

UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY

**The influence of contact with a multicultural past on
intergroup attitudes and civic engagement**

Wpływ kontaktu z wielokulturową przeszłością na postawy międzygrupowe
i zaangażowanie społeczne

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Ania

Abstract

Grounded in intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011) and environmental psychology (Lewicka, 2005; 2014; Low & Altman, 1992) this thesis introduces the notion of contact with a multicultural past as a new type of indirect intergroup contact. Contact with a multicultural past entails indirectly encountering members of a historically present ethnic outgroup by actively engaging with its heritage in one's place of residence. It may be employed in areas characterized by ethnic homogeneity/segregation which used to be ethnically diverse in the past.

Three longitudinal studies confirmed that experiencing such contact leads to intergroup attitude improvement and more positive place-related attitudes. The mechanisms of changes in attitudes towards an outgroup (Jews) were similar as in other forms of indirect contact and showed positive influence of greater interest in local history on intergroup attitudes. Moreover, contact with a multicultural past led to the development of local social capital. These results were corroborated by a qualitative analysis of the intervention participants' written accounts of their experiences.

A series of three experimental studies testing main elements of contact with a multicultural past suggest that such contact cannot be reduced to short-timed experimental manipulation. However, a meta-analysis of these experiments revealed a significant and positive effect of manipulation on inclusion of outgroup in the self, a (marginally significant) effect on attitudes towards Jews, and no effect on place-related attitudes.

Taken together the research results supported the notion of contact with a multicultural past as a tool for tolerance education in areas where remnants of a culturally diverse history exist and as a way to stimulate a more positive and proactive relation with one's place of residence. It thus contributes both to the existing intergroup contact literature and extends the environmental psychology research on the relations between interest in local history, place attachment, and social capital.

Keywords: Intergroup contact; Prejudice reduction; Interest in history; Place attachment; Social capital

Streszczenie

Niniejsza praca, osadzona w teorii kontaktu międzygrupowego (Pettigrew, Tropp, 2011) oraz w psychologii środowiskowej (Lewicka, 2005; 2014; Low, Altman, 1992), wprowadza nowy typ niebezpośredniego kontaktu międzygrupowego – kontakt z wielokulturową przeszłością. Kontakt ten zakłada, że aktywne zaangażowanie w poznawanie historycznego dziedzictwa grupy obcej, która kiedyś mieszkała w miejscowości zamieszkania uczestnika, stanowi doświadczenie bliskie faktycznemu międzygrupowemu spotkaniu. Jako taki, kontakt z wielokulturową przeszłością może być wykorzystywany w miejscach posiadających wielokulturową historię, które współcześnie są homogeniczne etnicznie, lub w których panuje segregacja.

Trzy badania podłużne potwierdziły pozytywny wpływ tej nowej formy kontaktu na postawy międzygrupowe i wobec miejsca zamieszkania. Zaobserwowane mechanizmy zmiany postaw wobec Żydów były podobne do mechanizmów charakterystycznych dla innych form niebezpośredniego kontaktu międzygrupowego i potwierdziły pozytywny wpływ zainteresowania lokalną historią na postawy międzygrupowe. Zaangażowanie w poznawanie lokalnej wielokulturowej historii przyczyniło się też do rozwoju kapitału społecznego. Te wyniki zostały potwierdzone w jakościowej analizie opisów doświadczeń uczestników badanej interwencji.

Seria trzech eksperymentów, testujących główne elementy kontaktu z międzykulturową przeszłością, pokazała, że nie da się go sprowadzić do krótkich manipulacji eksperymentalnych. Metaanaliza ich wyników pozwoliła jednak wykazać pozytywny wpływ manipulacji na zawarcie grupy obcej w Ja i postawy międzygrupowe (trend statystyczny) oraz brak wpływu na postawy wobec miejsca zamieszkania.

Przedstawione badania potwierdzają użyteczność kontaktu z wielokulturową przeszłością jako narzędzia budowania tolerancji oraz sposobu na wspieranie pozytywnego i aktywnego związku z miejscem zamieszkania. Jako taki kontakt z międzykulturową przeszłością przyczynia się do rozwoju badań nad kontaktem niebezpośrednim oraz rozwija badania środowiskowe nad związkami pomiędzy zainteresowaniem historią lokalną, przywiązaniem do miejsca i kapitałem społecznym.

Słowa kluczowe: Kontakt międzygrupowy; Redukcja uprzedzeń; Zainteresowanie historią; Przywiązanie do miejsca; Kapitał społeczny

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Introduction

“[...] [E]verything is illuminated in the light of the past. It is always along the side of us, on the inside, looking out. Like you say, inside out. Jonathan, in this way, I will always be along the side of your life. And you will always be along the side of mine.” (Turteltaub & Schreiber, 2005; based on J. S. Foer “Everything is illuminated”)

“For postwar generations, the prewar world of their parents and grandparents – populated by Jewish next-door neighbors, schools, shops, rituals, and languages – seemed like a fairytale.” (Lehrer, 2013; p. 6)

Ever since its inception at the end of the 19th Century social psychology has been concerned with issues and problems relevant to society. It has attempted to respond to the contemporaneous social needs and to facilitate change in the areas identified as problematic. Within the field of social psychology the study of intergroup relations which constitutes one of two theoretical traditions (next to environmental psychology) on which this thesis is based, is even more explicitly dedicated to finding solutions to pressing social problems of inequality, discrimination, and prejudice. The most prominent of the solutions to the problem of prejudice proposed so far is *intergroup contact* – the notion that when members of social groups meet, their mutual attitudes improve (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), which has been thoroughly tested for the past 70 years.

Scholars concerned with real-world conflicts and the possibilities of their resolution have recently pointed out a number of shortcomings of the scientific social psychology, on the one hand, and real-world prejudice reduction programs on the other. Bar-Tal (2004), Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, and Esses (2010), and Paluck and Green (2009) all claim that cross-sectional and laboratory research, currently dominant in

social psychology, are insufficient to address real-world intergroup relations issues. In a similar vein, more application-oriented scholars began to emphasize the need to better translate psychological knowledge into prejudice- and conflict-reducing interventions as well as the necessity for their better evaluation, so that it would be possible to verify which of them lead to significant changes in attitudes and behaviors (Stephan & Stephan, 2001; Stephan & Vogt, 2004).

Inspired by these insights, this thesis introduces a new type of indirect intergroup contact – *contact with a multicultural past* – strongly rooted in the intergroup contact tradition but also in environmental psychology and social capital research. Contact with a multicultural past constitutes an instance of indirect intergroup contact (Pettigrew, Christ, Wagner, & Stellmacher, 2007; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997), hence its effects are analyzed in terms of intergroup attitudes improvement and the mechanisms responsible for it.

Contact with a multicultural past entails active engagement with a local historical context, therefore its effects on interest in local history (Lewicka, 2005, 2012) and place attachment (Lewicka, 2011; Low & Altman, 1992; Scannell & Gifford, 2010) are also analyzed. Historical interest has been shown to relate to more positive intergroup attitudes (Wójcik, Bilewicz, & Lewicka, 2010) and proposed to be a potential source of place attachment (Lewicka, 2014). As people who are attached to their places of residence tend to be more civically engaged in those places (Wakefield, Elliot, Cole, & Eyles, 2001) the effects of contact with a multicultural past are also analyzed in terms of their broader consequences for local social capital in the form of civic engagement intentions and generalized social trust.

