island was divided with Turkish Cypriots stationed in the north and Greek Cypriots situated to the south. Since the partition of the island, a relative peace has been maintained between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The island remains divided between the internationally recognized Greek Cypriot administration and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, recognized only by Turkey (Meltem & Guney, 2005). The Green Line, demarcated with barbed wire and UN forces, divides neighborhoods, schools and local governments along ethnic and religious lines. Pyla and Nicossa enjoyed the distinct reputation as the only bi-communal villages on the island. Yet, even these villages remained segregated with separate facilities including coffee houses, shops and even government buildings for Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

In 1990, Greek Cypriots applied for full membership to the European Union. The European Union saw the "Cyprus Problem" as a means to achieve its first political success. Although the European Union has established itself as a formidable financial success, it has not yet achieved the same achievement in politics. The European Union believed that if it could solve the "Cyprus Problem," then the world would have to deal with it as a significant political institution. It saw Cyprus as an opportunity to achieve this diplomatic success and stressed that it was ready to start the process of accession with Cyprus as soon as prospects of settlement were certain (Meltem & Guney, 2005). This new development gave Greek Cypriots an incentive to resolve the conflict. As the internationally recognized government and possessor of the major financial and economic centers, European membership would allow Greek Cypriots enormous economic benefits.

However, Turkish Cypriots were suspicious of European Union membership. Greece had already joined the European Union while Turkey desperately wanted, and was refused, membership into the organization. Without Turkish representation, the Turkish Cypriots were skeptical toward the European Union motives.

In November of 2002, under United Nation auspices, a new round of negotiations opened between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Secretary General Annan presented a plan for the settlement of contentious issues. However, negotiations stalemated until the respective Cypriot leaders allowed freedom of movement across the Green Line for the first time in 30 years (Meltem & Guney, 2005). Families who had not seen each other in years were reunited. Individuals were able to cross the line and visit the homes where they grew up. There was a sense of hope and optimism that the two communities could work together to solve the conflict.

In 2004, after several years of negotiations, Greek Cypriots rejected the referendum that would have ended the economic isolation of Turkish Cypriots and united the island of Cyprus. An overwhelming 75% of Greek Cypriots rejected the referendum after President Tassos Papadopoulos urged voters to reject the plan for unification. President Papadopoulos cited concerns about limitations on Greek Cypriots in regards to the return of land lost during division of the island. Hard line Turkish Cypriots also urged Turkish Cypriots to reject the plan. However, Turkish Cypriots refused to cower to hard line politicians and an overwhelming 65% voted to adopt the referendum. After Greek Cypriots rejected the referendum, Turkish troops vowed to remain on the island to protect Turkish Cypriot interests and the UN agreed to lift the economic isolation

experienced by Turkish Cypriots (BBC News, April 2004). At that time, it did not appear that unification of the island was in the foreseeable future.

It is obvious that both Greek and Turkish Cypriots have endured hardship and disappointment throughout their turbulent past. The Greek Cypriots' desire for unification with mainland Greece is driven by the desire to share similar cultural and religious identities. The Turkish Cypriots desire for unification with Turkey, or at the very least, partition is motivated by the fear that, as the island minority, they will lose their status and rights as a people. As demonstrated, others can manipulate these desires to beget hate and violence against those who are different as well as those who appear indifferent or apathetic to their goals. Yet, after almost twenty years, the international community has renewed interest in Cyprus. Although the "Cyprus Problem" has not been resolved satisfactorily, all sides have taken steps to achieve a peaceful solution for its future.

In 2003, at a time when hopes were high and the conflict seemed surmountable, Greek and Turkish Cypriot students attended a contact program through the School for International Training (SIT) in Brattleboro, Vermont. This seemed to be a positive time to initiate contact between two groups that possessed a history of violence and chaos. It seemed an excellent time to attempt to foster relationships between out-group members, in order to ensure a successful solution to the "problem."

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

Social scientists such as Thomas Pettigrew assert that an essential element to co-existence between groups with a violent past is to provide situations in which out-group members are encouraged to form new relationships. Pettigrew (1998) argues that new situations require compliance to new expectations. He argues that behavior modification has the potential to lead to attitude change toward the entire out-group. Pettigrew would argue that it is imperative that Greek and Turkish Cypriots have the opportunity to experience new situations with different rules or expectations. Contact programs such as the School for International Training provide a forum where out-groups are introduced to unfamiliar rules and expectations.

In an area such as Cyprus, where both Greek and Turkish Cypriots have extreme violence and aggression, attitudes toward out-group members are likely to be adverse and hostile. Pettigrew argues that before antagonism can change to accommodation between out-group members, Greek and Turkish Cypriots need situations that promote behavior modification. Contact programs promote new and different rules that encourage behavior modification, such as the formation of new friendships between out-group members. These new behavior modifications will eventually lead to increased cooperation and accommodation among out-group members at both the institutional and the inter-personal level.

This literature review will begin with an overview of contact programs. It will guide the reader through the inception of contact programs, changes in contact program theories and recent literature regarding contact programs. Next, the review will introduce the reader to the idea of social behavior. The review will explore the effects of intra-group norms on the individual with a particular focus on deviance. More specific, the review will explore the social ramifications when individuals deviate from group norms. Finally, the review will guide the reader through effects of the individual on the social group. More specific, are some individuals able to engage in certain deviant behaviors such as out-group relationships? If so, why would the group allow an individual to engage in this behavior despite group norms to the contrary?

I. Contact or Familiarity Expectation

In Cyprus, Greek and Turkish Cypriots do not share the same schools, places of employment, neighborhoods or shopping areas. In fact, Greek and Turkish Cypriots rarely share a cup of coffee! Most Greek and Turkish Cypriots have a minimal chance of any contact with an out-group member. Gordon Allport (1954) argues that this sharp division in the social lives of out-group members promotes ignorance. In turn, ignorance creates hostile attitudes and false generalizations toward both the out-group members and the out-group as a whole. Allport defined prejudice as: "an *antipathy* based upon a familiar and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (Allport, 1954). A logical argument is that in order to combat ignorance and break down hostile attitudes, out-group members should meet and spend time with one another.

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Research has consistently found an inverse relationship between out-group

contact and inter-group prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998; Jackman & Crane, 1986; Amir, 1969;

Allport, 1954). The contact theory surmises that individuals from different out-groups

would meet one another and find that they were more similar than different. These new

realizations would lead to the break down of negative stereotypes and the development of

new more favorable attitudes (Amir, 1969; Wilner, et. al. 1955; Allport, 1954; Deutsch

and Collins, 1951). Later studies suggest that four conditions need to be present in order

for contact to produce the intended effect. These four conditions are common goals;

inter-group cooperation; equal support status within the situation; and support from

authorities.

There have been extensive studies that support the role of cooperative

interdependence among groups in order to foster positive inter-group relations (Sherif,

1961; Maoz, 2000; Jackman & Crane, 1986; Gaertner and Davidio, 2000; Davidio,

Gaertner, Kawakami, 2003). With respect to equal status, studies show that contact is

more effective for reducing bias when groups enter contact situations with equal status.

Studies also show that contact programs are most successful when equal status is

provided within the context of the contact situation (Ellison & Powers, 1995; Stouffer,

1955; Levin et. al., 2003). Additional studies show that inter-group contact is more

successful when it occurs in the context of supportive norms such as support from

government authorities. Finally, recent studies have suggested an additional factor

important for successful inter-group contact: the opportunity to develop inter-group

friendships (Pettigrew, 1998, Rothbart & John, 1985). Discussed below are the

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developments and modifications of these conditions as social scientists have progressed in their understanding of the contact theory.

Social scientists recommend common goals and cooperative contact between groups (Wilner et al., 1955; Amir, 1969; Desforges et. al., 1991; Maoz, 2000; Jackman & Crane, 1986). Sherif et. al. (1961) found that when groups compete, actions that produce positive results for one group inherently produce negative results for the other group. Contact, under these circumstances becomes a zero-sum game, in which one group must lose for the other group to win. This phenomenon can encourage negative and hostile feelings toward out-group members. Yet, when the contact becomes cooperative, a win-win solution becomes foreseeable. In cooperative contact, success becomes associated with the out-group, which, in turn, produces positive feelings toward out-group members. Recent studies examine the effect of *personalized* cooperative interaction, as opposed to *task-based* cooperative interactions.

Studies have demonstrated that optimal contact programs have a cooperative task that requires *personalized* interaction as opposed to cooperative task –based interaction between out-group members (Davidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, 2003). Anxiety typically characterizes interaction between out-group members. Reduction of group anxiety is a critical step in improving inter-group relations (Islam & Hewstone; 1993). Under controlled conditions, personalized interaction creates empathy and reduces anxiety between out-group members. Empathy reduces bias in two ways. First, empathy leads to positive feelings toward out-group members. Second, empathy motivates individuals to behave in a supportive manner, independent of likeability (Davidio et. al., 2003). In his

WWII research, Pettigrew (1998) points out the influence of empathy in out-group relationships. He found non-Jewish individuals, who reported close childhood friendships with Jewish persons, were more willing to risk their lives to help Jewish people, including strangers, hide and escape from Hitler and his armies. However, by Pettigrew's own admission this example demonstrates the difficulties in predicting causality between inter-group contact and prejudice.

The example of non-Jewish individuals helping Jewish individuals would indicate that those who hold positive attitudes toward out-group members reinforce those attitudes through continued contact with out-group members. However, it can be theorized that either these individuals belonged to a social group with a degree of tolerance for out-group members or these individuals belong to a social group that included both/all ethnic and religious groups. For example, a Turkish Cypriot who belongs to a social group that is tolerant of out-group members is more likely to attend an event that puts him in direct contact with out-group members. For example, he would be more likely to attend a contact program that would put him in direct contact with out-group members. However, a Turkish Cypriot who belongs to social group that has had negative experiences with Greek Cypriots will be less likely to attend a contact program in which he would have to interact with out-group members considered his enemies.

Although contact can have positive effects through affective measures, research has shown it is important for contact to occur between groups with perceived commonalities between inter-group members. Gaertner and Davidio (2000) suggested that the formation of a common identity was more successful in reducing bias because

psychological boundaries between groups were broken down and a new overarching

identity was formed that included out-group members. Yet, other research points out that

group membership is valuable to an individual's self-conception and therefore,

individuals strive to maintain group membership as positive *and* distinguishable from

other groups. Hewstone & Brown (1986) suggested the Mutual Inter-Group

Differentiation Model, which allows groups to maintain distinctive group membership

while creating a larger identity to which both groups can adhere.   This is the model to

which John Hume, a politician from Northern Ireland, subscribes (Hume, 1998). He

believes that EU membership will give the Catholics (who consider themselves Irish) and

the Protestants (who consider themselves British) an overarching identity as European.

Perhaps, this was Annan's plan when he introduced European membership to the island

of Cyprus.

Social scientists also recommend that contact programs include contact between

individuals of equal status (Ellison & Powers, 1995; Stouffer, 1955). Earlier research

was conducted regarding the attitudes between black and white individuals in America.

