

## ABSTRACT

Title of Document: THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL IDENTITY  
AND INTERGROUP CONTACT ON  
ADOLESCENTS' EVALUATIONS OF ARAB-  
JEWISH PEER RELATIONSHIPS

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Recent research has documented the negative intergroup attitudes between Jewish and Arab youth and adults in the Middle East (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Brenick et al., 2007; Cole et al., 2003), yet little is known about how these negative intergroup biases manifest in the same cultural communities removed from the daily stress and tension of an intractable conflict, and living in the U.S. Moreover, while negative intergroup tensions between Jews and Arabs and, cultural stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination towards Muslim and Arab groups have increased in the U.S. (Alliance of Civilizations, 2006; Sheridan, 2006), they may still benefit from increased opportunities to engage in intergroup contact, which has been shown to reduce intergroup prejudice (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005). However, these attitudes have yet to receive much empirical scrutiny in the developmental literature.

The present study investigated age related changes in the influence of intergroup contact and cultural identification on evaluations of Arab-Jewish intergroup friendships.

The focus of this study was on how Jewish-American, Arab-American, and unaffiliated (e.g., non-Jewish, non-Arab) American adolescents evaluate exclusion and inclusion in peer situations between Jewish and Arab youth in the peer, home, and community contexts. This study surveyed 953 ninth and twelfth graders (36 Arab participants, 306 Jewish participants, and 591 unaffiliated participants (259 in the Jewish comparison group and 332 in the Arab comparison group)).

Overall, all participants were primarily rejecting of intergroup exclusion, more so when the exclusion was based on cultural group membership than when no reason for the exclusion was specified. Further, males were more accepting of the intergroup exclusion and more accepting of including an ingroup member as compared to females. Context effects emerged revealing that intergroup exclusion was considered most acceptable in the community context and the least acceptable in the friendship context. The interactive influence of intergroup contact and cultural identification demonstrated that high levels of intergroup contact and high levels of identity commitment predicted less accepting ratings of intergroup exclusion, whereas high levels of intergroup contact and high levels of identity exploration, led to more accepting ratings of intergroup exclusion. These interactions varied by cultural group.

THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP CONTACT  
ON ADOLESCENTS' EVALUATIONS OF ARAB-JEWISH PEER  
RELATIONSHIPS

By

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## Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my beloved family members who are no longer with us- my Meemom, my bubby, and my father, whom I miss everyday. There is nothing I would like more than to share this with you.

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The completion of this dissertation represents the culmination of many wonderful years in my academic home at the University of Maryland. It would not have been possible without the unwavering support of my friends, family, mentors, and colleagues. First and foremost, I would like to acknowledge my parents, Stephany Gilbert, George Brenick, and Nancy Hall. I thank my mother, Stephany Gilbert, for her bottomless patience, love, and support. Her encouragement and pride in my accomplishments continue to serve as the ultimate motivator, her perseverance in the face of great challenge inspires me to reach beyond my dreams, and her sacrifice to provide me with all of the opportunities I could ever imagine warms my heart. My father, George Brenick, once told me that the only thing he expected of me was a college education; the rest was up to me. I thank him for giving me the freedom to choose my own path and a love for encyclopedias. I thank my step-mother, Nancy Hall, for welcoming me as her own daughter. I am eternally grateful for all of the support she has given me throughout the years, particularly the promise of a pedicure upon the completion of my literature review to break my writer's block. Additionally, I thank both my mother and my step-mother for instilling in me a love of seeing the world and experiencing new cultures. They have both provided me with invaluable and unforgettable experiences across the globe that have helped me define my personal and professional goals.

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## Chapter 1: Theoretical Rationale

Adolescents' intergroup attitudes (i.e., how they view peers from different ethnic, racial, and cultural groups) and the extent to which stereotypes and biases about others are manifested in both attitudes about peers and decision-making about social relationships have recently received much research attention (for reviews, see Killen, Sinno, & Margie, 2007; McGlothlin, Edmonds, & Killen, 2008). In the United States (U.S.), the focus has been primarily on race and ethnicity (e.g., "Black-White" and "White"-Latino relationships), and on gender. Outside the U.S., particularly in Europe and the Middle East, the categories investigated have included religious groups, such as Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland (Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2006; Tausch, Hewstone, & Kenworthy, 2006), immigrant groups, such as Dutch adolescent's views towards immigrants (Verkuyten, 2005), and ethnic groups, such as intergroup attitudes in South Africa (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007) and in the Middle East (Cole et al., 2003; Brenick et al., 2007, in press). The findings, to date, indicate that adolescents are often conflicted, expressing strong beliefs about the wrongfulness of discrimination, while also appealing to issues of convention and group function. At the same time, adolescents are becoming aware of and developing a deeper valuing of their ethnic identity, both of which can lead to exclusion and bias.

Recently, research on intergroup attitudes in the U.S. has moved beyond the traditional "Black-White" dichotomy to take different ethnic groups into account, including attitudes about Eastern Europeans (Trickett, Watts, & Birman, 1994), Asian-Americans, and Latino-Americans (Sidanius, Van Laar, Levin, & Sinclair, 2004). Only minimal research has focused on Arab-American and Jewish-Americans' intergroup

attitudes (for exceptions, see Abouché & Nasser, 2006; Ruttenberg, Zea, & Sigelman, 1996; Sergent, Woods, & Sedlacek, 1992). The current study was designed to further extend what little is known about Arab- and Jewish-American intergroup attitudes by systematically investigating Arab-American and Jewish-American as well as non-Jewish/non-Arab comparison American adolescents' (hereafter referred to as "unaffiliated") intergroup attitudes, drawing on theories and methodologies from the developmental intergroup literature (Bigler & Brown, 2006; Killen, Margie, & Sinno, 2006; Rutland, 2004).

It is surprising that there has been very little research on intergroup attitudes about Jewish and Arab youth and Jewish and Arab youths' moral judgments in the U.S., given that the U.S. has the largest population of Jewish individuals outside of Israel (American Jewish Committee, 2006), as well as a growing Arab population (Arab American Institute Foundation, 2003). In addition, unlike other minority groups such as African-Americans, Jewish-Americans and Arab-Americans do not historically fit into a clear economic minority/majority hierarchy in the U.S. However, they are both recipients of negative bias in the U.S. (Anti-Defamation League, 2007; Dubow et al., 2000; Human Rights Watch, 2002; Wessler & De Andrade, 2006).

There are a number of reasons for investigating age-related changes in Jewish-American and Arab-American adolescents' intergroup attitudes and evaluations of Jewish-Arab intergroup relations. First, most research on intergroup attitudes in the U.S. focuses on African-American and European-American (White) relationships. While this is an important focus of research given the history of slavery in the U.S., it is not the only source of stereotyping and bias in the U.S. In fact, following 9/11, negative intergroup

tensions between Jews and Arabs and, cultural stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination towards Muslim and Arab groups have increased in the U.S. (Alliance of Civilizations, 2006; Hitlan, Carrillo, Zarate, & Aikman, 2007; Human Rights Watch, 2002; Panagopoulos, 2006; Sheridan, 2006; Zogby, 2001). Additionally, with the increased stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination aimed at these groups, non-Jewish/non-Arab American youth may also hold negative views of these groups which could manifest in their reasoning about intergroup exclusion. These attitudes, however, have not received much empirical scrutiny in the developmental literature.

Moreover, while recent studies have documented the negative intergroup attitudes between Jewish and Arab youth and adults in the Middle East (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Brenick et al., 2007; Cole et al., 2003), little is known about how these negative intergroup biases manifest in the same cultural communities removed from the daily stress and tension of an intractable conflict, and the threat of imminent violence. This is interesting to study because these adolescents are not suffering on a daily basis (as, for example, Palestinians are in Gaza) and yet cultural biases are still most likely pervasive. However, by living outside of the direct reach of the conflict they also benefit from increased opportunities for positive intergroup contact, which could lessen these negative effects.

As a result, it will also be beneficial to examine the presence and influence of intergroup contact on these evaluations of these particular groups of adolescents. Investigating these processes in Jewish-American, Arab-American, and unaffiliated American youth (e.g., non-Jewish/non-Arab) is beneficial because they live in a society where negative intergroup contact is more normative, unlike in the Middle-East. It is

much more possible for these adolescents and young adults to engage in positive and meaningful intergroup contact in terms of interactions and friendships than their adolescent counterparts in the Middle East. This may have dramatic effects on their outgroup stereotypes and intergroup attitudes as a wealth of research on the effects of intergroup contact has found positive interactions between groups can lead to reduced stereotypes and prejudice (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, 2005, 2007 for reviews and meta-analyses) and more prosocial and less accepting views of intergroup exclusion (Crystal, Killen, & Ruck, 2008).

The third reason for investigating age-related changes in Jewish-American and Arab-American in comparison to non-Arab and non-Jewish American adolescents' intergroup attitudes is that youth can be affected by a conflict even when they do not come in direct contact with the violence (Slone, 2000; 2003). This is exacerbated by the fourth reason: the parameters of the conflict that define it as intractable also presupposes that an individual who simply identifies as a member of one of the conflicting groups will hold these negative to dehumanizing views of and attitudes towards members of the outgroup, ones that are rooted in a longstanding history of violence and hatred that has worked to define the group identity (Kriesberg, 1993, 1998; Bar-Tal, 1998, under review). This indicates that Jewish-American and Arab-American adolescents are likely to hold strong beliefs about intergroup relations between Arabs and Jews. Furthermore, ethnicity is highly salient in adolescence and it is at this time that youth define and develop their sense of ethnic identity (Erikson, 1968, Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989, 1990), a fact that could also heighten negative intergroup attitudes. Outgroup negativity supporting this theory has been found in a handful of empirical studies (see Abouchdid

& Nasser, 2006; Ruttenberg, Zea, & Sigelman, 1996; Sergent, Woods, & Sedlacek, 1992), yet further investigation is necessary to fully understand the nature of these intergroup attitudes. This will be explored in comparison to American adolescents who do not identify with the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict to parse out intergroup negativity based on identifying as a member of one of the groups in the scenarios, versus living in a society where these groups are being marginalized.

Focusing on Jewish-Arab attitudes and intergroup relationships will contribute to understanding the varied sources of cultural bias that remain pervasive in the world and, in particular, can generate information that has the potential to help address issues of intergroup prejudice, discrimination, and violence in the Middle East and the U.S. In addition, investigating attitudes regarding Jewish- and Arab-Americans provides a focus for intergroup attitudes research in the U.S. that, given the relative absence of the history of Jewish-Arab conflict on U.S. soil, and yet, reflects an actual conflict, in contrast to the use of minimal group paradigms in social psychology in which artificial groups are created to address intergroup attitudes without the often-unique historical and political associations. This provides a contextually relevant assessment of current group dynamics.

The focus of the current study, then, was on how Jewish-American, Arab-American, and unaffiliated (e.g., non-Jewish, non-Arab) American adolescents evaluate exclusion and inclusion in peer situations that involve intercultural and interethnic relationships. Three settings, peer group, home, and community, provided the contexts to be examined. These settings were selected because they involve a range of relationships that contribute to intergroup tensions (e.g., friendships, parental expectations, and societal

norms, respectively). This research offers insight into how the adolescents conceptualize contexts of exclusion and inclusion based on ethnicity and culture with groups involved in conflict, as well as how their stereotypes, group membership, and level of intergroup contact inform this reasoning. Additionally, this study examined the contexts in which they give priority to stereotypes and in which contexts they give priority to prosocial, inclusive reasoning.

To examine evaluations of exclusion and the way that intergroup bias enters into adolescents' decision-making, developmental intergroup researchers have used a social cognitive domain model (Horn, 2003; Killen et al., 2001, 2002, 2007; Killen & Stangor, 2001). This model proposes that social judgments, like those surrounding exclusion based on group membership, are directly related to the domain(s) of reasoning used to justify an individual's evaluations of such acts of exclusion (Turiel, 1998). The domains reflect moral (fairness, equality, rights), social conventional (social norms, traditions, authority), and psychological (personal choice, autonomy) reasoning but can also include appeals to stereotypic expectations in this particular area of study. Research in this field has found that, from a young age, children are able to understand and apply issues of moral fairness and equality, seeing exclusion as unfair and wrong. However, as situations become more complex and as children grow into adolescence, group traditions involving group identity, functioning, and conventions assume a significant level of importance when evaluating intergroup interactions (Horn, 2003). Yet, there is still much unknown about adolescents' moral reasoning concerning interactions with outgroup cultures that are expected to be viewed as antagonistic from parental and societal viewpoints, especially from youth attending homogeneous schools with respect to culture and ethnicity. It is

important to examine how adolescents' social reasoning about intergroup conflict are affected both by identification as a member of a group in conflict and by the experience of intergroup contact. The current study assessed both identification and experience by sampling from religious and ethnically homogeneous private schools and community centers.

#### Prior research on Jewish-Arab Attitudes

Research on Jewish and Arab children's intergroup attitudes and moral judgments is surprisingly sparse given the intensity and pervasiveness of the cultural conflict in the Middle East, which has lasted for over 50 years (Shlaim, 2001). Most of the research on children's intergroup attitudes has focused on Israeli-Jewish children's negative stereotypes about others or children's reactions to negative messages in the media (see Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). For the most part, research on Palestinian children has focused on the stressful outcomes of living in impoverished environments of political conflict in terms of mental health disorders' symptomatology and prevalence rates, including Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, aggression, withdrawal, and anxiety (Elbedour, Bastien, & Center, 1997; Khamis, 2005; Kostelny & Garbarino, 1994; Thabet & Vostarius, 2005; Qouta, Punamaki, El-Sarraj, 2003) without examining children's evaluations of peer encounters and interactions.

An exception to this trend is a recent set of studies designed to examine how Israeli-Jewish and Arab children (in Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Territories) evaluate conflict resolution, intergroup peer encounters, and exclusion situations (Brenick, Lee-Kim, Killen, Fox, & Leavitt, 2007; Brenick et al., in press; Cole et al., 2003). These studies have been framed by the social cognitive domain model,

identifying moral, social-conventional, and psychological reasoning as basic aspects of children's social judgments (see Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 2006; for more details, see below). Specifically, these studies have examined the stereotypes and moral judgments related to intergroup relations among Jewish-Israeli, Palestinian-Israeli, and Palestinian-Arab (Cole et al., 2003) and among Jewish-Israeli, Palestinian-Israeli, Palestinian-Arab and Jordanian (Brenick et al., in press; and see Brenick et al., 2007) preschoolers. This research has found that, while children involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict tend to hold negative stereotypes towards the outgroup, they also appeal to prosocial, moral justifications when evaluating possible interpersonal transgressions and some instances of intergroup exclusion. These studies have also found that children's intergroup judgments vary by the context of the intergroup interaction and are influenced by group membership (Brenick et al., 2007).

While the previous studies have informed our understanding of psychological realities of young children living amidst conflict and violence and the effects of such conflicts on their outgroup stereotypes and intergroup attitudes, they also have some limitations. The research of this nature conducted in the Middle East, as of now, has studied only preschool aged children; similar research has not been conducted with older children and adolescents to explore age-related differences in these important components of intergroup relations. Nor has this line of research studied Arab and Jewish youth not living amidst the violence in the Middle East. Research needs to move beyond only documenting individual children's level of stress as a predictor of their social judgments, or assessing the moral judgments and evaluations of exclusion in peer settings of children living only in the Middle East. A more comprehensive developmental picture



of the social and moral judgments of Jewish- and Arab-American adolescents living in the U.S. is needed.

### The Current Study

Thus, to address these limitations, this research study investigated the intersection of moral reasoning, stereotyping, and intergroup contact among Arab-American, Jewish-American, and unaffiliated American youth. Participants included male and female ninth (14-15 years) and twelfth (17-18 years) graders. Age, gender, cultural group membership, context (peer, home, and community), and intergroup contact served as the independent variables. Intergroup contact and group identification also served as predictor variables for the dependent measures. The dependent variables include social evaluations of inclusion and exclusion scenarios (judgments and justifications) (and measures of others' (family, peers, and community members) outgroup attitudes).

To gather this information, participants were asked to fill out a group-administered survey. In the survey, participants read three every-day, peer intergroup exclusion scenarios of varying contexts (friends going to a movie, a family party at the home, religious celebration at a community center). Participants were asked to provide judgments for how good or bad it is to *exclude* an individual from a different group in these contexts, as well as a justification for their reasoning of why they judged the exclusion as good or bad. Participants were also asked to provide judgments and justifications as to who they should *include* (either an ingroup member or an outgroup member) and invite to these three events, and why. The survey obtained information regarding the type, frequency, and overall level of intergroup contact the adolescents

engage in, other's outgroup attitudes, and basic demographic information included their age, gender, and cultural group identification.

The judgments and justifications offer insight into how the adolescents conceptualize contexts of exclusion and inclusion based on culture for a sample with groups involved in conflict. By analyzing the justifications provided, it is possible to determine in what contexts stereotypes are given priority and in what contexts prosocial, inclusive reasoning is given priority. In addition, the current study examined how adolescents' group membership, level of intergroup contact, and others' attitudes towards the outgroup interact with and inform this reasoning.

The data collected in this study address the important issue of how adolescents' evaluate exclusion, and how ingroup identity and outgroup influences manifest in the evaluations of Jewish-Arab intergroup peer interactions and relationships. This information can form the basis for understanding intergroup attitudes between these groups, and particularly, how Jewish and Arab attitudes manifest in non-stressful contexts in which daily violence is not at the front door. The data collected will enable more successful intergroup intervention efforts that promote peace, tolerance, and equality to be accompanied by non-violent, prosocial conflict resolution.

Stereotypes pervade adult life, media, cultural messages and traditions between Jewish and Arab cultures throughout the world. The impact of these negative messages and attitudes may be all the more meaningful and powerful to the youth members who identify with the conflicting groups than to unaffiliated American youth. Countless individuals, groups, and governments from the Western world work to resolve this conflict in any number of ways ranging from brokering peace talks and volunteerism to

providing military man power and weaponry. Therefore, it is not just important to study these factors in Arab- and Jewish-American youth because these adolescents are the future policy makers, educators, and activists for domestic and foreign issues. How they view the conflict and the groups involved in the conflict will determine how they envision and work towards conflict resolution as well as other humanitarian and policy issues.

## Chapter 2: Background Literature

In this review of the literature, the following areas will be covered. First, the social cognitive domain model and the literature that has been guided by this theory in the area of exclusion, intergroup attitudes, and moral reasoning, including work from a number of different cultures will be reviewed. Next, the literature defining the historical context of the intergroup relations between Arabs and Jews will be presented. Third, the literature on the media's influence on intergroup attitudes and stereotyping will be examined. Then, the research on intergroup attitudes, intergroup contact, and stereotyping between ethnic groups, and in particular between Jewish and Arab individuals, will be reviewed. Finally, the purpose and design of the current study will be presented suggesting how these literatures can inform and enhance one another and, thus, contribute to the knowledge on intergroup attitudes and evaluations of exclusion in adolescence.

### **The Social Cognitive Domain Model**

The social cognitive domain model has provided a theoretical framework and methodology for interviewing children and adolescents about their evaluations of social and moral reasoning (see Smetana, 1995, 2005; Turiel, 1983, 1998, 2005, 2006). Within this model, children's, adolescents', and adults' social reasoning has been shown to reflect three different domains of knowledge: moral (fairness, equality, rights), social conventional (social norms, traditions, authority), and psychological (personal choice, autonomy). This categorization is based on over 100 empirical studies, which have analyzed how individuals evaluate social issues (Smetana, 2006). Judgments in the moral domain focus on the intrinsic consequences of an action that define a transgression as

wrong, and wrong wherever it may occur; that is, the principle underlying the act is generalizable across all contexts for all people. Judgments in the social-conventional domain focus on the context-specific rules and norms that define a transgression as wrong. Transgressions in the psychological domain, however, are seen as matters of personal choice that are not regulated by convention or by intrinsic consequences.

According to the social-cognitive domain model, children think about fairness from a young age, and researchers have found that domain distinctions are made by all children in terms of their understanding and evaluation of and reasoning about social interactions and conflicts. Early on, children are able to differentiate between social domains when presented with straightforward transgressions, especially those that are commonplace and familiar to them (Smetana, 1981; Nucci & Turiel, 1978). For instance, a child abiding by the dietary restrictions of Judaism or Islam would understand that it is wrong to eat pork because it is not kosher or halal, respectively, because there are religious laws dictating what is permissible to eat. However, these children also understand that in the absence of such laws it would be acceptable to eat pork. This example details a typical social-conventional transgression along with the accompanying reasoning as to why the transgression is considered wrong. Choosing to befriend an individual whom a child's parent disapproves of is a typical transgression of the psychological domain. This type of transgression is not seen as wrong but seen as a matter of personal choice because the consequences of the action only affect the individual.

Children as young as three years of age can postulate that a straightforward transgression is wrong because of the intrinsic consequences of the action, thereby

showing an understanding of the moral domain. For example, a child understands that it is wrong to hit another child because of the negative effect of hitting on the victim's welfare. This typical moral reasoning holds up across contexts and is not contingent on rules, authority, or social norms, meaning these transgressions are wrong across contexts regardless of whether there are rules that say it is all right to hit another child or not (for reviews, see Smetana, 1995, 2006; Tisak, 1995; Turiel, 1998; Turiel, Killen, & Helwig, 1987). Thus, by this early age children have acquired certain basic principles of how to treat and interact with others in social contexts (Killen, 1991; Killen & Nucci, 1995; Killen & Smetana, 1999; Smetana, 1995; Tisak, 1995; Turiel, 1983, 1998).

As scenarios of social situations and interactions become increasingly complex, children differentially apply social domains to their evaluations of events. Most social situations involve aspects from multiple domains appealing to concerns of morality, social-convention, and personal choice (or some combination of the domains) simultaneously. In these types of situations, children and adolescents weigh the multiple domain considerations and work to coordinate the different social concepts or subordinate some concerns to other, more salient concerns (see Smetana, 2006). Factors such as the participant's culture and the issues addressed in the presented situations (e.g., rights, conflict resolution, and stereotypes) significantly influence the types of reasoning children employ, coordinate, and possibly subordinate when evaluating social issues and transgressions. Certain developmental changes manifest in the understanding of and negotiation between these domains as well. With age and experience, adolescents become more aware of the roles of social-conventions in maintaining structure and order in society (Turiel, 1983). In middle adolescence, social-conventions are prioritized with a

strict acceptance of the importance of social structure, yet older adolescents tend to understand the flexible and arbitrary nature of social-conventions paying much more attention to contextual concerns (Turiel, 1983). Will this pattern emerge when social-conventions are tied to cultural group membership in a cultural group with a history of group identity preservation and intergroup conflict? To answer this, it is essential to examine and understand how these factors influence adolescents' (both middle and late) social and moral reasoning, especially in contexts of intergroup peer conflicts.

When evaluating these processes with cultural groups, deeply felt traditions, which reflect social-conventional reasoning, or stereotypes, which reflect informational assumptions (an individual's correct or incorrect conceptions of truth in a situation), often come to the forefront when negotiating between the different domains of reasoning (Wainryb, 1991). Conventional reasoning is likely to be a large part of the Jewish-Arab set of issues with both cultural groups holding strong ideas of the role of family, marriage, education, customs, and moral reasoning. In addition, adolescents are likely to receive implicit, if not explicit, messages from their parents about these cultural and ethnic group conventions and traditions (Devine, 1989; Edmonds & Killen, 2006).

Issues that could otherwise be seen as psychological matters of personal choice might take on a social-conventional aspect when considering that intragroup, rather than intergroup, friendships, dating, and marriage help to promote group functioning and actually preserve the cultural group. At the same time, issues that could otherwise be seen as moral transgressions, such as excluding a student from attending a school based on her group membership, may be considered a matter of social-convention when considered within the contexts of Jewish, Arab, or Muslim homogenous private schools. This may

also be the case when evaluating exclusion from a religious holiday celebration; exclusion may be justified on the grounds that an ingroup member would be required by cultural tradition to celebrate the holiday, yet both the Muslim and Jewish faiths also have the conventions of spreading the word of Islam and welcoming neighbors and strangers, respectively. Thus, it is apparent how cultural membership adds yet another dimension to the already complex issues of intergroup inclusion and exclusion.

#### Exclusion and inclusion attitudes

Recently, the social cognitive domain model has been applied to the topic of intergroup attitudes and exclusion (Brenick, et al., 2007; Killen, Henning, Kelly, Crystal, & Ruck, 2007; Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002). This research has examined how children and adolescents, from a range of ethnic backgrounds, evaluate intergroup peer encounters, including their moral judgments about inclusion decisions, the wrongfulness of exclusion, and their stereotypic judgments justifying exclusion (Killen, Margie, & Sinno, 2006). This approach, which examines moral judgment in the context of intergroup relationships, differs from stereotype research, which has extensively documented the types of stereotypes that children have about others in terms of gender (Liben & Bigler, 2002; Ruble & Martin, 1998), ethnicity (Bar-Tal, 1996), and race (Doyle, Beaudet, & Aboud, 1988). Instead, children's moral evaluations of exclusion and inclusion, particularly in peer encounters, are analyzed, and along with stereotypes about the other, are recorded to provide an assessment of these evaluations and of how children give relative weight to moral and stereotypic considerations. The theory is that social, moral, and stereotyped knowledge are brought to bear on a range of situations and, determining which forms of knowledge takes priority is a central aspect of the research



goal. This approach has been utilized to study U.S. children's evaluations of cross-gender situations (Killen, Pisacane, Lee-Kim, Ardila-Rey, 2001; Killen & Stangor, 2001; Theimer, Killen, & Stangor, 2001) cross-ethnic situations (Killen et al., 2002; Killen & Stangor, 2001), cross-culture situations (Killen, Crystal, & Watanabe, 2002; Lee-Kim, Park, Killen, & Park, 2006) and adolescent cliques (Horn, Killen, & Stangor, 1999; Horn, 2003). Almost no studies have assessed the influence of cultural stereotypes in these situations and only a handful of studies have addressed moral reasoning of children from various cultural groups, such as Jewish and Arab children (see Brenick et al., 2007; Brenick et al., in press; Cole et al., 2003, for exceptions).

Several studies have been conducted on how gender stereotypes affect children's reasoning about exclusion and inclusion contexts. This set of studies has found varying degrees of influence determined by the complexity of the scenario as well as the age of the participant. In the first study (Killen et al., 2001), preschool aged children were presented with a straightforward exclusion scenario followed by a more complex scenario involving an inclusion decision, a similar methodology to that utilized in the current study. The straightforward exclusion scenario detailed a young boy, Tom, who wanted to join a group of girls playing with dolls. Participants rated the wrongfulness of the girls telling Tom that he could not play dolls with them. Younger children between the ages of 4 to 6 years judged exclusion from a group based on gender (a group of girls playing with dolls excludes a boy or a group of boys playing with trucks excludes a girl) as wrong based on moral reasons (Killen et al., 2001). Children viewed exclusion as unfair to and unequal treatment of those excluded. However, as the scenarios became more complex and these children were asked to pick either a girl or a boy to *include* in a group at play,

knowing that the group had limited resources and could only allow one more person to join, the children initially tended to select the stereotypic child. For instance, when presented with the following scenario: “Tom and Sally both want to join a group of girls who are playing with dolls but they only have one more doll left. Whom should the group pick?” the children would select Sally for social-conventional reasons focusing on expectations, group norms, and stereotypes (e.g. only girls play with dolls). This indicates that children must weigh their moral understanding with prevalent stereotypes and in these cases the stereotypes are highly salient and thus increasingly influential (Killen et al., 2001).

Killen and Stangor (2001) assessed these issues with similar contexts in 1<sup>st</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 7<sup>th</sup> graders. In this study, participants were asked to evaluate scenarios of exclusion based on gender (e.g. a group of girls excluding a boy from ballet class) or on race (e.g. a group of African-American children excluding a European-American child from a basketball team). They found that in the straightforward exclusion contexts the children and adolescents judged the exclusion to be wrong, appealing to the moral issues of fairness and equality. A follow-up condition focused on selecting one of two children, either a stereotypic or nonstereotypic child, to include in the group. Unlike the previous study, however, the contexts varied the salience of group functioning by depicting the two children as either equal or unequal in qualifications to join and succeed in the group. As an example, the two target children were either described as holding equal qualifications, “The girl and the boy are equally good at ballet,” or the stereotypic child was described to be better qualified than the nonstereotypic child, “The girl is better at ballet than the boy.” This created a more complex and ambiguous situation to assess how

the children and adolescents judged these exclusion scenarios that highlighted on group functioning rather than the moral considerations of exclusion.

Similar to the previous study, when the inclusion context became more complex and multifaceted, an increasing number of social-conventional justifications were applied. While in this study the appeal to stereotypes was generally minimal, the rates of such reasoning as well as social-conventional justifications, including group functioning and group identity, were higher in these more complex inclusion scenarios especially those detailing unequal qualifications of the two target children. Moreover, in the unequal qualifications scenario, exclusion of the nonstereotypic child was seen as less wrong than in the other contexts. In terms of age, the older, 7<sup>th</sup> grade participants tended to appeal to stereotypes and social-conventional concerns for group functioning more often than the younger participants. For example, the adolescents would select the African-American child, rather than the European-American child, to join the basketball club, reasoning that this choice promotes group functioning (Killen & Stangor, 2001).

The most interesting aspect of these findings is the difference in reasoning regarding exclusion versus inclusion. Simply by adding competition for group inclusion, the negativity of exclusion is lessened and appeals are made towards social-conventions and stereotypes, reasons that would seem much less justified in straightforward inclusion and exclusion scenarios.

Although the presented findings are quite intriguing, these studies only included majority, European-American participants. When studying intergroup attitudes focusing on race and ethnicity, it is especially important to recognize that majority and minority students experience and evaluate intergroup relations quite differently. As a result,

evaluations of intergroup interactions must be obtained from both majority and minority youth.

To address this issue and further the line of research, Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, and Stangor (2002), examined 4<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup> grade students' reasoning about scenarios depicting explicit race-based exclusion of an African-American child (e.g., "Is it all right or not all right for a group to exclude X?"). The exclusion scenarios included three different contexts: 1) friendships (e.g. not being friends with someone), 2) peer groups (e.g. excluding someone from a club), and 3) institutional settings (e.g. exclusion of a group by a school). As an extension on previous research, Killen and colleagues (2002) utilized a balanced design in which, unlike previous research, not only majority youth but also minority youth evaluations of race-based exclusion were examined. Four equal groups of European-American, African-American, Asian-American, and Hispanic-Latino children and adolescents participated in this study.

Overall, participants considered explicit race-based exclusion to be wrong reasoning that it is unfair, a moral justification. In these cases, minority participants in particular also tended to appeal more to issues of empathy than did the majority participants. The types of reasoning differed by the context as well with the children and adolescents appealing to personal choice more often for the friendship context than for the peer group context and to social-conventional reasons of group functioning when evaluating exclusion from a peer group. No gender differences in reasoning emerged among the minority sample, which is why no gender differences are anticipated in the current study and will not be treated primary variable of interest. Age differences did emerge, however, with 10<sup>th</sup> grade adolescents rating exclusion as more acceptable in peer

and group contexts than younger children particularly for reasons of autonomy and personal choice in friendship and group identity and functioning (Killen et al., 2002). Given that the current study examines this reasoning among adolescent members of groups with a history of intergroup tension and strong cultural conventions, it is possible that participants will be more likely to appeal to social-conventions of group identity and functioning to justify exclusion than to appeal to moral reasoning to reject it.

A similar study conducted by Killen, Henning, Kelly, Crystal, and Ruck (2007), also found that a large majority of children evaluated race-based exclusion as wrong. However, this study not only examined minority and majority children and adolescents' reasoning about race-based exclusion, but also their reasoning about non-race based exclusion (e.g. poor group functioning, lack of shared interests, rival school). For each of three scenarios (peer, group, and home) they were asked if it was all right or not all right to exclude an African-American individual from a friendship, a sleepover party, and a date to a school dance. As an example, the friendship scenario told of a European-American child did not want to have lunch with an African-American child. Multiple potential reasons for why the first child did not want to have lunch with the second child were given in the story, including that the two were different races, and that one liked sports and the other did not.

All children rated race-based exclusion as more wrong than non-race based exclusion reasoning that race-based exclusion was wrong for moral reasons and non-race based exclusion was wrong for empathy reasons (the excluded child will feel bad). They also appealed to social-conventions and parental authority jurisdiction. While there were no differences found in the types of reasoning used, Killen et al. (2007) found that

minority children rated non-race based (e.g., lack of shared interests, attending a rival school) interracial peer exclusion as more wrong than did majority children. Age related findings indicate that while adolescents judged interracial exclusion as wrong, there was also an apparent decrease in the ratings of wrongfulness of exclusion when related to matters of group functioning, unfamiliarity, and shared interests, and that with age adolescents became less convinced that parental discomfort was an adequate reason to exclude an outgroup member from a part in their home (Killen et al., 2007). The findings that all children evaluated straightforward, race-based exclusion as wrong, and that differences were revealed in the more complex and non-race based exclusion situations is consistent with social psychological research with adults, which has shown that in straightforward situations, adults support egalitarian views, and that stereotypes are activated in situations that are ambiguous or complex (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Again, we anticipate that, given the age and cultural group membership of the participants in the current study, evaluations of the straightforward exclusion scenarios will be judged as more wrong and wrong for moral reasons while the inclusion decisions will be to include ingroup members for reasons of cultural convention and tradition.

These previous studies assessed the evaluations of intergroup exclusion in scenarios involving the exclusion of a minority group member by a majority individual. Both minority and majority participants evaluated the same scenario. However, this procedure elicits a different perspective from majority and minority participants in terms of which character they identify with. Minority participants, on the one hand, particularly African-Americans in the previous study, are evaluating exclusion scenarios in which

they are most likely to identify with the victim of exclusion. Majority participants, on the other hand, are evaluating exclusion scenarios in which they are most likely to identify with the protagonist who may act as the excluder. Future research should include scenarios in which the participants all identify with the protagonist or the victim.

Horn (2003) focused on exclusion from a different perspective altogether; she assessed adolescents' evaluations of intergroup exclusion based on social group membership rather than on gender or ethnicity. Adolescents in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> grades evaluated ambiguous and nonambiguous exclusion scenarios. The ambiguous scenario detailed a social group member being excluded simply because of his or her group membership: "A group of preppies on the student council do not want Jason, who hangs out with the dirties, to be on the student council because he is a dirtie [*sic*]." Additional information (either positive or negative) about the excluded individual was provided in the nonambiguous scenario: "Jason is not really involved in school activities and does not really have a good reputation with the teachers (negative individuating information). A group of preppies on the student council does not want Jason, who hangs out with the dirties, to be on the student council because he's a dirtie [*sic*]." Evaluations of these scenarios indicated a presence of gender differences, though only for the ambiguous scenarios, with females judging exclusion as more wrong and justifying the exclusion as wrong for moral reasons more often. Overall, adolescents judged the exclusion as wrong and used moral reasoning to justify their judgments. All participants were less likely to appeal to stereotypic biases when evaluating exclusion in the nonambiguous scenarios in which they were provided with additional individuating information on which to base their judgment. For example, participants judged exclusion as more wrong if they were

told that the target, who was a dirtie [*sic*], was highly involved in school activities and had a good reputation with the teachers than if they were only told that the target was a dirtie [*sic*], and vice versa for the negative manipulation. At the same time however, age related differences showed that younger adolescents evoked stereotype knowledge and social-conventions as justifications for exclusion more often than older adolescents (Horn, 2003).

The aforementioned studies show that children and adolescents base their evaluations of exclusion and inclusion on a number of criteria that vary based on the complexity of the context. Intergroup interactions are multifaceted and at times moral considerations are the most salient while at other times issues of group functioning and stereotyping emerge as most important. Further, individuals' social identities are derived from membership in various groups (Brown & Bigler, 2005) and social identification with the ingroup is related to judgments of bias and prejudice (Bennett & Sani, 2004) that, in turn, affect reasoning about exclusion and inclusion. With youth identifying with the conflict in the Middle East region, these matters may be particularly salient given the overarching climate of intergroup tension, stereotype-based unfairness, and cultural strife.