The thesis presents a thorough empirical test of the influence of an intervention based on contact with a multicultural past on intergroup and place-related attitudes. The research program pooled a variety of methods – the longitudinal intervention studies were supplemented by qualitative and quantitative content analyses as well as experiments – in aim to provide a full picture of the observed effects. The studies were conducted in Poland because its ethnic homogeneity and high levels of prejudice (Zick, Küpper, & Hövermann, 2011) as well as particularly low levels of social capital (CBOS, 2012; Czapiński & Panek, 2015) suggest that it can benefit from establishing a valid method for addressing these problems.

The thesis consists of 5 chapters. Chapter 1 introduces intergroup contact theory and its crucial developments in the form of three indirect kinds of contact. The chapter discusses the consequences of lack of intergroup contact in ethnically homogenous and/or segregated areas and reflects on the effects that indirect encounters may exert in such circumstances. It ends with a description of the influence of intergroup contact on phenomena beyond intergroup attitudes, among which social capital is of particular interest to the topic of this thesis.

Chapter 2 presents the understanding of social capital and its indicators that I have adopted in my work. It discusses the relevance of social capital for the optimal functioning of communities and nations. It also describes the relations between interest in local history and place attachment, and their relevance for the development and maintenance of local social capital.

Chapter 3 addresses some methodological issues of prejudice research. It describes the limitations of contemporary focus on laboratory experiments and the insufficiency of conventional assessment of prejudice-reduction programs. The chapter

thus presents the rationale for pooling a variety of different methodologies in aim to fully test the proposed new type of indirect intergroup contact.

Chapter 4 presents contact with a multicultural past as a new type of indirect intergroup contact. It describes its predicted outcomes for intergroup attitudes and social capital. In this chapter I also describe Poland as the research context in terms of its ethnic homogeneity, low levels of social capital, and the particular intergroup context (Polish-Jewish relations) in which my research is situated. The chapter concludes with a description of a real-world intervention that utilized contact with a multicultural past and constituted the main validation of the concept.

Chapter 5 comprises the descriptions and discussions of the main test of contact with a multicultural past – three longitudinal intervention studies. It also presents the results of a thematic and quantitative content analysis and three experimental studies which attempted to test particular aspects of contact with a multicultural past. The chapter concludes with two meta-analytic tests of the intervention and experimental studies' effects.

Finally, Chapter 6 summarizes and discusses the results of the seven studies and the meta-analyses, taken together. It also acknowledges their limitations and proposes possible future directions.

Chapter 1: Intergroup Contact Theory

Direct Intergroup Contact

This thesis is situated in a long tradition of intergroup contact research dating back to the 1930s and 1940s, which was the time when social psychologists started to identify causes of prejudice (Duckitt, 1992) but also to investigate the possibilities to reduce it. Following World War I, the beginning of the civil rights movement, and the first attempts at desegregation, the social situation in the United States provided great opportunities for studying the effects of formerly segregated people coming into contact. For instance, Brophy (1946) demonstrated positive effects of desegregation in the Merchant Marine – the more journeys in mixed Black and White teams the White seamen took, the more favorable were their racial attitudes. Similarly, Deutsch and Collins (1951) investigated the effects of living in a segregated vs. desegregated housing project in a natural, quasi-experimental situation. They showed that women who lived in the desegregated project were significantly more favorable to the other race.

Williams (1947) was the first scholar to write extensively on intergroup contact and review the existing research. However, it was Allport, who, drawing on the previous work, formulated his highly influential *contact hypothesis* (1954). According to Allport, intergroup contact, that is a personal encounter between members of different social groups, leads to a reduction of prejudice.¹ This beneficial effect occurs when four *optimal contact conditions* are met – that is (1) the contact parties have an equal status in the contact situation, (2) they cooperate to (3) achieve common goals, and (4) the whole situation enjoys support of authorities, laws or custom. Allport argued that casual

¹Henceforth, whenever I refer to positive contact effects, positive attitude change, etc., I will be referring to attitude change in the direction of more positive intergroup attitudes, greater acceptance and tolerance of outgroup members, and reduced prejudice.

contact that does not fulfill the optimal conditions may lead to adverse effects – i.e. worsen mutual attitudes and reinforce negative stereotypes.

Over the years scholars kept extending the original hypothesis by including additional conditions, which they believed to be crucial for the effectiveness of contact (i.e. its potential for changing intergroup attitudes and/or behavior). Thus, Cook (1962, 1984) stressed (above the four Allportian conditions) the need for proximity between groups and for contact situations to have an acquaintance potential, to imply social acceptance (i.e. one's willingness to accept the contact partner as an equal and potentially as a friend), and to include stereotype-disconfirming individuals. In a summary of various facets of contact situations provided by Amir (1969) the influence of contact with high status outgroup members is emphasized (as shown in research by Smith, 1943) and the fact that intimate contact leads to stronger effects than casual contact. The latter assertion found further support in more recent research investigating the differences between the effects of contact quantity and quality (Voci & Hewstone, 2003), where both were significantly related to prejudice reduction but the effects of the quality (understood as intimacy and closeness) of contact proved to be much stronger. All the additional favorable contact conditions resulted in contact hypothesis becoming increasingly complicated, and as Pettigrew (1997) wrote, created a risk of its being rendered meaningless (p. 173). Instead Pettigrew (1997) emphasized the crucial role of intergroup friendship in stimulating more amiable intergroup relations. Especially so, because friendship tends to provide intimate contact that fulfills all of Allport's optimal contact conditions.

Since the original formulation of the contact hypothesis did not specify any possible mechanisms of attitude change or those involved in the process of

generalization of contact effects, the scholarly interests in those topics developed at the later stages of intergroup contact research. Psychologists began investigating both the mediating variables and the processes involved in transferring positive attitudes towards intergroup interaction partner(s) to the whole outgroup or even to other outgroups, not involved in the initial contact (Pettigrew, 1997; 1998).

Pettigrew argued that “emotion is critical in intergroup contact” (1998; p. 71) and that emotional, rather than cognitive mechanisms, should be crucial in stimulating positive contact outcomes. This was confirmed by a later meta-analysis (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) which tested three most frequently studied mediators of intergroup contact: knowledge about outgroup(s), intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985), and empathy and perspective taking (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Galinsky & Ku, 2004; Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005). Knowledge emerged as an important but also a significantly weaker predictor than the two more emotional ones. Intergroup contact has been shown to reduce intergroup anxiety (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003), that is the anxious anticipation of negative consequences of an engagement in intergroup contact. It stems from uncertainty about the appropriate behavior and possible outcomes of such an encounter and leads to contact avoidance and information processing biases (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Wilder, & Simon, 2001). At the same time intergroup contact tends to increase empathy with the outgroup and the ability to take the perspective of its members. Both of these processes in turn relate to more positive outgroup attitudes which has been shown in a number of studies (Batson, Polycarpou, Harmon-Jones, & Imhoff, 1997; Galinsky & Ku, 2004; Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003).

Additionally, Pettigrew (1998) stated that intergroup contact should lead not only to changes of attitudes towards outgroups but also to the reappraisal of one's ties to the ingroup. As intergroup contact leads to learning about and experiencing new customs and norms, it should lead to the realization that ingroup norms are by no means the only valid ones and in turn to *deprovincialization*. This found support in a large European survey, where intergroup contact showed a negative relationship with national pride (Pettigrew, 1997).

The largest meta-analysis of intergroup contact effects to date (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) encompassing 515 studies conducted between 1940 and 2000 in 38 different countries (though the majority in the United States) confirmed the existence of a stable negative relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice. Although the effect for the full sample was small in size ($r = -.21$), it was stronger for more rigorous studies (i.e. for experiments vs. correlational studies and for studies with better contact and outcome measures) and, in 94% of cases, it was in the predicted direction (i.e. intergroup contact reduced prejudice). The effects were also stronger for contact that met Allport's (1954) optimal conditions but remained significant also for contact that did not. This points to the fact that even suboptimal contact carries the potential of prejudice reduction and that Allportian optimal conditions play a facilitatory role rather than constitute a necessary precondition.