Although each social scientist explored these attitudes in a different social situation, each

reached a similar conclusion. White individuals had more positive attitude change

toward black individuals; but black individuals did not have any attitude change toward

white individuals. Social scientists concluded that black individuals did not feel that they

had equal status with white individuals and thus, attitude change for them was more

difficult. Levin et. al. (2003) explores the need for equal status both within the contact

situation and by the appropriate authorities. Levin et. al. measured perceived institutional

support for positive inter-group relations between White, Black, Asian and Latino groups at an American college. This study found negative perceptions of the campus climate toward inter-group friendship and perceptions of inter-group conflict lead members of different ethnic groups, especially minority groups, to have more in-group friendships. These studies demonstrate the importance of equal group status and of the support of the authorities, whether it be a college campus or a national government.

At the time of this thesis, the generally limited contact between Greek and Turkish Cypriots do not meet these conditions. Partition of the island along the Green Line does not allow for sustained or even episodic contact between the majority of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Most Cypriots remain in their respective territories, well behind the Green Line with limited, if any, contact with out-group members. Even in Nicossa and Pyla, two bi-communal communities, neighborhoods schools and government establishments remain divided between Greeks and Turks. In addition, there is a sharp divide between the socio-economic status of Greek and Turkish Cypriots because most urban developed areas are located within Greek Cypriot regions. Therefore, even if Greek and Turkish Cypriots came into contact, it would be contact between individuals (groups) with asymmetrical economic statuses. These are only two examples of dozens that demonstrate that contact between Greek and Turkish Cypriots takes place under unstructured conditions.

In his recent article, Thomas Pettigrew (1998) suggests that new information can reshape views of both in-group and out-group members. He asserts that out-group contact can provide insight about both in-group and out-group relationships. A host of

research has determined that three conditions must be present in order for new information to correct negative views about out-group members. These conditions are as follows: the behavior is starkly inconsistent with the perceived stereotype; it occurs often and in many situations; and the individual exhibiting the behavior is viewed as a typical out-group member (Pettigrew, 1998; *see* Rothbart & John, 1985). For example, if a Turkish Cypriot attends the program with the notion that all Greek Cypriots are snobbish, and then he is presented with ten Greek Cypriots who are down-to-earth, he may reshape his view of Greek Cypriots. This information is inconsistent with his perceived ideas that Greek Cypriots are snobbish; it is a behavior demonstrated by several Greek Cypriots (not just one who might be viewed as an exception to the rule); and these Greek Cypriots are all from the Greek administered portion of Cyprus. Conversely, if the Turkish Cypriot attends the program and finds that all of these modest Greek Cypriots come from Nicossa, then he may believe that Greek Cypriots from Nicossa are not snobbish, but all other Greek Cypriots remain so. Therefore, this can be a difficult process without a predictable outcome.

Pettigrew introduces a fifth variable to the success of inter-group contact. He states that a situation must provide participants with the opportunity to become friends (Pettigrew, 1998). He criticizes past research, which focused primarily on short-term out-group contact rather than long-term out-group relationships and proposes a longitudinal model instead of a list of conditions with his Reformulated Contact Theory (Pettigrew, 1998).

Situational Factors	Initial Contact	Established Contact	Unified Group

| Participant's Characteristics and Experiences | | | |

↓   ↓   ↓

Initial Anxiety
Optimal situation
Leads to liking w/o
generalization

Optimal Situation leads
reduced prejudice with
generalization

Optimal Situation
leads to maximum
reduction in
prejudice
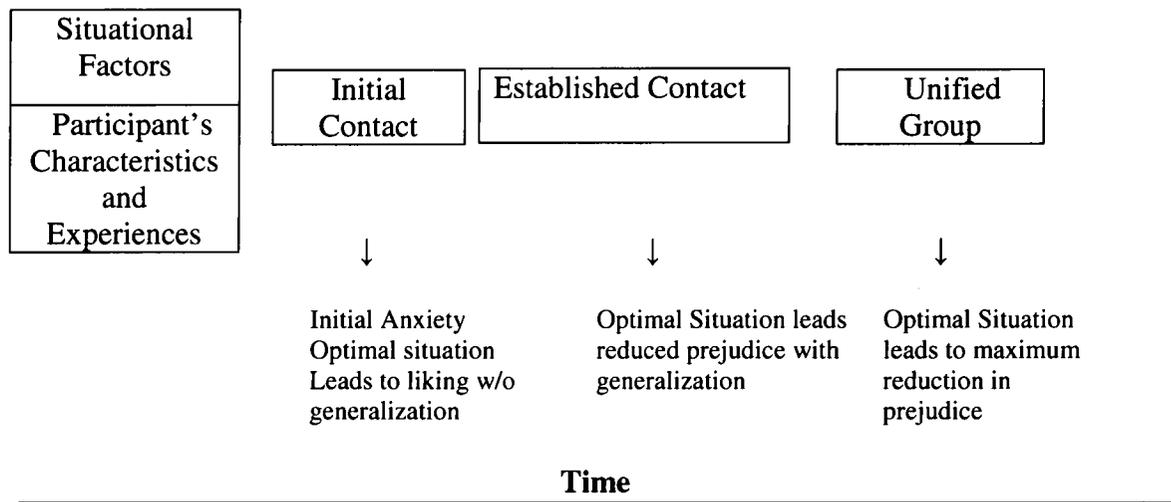
Time

This model suggests the maintenance of relationships or at least out-group contact over time is an important measure in the success of contact programs. In 2003, Levin et. al. conducted a longitudinal study that supports this premise. This study demonstrated those with more out-group friends and fewer in-group friends showed less in-group bias and inter-group anxiety at the end of college. Perhaps those with more out-group friendships and fewer in-group friendships were responding to group norms, which dictated acceptance toward out-group friendships.

Pettigrew (1998) states that positive group interaction within contact situations can facilitate the development of new norms such as acceptance of out-group members. These norms can generalize to new situations and new attitudes toward the out-group as a whole. Research theorizes that positive inter-group contact reduces prejudice because it resolves dissonance between old prejudices and new behaviors by revising old attitudes (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997). In other words, when inter-group contact is positive,

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cognitive processes reduce dissonance by creating favorable attitudes toward out-group members (Dovidio et.al, 2003). This change in attitude toward the individual leads to attitude change toward the group in general. In a European study, Pettigrew (1997) found that increased out-group friendships related to significantly less ethnic/national pride. However, he did admit that part of the process involved less contact with in-group members because of increased contact with the out-group members.

In divided communities the opportunities for positive repeated contact with out-group members is limited. Although the new expectation during the contact program may be the acceptance of out-group members, the inter-communal expectation to which an individual returns may be the rejection of out-group relationships. For example, Cyprus is a divided island. When a Greek Cypriot returns to Cyprus, she will face her old social networks, which might not hold the same expectation toward out-group relationships. In fact, these social networks might expect that she would *not* maintain out-group relationships. She could conform to the new expectation for a short period of time and attempt to maintain contact with her new Turkish Cypriot friend. Yet, she will presumably live with Greek Cypriots for the remainder of her life. If these Greek Cypriots do not hold an expectation that she will continue her new friendship with the Turkish Cypriot, then she will more than likely sever ties with her new friend. Is the new expectation enough to produce attitude transformation and if so, can an individual maintain this attitude transformation once in-group members exert social pressures to reject out-group contact?

Individuals monitor and conform to group norms in order to receive a degree of acceptance. Over time, individuals who follow the rules internalize group values and norms in an enduring manner (Stangor, Sechrest & Jost, 2001; Hogg & Haines, 1996). Therefore, in order to actualize behavior modification, contact programs must reinforce the expectation of out-group relationships over time. Contact programs cannot bring participants to camp for one summer and expect them to maintain out-group relationships for the rest of their lives. Instead, contact programs must create new opportunities for participants to maintain and strengthen out-group relationships. Yet, if a Greek Cypriot surrounds herself with a social group who maintains that even social contact with a Turkish Cypriot is a betrayal of her own interests, then she is unlikely to engage in meaningful exchange with *any* Turkish Cypriot. Is it possible for contact programs, such as Seeds of Peace or SIT, which introduce new and different social groups, to change an individual's perception of his or her own interests enough to maintain out-group relationships?

II. Social Control

Social influence is described as a situation in which an individual's emotions, thoughts or behaviors are influenced by the presence of one or more others (Asch, 1956) Reasoned action theory avows that the presence of subjective norms increases the likelihood that an individual will act in a certain manner (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980). A subjective norm is the individual's perception of what another thinks he or she should do in regard to a particular behavior. Friederes, Warner and Albrecht (1971) showed a positive increase in attitude-behavior consistency when individuals were presented with

others who held attitudes congruent with their own. Schofield (1975) found an increase in attitude-behavior consistency even at the mere suggestion that peer groups were engaging in similar behavior.

Recent research supplements the reasoned action theory. For example, self-categorization (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Recher & Wetherall, 1987) proposes that when an individual relates with a particular group then s/he associates with the group's attributes and norms. As individuals change their attitudes and behaviors to become more congruent with the group, the individual also internalizes group norms and values in an enduring manner (Stangor, Sechrest & Jost, 2001, Hogg & Haines, 1996). Once an individual internalizes a group's norms and values, behaviors inconsistent with them become undesirable. Individuals who engage in undesirable behaviors oftentimes find themselves in internal conflict. In fact, Pettigrew concluded that individuals who conform to perceived behavioral and attitudinal norms find themselves in a more positive emotional state while those who do not conform to standards find themselves in a more negative emotional state (Pettigrew, 1998). Hence, it is assumed that because of the desire to conform to group norms and standards, participants who live in hostile and violent environments will not readily maintain out-group relationships.

Reference groups provide important social influence over individual behaviors and actions. A group functions as a reference group to the extent that an individual measures and evaluates his own behavior against the group standard of behavior (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner, 1991; Pettigrew, 1998). Research has substantiated that individuals conform to group standards in order to receive a sense of acceptance. Recent

research has explored an individual's willingness to conform to group standards in relation to alcohol consumption on college campuses. The research found a positive correlation between students who perceived their reference groups to engage in excessive drinking and the amount of self-reported binge drinking. A logical conclusion is that individuals who value the group will monitor and conform to group standards and opinions in order to receive a sense of inclusion and acceptance.

If these principles are applied to the situation in Cyprus then a picture similar to the following example begins to take shape. An individual (for the sake of argument, a Turkish Cypriot) relates to a Turkish Nationalist Group because of similar cultural and linguistic attributes. This Turkish individual begins to associate with the norms of the group, one of which is the exclusion of Greek Cypriots. The Turkish individual, who had few Greek acquaintances, begins to see his Greek associates as the root of his problems. For example, he cannot find a decent job but his Greek acquaintances seem to have all of the economic opportunities. Thus, he begins to exclude those contacts from his activities. His new friends, from the Turkish National Group, promote the idea that the Greeks are prohibiting him from finding a good job and support his decision to exclude his old acquaintances. He begins to internalize these values and thus, pushes Greek acquaintances out of his life. He blames all Greek individuals for his feelings of shame and/or humiliation. Hence, this process becomes a circle that ever strengthens itself.