Moreover, much of the current developmental research on intergroup inclusion and exclusion has focused solely on gender and race, and little on cultural attitudes that invoke stereotypes and negative intergroup attitudes (see Killen, Sinno, Margie, 2007, and see Horn, 2003; 2006, for exceptions). By examining cultural groups rather than gender and race, we move beyond groups that are often defined primarily by stable traits that we are born with and are arguably unchanging (we are born with our gender and race and, short of extensive surgical procedures, this is unchanging throughout our lives).



Cultural groups include stable, unchanging components as well as those beliefs, conventions, and traditions that group members self-select and choose to identify with. This is all the more interesting to study among groups whose very definitions are strongly associated with a long-lasting, violent conflict.

### Cultural Influences on Social and Moral Reasoning

The basic finding that from the age of 3 years children differentiate between social and moral events, especially those that are everyday and familiar to them, has been replicated in a number of cultures (Smetana, 2006; Wainryb, 2006). This work has been established in a wide range of cultures, including Brazil, China, Colombia, India, Israel, Japan, Korea, Nigeria, Taiwan, the United Kingdom and the United States. Social and moral reasoning has been studied in cultures that vary on their level of “collectivism” and “individualism” and also on their level of societal conflict and violence.

For example, moral development methodology was applied to understanding Colombian children’s moral evaluations of peer conflict, and to examine the role that exposure to violence has on children’s evaluations (Ardila-Rey & Killen, 2001, Ardila-Rey, Killen, & Brenick, 2009). Similar to the Middle East, Colombia is a country in which individuals are in constant threat of societal violence and stress. Colombia is in the midst of a long-term civil war that has taken the lives of many citizens through guerrilla warfare, kidnapping, and violence. In this study, Ardila-Rey, Killen and Brenick (2009) interviewed 6, 9, and 12 year old Colombian children, evenly divided by gender, who had either been exposed to minimal violence or to extreme violence. The children were interviewed regarding their evaluation of peer-oriented moral transgressions (hitting and not sharing toys). The Exposure to Violence (VEX) measure was used to determine how

much stress children had experienced (see Leavitt & Fox, 1993). This study found that the vast majority of all Colombian children evaluated moral transgressions as wrong. Children who were exposed to extreme violence, however, in contrast to those with minimum exposure, judged it more legitimate to inflict harm or deny resources when provoked and judged it more acceptable to retaliate for reasons of retribution. Thus, in complex situations, such as ones involving provocation or retaliation, exposure to violence was negatively related to moral evaluations of peer conflict. Surprisingly, and somewhat hopefully, all children viewed reconciliation as feasible. These results provided a basis for understanding how extreme societal stress, such as that found surrounding the conflict in the Middle East, can have an impact on youth's social and moral understanding, as well as in youth who identify with the conflict but do not live amidst the violence.

Several studies examining children's evaluations of transgressions, rights, and exclusion in both collectivistic and individualistic countries such as China, Korea, Japan, and Israel have also pointed to how the broader cultural environment (e.g., cultural ideology) may impact children's moral reasoning. For instance, Yau and Smetana (2003) created a straightforward study to examine the social cognitive domain model with preschoolers in China. Using a semi-structured interview methodology, children were presented with a series of stories presenting commonplace transgressions from the moral (hitting, teasing), social-conventional (calling a teacher by the improper name, eating lunch with fingers and not a spoon), and personal (choice of snack, play mate or free time activity) domains. They assessed the children's judgment ratings of how good or bad the action was, justifications for their judgment, beliefs about authority independence or

dependence (Is it okay or not okay because an authority figure says so?), personal choice (Could he do it if he really wants to?), generalizability (Would it be okay in another context?), and authority locus of control for the actions (Who should decide if he gets to do this?).

China, like many Arab nations, is typically described as a collectivist culture marked by an emphasis on group harmony, cooperation, affiliation, and filial piety (Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997), and thus one might expect the children to appeal less to autonomy and personal choice and more to group functioning and adult authority sanctioning. The findings, however, showed that Chinese preschoolers respond in the same manner that children from the United States, considered a prototypically individualistic society, respond. Moral transgressions were seen as more serious, wrong independent of authority sanctioning, generalizably wrong, and less permissible than social-conventional and personal transgressions. Additionally, the children were more likely to say that a child could act of their own personal choice in the personal events than in the moral and social-conventional events. In regards to authority locus of control, the older children (5 years) granted authority to the child in the story more often than the younger children (3 to 4 years). At the same time, all children gave parents only and parents and children together more authority for moral and social-conventional transgressions and gave the child alone authority for the personal transgressions. The justifications preschoolers utilized in their responses were clearly representative of the social cognitive domain model. The moral story justifications highlighted intrinsic harm and unfairness, the social-conventional story justifications highlighted pragmatic

concerns and the conventional nature of the issue at hand, and the personal story justifications highlighted personal choice.

Song, Smetana and Kim (1987) examined Korean children and adolescents' (3<sup>rd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 12<sup>th</sup> grades) reasoning about moral and social-conventional transgressions. Interviewers presented moral (hitting, stealing, not paying back borrowed money), and social-conventional (eating with fingers, not greeting an elder properly) transgressions to the children who, in turn, rated how permissible they found the transgression to be and why, the generalizability of this rating and reasoning across contexts and its contingency upon rules. The results indicated that they rated both moral and social-conventional transgressions as impermissible though moral transgressions were rated as even less permissible than conventional transgressions, which were seen as more permissible with age. These trends replicate the social-cognitive domain theory findings from various other cultures.

In order to determine whether children from typically collectivist and individualistic cultures develop different conceptions of justice, authority sanctioning and personal choice, Wainryb (1995) evaluated these issues from a slightly different perspective. She evaluated social and moral reasoning patterns and orientations of Jewish and Druze children and adolescents living in Israel who were in 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> grades. These two groups were selected because the Druze community is a traditional society based on a patriarchal familial and social structure while the Jewish community was a secular and predominantly Westernized group. In this study, the children were presented with conflict scenarios pitting an individualistic consideration (justice, personal choice) against a collectivist consideration (interpersonal responsibility, obedience to

authority). An example of a scenario deals with the issues of justice and obedience to authority: “Hannan and his father were shopping and they saw that a young boy inadvertently dropped a ten shekel bill. Hannan told his father that they should return the money to the boy (justice). His father told him to hide the money in his pocket and keep it (obedience to authority).” (Wainryb, 1995, p. 393). The children had to select one of the two given alternatives and rate both alternatives. For all scenarios both groups of children evaluated the justice alternative positively and the alternative, both obedience to authority and interpersonal responsibility, negatively. Also, on the one hand, the Druze children showed a stronger orientation towards obedience to authority, however, it did not override considerations of justice in the scenarios. On the other hand, the Jewish children showed a stronger orientation towards personal choice; however, this did not totally override their consideration for interpersonal responsibility. Together, these findings show that fairness is supported universally by children from diverse cultures, even those of patriarchic and traditional structure, while cultural variability manifests for matters of conventions and complex social scenarios.

Research in this field has also focused on children’s reasoning about conflicts involving exclusion of others. Killen, Crystal and Watanabe (2002) and Park, Killen, Crystal and Watanabe (2003) examined the influence of participant culture and context of exclusion on the exclusion judgments of Japanese and American and Korean, Japanese and American children, respectively. Both of the studies utilized samples of 4<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> graders and followed the same methodology. In the two studies the children were asked to evaluate scenarios of exclusion based on one of six factors: 1) aggressive behavior, 2) unconventionality in dress (wearing strange clothes and green hair to a fancy

restaurant), 3) unconventional behavior in public behavior (acting like a clown in the movie theater), 4) cross-gender behavior, 5) slowness in sports, and 6) personality (acting sad or lonely at a picnic). Their evaluations were assessed in terms of an evaluative judgment (Is it all right or not all right to exclude?), conformity (Should the excluded child change their behavior to fit in?), and self-perceived differences (Is the participant similar to or different than the excluded child?). The results of both of the studies yielded no overall differences between the exclusion evaluations of the Japanese and American participants. Both groups place priority to group functioning in some scenarios and to individual choice in others. Further, Park, Killen, Crystal and Watanabe (2003) found Japanese, Korean and American participants generally found exclusion to be wrong overall, however, the Korean participants were found to be the most tolerant of the three groups. While the Korean children offered similar evaluations of exclusion when based on the aggressive behavior of the excluded child, of all of the scenarios they were more willing to exclude when based on the unconventionality of public behavior of the excluded child.

Few studies of this nature have been conducted with Jewish and Arab children, whether living in the Middle East or other regions, such as the U.S. Two recent studies of preschool aged children living in the Middle East were conducted using the social cognitive domain model, as part of an evaluation of Sesame Street. Only pretest data of children's intergroup attitudes will be presented here; media-related findings will be presented below. Children were assessed in terms of their knowledge of Israeli and Arab cultural symbols, their understanding of the cultural similarities between the two groups (Brenick et al., 2007; Cole et al, 2003), their stereotypes of members of the other group (e.g., Israeli-Jewish children were asked about Arabs and Arab children were asked about

Jews), their social judgments about vignettes detailing dilemmas involving everyday peer conflict resolution, and how these changed after viewing the Sesame Street programming (Brenick et al., 2007; Cole et al., 2003). Cole et al.'s (2003) assessment included everyday scenarios with Jewish and Palestinian peers regarding turn-taking on the swings, sharing toys (cars or dolls), and playing a game of hide-and-seek. For example, the swings story would be explained as follows: Shira, who is Jewish and Aisha, who is Arab, are playing in the park. Shira is on the swings. Aisha wants to swing and there is only one swing. What will happen next? Aisha, the Arab girl will push Shira the Jewish girl off the swing and then get on it, or, Aisha the Arab girl will say, "Can I have a turn on the swing? and then wait until Shira the Jewish girl gets off. For each vignette the children selected one of the two possible resolutions and then justified their answer. The findings from this study showed that all three groups (Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, and Palestinian) of children held negative stereotypes about the outgroup and lacked an understanding of the cultural similarities prior to viewing the show. At the pretest Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian children also lacked knowledge of cultural symbols of the other group. In terms of their social reasoning, the pretest responses were highly prosocial, indicating that children find these potential moral transgressions as opportunities to offer the benefit of the doubt and attribute positive intentions to outgroup members. Even though these children hold negative conceptions of the outgroup, they are not yet applying them to intergroup interactions.

In an extension of the Cole et al. (2003), Brenick and colleagues (in press) assessed the stereotype knowledge and social reasoning about intergroup exclusion of Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, Palestinian, and Jordanian children. Brenick et al., (in

press) analyzed how children evaluated and justified their evaluations of exclusion contexts in which a child was excluded based country of origin (being excluded from a play group because s/he was from a “different country”), cultural stereotypes, (being excluded from a party because s/he was from a culture that typically wore a different type of “party hat”), and language (not being helped and being excluded from getting “ice cream” because s/he spoke a different language). For instance, the vignette entitled “Ice Cream” featured a group of children who all spoke the same language and whether they should first stop and help another child who spoke a different language and had fallen while they were running to the ice cream truck or if they should get their ice cream and then help the child. These scenarios coupled the moral considerations of fairness, with social-conventional norms and determined the factors that were most salient to the children.

The results varied across contexts and across cultural groups. Stereotype knowledge results for this sample differed slightly from those of Cole et al. (2003). While both the Palestinian and Jordanian children held negative stereotypes about the other, the Israeli-Jewish children provided more neutral traits, and the Israeli-Palestinian children provided more positive traits. Social reasoning about all three scenarios differed by cultural group. Palestinian children, overall, were the most accepting of exclusion and were more likely to use stereotypic reasoning when justifying exclusion of a child who spoke a different language or came from a different country, but group functioning reasoning when justifying exclusion of a child with different cultural customs. Israeli-Jewish and Israeli-Palestinian children tended to be the least accepting of exclusion and utilized more prosocial and inclusive reasoning. Jordanian children, however, showed



both inclusive and exclusive judgments and reasoning; they exhibited concerns for inclusion as well as group functioning. These findings confirm children who hold negative stereotypes about the outgroup will not necessarily appeal to that stereotypic knowledge when weighing the possibilities of intergroup friendships and play. These children may hold negative associations with members of the outgroup yet they do not indiscriminately act on those associations. This set of findings yields positive implications for prejudice reduction and coexistence, however, it also warrants further examination of these processes in older children and adolescents to determine if this relationship between stereotyping and evaluations of intergroup interactions remains constant, and if not, how and when any differences manifest.

While these studies found the majority of participating children held negative stereotypes about the other (though the Palestinian-Israeli group held primarily neutral to positive stereotypes), this did not directly carry over into the reasoning the children offered in their evaluations of the intergroup conflict scenarios. While the types of justifications provided by the children differed by cultural group, predominantly, all groups of children showed prosocial and inclusive reasoning in their responses (Brenick et al., 2007; Brenick et al., in press; Cole et al., 2003).

#### Moral Reasoning and Children's Rights and Autonomy

Research has not only looked at these matters from the group perspective but also from the perspective of the individual. Helwig and colleagues (see Helwig, 2006) developed a large research base that thoroughly examines children and adolescents' social reasoning about rights. First, they found that the understanding of personal autonomy, choice, and rights develops into a more sophisticated rationale for civil

liberties understood as universal, moral rights. Additionally, it was found that children understand civil liberties such as freedom of speech and religion, as natural, moral rights that, generally, should not be restricted and are universal, not culturally specific. Further, they reason that the importance of maintaining these civil liberties lies in a basic need for personal rights/choice and expression. In early childhood, children understand and value the democratic concepts of voice and representation, which also guides their evaluations of and reasoning about rights and civil liberties. As children get older, they begin to understand the “broader societal, cultural and democratic implications of these rights” (Helwig, 2006, p.193) connecting their more basic conception of personal choice and expression with a more developed understanding of universal human rights, fairness, and justice. With age, children also become more socialized and might express more culturally determined conventions in their reasoning about complex situations of rights in conflict. However, they do not simply adopt the moral-political judgments of their society. They still critique the cultural messages directed at them and apply their reasoning about issues of fairness and justice (Helwig, 2006).

This is even more apparent in another set of studies focusing on samples from Asian populations (see Helwig, 2006). Yet again the research has disconfirmed the hypothesis that children from “collectivistic” cultures, such as China, will reject autonomy and personal rights for the greater, communal good. Compared to their Swiss, Canadian, and American counterparts, Chinese-Malaysian adolescents showed no significant differences in their endorsements of both nurturance rights (rights to care and protection) and self-determination rights (rights to children’s autonomy and control). In fact, Chinese-Malaysian adolescents endorsed a number of self-determination rights even

when they went against an authority figure (e.g. right to choose religion even if it is different from parents', right to choose friends even when parents object) (Cherney & Schling, 2003). Additionally, Chinese adolescents have been found to support majority-rule and consensus methods of decision-making. They viewed these methods as fairer than strict adult authority in terms of children's autonomy and right to be involved in decision-making (see Helwig, 2006 for review).

Coupled together, this set of findings supports the notion that rights, civil liberties, and autonomy are not solely Western values. Children and adolescents from various cultures appeal to the rights of the individual (even children) and the need for representation and they carefully weigh their cultural messages about these issues with their own conceptions of fairness and the compelling contextual factors. Children do not passively adopt negative cultural messages. This is relevant for children in the Middle East, who are bombarded with negative portrayals of members of the other group, yet, they, like these other children, may critique the negative societal messages and consider principles of fairness and welfare when evaluating social interactions.

All of the aforementioned studies represent an effective means of understanding culture by assessing the interpretations of everyday social interactions by children. Overall, they have shown in terms of transgressions, conflicts, and rights that children from diverse cultures are able to distinguish moral transgressions as more serious, and as more generalizably and universally wrong regardless of any rules or authority sanctioning. Further, they appeal to the right of the individual to have personal preferences, voice, representation, and autonomy when transgressions are within the personal domain and to issues of group functioning when the transgression fall in the

social-conventional domain. Similar findings are expected with the current sample of Arab-American and Jewish-American adolescents, two groups in westernized society with varying theoretical identifications as collectivistic (Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997). That is, they are expected to appeal to issues of personal choice and preference when evaluating exclusion in the peer context recognizing and individual's personal rights and autonomy.

From these studies we find that autonomy is not just a western value, children from all over the world see the importance of authority and grant their peers authority, not just adults. Children critique cultural messages and reason about fairness, rights, and autonomy. They do not simply adopt cultural expectations. This manifests in the lack of cultural variability for prototypical transgressions and the universality in the acceptance of rights with the presence of cultural variability in conventions and informational assumptions about the issues in more complex scenarios. Research needs to look at reasoning about everyday situations, where more variability is found in participant responses and thus we anticipate a range of responses would manifest. Additionally, a majority of children pay attention to the context in which the transgressions and conflicts occur. However, when the greater, societal context involves a history of intergroup tension, such as that between Arabs and Jews, their reasoning may reflect that intergroup negativity.

### **Intergroup Attitudes and Intergroup Contact**

When identifying with a cultural group, various experiences can contribute to or diminish negative attitudes about the outgroup. Peer exchanges often provide a unique context for promoting and developing positive social development (Piaget, 1932; Rubin,

Bukowski, & Parker, 1998). At the same time, the quantity and quality of contact and relationships between members of groups in conflict may greatly influence the intergroup attitudes that members of these groups hold. On the one hand, if the contact is only among hostile and violent members of these groups, then it may result in extreme and negative attitudes towards the outgroup. On the other hand, intergroup contact theory proposes that positive intergroup contact can lead to the reduction of prejudice and stereotypes about the outgroup and positive social development.

In his classic book on the nature of prejudice, Allport (1954) conceptualized intergroup contact as a means to effectively reduce stereotypes and prejudice as well as to improve intergroup relations. His work led to over 50 years of social psychology investigations on how intergroup contact reduces prejudice, as reviewed by Dovidio, Glick, and Rudman (2005) and Pettigrew and Tropp (2005). As Pettigrew and Tropp (2005) summarize, intergroup contact theory asserts that when certain criteria are met interactions between individuals of different group memberships and backgrounds can reduce prejudice associated with those groups (Allport, 1954). Allport (1954) proposed four conditions to promote optimal contact: 1) the groups must have equal status within the contact context, 2) they must work towards common goals, 3) the groups must not engage in competition, and 4) the contact must be authority sanctioned and supported. Research has found intergroup contact to be quite successful at improving relations between groups ranging from race to sexual preference, from age to ability (see Kenworthy, Turner, Hewstone & Voci, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Generally, intergroup contact and prejudice are negatively related, especially in optimal contact situations, with a stronger predictive relationship from increased contact to lower prejudice than from higher prejudice to lower contact (see Dovidio, Gaertner

& Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Recent meta-analyses have found that intergroup contact, especially when these conditions are met, is typically an effective means of reducing prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, 2005, 2006). At the same time, the generalizability of these effects tends to strengthen when the contact involves groups that are highly salient to their members (Brown, & Hewstone, 2005). Structured intergroup contact can reduce prejudice in terms of affect, beliefs, social distance and stereotypes, all of which can affect and be affected by ethnic identity (Dovidio, Gaertner & Kawakami, 2003). While there are few studies on the effects of intergroup contact in children and adolescents' stereotypes and intergroup attitudes, in a review of these studies Tropp and Prenovost (in press) found the predictive relationship between intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes and their relationship to ethnic identity still emerged. This goes hand in hand with the theory that ethnic identity and intergroup attitudes are interrelated, yet little research of this nature has been conducted in regards to children and adolescent's social interactions (Rutland, Cameron, Bennett, & Ferrell, 2005).

Moreover, in a recent analysis of intergroup contact research, Dixon and colleagues (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005) called for researchers to investigate how everyday occurrences of intergroup contact affect participants as well as how they evaluate those interactions instead of solely utilizing survey methodology for documenting how these types of exchanges are experienced and interpreted, or assessing the effectiveness of highly structured and unrealistic (in everyday life) experimental contact scenarios. Previous research has examined individuals' evaluations of scenarios depicting interracial exclusion (Killen et al., 2001, 2002; Killen & Stangor, 2001), as well as how these evaluations relate to measures of everyday intergroup contact (Crystal, Killen, & Ruck, 2008). Crystal, Killen, and Ruck

(2008), using the same methodology currently employed, found that children and adolescents with higher levels of intergroup contact were less accepting of exclusion based on race across three everyday scenarios (friendship, sleepover party, and school dance). However, further examination of the relationship between intergroup contact and children and adolescents' evaluations of race-based and non-race based exclusion is warranted to provide a more comprehensive understanding of these processes (Cameron, Rutland, Brown, & Douch, in press).

The context of Jewish-American and Arab-American relationships provides a unique and important window to investigate intergroup contact in the U.S., one that differs from the African-American, Latino, and European-American context that typically serves as the basis for intergroup contact research (in the U.S.) other than minimal groups (artificial lab groups). The confound between African-American, Latino and European-American cultures and socioeconomic status does not exist with Jewish-American and Arab-American relations because these two groups achieve the highest income levels over all other ethnic minority groups in America (see Shibley, 2002). In addition, same-culture schools for both groups are readily available in metropolitan regions of the U.S. providing a context for examining variability in intergroup contact. Thus, assessing these issues among Arab- and Jewish-American youth proves a promising and much needed plan of research. The next step then is to systematically investigate Jewish-American and Arab-American adolescents' evaluations of intergroup exchanges as a function of intergroup contact within the adolescents' social and family life.

## **Cultural Stereotypes about Israeli, Jewish, and Arab Children**

Previous research has assessed Israeli-Palestinian children's view of adult Israeli-Jewish individuals, and the results and their interpretation indicated that future research must examine these variables in a number of Arab populations, especially comparing Palestinian children living in the Palestinian territories and Israeli-Palestinians. Still, very few studies to date have addressed this issue. Cole et al. (2003) attempted to fill this gap in the literature by examining Israeli-Palestinian, Palestinian and Israeli-Jewish children's stereotypes about the other and found that Palestinian children typically used negative attributes ("Is a shooter and destroyer") to describe a Jewish man, Israeli-Jewish children primarily used positive attributes ("Is nice") but also used almost as many negative attributes ("They bomb our street") to describe an Arab man, and Israeli-Palestinian children used positive attributes ("Is friendly") followed by neutral attributes ("He has a store") to describe a Jewish man. Thus, although all children attributed negative characteristics to an adult member of the outgroup, there was variability in the amounts and types of attributions between the three groups. Palestinian and Israeli-Palestinian children do not, however, represent all Arab children. Arab children who, though not directly affected by the conflict and violence and not living in Israel or the Palestinian territories, are still taught about the conflict and receive stereotypic messages about Israeli-Jews. Therefore, researchers then examined the stereotypes of Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, Palestinian, and Jordanian children (see Brenick et al., 2007; Brenick et al., in press). In this study they presented Israeli-Jewish children with a picture of an Arab child and Israeli-Palestinian, Palestinian, and Jordanian children with a picture of a Jewish child. All of the children were asked to describe "What is an Arab or a Jew?" The



findings indicated that the Israeli-Jewish children were most likely to use neutral attributes when describing Arabs, Israeli-Palestinian children were most likely to use positive traits when describing Jews, and both Jordanian and Palestinian children were most likely to use negative traits when describing Jews.

What these latter few studies have also done is bring a focus on moral judgments to the stereotype literature. They go beyond looking at how children acquire and develop stereotypes and study how it affects children's perceptions of the other and their intergroup relations with the other. We know that these children have stereotypes and this history of intergroup tension and conflict, but this recent research (Brenick et al., 2007; Brenick et al., in press; Cole et al., 2003) has shown that preschoolers also have moral reasoning about intergroup relations.

Researchers have also studied Jewish and Arab stereotyping in the United States. Generally speaking, in the U.S. Arab- and Jewish-Americans experience stereotyping generating from the society at large as well as from each other (Anti-Defamation League, 2007; Human Rights Watch, 2002). Among instances of harassment and bullying in middle and high schools anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim slurs occurred commonly and more frequently than slurs against all other religions (Wessler & De Andrade, 2006). Further, Dubow and colleagues (2000) described that over 50% of their sample of Jewish-American middle school students reported having anti-Semitic directed at them. The attacks on September 11<sup>th</sup> in the U.S. resulted in increases in distrust, anxiety, and other stereotypic attitudes towards Arab and Muslim-Americans (as well as an increased likelihood of associating one group with the other) (Sheridan, 2006; Panagopoulos, 2006). In addition, Sergent, Woods, and Sedlacek (1992) found anti-Arab sentiment

among U.S. college students across a number of contexts including cheating in an academic setting and boarding a plane, with the negative sentiment more so than when evaluating a neutral, unaffiliated individual in the same event. Most relevant to the current study are their findings that U.S. college students reported increased negativity in terms of being more fearful and suspicious if required to attend an Islamic religious service (than an unnamed religious service), and feeling colder, more threatened, displeased, and suspicious if an Arab joined their social group (than a neutral, unaffiliated new individual) (Sergent, Woods, & Sedlacek, 1992). It will be interesting to determine if these findings manifest in the Jewish-Americans' justifications of inclusion and exclusion in the community and peer contexts in the current study. Will the Jewish-American sample exhibit this negative regard for an Arab-American who is a potential friend?

Even with the common occurrence of derogatory comments, and other stereotypic behaviors and attitudes directed at Arabs and Jews, minimal research has examined the intergroup stereotypes Arab- and Jewish-American hold about each other. In a recent extension of Sergent, Woods, and Sedlacek's study (1992), researchers found that American college students, particularly the "other" group in their sample which was a majority Jewish, rated Arabs negatively on a number of dimensions included and appealed to the stereotypes that Arabs are corrupt, chauvinists, and treacherous (Abouchedid & Nasser, 2006). Another study assessed Jewish-American adults' stereotype acceptance in terms of their support of stereotype based racial profiling in policing (the decision making form of racial profiling in which a profile of the suspect is developed and people who fit that profile are apprehended). Jewish-American participants as well as participants who did not know a Muslim personally were

significantly more likely to support racial profiling of Arabs and Muslims (Kim, 2004). This serves as a reminder that not only group membership, but also, intergroup contact is related to intergroup attitudes.

Another study examined both Arab-American and Jewish-American college students' intergroup attitudes (Ruttenberg, Zea, & Sigelman, 1996). The major finding of this study reflected previous patterns of outgroup negativity found among Arab and Israeli children (Brenick et al., 2007, in press). Arab-American college students expressed more anti-Jewish sentiment than Jewish-American students expressed anti-Arab sentiment. However, the Jewish-American participants who rated themselves as most religious expressed the least anti-Arab views, while the Arab-American participants with high involvement in group Arab organizations and activities and the lowest public collective self-esteem exhibited the most anti-Jewish prejudice (Ruttenberg, Zea, Sigelman, 1996). Ruttenberg and colleagues (1996) describe how the latter finding is contrary to minimal group paradigm research, indicating yet another reason why studying existing groups, such as Jewish- and Arab-Americans, and their actual evaluations of intergroup interactions is much more meaningful and relevant than only examining minimal groups created in lab settings. Minimal groups cannot replicate the histories that actual social groups have between them, a factor that cannot be removed from their intergroup relations. At the same time, little other research has been conducted on Jewish- and Arab-American's intergroup attitudes and stereotypes, and thus it is essential to perform a current analysis to build this field of research. Moreover, like the stereotype literature in the Middle East, applying the social cognitive domain model research to intergroup reasoning to Jewish- and Arab-American adolescents further extends the

current literature by examining how stereotypic expectations manifest in evaluations of everyday instances of intergroup interactions.

This study will fill existing gaps in the literature. Little is known about adolescent intergroup attitudes, with more attention to young children or adults in the literature. The goal of this is to investigate intergroup attitudes in Jewish-American and Arab-American adolescents, thus sampling adolescents who live in communities without the constant stress of intractable conflict. This will provide information about the extent to which the continuing conflict, as well as Western reaction to the conflicts in the Middle East, influenced judgments about intergroup relationships of adolescents living away from the center of the conflict but outside of it, such as in the United States. Further, the role of intergroup contact will be investigated. This highlights the need to assess not only what youth hold stereotypes and what stereotypes youth hold, but also how youth negotiate between those stereotypes and moral reasoning in intergroup scenarios.

## **Overview of Present Study**

### **Purpose and Design**

As described above, the goal of this project was to investigate Arab-American and Jewish-American adolescents' evaluations of three types of intergroup scenarios involving Jewish-Arab and Arab-Jewish exclusion: 1) peer group exclusion in a socializing context, 2) exclusion in the family context, and 3) exclusion in a community cultural center context. Assessments were conducted on participants' group identification and their intergroup contact, which served as predictor variables for outcome measures that include social reasoning about exclusion and stereotype

knowledge. Participants provided self-generated, free responses detailing their conceptions, stereotyped or not, of the ingroup and the outgroup. For each of the three scenarios participants evaluated how good or bad it is to include or exclude an individual based on group membership or other aspects of social-conventions and group functioning. Investigating how cultural stereotypes bear on intergroup attitudes and moral judgments as well as how intergroup contact and group identification might influence that relationship provides data that could be extrapolated to other intergroup categories as well. Moreover, it is important to study adolescents in particular for a number of reasons. Adolescents are an often understudied group in this line of research even though they are at a time in their lives where identity development can be at its strongest (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989). This indicates that social group membership may play a strikingly different role for this population than for children or adults. Research framed by the social cognitive domain model has shown that in middle adolescence individuals fully develop their understanding of social-conventions and hold fast to the idea that their adherence is highly important for societal functioning. In later adolescence and early adulthood, however, individuals begin to view contextual factors as highly relevant when determining the necessary or arbitrary nature of social-conventions (Turiel, 1983). Only recently has ethnic identity and moral reasoning about intergroup relations been investigated (see Killen, Sinno, & Marige, 2007).

In the United States, research on moral reasoning about exclusion has shown that adolescents judge interracial exclusion to be wrong based on moral reasons; at the same time, there is a significant age-related decline in the wrongfulness of exclusion in complex situations involving considerations of group functioning, unfamiliarity, and

shared interests (Killen et al., 2002, 2007; Killen & Stangor, 2001). In the Middle East, we know that young Jewish and Arab children living amidst the conflict hold prosocial views about peer intergroup conflicts (Brenick et al., 2007; Brenick et al., in press; Cole et al., 2003), but there is a dramatic change in which adults become more polarized in their views and give more weight to stereotypes and negative conceptions of the other. Adolescents are at an age where they can see the effects of the conflict and understand them more so than a young child warranting a greater acceptance and application of stereotypes, however, they have been affected by the conflict to a lesser degree than the adult group members and this is even more so with Arab- and Jewish-American adolescents. It is essential to understand the manifestation of their reasoning negotiations in order to more appropriately intervene and empower youth who have come to a point in their development when they are actively defining their identity. This could allow them the opportunity to see the other in a positive light and work together with them to promote peace and equality as opposed to a negative mentality in which intergroup aggression is accepted and justified, (Crabb, 1989) and daily intergroup interactions are marked with tension and fear (Abouchedid & Nasser, 2006; Sergent, Woods, & Sedlacek, 1992). To this point little, if any, research of this nature has been conducted with adolescents. As mentioned before, these adolescents are our future policy makers, educators, and activists. Understanding how they conceive of these everyday situations plays an important role in how they interact and resolve intergroup conflict in their daily lives currently, and how they might approach the larger issues of intergroup conflict in the future. This is particularly so with adolescents from these two groups and their

unaffiliated comparison groups, given that intergroup tension in the U.S. has risen post-September 11<sup>th</sup>.

Beyond this, the importance of identity in adolescence as well as the salience of these groups in conflict warrants a closer look into the effects of intergroup contact on these youth. For instance adolescence is marked as a time for identity development in general (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980), and ethnic identity development specifically (Phinney, 1989; 1990; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990), further impacting the relation between the participants' salient group membership and their stereotype acceptance and intergroup attitudes and experiences. These factors coupled together indicate that group membership for these adolescents would be highly salient, and thus, intergroup contact should have increased effectiveness (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). This hypothesis, however, needed to be empirically assessed and done by examining everyday occurrences of intergroup contact (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). For these reasons, it is an intriguing and important period of development and set of processes to explore in Arab- and Jewish-American youth and the use of commonly occurring daily intergroup interactions which makes the findings more representative of the true effect of their intergroup attitudes on their daily lives.

To explore these empirical questions, the current project investigated 1) Jewish-American, Arab-American, and unaffiliated American adolescents' evaluations of intergroup interactions, 2) how their evaluations change with age 3) how their evaluations vary by the context of interaction (peer, home, community); 4) how Jewish-American, Arab-American, and unaffiliated American adolescents attitudes differ, if at all; and 5) how ethnic identification and intergroup contact interact to predict social reasoning about

intergroup exclusion and inclusion. In addition, other variables such as others' outgroup attitudes will be analyzed as predictors of participants' evaluations.

This study surveyed ninth and twelfth graders. These age groups were selected because of the strong role of identity exploration and achievement in middle and late adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989; 1990; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990) indicating that these participants are likely to have at least begun making sense of their ethnic identity. Participants were administered a one-time, 25 minute survey that assesses 1) Evaluations of intergroup interaction scenarios, 2) Level of intergroup contact, 3) Others' (family, peer, teachers) attitudes about the outgroup, and 4) Personal demographic information.

Each component of the survey was designed or modified specifically for use with this study. Section one, evaluations of intergroup interaction scenarios, was modified for developmental appropriateness and expansion to incorporate both inclusion and exclusion intergroup scenarios from measures utilized by Killen and colleagues (2001; 2007). Assessments in this section measured how participants negotiate between stereotypic beliefs, moral reasoning, and social-conventions, and rate proposed justifications when evaluating instances of exclusion or selections for inclusion particularly when based on group membership. In addition, these assessments were repeated across three contexts, peer, home, and community, representing varying levels of relationship intimacy, parental authority, peer influence, and social-convention and traditions (Killen et al., 2004, 2007). The scenarios represent everyday interactions in which behavioral manifestations of intergroup attitudes and stereotypes could emerge (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005; Killen, Sinno, Margie, 2006).



The second section assessed participants' personal experiences of intergroup contact with the outgroup. The intergroup contact measure used by Crystal, Killen, and Ruck (2008) was presently modified to specifically represent either Jews or Arabs as the outgroup (determined by the version of the survey based on participant group membership). Questions in this section pertained to the number of outgroup members in a participants' neighborhood and school, and the number of outgroup friendships a participant had in both contexts. Frequency of intergroup contact was also assessed asking participants how often they worked with, hung out with, and attended events with outgroup members, as well as how often they estimated outgroup members were excluded from events because of their ethnicity.

Because the three scenarios pull on three different external influences, peer, parental, and community, section four assessed adolescents' perceptions of others' (family, peer, community) attitudes about the outgroup. Parental attitudes can play a large role in adolescents' intergroup reasoning as they often transmit implicit messages of ingroup preferences (Devine, 1989; Edmonds & Killen, 2006), and minority students in particular give more weight to authority influence in exclusion evaluations (Killen et al., 2002), yet adolescents also show decreased concern for parental discomfort in exclusion scenarios in the home opting for more prosocial attitudes and rejecting exclusion based on parental discomfort (Killen et al., 2007). At the same time, peers may have positive influence on one another's intergroup attitudes simply by having lower levels of prejudice and discussing matters of race/ethnicity (Aboud & Fenwick, 1999), or simply by having an outgroup friend (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997) as was shown by adolescents' concern for social consensus with reasoning in the moral domain

(Killen et al., 2002). Additionally, while younger adolescents adhere to rules of convention, possibly group identity and ingroup preferences, older adolescents find them to be less strict and more flexible and contextually driven (Horn, 2003, Turiel, 1983). It is hypothesized that adolescents' perceptions of others' attitudes about the outgroup will relate to their own social evaluations. In this section participants rated their parents', siblings', peers', and teachers' overall attitudes towards the outgroup.