In this work, the main test of the proposed new form of intergroup contact was carried out among young people – middle and high school students. Therefore the results of a meta-analysis by Beelmann and Heinemann (2014) are particularly pertinent to it. The authors analyzed the effects of different anti-prejudice interventions directed specifically at young people (below 18 years of age). Using 81 strictly selected

reports they showed that the interventions were, in fact, successful at decreasing prejudice among young people. These meta-analytic effects ($d = 0.30$) can be classified as small to moderate. However, studies that investigated the effects of intergroup contact and empathy/perspective taking trainings showed stronger effects ($d = 0.43$ and $d = 0.44$ respectively) pointing to a possibility that intergroup contact may be an adequate method for addressing negative intergroup attitudes among children and adolescents. Moreover, more complex interventions (multi-modal vs. unimodal) were marginally more effective at prejudice reduction and interventions that involved a trainer who was actively involved in the program yielded stronger effects.

New Developments in Intergroup Contact Research

All of the research described above pertained to direct intergroup contact, which assumes that an actual meeting and engagement with outgroup member(s) is necessary for the reduction of prejudice. In contrast, however, real-world contexts characterized by strong prejudice or even outright conflict, which could potentially benefit from intergroup contact the most, are often the ones characterized by segregation of the groups that are in conflict with each other. They are also prone to be highly homogenous and as such do not afford opportunities for direct intergroup contact. In the absence of contact, prejudice and conflict tend to persist.

The relationship between segregation and attitudes has been shown in Northern Ireland, where Protestants and Catholics are highly segregated residentially (about 35-40% live in fully segregated neighborhoods), in education (97% of children attend segregated schools; Bekerman, Zembylas, & McGlynn, 2009), and in personal life. The segregation and lack of intergroup contact are considered as factors contributing to the persistence of conflict (Hewstone et al., 2005). Taking into account that research shows

that contact between Protestants and Catholics is related to more positive outgroup attitudes, more positive attitudes towards mixing between the two groups, greater outgroup trust, perspective taking, and willingness to forgive the outgroup (Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, & Niens, 2006), the segregation of the two groups may indeed have detrimental effects on reconciliation. Christ and colleagues (2010) showed that participants living in segregated neighborhoods in Belfast experienced significantly less intergroup contact than those living in more mixed areas.

Similarly, in Bosnia and Herzegovina the former adversaries – Bosnian Muslims and Serbs – remain segregated (Engelhart, 2014; Hammarberg, 2011) and intergroup contact is scarce. When it does occur it is associated with greater willingness to forgive the former enemy and with decreased social distance towards them (Cehajic, Brown, & Castano, 2008). In Germany, using a large representative sample, Wagner, Christ, Pettigrew, Stellmacher, and Wolf (2006) showed that the proportion of foreigners living in a given district was a significant, negative predictor of prejudice towards them and that a part of this association was mediated by intergroup contact (i.e. the presence of foreigners was related to more intergroup contact experiences and in turn to decreased prejudice). Moreover, eastern Germany (the former communist German Democratic Republic) where significantly less migrants live, continues to be characterized by higher prejudice when compared to the western part of the country. Wagner and colleagues demonstrated a strong and consistent association between minority percentage, intergroup contact, and prejudice such that a relatively small minority proportion was associated with smaller contact opportunities and in turn with stronger prejudice in eastern Germany (Christ et al., 2010; Wagner, Christ, Pettigrew, Stellmacher, & Wolf, 2006; Wagner, Van Dick, Pettigrew, & Christ, 2003). Also recent research by Christ and colleagues (2014) demonstrated very strong *contextual contact effects* – i.e. that living in

an area where minority proportion and intergroup contact are higher influences individual prejudice stronger than individual intergroup contact. This means that people benefit from the general prevalence of intergroup contact even if they themselves do not engage in it.

Research in Poland, where the studies constituting the main part of this thesis were carried out, has also shown that generally speaking Poles do not experience much intergroup contact and that, much like in other national contexts, it is significantly associated with attitudes (Stefaniak & Witkowska, 2015). Research by Bilewicz (2006; 2008; Bilewicz & Wójcik, 2009) demonstrated a negative relationship between intergroup contact with Jews and both antisemitic beliefs and negative attitudes towards Jews in Poland. This shows that lack of contact (for instance a tendency to exclude Jewish people from certain domains of one's life associated with high levels of social distance) is related to more prejudice. The case of Poland is intriguing because it is a country that used to be very diverse historically, i.e. up until World War II (see a detailed description in Chapter 4) but is now ethnically homogenous with very limited intergroup contact opportunities.

A similar intergroup situation (where one group replaces another or previously mixed communities become divided) can also be found in other countries. In Cyprus, for instance, both Greek and Turkish Cypriots used to live in mixed communities. However, under the British rule, the people began self-segregating (the percentage of mixed villages dropped from 43% in 1891 to 10% in 1970; Lindley, 2007) and separate nationalisms emerged. The two groups fought each other during the struggle for independence from Britain and, after the Turkish invasion of 1974, they were almost entirely separated with virtually no Turkish Cypriots left in the south and almost no

Greek Cypriots left in the north of the island (Fisher, 2001). Even though the borders between the Greek and Turkish parts of the island have been partially opened since 2003, only 3% of Turkish and 1% of Greek Cypriots state that they cross them frequently (Husnu & Crisp, 2010). In the United States, where the population of Native Americans is very small (5.2 million, or 1.7% of the population; Norris, Vines, & Hoeffel, 2012), their legacy is preserved in numerous place names – e.g. Chicago, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin, Niagara Falls, etc. (Weatherford, 1991). At the same time White Americans seem to be largely unaware of the Native American history and their legacy, and some preliminary results document a lack of personal contact between White Americans and Native Americans (see Doble, Yarrow, Ott, & Rochkind, 2007). Even though the U.S. Congress has issued an apology to Native Americans for their historical mistreatment (Dodd-Frank Act, 2010; p. 45), relations between White and Native Americans continue to be characterized by inequality and stark discrimination of the latter (Doble et al., 2007; Huyser, Sakamoto, & Takei, 2010; Pewewardy, & Frey, 2004).

Another example is presented by Israel, where about 650-700 thousand Palestinians fled their homes after the state was founded in 1948 (Morris, 2004). Thereafter, the land and cities were gradually populated by Jewish inhabitants (Falah, 1996; Kahanoff, 2016). In today's Israel about 75% of the population is Jewish, 21% Arab, and about 4% is made up by people of other ethnicities and religions (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Due to the history of conflict, mutual attitudes of Jews and Arabs are strongly negative (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Kahanoff, 2016; Inter-Agency Task Force, 2014; the latter also suffer from continuous discrimination, e.g. Cooperman, 2016) and their persistence is, at least partially, reinforced by spatial segregation (e.g. Falah, 1996; Rosen & Razin, 2008).

Numerous contexts characterized by high levels of prejudice and lack of opportunities for direct intergroup contact warrant questions about other possibilities for building more amicable intergroup relations. Before I delineate my own ideas regarding the potential of using historical ethnic diversity as a resource for addressing contemporary intergroup problems, however, it is necessary to look into the ways in which other researchers have dealt with the difficulties at establishing direct intergroup contact.