Research suggests that attitudes develop out of perceptions about important values of in-group members rather than out of either persuasive appeals or even direct experience. Later experiments confirm that attitudes and behaviors are determined by the

perception that the group either shares or does not share similar attitudes and beliefs (Bar-Tal, 1990; Stangor & Jost, 1997; Stangor & Sechrest, 2001; Hogg & Haines, 1996; Terry and Hogg, 1996; Terry Hogg and Duck, 1999; Terry, Hogg and White, 1999). Terry and Hogg (1996) found a positive increase in attitude-behavior consistency when friends and peers showered students with approval after the students engaged in a particular behavior. However, these studies found a significant increase in attitude-behavior consistency only when the individuals identified strongly with other in-group members. Hence, the stronger an individual identifies with reference group expectations the more probable his behaviors will conform to in-group expectations.

The above-mentioned scenario will demonstrate these concepts. The Turkish Cypriot conforms to the rules of the group and breaks ties with his Greek friends because he wants to gain acceptance and approval. His friends support the collapse of his former relationships and shower him with respect and praise. He feels good about himself. All of a sudden, he finds that his father received an excellent promotion but that he must move to a new town. He lives at home and thus, he must move with him. The new community is tolerant of out-group relationships. He begins to associate with a group that includes both Turkish and Greek Cypriots. He begins to form loose ties with some Greek Cypriots. He begins to drift from his old social networks. He does not see them or talk to them much. The old norms of Greek exclusion are not as important to him because his old ties are no longer important to him. The norms and standards held by the old network no longer hold appeal to him. Instead, he wants to feel acceptance by his new social group and begins to adopt their views and attitudes toward out-group

relationships. Of course, human behavior is complicated and this scenario is simplified for the purposes of illustration; yet, it demonstrates some very important concepts about the flux of group norms in times of transition.

Although individuals monitor and conform to group norms in order to receive a degree of acceptance, social groups also monitor and enforce group norms in order to maintain social control and organization. Collective order or social control is external regulation that defines and orders the goals to which the men and women of a group should orient their behavior (Durkheim, 1947; Brown & Abrams, 2003). A group will exercise social control against individuals who demonstrate deviant or abnormal behavior within the group (Erickson, 1960). More important group members are willing to apply subjective and direct pressure, such as social sanctions, in order to induce individuals to conform.

A group exercises social control through various social sanctions. Social sanctions are indemnities levied as retribution for deviant behavior (Cosner, 1962, Hensley & Duval, 1976; Festinger, et al., 1952; Festinger and Thibaut, 1951). They include, but are not limited to ridicule, disregard, avoidance and even social ostracism (Williams, 1997; Williams & Sommer, 1997). Self-esteem functions as a monitor for the social environment. It searches for exclusionary clues and if clues are detected it alerts the individual by triggering a negative psychological effect (Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995). A logical conclusion is that individuals who value the group will monitor and conform to group standards and opinions in order to receive a sense of inclusion and acceptance.

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In our above-mentioned scenario, the Turkish individual does not move out of town and instead, attends a contact program in America and begins to develop a friendship with a Greek individual. The two individuals begin their relationship with a mutual concern (the environment). Both individuals return to their respective communities. The Turkish National Group asks the Turkish individual about his experience in the program. He tells them a little bit about his new friend. His friends make fun of him for being immature and naïve. "How easily you were manipulated by the Greek Cypriot", they scoff. He begins to doubt himself and his new friendship. He begins to think, how easy it seemed America, but, here, he is faced with the same obstacles of unemployment and his friends keep laughing at him. He no longer possesses their respect and admiration. He begins to lose contact with his new Greek friend.

This study proposes that within conflicted communities, collective social networks fear the breakdown of their own cultural structure when in-group members challenge group norms and form out-group relationships. In other words, ethnic and/or religious groups fear the loss of their own cultural identities. These groups fear that out-group relationships will corrupt the ethnic and/or religious integrity of the group. Therefore, groups submit pressures on individuals to conform to norms and values in order to maintain the collective order and the cultural structure. Individuals, who participate in out-group relationships, may face ridicule, even isolation, from peers and friends, who do not share their new norms of tolerance and acceptance. In Cyprus, social relationships formed between Greek and Turkish individuals continue to be a deviation from the cultural norm.

III. Social Integration and Deviance

As stated above, groups maintain social control through a variety of measures. However, it is obvious that some individuals participate in out-group activities and relationships despite group norms. How do these individuals maintain out-group relationships without experiencing intense pressure to conform to group standards? One explanation is that these individuals hold a particular place within the group that will allow him or her to deviate from group norms without social consequences. What position within the group would allow for such social flexibility?

Merton (1959) identifies five basic patterns of behavior within the group

- The Conformist

- The Innovator

- The Ritualist

- The Retreatist

- The Rebel

The group will allow individuals with certain characteristics to deviate from the group norms. An individual's license to deviate from the norm is distributed differently according to his or her place within the group. The conformist and ritualist have the least amount of movement and must conform to group norms or face strict social sanctions while the innovator and the rebel are allowed more space to move in and out of group norms. The behavior of the innovator or the non-conformist proposes to advance the interest of the group as some deviance leads to an increase in the level of social integration within communities (Scott, 1976). Although accepted as a part of the group,

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the rebel and the innovator remain on the periphery. These individuals express important referents and boundaries of both acceptable and unacceptable behavior and thus, the group evaluates these individual accordingly.

Take the previous example of the Turkish Cypriot. Suppose the Turkish Nationalist group views him as a rebel because of previous association with Greek Cypriots. Therefore, he is able to participate in the Seeds of Peace contact program without ridicule from his friends. Those who belong to the Turkish Nationalist Group stress that he can re-confirm their ideas that Greek Cypriots feels superior to Turkish Cypriots because of their affluence and wealth. The Rebel is sent to Seeds of Peace with a mission. As demonstrated in the previous example, if he forms a positive relationship with a Greek Cypriot, he will face strict social controls, such as ridicule and perhaps avoidance. However, if he re-confirms their stereotypes of Greek Cypriots, then he will be accepted and even praised for his trip to America and his participation in Seeds of Peace program.

The imposition of social sanctions not only acts as a punishment for deviant individuals, but it also serves to strengthen the level of social integration within the group (Black, 1983). Durkheim (1947) studied the effect of criminal deviance on communities. He concluded that the attitude of resentment toward the lawbreaker unites group members against the criminal. He concentrated on criminal deviance within groups; however, recent studies have extended this idea to social deviance within groups. Subsequent research concludes that social sanctions are a means for the group to revive and maintain common sentiments and to reestablish normal behaviors (Coser, 1962).

Deviance allows groups to give sanctions to reaffirm social and moral identities by confirming acceptable and unacceptable behavior.

Now. suppose that our Turkish Cypriot does not hold the role of rebel within the group, but rather holds the role of conformist. He tells his friends about his participation in Seeds of Peace. His friends arrange to meet (without him) to discuss this new development. The group begins discussions with, "how can he betray us like that," and, "doesn't he understand that they are the enemy." These statements not only act to sanction members who do not conform to group norms, but also act to reaffirm in-group sentiments. The connection between social integration and deviance is exemplified in the idea of collective responsibility. The collective group (to which the individual belongs) views the deviant action (in this case, the maintenance of the out-group relationship) as an action against the group. As a result, group members come together to express sorrow, indignation and confusion about the deviant behavior. Hence, the deviant act leads to an immediate sense of collective grievance accompanied by an increased sense of identification with the group (Scott, 1976). The deviant act (here, the maintenance of the out-group relationship) also affects social interaction among the members of the group, since contact within the group increases in frequency and intensity as the group comes together to discuss any sanction or punishment for the behavior. Hence, out-group relationships could lead to an increase in the overall social integration of the group.

In order to effect change in conflicted areas, it is important to examine the role of these traditional structures in the continuation of the norms and values of the group. This study proposes that social constraints and social sanctions aimed at individuals within the

community could deter new and fragile relationships of the individual. Social pressure to conform to the norms and values by the use of social sanctions might derail efforts to sustain new relationships with out-group members. This is especially relevant to the formation of out-group relationships at contact programs. If this is true, administrators of contact programs may want to evaluate who participates in contact programs. For example, if program administrators want to reinforce a particular behavior, such as out-group relationships, they might choose to invite individuals who have participated in bi-communal events in the past or individuals who are in a period where transition is high and social networks are fluid.

To summarize, there is an inverse relationship between out-group relationships and inter-group prejudice levels, under certain conditions. Five possible processes were identified that individuals experience as participants in contact programs. The literature reveals that collective social networks fear the breakdown of their own cultural structure. This is pronounced in societies where conflict is present between different groups. Therefore, when in-group members challenge group norms and form out-group relationships, social groups submit pressure on individuals to conform to group norms in order to maintain the collective order and the cultural structure. However, the group will allow individuals with certain characteristics to deviate from the group norms. Certain members, such as the rebel, are allowed to engage in deviant behavior while others, such as the conformist are more likely to face social sanctions when they engage in that same deviant behavior. Finally, individuals who are in life transitions, such as moving out of town or going off to university, may enjoy the social fluidity to maintain out-group

relationships. Distance from their familiar social groups may be enough to allow the

necessary social fluidity to maintain out-group relationships. These social theories are

the foundation for the analysis and conclusions reached in this research.

III. RESEARCH QUESTION

This study plans to explore the success of new relationships formed through contact programs, such as Seeds of Peace and SIT. Seeds of Peace is a contact program that brings together individuals from different ethnic and religious groups in order to foster positive relationships between them. Programs like Seeds of Peace have worked in divided communities such as Northern Ireland, Israel and Palestine. There is no doubt the participants form out-group friendships while enrolled in these programs, however the persistence of these relationships once individuals return to their respective communities is a chief concern. Can participants sustain new relationships when they return to their respective communities where they face the pressures and constraints of their homogeneous social networks?

Although the individual may have positive feelings toward out-group members at the conclusion of the contact program, he or she must return home to existing social networks, which may not hold the same tolerant attitudes. Conversely, if individuals continue to socialize with mixed social groups then those individuals should maintain out-group relationships. Therefore, the first hypothesis predicts a positive relationship between mixed social integration and new out-group relationships.

↑ Mixed Social Integration → ↑ Maintenance of out-group friendships

OR

↓ Mixed Social Integration →↓ Maintenance of out-group friendships

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In other words, the more integrated a Greek Cypriot is into his or her own ethnic/religious homogeneous social group the less likely s/he will be to maintain out-group friendships. Conversely, the more integrated a Greek Cypriot is into a mixed social group, the more likely s/he will maintain out-group relationships.