The final section obtained self-report personal demographic information. In this section participants are asked to report their age, gender, ethnicity, and religion. Cultural identification was measured on a 5-point Likert-type scaled question, "How strongly do you identify with your race/ethnicity?", ranging from 1, not at all, to 5, very strongly. Participants' overall cultural identity was assessed through a seventeen item, modified combined version of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) and the Ethnic Identity Scale (Nesdale, 1997) through which they rated their cultural identification on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1, strongly agree, to 5, strongly disagree to best describe their thoughts about each statement regarding their cultural identification ("I feel great pride in being a member of my cultural group," "I have spent time trying to find out more about my cultural group, such as its history, traditions, and customs."); see instrument in Appendix A for the list of items. This information differentiated the groups of participants and, after factor analysis, served as predictor variables in the multiple regression analyses.

### Hypotheses

The set of hypotheses for the current study contains predictions regarding: 1) overall effects for age, culture/ethnicity, context, and intergroup contact and group

identification, 2) exclusion judgments and justifications, 3) inclusion judgments and justifications, and 4) inclusion rankings.

### Social Reasoning

The first set of hypotheses dealt with the effect of age, culture/ethnicity, and level of intergroup contact and group identification on the measures social cognition overall. First, it was hypothesized that ninth graders will be more accepting of exclusion and inclusion of an ingroup member and appeal to social-conventions and traditions for group identity and functioning than twelfth graders. This hypothesis reflects previous findings for young adults demonstrating moral reasoning more frequently than younger adolescents who appeal to social-conventions regarding group functioning (Horn, 2003; Turiel, 1983). Next, it was expected that younger adolescents would be more willing to exclude someone from another group in the Peer and Home setting than the older adolescents; however, it was expected that the older adolescents would view it as more legitimate to exclude in the community setting.

Research on evaluations of intergroup exclusion has not yet been conducted with Arab-American and Jewish-American adolescents, and thus it was an open question whether cultural differences would emerge for how these groups evaluate exclusion and inclusion in the three settings.

Previous research has provided theoretical and empirical support for hypotheses concerning the relation between level of intergroup contact and group identification with social cognition (Crystal, et al., 2008). This line of research on social evaluations of exclusion based on group membership identifies the ways in which stereotypes actually emerge in social situations (see McGlothlin, Edmonds, & Killen, 2008). Given that the

social evaluations of exclusion serve as manifestations of stereotypic attitudes, those evaluations should then also reflect more prosocial and less stereotypic and social conventional reasoning among individuals with higher levels of intergroup contact (e.g., cross-ethnic friendships) and group identification based on the intergroup contact theory (Brown, & Hewstone, 2005; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; 2005; 2006). This is also in line with Crystal, Killen, and Ruck's (2008) findings that higher levels of intergroup contact were associated with more inclusive and prosocial reasoning about intergroup exclusion. Therefore, the third hypothesis is that higher levels of intergroup contact (e.g., cross-ethnic friendships) and group identification will predict more prosocial reasoning overall and evaluations of exclusion as more wrong.

Next, based on previous research, it was hypothesized that, overall, participants would judge it wrong to exclude solely on the basis of group membership (often referred to as straightforward exclusion), and that the decision about who to include would be more complex with social conventional reasoning and group functioning concerns emerging in participants' responses. Overall, participants would consider it the more wrong to exclude based on ethnicity and less wrong to exclude in general (Killen & Stangor, 2001; Killen et al., 2001; Killen et al., 2007). In regards to context effects, it was expected that participants would rate exclusion in the "Peer" scenario as the least wrong because adolescents' tend to view exclusion in a peer situation as matters of personal choice, not within the moral domain (Horn, 2003; Killen et al., 2002). The community setting was expected to elicit strong feelings of tradition and group identity, and thus, be viewed as less wrong than the "Home" context. It was also hypothesized that adolescents would rate exclusion in the "Home" scenario as the most wrong because adolescents tend

to reject parental discomfort as a valid reason for exclusion based on group membership (Killen, et al 2007). Exclusion in the peer context was expected to be justified for reasons of personal choice; in the community context for reasons of group identity and functioning.

Previous studies on inclusion evaluations has found that children and adolescents are inclined to select an ingroup target to join a group when selecting between an ingroup target and an outgroup target (Killen et al., 2001; Killen & Stangor, 2001). Ingroup members are typically considered better qualified than an outgroup member to join a group and youth appeal to this conventional aspect of group dynamics when making their inclusion decisions (Killen & Stangor, 2001). Potentially, the outgroup member could be seen as equally qualified for inclusion in the friendship and party scenarios, and as unequally qualified for inclusion in the religious event. Yet, even if the outgroup member is seen as equally qualified for the group, Jewish- and Arab-American participants may still appeal to group identity and functioning and the tradition of intragroup community. Therefore, it was anticipated that participants would be more likely to select the ingroup member when picking between an ingroup and outgroup member for inclusion, especially for the community context in which the ingroup member is likely to be considered better qualified for inclusion.

When justifying their inclusion decisions, it was hypothesized that participants who chose to include the ingroup member would be more likely to use social-conventional justifications reasoning that ingroup members would be more likely to know how to behave appropriately and be more comfortable with the ingroup, as found by Killen and Stangor (2001). Still, while Killen and Stangor (2001) found that

adolescents appealed primarily to social-conventions and less so to stereotypic expectations when justifying ingroup inclusion decisions, the high occurrence of negative outgroup stereotypes found among Arab- and Jewish-Americans may result in numerous appeals to stereotypic expectations as well. Further, it was hypothesized that participants who chose to include the outgroup member would be more likely to use moral justifications reasoning that the protagonist should be inclusive, give the outgroup member a chance, and get to know someone who is different (Killen et al., 2001; Killen & Stangor, 2001).

## Chapter 3: Methods

### **Participants**

This study surveyed 953 ninth and twelfth graders. The sample was split with 423 females and 524 males. There were 545 ninth graders ( $M = 14.25$  years,  $SD = .57$ ) and 408 twelfth graders ( $M = 17.17$ ,  $SD = .74$ ) from schools in the Mid-Atlantic region. Ethnicity was divided into 36 Arab participants, 306 Jewish participants, and 591 unaffiliated participants (259 in the Jewish comparison group and 332 in the Arab comparison group). Further breakdown of the demographic characteristics of the sample are provided by ethnic group in Tables 1 – 4. The high school students were recruited from either Arab, Jewish, Muslim, or unaffiliated (parochial or secular) private schools and community centers in the greater Baltimore-Washington metropolitan area.

The participating schools were selected because student populations were predominantly Jewish, Arab, or Muslim or were predominantly non-Jewish, Arab, or Muslim. An extensive mailing was made to all Jewish, Arab, Muslim, other parochial and private schools in the Baltimore-Washington D.C. region and those schools that replied were contacted. Thus, these schools were highly concentrated with the target groups for this study. The non-Arab, non-Jewish comparison group participants were recruited from six schools in the greater, Maryland, D.C., and Virginia area. These schools were both parochial and secular private day schools and the tuition ranged from \$8,000-\$30,000 per school year. Thus the non-Jewish/ non-Arab “unaffiliated” group was 66 % Catholic and Christian (with the remaining unidentified or other, but not Jewish or Arab). The Jewish

participants were recruited from three schools in the greater Baltimore-Washington metropolitan area. Two of the schools identified as modern orthodox while the third identified as conservative; all three were private day schools. The tuitions ranged from \$15,000-\$24,000 per school year. Finally, the Arab participants were recruited from five schools and community centers in the greater Maryland-Virginia area. There were two schools that were private Muslim day schools and three private school programs sponsored by local Muslim Community Centers that participated. The tuitions ranged from \$700-\$6,000 per school year. The percentage of Arab students at the Muslim schools was 71% and only Arab Muslims were included for the Arab sample. Many schools opted out of participating in the study (for time commitment, overall policy to not participate in research, or for fear of political implications of the research). From the schools that agreed to participate only three students chose not to complete the survey.

### **Design and Procedure**

A mixed, within and between subjects design was utilized. The design is a 2 (grade: ninth, twelfth) X 2 (gender) X 4 (ethnicity: Jewish, Arab, Unaffiliated (J), Unaffiliated (A)) X 3 (context: peer, home, community) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor. The independent variables were age, culture, and context. Gender was not a primary variable in this study and will be excluded from the analyses unless there are significant findings. The dependent measures were 10 intergroup reasoning assessments regarding participants' evaluations of the three scenarios, as described below. The assessments pertained to participants' judgments about exclusion, and reasons for their judgments. Intergroup contact, group identification, and others' (family, peer,



community) attitudes about the outgroup served as regression predictors of the dependent variables.

Pilot testing ( $N = 30$ ) was conducted to assess the clarity, readability, and appropriateness of the measure. Based on feedback through pilot testing, survey items were revised or removed to ensure that the scenarios are ecologically valid and relevant to the participants and to ensure that all items are effectively presented. The finalized measure was titled the *Social Reasoning about Intergroup Relations Survey* (see Appendix A for full version of the survey).

Participants completed the 25-minute *Social Reasoning about Intergroup Relations* survey. The survey assessed participants' experiences with and attitudes about the outgroup as well as their evaluations of intergroup exclusion and inclusion scenarios. Each participant completed one of four versions of the survey; there were four versions of the survey so that the scenario protagonist and the participant were matched on gender and culture (Arab-American/Jewish-American). The unaffiliated sample (non-Jewish, non-Arab U.S. citizens who were mostly Christian) was randomly assigned to a culture (receiving either the Jewish or the Arab version of the survey), so that both the Arab and Jewish participants would have a comparison group and so that any differences in evaluations based on excluding Arab versus Jewish individuals could be assessed. Multiple scenarios were utilized so that each scenario depicted the exclusion of an outgroup member, with the ingroup member acting as the protagonist. Ingroup members also acted as the protagonist for the inclusion scenarios in which they chose whom to include between an ingroup member and an outgroup member (target). Multiple versions of the scenarios were intentionally designed to facilitate identification with the

protagonist for all participants rather than identification with the protagonist in some participants and the victim in the rest. This provided a measure of control to ensure that the evaluations were focused from the same point of view on the same experience. (Examples from the Jewish Female and Arab Female versions of the survey will be given in this text.)

Upon receiving school approval, in-class presentations were made to the high school students detailing the general nature of the project as well as a complete description of the procedure. The high school students who agreed to participate in the study and signed the provided assent form were administered the survey in their own classrooms at the scheduling convenience of the schools' principals and teachers. Informed consent or assent was obtained from all participants after they are informed of the anonymous, confidential, and voluntary nature of the study (see Appendix B for forms). Further, all participants were informed that there were no right or wrong answers to the survey as the questions asked simply for their honest opinions. Either a trained research assistant or I conducted all administrations.

### **Measure: The Social Reasoning about Intergroup Relations Survey**

The *Social Reasoning about Intergroup Relations* survey included four sections: 1) Evaluations of intergroup interaction scenarios, 2) Level intergroup contact, 3) Others' attitudes about the outgroup, and 4) Personal demographic information (see Appendix A for a complete version of the survey). This survey was developed specifically for this dissertation based on pilot data and previous research and includes modified versions of instruments from previous research (Brenick et al., 2007; Killen, Henning, Kelly, Crystal, & Ruck, 2007; Killen, Pisacane, Lee-Kim, & Ardila-Rey, 2001; Killen & Stangor, 2001).

## Section One: Evaluations of Intergroup Interaction Scenarios

Six scenarios pertaining to peer, home, and community contexts were administered to the participants for their evaluations. There were two versions of each scenario: exclusion and inclusion, based on a previous research design (Killen, Pisacane, Lee-Kim, & Ardila-Rey, 2001; Killen & Stangor, 2001). The scenarios used in the instrument were ecologically relevant, each detailing hypothetical everyday intergroup situations between Jewish and Arab-American youth that participants could relate to.

The six scenarios detailed three contexts in which intergroup exclusion or inclusion occur and reflect familiar peer, home, and community contexts. For each context there was an exclusion scenario as well as an inclusion scenario. First, participants were presented exclusion scenario within each context. Following their evaluations of the exclusion scenarios the participants were then presented with the inclusion scenario.

### Peer Exclusion Context

The Peer-Exclusion scenario detailed a protagonist who did not invite an outgroup member to join her and her group of (ingroup) friends to go to a movie. There were two versions: Jewish and Arab (presented for females).

For the Jewish version:

“Diana has three friends at school who she hangs out with a lot. She and her three friends, Rachel, Miriam, and Sarah, are all Jewish and they all like to go to the movies together after school. One day, Diana meets a new Arab girl at school named Rasha. Diana wants to invite the new girl, Rasha, to come with

them, but her friends have never met her. In the end, she decides not to invite her.”

For the Arab version:

“Aisha has three friends at school who she hangs out with a lot. She and her three friends, Jamilah, Huda, and Najla, are all Arab and they all like to go to the movies together after school. One day, Aisha meets a new Jewish girl at school named Rachel. Aisha wants to invite the new girl, Rachel, to come with them, but her friends have never met her. In the end, she decides not to invite her.

The protagonist is presented with a choice when considering whom to invite to the movie, an ingroup member or an outgroup member, in the Peer-Inclusion scenario. The scenario reads, “Let’s say that one day after school the girls, Diana, Rachel, Miriam, and Sarah, are going to the movies, but there are two new girls at their school, Rasha, an Arab girl, and Rebecca, a Jewish girl. Both of the girls want to go with them, but they can only fit one more person in the car.” This was followed by an assessment of the inclusion of the outgroup member, the inclusion of the ingroup member, and an inclusion decision.

Whereas, the Peer context scenarios will address issues of attitudes about intergroup interactions, stereotypes, peer influence, and peer group functioning, the Home context scenarios will also introduce the issue of parental influence, authority, and jurisdiction when evaluating the exclusion and inclusion.

#### Home Context

In the Home-Exclusion scenario participants read about a protagonist who does not invite an outgroup member to a party in the home:

For the Jewish version:

“Leah’s parents tell her that she can invite some friends to a family party at their house. Leah, who is Jewish, wants to invite a group of friends who are Jewish have been to her house a number of times before. She also wants to invite her friend, Sheikha, who is Arab, and whom she only met recently, but her parents have never met Sheikha. In the end, she decides not to invite her.”

For the Arab version:

“Rasha’s parents tell her that she can invite some friends to a family party at their house. Rasha, who is Arab, wants to invite a group of friends who are Arab and have been to her house a number of times before. She also wants to invite her friend, Diana, who is Jewish, and whom she only met recently, but her parents have never met Diana. In the end, she decides not to invite her.”

As in the Peer-Inclusion scenario, the Home-Inclusion scenario presented the protagonist with a choice of who to invite to the party in the home, an ingroup member or an outgroup member.

### Community Context

The third context, Community, presented scenarios in which exclusion of an outgroup member may be seen as more acceptable, and in which social-conventional reasoning may dominate over moral reasoning. In the Community-Exclusion scenario, the protagonist does not invite an outgroup member to a religious holiday celebration at the local community center. The scenario reads:

For the Jewish version: The local Jewish Community Center (JCC) is having a Seder (the traditional Jewish Passover meal and retelling of the story of the Passover holiday) to honor the holiday. Elana is Jewish, and she is going to this

event with her family and is allowed to bring one friend. She wants to invite her friend Jihan, an Arab girl, whom she only met recently, but the members of the Synagogue Community have never met Jihan. In the end, she decides not to invite her.”

For the Arab version:

“The local Muslim Community Center is celebrating Eid al-Fitr (Breaking the Fast) with a traditional Muslim feast to mark the end of Ramadan (the month of fasting). Jihan is Arab, and she is going to this event with her family and is allowed to bring one friend. She wants to invite her friend Sarah, a Jewish girl, whom she only met recently, but the members of the Muslim Community Center have never met Sarah. In the end, she decides not to invite her.”

Thus, in the Jewish version of the Community-Inclusion scenario Elana had to decide whom to invite to the JCC Seder, Jihan, the new Arab girl, or Rivka, a new Jewish girl.

#### Dependent Measures for Intergroup Exclusion and Inclusion

Following the presentation of the exclusion scenarios, participants responded to 15 total assessments, five for the exclusion version of the scenarios and another 10 for the inclusion version of the scenarios. These assessments included both wrongfulness ratings and justifications. All wrongfulness judgments were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1, very bad, to 6, very good.

The five exclusion assessments were: 1) *Evaluation of Exclusion*, (“How good or bad is it that Diana (Jewish) doesn’t invite Rasha? (Arab)?”), 2) *Justification* (“Why?”), 3) *Evaluation of Non-cultural Motives* (“What if Diana doesn’t invite Rasha to hang out

with her because Rasha doesn't like going to the movies? How good or bad is that?"), 4) *Evaluation of Cultural Motives* measured participants' evaluations of intergroup exclusion when based on cultural group membership ("What if they don't want to hang out with Rasha because Rasha is Arab? How good or bad is that?"), and then assessed their 5) *Justification* ("Why?").

Following the inclusion version of the scenarios, participants evaluated an inclusion decision, who to invite, the ingroup member or the outgroup member? The first inclusion assessment was: 1) *Evaluation of Outgroup Inclusion*, which measures how participants evaluate a resolution to the scenario in which the protagonist invites the outgroup member rather than the ingroup member to the event ("What if she invites Rasha? How good or bad is that?"). In contrast, the 2) *Evaluation of Ingroup Inclusion* (What if she invites Rebecca? How good or bad is that?) measured participants' judgments about a resolution in which the protagonist includes an ingroup member rather than an outgroup member. Next followed the 3) *Inclusion Decision* which measures participants' inclusion decision, or who they believe is the most appropriate person to include in the scenario ("Who should Diana choose to go with her? Rasha or Rebecca?") and the 9) *Justification (Why?)*. The final five assessments were referred to as 10-15) *Inclusion Justifications Ratings*, in which participants rated six potential reasons for the inclusion decision; three for the ingroup inclusion and three for the outgroup inclusion (See Appendix A for reasons). This assessment forced participants to select only one individual to include in the inclusion choice assessment, while also allowing participants' to give a priority to the reasons behind including either of the two individuals. This completed the assessments for the evaluation of scenarios.

Coding categories and reliability. Justification coding categories were developed through extensive analysis of the open-ended responses. Further, the categories were initially developed with previous research projects assessing evaluations of intergroup relations in the U.S. (Killen & Stangor, 2001; Killen, et al. 2007) and in the Middle East (Brenick, et al., 2007). These categories were modified for the current study.

All surveys were coded by the author or by one of three trained undergraduate research assistants. Interrater reliability was calculated on 25% of the surveys with Cohen's kappas ranging from .88 (90% agreement) to .94 (95% agreement). The Cohen's kappa for *Justification for the Evaluation of Exclusion* was .88 (90% agreement); for *Justification of Evaluation of Cultural Motives* was .89 (93% agreement); and for *Justification of Inclusion Decision* was .94 (95% agreement).

## Section Two: Level of Intergroup Contact

This section dealt with participants' personal experiences of intergroup contact with members of the outgroup. The *Level of Intergroup Contact* measure was modified from the Diversity Assessment Questionnaire (see Killen, Crystal, & Ruck, 2007) to represent Jews or Arabs as the outgroup for use with this study. Participants filled out information regarding their interactions with members of the outgroup (Jews or Arabs). The comparison groups answered these questions for both outgroups. For example, "How often do you hang out with people who are Arabs?" and "How many friends do you have who are Arabs?" were items used to assess intergroup contact. In this part, questions asking "How often..." were answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1, never, to 5, always. Questions asking "How many..." were answered on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1, none, to 4, most or many. (See Appendix A for all



questions). This section measured participants' estimations of the frequency of intergroup exclusion among peers based on ethnicity. ("How often do you think people your age might not invite someone to their homes because s/he is Arab?"). Each of the three questions asked about the frequency of exclusion from one of the three contexts detailed in the scenarios. These questions were answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale (ranging from 1, never, to 5, always).

### Section Three: Others' Attitudes about the Outgroup

The *Others' Attitudes about the Outgroup* section measured participants rating their parents', siblings', friends', and teachers' attitudes towards the outgroup ("How would you describe your parents' attitudes towards Arabs?") on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1, very negative, to 6, very positive.

### Section Four: Personal Demographic Information

The final section of the survey was the *Personal Demographic Information* measure. In this section basic demographic information was collected including: age, gender, ethnicity, and religion. Additionally, ethnic and religious identification is assessed. To assess religious identification participants were asked to respond to the question, "How religiously observant are you?" on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1, secular/non-observant, to 5, highly observant. Participants' overall cultural identity was assessed through a seventeen item, modified combined version of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) and the Ethnic Identity Scale (Nesdale, 1997) through which they rated their cultural identification on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1, strongly agree, to 5, strongly disagree to best describe

their thoughts about each statement regarding their cultural identification (“I feel great pride in being a member of my cultural group,” “I have spent time trying to find out more about my cultural group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.”).

## Chapter 4: Results

### **Plan for Analysis**

Hypotheses were tested using repeated measures Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and multiple and linear regression analysis. Follow up tests on the ANOVAs were conducted using univariate ANOVAs for the within group variables and paired samples t-tests with the Bonferroni adjustment to control for Type I errors for the between subjects variables. When applicable, post-hoc analyses were conducted with the Tukey-Kramer adjustment to control for unequal sample size. In cases where sphericity was not met, corrections were made using the Huynh-Feldt method. The primary variables of interest for this study include ethnicity, age, and context (peer, home, community) as independent variables, and others' attitudes about the outgroup, levels of intergroup contact and cultural group identification as predictor variables. Based on a lack of prior findings, gender differences were not expected. For analyses in which gender was significant, it is reported; otherwise it was dropped from analyses based on preliminary analyses.

### Exclusion Judgments

The first hypothesis investigated in this study was that participants identifying with the intergroup conflict, Jewish and Arab, would view intergroup friendship more negatively than participants who were unaffiliated. In addition, hypotheses were formulated regarding age and context differences. These hypotheses were tested by conducting 4 (ethnicity: Jewish, Arab, unaffiliated rating Jewish, unaffiliated rating Arab) X 2 (gender: male, female) X 2 (age: 10<sup>th</sup> grade, 12th grade) X 3 (context: peer, home, community) ANOVAs, with repeated measures on the last variable. ANOVAs were run

with each of the dependent measures of social cognition: exclusion judgments, exclusion justifications, inclusion judgments, and inclusion justifications.

### General Intergroup Exclusion

Overall, all adolescents rejected peer intergroup exclusion with their ratings falling below the midpoint of the 6-point Likert-type scale. Analyses on the relation between ethnicity, age, and gender on adolescents' evaluations of Arab-Jewish intergroup exclusion scenarios revealed significant differences by gender ( $F(1, 909) = 7.37, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .01$ ) and by story context ( $F(2, 1818) = 11.21, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .01$ ). Contrary to the hypothesis that younger adolescents would be more accepting of exclusion, there was no significant effect for age. However, the significant effect for gender that did emerge in participants' ratings of "How good or bad is it to exclude the outgroup member?" demonstrated that males were typically more accepting of general intergroup exclusion than were females (males:  $M = 3.28, SE = .07$ ; females:  $M = 2.92, SE = .11$ ).

In regards to the significant main effect for context, ( $F(2, 1818) = 11.21, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .01$ ), it was expected that participants would rate exclusion in the peer scenario and the community scenario as less wrong and then exclusion in the home context would be seen as the most wrong. The follow-up analyses partially support the hypothesis. Exclusion in the peer context was viewed as the most wrong ( $M = 2.87, SE = .08$ ), thus, the home context was not viewed as the context in which general intergroup exclusion is the most wrong ( $M = 3.11, SE = .09$ ), and instead, participants found general intergroup exclusion in the community context to be the least wrong ( $M = 3.33, SE = .10$ ).

## Others' Attitudes about the Outgroup

To test the hypothesis that others' attitudes about the target outgroup would influence adolescents' evaluations of intergroup exclusion, three linear regressions were run with peer, parental, and community attitudes towards the outgroup as predictors of adolescent evaluations of intergroup exclusion in the peer, home, and community contexts, respectively. As expected, peer, parental and community attitudes towards the outgroup predicted participants' evaluations of intergroup exclusion in all three contexts (Peer:  $R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(1, 951) = 31.98$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\beta = -.18$ ; Home:  $R^2 = .02$ ,  $F(1, 951) = 20.27$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\beta = -.14$ ; Community:  $R^2 = .01$ ,  $F(1, 951) = 13.57$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\beta = -.12$ ). As these attitudes were more positive about the outgroup, adolescents were less accepting of intergroup exclusion in these contexts.

## Cultural Intergroup Exclusion

Additional analyses were run on participants' ratings for exclusion based on cultural group membership, that is, the question of "How good or bad is it to exclude the outgroup member *because they are Arab/Jewish?*" In support of the hypothesis regarding the reason behind exclusion, participants were significantly less accepting of cultural intergroup exclusion than they were for general intergroup exclusion ( $F(1, 897) = 129.60$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .13$ ). Moreover, main effects for context, gender, and ethnicity, and an interaction effect for story by ethnicity emerged for cultural intergroup exclusion.

Similar to the results for general intergroup exclusion, main effects for context, gender and ethnicity emerged. When exclusion was based on cultural group membership participants found exclusion in the peer scenario to be the least acceptable ( $M = 1.54$ ,  $SD = .87$ ), followed by exclusion in the home scenario ( $M = 1.96$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ), and then

followed by exclusion in the community scenario ( $M = 2.31, SD = 1.20$ ) in which exclusion was seen as the most acceptable ( $F(2, 1818) = 27.12, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .03$ ). Follow-up analyses revealed that the ratings for all three contexts differed significantly from each another (all  $ps < .01$ ). Further, while the effects of gender and ethnicity on these ratings were open questions, the findings indicate that males ( $M = 2.24, SE = .07$ ) were significantly more accepting of cultural intergroup exclusion than were females ( $M = 1.97, SE = .11; F(1, 909) = 4.19, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .02$ ) and Arab participants ( $M = 2.69, SE = .25$ ) were significantly more accepting of cultural intergroup exclusion than participants of all other ethnicities (Jewish:  $M = 1.97, SE = .05$ ; Unaffiliated rating Jewish:  $M = 1.83, SE = .05$ ; Unaffiliated rating Arab:  $M = 1.93, SE = .05; F(3, 909) = 4.55, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .02$ ).

Additionally, a significant interaction was found between story context and participant ethnicity ( $F(6, 1818) = 2.16, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .01$ ). Follow-up tests, all significant with  $ps < .05$ , revealed that in the peer scenario, unaffiliated participants rated cultural intergroup exclusion of a Jewish individual ( $M = 1.50, SD = .83$ , respectively) as significantly less acceptable than Arab participants ( $M = 1.93, SD = 1.03$ ). Further, while all participants were more accepting of exclusion in the home context than in the peer context, the Arab participants' ratings differed significantly from all other ethnic groups, indicating that they were significantly more accepting of cultural intergroup exclusion in this instance (Jewish:  $M = 2.01, SD = 1.00$ ; Arab:  $M = 2.50, SD = 1.44$ ; Unaffiliated rating Jewish:  $M = 1.88, SD = .99$ ). However, all groups were more accepting of cultural intergroup exclusion in the community context and did not differ significantly from one another (all  $ps < .05$ ).

## Exclusion Justifications

### General Intergroup Exclusion

A 4 (ethnicity: Jewish, Arab, unaffiliated- Jewish comparison, unaffiliated- Arab comparison) X 2 (gender) X 2 (age) X 3 (context) X 6 (justifications: antidiscrimination, undifferentiated empathy, protection of the excluded, group norms and functioning, status quo and traditions, personal choice) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors revealed a significant main effect for justification of general intergroup exclusion ( $F(5, 4545) = 32.58, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .04$ ; see Table 5 for all means). Further analyses found that across contexts undifferentiated empathy was used most often, followed by personal choice, and group norms and functioning ( $M_s (SEs) = .35 (.03), .16 (.02), .15 (.02)$ , respectively;  $ps < .05$ ). However, a significant interaction between story and justification type offers a more comprehensive account of the significant differences in the usage of the various types of justifications ( $F(10, 9090) = 9.36, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .01$ ). This interaction only partially supported my hypothesis that personal choice justifications would be used more frequently for the peer context, social-conventional justifications regarding group identity and functioning and status quo and traditions would be used more frequently for the community and home contexts. In fact, higher percentages of personal choice justifications were used in the home context, followed by the peer context, and then the community context (all  $ps < .05$ ). Social conventional justifications of group norms and functioning, however, were used most frequently in the home and peer contexts, and then community context, and social conventional reasoning regarding maintaining the status quo and traditions was used most frequently for the community context, followed by the peer and then home contexts (see Table 2 for means, all  $ps <$

.05). Findings did not offer support for the hypothesis that younger adolescents strictly adhere to the rules and conventions that structure social groups, whereas older adolescents begin to understand the contextual relativity of conventions and prioritize the moral concerns of intergroup exclusion, as there was no significant interaction between justification and age.

### Cultural Intergroup Exclusion

A 4 (ethnicity) X 2 (gender) X 2 (age) X 3 (context) X 4 (justifications: antidiscrimination, undifferentiated empathy, group norms and functioning, status quo and traditions) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors revealed a significant main effect for justification of cultural intergroup exclusion ( $F(3, 2727) = 86.95, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .09$ ). Overwhelmingly, participants appealed to moral concerns providing antidiscrimination justifications twice as frequently as concerns for undifferentiated empathy and nearly ten times more frequently than either group norms and functioning or status quo and traditions justifications ( $M_s (SEs) = .50 (.03), .25 (.02), .06 (.01), .06 (.01)$ , respectively). Both antidiscrimination and undifferentiated empathy justifications were offered significantly more often than all other types of justifications across all three contexts (all  $p_s < .01$ ).

As with general intergroup exclusion, a significant interaction between story and justification type offers a more comprehensive account of the significant differences in the usage of the various types of justifications  $F(6, 5454) = 8.65, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .01$ . As stated, the justification most commonly offered in these scenarios was antidiscrimination, however, the degree to which participants applied this justification lessened across the contexts. That is, antidiscrimination was most frequently offered for the peer context,



then less so for the home context, and even less so for the community context (see Table 2 for means, all  $ps < .05$ ). Conversely, for the home and community contexts cultural intergroup exclusion was seen decreasingly as a matter of racism and increasingly as a matter of general unfairness to the excluded individual, more so than in the peer context (see Table 2 for means, all  $ps < .05$ ). Though both group norms and functioning and status quo and traditions justifications remained significantly less utilized than the two moral justifications, their frequencies increased in the home and community contexts, with status quo and traditions being used significantly more than group norms and functioning for the community context (see Table 2 for means, all  $ps < .05$ ). There was no significant interaction between justification and age.

#### Inclusion Judgments

First, a 2 (type of scenario: exclude the outgroup, include the ingroup) X 3 (story) ANOVA was run to assess the potential for ingroup bias as it might appear in differential ratings between including an ingroup member rather than excluding an outgroup member. Though participants were fairly rejecting of excluding an outgroup member ( $M = 3.07$ ,  $SE = .03$ ), these ratings differed significantly from their highly accepting ratings towards including an ingroup member ( $M = 4.22$ ,  $SE = .03$ ;  $F(1, 952) = 1229.31$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .56$ ).

#### Inclusion of the Outgroup Member

A 2 (gender) X 2 (grade) X 4 (ethnicity) X 3 (context) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last variable was then conducted to assess the hypothesis that the participants would more frequently select the ingroup member for inclusion decisions. A main effect for grade ( $F(1, 909) = 4.53$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .01$ ) found that younger

adolescents ( $M = 4.15$ ,  $SE = .05$ ) were more accepting of including an *outgroup* member than were older adolescents ( $M = 3.85$ ,  $SE = .13$ ). This was the only significant finding for outgroup inclusion judgments.

#### Inclusion of the Ingroup Member

Participants' ratings of the inclusion of an ingroup member differed significantly by context ( $F(2, 1818) = 14.62$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ ), indicating that an ingroup bias may be stronger in certain contexts. Overall, the inclusion of an ingroup member was considered acceptable as the mean ratings all fell above the midpoint of the 6-point Likert-type scale. In addition, the inclusion of an ingroup member was viewed as the most acceptable in the community context ( $M = 4.49$ ,  $SD = .98$ ), followed by the home context ( $M = 4.25$ ,  $SD = .97$ ), and then by the peer context ( $M = 3.93$ ,  $SD = 1.20$ ) (all follow-up tests significant at  $ps < .01$ ). An interaction effect between context and ethnicity ( $F(6, 1818) = 2.45$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .01$ ) demonstrated that in the peer context the Arab participants were significantly more accepting of including an ingroup member for a friends' outing than their unaffiliated comparison group (Arab:  $M = 4.56$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ; Unaffiliated-J:  $M = 3.85$ ,  $SD = 1.24$ ;  $p < .01$ ).

#### Inclusion Decision

The tendency for participants to see exclusion of the outgroup member and the inclusion of an ingroup member as increasingly acceptable from the peer, to the home, to the community contexts manifest itself again in their inclusion decisions. The ingroup member was selected at a significantly increasing rate from the peer ( $M = 2.54$ ,  $SD = .65$ ), to the home ( $M = 2.61$ ,  $SD = .69$ ), to the community context ( $M = 2.86$ ,  $SD = .75$ ;  $F$

(2, 1406) = 10.19,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .01$ ). Two additional significant effects were found: one for ethnicity ( $F(3, 703) = 5.05$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ ), and one for grade ( $F(1, 703) = 9.91$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .01$ ). These effects showed that Arab participants decided to include the ingroup member at a significantly higher rate ( $M = 3.04$ ,  $SE = .79$ ) than did their unaffiliated counterparts ( $M = 2.55$ ,  $SE = .71$ ;  $p < .01$ ) for the home context, while 12<sup>th</sup> graders included the ingroup member at a higher rate than 9<sup>th</sup> graders for both the home and community contexts (see Table 2 for means,  $ps < .01$ ).

### Inclusion Justification

Participants who chose to include the outgroup member were expected to view the exclusion scenarios as a matter of fairness and equal opportunity for the outgroup individual who may have fewer chances to join this particular group, and thus provide more undifferentiated empathy justifications. Those who chose to include the ingroup member, however, were expected to provide inclusion justifications appealing to social-conventional reasoning and stereotypic expectations and thus higher mean proportions for group norms and functioning were anticipated. To assess these hypotheses separate 4 (ethnicity) X 2 (grade) X 4 (justification: undifferentiated empathy, protecting the excluded individual, group norms and functioning, status quo and traditions) ANOVAs with repeated measures on the variable were run by context. Gender was omitted from these analyses because no effects for gender arose in the inclusion decisions.

### Inclusion of the Outgroup Member

When participants selected the outgroup member for inclusion, appeals to undifferentiated empathy were prioritized as a justification for their selection significantly more often than any other type of justification across all three contexts ( $F$

(5, 4545) = 32.58,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .39$ ). However, a significant interaction between context and justification provides greater detail to this interpretation ( $F(10, 9090) = 9.36$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .01$ ). In the peer friendship and home contexts, when participants selected the outgroup member for inclusion, appeals to undifferentiated empathy were prioritized as a justification for their selection significantly more often than any other type of justification ( $ps < .01$ , see Table 3 for means). While this prioritization of undifferentiated empathy was found in the community context as well, participants did not differentiate between protecting and excluded individual and status quo and tradition. A significant interaction effect between grade and justification type adds greater detail to our understanding of the differential salience of certain factors in the community context ( $F(3, 1110) = 3.56$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .01$ ). Specifically, it was found that both 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> graders appealed to issues of undifferentiated empathy with the greatest frequency, 9<sup>th</sup> graders also appealed to concerns for protecting the excluded individual significantly more often than social conventional concerns of group norms and functioning and status quo and traditions ( $ps < .01$ , see Table 4 for means). As in the peer context, undifferentiated empathy was prioritized to justify including an outgroup member in the home context ( $F(1.36, 431.54) = 216.78$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .41$ ) and in the community context ( $F(2.24, 830.24) = 21.65$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .06$ ).