Extended contact. The awareness of the negative consequences of lack of direct intergroup contact led scholars to seek other, *indirect* forms of contact that could be used in locations where direct interactions may not be an option (Christ et al., 2010). Wright and colleagues (1997) introduced the concept of extended contact according to which mere knowledge of an in-group friend having an out-group friend (i.e. the former has experienced positive, intimate contact with a member of an outgroup) is expected to have similar effects as direct intergroup contact. Extended contact hypothesis was inspired by three important insights from direct contact research: (1) Friendship is a particularly valuable form of intergroup contact that fulfills the optimal contact conditions (e.g. Pettigrew, 1997, 1998). (2) In aim to facilitate generalizability of contact effects there is a need for group identities of participants to be relatively salient (e.g. Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Hewstone & Brown, 1986). (3) Experiencing intergroup anxiety may lead to contact avoidance or to negative experiences during intergroup contact and stereotype confirmation (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Extended contact, according to the authors, should be characterized by greater category salience (as categories are more visible to an observer of an interaction than to direct participants, who focus more on the personal characteristics of interaction partners), and it should evoke less anxiety (as the observer is not directly involved in the contact; Wright et al.,

1997). Extended contact effects have been found in studies conducted in the United States (Wirght et al., 1997), but also in Northern Ireland, Finland, and Germany (Liebkind & McAlister, 1999; Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, 2004; Pettigrew et al., 2007).

Wright and colleagues (1997) proposed and found support for four mediators, or mechanisms, of the extended contact effects: changes in perception of ingroup norms, changes in perception of outgroup norms (i.e. when the norms against intergroup contact are not particularly strong, witnessing such contact may imply to the observer that it is accepted or even supported by both their ingroup and the outgroup), intergroup anxiety reduction, and inclusion of the other in the self (IOS). IOS pertains to an overlap between the self-concept and the concept of another person and captures the feelings of closeness with that person. It is associated with treating the included 'other' in the same way as one would treat oneself, including the self-serving biases (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992; Aron, Aron, Tudor, & Nelson, 1991).

Tropp and Wright (2001) demonstrated that ingroups, much like close individuals, may be included in the self and Turner, Hewstone, Voci, and Vonafakou (2008) provided an extensive test of the four extended contact mediators. They conducted two studies – one with British students, the other one with British adolescents – and showed that all four processes, independently and controlling for the other processes, mediated the influence of extended contact on intergroup attitudes. Specifically, extended contact was associated with greater inclusion of the outgroup in the self, perception of both ingroup and outgroup norms as supportive of intergroup contact, and lower levels of intergroup anxiety. All these were in turn related to more positive outgroup attitudes. Study 2, which showed that opportunities for contact (i.e.

the presence of minority members) was related to the amount of direct, but not indirect contact reported by the participants, corroborated the applicability of indirect contact in ethnically homogenous areas.

Vicarious contact. Building on the idea that contact may reduce prejudice even if it is not experienced directly scholars began investigating other indirect types of intergroup contact. *Vicarious contact* (also called *parasocial contact* – see Schiappa & Gregg, 2005) pertains to witnessing an interaction between an ingroup and an outgroup member either directly or via mass media, books, stories, etc. (Gómez & Huici, 2008; Herek & Capitano, 1997). Combining contact hypothesis and social learning principles (Bandura, 1977; 1986; Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright, 2011) it assumes that observing the behavior of another person and its consequences may influence actions and attitudes of the observer. The behavior of the observer is influenced more strongly if they identify with the observed individual, for instance when that person is an ingroup member. Mazziotta and colleagues (2011) argued that observing a successful intergroup encounter may lead to the observer(s) learning new behaviors and to the development of greater self-efficacy perceptions with regard to intergroup encounters (which should also lower intergroup anxiety). They successfully demonstrated in two experimental studies that both of the proposed mechanisms were indeed responsible for the changes in attitudes following vicarious intergroup contact. Joyce and Harwood (2012) emphasized the need for the vicarious contact experienced via mass media to be positive, and showed that it was only the positive encounters (as opposed to neutral and negative ones) that produced positive attitude change.

Imagined contact. A yet more indirect kind of intergroup contact – *imagined contact* – has been proposed by Turner, Crisp, and Lambert (2007). The concept is based

on the idea of mental simulation. Garcia, Weaver, Moskowitz, and Darley (2002) have demonstrated in a series of experiments that if subjects merely imagined being with a group of people (as opposed to only one person) it resulted in less helping behavior. Based on these results Crisp and colleagues (Crisp, Stathi, Turner, & Husnu 2008; Turner, et al., 2007) assumed that imagining an intergroup contact situation should lead to feeling more confident and comfortable about potential direct contact. In aim for imagined intergroup contact to lead to attitude improvement, the participants need to engage in a real mental simulation (i.e. imagine a detailed social interaction) and the imagined interaction needs to be positive (Crisp et al., 2008). The latter assumption is in line with later research by Barlow and colleagues (2012) who showed that negative contact exerts severely negative influence on intergroup attitudes. Imagined contact has been shown to positively impact attitudes towards elderly people and gay men (Turner et al., 2007), Muslims (Turner & Crisp, 2010), international students (Stathi & Crisp, 2008), and Greek Cypriots (Husnu & Crisp, 2010). It was also successful at modifying implicit attitudes (Turner & Crisp, 2010). A meta-analysis of 71 studies demonstrated that imagined contact has a significant effect on intergroup bias, small to moderate in size (Miles & Crisp, 2014), although there are researchers who show that imagined contact effects might be very weak or even not significant (e.g. Klein et al., 2014).

The role of indirect contact. Many authors argue that indirect intergroup contact is important because it not only leads to attitude improvement but also – through anxiety reduction and efficacy building – to a greater willingness to engage in direct intergroup contact (Crisp & Turner, 2009; Turner et al., 2007; Wright et al., 1997). The latter assumption was tested by Mallett and Willson (2010) who demonstrated that White American students who participated in a vicarious contact intervention

subsequently judged an actual inter-racial experience more positively and also engaged in more direct contact with Black students after the study.

In line with the above reasoning – research by Christ and colleagues (2010) has shown that indirect (in their study: extended) contact is particularly effective in contexts that are ethnically homogenous. Using cross-sectional data from Germany and longitudinal data from Northern Ireland they demonstrated that extended contact was related to more positive attitudes (Study 1) and behavioral intentions towards the outgroup (Study 2) especially when the participants lived in segregated areas and hence did not experience any (or only very little) direct intergroup contact. What is more, the attitude certainty (Fazio, 1990) which Christ and colleagues (2010) expected to be greater following direct rather than extended contact proved to be similar in both cases in a longitudinal study (Study 2). This points to the possibility that prolonged extended contact may in fact lead to very similar effects as direct intergroup contact. Hodson (2008, Hodson, Harry, & Mitchell, 2009) and Dhont and Van Hiel (2009) showed that it is the most prejudiced people (strongly authoritarian with high levels of social dominance orientation; even prison inmates) that show the strongest contact effects. Following their results, Christ and colleagues (2010) argue that extended contact seems to work best for people who live in segregated areas characterized by higher levels of prejudice.

Being inspired by the particular effectiveness of indirect intergroup contact at changing the attitudes of people who do not experience direct contact, I explored the possibilities it affords in my own research. As indicated above, my attention was primarily directed at the problem of persistence of prejudice in areas which are currently ethnically homogenous and do not afford opportunities for direct intergroup

interaction, but which used to be diverse in history. I explored the influence that knowledge of and engagement with the historic diversity may exert on people's intergroup attitudes (see Chapter 4 for an elaboration of the theoretical framework).