This prediction is consistent with the literature review. Individuals may attempt to sustain out-group relationships, but those integrated into ethnic and/or religious homogenous social networks will not risk possible social sanction and will terminate out-group friendships. A logical conclusion is that the more integrated an individual in a respective homogenous peer group, the greater the chance of immediate social sanction and the more quickly that s/he will terminate the out-group friendship. Alternatively, when an individual is integrated into an ethnic and/or religious mixed social network, the less pressure s/he will feel to exterminate out-group relationships.

This study also intends to explore variations of social integration between the individual and the group at different transitions during the individual's life. The second hypothesis predicts a positive relationship between transition and the maintenance of new out-group relationships.

↑ Transition → ↓ Social Integration → ↑Maintenance of out-group friendships
In other words, the more transition in an individual's life, the less socially integrated s/he or she will be into one social group, and therefore, the more likely s/he will maintain out-group friendships. For example, a Greek Cypriot, whose former social networks were all in-group members, has just started to attend university. It is likely that the Greek Cypriot will not maintain ties to former in-group social networks because of the inability to

communicate on a regular basis. The less ties with former Greek Cypriot friends, the more likely s/he will develop and maintain out-group relationships. At least, it is less likely that in-group members will sanction the Greek Cypriot for maintaining out-group friendships made during the program.

This hypothesis is also supported by the literature review. At transitional periods, an individual will be less integrated into social networks and therefore, more open to the maintenance of new out-group relationships. Transitions include situations in which an individual will have less contact with previous social networks, such as moving to a new school or finding new employment. Individuals will not feel bound by the norms and rules of their previous social networks, and therefore, will be prepared to form and sustain new out-group relationships.

Therefore, the research intends to explore two separate but interrelated hypotheses. The first hypothesis predicts a positive relationship between mixed social integration and out-group relationships following contact programs. The second hypothesis predicts a positive relationship between transition and the maintenance of out-group friendships following contact programs. In order to explore these hypotheses, the research focuses on a group of Greek and Turkish Cypriots who attended a contact program sponsored by the School of International Training.

IV. METHODOLOGY

This study intends to explore two hypotheses. The first hypothesis predicts a positive relationship between mixed social integration and out-group relationships following contact programs. The second hypothesis predicts a positive relationship between transition and the maintenance of out-group relationships following contact programs. This study relies on empirical data collected from participants at a bi-communal reunion in Nicossa on the island of Cyprus. The following are the details regarding the origin and the development of this study.

I. Participants

Data was obtained from the School of International Training (SIT) located in northern Vermont. The School of International Training has several programs in international conflict resolution. One program, Youth Peace Building School for International Training, targets young adults who live and work in conflicted areas of the world. These summer camps invite individuals from Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Israel and Palestine to participate in intensive peace building and leadership development activities. The program utilizes cooperative activities, such as dialogues on common concerns, leadership workshops, and art in order to foster intercultural communication and cross-cultural relationships (School for International Training, 2003). Although the School of International Training invites individuals from several different communities, this

research focuses on the data collected from Greek and Turkish Cypriots who attended the program.

The School for International Training split the summer into two camps. The first program spanned two weeks from July 20 to August 3. The second program also spanned two weeks, from August 3 to August 16. Each summer session entertained 40 students, which totaled 80 Cypriot students for each of the years of 2000 through 2004.[2] In the fall of 2004, Greek and Turkish Cypriots who had participated in past programs were invited to take part in a reunion on the island of Cyprus.

This author had no access to the selection process of program participants. Therefore, the demographics of program participants were unknown. These unknowns included the relative number of males and females who participated in the program and the socio-economic class of the program participants. The unknowns also include the number of Greek Cypriots versus Turkish Cypriots. However, it is assumed that the program would attempt to select equal numbers of Greek and Turkish Cypriots for participation in the program. The only demographic to which the author had access was the age group of the participants. In this program, participants ranged in age from sixteen (16) to twenty (20) at the time of participation.

The author did not have a role in the development of the questionnaire and therefore, the demographic of reunion participants were also unclear. The questionnaire did not ask the age of the individual who completed the questionnaire. Instead, it asked the year of program participation. However, if the students at the time of program participation ranged from age sixteen to twenty and reunion participants identified

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[2] See Appendix A for the full details of the itinerary.

participation in the program from 2000 through 2004, then, it is implied that the age of the reunion participants ranged from sixteen through twenty-four. The questionnaire did ask the name of the individual who completed the questions but stated that this information was optional. Eight individuals chose not to identify themselves. Of those who did identify themselves, the name of the individual was the only indicator as to gender and/or ethnic identification. It appears that reunion participants were split between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, seventeen were identified as Turkish Cypriots and fifteen were identified as Greek Cypriots. Ten of the Turkish Cypriots were identified as male while five were identified as female. One Turkish Cypriot reunion participant filled out his or her last name, therefore, it is impossible to know whether this person was male or female. Another Turkish Cypriot name was unidentifiable due to penmanship. Eight of the Greek Cypriots were identified as female while six were identified as male. One Greek Cypriot only filled out a last name and therefore, gender was impossible to determine. Again, socio-economic class was not addressed in the questionnaire.

II. Data Collection

In fall of 2004, the Director of the Youth Peace Building School, John Ungerlieder, administered an evaluation to past SIT Cypriot participants at a bi-communal event in Nicossa on the island of Cyprus. The evaluation was a semi-structured questionnaire, with thirteen closed-ended and five open-ended questions (see Appendix B). The questionnaire was administered to Greek and Turkish Cypriots who had participated in one of the SIT summer programs. It must be recognized that the number of past participants who attended the reunion is a small percentage of the students

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who attended the summer programs. The program graduated 320 students over four years. (80 students per year x 4 years = 320 student graduated from the program). Forty participants filled out the questionnaire. It is assumed for the purpose of this research that all of the individuals who attended the reunion also filled out the questionnaire. Under this assumption, approximately 8% of past program participants attended the reunion. (40 students filled out the questionnaire / 320 students graduated over four years = 8 % of past participants who filled out the questionnaire). However, some students who attended the reunion might have felt uncomfortable filling out the questionnaire. Therefore, a larger percentage of past participants may have attended the reunion.

There were a number of potential benefits in working with a program of this caliber. The most advantageous was that the Youth Peace Building School for International Training had just developed a framework for evaluation survey[3] that was an acceptable method for data collection. In addition, the collection and analysis of raw data allows for an independent analysis. This study evaluates raw data for a more thorough assessment of strengths and weaknesses as well as runs an analysis on questions of interest to this particular study. Finally, ample time and resources were saved by utilizing existent data rather than engaging in primary data collection. Despite numerous advantages, there was one major disadvantage. Preexisting survey questions, designed prior to this research, limited this study. Unfortunately, the survey did not contain specific questions that would more directly relate to the maintenance of out-group relationships subsequent to contact programs. Despite the limited questions, the research is valuable and relevant to effects of social networks on out-group relationships.

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[3] See Appendix B for a full evaluation

III. Variables

This study hypothesizes that the more integrated into an ethnic/religious mixed social group, the more likely an individual will maintain out-group relationships formed in the contact program. This study intends to explore this hypothesis through three variables: out-group relationships, mixed social integration and transition. The original hypothesis maintains that the higher the feelings of camaraderie for the in-group, the more likely an individual will conform to the group norm and reject out-group relationships. The reverse hypothesis maintains that the higher the feelings of camaraderie for the mixed group, the more likely that an individual will conform to the group norm and maintain out-group relationships. Similarly, in times of transition, a sense of group cohesion with an ethnic/religious homogenous group is challenged. Therefore, in times of transition, individuals are more likely to ignore previous social standards and sustain out-group relationships.

a. Out-Group Relationships

The persistence of out-group relationships between campers is defined as the positive mutual interaction between individuals with different ethnic or religious affiliations. The SIT survey measures out-group contact with camp participants through four different questions (*See* Appendices). The first question is two parts. The first part asks, "Did you visit with campers from the other community after camp?" The second part asks, "How many times did you visit with campers from the other community after camp?" The second question asks participants, "Did you maintain friendships with campers from the other community?" The third question asks campers, "How do you

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stay in touch?" It gives four options to campers, which include Internet, reunions, personal visits, and telephone. Finally, the evaluation also asked participants to identify feelings of connectedness with out-group members from the camp program.

The questions are limited in the specificity. The first question does not indicate a timeframe. It is difficult to ascertain whether the visits were sustained over time or if the visits are concentrated within the first two months back from the program. The second question, which asks the method of communication, does not determine the number of times that past participants utilized any one method of contact. Therefore, it is difficult ascertain from the data whether a past participant regularly utilized the Internet or whether a past participant utilized the Internet once or twice. Although the evaluation reveals that contact between program participants did occur after the participants returned home to their respective communities, the unspecified timeframes and frequencies limit the results in that it does not track whether contact increased, decreased or remained constant over time.

b. Mixed Group Integration

Social integration is the cohesiveness of the group. Social scientists measure social integration through two variables: (1) sentiment toward group members and (2) social distance between in-group members. Social scientists measure social distance through the frequency and intensity of social interactions between group members (Coser, 1962). This researcher expected to find a strong positive reaction to relationships between out-group members who are invested in a mixed social group. On the other hand, a negative relationship is assumed between out-group members who are invested

into homogeneous social groups. It is theorized that students who belong to mixed social groups will maintain out-group relationships because peer groups will bestow social approval such as admiration and praise onto individuals with out-group relationships. Conversely, those students who belong to homogeneous ethnic/religious groups will not maintain out-group relationships. The administration of social punishments, even mere threats of them, will induce individuals to evaluate the importance of out-group relationships. Hence, the expectation is that contact between individuals who belong to mixed social groups will increase over time while out-group contact between individuals who belong to homogeneous social networks will decrease over time.

The SIT survey did not measure social integration into ethnic and/or religious groups. However, it did contain some limited questions related to mixed group contact. The evaluation asked three separate questions that tentatively relate to mixed social networks. "The first question asks, "Were you involved in any bi-communal activities before/after the camp?" This question does not delineate whether students participated in bi-communal activities because of new norms established by the contact program or whether students already held a norm of out-group interaction. Therefore, it is difficult to use this question as an accurate measure for mixed integration either before or after the camp.

The second question asks, "Did you work on any bi-communal projects after the camp?" The third question asks, "Since the camp finished have met any new people from the other community?" These two questions were the best indication of mixed group integration between camp participants and out-group members (not involved in the SIT

program). This researcher would like to demonstrate a positive relationship between the

number of bi-communal activities and the number of out-group meetings, to the level of

mixed social integration. However, these two questions are only a rough measure of

mixed social integration. Although, these questions are a tentative measure of the

frequency of mixed group contact, neither question addresses the *intensity* of feelings

(with out-group members (outside of camp participants). Therefore, at best, the question

is a weak measure of social integration.

c. Transition

The third variable is transition periods in the participant's life. It is theorized

transitions might limit contact with the participant's current social networks and thus

increase the likelihood that individuals would maintain out-group relationships.