#### Inclusion of the Ingroup Member

To support the hypothesis that inclusion justifications accompanying *ingroup* inclusion decisions will be predominantly social-conventional reasoning and stereotypic expectations separate 4 (ethnicity) X 2 (gender) X 2 (grade) X 3 (religion) X 3 (context) X 4 (justification: antidiscrimination, undifferentiated empathy, group norms and

functioning, status quo and traditions) ANOVAs with repeated measures on the last variable were run by context only on participants who selected the ingroup member for their inclusion decision.

When participants selected the ingroup member for inclusion in the peer friendship context, appeals to protecting the excluded individual and group norms and functioning were made significantly more often than to any other justification type ( $F(3, 1128) = 12.47, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .03$ ; follow up  $ps < .05$ , see Table 3 for means). Further, a significant interaction between justification and grade portrays a more complex pattern than expected ( $F(3, 1110) = 4.40, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .01$ ). For 9<sup>th</sup> graders protecting the excluded individual stood out as the most frequently used justification, significantly more so than all other justification types. While the 12<sup>th</sup> graders also showed concern for protecting the excluded individual (as evidenced by its nonsignificant difference with the most frequently used justification), they primarily appealed to concerns for group norms and functioning, and did so significantly more often than concerns of undifferentiated empathy or protecting the excluded individual (see Table 4 for means, all  $ps < .05$ ).

The main effect for justification in which protecting the excluded individual and group norms and functioning were made significantly more often than to any other justification type was replicated in the home intergroup exclusion context ( $F(3, 1338) = 14.90, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .03$ ; see Table 3 for means). Only in the community intergroup exclusion context did the justification pattern vary, with status quo and traditions taking on the most frequent usage ( $F(3, 1755) = 82.76, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .12$ ; see Table 3 for means). Still, protecting the excluded individual ( $M = .28, SD = .22$ ), though used significantly less often than status quo and traditions ( $M = .48, SD = .45$ ), was cited

significantly more often than both group norms and functioning ( $M = .07, SD = .23$ ) and undifferentiated empathy ( $M = .05, SD = .21$ ; all  $ps < .01$ ).

Further examination of an interaction between ethnicity and justification shows an even greater departure from the justification patterns found in the home and peer contexts. A significant interaction between ethnicity and justifications paints an even more complex relation between these variables in the context of a community cultural event ( $F(9, 1755) = 2.40, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .01$ ). Examination of this interaction shows that each ethnic group reasons about including the ingroup member quite uniquely. Both Jewish and Arab participants saw this type of inclusion as a matter of status quo and traditions, using this type of reasoning significantly more frequently than all other types of justifications. However, the Jewish participants also considered the inclusion of an ingroup member a matter of group norms and functioning significantly *less* frequently than all other types of justifications. The unaffiliated participants who evaluated scenarios in which Jewish actors could include or exclude an Arab Muslim, also found the inclusion of an ingroup member to reflect matter of status quo and tradition significantly more often than all other reasons. However, they too found that protecting the excluded individual was a significant concern, more so than appeals to undifferentiated empathy or group norms and functioning. Lastly, the unaffiliated participants who evaluated scenarios in which Arab Muslim actors could include or exclude a Jewish peer showed insignificant differences in their appeals to status quo and traditions, protecting the excluded individual, and undifferentiated empathy. Only group norms and functioning differed significantly being used much less frequently than the three other justifications (see Table 5 for all means,  $ps < .05$ ).

## Level of Intergroup Contact and Cultural Identity

It was hypothesized that ethnic identification and intergroup contact predict social reasoning about intergroup exclusion and inclusion. This was tested using linear and multiple regression analysis. Multiple regressions were run with gender, ethnicity, religion, grade, and levels of intergroup contact and group identification predicting the social cognition dependent measures of exclusion and inclusion judgments.

First, reliability coefficients were calculated for each scale. The cultural identity scale yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .89 and the intergroup contact scale yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .88. Additionally, a Cronbach's alpha of .86 was obtained for the four additional intergroup contact items answered only by the two comparison groups. Means and standard deviations are provided for each ethnic group's scores on the intergroup contact measure (see Tables 6 and 7).

Next, both intergroup contact and cultural identity scales were separately factor analyzed using principal components analysis to extract the fewest number of uncorrelated components from the greater sets of variables. For the 17-item cultural identity scale, a total of three factors were extracted using varimax rotation that converged in five iterations. The three factors: 1) cultural identity commitment, belongingness, and affirmation, 2) cultural identity search and exploration, and 3) cultural identity social relationships, accounted for 58% of the total variance and all had eigenvalues above one (6.68, 1.94, 1.27, respectively). No items needed to be removed (see Table 12 for factor loadings). For the 6-item intergroup contact scale, one factor emerged without rotation. The one factor, intergroup contact level, has an eigenvalue of 3.71 and accounted for 62% of the variance without the removal of any items (see Table

13 for factor loadings). Regressed factor scores were calculated and used as predictors for the multiple and linear regression analyses conducted below.

#### Social Reasoning about Intergroup Exclusion and Inclusion Scenarios

For each context hierarchical multiple regressions were run with three models. The first model included cultural identity commitment, belongingness, and affirmation, cultural identity search and exploration, cultural identity social relationships, intergroup contact, and “dummy” variables for ethnicity, religion, gender, and grade as predictors. The second model included all predictors from the first model as well as the two-way interaction terms between the three cultural identity factors, and the one intergroup contact factor with the dummy variables of ethnicity and religion (see Appendix C for list of all predictors included in each model). The third model included all terms from the second model as well as three-way interactions between the three cultural identity factors, and the one intergroup contact factor with the dummy variables of ethnicity and religion. Given that interaction terms are examined in these regressions, all variables were centered prior to analyses to reduce multicollinearity.

#### General Intergroup Exclusion – Peer Context

Higher levels of intergroup contact and weaker levels of cultural identification were expected to predict lower acceptance judgments of intergroup exclusion (see Table 14 for all  $\beta$ s). Younger participants and those affiliated with the intergroup conflict, Jewish and Arab, were expected to be more accepting of the intergroup exclusion. By and large the results were in line with these hypotheses with slight variations across the three contexts. The main effects from model one for the peer context found that the less commitment one felt in terms of one’s cultural identity and the stronger one felt about



maintaining ingroup social relationships, the greater their acceptance of intergroup exclusion. Conversely, female participants, Muslim participants, and individuals with higher levels of intergroup contact were all less accepting of intergroup exclusion.

Within the peer context, model two also accounted for a significant amount of variance in intergroup exclusion evaluations above and beyond that accounted for by model one (Model 1:  $R^2 = .06$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 6.21$ ,  $p < .01$ ; Model 2:  $\Delta R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(21, 913) = 1.61$ ,  $p < .05$ ). First, all of the significant predictors from model one were again significant following the same prediction trends (see Table 14 for all  $\beta$ s). Additionally, participants who identified as Arab were also found to be more accepting of intergroup exclusion. Two significant interactions in model two, however, offer greater explanation as to how these relations manifest in their evaluations. The first interaction demonstrates that typically the less cultural identity exploration these adolescents reported, the less accepting they were of intergroup exclusion in this context. This effect was heightened for Jewish participants on the low end of cultural identity exploration, and the effect was mild and reversed for those participants who identified as neither Muslim nor Jewish (see Figure 1). The second significant interaction in model two was between intergroup contact and cultural identity commitment. This interaction showed that while more intergroup contact typically predicts less acceptance of intergroup exclusion, the effect was strongest with individuals who had high levels of cultural identity commitment while the effect was actually reversed with individuals who has low levels of cultural identity commitment (see Figure 2).

Above and beyond the variance accounted for by model two, model three also proved to account for a significant amount of variance in the intergroup exclusion

evaluations ( $\Delta R^2 = .02$ ,  $F(6, 907) = 3.03$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Model three yielded the same significant main effects as model one with two additional significant predictors: grade and cultural identity exploration. The findings reveal that 12<sup>th</sup> graders and those who reported less exploration of their cultural identity were all more accepting of intergroup exclusion (see Table 14 for all  $\beta$ s).

A number of significant interactions in model three show the complex network of factors influencing adolescents' intergroup evaluations beyond those expressed by main effects. While the main effect for cultural identity commitment demonstrated that lesser degrees of cultural identity commitment predicted greater acceptance of intergroup exclusion, the interaction between cultural identity commitment and ethnicity indicates that this effect is present with Jewish participants, heightened with Arab participants, and quite diminished for unaffiliated participants (see Figure 3). An interaction between concern for ingroup social relationships and ethnicity displays that while, having greater concern for ingroup social relationships is associated with higher acceptance of intergroup exclusion in the peer context, this effect is the most striking in the Jewish participants, and had a lesser effect on both Arab and unaffiliated participants (see Figure 4). In addition, concern for ingroup social relationships also interacted with religion. Concern for ingroup social relationships has the expected effect on participants who identified as neither Jewish nor Muslim, yet only minimally affected Jewish and Muslim participants (see Figure 5). Higher levels of cultural identity commitment, as with concern for ingroup social relationships, individually predicted less acceptance of intergroup exclusion. Similar to model two, however, it interacted significantly with intergroup contact level in that intergroup contact predicted significantly lower levels of

exclusion acceptance in individuals with high levels of identity commitment while having the reverse effect on individuals with low levels of identity commitment (see Figure 6).

A set of three-way interactions also reached significance in model three adding to the explanation of variation in participant responses. All three cultural identity factors, commitment, exploration, and concern for ingroup social relationships, interacted with ethnicity and religion (see Table 14 for all  $\beta$ s). When evaluating the interaction between cultural identity commitment, ethnicity, and religion, it appears that the main effect for cultural identity commitment is driven by the Arab-Muslim group. Arab-Muslim participants exhibited significant decreases in the acceptance of intergroup exclusion among those with high levels of commitment. This same effect was significantly diminished in the unaffiliated group and minimal and reversed with culturally Jewish participants (Jewish ethnicity, Jewish religion) (see Figure 7).

It was the culturally Jewish participants who showed differing effects in the interactions with identity exploration and concern for ingroup social relationships. For Arab-Muslim and unaffiliated participants, more exploration of their identity predicted slightly lower acceptance of intergroup exclusion. With culturally Jewish participants, more exploration predicted greater acceptance of intergroup exclusion (see Figure 8). The reverse relationship appeared in the interaction between concern for ingroup social relationships, ethnicity and religion. Greater concern for ingroup social relationships slightly increased Arab-Muslim and decreased culturally Jewish participants' acceptance of intergroup exclusion in the peer context (see Figure 9).

## General Intergroup Exclusion – Home Context

For general intergroup exclusion in the home context both model one and model two significantly accounted for a significant variance in the participant responses (Model 1:  $R^2 = .06$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 5.50$ ,  $p < .01$ ; Model 2:  $\Delta R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(21, 913) = 1.59$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Model one showed similar results to those in the peer context. Female participants were, again, less accepting of intergroup exclusion in the home context (see Table 15 for all  $\beta$ s). Arab participants, those participants who strongly believed in maintaining ingroup social relationships and those participants who had lower levels of cultural identity exploration were, in turn, more accepting of intergroup exclusion in the home context.

In model two, these main effects were replicated. In addition, Muslim participants were found to be less accepting of intergroup exclusion in the home. Moreover, a number of interaction effects also helped model two account for a significant amount of the variance in responses above and beyond that accounted for by model one (see Table 15). First, the effect of cultural identity exploration significantly interacted with ethnicity and it is apparent that the effect appears to be significantly influencing the evaluations of only the Arab participants. Similarly, the interaction between religion and cultural identity exploration appears to affect Muslim participants differently than all other participants. Muslim participants with lower levels of identity exploration are markedly less accepting of intergroup exclusion in the home (see Figure 11). Finally, intergroup contact and cultural identity commitment again interact demonstrating that those with higher levels of identity commitment and higher levels of intergroup contact are much less accepting of intergroup exclusion while those with high levels of identity

commitment but low levels of intergroup contact show the highest levels of intergroup exclusion acceptance (see Figure 12).

#### General Intergroup Exclusion – Community Context

In the community context, similar main effects emerged, again providing support for the hypotheses ( $R^2 = .07$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 7.02$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Muslim participants, female participants, and those with weaker commitment to their cultural identity or lower concern for ingroup social relationships were all less accepting of intergroup exclusion (see Table 16 for all  $\beta$ s). Only model one was significant for the community scenario.

#### Cultural Intergroup Exclusion – Peer Context

As with exclusion not based on cultural group membership, having a lower commitment to one's cultural identity or stronger concern for ingroup social relationships predicted greater acceptance of intergroup exclusion as did identifying as Arab (see Table 17 for all  $\beta$ s). Conversely, being a female participant or having higher levels of intergroup contact predicted lesser acceptance of intergroup exclusion. These predictors were significant in both the peer and home contexts, however, in the peer context no additional models were significant whereas in the home context model two accounted for a significant amount of additional variance above and beyond that in model one (Peer:  $R^2 = .09$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 9.74$ ,  $p < .01$ ; Home: Model 1:  $R^2 = .08$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 8.47$ ,  $p < .01$ ; Model 2:  $\Delta R^2 = .05$ ,  $F(21, 913) = 2.33$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

#### Cultural Intergroup Exclusion – Home Context

A significant model one yielded the same predictor as those in model one for the peer context (Model 1:  $R^2 = .08$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 8.47$ ,  $p < .01$ ; Model 2:  $\Delta R^2 = .05$ ,  $F(21,$

913) = 2.33,  $p < .01$ ). Model two for the home context yielded four of the five significant main effects as model one (listed above) with only Arab ethnicity no longer significantly predicting exclusion evaluations. Eight additional interactions emerged as significant predictors (see Table 18 for all  $\beta$ s).

All three cultural identity factors interacted with ethnicity, while identity exploration and concerns for ingroup social relationships also interacted with religion (see Table 18 for all  $\beta$ s). For Jewish and unaffiliated adolescents, greater commitment to one's identity led to decreases in their acceptance of intergroup exclusion. However, with Arab adolescents, it was actually lower levels of identity commitment that predicted less acceptance of the exclusion while higher levels predicted less rejection of intergroup exclusion in the home (see Figure 13). As for identity exploration, Arab participants who were high on identity exploration were significantly less accepting of intergroup exclusion in the home than those who were low in identity exploration, while identity exploration in Jewish and unaffiliated participants only minimally affected their evaluations (see Figure 14). Conversely, when looking at religious groups, greater levels of identity exploration generally predicted less rejection of intergroup exclusion in the home, yet this effect was most pronounced for Muslim participants (see Figure 15). Again, more concern with maintaining ingroup social relationships predicted greater acceptance of intergroup exclusion, however this effect dramatically increased for Arab and Muslim participants more so than for Jewish and unaffiliated participants (see Figures 16 and 17).

Intergroup contact also interacted with cultural identity exploration, as well as with ethnicity and religion (see Table 18 for all  $\beta$ s). For ethnicity, Jewish participants

showed the most striking decreases in acceptance of intergroup contact, with Arab participants seemingly becoming more accepting of intergroup exclusion as they had more intergroup contact (see Figure 18). For religion, however, Muslim participants showed the strongest shift to lower acceptance ratings of intergroup exclusion with Jewish participants, in this instance, becoming more accepting of exclusion (see Figure 19). Finally, while more intergroup contact generally predicted less acceptance of intergroup exclusion, this relation was moderated by identity exploration. That is those individuals with low levels of exploration tended to be the most accepting of exclusion when they also had low levels of intergroup contact. When these individuals instead had high levels of intergroup contact, they produced the evaluations least accepting of exclusion in the home. The reverse was true of individuals with high levels of identity exploration (see Figure 20).

#### Cultural Intergroup Exclusion – Community Context

For the community context only model one reached significance and from that model only two variables significantly predicted wrongfulness ratings of cultural intergroup exclusion ( $R^2 = .08$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 8.17$ ,  $p < .01$ ). First, participants who were less concerned with ingroup social relationships rated culturally based intergroup exclusion as more wrong than those who were more concerned ( $\beta = -.22$ ,  $t(934) = -6.43$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Second, females were also found to be less accepting of cultural intergroup exclusion ( $\beta = -.10$ ,  $t(934) = -3.19$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

#### Inclusion of the Outgroup Judgment

The analyses of participants judgments of the inclusion of and outgroup member fell predominantly in line with the hypothesized relations. Only main effects emerged

across all three contexts, as model one was the only model to reach significance for peer, home, and community contexts (Peer:  $R^2 = .02$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 1.90$ ,  $p < .05$ ; Home:  $R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 3.23$ ,  $p < .01$ ; Community:  $R^2 = .05$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 4.79$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

When evaluating the inclusion of an outgroup member at a peer outing, female participants and participants with higher rates of intergroup contact were both highly approving of the decision ( $\beta = .09$ ,  $t(934) = 2.58$ ,  $p < .01$ ;  $\beta = .09$ ,  $t(934) = 2.56$ ,  $p < .01$ , respectively). However, judgments for including an outgroup member to a party in the home were significantly predicted by the level of participants' cultural identity exploration ( $\beta = -.07$ ,  $t(934) = -2.11$ ,  $p < .05$ ). In this case, the more identity exploration an individual engaged in, the more likely they were to approve of including the outgroup member. Additionally, while female participants were more accepting of the inclusion, participants who identified as ethnically Jewish were less accepting of the inclusion in the home scenario ( $\beta = .24$ ,  $t(934) = 3.53$ ,  $p < .01$ ;  $\beta = -.26$ ,  $t(934) = -2.02$ ,  $p < .05$ , respectively). When considering including the outgroup member to a community cultural event, female participants, those who were less concerned with ingroup social relationships, and those who had higher levels of intergroup contact were all more accepting of the inclusion decision ( $\beta = .08$ ,  $t(934) = 2.51$ ,  $p < .01$ ;  $\beta = .15$ ,  $t(934) = 4.28$ ,  $p < .01$ ;  $\beta = .07$ ,  $t(934) = 2.04$ ,  $p < .05$ , respectively).

#### Inclusion of the Ingroup Judgment

Again, only main effects emerged in the peer and community contexts as model one was the only model to reach significance ( $R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 2.38$ ,  $p < .01$ ), yet models one and two both reached significance in the home context (Model 1:  $R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(10, 934) = 3.12$ ,  $p < .01$ ; Model 2:  $\Delta R^2 = .04$ ,  $F(21, 913) = 1.93$ ,  $p < .01$ ). In the peer



context it was cultural identity commitment and ethnicity that emerged as significant predictors. Participants who identified as Arab as well as participants who were less committed in their cultural identity, overall, were more accepting of including an ingroup member in the peer scenario ( $\beta = .12, t(934) = 2.92, p < .01$ );  $\beta = .07, t(934) = 2.26, p < .05$ , respectively). While female participants rated the inclusion of an ingroup member as less acceptable, ethnically Jewish participants as well as participants who showed stronger concern for ingroup social relationships, and participants who had higher levels of cultural identity exploration all rated the ingroup inclusion decision in the home context as more acceptable (see Table 19 for all  $\beta$ s).

While these, except for Arab ethnicity, were the same significant predictors of model one for the home context, model two accounted for a significant amount of the variance in evaluation scores above and beyond that accounted for by model one ( $\Delta R^2 = .04, F(21, 913) = 1.93, p < .01$ ). The significant predictors from the first model revealed that those who identified as Arab or as female were more accepting of the ingroup inclusion in the home. Conversely, those participants who showed stronger concern for ingroup social relationships, and those who had higher levels of cultural identity exploration all rated the ingroup inclusion decision as more acceptable (see Table 19 for all  $\beta$ s). These findings are further understood by considering the significant interactions that emerged in model two.

Significant interactions emerged between all three cultural identity factors and religion, and between identity commitment and concerns for ingroup social relationships and ethnicity, as well as between identity commitment and intergroup contact (see Table 19 for all  $\beta$ s). The influence of cultural identity commitment on evaluations of ingroup

inclusion in the home was moderated by ethnicity and by religion. Arab participants who were highly committed to their identities were more accepting of including the ingroup member whereas Jewish and unaffiliated participants who were highly committed to their identities were less or equally accepting of the inclusion, respectively (see Figure 21). However, when examining the interaction between identity commitment and religion it appears that Muslims who are strongly committed to their identities show decreases in their acceptance of including the ingroup member while Jewish and non-Jewish/non-Muslim participants increase in their acceptance with higher levels of identity commitment (see Figure 22).

Next, lower levels of identity exploration were generally found to predict less acceptance of ingroup inclusion, however closer inspection of the interaction demonstrates that the effect of identity exploration was most pronounced for Muslim participants. It was Jewish participants, on the other hand, that were differentially affected by concern for ingroup social relationships. That is, with higher levels of concern for ingroup social relationships, ethnically Jewish participants increasingly accepted the inclusion of an ingroup member whereas the unaffiliated and Arab participants remained relatively stable in the acceptance rates regardless of their level of concern (see Figure 24). In addition, religiously Jewish participants with higher concern for ingroup social relationships actually decreased in their ingroup inclusion acceptance, whereas Muslim and unaffiliated participants with higher concern showed slight increases in their acceptance rates see (Figure 25).

Finally, the interaction between intergroup contact and cultural identity replicated the relations reported earlier from the intergroup exclusion findings. Again, it was found

that individuals with higher levels of identity commitment and lower levels of intergroup contact were the most accepting of including the ingroup member. Instead, when these individuals had higher levels of intergroup contact they were the least accepting of the inclusion (see Figure 26).

## Chapter 5: Discussion

Peer exchanges provide a unique context for promoting and developing positive social intergroup development (Piaget, 1932; Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). Intergroup friendships provide a context in which youth can engage in ongoing interactions with someone who is different from them. Through these recurring interactions accompanied by the natural development of friendships, cross-group friends can experience increased levels of intimacy yielding positive outcomes in terms of intergroup attitudes and decreases in prejudice. This creates an environment in which increases in intergroup closeness may flourish (Fishbein, 1996; Pettigrew, 1997; Wright, Aron, & Tropp, 2002). However, while youth become more adept in their abilities to understand the heterogeneity within and homogeneity across groups (Doyle & Aboud, 1995), a trajectory that would seemingly promote cross-group relations, by middle childhood a decrease in cross-group friendships becomes apparent (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003; Dubois & Hirsch, 1990). Moreover, when two groups reflect cultures that have had a history of intergroup conflict, the likelihood of engaging in intergroup contact may diminish further limiting their chances to repair intergroup relations and promote positive interactions. Thus, a primary goal of this study was to investigate Jewish-American, Arab-American, and non-Jewish/non-Arab American adolescents' evaluations of Jewish-Arab intergroup relations in everyday peer, home, and community contexts.

Additionally, the study brought together the literatures of intergroup contact, identity development, and social cognitive domain to incorporate the developmental changes in acceptability ratings and evaluations of exclusion into its examination of

contact effects Across various levels of participant cultural identification. Moreover, the intergroup contact literature had not examined contact in terms of social convention reasoning even though the developmental shift to prioritize social conventions infers the potential to easily introduce bias into such evaluations. The social cognitive domain model was utilized to identify the underlying sources of moral and social-conventional beliefs such as group identity and functioning, with norms often defined by peers and parents, as they differed by affiliation with the conflict, cultural identity, and level of intergroup contact. Adolescents from a wide range of backgrounds, including levels of cultural identification and contact with members of the outgroup were surveyed regarding their attitudes and beliefs about peer exclusion in multiple contexts. These contexts were a peer outing, a party held in the family home, and a cultural event held at a community center. They were chosen to explore the role of peer, parental, and community influence on adolescents' evaluations of Jewish-Arab intergroup exclusion and to determine what factors would be most salient to Jewish and Arab adolescents who identify with the characters in the intergroup scenarios as compared with those participants who do not. The three contexts, peer, home, and community, represent varying levels of relationship intimacy, parental authority, peer influence, and social-convention and traditions. Hypotheses regarding age, gender, and ethnicity-related patterns of social judgment, reasoning, and beliefs about intergroup exclusion were tested and revealed a number of novel findings concerning how adolescents conceptualize and evaluate inclusion and exclusion.

Overall the novel findings were that identification and contact were significantly related to judgments about exclusion and inclusion in the context of familiar peer, family,

and community interactions. While age effects did not emerge, gender effects consistently reached significance with females being less accepting of intergroup exclusion. When differences emerged between the unaffiliated groups evaluating the Arab versus Jewish targets, there was a tendency to show negative bias towards the Arab targets as seen in their exclusion and inclusion evaluations as well as stereotypic attributions. Main effects for ethnicity rarely emerged, however, numerous interactions between ethnicity and the cultural identity and intergroup contact factors were present. Additionally, the salient features influencing participants' evaluations varied by context demonstrated by the varying degrees of acceptance of exclusion and inclusion in peer, home, and community scenarios. The interactions also varied, indicating that each scenario drew on unique features of the cultural identity factors.

### **Evaluations of Intergroup Exclusion**

Surprisingly, most of the adolescents in this study were generally rejecting of intergroup exclusion, despite the pervasiveness of negative stereotypes and negative expectations about intergroup harmony in the media, both in the U.S. and around the world. The novel findings in this study reflected the contextual variations in rejection of intergroup exclusion and inclusion. Overall, the participants were rejecting of general intergroup exclusion, however, they were significantly more rejecting of culturally based exclusion, as has been found in previous research (Killen & Stangor, 2001; Killen, et al., 2001; 2002; 2007). Main effects were not expected for gender, however significant findings demonstrated that females, overall, were more inclusive of the outgroup than were males. Previous research had found no gender differences in some studies (Horn, 2006) and some bias towards females being more inclusive in others (Horn, 2003; Killen

& Stangor, 2001). It has been hypothesized that females exhibit more prosocial inclusive judgments based on their own experiences of being in a marginalized group and experiencing discrimination and inequalities. Prior research has shown that an individual's own experience with exclusion and victimization affects his or her evaluations of intergroup exclusion and does so differentially by minority/majority status (Margie, Killen, Brenick, Crystal, & Ruck, under review). With these findings adding strong and consistent support for gender effects to the literature, future research should examine participants' previous experience with exclusion and other forms of discrimination by gender to determine how these experiences relate to female and male participants' varying exclusion evaluations.

In terms of age effects, it was hypothesized that ninth graders will be more accepting of outgroup exclusion and inclusion of an ingroup member in general, but that twelfth graders would be more accepting of exclusion in the community context. However, no age effects emerged. This could be due to the period of adolescence in which intergroup attitudes are consolidated and shared beliefs predominate throughout the period of high school (Smetana, 1989). In the future, studies should assess participants' views of the greater ecological context, in this case, identification with, or influence of the Arab-Israeli conflict, to determine how they view it affecting the lives of their peers and their interactions. Additionally, in this situation, the participants' conceptions of the greater societal views towards Arabs and Jews should also be assessed. Presently, the unaffiliated participants were more inclusive of Jewish targets than they were of Arab targets for culturally based exclusion, representing the influence

of the societal views and another manifestation of the increased negativity towards Arabs in the U.S. (Sheridan, 2006; Panagopoulos, 2006).

Perhaps the most novel finding pertained to the vast differences in how adolescents rated exclusion by context. Given that adolescents tend to see peer friendships as within the personal domain, matters of personal choice and preference (Horn, 2003; Killen et al., 2002), intergroup exclusion in this context was expected to be rated as the least wrong. Contrary to this hypothesis, exclusion in the peer context was seen as the *most* wrong, appealing to undifferentiated concerns for fairness and empathy. Therefore, the accompanying moral justifications were as expected when rejecting exclusion.

Unlike previous findings that suggest adolescents tend to reject parental discomfort as a valid reason for exclusion based on group membership and thus rate exclusion in the home as the least acceptable (Killen, et al 2007), the current findings suggest this was not the case as exclusion in the peer context was rated as more wrong. The community setting, as expected, elicited strong feelings of tradition and group identity, and thus, was viewed as less wrong than the other two scenarios. These findings are quite different from the Killen, et al. (2002) study in which 4<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup> grade students viewed gender and racial exclusion in an institutional context (school) to be more wrong than in a friendship dyad or afterschool club. The findings of the present study indicate that group identity is the linchpin. Because the institutional context in the present study was one with a high group identity, exclusion was viewed as most, not least legitimate. While undifferentiated concerns for fairness and empathy were provided as the most frequent reasons for rejecting exclusion in these two scenarios, status quo,



traditions, and stereotypes were offered as well to accept exclusion in the community context. It was not just moral matters of fairness and equality, but also social conventional concerns of tradition and stereotypic expectations for status quo that proved salient to adolescents evaluating this scenario. For instance, even when the exclusion was based on cultural group membership, exclusion in the community context was viewed as the most acceptable highlighting the fact that in certain situations even exclusion based on cultural group membership is not done with intent to harm or be unfair, but simply as a matter of self-selection into or out of a group. Additional research should look into adolescents' relationships with their communities, families, and peers to determine how they view their role as an ingroup member in terms of maintaining tradition and group functioning. These factors have been shown to be highly related to intergroup attitudes (see Abrams, Hogg, & Marques, 2005).

#### Intergroup Inclusion Decisions

Both the body of work on ingroup-outgroup preferences and biases (Brewer, 1999, Nesdale et al., 2005), and previous studies on inclusion evaluations (Killen et al., 2001; Killen & Stangor, 2001) suggest that adolescents would be more inclined to select an ingroup target to join a group when selecting between an ingroup target and an outgroup target. From a social conventional perspective, ingroup members are typically considered better qualified than an outgroup member to join a group and youth often appeal to this conventional aspect of group dynamics when making their inclusion decisions (Killen & Stangor, 2001). This was assessed through participants' evaluations of the inclusion of an outgroup member, the inclusion of an ingroup member, and their inclusion decision.

While participants accepted the inclusion of both an outgroup member and an ingroup member, a bias towards including the ingroup member could be seen in their inclusion decisions.

This bias varied by context and, as expected, including an ingroup member was viewed as the most acceptable in the community context, followed by the home context, and then followed by the peer context. This pattern was replicated in participants' inclusion decisions in that the ingroup member was selected most often for the community context, then the home context, and then the peer context. One reason for the context effect is that an outgroup member has the potential to be equally qualified for inclusion in friendship and the party in the home, yet unequally qualified for the cultural event at the community center. Follow-up questions in future studies can not only assess participants' evaluations of who *should* be included and why, but also directly assess participants' evaluations of who is *best qualified* to be included in each scenario.

Yet, even if the outgroup member was seen as equally qualified for the group Jewish- and Arab-American participants were expected to appeal to group identity and functioning and the tradition of intragroup community. Support for this hypothesis was found in Arab participants' more accepting attitude towards including the ingroup in the peer context. In addition, both Arab and Jewish participants most frequently provided stereotypic expectations about the status quo and intragroup traditions as justification for including the ingroup member replicating Killen and Stangor's (2001) findings that adolescents appeal primarily to social-conventions and less so to stereotypic expectations when justifying ingroup inclusion decisions in the community. Even so, these findings as

well as any other ethnicity effects must be carefully considered. Due to the small sample size of the Arab group, these findings will only be reported and not interpreted.

Moreover, outside of the group differences for ethnicity described above with the Arab and Jewish participants, unaffiliated participants' reasoning about the potential inclusion or exclusion of an Arab target was also significantly more likely to apply the status quo and traditions justification as well as express concern for protecting the excluded individual when the ingroup member was selected for inclusion. This may reflect an understanding of the current societal views towards the Arab community, in which intergroup interactions can be seen as potentially threatening to this group.

Generally, the expectations for inclusion decision justification were supported. When justifying their inclusion decisions, it was hypothesized that participants who chose to include the ingroup member would be more likely to use social-conventional justifications reasoning that ingroup members would be more likely to know how to behave appropriately and be more comfortable with the ingroup, as found by Killen and Stangor (2001). Further, it was hypothesized that participants who chose to include the outgroup member would be more likely to use moral justifications, reasoning that the protagonist should be inclusive, give the outgroup member a chance, and get to know someone who is different (Killen et al., 2001; Killen & Stangor, 2001). Overwhelmingly, participants appealed to the moral justification of undifferentiated empathy to defend outgroup inclusion while social conventional reasoning about group norms and functioning was offered to justify including the ingroup member.

Surprisingly, the hypothesized age effects were not found. It was hypothesized that ninth graders would be more accepting of outgroup exclusion and inclusion of an

ingroup member and appeal to social-conventions and traditions for group identity and functioning than twelfth graders. However, age effects were rare and often in the opposite direction from that hypothesized. This hypothesis reflects previous findings for young adults demonstrating moral reasoning more frequently than younger adolescents who appeal to social-conventions regarding group functioning (Horn, 2003; Turiel, 1983), yet when difference emerged it was the ninth graders who provided more moral reasoning. Perhaps the aspects of identity in this study are so highly salient among these older adolescents who have had more time to explore and commit to their identities that concerns for group functioning and tradition override moral concerns. Further, the intergroup conflict literature posits that identifying an the ongoing conflict may lead to the moral exclusion of the outgroup (Kriesberg 1993, 1998), though this extreme form of discrimination is obviously not present with participants' high rates of rejection in regards to intergroup exclusion, conceivably a delayed prioritization of moral concerns transpires, instead. This, however, must be assessed in future research with direct assessments of participant's identification with the conflict. Instead of a securely developed sense of self, pushing Arab and Jewish adolescents to understand the flexibility in group dynamics and apply more moral justifications, a more secure sense of self, in these parameters, equates to a greater identification with a conflict and a stricter adherence to social convention, stereotypical expectations about the status quo and tradition. Thus, the developmental trajectory would find younger adolescents providing more moral justifications than the older adolescents. As for the unaffiliated participants, older adolescents may simply know more about the history of tension between these

groups than younger adolescents and consequently let this knowledge guide their evaluations of all Jewish-Arab intergroup relationships, even peer friendships.

### **Cultural Identification and Intergroup Contact**

#### General Intergroup Exclusion

The bulk of the novel findings stem from the multiple regressions conducted with the three cultural identity factors, the intergroup contact factor, and the demographic variables. Consistently, across contexts cultural identity concern for ingroup social relationships and, again, gender significantly predicted participants' evaluations of general intergroup exclusion. Frequently, other main effects emerged, including lower levels of identity commitment and lower levels of identity exploration predicting greater acceptance of intergroup exclusion. Only one grade effect reached significance for exclusion judgments with twelfth graders being more accepting of exclusion in the peer context. These findings provide a foundation for understanding the nuances that emerged in the significant interactions.

Extending previous research by Crystal, Killen, and Ruck (2008), who found that higher levels of intergroup contact were associated with more inclusive and prosocial reasoning about intergroup exclusion, the novel findings of the present study were that individuals with high commitment to their *group identity* and greater levels of intergroup contact were more inclusive in their evaluations. Further, the present finding was particularly strong among Jewish and Arab participants, those whose identities are most salient in the scenarios. Thus, participants' evaluations in these contexts support the current findings in the field that intergroup contact promotes positive intergroup attitudes, particularly with highly salient identities (Brown, & Hewstone, 2005; Dovidio, Gaertner,

& Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; 2005; 2006). Moreover, previous research has found that the positive effects of contact are typically stronger for members of majority groups than among members of minority groups (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), whereas in this study there were differential effects for individuals with high and low identity commitment. Those individuals with low identity commitment may, in reality, experience negative effects of contact.

### Cultural Intergroup Exclusion

The novel findings for cultural intergroup exclusion were that concern for ingroup social relationships, gender, religion, level of identity commitment, and identity exploration were driving participants' evaluations of exclusion, both general and culturally based. A number of interactions provide additional insight into these influences for culturally based exclusion in the peer context. Though greater identity commitment on its own predicted less acceptance of exclusion, when identity commitment interacted with ethnicity this pattern was replicated in the Jewish participants' evaluations, but not the Arab participants' evaluations. Additional interactions involved cultural identity exploration with ethnicity and cultural identity exploration with religion. These relationships remain to be further investigated with a larger more representative sample to be fully understood.