Beyond Attitudinal Effects of Intergroup Contact: Collective Action, Trust, and Social Capital

Even though intergroup contact research is mostly focused on the effects of contact on intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; 2011), experiencing contact may have effects also on people's perceptions about society, behavioral intentions, and actual behavior. Below I describe two important areas of research about intergroup contact effects on such processes. I will emphasize that these effects are not always positive and point to some important limitations of intergroup contact as a universal method for the improvement of intergroup relations.

By shaping views about society intergroup contact significantly affects people's attitudes towards inequality and collective action. Initial support for this contention comes from research by Jackman and Crane (1986) who investigated the patterns of White people's friendships with Black people and included the influence of the latter's socio-economic status (SES) in their analyses. They demonstrated that while intergroup contact (operationalized as both having Black acquaintances and/or Black friends) had a significant impact on racial prejudice it did not bear on White people's attitudes towards fairer social policies in housing, job market, and education. The only exception was that friendship with high SES Blacks was associated with more support for such policies.

In a more recent attempt to address this issue Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux (2007) investigated the attitudes of Black and White South Africans towards the principle of racial equality and towards implementation of specific policies aimed at

reducing inequality. As expected they found support for the *principle implementation gap* (i.e. the discrepancy between the support for the principle of racial equality shown by most modern societies and a lack of support for introducing policies that actively counter the inequality, Durrheim & Dixon, 2004). Whites showed significantly greater support for the principle of desegregation (e.g. desegregation of schools) than for actual policies aimed at improving the situation of Black South Africans (e.g. introduction of educational quotas). A similar, yet much smaller gap was also found among Black South Africans. Interestingly, in the context of this thesis, Dixon and colleagues showed that while among Whites positive intergroup contact was associated with greater support for compensatory policies, among Blacks this relationship was negative: the more intergroup contact they experienced with Whites, the *less* likely they were to support policies benefitting their own group. Minority groups (Blacks and Latinas/os) have also been shown to be less supportive of collective action if they had more intergroup contact with Whites (Wright & Lubensky, 2008). This relationship between intergroup contact and collective action was mediated by a decreased strength of identification with their ingroups among the minorities.

The aforementioned results show that while intergroup contact improves attitudes it may also be associated with lower identification with the ingroup and with a decreased support for collective action among minority groups. These factors in turn could contribute to sustaining inequality. Saguy and colleagues (Saguy, Taush, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009) hypothesized that the lowered support for collective action following intergroup contact stems primarily from a decreased attention to inequality among the disadvantaged groups and an expectancy to be treated fairly by the dominant group(s). They investigated this in two studies: a laboratory experiment and a correlational study among members of a real-world disadvantaged group (Israeli Arabs). The results indeed

showed that positive intergroup contact led members of a disadvantaged group to like the advantaged group more and to pay less attention to inequality, which in turn resulted in greater expectations that the advantaged group would treat them fairly. The actual behavior of the advantaged group (an allocation of credits between own and the disadvantaged group) showed no contact effects and was discriminatory, i.e. significantly below the fairness threshold. Similarly, Dixon and colleagues (2010) showed by way of a large random digit dialing telephone survey that Black South Africans who experienced positive intergroup contact with Whites perceived less personal discrimination and had more positive attitudes towards Whites, both of which were associated with lowered perception of group discrimination (Dixon et al., 2010). These results are consistent with the collective action research (e.g. Simon & Klandermans, 2001; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008) which shows that in aim to undertake such action people need to recognize their disadvantage and attribute it to external factors (e.g. the outgroup).

Another area of research, particularly important to this work, is concerned with the effects of intergroup contact, or, more broadly, the coexistence of different ethnic and social groups on indices of social capital. In intergroup contact research ethnic heterogeneity is mostly considered a beneficial factor. It leads to greater contact opportunities and oftentimes (though not always) also to more intergroup contact, which in turn is associated with more positive intergroup attitudes (e.g. Wagner et al., 2006; Christ et al., 2010; Christ et al. 2014). As such, intergroup contact may constitute a link between increasing ethnic diversity and more tolerant outgroup attitudes.

Having said that, political and social scientists concerned with the issue of growing diversity in the western world (United Nations, 2016) have emphasized its

negative consequences for social capital. Most prominently, Putnam (2007) hypothesized in his *constrict claim* that the growing ethnic diversity of the United States exerts a negative effect on various facets of social cohesion and social capital. He presented data that show a significant negative relationship between increasing ethnic diversity and a vast number of social capital indicators. According to Putnam, Americans living in more racially diverse neighborhoods tend to trust other races and their neighbors (even those of the same race) less. Moreover, diversity was negatively correlated with engagement in a community, donations to charity, and volunteering (Putnam, 2007; pp. 147-150).

Putnam's argument found ready support in a large number of studies (65 in the first six years after his publication – see van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014 for a review) that showed a negative relationship between ethnic diversity and social capital in the United States (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2000; Costa & Kahn, 2003), Australia (Leigh, 2006), Britain (Pennant, 2005), and the Netherlands (Lancee, & Dronkers, 2008). However, this research was also criticized due to inconsistencies in operationalization of the key variables as well as lack of inclusion of relevant controls, most notably: income inequality (both current and historical), spatial segregation of minorities and levels of intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011; Uslaner, 2011), and educational attainment (Portes, Vickstrom, & Aparicio 2011). A review of 90 studies (van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014) showed that they support and contradict Putnam's assertion in roughly equal numbers, and that most of them provide mixed findings at best. Interestingly enough, the United States proved to be highly exceptional in terms of the heterogeneity-social cohesion effects, providing much stronger and more consistent support for Putnam's argument than other locations.

Even more important, research that factors in segregation of minority groups and intergroup contact opportunities shows that those variables explain the variability of social trust better than the simple indices of diversity (Uslaner, 2011). These results are particularly revealing as Uslaner used the same datasets as Putnam (2007) and by including measures of residential segregation showed that social trust was particularly low in the segregated rather than highly diverse neighborhoods.

Recent findings within the area of educational science also show a picture quite contrary to the constrict claim. Bowman (2011) carried out a meta-analysis of 27 research projects examining the relationship between experiencing diversity (and especially racial diversity) in college and students' civic engagement. Bowman operationalized civic engagement quite broadly – from changing one's attitudes, values, and improving interpersonal and leadership skills through behavioral intentions to actual behavior (e.g. time spent volunteering). The analysis yielded a significant (although moderate in size) positive effect such that greater experiences with college diversity were related to increased – rather than decreased – civic engagement.

Ethnic diversity and intergroup contact may result in both positive and negative effects for social equality and social capital. But these limitations are not universal and have been discussed by Pettigrew and Tropp (2011, chapter 11) in their recent book. They argued that while it is true that positive intergroup contact may hinder minorities' perceptions of inequality and lead to less collective action, the contact effects on the attitudes of majorities should not be overlooked. Even the research of intergroup contact critics (e.g. Dixon et al., 2007) shows that dominant group members usually become more supportive of pro-equality policies as a result of intergroup contact, which may translate into greater support for actual social change. Low status groups, on the

other hand, typically show weaker contact effects with regard to intergroup attitudes (e.g. Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), and in some cases they become more hostile towards high-status outgroups (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010). Therefore the effects of greater liking of the dominant groups and its translation into less support for collective action may be expected to be rather small. Moreover, it seems that once contact opportunities and segregation are factored in the analyses, the negative effects of ethnic diversity on social capital are largely eliminated.

In light of my own research I am convinced that positive contact outcomes are more likely to occur than negative ones. This is because contact with a multicultural past constitutes an indirect form of intergroup contact which, in its current state, is directed at the majority members. Thus it is not likely to affect the minority group in any way (as they do not partake in the experience). Furthermore, as the constrict claim does not seem to hold when factoring in segregation, I believe that – in accordance with Bowmann (2011) – people who experience diversity in an indirect way will rather show an increase than a decrease in social capital.