Significant changes in the life of the participants were measured as career changes,

school relocations or neighborhood transfers in the past year. Based on the literature

review, one could deduce a positive relationship between transition periods and the

maintenance of out-group relationships. It is expected social networks would have less

influence over individuals in transition. As individuals grow more isolated from old

social networks, then opportunities to socialize with out-group members would increase.

In addition, isolation from old social networks meant that new behaviors, such as

sustained out-group contact, would go unpunished.

Again, the evaluation did not ask a direct question about transition periods. It is

tacit that those participants between ages 18-20 would make transitions to either the

university or the workforce. The evaluation asked the past participants to distinguish

their current occupation. The evaluation asks the participant to circle one out of four choices, which included secondary school student, university student, serving in the military, and working. In order to measure transition, the study focused on those participants, who circled university student, serving in the military or working because those are the participants making obvious transitions. It is possible that a university student may be starting a new school, but may remain at home with the same social networks and friends. However, it is believed that most of those making transitions to universities and colleges are likely to also make substantial moves and thus, have a fissure in social networks.

In summary, this study explores the persistence of out-group relationships subsequent to attendance of contact programs. This study hypothesizes that individuals integrated into ethnic and/or religious homogeneous groups will terminate out-group relationships after the conclusion of contact programs. Finally, this study hypothesizes that individuals in transition will maintain out-group relationships because their ties to former ethnic and/or religious homogeneous groups are reduced when an individual moves into a new sphere of life.

V. ANALYSIS

Can individuals maintain out-group relationships following attendance of a contact program in conflict areas of the world? This study attempts to examine the effect of social groups on the maintenance of out-group relationships by using survey data at a bi-communal reunion on the island of Cyprus. All of the participants who completed the evaluation claimed to have maintained out-group relationships with SIT members. However, the questionnaire was distributed to past participants at a program reunion. This situation creates an automatic bias against those not present at the reunion. In order to reduce this bias, the evaluation was distributed over the Internet. Two additional evaluations were received through email. Yet, it is important to consider that a built-in bias toward the maintenance of out-group relationships may be present in the results. Those who did maintain out-group friendships with SIT members would want to attend the reunion for an opportunity to visit while those who did not maintain out-group relationships with SIT members and may not have any reason to attend the reunion.

I. Out-Group Relationships with Program Participants

The study measured the maintenance of out-group relationships between past program participants through three different questions. The first question asked whether individuals visited with campers from the other community. The second part of that question asked students to identify the number of visits with out-group members in the SIT program. Three-quarters of the participants used ordinal numbers to indicate the

number of visits between out-group members. However, some participants did not fill

out the questionnaire with numerical data. Some of the participants indicated the number

of visits with relative terms, such as "several" or "many" visits. In order to quantify the

outcome, these terms were coded based on subjective reasoning. "Several" visits were

categorized as three to five visits and "many" visits as more than five visits. In addition,

one participant could not remember the number of visits and therefore, no data was

indicated regarding the number of visits with out-group member.

The second question asked whether individuals remained friends with campers

from the other community. The survey went a step further and collected the *types* of

cross-communal communication. For example, a participant was instructed to check all

forms of communication utilized to maintain contact with out-group members. The

choices included the (1) internet (2) reunions (3) telephones (4) and personal visits. This

measurement indicated the method of communication between participants who

continued to maintain out-group relationships.

The third question measured the feelings of connectedness to specific out-group

members in the program. A participant was instructed to list the name of an out-group

member and determine how connected he or she felt toward that out-group member

before, during and after the program. The participant was given a five-point scale upon

which to measure feelings of connectedness. A zero indicated that the participant did not

know the out-group member or felt no connection to that out-group member. A five

indicated that the participant felt very close to the out-group member. In order to

measure feelings of connectedness, the mean of all three timetables (before, during and

after) was computed. Then, the means of the timetables were compared to determine if the differences had statistical significance. A t-test was used to compare the mean of connectedness before camp to the mean of connectedness after camp. This comparison was made for all three timetables. Therefore, three comparisons were made using the existing data (before/during, before/after and during/after). Taken together, these measures indicated whether participants terminated or maintained out-group relationships with program members.

II. Mixed Social Integration

The measures of social integration are sentiment toward group members and social distance between group members. Social distance between group members is measured through (1) frequency and (2) intensity of social interactions between group members. After careful analysis, it appears that the questions posed by the SIT questionnaire do not provide an ideal measure for the variable of social integration. Although some of the questions could in part measure some aspects (frequency) of this variable, other aspects were incomplete (intensity). The researcher did not want to force the measurement of this variable and thus draw false or misleading conclusions. Therefore, instead of drawing concrete conclusions and correlations between the persistence of out-group relationships and social integration, the research makes some astute observations and draws some loose inferences based on the collected data.

The first question measured the number of bi-communal activities and/or organizations that each participant engaged in before and after the camp. This was a numerical value although the participants did list some of the activities or organizations

in which he or she participated. The second question measured the number of bi-

communal projects after the program. This was a simple yes/no question. However,

some campers identified a specific group project in which he or she participated. The

third question asked if participants met new members from the other community outside

of the SIT camp. This was a simple yes/no question. However, if students did check yes,

the question asked where they met these individuals. All of the students who check yes

also identified where they met new members of the other community.

Inconsistencies appear between the first question, which asks students to check

yes/no to bi-communal activities before/after the program and the second question, which

asks students to check yes/no to bi-communal projects after the program. A large number

of students answered yes to the first question, but no to the second question. The reasons

as to why SIT participants answered yes to one question, but no to the other question, are

unclear. However, it is interesting that at least one student had checked yes to bi-

communal projects after the program and even identified a bi-communal folk dance as

the event. Then, he crossed out his answer and checked no. He transferred his original

answer to the question which asks for bi-communal activities either before or after the

program. It is assumed that the inconsistencies are least, part due to confusion regarding

the language of the questions.

III. Out-Group Relationships in Times of Transition

Finally, this study examined the maintenance of out-group relationships of those

who experienced some time of transition, for example transition to a college/ university.

It is hypothesized that individuals in transition would maintain out-group friendships

while those who returned to existing homogenous social networks would not maintain out-group relationships. Transition was measured by comparing the maintenance of out-group relationships between individuals who experienced a significant transition after the conclusion of the program and those participants who did not experience any large transitions. This was determined through a self-identification process. A participant was asked to categorize herself as a (1) student (2) military recruit or (3) workforce member. The question utilized nominal data and hence, Guttman's coefficient of predictability was used to measure the outcome.

This was a difficult variable to measure because few participants made transitions throughout the four years. Most students remained secondary high school students. In fact, it is unfortunate that only three reunion attendees had made significant transitions to either work and/or the military. This number was disappointing, as participants from the class of 2000 should have been eighteen by this time in their lives and making various transitions to either employment or university. Because only three individuals could be identified, no real conclusions can be drawn. However, this study can at least explore the results and suggest a model for the future.

VI. RESULTS

This study examines the relationship between social integration and the maintenance of out-group relationships. This research indicates an inverse relationship between social integration and the maintenance of out-group relationships. In other words, an individual is less likely to maintain out-group friendships when s/he is integrated into a homogenous ethnic and/or religious social group. This research also indicates the prediction that individuals in periods of transition will be more likely to maintain out-group relationships. However, as demonstrated, the questions asked on the SIT questionnaire were not accurate measures of the variables that this research intended to explore. Therefore, it was impossible to prove or disprove the hypotheses. Instead, the research reports the results of the questions and then makes some observations and loose inferences based on that data.

I. Out-Group Relationships

All forty participants who filled out the survey claimed to have maintained out-group friendships with past SIT participants. However, the number of past participants who attended the reunions decreased over time. Each class graduated an average of 80 students. From the class of 2003, 24 participants attended the reunion. This is 30% of the class. From the class of 2002, 13 participants attended the reunion. This percentage drops down to 16% of the class. From the class of 2001, only two participants attended the reunion and from the class of 2000 only three participants attended the reunion. A

mere eight percent of the individuals who attended these programs also attended the reunion. This is a disturbing trend as the reunion is the second most utilized form of communication between out-group members. This statistic points to the decrease of out-group contact among program participants and possibly the neglect of out-group friendships with past SIT members. This declining number demonstrates that although individuals may strive to maintain out-group relationships with past SIT participants, contact, at least through reunions, consistently decreases over time.

The data measured the number of visits between out-group members who had participated in the SIT program. To measure the average number of visits the survey used a five-point scale where one is few visits and five is several visits. The average participant response was 4.11 per person with a standard deviation of .78. Therefore, it appears that all of the reunion participants maintained out-group contact with past participants. In fact, it appears that participants made several visits to out-group members from SIT after the program concluded.   However, as mentioned earlier, the subjective data, e.g., several visits, was provided as a numerical amount; hence, this outcome must be viewed with a critical eye, as the result could be either an over-representation or an under-representation of the actual number of visits per student.

The most frequent form of communication between out-group individuals was the Internet.   The second most common method of contact was the reunion. As a form of interaction, personal visits showed a dramatic decrease from either the Internet or the reunion and the telephone was the last choice of communiqué between out-group members. (See Figure 1)

Figure 1:
**Methods of Communication**
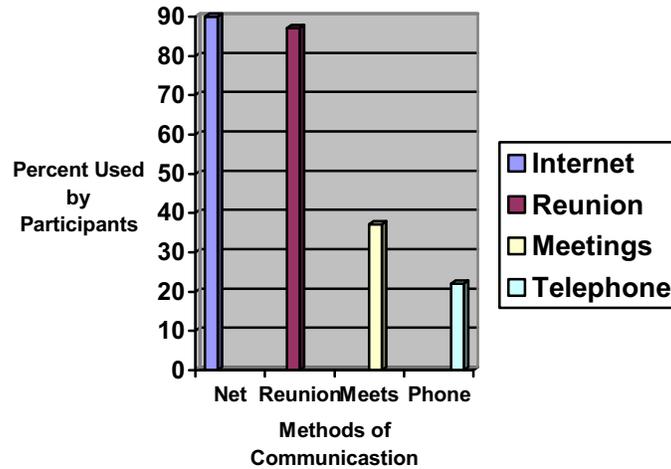
N = 40

An overwhelming ninety seven percent (97%) preferred the Internet as a primary form of communication while eighty seven percent (87%) of participants employed the reunion as a principal form of interaction. Personal visits between out-group individuals were significantly lower with approximately thirty two percent (31.7%) choosing this method of communication. Finally, the telephone was the most under utilized method with only twenty two percent (22%) of participants taking advantage of it.

The results are interesting in that the telephone was the most under-utilized form of communication. It would seem that the telephone would be a less antagonistic method of out-group communication as conversations tend to be private rather than public. In addition, crossing the Green line, which separates Greek from Turkish, can be difficult, even impossible. The small percentage of telephone communication could be attributed

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to a lack of telephone technologies or of separate telephone technologies on the island. Perhaps, a phone call to the out-group section of the island is long distance and costs too much to utilize on a regular basis.