While interactive effects between intergroup contact and cultural identity commitment were expected, novel findings also emerged in the interactions between intergroup contact level and ethnicity and cultural identity exploration. Previously, the intergroup contact literature has considered the influence of identity (in terms of its salience) on the effectiveness of intergroup contact. However, the role of cultural

identity exploration was not previously evaluated in terms of its interaction with intergroup contact. The interaction between cultural identity exploration and intergroup contact level demonstrated that while lower cultural identity exploration in general predicts greater acceptance of intergroup exclusion, this only remains the case when those individuals also have low levels of intergroup contact. Thus, the novel findings indicate that when a low level of identity exploration is paired with a high level of intergroup contact, the participant is much less accepting of the exclusion.

Moreover, previous research has found that the positive effects of intergroup contact are typically stronger for members of majority groups than among members of minority groups (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), yet this finding refers to situations in which there is a clear majority/ minority status (e.g. black/white intergroup relations). Presently, the significant interaction level of intergroup contact and ethnicity found that, for Jewish participants, greater levels of contact predicted lower acceptance ratings of peer cultural intergroup exclusion. Due to the small sample of Arab participants, this relation was not interpreted. Clearly, these findings warrant further investigation into not only the level of contact, but also the quality of contact. As cross-group friendships are the strongest predictor for positive intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), exploration into the *type* of contact youth are engaging in would also be beneficial. Finally, because both groups maintain minority status within the United States, future intergroup contact research should examine whether outcomes differ consistently across these groups and, if so, how.

## Intergroup Inclusion Decisions

Many of the same predictive relationships reached significance for the evaluations of ingroup and outgroup inclusion; however, the unique findings lie in the significant interactions for including the ingroup member in the home context. First, cultural identity commitment interacted with ethnicity and with religion. Second, cultural identity concern for ingroup social relationships also interacted with ethnicity and religion. These findings indicate that further research on identity and inclusion decisions needs to be conducted with a representative sample of individuals from different cultural groups.

### **Limitations and Directions for Future Research**

There were several limitations to this study. First and foremost, the sample obtained for this study was highly disproportionate across cultural groups. A main focus of this study was to provide voice to youth underrepresented in the literature. However, obtaining an adequately large and equal sample of Arab youth was highly challenging. Many schools administrators opted out of participation because of concern for the political implications of their students' participation. While many significant main and interaction effects emerged with ethnicity, it is with great caution that these findings are presented as their interpretation and generalizability is questioned as a result of the disproportionately small sample size. Future research should strive to recruit a larger group of Arab youth. In addition, while the participants varied on levels of religiosity and ethnic identification, it is important to ensure that the entire range of perspectives, from the most liberal to the most conservative, are represented for all groups.

Following this, theory suggests that the parameters of the Arab-Israeli conflict that define it as intractable also presupposes that any individual who simply identifies as



a member of one of the conflicting groups will hold extremely negative to dehumanizing views of and attitudes towards members of the outgroup, ones that are rooted in a longstanding history of violence and hatred that has worked to define the group identity (Kriesberg, 1993, 1998; Bar-Tal, 1998, under review). However, while the present findings indicate that this is not the case for Arab- and Jewish-American adolescents, the current study did not directly assess whether these participants self-identified with the Arab-Israeli conflict at all. A more nuanced account of the effects of conflict on cultural identity should take into account the wide variety of youth that experience the conflict in highly different ways. What is more, Jewish, Arab, and Muslim youth have all taken great strides in American culture to retain ownership over their unique identities, often taking on more diverse and modernized views of the ongoing conflict (Ravitz, 2009; Sirin & Fine, 2008).

Intergroup research has shown that intergroup contact predicts outgroup stereotypes, a relationship that is strengthened with highly salient groups, such as Arab and Jewish in present study (Brown, & Hewstone, 2005; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; 2005; 2006). Previously, the focus has been on intergroup contact reducing negative outgroup stereotypes, however an additional focus should include the role of intergroup contact in promoting *positive* conceptions of the outgroup and *positive* evaluations of intergroup relations. Future research should examine the design, goals, and outcomes of contact to determine the procedures and processes involved with each outcome. In addition, not just the quantity of intergroup contact that participants engage in, but also the quality of the contact should be obtained.

Individuals are often highly concerned with how the outgroup will perceive them when considering the prospect of engaging in intergroup contact (Vorauer, 2006; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). Those who feel threatened or anxious about how they might be viewed by the outgroup often distance themselves or attempt to avoid intergroup contact altogether (see Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, 2005; Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006), however having a stronger sense of self, or commitment to one's identity, may alleviate some concern over how one might be viewed. Learning about the discrimination and victimization experienced by one's cultural group may also generalize to evaluations of intergroup relations. In this case, high identity exploration could yield prosocial evaluations of intergroup relations. Conversely, lower levels of identity exploration could lead adolescents to simply accept peer, family, or community attitudes. There is also the potential for exploration of one's identity to involve unique aspects of the self and group, or even a reconceptualization of what it means to be Arab, or Jewish, or Muslim, or a member of any other. Presently, there is a trend for Arab, Jewish, and Muslim youth to redefine what it means to be members of these groups (Ravitz, 2009; Sirin & Fine, 2008) and thus it is imperative that future research provide a comprehensive analysis of what identity commitment and exploration entails for these adolescents. What values of a group are being explored and committed to? Does one see oneself as a prototypical member of a group, or more of an outlier?

### **Conclusion**

In sum, the present study provides new insight into the relations between affiliation with an ongoing intergroup conflict, cultural identity, intergroup contact, and evaluations of intergroup relations. The novel findings indicate that it is not simply

group membership that defines one's exclusion evaluations, but instead levels of identification commitment, exploration, and concern for ingroup social relationships interacting with ethnicity, religion, and contact. Further, these findings challenge existing theories about the pervasiveness of stereotyping and outgroup negativity simple based on group membership. This study draws connections between identity development, intergroup contact, and exclusion evaluations. This knowledge represents an important advance in the integration of the intergroup contact and moral reasoning literatures in the explanation of the complex network of variables influencing adolescents' conceptions of intergroup relations between groups in conflict as these interactions might exist in their daily lives.

With this more comprehensive understanding of the complex nature of intergroup exclusion evaluations, intergroup contact programs aimed at promoting tolerance between groups with history of intergroup tension may be redesigned to address the specific needs of the youth involved. Attention should be paid not just to the group membership but the level of identification of participants. Additionally, it is essential to attend to the varying factors that prove most salient across contexts. Intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes are not stable across contexts. It is a positive sign that youth are fairly rejecting of intergroup exclusion in general and culturally based intergroup exclusion in particular regardless of their group membership. Taking the results from this study and future research we can support those positive inclinations to maintain prosocial attitudes throughout the lifespan before negative stereotypes have the opportunity to become deeply entrenched. Thus, the importance of these findings lies in their

application towards intervention programs, designed in increase mutual respect and to reduce prejudice in childhood and adolescence.

Table 1

*Demographic Information for Jewish-American Participants in Frequencies*

	Religion			
	Christian	Jewish	Muslim	Other
9th Graders				
Male	1	92	0	1
Female	0	80	0	0
Total	1	172	0	1
12th Graders				
Male	0	59	0	2
Female	0	70	0	1
Total	0	129	0	3

Note. N = 306

**Table 2.**

*Breakdown of Demographic Information for Arab American Participants in Frequencies*

	Religion			
	Christian	Jewish	Muslim	Other
9th Graders				
Male	0	0	16	0
Female	2	0	13	0
Total	2	0	29	0
12th Graders				
Male	1	0	2	0
Female	0	0	1	0
Total	1	0	3	0

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*Note.* N = 35

**Table 3.**

*Breakdown of Demographic Information for Unaffiliated Group – Jewish Comparison in Frequencies*

	Religion			
	Christian	Jewish	Muslim	Other
9th Graders				
Male	72	0	1	17
Female	33	0	1	28
Total	105	0	2	45
12th Graders				
Male	42	0	0	17
Female	27	0	1	18
Total	69	0	1	35

*Note.* N = 257

**Table 4.**

*Breakdown of Demographic Information for Unaffiliated Group – Arab Comparison in*

*Frequencies*

	Religion			
	Christian	Jewish	Muslim	Other
9th Graders				
Male	75	0	8	16
Female	44	0	12	14
Total	119	0	20	30
12th Graders				
Male	49	0	25	16
Female	46	0	4	18
Total	95	0	29	34

*Note.* N = 327



**Table 5.***Mean Proportions of Justifications by Context and Type of Exclusion*

Justification	Type of Exclusion					
	General			Cultural		
	Peer	Home	Community	Peer	Home	Community
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Antidiscrimination	0.12 (0.31)	0.07 (0.25)	0.05 (0.22)	0.64 (0.47)	0.50 (0.49)	0.38 (0.48)
Undifferentiated empathy	0.40 (0.49)	0.39 (0.47)	0.30 (0.45)	0.23 (0.41)	0.28 (0.44)	0.28 (0.44)
Protecting the excluded individual	0.06 (0.21)	0.07 (0.23)	0.19 (0.37)	0.01 (0.09)	0.01 (0.10)	0.02 (0.14)
Group norms and functioning	0.18 (0.36)	0.16 (0.33)	0.08 (0.25)	0.03 (0.15)	0.07 (0.24)	0.05 (0.21)
Status quo, traditions & stereotypes	0.03 (0.15)	0.01 (0.10)	0.16 (0.35)	0.03 (0.16)	0.03 (0.14)	0.08 (0.26)
Personal Choice	0.17 (0.35)	0.21 (0.38)	0.08 (0.25)	0.03 (0.15)	0.04 (0.17)	0.03 (0.15)

**Table 6.**

*Mean Inclusion Decision Ratings by Grade and Context*

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	Context		
	Peer	Home	Community
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Grade			
Ninth	2.53 (0.66)	2.55 (0.67)	2.80 (0.75)
Twelfth	2.57 (0.67)	2.70 (0.74)	2.93 (0.74)

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*Note:* 1 = definitely outgroup; 4 = definitely ingroup

*N* = 788, peer context; *N* = 805, home context; *N* = 849, community context.

**Table 7.***Mean Proportions of Justifications for Inclusion by Context and Inclusion Decision*

Justification	Outgroup Selected			Ingroup Selected		
	Peer	Home	Community	Peer	Home	Community
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Undifferentiated empathy	0.65 (0.46)	0.32 (0.46)	0.74 (0.43)	0.16 (0.35)	0.11 (0.30)	0.05 (0.21)
Protecting the excluded individual	0.03 (0.16)	0.19 (0.37)	0.04 (0.20)	0.28 (0.43)	0.26 (0.41)	0.27 (0.40)
Group norms and functioning	0.01 (0.10)	0.21 (0.38)	0.00 (0.06)	0.24 (0.39)	0.32 (0.43)	0.07 (0.23)
Status quo, traditions, & stereotypes	0.01 (0.07)	0.07 (0.23)	0.04 (0.16)	0.18 (0.42)	0.10 (0.27)	0.48 (0.45)

**Table 8.**

*Mean Proportions of Justifications for Inclusion in the Peer Context by Grade and Inclusion Decision*

Justification	Outgroup Selected		Ingroup Selected	
	9th	12th	9th	12th
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Undifferentiated empathy	0.69 (0.45)	0.60 (0.48)	0.19 (0.38)	0.12 (0.32)
Protecting the excluded individual	0.03 (0.15)	0.03 (0.17)	0.33 (0.45)	0.21 (0.38)
Group norms and functioning	0.01 (0.09)	0.01 (0.11)	0.19 (0.35)	0.31 (0.42)
Status quo, traditions, & stereotypes	0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.11)	0.16 (0.33)	0.21 (0.51)

**Table 9.***Mean Portions of Justification for Ingroup Inclusion by Ethnicity*

	Ethnicity			
	Unaffiliated (J)	Jewish	Arab	Unaffiliated (A)
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Justification				
Undifferentiated empathy	0.20 (0.39)	0.12 (0.32)	0.16 (0.37)	0.14 (0.34)
Protecting the excluded individual	0.23 (0.39)	0.20 (0.35)	0.05 (0.23)	2,613,053.00 (0.40)
Group norms and functioning	0.04 (0.18)	0.04 (0.18)	0.11 (0.21)	0.09 (0.26)
Status quo, traditions, & stereotypes	0.33 (0.44)	0.47 (0.47)	0.53 (0.46)	0.39 (0.46)

*Note:* Unaffiliated (J) = unaffiliated participants who received the Jewish version of the survey and act as a comparison group for the Jewish participants. Unaffiliated (A) = affiliated participants who received the Arab version of the survey and act as a comparison group for the Arab participants.

**Table 10.**

Means for Intergroup Contact Scales by Ethnic Group

Scale	Jewish	Arab	Ethnic Group Unaffiliated: Comparison Group for Jewish	Unaffiliated: Comparison Group for Arab
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Number in neighborhood	1.12 (0.41)	1.53 (0.88)	1.13 (0.36)	1.42 (0.68)
Number of friends	1.73 (0.78)	2.58 (0.87)	1.85 (0.85)	2.60 (1.08)
Frequency items	1.60 (0.58)	2.42 (0.85)	1.80 (0.67)	2.31 (0.87)

*Note:*  $N = 306$ , Jewish;  $N = 36$ , Arab;  $N = 259$ , Jewish Comparison;  $N = 332$ , Arab Comparison  
 Frequency items include: How often do you have conversations with out-group; How often do you hangout with the out-group; How often do you attend social events sponsored by out-group; How often do you attend culture specific events sponsored by out-group?

**Table 11.**

## Means for Intergroup Contact Items by Ethnic Group

Value	Jewish	Arab	Ethnic Group Comparison Group for Jewish	Comparison Group for Arab
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Number of kids in your neighborhood belonging to out-group	1.12 (0.41)	1.53 (0.88)	1.13 (0.36)	1.42 (0.68)
Number of friends in the out-group	1.73 (0.78)	2.58 (0.87)	1.85 (0.85)	2.60 (1.08)
How often do you have conversations with out-Group	2.04 (0.87)	3.27 (1.09)	2.35 (1.00)	2.96 (1.19)
How often do you hang out with the out-group	1.78 (0.83)	2.83 (1.11)	2.04 (0.94)	2.68 (1.18)
How often do you attend social events sponsored by out-group	1.26 (0.60)	1.86 (1.10)	1.42 (0.70)	1.87 (0.95)
How often do you attend culture specific events sponsored by out-group	1.31 (0.68)	1.70 (1.01)	1.42 (0.71)	1.76 (0.89)

*Note:*  $N = 306$ , Jewish;  $N = 36$ , Arab;  $N = 259$ , Sec-Jew;  $N = 332$ , Sec-Arab

**Table 12.**

*Factor Loadings for Cultural Identity Commitment, Cultural Identity Exploration and Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships*

	Cultural Identity Commitment	Cultural Identity Exploration	Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	Communality
Happy to be a member of the group that I belong to	.86	.17	.12	.78
Feel good about my cultural or ethnic background	.76	.32	.09	.68
Never try to hide my cultural background	.75	-.12	-.06	.58
Strong sense of belonging to my cultural group	.71	.33	.22	.66
Great pride in being a member of my cultural group	.65	.38	.19	.60
Angry when kids from my cultural group are ashamed of their cultural background	.62	.31	.07	.48
Carry out traditional ways of my cultural group	.57	.41	.30	.58
Understand well what cultural group membership means to me	.50	.46	.21	.50
Like the way my cultural group raise their children	.46	.16	.38	.38
Often talked to other people to learn more about my cultural background	.25	.78	.05	.67
Spent time trying to find out more about my cultural group	.18	.78	.06	.64
Think about how my life will be affected by my cultural group membership	.09	.61	.34	.50
Participate in my traditional cultural practices	.40	.60	.12	.54
Prefer to date only members of my cultural group	.14	.12	.83	.72
Would not like to marry someone from a different cultural background	.04	.09	.76	.59
Like to hang out mainly with members of my cultural group	.11	.01	.74	.55
Active in ingroup organizations or social groups	.12	.33	.56	.43



**Table 13.***Factor Loadings for Intergroup Contact*

	Intergroup Contact	Communalities
How often do you hang out with the out-group	.89	.80
How often do you have conversations with out-group	.87	.76
Number of friends in the out-group	.86	.74
How often do you attend social events sponsored by out-group	.75	.56
How often do you attend culture specific events sponsored by out-group	.72	.52
Number of kids in your neighborhood belonging to out-group	.57	.33

**Table 14.**

*Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting General Intergroup Exclusion in the Peer Context*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
<b>Model 1</b>			
Cultural Identity Commitment	0.08	0.03	.09**
Cultural Identity Exploration	0.06	0.03	.06
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	-0.07	0.03	-.07*
Intergroup Contact	-0.07	0.03	-.08*
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	0.33	0.20	.07
Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	0.04	0.12	.02
Religion (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.19	0.11	-.09
Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	-0.54	0.14	-.16**
Gender	-0.21	0.06	-.11**
Grade	0.09	0.06	.05
<b>Model 2</b>			
Cultural Identity Commitment	0.10	0.03	.10**
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	-0.07	0.04	-.07*
Intergroup Contact	-0.09	0.04	-.09**
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	0.84	0.63	.17*
Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	-0.07	0.22	.03**
Gender	-0.20	0.06	-.10**
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships x Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	0.31	0.17	.09
Intergroup Contact x Cultural Identity Commitment	-0.10	0.03	-.10**
<b>Model 3</b>			
Cultural Identity Commitment	0.30	0.08	.30**
Cultural Identity Exploration	0.20	0.07	.20**
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	-0.28	0.08	-.29**
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	-1.17	1.52	-.23
Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	-0.64	0.19	-.19**
Gender	-0.21	0.06	-.10**
Grade	0.13	0.06	.07*
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships x Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.70	0.27	-.31*

**Table 14 continued**

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
Model 3 continued			
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships x Religion (Dummy: Jewish)	0.30	0.15	.14*
Intergroup Contact x Cultural Identity Commitment	-0.10	0.03	-.10*
Cultural Identity Commitment x Religion (Dummy: Jewish) x Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.92	0.34	-.24**
Cultural Identity Exploration x Religion (Dummy: Jewish) x Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.82	0.35	-.21*
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships x Religion (Dummy: Jewish) x Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	1.19	0.43	.34*

*Note.*  $R^2 = .06$  for Model 1,  $p < .01$ ;  $\Delta R^2 = .03$  for Model 2,  $p < .05$ ;  $\Delta R^2 = .03$  for Model 3,  $p < .01$ . \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .

**Table 15.**

*Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting General Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
Model 1			
Cultural Identity Commitment	0.03	0.03	.03
Cultural Identity Exploration	0.09	0.04	.08*
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	-0.08	0.04	-.08*
Intergroup Contact	-0.06	0.04	-.06
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	0.80	0.22	.14*
Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	0.00	0.13	.00
Religion (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.09	0.13	-0.04
Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	-0.17	0.15	-0.05
Gender	-0.27	0.07	-.13*
Grade	-0.05	0.07	-0.02
Model 2			
Cultural Identity Exploration	0.08	0.04	.08*
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	-0.09	0.04	-.08*
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	1.31	0.30	.23*
Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	-0.52	0.20	-.14*
Gender	-0.26	0.07	-.12*
Cultural Identity Exploration x Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	1.08	0.36	.13*
Cultural Identity Exploration x Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	-0.49	0.23	-.11*
Intergroup Contact x Cultural Identity Commitment	-0.07	0.04	-.07*

Note.  $R^2 = .06$  for Model 1,  $p < .01$ ;  $\Delta R^2 = .03$  for Model 2,  $p < .05$ .  
\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .

**Table 16.**

*Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting General Intergroup Exclusion in the Community Context*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
Model 1			
Cultural Identity Commitment	0.1	0.04	.08**
Cultural Identity Exploration	0.03	0.04	.03
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	-0.22	0.04	-.18**
Intergroup Contact	-0.07	0.04	-.06
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	0.35	0.25	.06
Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.1	0.15	-.04
Religion (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.09	0.14	-.03
Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	-0.51	0.17	-.12**
Gender	-0.18	0.08	-.08*
Grade	-0.05	0.08	-.02

*Note.*  $R^2 = .07$  for Model 1,  $p < .01$ . \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .

**Table 17.**

*Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Cultural Intergroup Exclusion in the Peer Context*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
Model 1			
Cultural Identity Commitment	0.08	0.03	.09**
Cultural Identity Exploration	0.02	0.03	.02
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	-0.16	0.03	-.18**
Intergroup Contact	-0.06	0.03	-.07*
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	0.50	0.18	.01*
Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.13	0.10	-.07
Religion (Dummy: Jewish)	0.06	0.10	0.03
Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	-0.07	0.12	-.02
Gender	-0.26	0.06	-.15**
Grade	0.10	0.06	.06
Model 3			
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	1.14	1.35	.25
Gender	-0.24	0.06	-.14**
Intergroup Contact x Religion (Dummy: Jewish)	0.23	0.11	.11**

Note.  $R^2 = .09$  for Model 1,  $p < .05$ . \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .

**Table 18.**

*Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Cultural Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
Model 1			
Cultural Identity Commitment	0.07	0.03	.07*
Cultural Identity Exploration	-0.04	0.03	-.04
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	-0.19	0.04	-.19**
Intergroup Contact	-0.08	0.04	-.08*
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	0.46	0.21	.09*
Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.18	0.12	-.08
Religion (Dummy: Jewish)	0.07	0.12	.03
Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	0.09	0.14	.03
Gender	-0.21	0.07	-.10*
Grade	0.09	0.07	.05
Model 2			
Cultural Identity Commitment	0.07	0.03	.07*
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	-0.20	0.04	-.20*
Intergroup Contact	-0.08	0.04	-.08*
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	-0.26	0.63	-.05
Gender	-0.20	0.07	-.10**
Cultural Identity Commitment x Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	-0.54	0.20	-.11**
Cultural Identity Exploration x Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	1.28	0.33	.18**
Cultural Identity Exploration x Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	-0.61	0.21	-.14*
Intergroup Contact x Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.42	0.14	-.17*
Intergroup Contact x Religion (Dummy: Jewish)	0.45	0.13	.20*
Intergroup Contact x Cultural Identity Exploration	0.07	0.03	.07*

Note.  $R^2 = .08$  for Model 1,  $p < .01$ ;  $\Delta R^2 = .05$  for Model 2,  $p < .01$ . \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .

**Table 19.**

*Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Ingroup Inclusion Evaluation in the Home Context*

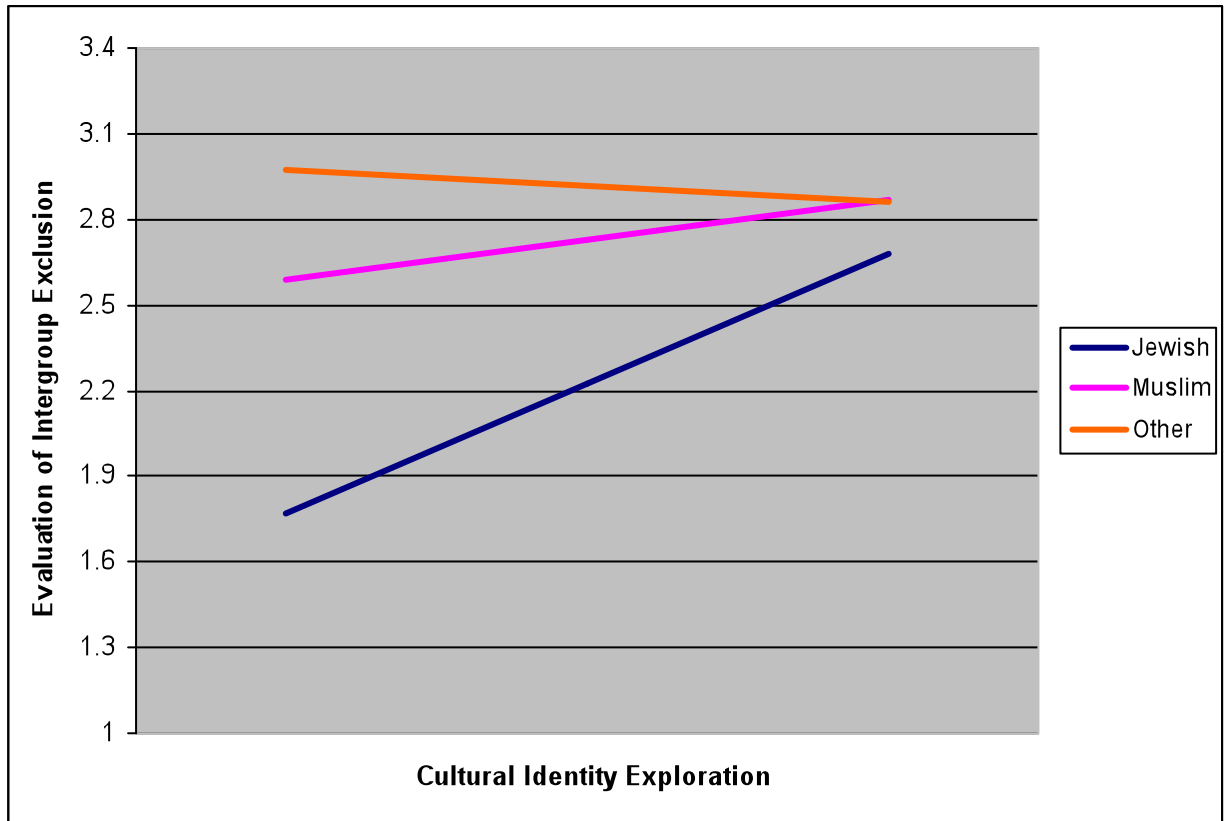
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>
Model 1			
Cultural Identity Commitment	-0.01	0.03	-0.01
Cultural Identity Exploration	-0.07	0.03	-.07*
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	-0.09	0.04	-.09**
Intergroup Contact	-0.05	-0.04	-.05
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	0.33	0.20	.07
Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.30	0.12	-.14**
Religion (Dummy: Jewish)	0.14	0.12	.07
Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	-0.04	0.14	-.01
Gender	0.18	0.06	.09*
Grade	0.05	0.06	.03
Model 2			
Cultural Identity Exploration	-0.08	0.04	-.08*
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships	-0.09	0.04	-.09**
Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	0.56	0.27	.11**
Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.37	0.12	-.17*
Gender	0.17	0.07	.09**
Cultural Identity Commitment x Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)	-0.65	0.20	-.14*
Cultural Identity Commitment x Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	0.25	0.11	.11*
Cultural Identity Exploration x Religion (Dummy: Muslim)	-0.43	0.21	-.10*
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships x Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)	-0.42	0.14	-.19**
Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships x Religion (Dummy: Jewish)	0.44	0.13	.21**
Intergroup Contact x Cultural Identity Commitment	-0.07	0.03	-.07*

Note.  $R^2 = .03$  for Model 1,  $p < .01$ ;  $\Delta R^2 = .04$  for Model 2,  $p < .01$ . \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .



**Figure 1.**

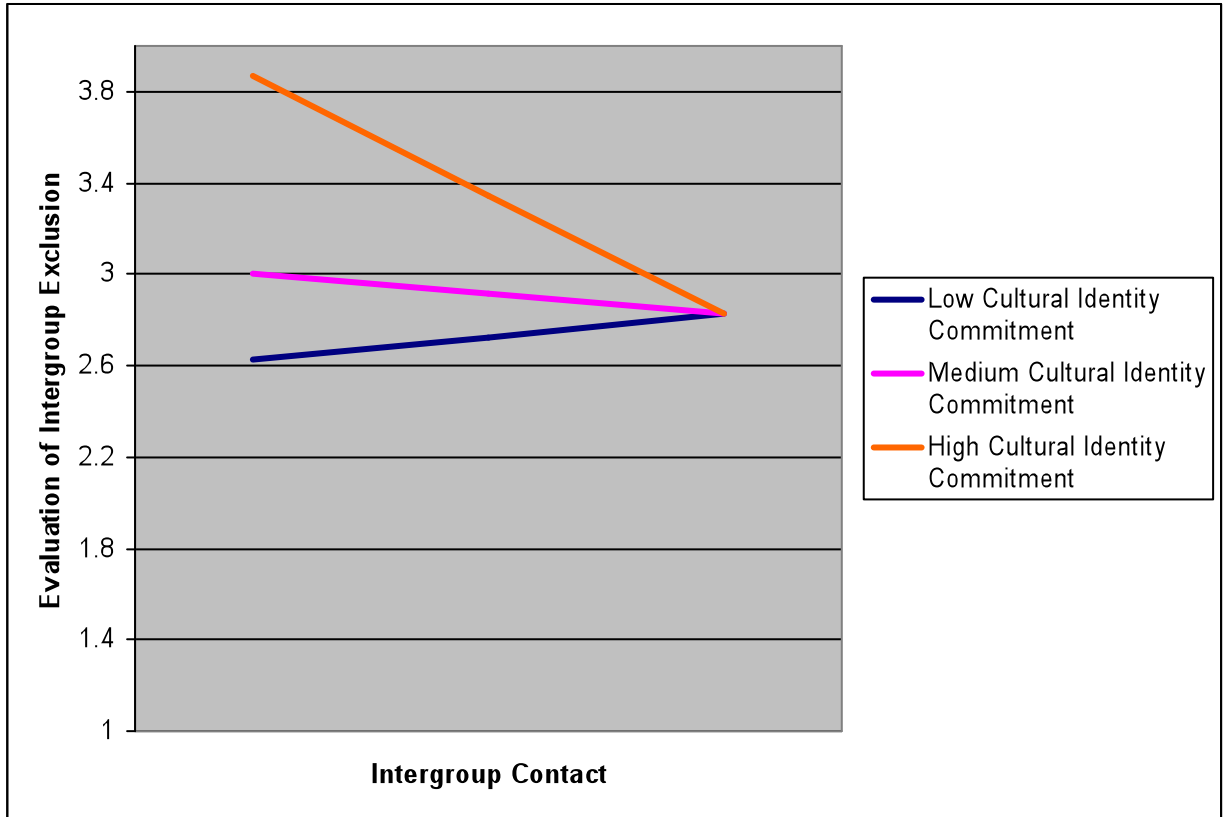
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Exploration and Religion on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Peer Context*



Note. Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 2.**

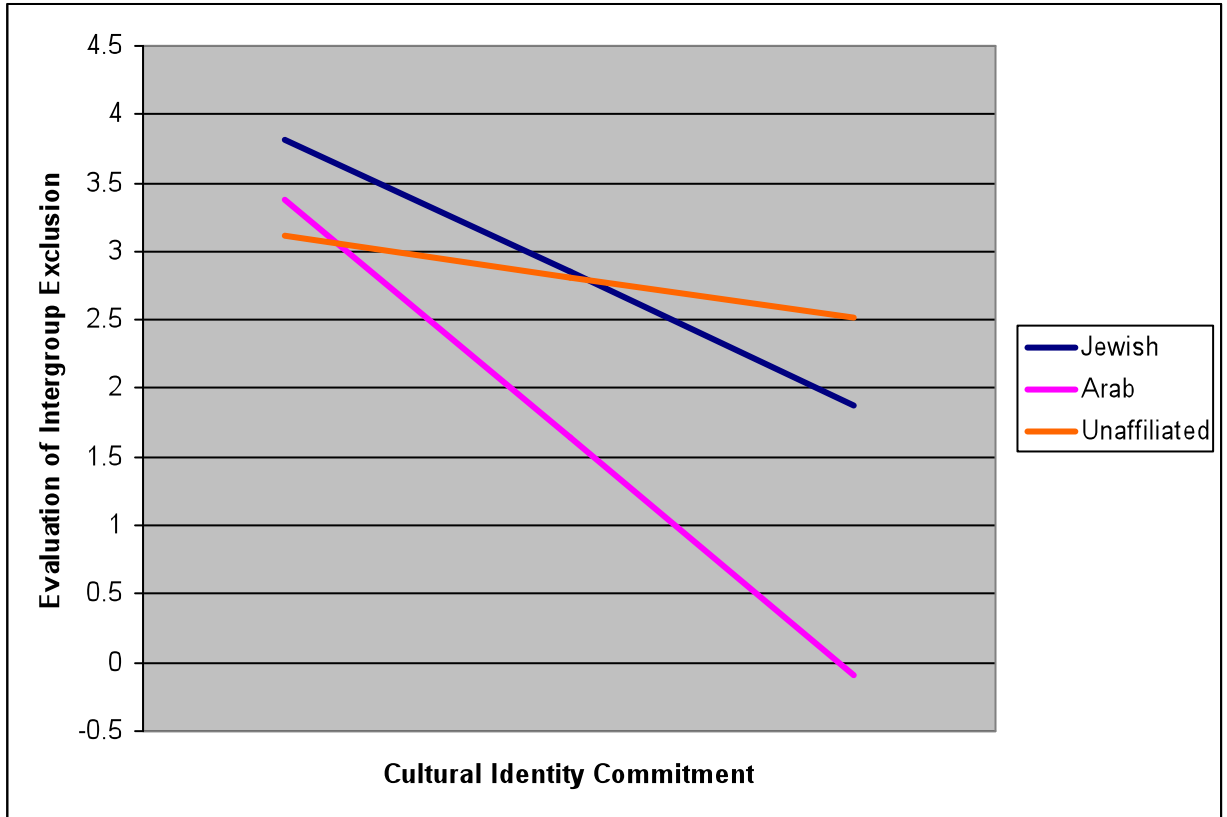
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Commitment and Intergroup Contact on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Peer Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 3.**

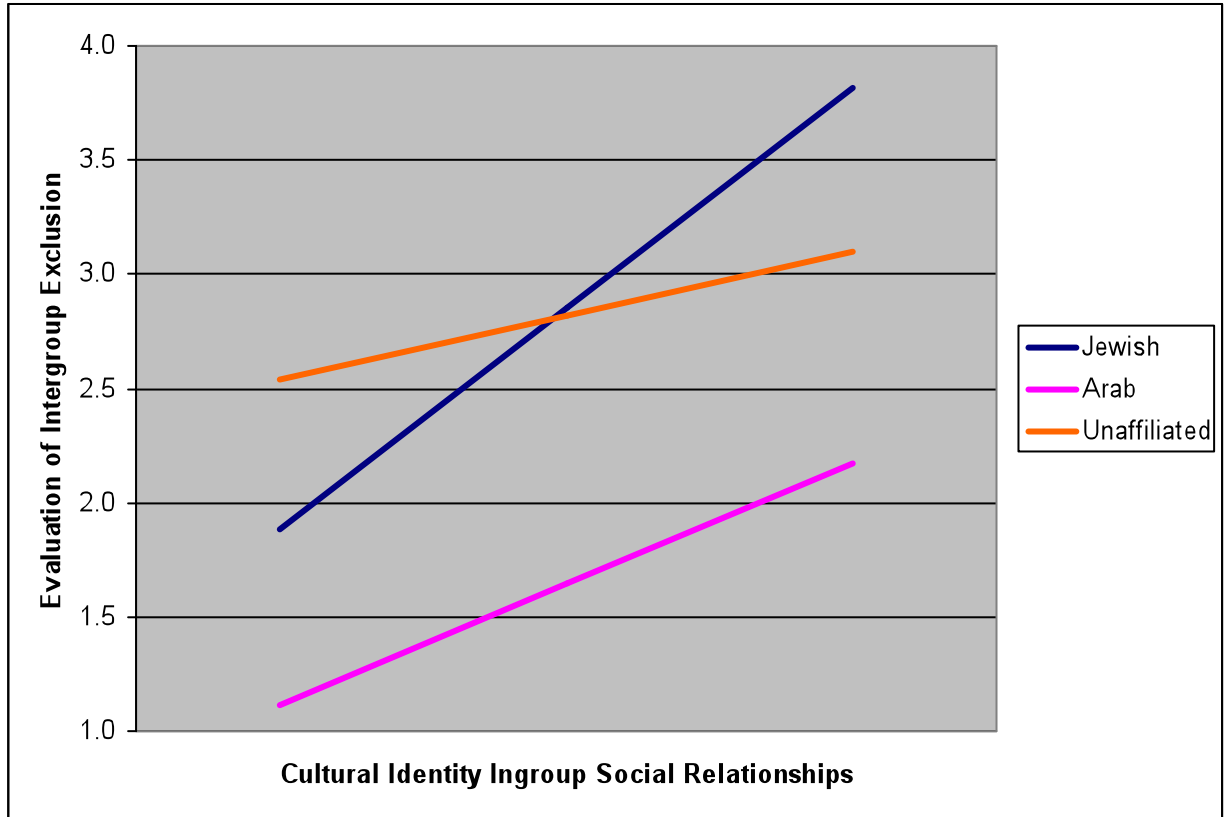
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Commitment and Ethnicity on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Peer Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 4.**