Chapter 2: Place-related Sources of Social Capital²

As indicated above, ethnic diversity may bear on social capital (Bourdieu, 1983; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000) which constitutes one of the critical factors for the development and maintenance of trustful, engaged, and well-connected communities (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). It is well-established that higher social capital, operationalized

²A research article based on parts of Chapter 2 has been submitted for publication in: Stefaniak, A., Bilewicz, M., & Lewicka, M. (2016). The merits of teaching local history: Increased place attachment enhances civic engagement and social trust. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* (a revised version is currently under review).

as stronger social trust, bonds with other inhabitants, and greater engagement in local community is related to better health outcomes for residents (see a review in: Kawachi, Kim, Coutts, & Subramanian, 2004 and a meta-analysis in Gilbert, Quinn, Goodmann, Butler & Wallace, 2013) but also to lower rates of armed violence (Kawachi, Kennedy, & Wilkinson, 1999; Kennedy, Kawachi, Prothrow-Stith, Lochner, & Gupta; 1998), and perceptions of greater safety (Ziersch, Baum, MacDougall, & Putland, 2005).

As compared to western Europe and Scandinavia, post-communist Central and Eastern Europe are characterized by significantly lower levels of social capital (see Fidrmuc, & Gërkhani, 2008; Lasińska, 2013). What is more, indicators of social capital in the latter region have been declining over the past two decades (Sarracino & Mikucka, 2016). Given the positive association of civic engagement and social trust with well-being and satisfaction derived from community life (e.g. Helliwell, 2006; Perkins, & Long, 2002; Scheufele & Shah, 2000; Uslaner, 1998), this situation poses a challenge for social scientists, economists, and psychologists to find the reasons for such low levels of social capital and to propose effective strategies that could counteract these processes.

One of the important factors contributing to the development of local social capital is place attachment, understood as emotional bonds that people develop with their places of residence (Low & Altman, 1992; for a review see Lewicka, 2011; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Individuals attached to their places of residence tend to have better and more extensive relations with their neighbors and greater trust in other people (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Lewicka, 2012, 2013; Mesch & Manor, 1998). Place attachment has also been shown to directly or indirectly relate to civic engagement, understood as a willingness to devote one's time to activities benefitting one's place of

residence and to participate in the social life of these places (Lewicka, 2005; Wakefield, et al., 2001).

Social Capital: Social Trust and Civic Engagement

Interest in social capital stems from its relevance for economic (Knack & Keefer, 1997; Putnam, 2000) and health outcomes (Kawachi, et al., 2004; Gilbert et al., 2013). It was originally conceptualized as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu 1983, p. 249). This conceptualization made it more of a private (i.e. characteristic of an individual) than a public good. However, later researchers – most notably Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000; Putnam, Leonardi, & Nanetti, 1994) – have gradually changed this way of seeing social capital and understood it rather as belonging to communities and societies. Specifically, Coleman (1988) defined social capital as stemming from relations among individuals (p. 101) and consisting of numerous factors, such as social trust, social norms, and information channels. Putnam (2000), as well as Putnam and colleagues (1994), further indicated that social networks and reciprocity play a particularly important role in creating social capital. His understanding of the concept tends to dominate the way in which social capital is understood today. Most theorists agree that it consists of generalized social trust, social networks, participation in organizations, and other forms of civic engagement.

Among these, social trust, that is a tendency to believe that other people are in general well-intentioned, would not cause harm (unless it is unavoidable) and would look out for one another and ourselves (see Newton, 2004), is considered the ‘grease’ that allows modern societies to function (see Putnam et al., 1994). Uslaner (2000)

argues that such trust in strangers constitutes the “foundation of a civil society” (p. 572). Social trust is seen as especially important because it affects the amount and quality of political participation (Paxton, 2002) and the willingness of members of a given society to undertake risks, innovate, and invest (Knack & Keefer, 1997). It is also associated with support for disadvantaged groups within a society as evidenced by positive correlation with support for gay rights and affirmative action in the United States (Uslaner, 2000). Government institutions in highly trusting societies have been shown to perform better (Putnam, 1993), and Knack and Keefer (1997) suggest that they are also characterized by higher returns on human capital.

Social trust, together with joining civic organizations and participating in public life, form what Pichler and Wallace (2007) call *formal social capital* i.e. the “degree of altruistic public spirit” (p. 424). Many theorists of social capital argue that there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between social trust and civic engagement (e.g. Brehm & Rahn, 1997; Putnam, 2000). However, the research does not unequivocally support this assumption (see discussions in Newton, 2004 and Uslaner, 2000). Uslaner (2000) shows that generalized social trust (as opposed to *particularistic trust* – i.e. only trusting those people and organizations that one knows) is strongly associated with the forms of civic engagement that do not entail only interacting with or helping people similar to oneself (e.g. from one’s own group). Moreover, his analysis of the relationship between trust and engagement shows that while trustful people are significantly more likely to volunteer, volunteers are only slightly more trustful (as compared to non-volunteers).

Civic engagement, may be defined in very broad terms and encompass processes ranging from changing one’s attitudes, values, and improving interpersonal and leadership skills, through behavioral intentions, to actual behavior (e.g. time spent

volunteering; see Bowman, 2011). In my work I understand civic engagement more narrowly, that is as actions undertaken by people in order to solve community problems and improve the well-being of the local residents and the community in general (Lenzi, Vieno, Pastore, & Santinello, 2013, p. 45). As such, civic engagement constitutes an important resource in a community and may take the form of voluntarism, participation in local actions or donating one's time or money to benefit the community (Lewicka, 2005).

Place-Related Determinants of Civic Engagement

The notion of place attachment refers to the emotional bonds that people form with places that are meaningful to them (Low & Altman, 1992; Scannell & Gifford, 2010; Tuan, 1980). In Bowlby's argument (1973; Morgan, 2010), a familiar environment provides an individual with protection and satisfies their basic needs, which in turn leads to the development of an attachment to that environment in much the same, automatic way as it develops with regard to people. Attachment to a place provides people with a sense of stability (Brown & Perkins 1992), while its disruption leads to severe consequences such as high levels of stress, experiencing grief and alienation. This was the case with residents of a low-income area in Boston, who lost their houses and their community to an urban renewal project (Fried, 1963, 2000; Kleit & Manzo, 2006).

People may be attached to places at different scales. Among those, neighborhoods, homes, and cities have been studied most extensively (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; also see a review in Lewicka, 2011). The type of place affects the strength of attachment: people are most strongly attached to their homes, cities, and countries while attachment to neighborhoods and regions usually turns out as significantly weaker (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Laczko, 2005; Lewicka, 2010). In this

work, I focus on attachment to towns and cities which are the primary places of residence of my participants. In the understanding of place proposed by Tuan (1975) cities constitute the 'perfect place' – characterized by relatively fixed boundaries, stable over time, and embedded with meaning – and as such elicit relatively strong attachment.

Despite globalization and growing mobility, places of various sizes seem to maintain their relevance (Gustafson, 2001; 2009) and attachment to them is related to several important processes (for a review see Lewicka, 2011). Specifically, people who are attached to their places of residence perceive them to be less crime-ridden (Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2003) and less dangerous (even when the place is as objectively dangerous as the Gaza strip, see Billig, 2006). People who are highly attached are more likely to engage in behaviors protective of the valued characteristics of meaningful places (Stedman, 2002). The stronger people's emotional bonds with places, the more likely they are to support conservation and landscape planning strategies (Walker & Ryan, 2008) and the more likely they are to hold negative attitudes towards developments that bring about environmental risks to the area (Vorkinn & Riese, 2001). Attached individuals are also more likely to engage in pro-environmental and sustainable behavior (Buta, Holland, & Kaplanidou, 2014; Halpenny, 2010).