Participants also appeared frustrated with the lack of opportunities to communicate with out-group friends. One participant wrote, "When I was at SIT, I thought that we will be good friends and never forget each other, but when we came back we can't usually meet." Another participant expressed similar frustration, "There I thought that everything was very easy, but coming back to Cyprus, I found that things weren't so easy." Unfortunately, participants did not elaborate these comments, thus, it is difficult to determine the exact barriers to the maintenance of out-group relationships with past SIT members. The evaluation asked the participants to list five out-group friends from camp and then rate the connection with them before, during and after camp.

Figure 2:
Feelings of Connectedness with Out-Group Members
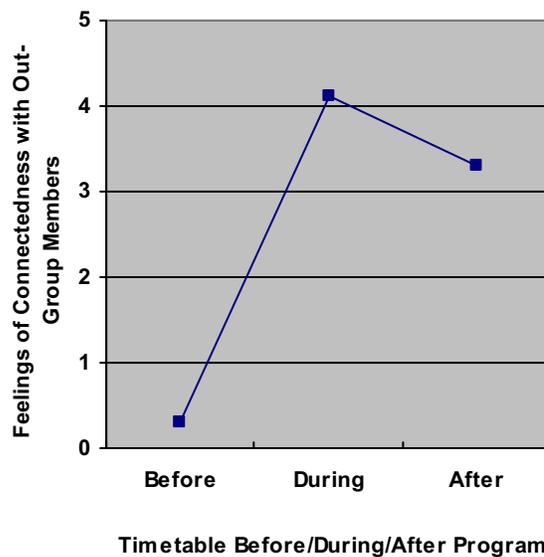
N = 40

As expected, individuals from both ethnic groups felt more connected during and after the program than before the program. This was not a surprise as it is assumed that most program participants did not know one another before the program (See Figure 2). Again, on a five-point scale, where one is slight feelings of connectedness and five is considerable feelings of connectedness, the results showed average feelings of connectedness rose almost 4 points between before and during the program (See Figure 2). Although the results showed a slight decrease in feelings of connectedness between "during" and "after" the program, this is not abnormal as individuals return to their own lives. Overall, the results showed a net three-point increase in average feelings of connectedness with SIT participants from before to after the program.

This is an important result. It demonstrates that participants maintained feelings of connectedness with out-group members from the program one to three years after the end of the program. This assumes that participants who attended the reunion devoted time and resources to maintain out-group relationships with SIT members. It also demonstrates that the participants did not succumb to social pressures to eliminate out-group relationships with SIT participants. Yet, it is unclear whether participants returned to homogeneous social groups and faced social pressure to terminate out-group friendships with SIT members or whether participants returned mixed social groups and were provided a norm that allowed for bi-communal contact and/or communication.

II. Out-Group Relationships and Mixed Social Integration

It is important to recognize that these results are too weak to draw a relationship between mixed social contact and mixed social integration. Instead, the research will

focus on observations and patterns specific to the SIT group data regarding out-group relationships and mixed group contact. Again, it is important to recognize that the patterns observed in this research are specific to those who participated in this program may not be generalized to the entire population or even to other contact programs.

The number of bi-communal activities/organization in which an individual participated helped to indicate whether an individual was involved in mixed group activities. Statistics showed that 41% of the participants engaged in bi-communal projects at some point in their lifetime. Events included a bi-communal tree planting and a bi-communal dance. Most of these activities took place in the bi-communal town of Pyla. Some students identified memberships in bi-communal groups. The groups were YEP 16 and YEP 17, Youth Promoting Peace and Bi-Communal Green Project. Unfortunately, the study cannot compare bi-communal participation in projects or groups before and after the program, as the questionnaire does not clearly delineate these timetables. Therefore, it is impossible to determine weather students already belonged to ethnic/religious mixed social groups and thus already held positive feelings toward out-group members or whether students belonged to homogeneous ethnic/religious social groups and had to overcome peer pressure to attend these bi-communal functions.

An interesting result was the development of new out-group relationships after the summer program ended. An overwhelming 73% of the participants admitted to forming out-group relationships with non-program participants after the conclusion of the program. Most of these new friendships developed in Pyla and Nicosia through existing friendships with out-group members that had been formed during the summer program.

A large number of new out-group relationships were formed at reunions. One participant stated that oftentimes, past SIT participants would bring friends who had not participated in the program. It was through these types of meetings that she met new out-group members. New out-group friendships were also formed through the inter-communal groups and workshops mentioned above, such as YEP.

Another interesting result was the number of political discussions with friends and family. The number of political discussions were measured on a five-point scale where one was few discussions and five was several discussions. Level of political discussions was compared before the program and after the program for each individual. For example, two individuals marked that they had no discussion (0) before the program and frequent discussion after the program (5). In another example, four participants said that they had frequent discussion before the program (4) while the frequency remained the same for one individual (4); three individuals discussed political issues more frequently after the program (5). The number of political discussions before the program averaged approximately 2.42 (See Figure 3). Participants increased discussion on political issues by an average of 1.86 points during the program. More impressive is that participants continued to maintain relatively similar levels of discussion after the program.

Figure 3:
Political Discussions with Friends & Family
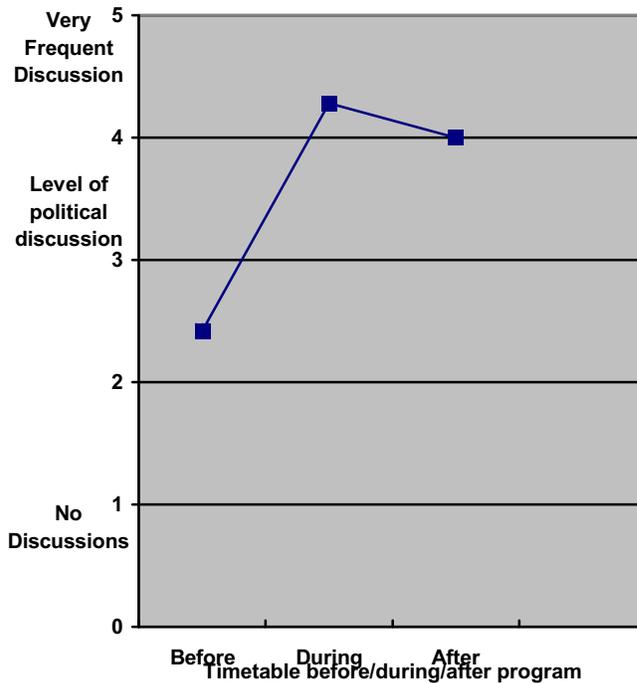
N=40

The results showed an increase in the levels of discussion on bi-communal issues among friends and family members. However, it is important to keep in mind that the questionnaire does not ask participants to categorize the nature of the discussion as either positive or negative toward out-group members. Therefore, discussions could strengthen stereotypes and prejudices toward the out-group *or* discussions could reinforce a more positive and constructive view of the out-group. It is impossible to know how to categorize these discussions. The context of the political discussions could be a form of social sanction applied to discourage out-group relationships or they could be a social endorsement applied to support and encourage out-group relationships. The nature of the discussions would be an interesting question to include in future evaluations.

III. Out-Group Relationships in Times of Transition

The third aspect of the research is to determine whether individuals are more likely to maintain out-group relationships in times of transition. A positive correlation is expected between transition and the maintenance of out-group relationships because those who are in transition between occupations, schools, etc. will not feel constrained by the pressures of existing social networks to stop out-group relationships. The results alluded to a correlation between an individual in transition, e.g. change of occupation and feelings of connectedness. However, this was a difficult variable to measure because of the small number of participants identified as individuals in transition. Therefore, this study could not use quantitative data, but had to rely on more qualitative data in the analysis of this hypothesis. Yet, it is important to recognize that qualitative data cannot draw correlations between variables and is merely suggestive.

One participant in transition did admit that feeling of connectedness with out-group members from the SIT program decreased between his attendance at the program and his return to Cyprus. However, the other two participants in transition stated that their feelings of connectedness with SIT members stayed consistent between attendance of the program and the return to Cyprus. However, contact between out-group members in transition who attended the program remained relatively low. One individual did not remember the number of times that he visited with out-group members from the program. One individual admitted to only two occasions in which he visited with out-group members from the program. One individual stated that he had visited with out-group members from the program five or six times. This is still a relatively low number

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considering that it had been five years since the completion of the program and the bi-communal reunion. The question remains why does out-group contact between past participants decrease so much after participants return home.

Two out of the three program participants in transition stated that they had participated in bi-communal events, although it was impossible to determine whether participants participated in these events before or after the program. One participant linked his bi-communal activities to a direct result of his participation in the program. He stated "After the camp, I became a member of a group called 'Youth Promoting Peace.'" Unfortunately, one participant in transition did not fill out the rest of the survey and therefore, his data cannot be included in the results. Both of the remaining two participants in transition stated that discussion of bi-communal issues and activities increased with friends and family after program participation. Although one participant stated that discussions during camp remained more frequent than discussions after camp, his answer still reflected that he spoke and participated in more bi-communal issue after camp than before camp. These imply that those in transition in the sample may be willing to socialize with out-group members.

As mentioned earlier, it is unfortunate that only three individuals at the reunion could be considered as having made a significant transition in life. However, this does not preclude a correlation between transitions and the out-group relationships. Again, prior obligations could have kept past participants from reunions. It is also possible that the out-group relationships between program members ceased much earlier in participants lives. New out-group relationships outside of the program might have

formed for individuals in transition. This is an important area for future research.

Two out of the three participants who did attend the reunion had made significant changes in their life situations by enlisting in the military. One of the students who enlisted felt a decrease in feelings of connectedness with out-group friends, but continued to participate in bi-communal activities. The other individual who enlisted in the military maintained high feelings of connectedness and continued to participate in bi-communal activities. However, his number of visits with out-group program members was significantly small with only two visits in the last five years. The individual who attended university continued to have strong feelings of connectedness with out-group friends, but did not participate in any bi-communal activities, at all. Yet, his number of visits with out-group friends remained relatively high at five to six visits in the last five years. This equates to approximately one visit per year with out-group friends.

It would be interesting to examine the institutional nature of both the military and the university system, in order to identify their norms and expectations regarding out-group relationships. It would seem that the military would be less tolerant of out-group relationships as it is a homogenous institution maintained by Greek Cypriots while the university should generate at least discussion regarding out-group relations and possibly even contact between out-group members. Yet, it appears that those who transitioned into the military maintained bi-communal activities more consistently than the one individual who attended university. However, the individual attended university maintained a higher feeling of connectedness with his individual out-group friends than those who enlisted in the military. Unfortunately, examination of these norms are not

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easily researched, as many norms are not noted in a training manual, but rather, remain understood and implicit rules of conduct.

The results suggest a possible link between the maintenance of out-group relationships and the social networks to which individuals subscribe. Results tentatively demonstrate that sentiment for out-group members for past SIT participants remain high even if these program participants could not maintain contact. In addition, results demonstrate that most participants in transition either continued or initiated activities in bi-communal groups, such as People Promoting Peace. How do these results translate into recognizable behavior patterns and how do we use them to gauge contact programs?