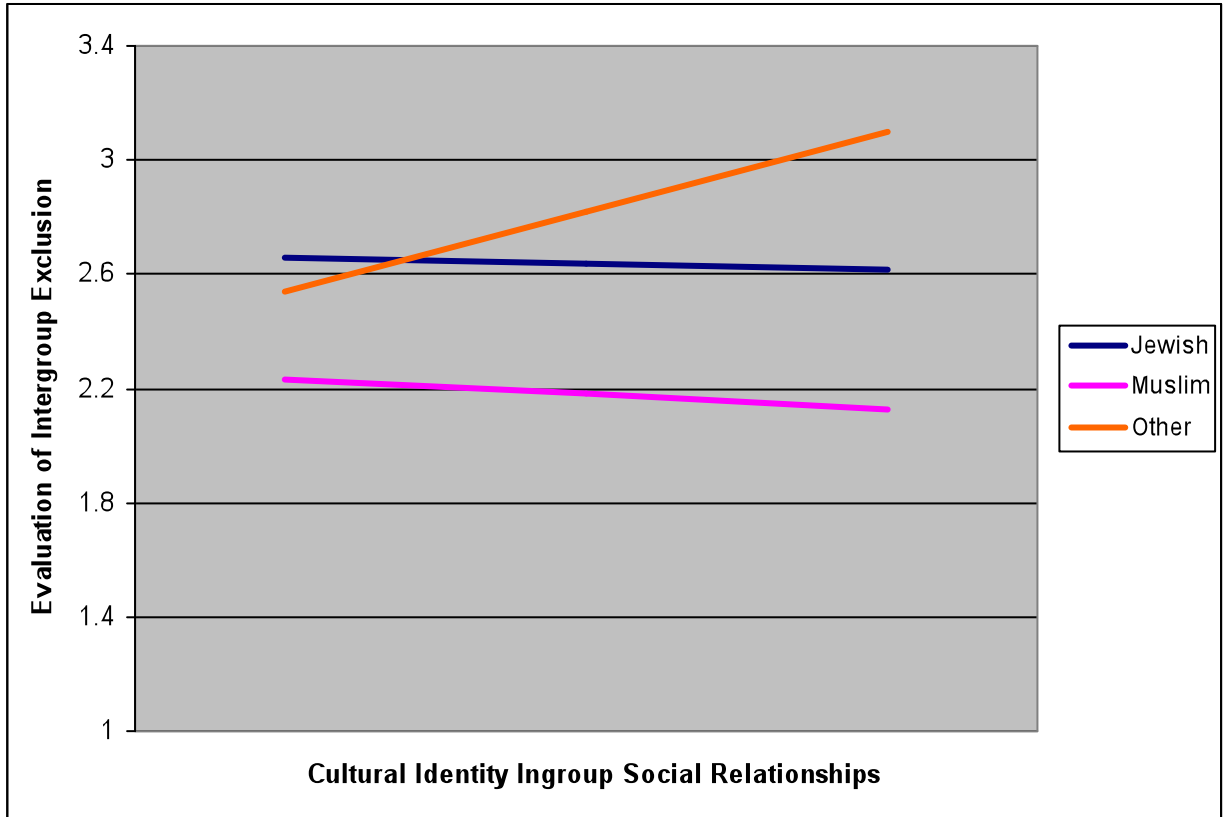
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships and Ethnicity on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Peer Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 5.**

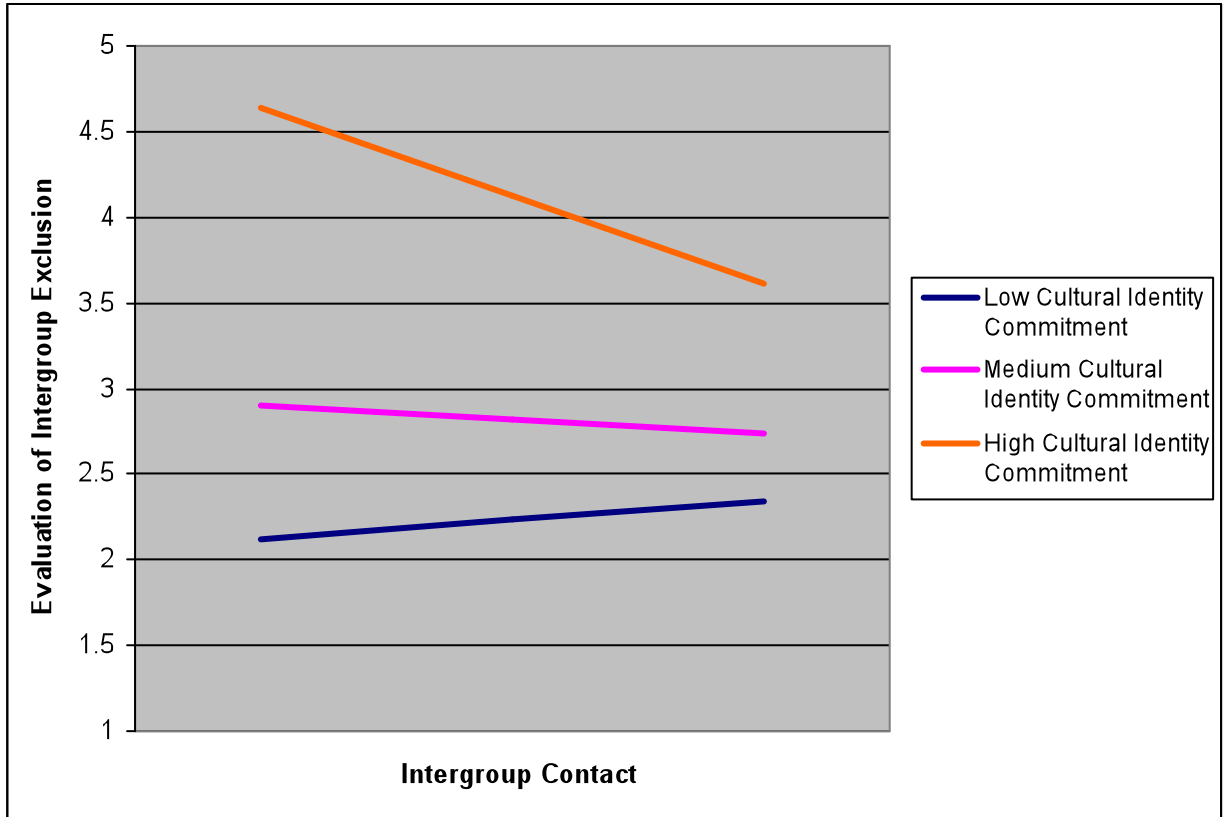
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships and Religion on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Peer Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 6.**

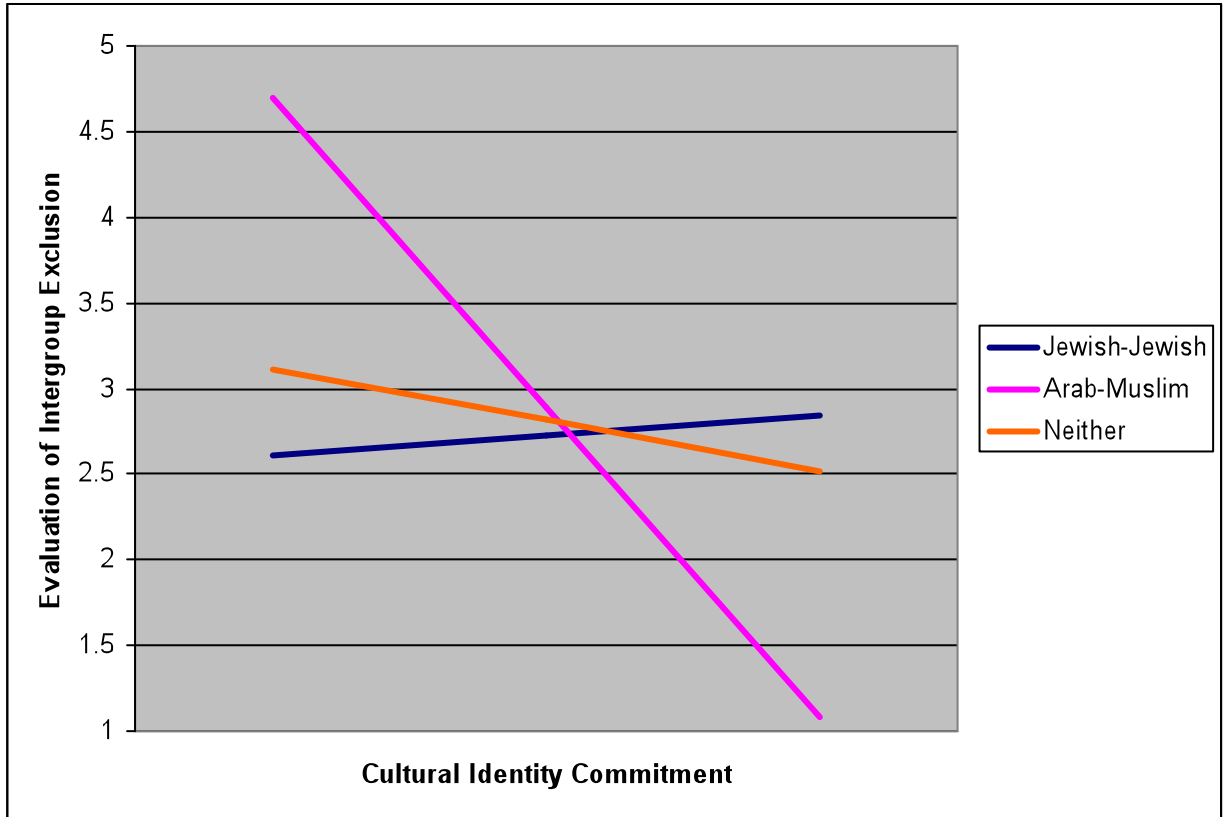
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Concern Commitment and Intergroup Contact on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Peer Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 7.**

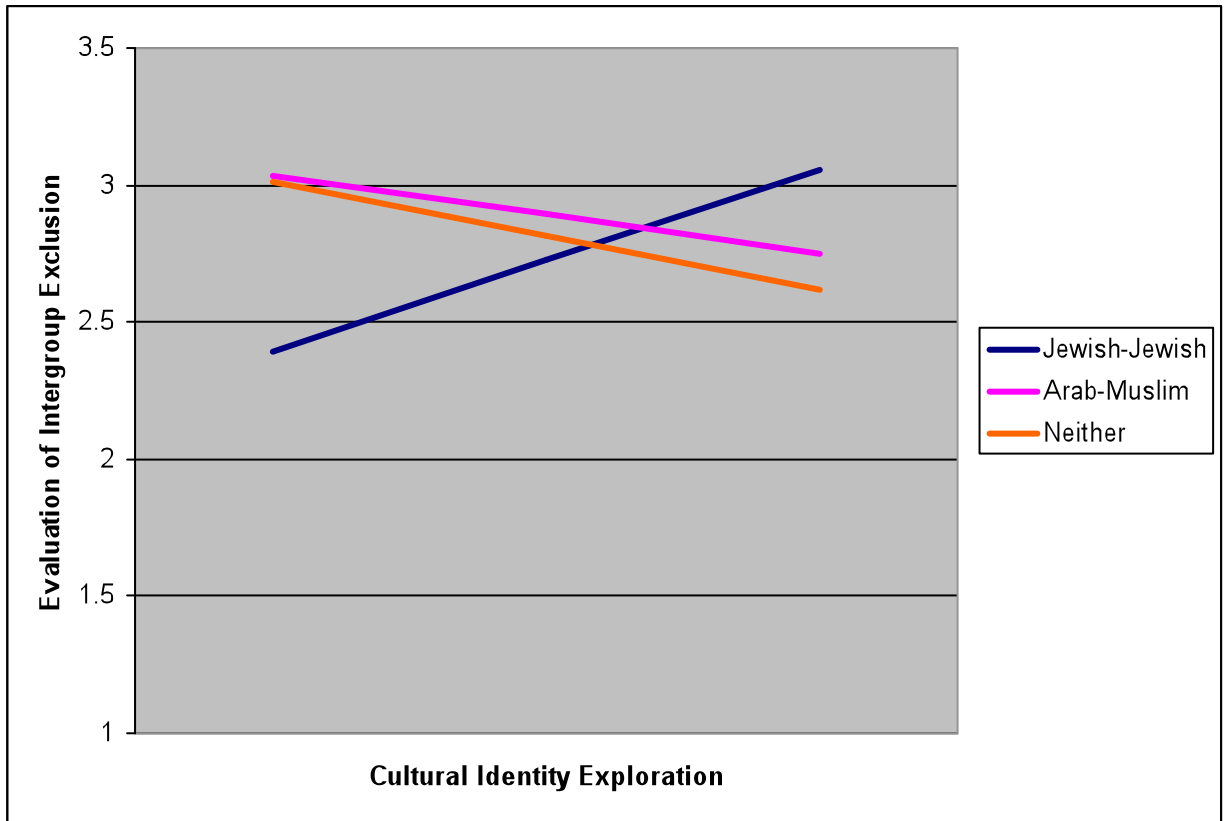
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Commitment, Ethnicity, and Religion on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Peer Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 8.**

*Interaction between Cultural Identity Exploration, Ethnicity, and Religion on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Peer Context*

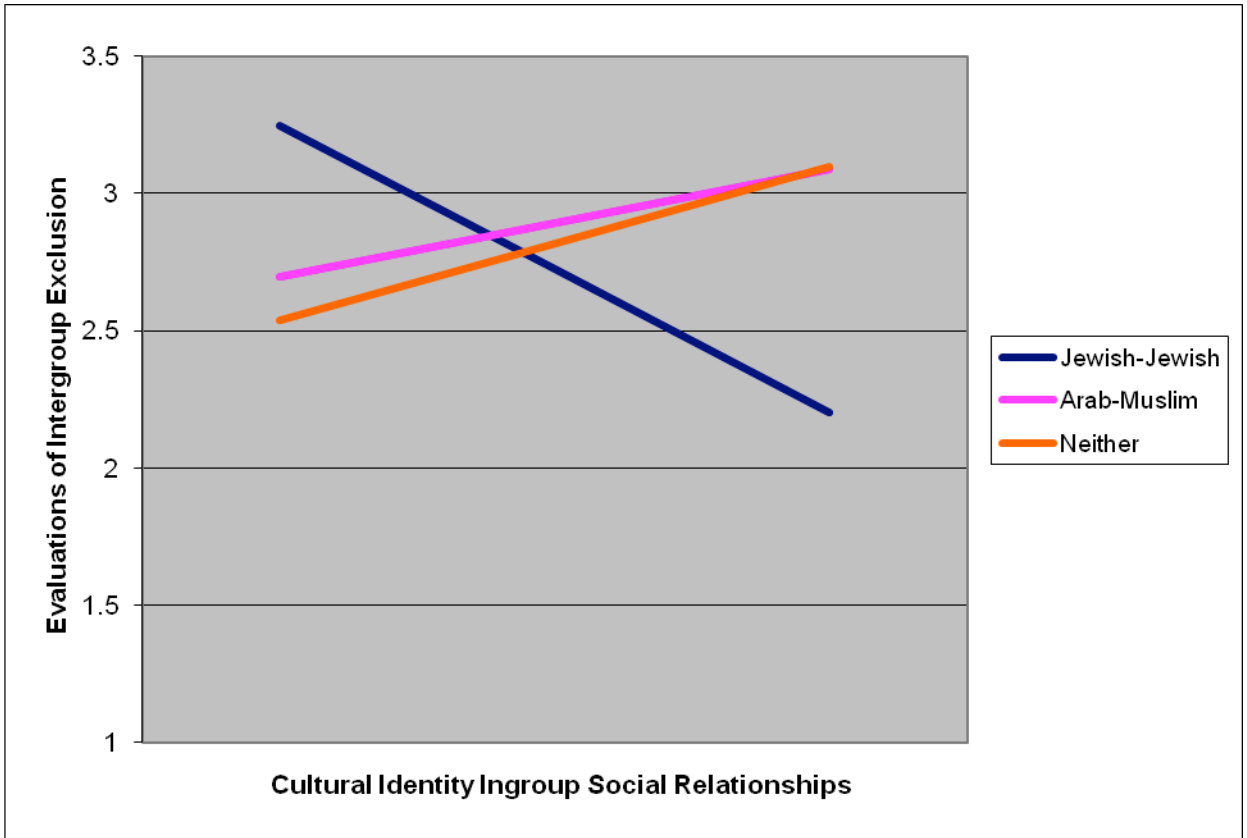


*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.



**Figure 9.**

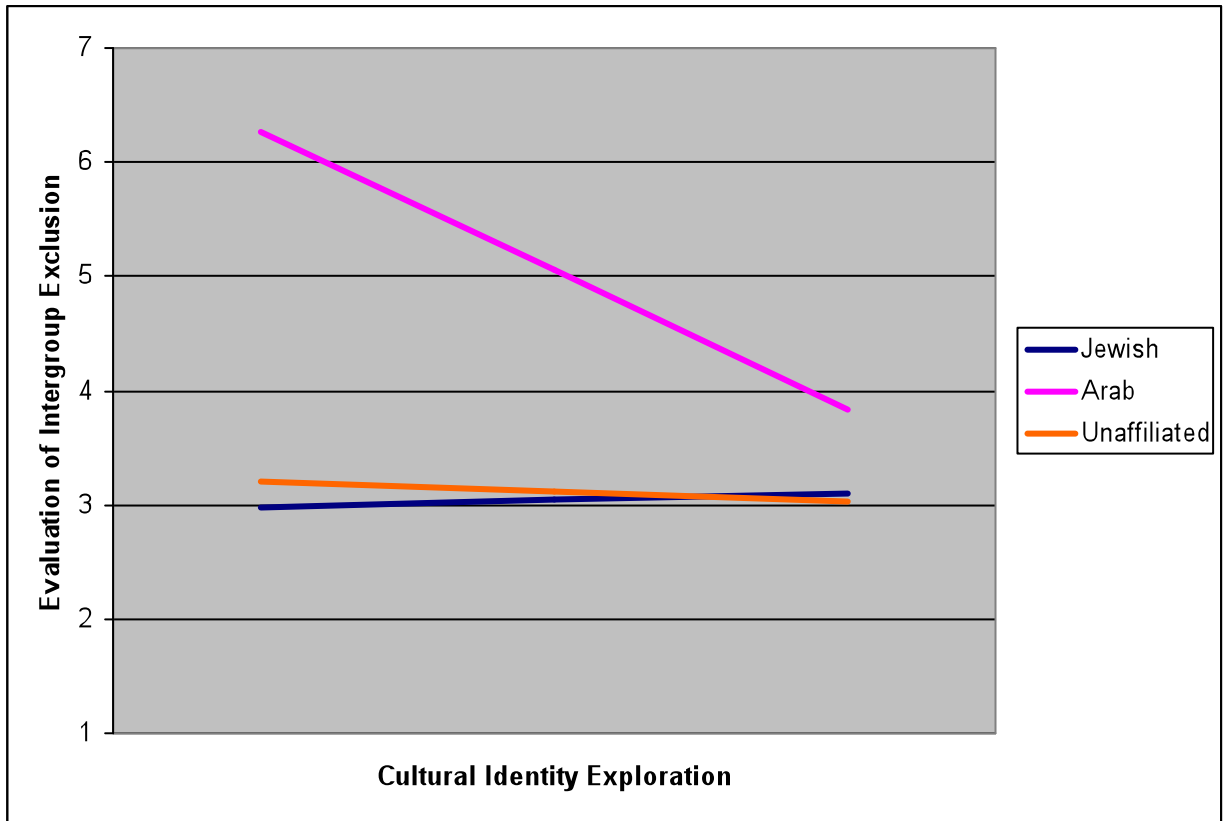
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships, Ethnicity, and Religion on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Peer Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 10.**

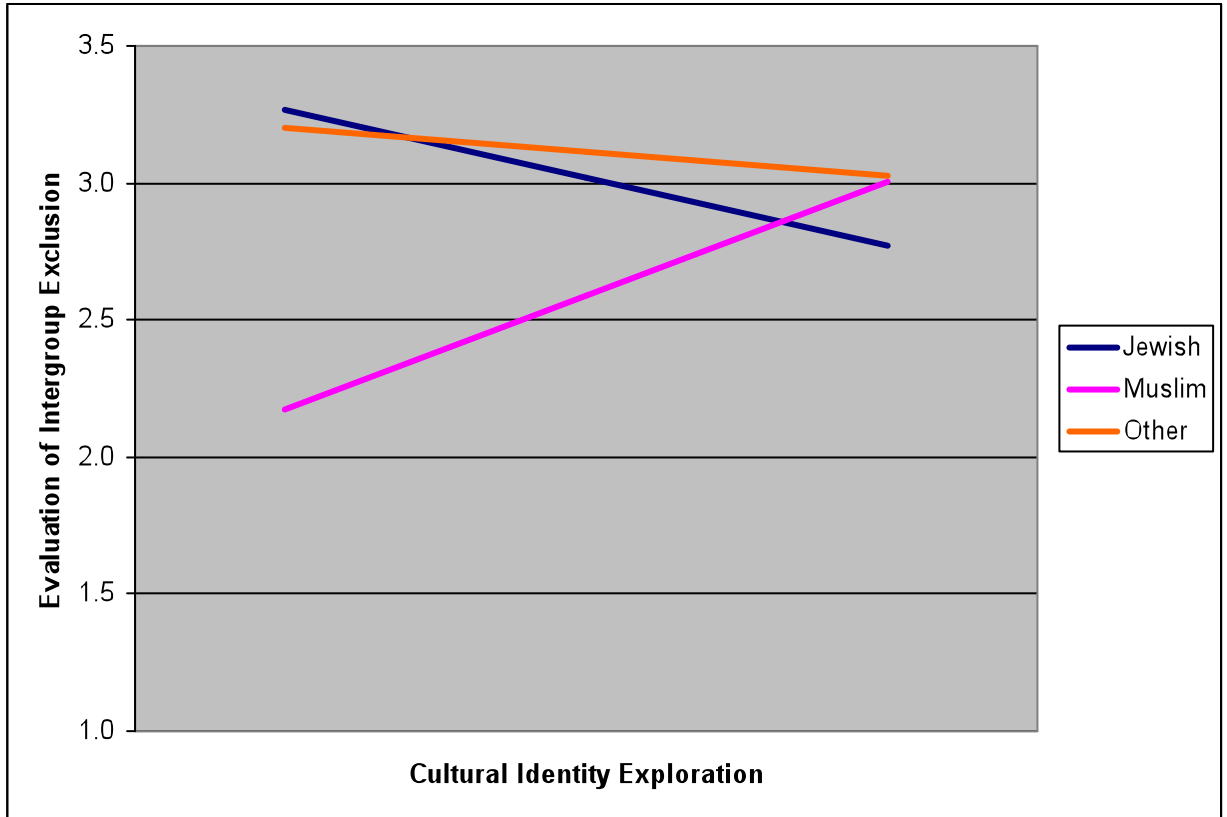
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Exploration and Ethnicity on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 11.**

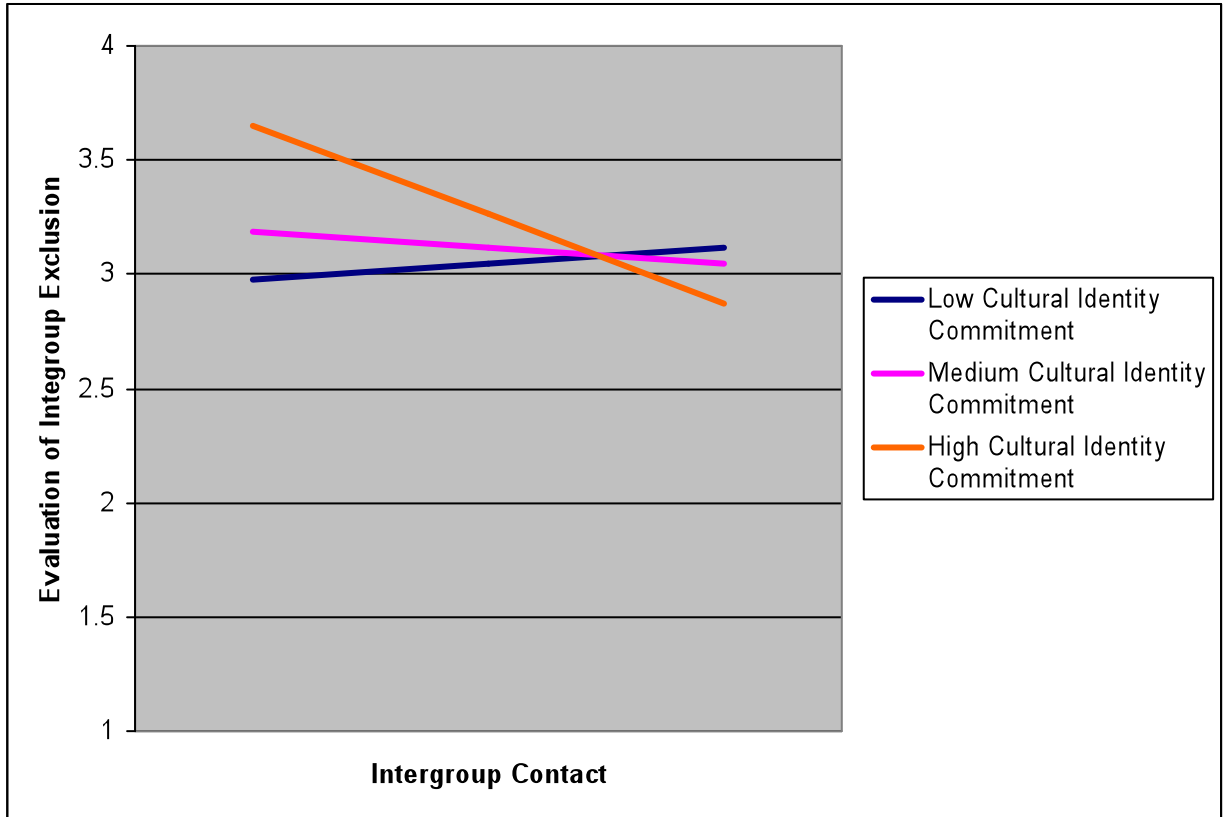
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Exploration and Religion on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 12.**

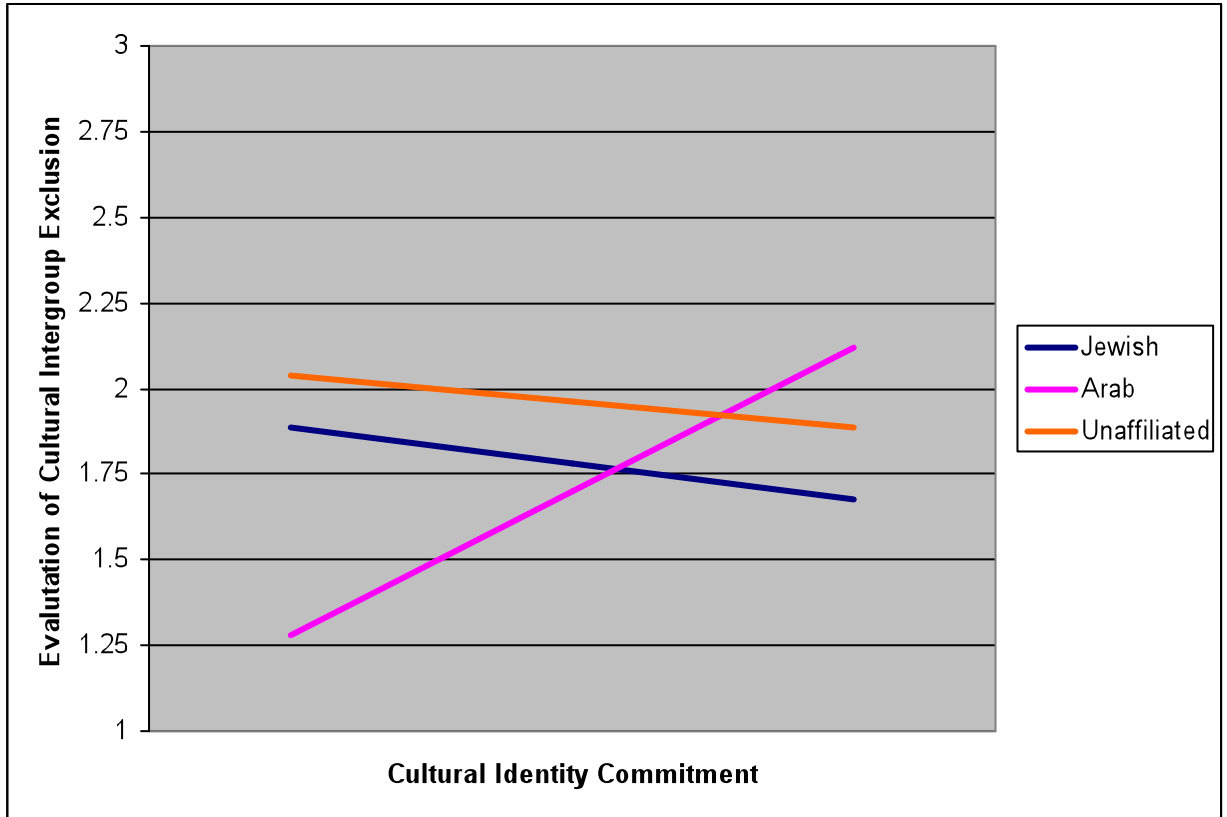
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Commitment and Intergroup Contact on Evaluations of General Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 13.**

*Interaction between Cultural Identity Commitment and Ethnicity on Evaluations of Cultural Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 14.**

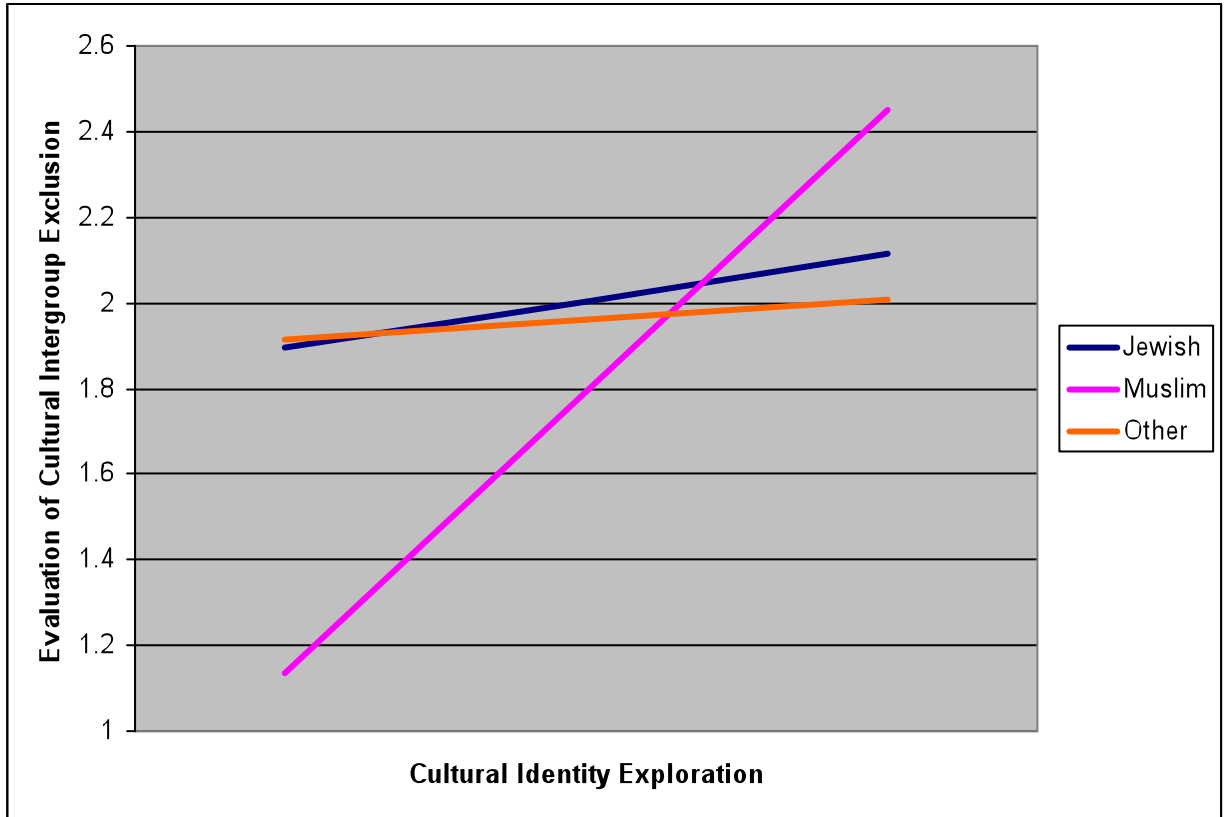
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Exploration and Ethnicity on Evaluations of Cultural Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in General Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 15.**

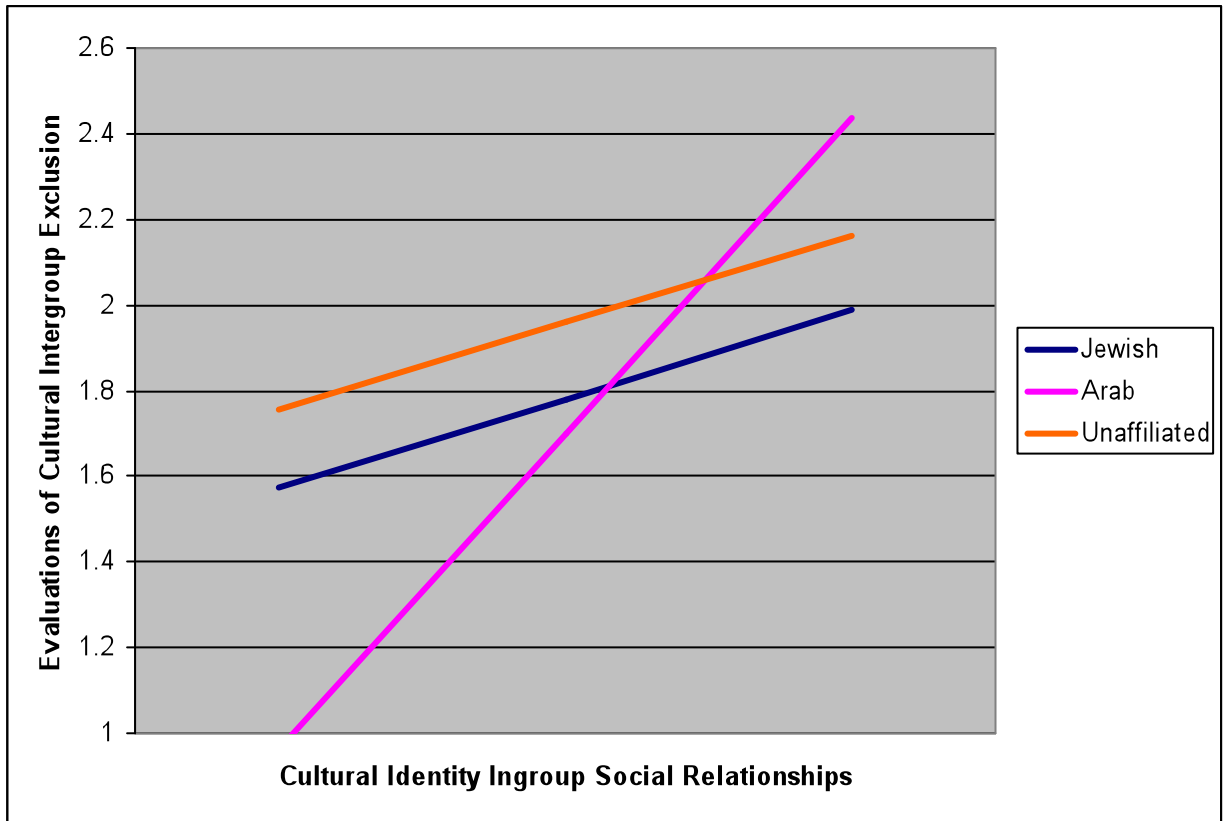
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Exploration and Religion on Evaluations of Cultural Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in Cultural Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 16.**

*Interaction between Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships and Ethnicity on Evaluations of Cultural Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in Cultural Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.