Additionally, adults who feel bonded with a place and the local community are more likely to undertake action in order to protect it (e.g. Wakefield et al., 2001) and to become civically engaged (Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). A similar relationship was found also among young people. For instance, community attachment was positively associated with prosocial community and political behaviors and attitudes in a sample of Australian adolescents (Silva, Sanson, Smart, & Toumbourou, 2004; 230). Among American students of different ethnic origins community attachment

was associated with greater *civic commitments* (i.e. ascribing importance to various pro-social activities; Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill, & Gallay, 2007) and in a study carried out among Italian adolescents neighborhood attachment was positively related to both civic responsibility and actual civic behavior (Lenzi et al., 2013).

Interest in History and Place Attachment

It is noteworthy that people have a tendency to underestimate the role of outgroups in the history of their places of residence. This *historical ethnic bias* has been demonstrated in several studies carried out in cities that had changed their national allegiance after World War II (e.g. Vilnius in Lithuania, Lviv in Ukraine, and Wrocław in Poland; see Lewicka, 2008a, b; 2012). The current inhabitants of these cities tend to significantly overstate the role of their own national ingroup in the city's history by way of overestimating the number of their co-nationals living there before the war and by almost exclusively remembering prominent historical figures who belonged to their own (and not to any other) national group. Having said that, successive studies carried out with different samples both country-wide and more locally focused have revealed that expressed interest in local history was associated with a broader and less ethnocentrically biased knowledge about the place's past (Lewicka, 2012), with a positive attitude towards museums commemorating the presence of Jews in Poland and the Holocaust (Wójcik et al., 2010), and with favorable attitudes towards various ethnic groups in the contemporary city landscape (Wójcik, Lewicka, Bilewicz, 2011).

Interest in local history, in addition to being related to an open-minded attitude toward ethnic minorities, plays an important role in strengthening the sense of continuity. In several studies carried out in different countries and localities of a different scale (e.g. cities, universities; Dobosh & Lewicka, 2015; Lewicka, 2015) interest

in local history was positively associated with the perceived cultural and narrative continuity of place (Sani, Bowe, & Herrera, 2008) which comprises a significant predictor of place identification.

Continuity is a dimension of place that is greatly valued by people. Low (1992) identifies links to a place through family genealogy and history as important sources of place attachment, while Devine-Wright and Lyons (1997) emphasize the importance of place history in strengthening a sense of continuity with the past. Moreover, research on community/place attachment shows that people have a preference for historical places (Nowell, Berkowitz, Deacon, & Foster-Fishman, 2006) and that they display stronger attachment to places that contain historical remnants (as opposed to newly-built environments that lack such elements; Lewicka, 2008b).

Interest in local history is dependent on socio-demographic status. Younger people tend to show less interest in the past than middle-aged people (Lewicka, 2012). People with higher cultural capital (measured by levels of education, the size of one's home library, and cultural tastes; Lewicka, 2013) declare more interest in local history. It is significant that although interest in local history is positively associated with the need for cognition (Petty, Briñol, Loersch, & McCaslin, 2009; Lewicka, 2015), its effects remain significant also after the effects of pure cognitive motivation have been controlled for.

One of the most consistent correlates of interest in local history is place attachment (Lewicka, 2005, 2008b, 2012). However, the correlational nature of this relationship does not allow to draw conclusions on the direction of causality. People who are attached to their places of residence may consequently become more intrigued by their past, but the opposite causal relationship is possible, too (i.e. that people who

are interested in a place history subsequently develop greater place attachment). Lewicka (2014) theorized that learning about local history may serve as a means to appropriate a new place. She argues that various forms of memory (e.g. procedural, declarative, autobiographical, and semantic), may help people to develop a sense of continuity in a place and thus foster emotional bonds with it. Therefore shaping memory through teaching local history may become a useful tool for strengthening place attachment and – indirectly – stimulate community engagement.

Chapter 3: Limitations of Research on Prejudice and Prejudice Reduction

Research on prejudice has a long history within social psychology (Dovidio, 2001; Duckitt, 1992). It also constitutes one of the most burgeoning fields of study both in terms of theoretical developments and the sheer volume of the work. While in the 1930s about 29 studies on prejudice and stereotyping were published, between 2000 and 2008 only the four leading social psychological journals published 1,879 articles dealing explicitly with the negative facets of intergroup relations (i.e. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* [JPSP]; *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* [PSPB], *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* [JESP], and *European Journal of Social Psychology* – as described in: Dovidio, et al., 2010). This is a sign of both a general expansion of social studies and a growing interest in intergroup relations (as not only the number but also the proportion of studies on intergroup relations is steadily increasing).

Many of the classic studies in social psychology utilized field and/or very elaborate experiments with a high degree of realism (e.g. Brophy, 1946; Cook, 1962; Sherif et al., 1961; Milgram, 1965; Milgram, Mann, & Harter, 1965; Piliavin, Rodin, & Piliavin, 1969). But most of the scientific studies of intergroup relations today (as is the

case in other branches of social psychology) predominantly rely on laboratory experiments (Bar-Tal, 2004; Sears, 1986). Additionally, these experiments are mostly based on very abstract measures. Thus social psychology has become what Baumeister, Vohs, and Funder (2007) call “a science of self-reports and finger movements” (p. 396), which instead of studying real human behavior in the field focuses on reaction times in tasks that participants perform in front of a computer screen and on correlational questionnaire studies (see also Doliński, 2016). This limits social psychology in several important ways. As Bar-Tal (2004) points out, experimental studies tend to focus on artificial phenomena (manipulated and/or recreated in the lab), which leads to an unavoidable reduction of the scope of research, and to a greater focus on the operationalization of variables than on broader research problems and their real-life significance (pp. 678-679). Laboratory experiments, necessarily investigate abstract behavior in a context-free setting. While this allows for sound conclusions and a high degree of inferential certainty, it also disregards the complexity of human behavior and the multitude of factors that shape it under normal circumstances. Paluck (2012) emphasized the need to combine prejudice reduction research and interventions with a greater focus on the role of the environment in which individuals live.

What is more, experiments today disproportionately call on undergraduate (often psychology) students as participants, which constitutes a serious limitation in and of itself. For instance, in 1980 85% of studies published in JPSP, PSPB, and JESP used laboratory setting and/or college undergraduates as subjects and only 15% captured adult populations in a natural setting (Sears, 1986). Sears identifies a steady linear increase in the reliance on students in the postwar period (up to the mid-1980s) and a meta-analysis of intergroup contact research from its inception until the beginning of the 21st Century found that over 70% of the samples were composed of college students

(Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) thoroughly elaborated the issue of the unrepresentativeness of White American undergraduate students to the human population. They convincingly demonstrated, pooling a large number of studies across behavioral sciences, that contrary to the usual assumption those most typical research subjects differ from members of other cultures, and ethnic groups (but also from the less educated members of their own nation) in several important ways. Differences were found, for instance, in the perception of visual stimuli, fairness in making economic decisions and cooperative orientations, development of lay understanding of biology, spatial reasoning, memory, categorization, moral reasoning, and self-concepts. Hence the authors recommend using more diverse samples or at least reflecting on the limited generalizability of the results to a context that had been studied (Henrich et al., 2010).