VII. DISCUSSION

The results demonstrate that contact and feelings of connectedness with out-group members from the SIT program remain high after the end of the program. In addition, discussions on bi-communal activities remain high. However, results also showed that communication and contact between SIT members steadily decrease over time. It is also important to note the dismal turnout at the reunion. The reasons for the absence of most students cannot be determined by existing data; however, it should be noted that most did not attend the reunion, a principal source of contact between out-group members. What are the possible explanations for these inconclusive and, sometimes, contrary, results?

In Cyprus, the desire for separation is evidenced by physical barricades, such as the Green Line, mental defenses, such as segregated education, and social barriers, such as separate clubs and coffeehouses. These mechanisms provide few opportunities for out-group contact. It appears that out-group relationships may be a deviation from the social norm. Deviance is defined as a divergence between an ideal and an actual pattern (Scott, 1976). In this situation, deviance is divergence between the ideal, which is in-group relationships and the actual pattern, which is out-group relationships.

I. Out-Group Relationships and Social Integration

Again, the results are not strong enough to demonstrate a relationship between mixed social integration and the persistence of out-group relationships between campers.

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However, the results do imply a connection between the persistence of out-group friendships between campers and mixed contact with out-group members. This inference would be consistent with Merton's theory of social integration, which maintains that the more integrated an individual into the group, the more s/he will conform to group norms. Results demonstrate a link between individuals who engaged in mixed group contact and the persistence of out-group relationships between campers. Unfortunately, the survey did not measure or ask about relationships formed with in-group members. Therefore, it was impossible to measure whether individuals with more homogeneous social networks were able to sustain out-group relationships. It was also impossible to measure whether individuals perhaps identified with two separate social networks, the mixed social group *and* the ethnic homogeneous group. If so, individuals who belong to both groups might serve as a social deviant for the homogeneous group.

Social scientists realize that there is an aspect of deviance in all social action. Most deviations are trivial or inconsequential but some deviations evoke strong negative reactions from group members (Scott, 1976). Although it is expected that most deviant behavior would be sanctioned by the social group, a limited number of individuals might serve a particular function in the group. These individuals might act as Innovators or even Rebels for the group as these individuals would be allowed to deviate from group norms and develop out-group relationships. Maintenance of these out-group relationships could lead to an increase in the overall social integration of the group. The collective group (to which the individual belongs) views the deviant action (the maintenance of the out-group relationship) as an action against the group. Hence, the

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deviant act leads to an immediate sense of collective grievance accompanied by an increased sense of identification with the group as the members come together to express sorrow, indignation and confusion about the deviant behavior. In addition, the deviant act (the maintenance of the out-group relationship) strengthens social interaction among group members. Contact with the group increases in frequency and intensity as the group comes together in either formal or informal meetings discuss any sanction or punishment for the behavior.

Another plausible explanation for the maintenance of out-group relationships between campers stems from reasoned action theory.   It is possible that the participants belonged to a different reference group than most of the Cypriot inhabitants. If the reference group were a social network that allowed for bi-communal contact then participants would continue out-group relationships. There is some circumstantial evidence for this explanation. For example, the mere fact that SIT participants had to gain their parents' permission to engage in the program, which focused on out-group contact, alludes to an acceptance of bi-communal contact. If parents were opposed to the formation of a possible out-group friendship, then it seems plausible that they would have withheld permission to attend the program. In addition, some individuals seemed to favor bi-communal activities before the program. This supports the explanation that these individuals belonged to a mixed social network before their participation in the contact program.

There is also a chance that reference groups change after the program. Based on Pettigrew's research, contact with homogeneous groups decreases because the norms of

group contact are to maintain status quo and adhere to group norms (limited out-group behavior). These individuals are obviously adhering to new norms formed at the SIT program and maintaining out-group contact. Homogeneous groups view this defiant behavior as a threat to the group and ostracize those individuals from the group. Thus, in-group contact decreases and out-group increases. For example, a Turkish Cypriot, Ahmed, forms an out-group relationship with a Greek Cypriot, Nicos. Upon return to Cyprus, Ahmed and Nicos schedule a meeting in Pyla. Nicos brings another Greek friend, Christos, with him. Ahmed forms a new out-group relationship with Christos. However, in order for this scenario to be successful, Christos would have to be willing to associate with Ahmed. Thus, the question becomes, was Christos a member of Nicos' reference group before the program? If so, was Nicos' reference group tolerant of out-group relationships? If not, did Nicos have an effect on Christos' attitudes or perceptions about out-group members? Or did Nicos change his reference group to one more tolerant of out-group friendships?

The Deviance Regulation Theory (DRT) predicts that individuals maintain a positive self-concept by choosing acceptable methods of deviation from social norms and avoiding less desirable ones (Blanton & Charlene, 2003). Reasoned-action processes suggest that individuals determine possible future courses of action based on how that action might influence their identities. Blanton and Christie al. differentiate between conventional behaviors and deviant behaviors in their discussion of normative and counter-normative behaviors. Normative behaviors are behaviors that conform to those of relevant others in a specific situation. Counter-normative behaviors are behaviors that

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deviate from relevant others in a specific situation. Blanton and Christie suggest that when an individual is faced with a choice between a normative and counter-normative behavior he will weigh the consequences of his deviant behavior. If the individual faces some criticism, but continues to maintain overall social acceptance, then the individual could deem the deviant behavior desirable. If, in turn, the individual faces social isolation, then the individual would deem the deviant behavior as unacceptable.

Yet, if the situation is unclear and ambiguous then behavioral expectations may also be ambiguous. In this situation, for example, the referendum that promised a united island might have skewed social norms. The new referendum promised an unfamiliar situation. Faced with this prospect, social norms might have been ambiguous and, even permeable. This lack of information and situation of uncertainty could have produced a situation where social norms and attitude-behavior were unclear and thus, out-group relationships were acknowledged for a short time.

An interesting result was the development of new out-group relationships (73%) after the summer program ended. Most of these new friendships developed in Pyla and Nicosia through existing out-group friendships formed during the summer program. This is consistent with Pettigrew's theories (1998) that positive group interaction within contact situations can facilitate the development of new norms such as friendships with out-group members. These norms can generalize to new situations and new attitudes toward the out-group as a whole. Increased out-group contact between SIT participants is consistent with social theories that maintain that individuals internalize group norms and values, and thus, adapt their behavior accordingly (Stangor et. al. 2001). Perhaps these

students were able to adapt their behaviors to include more individuals from the out-group and more frequent contact with out-group members. Hence, it is possible that individuals who attended the SIT program actually changed their reference groups from homogeneous social networks to mixed social groups and adopted the relevant norms and behaviors, such as increased contact with numerous and different out-group members.

II. Mixed Social Integration and Transition

Results of this study suggest a link between times of transition and the ability to maintain and even develop cross-group relationships.   This study attempts to explain the relationship of perceived social support for interpersonal relationships and social integration into larger communities. These limited results suggest that if participants move to more integrated communities or obtain a position in a more integrated workplace, then that individual will be more likely than not to develop out-group relationships. This leads to the ideas that processes at the community level have a direct relation to interpersonal relationships.

This explanation would fit with reasoned action, which shows that subjective norms increase the likelihood that an individual will act in a certain manner.   If the situation changes the perceived norms then an individual will reorient his or her behaviors to accommodate the situation. Hence, if an individual transitions into a more integrated and tolerant environment, he or she will perceive more tolerant and integrative norms and orient his or her behavior accordingly. The research demonstrated this concept in a limited capacity as many participants were more open to meeting new out-group members at *sponsored* bi-communal events, such as dances or reunions.

Yet, self-categorization theorizes that an individual internalizes group standards over time. If this is true, then an individual should not readily be able to form cross-group relationships, even when group standards change from exclusion to inclusion. There should be a sense of internal dissonance as individuals experience a difference in internal and external standards. For example, over time, a Greek Cypriot, who consistently feels pressure to reject Turkish Cypriots, will internalize the norms of exclusion and segregation. It would be uncomfortable to him to enter into a situation in which the external norm is one of inclusion and acceptance. He would feel a sense of conflict because his internal norm did not coincide with the external norm. According to the premise of self-categorization, one would expect the Greek Cypriot to seek out groups that conform to his internal as well as external standards. It would be advantageous to examine when individuals internalize new group standards and norms instead of seeking in-groups members who conform to similar standards.

Results show that contact continued after participants returned to their respective communities. However, results show that contact did decrease over time. The author proposes two theories as to the reason out-group contact was maintained by these individuals. First, individuals who maintain out-group contact might act as Innovators or even Rebels within their homogeneous ethnic groups. Second, it is possible that these individuals belonged to a different reference group at the beginning of the program or changed their reference group after the program. This premise is consistent with the hypothesis that out-group contact is more likely to succeed in times of transition when reference groups are more salient. Finally, what can we glean from these results?

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VIII. CAVEATS AND LIMITATIONS

It is important to recognize that there are several limitations to this study. This study is a pilot at best. Few social scientists have attempted to study the long-term goals of contact programs such as the maintenance of out-group relationships. Fewer social scientists have attempted to distinguish obstructions to the maintenance of out-group relationships following contact programs. As a result, there are still some weaknesses when investigating out-group relationships subsequent to contact programs. For example, the absence of a control group leads to several problems with the integrity of this study. In addition, the phraseology of the evaluation is ambiguous which could have led to fallibility regarding some of the variables. Finally, the small size of the sample group is a special concern, especially in relation to the measure of transition. These concerns are relevant and one should not be overlook them when examining the result of this study.

I. Biased Sampling

The sample surveyed automatically creates a bias toward the maintenance of out-group friendships. It is important to recognize that the feedback was collected at a reunion for past program participants. It is important to stress that feedback was not sought from participants who did not attend the reunion. It can be assumed that the participants who attended the reunion maintained at least some social ties with out-group members. It is impossible to know the reason other program participants did not attend

the reunion. Perhaps those who did not attend the reunion maintained out-group

relationships but had prior commitments or perhaps they felt social pressure to break out-

group friendships and shun mixed group functions. In the end, it is impossible to know

whether past participants who did not attend the reunion continued to maintain out-group

relationships.

It is also important to note the small sample size for this study. It would be

foolish to think that such a small sample could effectively determine the effect of social

networks on the maintenance of out-group relationships subsequent to contact program

participation. This is especially true for the sample size in relation the effect of transition

on out-group relationships. These numbers are simply too small to create a reliable and

consistent outcome.

II. Lack of a Control Group

It is also important to realize that these questions were not asked to individuals

who did not attend the SIT contact program. It is possible that mixed social groups exist

independent of contact programs. It is possible that there is an expectation of limited

social contact between mixed groups. In this case, social networks would not necessarily

view out-group contact as a deviant behavior. In fact, the exclusion of out-group

members from all social functions might be considered the deviant behavior. Without a

control group, it is difficult to know whether out-group contact is considered an

acceptable or a deviant behavior.