**Figure 17.**

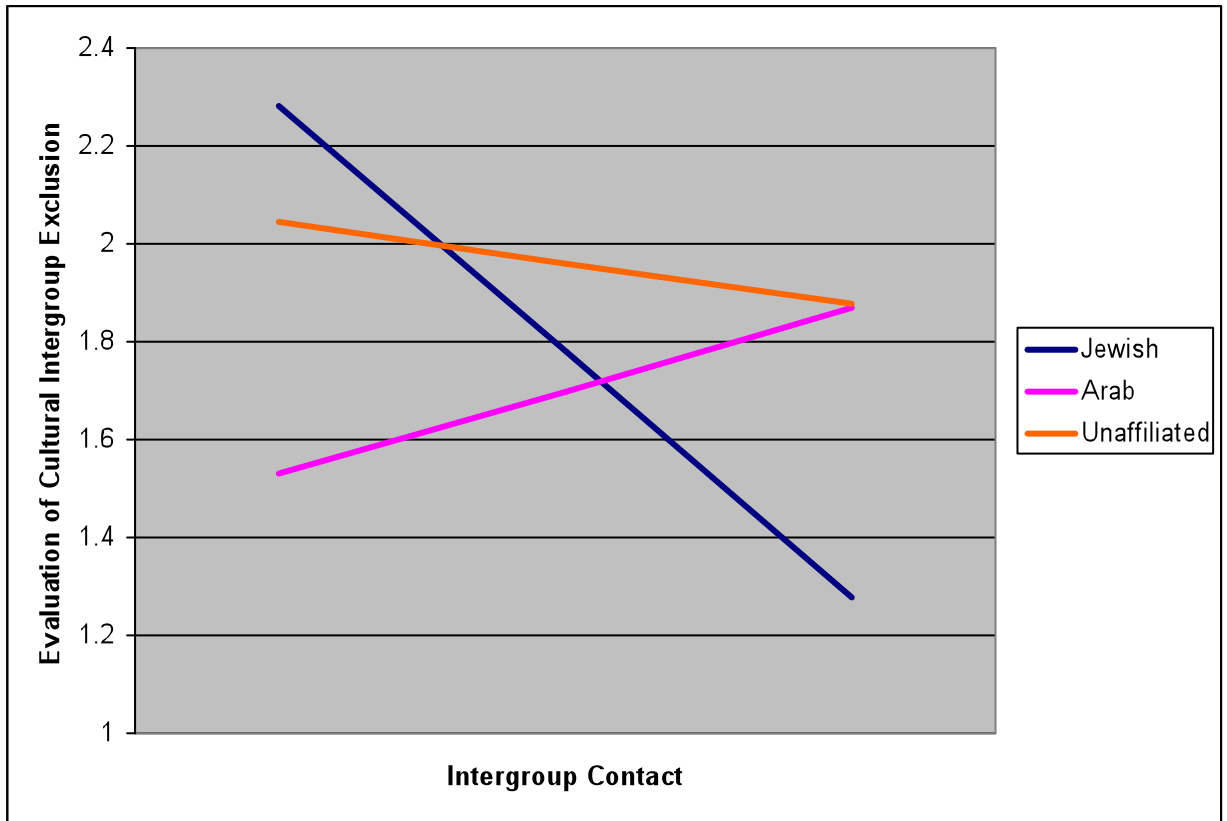
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships and Religion on Evaluations of Cultural Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in Cultural Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 18.**

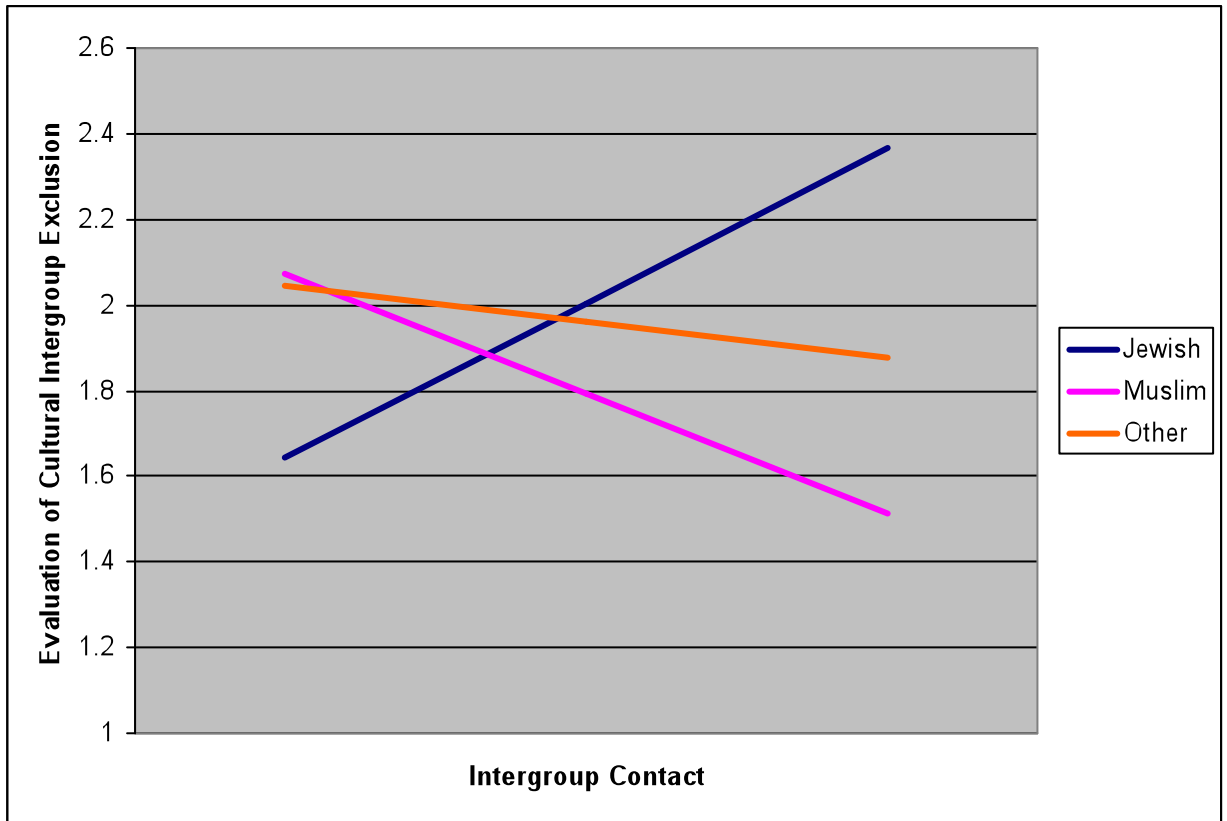
*Interaction between Intergroup Contact and Ethnicity on Evaluations of Cultural Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in Cultural Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 19.**

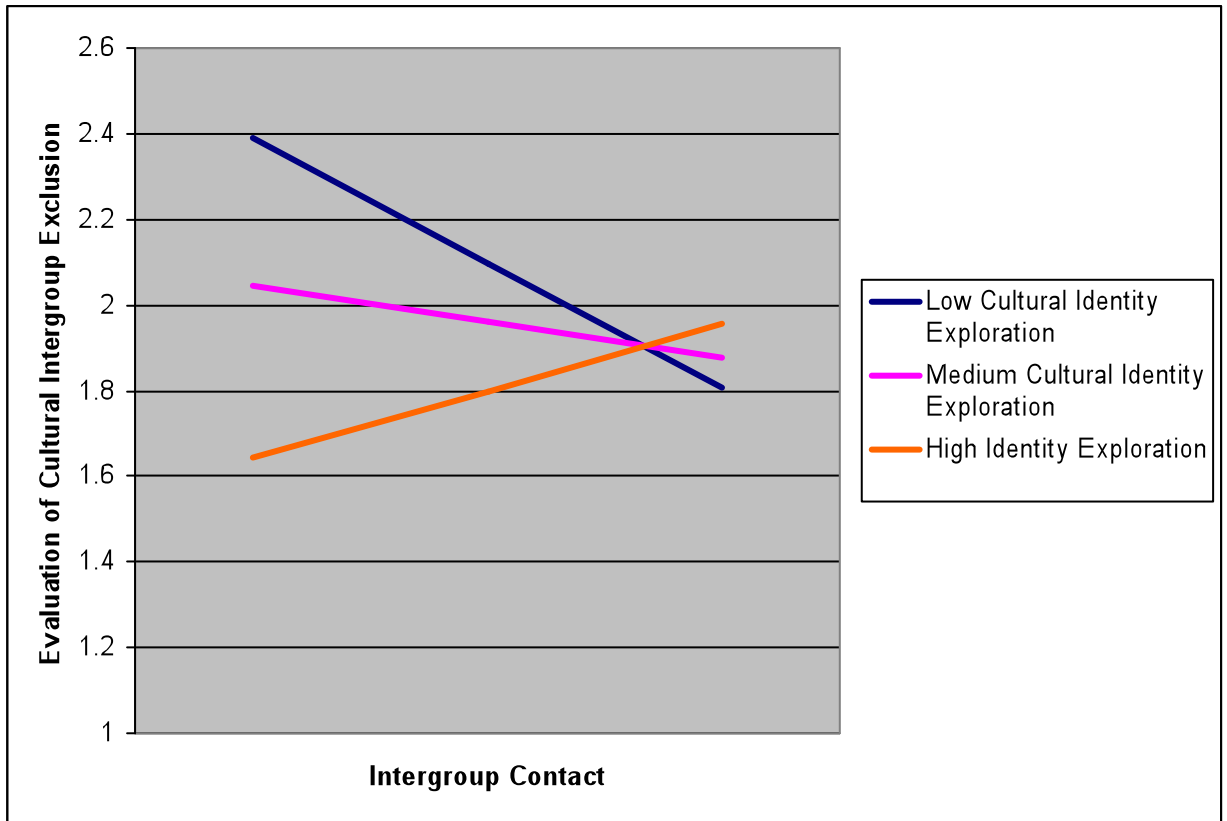
*Interaction between Intergroup Contact and Religion on Evaluations of Cultural Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in Cultural Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 20.**

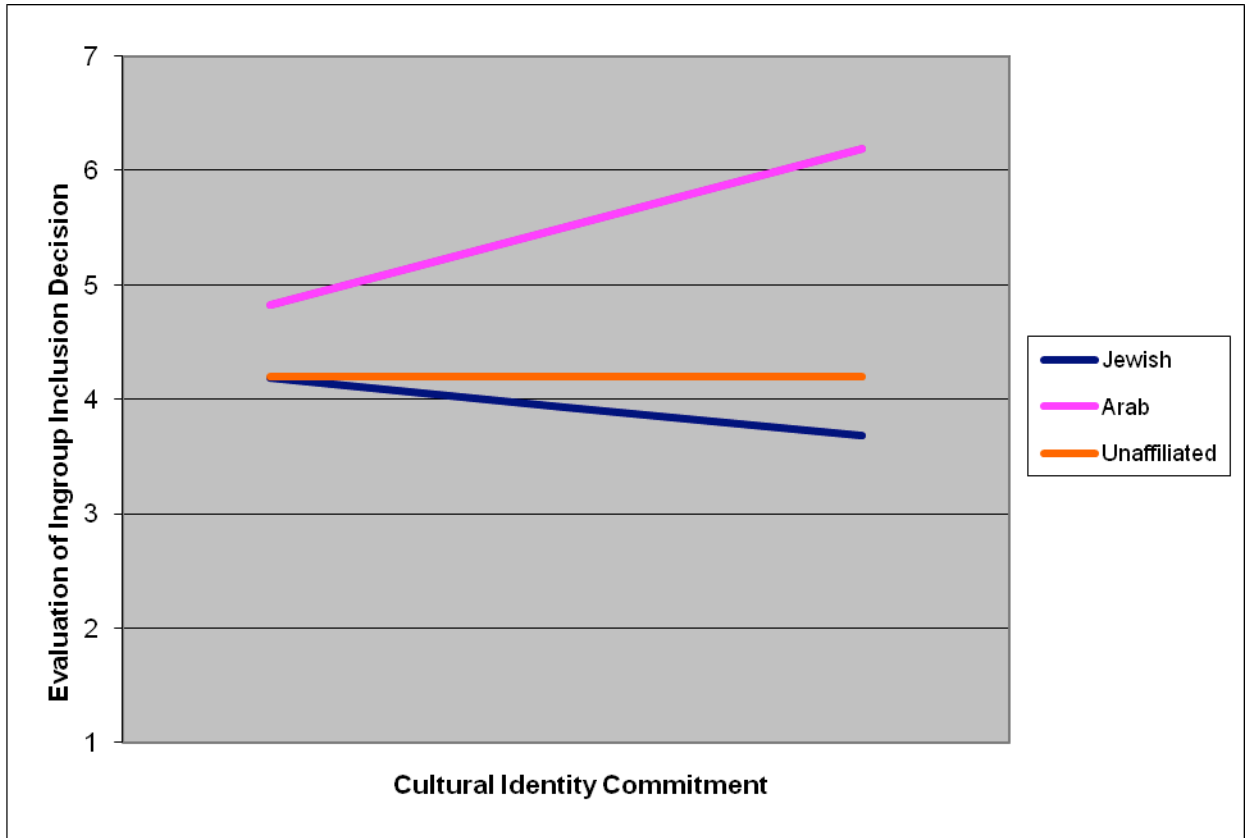
*Interaction between Intergroup Contact and Cultural Identity Commitment on Evaluations of Cultural Intergroup Exclusion in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation in Cultural Intergroup Exclusion: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 21.**

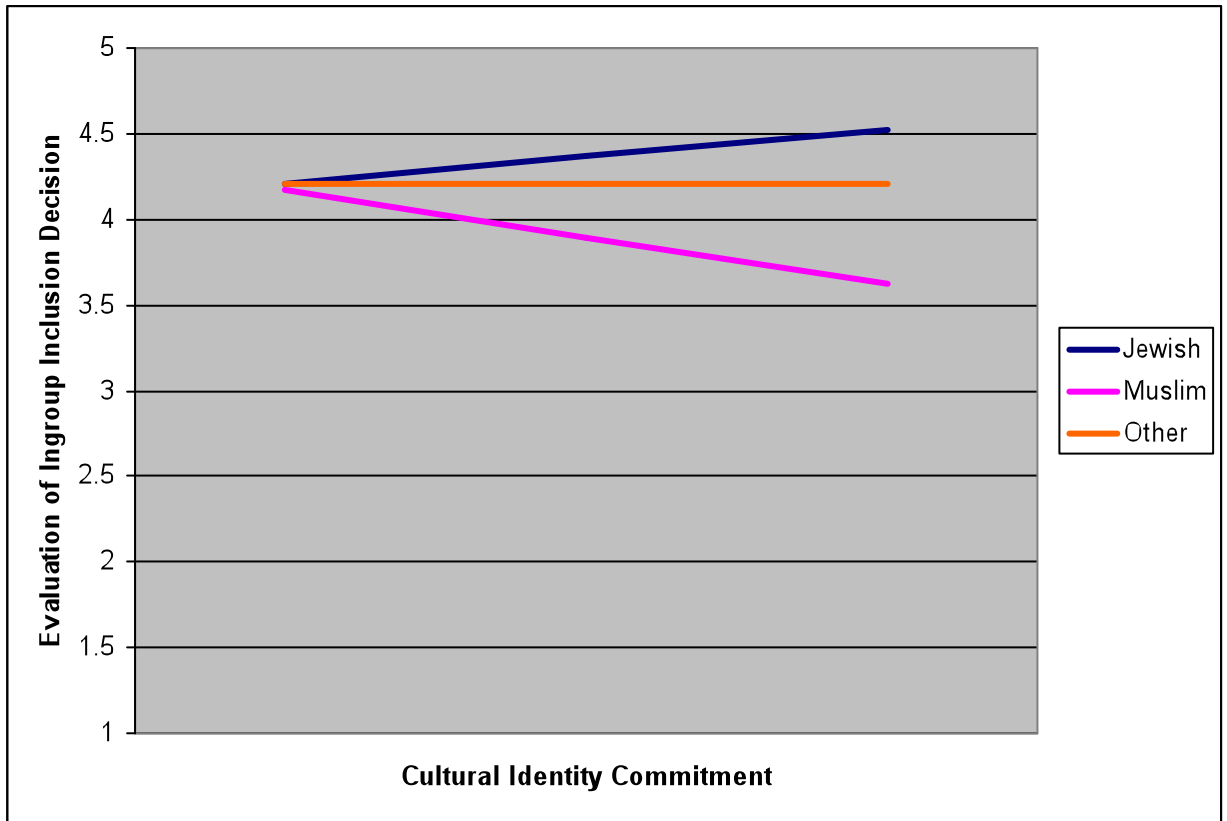
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Commitment and Ethnicity on Evaluations of Ingroup Inclusion Decisions in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation Ingroup Inclusion Decision: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 22.**

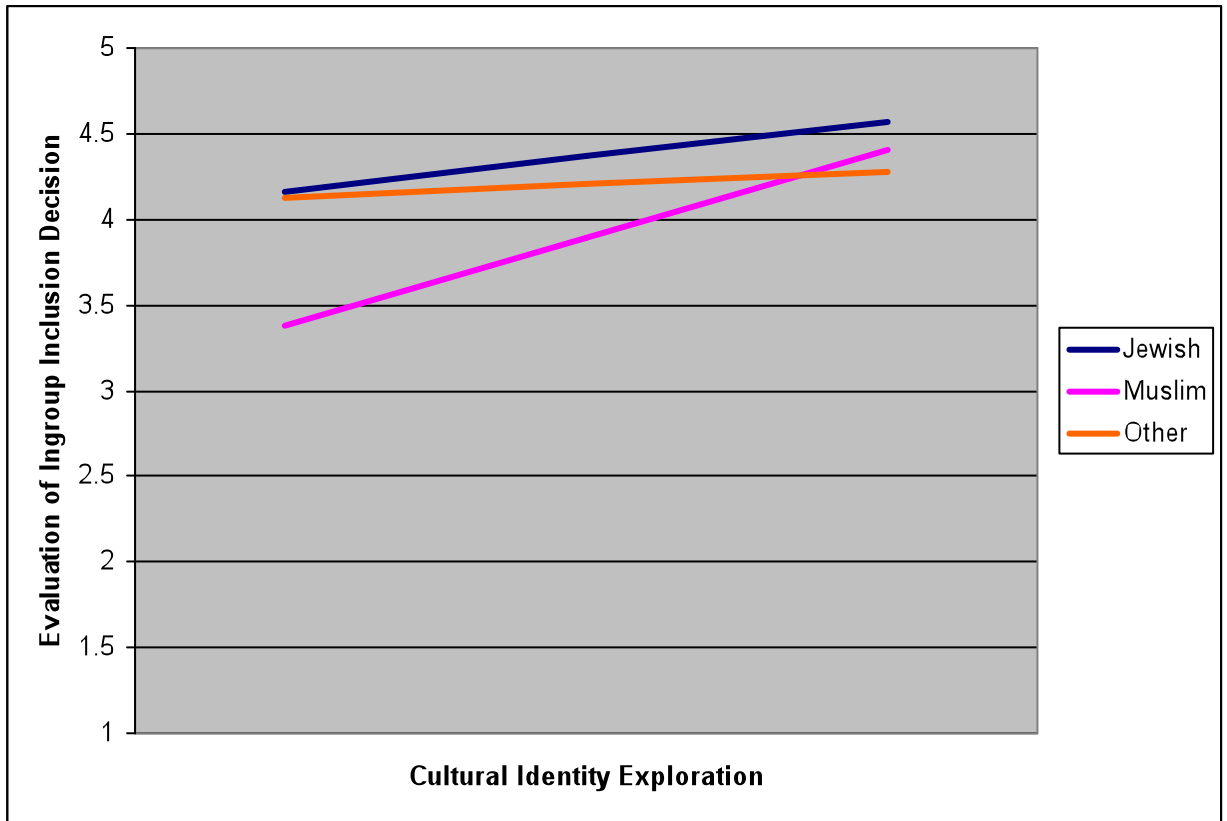
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Commitment and Religion on Evaluations of Ingroup Inclusion Decisions in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation Ingroup Inclusion Decision: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 23.**

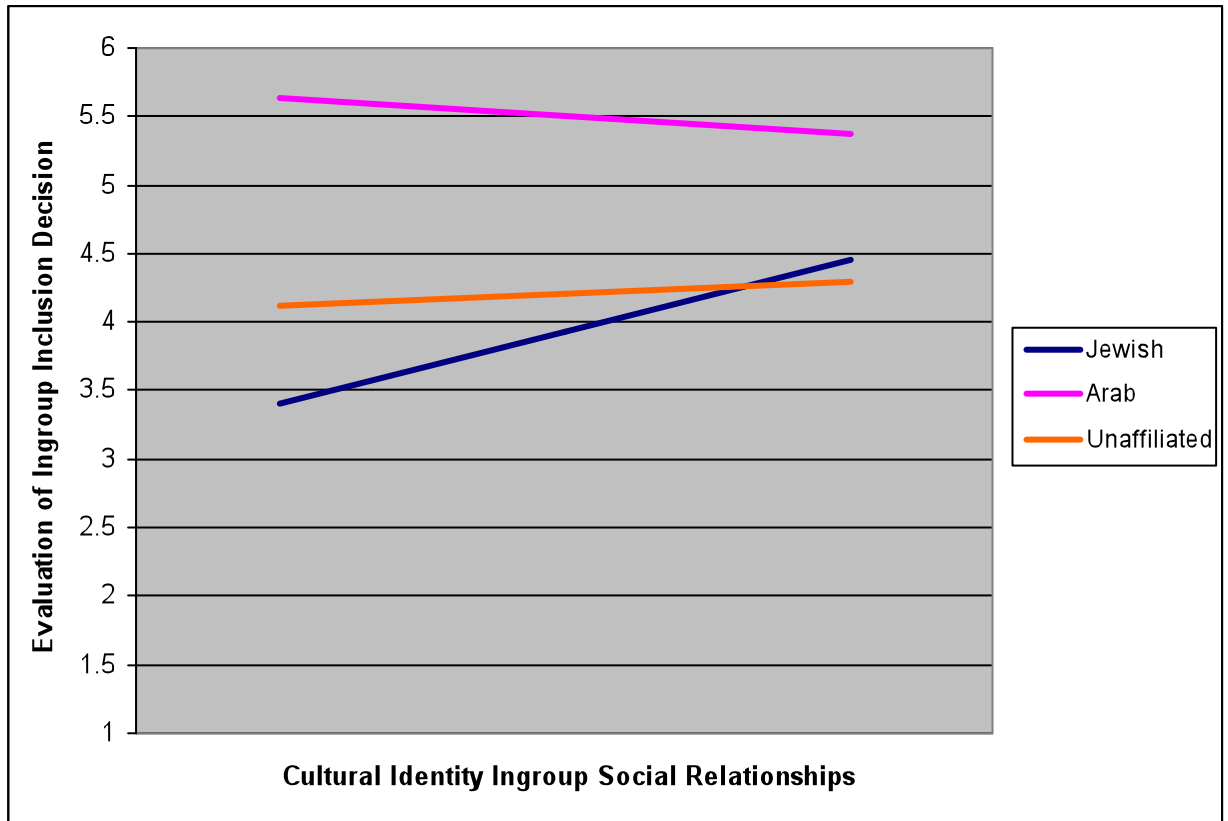
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Exploration and Ethnicity on Evaluations of Ingroup Inclusion Decisions in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation Ingroup Inclusion Decision: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 24.**

*Interaction between Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships and Ethnicity on Evaluations of Ingroup Inclusion Decisions in the Home Context*

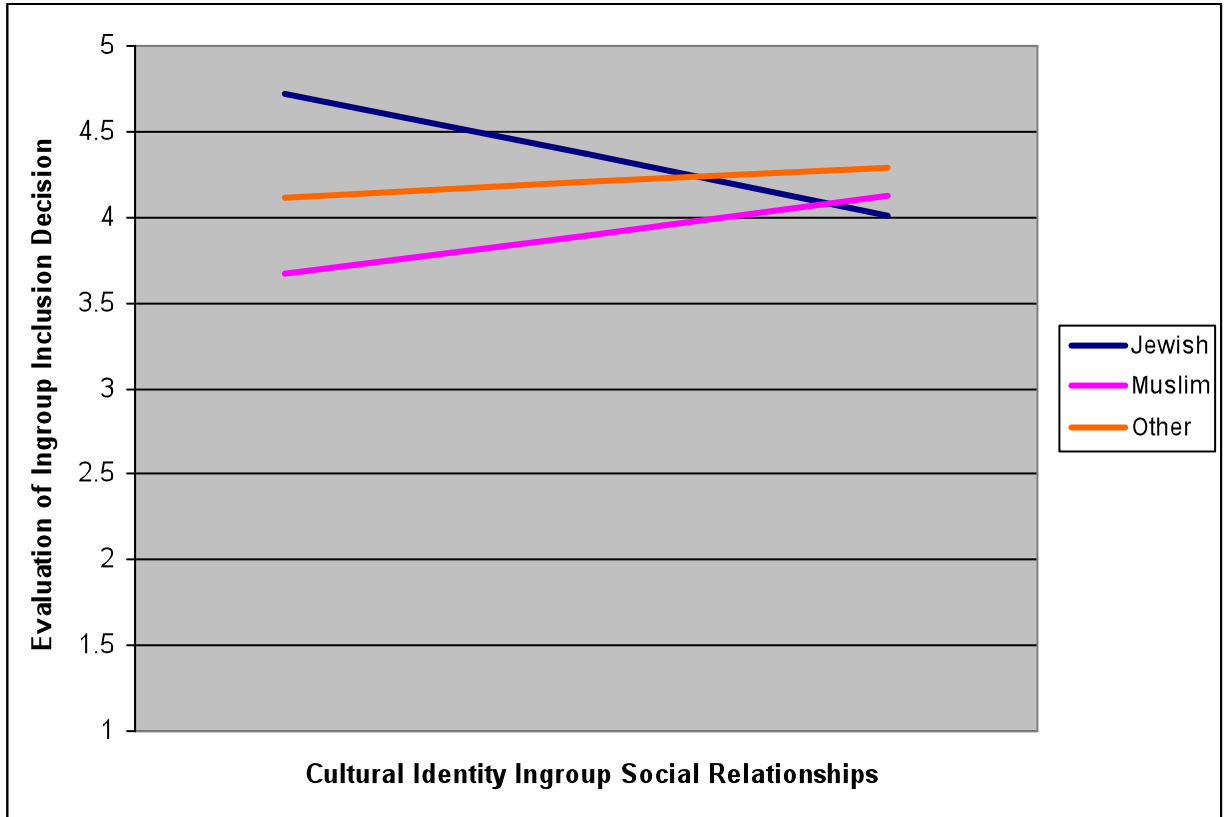


*Note.* Evaluation Ingroup Inclusion Decision: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.



**Figure 25.**

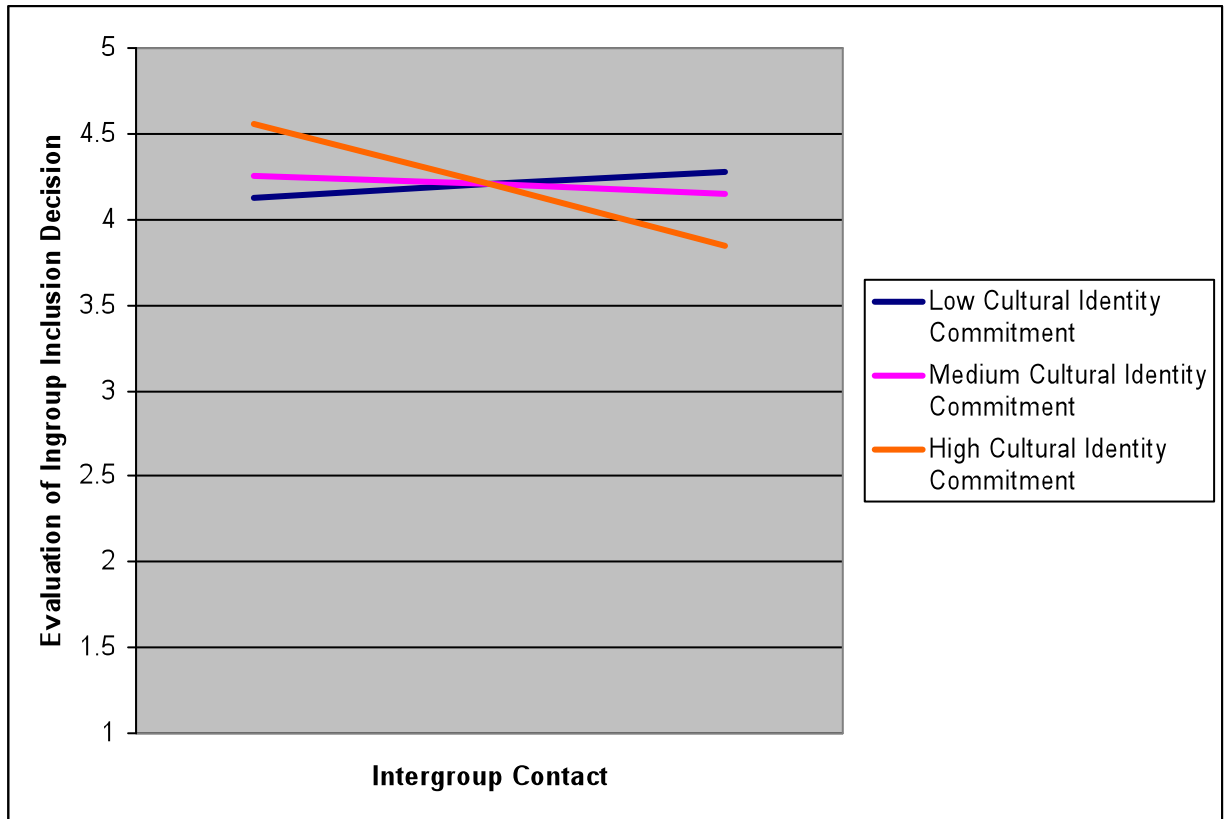
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Concern for Outgroup Social Relationships and Religion on Evaluations of Ingroup Inclusion Decisions in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation Ingroup Inclusion Decision: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 26.**

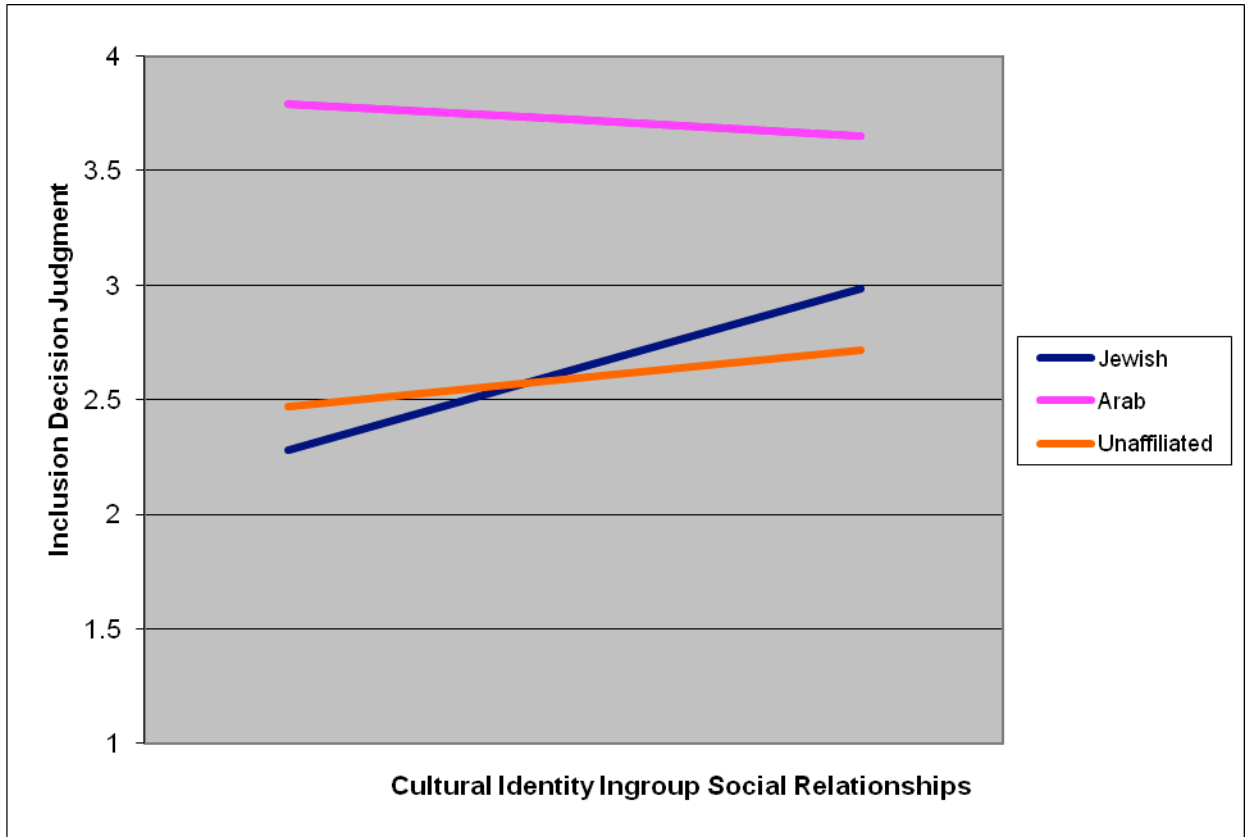
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Commitment and Intergroup Contact on Evaluations of Ingroup Inclusion Decisions in the Home Context*



*Note.* Evaluation Ingroup Inclusion Decision: 1 = very bad to exclude; 6 = very good to exclude.