III. Ambiguous Wording of Evaluation

It is important to note that at least one of the questions used to measure social integration is ambiguous. The question asked whether participants participated in bi-communal activities before/after the program. It did not ask participants to distinguish when they had participated in bi-communal activities before *or* after the program. This is an important distinction, because participation in bi-communal activities before the program could indicate that participants who became involved in bi-communal activities did not feel any social pressure from their own social networks to sever ties. This could indicate that participants were already integrated members of a mixed community and thus, would not receive social pressures to break out-group relationships. In contrast, participants might become involved in bi-communal activities after the program. In this case, participants could have formed new ties to out-group members and severed ties to previous social networks. Again, the nature of questions does not allow us to answer these questions.

It is also important to note that the question that asked the participants the average number of political discussions before, during and after the program does not ask the nature of these discussions. It is possible that the discussions were fiercely negative toward out-group members. Negative discussion of out-group members would be a powerful and effective means to enforce social norms and standards against the out-group. In addition, it is important to note that at the time of the evaluation, Greek and Turkish Cypriots faced a referendum that would have unified the island. It is possible and, even plausible, that political discussions had been widespread in relation to the

upcoming referendum. It might be useful to ask what participants to list two or three

issues that come up consistently in political discussions with friends and family.

The SIT survey may miss some transitions, such as family moves and work

transfers. Although most reunion attendees remained in school, this does not mean that

they did not experience a life transition. It is impossible to determine if these participants

had transitioned through a family move or a change in school affiliation. In addition,

some participants may be included in the transition grouping even when those

participants are not making sizeable transitions. For example, a university student may

be starting a new school, but may remain at home with the same social networks and

friends.

IV. Consistency of Variable Measurements

It is also impossible to know how students felt about in-group relationships

formed during the summer program. The question that measured feelings of

connectedness with out-group members did not ask about feelings of connectedness with

in-group members. The questionnaire asked the number of visits between out-group

members but did not ask about visits between in-group members. These questions would

have been better able to measure social integration into both mixed social networks *and*

homogenous social networks. This would have given a better idea of whether social

networks have a direct effect on the maintenance of out-group relationships or whether

social networks have little effect on the maintenance of out-group relationships.

IX. FUTURE RESEARCH

Perhaps the most pressing research question is: whether contact programs foster tolerance through new out-group relationships or whether tolerance is present in attitudes before taking part in the program? As evidenced by the research, the program gave individuals an occasion to form new relationships with out-group members. Sentiment toward out-group members peaked during the program but remained high after it. In addition, the program gave participants the opportunity to discuss bi-communal issues with out-group members. Yet, evidence points to the presence of out-group tolerance before the program. Of course, the participants do participate in educational and recreational activities but the program focuses on out-group communication and interaction. The participants must have some predisposition to the possibilities of out-group friendships or they would not consider such a program. In addition, the age of the participants requires parental consent to participate in the program. It is difficult to believe that parents, who find out-group contact and interaction objectionable, would consent to such a program. Hence, the questions remains: does the contact program foster tolerance and acceptance between out-group members or are these values already present in those interested in contact programs?

If the values of tolerance and acceptance were already present in those interested in out-group contact, then the motivation for contact programs must adapt.   The presence of tolerance toward out-group members does not make contact programs obsolete but

rather changes the focus of contact programs from the introduction of out-group relationships to the reinforcement of out-group relationships. In this scenario, individuals participate in out-group contact because they want to strengthen ties with out-group members. They have already broken down biases and are interested in forming new and lasting out-group relationships. If these future leaders can create *sustainable* out-group relationships then they can work together to eliminate some of the existing biases that creates prejudice between out-group members. For example, they can create out-group contact opportunities supported by the leadership/authorities.

Another important research question addresses physical and institutional barriers to out-group relationships. As the research concluded, contact and communication between out-group members decreased over time. In addition, some of the students expressed frustration at not being able to maintain out-group relationships. The participants did not explicate the reasons for these barriers. Logistic problems like transportation and reunion space remain a challenge. Out-group members might not be able to enter neighborhoods to meet with friends. Neutral ground might be difficult to locate and even more difficult to reach. In addition, access to technologies may either help or hinder out-group relationships. It is questionable as to whether or not participants had access to personal computers. Participants could use school computers to email out-group friends. Upon graduation from school, this method of communication may no longer be available to them. Hence, it is important to analyze physical, institutional and social barriers in order to get a full picture of the effects of contact programs.

Theories suggest that the pressure to conform will be most recognizable in in-group members who take on the role of the Traditionalist and the Ritualist. These individuals would face serious social pressure to maintain the status quo. As a result, in-group members should apply the most pressure to conform to in-group norms. One would expect out-group relationships to suffer most when formed with these individuals. The Rebel and Innovator will face less pressure to relinquish friendships with out-group members. These individuals would be expected to demonstrate deviant behaviors. Thus, in-group members would not exert as much pressure to relinquish out-group relationships. This would be an excellent research project to complement this study.

The next area of research should be in the area of transitions. Although the results were weak, it is an important area. It will help non-profit organizations, which bring together children from different ethnic and religious groups, to better time their interventions. Most grassroots base their selection of participants on the notion that humans learn behaviors and form friendships at young ages. However new research could show that those who attempt to relocate are better able to adopt new attitudes and behaviors and therefore, should be the targeted population. New research may challenge the notion that age is the most important factor in determining participants for these programs.

Although this study does not focus on a direct comparison between Cyprus and another bi-communal conflict, the results should be applicable across the board. The sustainability, or lack thereof, of out-group relationships should be germane to all cases in conflict areas. If someone were to do a case study on another bi-communal conflict

and compare the results to Cyprus, then they could find if the conclusions were consistent. If so, it would strengthen the overall results of both case studies, whether the results were positive or negative.

Previous research demonstrates contact programs can produce a direct effect on short-term individual attitudes and behaviors.   However, it is important to develop evaluation frameworks in order to measure long-term social effects. It is also important that contact programs create a consistent measure to calculate sustainable out-group relationships. For example, frameworks should evaluate how often out-group members are able to visit/contact one another after returning to their respective communities. It is also important for contact programs to evaluate *why* out-group members either maintain or abandon out-group relationships. The author suggests social integration is a measure that should be considered in evaluating the sustainability of out-group relationships. Most contact programs do not have the budgets for such extensive research. However, the results reinforce to those who fund such projects to consider this important aspect of contact programs.

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APPENDIX A: ITENERARY SAMPLE

DAY 1

11:00 – Arrival
11:30 – Dorm Orientation

DAY 2

8:30 – Check in and Orientation
11:00 – Democracy in Burma
1:00 – Recreation
2:00 – Program Activities
7:00 – Sports
8:00 – Supreme Court Cases
9:00 – Ice Cream Social

DAY 3

8:30 – Dialogue Group
10:15 – Passion and Politics
1:00 – Recreation
2:00 – Gender Workshops
4:00 – Program Activities
7:00 – Acting Out Theatre
9:00 – Drumming

DAY 4

8:30 – Dialogue Group
10:45 – Nonviolence
10:45 – Support your Local Revolution
2:30 – Democracy and Faith after 9/11
4:00 – Program Activities
7:00 – Barn Dance

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNIARE

Name: (optional)

When did you attend the SIT youth camp?   Year_____ Program (circle one) 1 - July - 2 August

Current Occupation:
Secondary School Student
University Student
Serving in the Military
Working: Please specify_____

Next to the numbers below, please list five campers from the other community by first name in the spaces next to the names of these campers please put a number from 0-5 reflecting how connected you felt to this person before camp, during camp and now. If you did not know the person before camp put a 0. If you felt or feel very connected to the camper at camp or now, put 5. Put a number between 1 and 4 to reflect feeling more or less connected to this person during camp or no, so many months after the program has ended.

Camper Names	Before Camp	During Camp	Now
1. _____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____
3 _____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____	_____

Did you visit with campers from the other community after camp? Yes____ No____
How many times?_____

Did you continue friendships with campers from the other community? Yes____ No____
How did you stay in touch? Internet____ Reunions____ Personal Visits____
Telephone___

Did the camp experience make you feel more hopeful about the future of Cyprus?
Yes___ No____ Since you have been back home, how has camp influenced your
thinking about the Cyprus conflict?

Did you feel more hopeful even when political situation was negative? Please answer 1-5
(1 = negative effect or less hopeful; 3 no effect; and 5 a positive effect, more hopeful)___
Briefly describe how the camp experience affected your thinking and behavior in such
times?

Were you involved in any bi-communal activities before/after the camp? Yes___ No___
What kind?

Did you work on any bi-communal projects after the camp? Yes____ No____ What
projects?

Since the camp finished have you met any new people from the other community?
(Someone who did not attend the SIT camp) Yes____ No_____ If so, where did you
meet?

On a scale of 0-5, how often did you discuss bi-communal issues and activities with your
family and friends before camp, during camp, and now? Put a 0 if you never
discussed/discuss these issues. Put a 5 if you discuss them very frequently. Put a number
between 1 and 4 to reflect more or less discussion of bi-communal issues and activities.

	No discussion				Very Frequent Discussion	
Before Camp	0	1	2	3	4	5
During Camp	0	1	2	3	4	5
Now	0	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX C: METHODS OF COMMUNICATION AMONG PARTICIPANTS

I. Internet Communication

Total = 41

Frequency - 40
Percent – 97.6
Valid Percent – 97.6
Cumulative Percent - 100

Valid
-1
1
2.4
2.4
2.4

II. Reunions

Total = 41

Frequency - 33
Percent - 80.5
Valid Percent – 80.5
Cumulative Percent – 100

Valid
-1
8
19.5
19.5
19.5

III. Personal Visits

Total = 41

Frequency – 13

Percent – 31.7
Valid Percent – 31.7
Cumulative Percent - 100

Valid
-1
28
68.3
68.3
68.3

IV. Telephone Calls

 Total = 41

Frequency - 9
Percent - 22
Valid Percent - 22
Cumulative Percent - 100

Valid
-1
32
78.0
78.0
78.0

APPENDIX D: CONNECTION BEFORE/DURING/AFTER CAMP

I. Connection Before Camp

Total = 41

Mean -.2195
Std. Deviation - .82195
Std. Error Mean - .12837

II. Connection During Camp

Total = 41

Mean - 4.1122
Std. Deviation - .77852
Std. Error Mean - .12158

III. Connection After Camp

Total = 41

Mean - 3.2293
Std. Deviation - 1.21042
Std. Error Mean - .18904

APPENDIX E: DISCUSION WITH FRIENDS AND FAMILY ABOUT BI-COMMUNAL ISSUES BEFORE DURING AND AFTER CAMP

I. Discussion Before Camp

Total - 40

Mean - 2.42
Std. Deviation - 1.238
Std. Error Mean - .196

II. Discussion During Camp

Total – 40

Mean - 4.28
Std. Deviation - 1.037
Std. Error Mean - .164

III. Discussion After Camp

Total – 40

Mean - 4.15
Std. Deviation - .770
Std. Error Mean - .122