**Figure 27.**

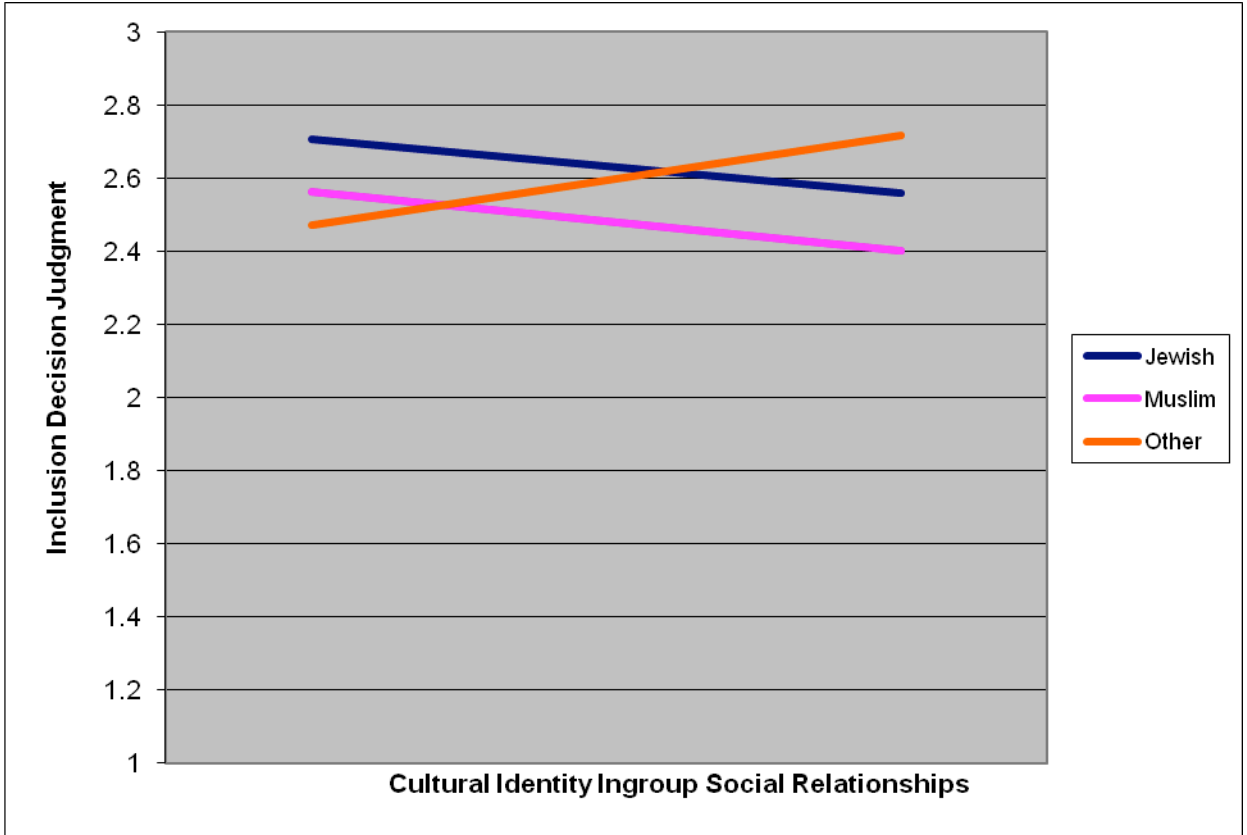
*Interaction between Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships and Ethnicity on Inclusion Decision Judgments in the Home Context*



*Note.* Inclusion Decision Scale: 1 = definitely outgroup; 4 = definitely ingroup.

**Figure 28.**

*Interaction between Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships and Religion on Inclusion Decision Judgments in the Home Context*



*Note.* Inclusion Decision Scale: 1 = definitely outgroup; 4 = definitely ingroup.

# Appendix A

Participant ID:

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## **SOCIAL REASONING ABOUT INTERGROUP RELATIONSHIPS SURVEY**

SURVEY FOR 9<sup>TH</sup> AND 12<sup>TH</sup> GRADE AND COLLEGE STUDENTS

Alaina Brenick

University of Maryland

### **INTRODUCTION:**

We'd like you to read some stories about people your age and answer the questions about what you think about the things that they say and do. Please read through the stories and answer the questions as completely as possible. There are no right or wrong answers. This is not a test. No one will see your answers except for the researcher. Please be open and honest with your answers.

Please follow all instructions given throughout the survey. Whenever you are asked to rate an answer on a scale like the one below, be sure to **clearly** circle only **one** answer.

#### **SAMPLE:**

What if your principal decided that every Friday students would be allowed to have an ice cream party all day long instead of classes, how good or bad is that?

**1**  
Very  
Bad

**2**  
Bad

**3**  
A little  
Bad

**4**  
A little  
Good

**5**  
Good

**6**  
Very  
Good

For all questions that ask "Why?" and/ or have blank lines for you to fill in, please answer as **COMPLETELY** and **CLEARLY** as possible.

**THANK YOU FOR TAKING THIS SURVEY!**

School: \_\_\_\_\_

Grade: \_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION A**

**Introductory Questions:**

**The stories in this survey involve Arab and Jewish youth. Please answer the following questions to confirm your knowledge of these two groups.**

1. Who is an Arab?

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2. What traits, if any, do you associate with someone who is Arab?

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3. Who is a Jew?

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4. What traits, if any, do you associate with someone who is Jewish?

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## SECTION B

### I. Story A

A. Diana has three friends at school who she hangs out with a lot. She and her three friends, Rachel, Miriam, and Sarah, are all Jewish and they all like to go to the movies together after school. One day, Diana meets a new Arab girl at school named Rasha. Diana wants to invite the new girl, Rasha, to come with them, but her friends have never met her. In the end, she decides not to invite her.

1. How good or bad is it that Diana doesn't invite Rasha? **(circle one)**

1 Very Bad	2 Bad	3 A little Bad	4 A little Good	5 Good	6 Very Good
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2. Why? \_\_\_\_\_
- 

3. What if Diana doesn't invite Rasha to hang out because Rasha doesn't like going to the movies? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

1 Very Bad	2 Bad	3 A little Bad	4 A little Good	5 Good	6 Very Good
------------------	----------	----------------------	-----------------------	-----------	-------------------

4. What if they don't want to hang out with her because she's Arab? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

1 Very Bad	2 Bad	3 A little Bad	4 A little Good	5 Good	6 Very Good
------------------	----------	----------------------	-----------------------	-----------	-------------------

5. Why? \_\_\_\_\_
- 

Let's say that one day after school the girls, Diana, Rachel, Miriam, and Sarah, are going to the movies, but there are two new girls at their school, Rasha, an Arab girl, and Rebecca, a Jewish girl. Both of the girls want to go with them, but they can only fit one more person in the car.

6. What if they invite Rasha? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

1 Very Bad	2 Bad	3 A little Bad	4 A little Good	5 Good	6 Very Good
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7. What if they invite Rebecca? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

1 Very Bad	2 Bad	3 A little Bad	4 A little Good	5 Good	6 Very Good
------------------	----------	----------------------	-----------------------	-----------	-------------------



8. Who should they pick to go with them?

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Definitely RASHA</b>	<b>Probably RASHA</b>	<b>Probably REBECCA</b>	<b>Definitely REBECCA</b>

9. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Please rate the following potential reasons for who they should pick.

10. Diana invites Rebecca because she thinks that since Rebecca is Jewish the girls would have more things in common, have more to talk about, and be more familiar with how they do things.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad Reason</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good Reason</b>

11. Diana invites Rasha because she thinks that her friends should get to know girls who might be different from them.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad Reason</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good Reason</b>

12. Diana invites Rebecca because she thinks that her friends would be uncomfortable if she invited Rasha.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad Reason</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good Reason</b>

13. Diana invites Rasha because her teacher asked her class to introduce Rasha to the other students at the school.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad Reason</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good Reason</b>

14. Diana invites Rebecca because there are only a few Jewish students at their school and she wants to make sure Rebecca feels welcome.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad Reason</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good Reason</b>

15. Diana invites Rasha because she thinks that her friends would be uncomfortable if she invited Rebecca.

**1**  
**Very**  
**Bad Reason**

**2**  
**Bad**

**3**  
**A little**  
**Bad**

**4**  
**A little**  
**Good**

**5**  
**Good**

**6**  
**Very**  
**Good Reason**

## **II. Story B**

Leah's parents tell her that she can invite some friends to a family party at their house. Leah, who is Jewish, wants to invite a group of friends who are Jewish have been to her house a number of times before. She also wants to invite her friend, Sheikha, who is Arab, and whom she only met recently, but her parents have never met Sheikha. In the end, she decides not to invite her.

1. How good or bad is it that Leah doesn't invite Sheikha? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very</b>
<b>Bad</b>		<b>Bad</b>	<b>Good</b>		<b>Good</b>

2. Why? \_\_\_\_\_
- 

3. What if Leah's parents are uncomfortable because they've never met Sheikha? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very</b>
<b>Bad</b>		<b>Bad</b>	<b>Good</b>		<b>Good</b>

4. What if her parents are uncomfortable because Sheikha is Arab? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very</b>
<b>Bad</b>		<b>Bad</b>	<b>Good</b>		<b>Good</b>

5. Why? \_\_\_\_\_
- 

Let's say that Leah has to decide who to invite between her two new friends Sheikha, an Arab girl, and Sarah, a Jewish girl. Her parents will only allow her to invite one more person to her party.

6. What if she invites Sheikha? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very</b>
<b>Bad</b>		<b>Bad</b>	<b>Good</b>		<b>Good</b>

7. What if she invites Sarah? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very</b>
<b>Bad</b>		<b>Bad</b>	<b>Good</b>		<b>Good</b>

8. Who should she invite? (circle one)

1  
Definitely  
SHEIKHA

2  
Probably  
SHEIKHA

3  
Probably  
SARAH

4  
Definitely  
SARAH

9. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Please rate the following potential reasons for who they should pick.

10. Leah invites Sarah because she thinks that since Sarah is Jewish she would have more things in common, have more to talk about, and be more familiar with how her family does things.

1 Very Bad Reason	2 Bad	3 A little Bad	4 A little Good	5 Good	6 Very Good Reason
-------------------------	----------	----------------------	-----------------------	-----------	--------------------------

11. Leah invites Sheikha because she knows that her parents' views of Arabs are not positive and she wants to show her parents that Arabs are nice, too.

1 Very Bad Reason	2 Bad	3 A little Bad	4 A little Good	5 Good	6 Very Good Reason
-------------------------	----------	----------------------	-----------------------	-----------	--------------------------

12. Leah invites Sarah because she thinks that her parents would be uncomfortable if she invited Sheikha.

1 Very Bad Reason	2 Bad	3 A little Bad	4 A little Good	5 Good	6 Very Good Reason
-------------------------	----------	----------------------	-----------------------	-----------	--------------------------

13. Leah invites Sheikha because the Community Association where they both live has guidelines encouraging residents to welcome their new neighbors.

1 Very Bad Reason	2 Bad	3 A little Bad	4 A little Good	5 Good	6 Very Good Reason
-------------------------	----------	----------------------	-----------------------	-----------	--------------------------

14. Leah invites Sarah because her parents immigrated to the United States because of the violence they experienced in the Mid-East, and she thinks that inviting Sheikha would make them anxious.

1 Very Bad Reason	2 Bad	3 A little Bad	4 A little Good	5 Good	6 Very Good Reason
-------------------------	----------	----------------------	-----------------------	-----------	--------------------------

15. Leah invites Sheikha because she thinks that her parents would be uncomfortable if she invited Sarah.

**1**  
**Very**  
**Bad Reason**

**2**  
**Bad**

**3**  
**A little**  
**Bad**

**4**  
**A little**  
**Good**

**5**  
**Good**

**6**  
**Very**  
**Good Reason**

**IV. Story C**

The local Jewish Community Center (JCC) is having a Seder (the traditional Jewish Passover meal and retelling of the story of the Passover holiday) to honor the holiday. Elana is Jewish, and she is going to this event with her family and is allowed to bring one friend. She wants to invite her friend Jihan, an Arab girl, whom she only met recently, but the members of the Synagogue Community have never met Jihan. In the end, she decides not to invite her.

1. How good or bad is it that Elana doesn't invite Jihan? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

2. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. What if the members of Elana's JCC are uncomfortable because they've never met Jihan? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

4. What if the members of Elana's JCC are uncomfortable because Jihan is Arab? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

5. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Let's say that Elana is allowed to bring only one friend to the Seder, but she has two new friends she is thinking of inviting, Jihan, an Arab girl, and Rivka, a Jewish girl. She can only invite one of the girls.

6. What if she invites Jihan? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

7. What if she invites Rivka? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

8. Who should Elana pick to go with her?(circle one)

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Definitely</b>	<b>Probably</b>	<b>Probably</b>	<b>Definitely</b>
<b>JIHAN</b>	<b>JIHAN</b>	<b>RIVKA</b>	<b>RIVKA</b>

9. Why?

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Please rate the following potential reasons for who they should pick.

10. Elana invites Rivka because she is Jewish and already knows and understands the holiday and the traditions.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very</b>
<b>Bad Reason</b>		<b>Bad</b>	<b>Good</b>		<b>Good Reason</b>

11. Elana invites Jihan so that she can learn about the religion and its traditions and gain a new experience that she might not otherwise have.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very</b>
<b>Bad Reason</b>		<b>Bad</b>	<b>Good</b>		<b>Good Reason</b>

12. Elana invites Rivka because the Jewish Community Center members would be uncomfortable if she invited Jihan.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very</b>
<b>Bad Reason</b>		<b>Bad</b>	<b>Good</b>		<b>Good Reason</b>

13. Elana invites Jihan because her religious traditions say that she should be welcoming to strangers (non-Jews) and thus invite them to attend the religious celebration.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very</b>
<b>Bad Reason</b>		<b>Bad</b>	<b>Good</b>		<b>Good Reason</b>

14. Elana invites Rivka because she wants to be sure that Rivka has a place to celebrate and take part in the Passover Seder.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very</b>
<b>Bad Reason</b>		<b>Bad</b>	<b>Good</b>		<b>Good Reason</b>

15. Elana invites Jihan because the Jewish Community Center members would be uncomfortable if she invited Rivka.

**1**  
**Very**  
**Bad Reason**

**2**  
**Bad**

**3**  
**A little**  
**Bad**

**4**  
**A little**  
**Good**

**5**  
**Good**

**6**  
**Very**  
**Good Reason**





**Please rate the following:**

1. How would you describe your parents' attitudes towards Arabs? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>very negative</b>	<b>negative</b>	<b>a little negative</b>	<b>a little positive</b>	<b>positive</b>	<b>very positive</b>

2. How would you describe your siblings' attitudes towards Arabs? **(circle one)**

[ ] Check here if you don't have siblings

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>very negative</b>	<b>negative</b>	<b>a little negative</b>	<b>a little positive</b>	<b>positive</b>	<b>very positive</b>

3. How would you describe your friends' attitudes towards Arabs? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>very negative</b>	<b>negative</b>	<b>a little negative</b>	<b>a little positive</b>	<b>positive</b>	<b>very positive</b>

4. How would you describe your community members' attitudes towards Arabs?  
**(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>very negative</b>	<b>negative</b>	<b>a little negative</b>	<b>a little positive</b>	<b>positive</b>	<b>very positive</b>



Keeping in mind your answers to **QUESTIONS 4 and 5** on the previous page, please read each of the following statements carefully and **CHECK** the number which **BEST DESCRIBES** your thoughts about the statement. If you:

**1**                      **2**                      **3**                      **4**                      **5**  
**Strongly Agree**      **Agree**              **Undecided**      **Disagree**          **Strongly Disagree**

Check the number which **BEST REPRESENTS** the extent of your **AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT** about each statement. Remember to check only **one number per statement.**

	<b>Strongly Agree 1</b>	<b>Agree 2</b>	<b>Undecided 3</b>	<b>Disagree 4</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree 5</b>
1. I would not like to marry someone from a different cultural background to my own.					
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own cultural group.					
3. I have spent time trying to find out more about my cultural group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.					
4. I feel great pride in being a member of my cultural group.					
5. I prefer to date only members of my cultural group.					
6. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my cultural group membership.					
7. I never try to hide my cultural background.					
8. I am happy that I am a member of the group that I belong to.					
9. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own cultural group.					
10. It makes me angry when kids from my cultural group are ashamed of their cultural background.					
11. I like to carry on the traditional					

ways of my cultural group.					
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	<b>Strongly Agree 1</b>	<b>Agree 2</b>	<b>Undecided 3</b>	<b>Disagree 4</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree 5</b>
12. I like to hang out mainly with members of my cultural group.					
13. I understand pretty well what my cultural group membership means to me.					
14. In order to learn more about my cultural background, I have often talked to other people about my cultural group.					
15. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.					
16. I like the way people from my cultural group raise their children.					
17. I participate in traditional cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.					

Please list any additional comments here.

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Thank you for your participation!

Participant ID: \_\_\_\_\_

## **SOCIAL REASONING ABOUT INTERGROUP RELATIONSHIPS SURVEY**

SURVEY FOR 9<sup>TH</sup> AND 12<sup>TH</sup> GRADE AND COLLEGE STUDENTS

Alaina Brenick

University of Maryland

### **INTRODUCTION:**

We'd like you to read some stories about people your age and answer the questions about what you think about the things that they say and do. Please read through the stories and answer the questions as completely as possible. There are no right or wrong answers. This is not a test. No one will see your answers except for the researcher. Please be open and honest with your answers.

Please follow all instructions given throughout the survey. Whenever you are asked to rate an answer on a scale like the one below, be sure to **clearly** circle only **one** answer.

#### **SAMPLE:**

What if your principal decided that every Friday students would be allowed to have an ice cream party all day long instead of classes, how good or bad is that?

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

For all questions that ask "Why?" and/ or have blank lines for you to fill in, please answer as **COMPLETELY** and **CLEARLY** as possible.

**THANK YOU FOR TAKING THIS SURVEY!**

School: \_\_\_\_\_

Grade: \_\_\_\_\_



**SECTION A**

**Introductory Questions:**

**The stories in this survey involve Arab and Jewish youth. Please answer the following questions to confirm your knowledge of these two groups.**

1. What is a Jew?

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---

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3. What traits, if any, do you associate with someone who is Jewish?

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---

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4. What is an Arab?

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---

---

6. What traits, if any, do you associate with someone who is Arab?

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**SECTION B**

**I. Story A**

A. Aisha has three friends at school who she hangs out with a lot. She and her three friends, Jamilah, Huda, and Najla, are all Arab and they all like to go to the movies together after school. One day, Aisha meets a new Jewish girl at school named Rachel. Aisha wants to invite the new girl, Rachel, to come with them, but her friends have never met her. In the end, she decides not to invite her.

16. How good or bad is it that Aisha doesn't invite Rachel? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b> Very Bad	<b>2</b> Bad	<b>3</b> A little Bad	<b>4</b> A little Good	<b>5</b> Good	<b>6</b> Very Good
-------------------------	-----------------	-----------------------------	------------------------------	------------------	--------------------------

17. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

18. What if Aisha doesn't invite Rachel to hang out because Rachel doesn't like going to the movies? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b> Very Bad	<b>2</b> Bad	<b>3</b> A little Bad	<b>4</b> A little Good	<b>5</b> Good	<b>6</b> Very Good
-------------------------	-----------------	-----------------------------	------------------------------	------------------	--------------------------

19. What if they don't want to hang out with her because she's Jewish? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b> Very Bad	<b>2</b> Bad	<b>3</b> A little Bad	<b>4</b> A little Good	<b>5</b> Good	<b>6</b> Very Good
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20. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Let's say that one day after school the girls, Aisha, Jamilah, Huda, and Najla, are going to the movies, but there are two new girls at their school, Rachel, a Jewish girl, and Farah, an Arab girl. Both of the girls want to go with them, but they can only fit one more person in the car.

21. What if they invite Rachel? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b> Very Bad	<b>2</b> Bad	<b>3</b> A little Bad	<b>4</b> A little Good	<b>5</b> Good	<b>6</b> Very Good
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22. What if they invite Farah? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b> Very Bad	<b>2</b> Bad	<b>3</b> A little Bad	<b>4</b> A little Good	<b>5</b> Good	<b>6</b> Very Good
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23. Who should they pick to go with them? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Definitely RACHEL</b>	<b>Probably RACHEL</b>	<b>Probably FARAH</b>	<b>Definitely FARAH</b>

24. Why?

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Please rate the following potential reasons for who they should pick.

25. Aisha invites Farah because she thinks that since Farah is Arab the girls would have more things in common, have more to talk about, and be more familiar with how they do things.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad Reason</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good Reason</b>

26. Aisha invites Rachel because she thinks that her friends should get to know girls who might be different from them.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad Reason</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good Reason</b>

27. Aisha invites Farah because she thinks that her friends would be uncomfortable if she invited Rachel.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad Reason</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good Reason</b>

28. Aisha invites Rachel because her teacher asked her class to introduce Rachel to the other students at the school.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad Reason</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good Reason</b>

29. Aisha invites Farah because there are only a few Arab students at their school and she wants to make sure Farah feels welcome.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very</b>

**Bad Reason**

**Bad**

**Good**

**Good Reason**

30. Aisha invites Rachel because she thinks that her friends would be uncomfortable if she invited Farah.

**1**  
**Very**  
**Bad Reason**

**2**  
**Bad**

**3**  
**A little**  
**Bad**

**4**  
**A little**  
**Good**

**5**  
**Good**

**6**  
**Very**  
**Good Reason**

**II. Story B**

Rasha’s parents tell her that she can invite some friends to a family party at their house. Rasha, who is Arab, wants to invite a group of friends who are Arab and have been to her house a number of times before. She also wants to invite her friend, Diana, who is Jewish, and whom she only met recently, but her parents have never met Diana. In the end, she decides not to invite her.

16. How good or bad is it that Rasha doesn’t invite Diana? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

17. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

18. What if Rasha’s parents are uncomfortable because they've never met Diana? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

19. What if her parents are uncomfortable because Diana is Jewish? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

20. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Let’s say that Rasha has to decide who to invite between her two new friends Diana, a Jewish girl, and Zeina, an Arab girl. Her parents will only allow her to invite one more person to her party.

21. What if she invites Diana? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

22. What if she invites Zeina? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

23. Who should she invite? (circle one)

<b>1</b> Definitely DIANA	<b>2</b> Probably DIANA	<b>3</b> Probably ZEINA	<b>4</b> Definitely ZEINA
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24. Why? \_\_\_\_\_

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Please rate the following potential reasons for who they should pick.

25. Rasha invites Zeina because she thinks that since Zeina is Arab she would have more things in common, have more to talk about, and be more familiar with how her family does things.

<b>1</b> Very Bad Reason	<b>2</b> Bad	<b>3</b> A little Bad	<b>4</b> A little Good	<b>5</b> Good	<b>6</b> Very Good Reason
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26. Rasha invites Diana because she knows that her parents' views of Jews are not positive and she wants to show her parents that Jews are nice, too.

<b>1</b> Very Bad Reason	<b>2</b> Bad	<b>3</b> A little Bad	<b>4</b> A little Good	<b>5</b> Good	<b>6</b> Very Good Reason
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27. Rasha invites Zeina because she thinks that her parents would be uncomfortable if she invited Diana.

<b>1</b> Very Bad Reason	<b>2</b> Bad	<b>3</b> A little Bad	<b>4</b> A little Good	<b>5</b> Good	<b>6</b> Very Good Reason
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28. Rasha invites Diana because the Community Association where they both live has guidelines encouraging residents to welcome their new neighbors.

<b>1</b> Very Bad Reason	<b>2</b> Bad	<b>3</b> A little Bad	<b>4</b> A little Good	<b>5</b> Good	<b>6</b> Very Good Reason
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29. Rasha invites Zeina because her parents immigrated to the United States because of the violence they experienced in the Mid-East, and she thinks that inviting Diana would make them anxious.

<b>1</b> Very Bad Reason	<b>2</b> Bad	<b>3</b> A little Bad	<b>4</b> A little Good	<b>5</b> Good	<b>6</b> Very Good Reason
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30. Rasha invites Diana because she thinks that her parents would be uncomfortable if she invited Zeina.

**1**  
**Very**  
**Bad Reason**

**2**  
**Bad**

**3**  
**A little**  
**Bad**

**4**  
**A little**  
**Good**

**5**  
**Good**

**6**  
**Very**  
**Good Reason**

**IV. Story C**

The local Muslim Community Center is celebrating Eid al-Fitr (Breaking the Fast) with a traditional Muslim feast to mark the end of Ramadan (the month of fasting). Jihan is Arab, and she is going to this event with her family and is allowed to bring one friend. She wants to invite her friend Sarah, a Jewish girl, whom she only met recently, but the members of the Muslim Community Center have never met Sarah. In the end, she decides not to invite her.

16. How good or bad is it that Jihan doesn't invite Sarah? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

17. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

18. What if the members of Jihan's community center are uncomfortable because they've never met Sarah? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

19. What if the members of Jihan's community center are uncomfortable because Sarah is Jewish? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

20. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Let's say that Jihan is allowed to bring only one friend to the Eid al-Fitr feast, but she has two new friends she is thinking of inviting, Sarah, a Jewish girl, and Hala, a Muslim Arab girl. She can only invite one of the girls.

21. What if she invites Sarah? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>

22. What if she invites Hala? How good or bad is that? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Very Bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>A little Bad</b>	<b>A little Good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Very Good</b>



23. Who should Jihan pick to go with her? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b> <b>Definitely</b> <b>SARAH</b>	<b>2</b> <b>Probably</b> <b>SARAH</b>	<b>3</b> <b>Probably</b> <b>HALA</b>	<b>4</b> <b>Definitely</b> <b>HALA</b>
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24. Why?

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Please rate the following potential reasons for who they should pick.

25. Jihan invites Hala because she is a Muslim Arab and already knows and understands the holiday and the traditions.

<b>1</b> <b>Very</b> <b>Bad Reason</b>	<b>2</b> <b>Bad</b>	<b>3</b> <b>A little</b> <b>Bad</b>	<b>4</b> <b>A little</b> <b>Good</b>	<b>5</b> <b>Good</b>	<b>6</b> <b>Very</b> <b>Good Reason</b>
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26. Jihan invites Sarah so that she can learn about the religion and its traditions and gain a new experience that she might not otherwise have.

<b>1</b> <b>Very</b> <b>Bad Reason</b>	<b>2</b> <b>Bad</b>	<b>3</b> <b>A little</b> <b>Bad</b>	<b>4</b> <b>A little</b> <b>Good</b>	<b>5</b> <b>Good</b>	<b>6</b> <b>Very</b> <b>Good Reason</b>
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27. Jihan invites Hala because the Muslim Community Center members would be uncomfortable if she invited Sarah.

<b>1</b> <b>Very</b> <b>Bad Reason</b>	<b>2</b> <b>Bad</b>	<b>3</b> <b>A little</b> <b>Bad</b>	<b>4</b> <b>A little</b> <b>Good</b>	<b>5</b> <b>Good</b>	<b>6</b> <b>Very</b> <b>Good Reason</b>
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28. Jihan invites Sarah because her religious traditions say that she should be welcoming to strangers (non-Muslims) and thus invite them to attend the religious celebration.

<b>1</b> <b>Very</b> <b>Bad Reason</b>	<b>2</b> <b>Bad</b>	<b>3</b> <b>A little</b> <b>Bad</b>	<b>4</b> <b>A little</b> <b>Good</b>	<b>5</b> <b>Good</b>	<b>6</b> <b>Very</b> <b>Good Reason</b>
--	------------------------	---	--	-------------------------	---

29. Jihan invites Hala because she wants to be sure that Hala has a place to celebrate and take part in the Eid al-Fitr feast.

<b>1</b> <b>Very</b>	<b>2</b> <b>Bad</b>	<b>3</b> <b>A little</b>	<b>4</b> <b>A little</b>	<b>5</b> <b>Good</b>	<b>6</b> <b>Very</b>
-------------------------	------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------	-------------------------

**Bad Reason**

**Bad**

**Good**

**Good Reason**

30. Jihan invites Sarah because the Muslim Community Center members would be uncomfortable if she invited Hala.

**1**  
**Very**  
**Bad Reason**

**2**  
**Bad**

**3**  
**A little**  
**Bad**

**4**  
**A little**  
**Good**

**5**  
**Good**

**6**  
**Very**  
**Good Reason**

**SECTION C**

10. How many kids in your neighborhood are Jewish? **(circle one)**

**None or a few**                      **Quite a few,  
but less than half**                      **Half**                      **Most**

11. How many friends do you have who are Jewish? **(circle one)**

**None**                      **One or two**                      **A few**                      **Many**

12. How often do you have conversations with Jewish kids? **(circle one)**

**1**                      **2**                      **3**                      **4**                      **5**  
**Never**                      **Rarely**                      **Sometimes**                      **Often**                      **Always**

13. How often do you hang out with people who are Jewish? **(circle one)**

**1**                      **2**                      **3**                      **4**                      **5**  
**Never**                      **Rarely**                      **Sometimes**                      **Often**                      **Always**

14. How often do you think people your age might not invite someone to hang out because they are Jewish? **(circle one)**

**1**                      **2**                      **3**                      **4**                      **5**  
**Never**                      **Rarely**                      **Sometimes**                      **Often**                      **Always**

15. How often do you think people your age might not invite someone to their homes because they are Jewish? **(circle one)**

**1**                      **2**                      **3**                      **4**                      **5**  
**Never**                      **Rarely**                      **Sometimes**                      **Often**                      **Always**

16. How often do you attend social events that are sponsored by Jewish groups (e.g., dances, parties)? **(circle one)**

**1**                      **2**                      **3**                      **4**                      **5**  
**Never**                      **Rarely**                      **Sometimes**                      **Often**                      **Always**

17. How often do you attend culture specific events that are sponsored by Jewish groups (e.g., educational lectures, holiday celebrations)? **(circle one)**

**1**                      **2**                      **3**                      **4**                      **5**  
**Never**                      **Rarely**                      **Sometimes**                      **Often**                      **Always**

18. How often do you think people your age might not invite someone to a cultural or religious event because they are Jewish? **(circle one)**

**1**                      **2**                      **3**                      **4**                      **5**

Never                      Rarely                      Sometimes                      Often                      Always  
**Please rate the following:**

5. How would you describe your parents' attitudes towards Jews? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>very negative</b>	<b>negative</b>	<b>a little negative</b>	<b>a little positive</b>	<b>positive</b>	<b>very positive</b>

6. How would you describe your siblings' attitudes towards Jews? **(circle one)**

[ ] Check here if you don't have siblings

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>very negative</b>	<b>negative</b>	<b>a little negative</b>	<b>a little positive</b>	<b>positive</b>	<b>very positive</b>

7. How would you describe your friends' attitudes towards Jews? **(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>very negative</b>	<b>negative</b>	<b>a little negative</b>	<b>a little positive</b>	<b>positive</b>	<b>very positive</b>

8. How would you describe your community members' attitudes towards Jews?  
**(circle one)**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>very negative</b>	<b>negative</b>	<b>a little negative</b>	<b>a little positive</b>	<b>positive</b>	<b>very positive</b>



Keeping in mind your answers to **QUESTIONS 4 and 5** on the previous page, please read each of the following statements carefully and **CHECK** the number which **BEST DESCRIBES** your thoughts about the statement. If you:

**1**                      **2**                      **3**                      **4**                      **5**  
**Strongly Agree**    **Agree**            **Undecided**      **Disagree**        **Strongly Disagree**

Check the number which **BEST REPRESENTS** the extent of your **AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT** about each statement. Remember to circle only **one number per statement.**

	<b>Strongly Agree 1</b>	<b>Agree 2</b>	<b>Undecided 3</b>	<b>Disagree 4</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree 5</b>
1. I would not like to marry someone from a different cultural background to my own.					
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own cultural group.					
3. I have spent time trying to find out more about my cultural group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.					
4. I feel great pride in being a member of my cultural group.					
5. I prefer to date only members of my cultural group.					
6. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my cultural group membership.					
7. I never try to hide my cultural background.					
8. I am happy that I am a member of the group that I belong to.					
9. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own cultural group.					
10. It makes me angry when kids from my cultural group are					

ashamed of the cultural background.					
11. I like to carry on the traditional ways of my cultural group.					

	<b>Strongly Agree 1</b>	<b>Agree 2</b>	<b>Undecided 3</b>	<b>Disagree 4</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree 5</b>
12. I like to hang out mainly with members of my cultural group.					
13. I understand pretty well what my cultural group membership means to me.					
14. In order to learn more about my cultural background, I have often talked to other people about my cultural group.					
15. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.					
16. I like the way people from my cultural group raise their children.					
17. I participate in traditional cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.					



Please list any additional comments here.

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Thank you for your participation!

## Appendix B

### ASSENT FORM FOR 9<sup>TH</sup> AND 12<sup>TH</sup> GRADERS

<b>Project Title</b>	<b>Adolescents' Evaluations about Intergroup Friendship</b>	
<b>Why is this research being done?</b>	This is a research project being conducted by Dr. Melanie Killen and Alaina Brenick at the University of Maryland, College Park. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you are in 9 <sup>th</sup> or 12 <sup>th</sup> grade. The purpose of this research project is to better understand how 9 <sup>th</sup> and 12 <sup>th</sup> graders think about how kids get along and choose to hang out with one another.	
<b>What will I be asked to do?</b>	You will be asked to complete a survey. It will be given to you in your classroom or in another area designated by the school. Trained research assistants from the University of Maryland, College Park, will give out the survey and will be available to answer any questions you have before, during, and after you fill it out. You will be asked to read a few stories about kids who have to decide who to hang out with, and you will be asked what you think about their decisions. You will also be asked questions about school, community, and family interactions. The survey will take about 30 minutes.	
<b>What about confidentiality?</b>	All information collected for the study is confidential. Your name will not be on the survey. Instead, you will be given an ID number. We will not share your answers with anyone, including your classmates, teachers, principal, or parents.	
<b>What are the risks of this research?</b>	There are no known risks associated with participating in this research project.	
<b>What are the benefits of this research?</b>	This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help us learn more about what kids and teenagers think about how kids and teenagers treat each other. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this information, by better understanding how kids and teenagers make decisions about who they hang out with and why.	
<b>Do I have to be in this research? May I stop participating at any time?</b>	Participation is strictly voluntary. You can ask any questions at any time, or stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate or you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits. Participation is not a school or class requirement. Participation will not affect your grades or performance evaluation.	
<b>What if I have questions?</b>	<p>This research is being conducted by <b>Dr. Melanie Killen</b>, a professor in the Department of Human Development at the University of Maryland, College Park. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Dr. Killen at: <b>Department of Human Development, 3304 Benjamin Building, College Park, MD 20742-1131; (telephone) 301-405-3176.</b></p> <p>If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact: <b>Institutional Review Board (IRB) Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (e-mail) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-0678.</b></p> <p>This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.</p>	
<b>Assent</b>	Your signature indicates that: the research has been explained to you; your questions have been fully answered; and you freely and voluntarily agree to participate in this research project.	
<b>Signature and Date</b>	<b>NAME OF PARTICIPANT</b>	
	<b>SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT</b>	
	<b>DATE</b>	

## Appendix C

### Multiple Regression Model Predictors

Model 1	<p>Cultural Identity Commitment</p> <p>Cultural Identity Exploration</p> <p>Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships</p> <p>Intergroup Contact</p> <p>Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)</p> <p>Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Religion (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Religion (Dummy: Muslim)</p> <p>Gender</p> <p>Grade</p>
Model 2	<p>Model 1 predictors and:</p> <p>Cultural Identity Commitment X Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Commitment X Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Commitment X Religion (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Commitment X Religion (Dummy: Muslim)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Exploration X Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Exploration X Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Exploration X Religion (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Exploration X Religion (Dummy: Muslim)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships X Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships X Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships X Religion (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships X</p>

	Religion (Dummy: Muslim)
	<p>Intergroup Contact X Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)</p> <p>Intergroup Contact X Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Intergroup Contact X Religion (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Intergroup Contact X Religion (Dummy: Muslim)</p> <p>Intergroup Contact x Cultural Identity Commitment</p> <p>Intergroup Contact x Cultural Identity Exploration</p> <p>Intergroup Contact x Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships</p> <p>Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab) X Religion (Dummy: Muslim)</p> <p>Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish) X Religion (Dummy: Jewish)</p>
Model 3	<p>Model 2 predictors and:</p> <p>Cultural Identity Commitment x Religion (Dummy: Jewish) x Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Commitment x Religion (Dummy: Muslim) x Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Exploration x Religion (Dummy: Jewish) x Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Exploration x Religion (Dummy: Muslim) x Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships x Religion (Dummy: Jewish) x Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Cultural Identity Concern for Ingroup Social Relationships x Religion (Dummy: Muslim) x Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)</p> <p>Intergroup contact x Religion (Dummy: Jewish) x Ethnicity (Dummy: Jewish)</p> <p>Intergroup contact x Religion (Dummy: Muslim) x Ethnicity (Dummy: Arab)</p>

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