Since one of the explicitly stated goals of research on prejudice is informing the public and policymakers so that it might be reduced (Miller & Harrington, 1990; Paluck & Green, 2009), the results of a recent analysis of the activities undertaken in the field of prejudice reduction (Paluck & Green, 2009) are striking. The latter's review of prejudice-reducing interventions, both experimental and non-experimental, was based on 985 reports (72% published). Most studies (60%) were non-experimental, 29% were laboratory experiments and 11% field experiments. The results point first and foremost to the insufficient evaluation of the interventions in the field. Additionally, the authors emphasize a lack of testing of the bulk of laboratory findings in the real world. Only a few of the constructs most frequently studied in the lab (i.e. intergroup contact, decategorization and recategorization approaches, social identity theory) are also tested in the field. Out of 107 field experiments only 10% investigated the effects of intergroup contact and even less examined interventions based on social identity or categorization

approaches. While these results are promising, this by no means constitutes a sufficient number of studies.

Both the scholars involved in intergroup relations research and those analyzing the possibility for the application of the results of this research agree that there is a need for greater circulation of theoretical ideas, their more rigorous real-world testing but also for a better assessment of various forms of interventions. Specifically, Bar-Tal (2004) notes that social psychology needs and benefits from both experimental laboratory studies as well as natural setting investigations and is incomplete if only one of these dominates. Pettigrew (2008) named the need for more longitudinal research as one of the four future directions for intergroup contact research.

This thesis presents a research program (encompassing longitudinal and experimental studies, as well as qualitative analyses) that aimed at testing a theory-driven prejudice reduction and civic engagement raising intervention which combines insights from social and environmental psychology. In doing so, it answers some of the concerns of prejudice research elaborated above. It also uses large samples of Polish adolescents (middle and high school students) living in many smaller towns, in an attempt to produce a reliable attitude change in people who are in the critical years of their attitude formation. As developmental research indicates adolescents are characterized by an uncrystallized sense of self (Erikson, 1968) resulting in their attitudes being more malleable and open to influence. Besides, research on intergroup contact has shown that it is most effective at reducing prejudice among adolescents (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In the following chapter, I elaborate the principles of the proposed new type of indirect intergroup contact and the details of the research program.

Chapter 4: Contact with a Multicultural Past – Assumptions and Research Context³

Contact with a Multicultural Past

While being grounded in the extensive research on indirect intergroup contact and its effects on attitudes, especially in places characterized by ethnic homogeneity, limited opportunities for direct intergroup contact, and strong prejudice this thesis introduces a new type of indirect intergroup contact: *contact with a multicultural past* (described in: Stefaniak & Bilewicz, 2016). This type of contact may be applied in places that are currently ethnically homogeneous but that historically had been inhabited by ethnically and religiously diverse communities. It overcomes the problems of ethnic homogeneity by focusing peoples' attention on historical ethnic diversity.

Contact with a multicultural past entails both acquiring knowledge about the multicultural heritage of one's place of residence and direct, active engagement with it (e.g. visiting sites and discovering the multicultural history of well-known, everyday places). It raises awareness of a historical proximity between members of the ingroup and outgroup(s), and creates a sense of closeness based on inhabiting the same space (today) as the outgroup used to inhabit in the past. This knowledge is reinforced by the presence of architectural (and other) material remnants which testify to the outgroup's presence in a given place and also speak to the spatial closeness of the ingroup and outgroup(s) in the past. Utilizing the existing material or non-material (e.g. place names) heritage and local history of diversity, contact with a multicultural past provides people with a complex experience of indirectly encountering 'the other' in their own place of residence.

³Passages from the description of the contact with a multicultural past concept have been published in a research article: Stefaniak, A. & Bilewicz, M. (2016). Contact with a multicultural past: A prejudice reducing intervention. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 50, 60-65.

Contact with a multicultural past draws on the concept of interest in place history (Lewicka, 2014) and its potential role in stimulating place attachment (Low & Altman, 1992) as well as more open attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Wójcik et al., 2010). Thus it demonstrates the importance of exploring *local* multicultural history. It also relies on individual, active engagement with the multicultural heritage. As research in attitude formation and change shows, attitudes that are based on direct experience are stronger (Fazio, 1990; Christ, et al., 2010) and one's behavior may constitute a vital cue for inferring one's own attitudes (Bem, 1972).

While this new type of indirect contact is inspired by the specific context of Polish ethnic relations – both historical and current – it can also be applied in other, similar contexts (e.g. in the United States, Israel, Cyprus, etc.) where one group was replaced, or partially replaced, by another and mutual attitudes remain hostile.

Effects on intergroup attitudes. Like other kinds of intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Miles & Crisp, 2014), contact with a multicultural past is expected to exert a positive effect on intergroup relations, i.e. it should lead to more positive intergroup attitudes and greater inclusion of the outgroup in the self among those who experience it. An initial empirical evidence that indirect intergroup contact may operate in a historical context comes from research by Stasiuk and Bilewicz (2013) who showed that the awareness of personal contact between one's own ancestors and members of an ethnic outgroup was associated with more positive attitudes towards that outgroup. In a similar vein, in the study by Bilewicz and Wójcik (2009) those young Poles who declared learning about Jews from their grandparents displayed lower levels of antisemitism. However, these studies only used correlational data and hence do not allow sound directional conclusions.

The hypothesized change in attitudes after experiencing contact with a multicultural past may be a consequence of several mechanisms that will be tested in this work. First of all, this kind of indirect intergroup contact should lead to an increase of knowledge of and interest in local (multicultural) past. Increased knowledge about outgroups is one of the established mediators of direct contact effects (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Lewicka (2008a, b) and Wójcik and colleagues (2010) also showed that a greater awareness of multicultural past of one's place of residence was associated with more tolerant intergroup attitudes. Similarly to the works cited above, these studies were also only correlational in nature and did not investigate the influence of greater knowledge and interest in local history on intergroup attitudes. With this project I aim to fill this gap and test the two mechanisms as potential mediators of contact with a multicultural past effects on attitudes towards outgroups.

Contact with a multicultural past aims not only to convey knowledge of multiethnic history, but also to present the history of ethnic groups living together in the same place and to build new knowledge about local history so that it includes the outgroup. That is why two other probable mechanisms of attitude change may capture the growing perceived closeness between oneself and the members of the outgroup. Specifically, I assume that the key mediators of contact with a multicultural past effects on intergroup attitudes would be the inclusion of the outgroup in the self (IOS; see Turner et al., 2008; Wright et al., 1997) and increased perspective taking (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). As research on direct intergroup contact shows, knowledge of outgroups, while it constitutes a significant mediator of contact effects on attitudes, consequently emerges as a weaker mediator than more emotionally-oriented mechanisms such as perspective taking and empathy (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008).

Inclusion of an outgroup in the self is an established extended contact mediator (Tropp & Wright, 2001; Turner et al., 2008; see the Extended contact section in Chapter 1 of this thesis). Specifically, experiencing intergroup contact facilitates the self-other overlap which in turn results in more positive attitudes. Contact with a multicultural past should also stimulate perspective taking as it entails learning about the ways of life of the outgroup, that used to inhabit the same location in the past. As such, it should facilitate the ability to imagine/consider the point of view of outgroup members, or in other words to 'put oneself in the shoes of another' (Galinsky & Ku, 2004). Perspective taking has been linked to empathy and altruism (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, & Neuberg, 1997) but also to improved attitudes towards groups that are targets of prejudice (Batson et al., 1997; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Galinsky et al., 2005). For instance, Batson and colleagues (1997) have shown that taking the perspective of a highly stigmatized individual (an individual diagnosed with AIDS, a homeless person or a convicted murderer) resulted in more positive attitudes towards the groups that they belong to.

Effects on social capital. An environmental psychology approach to the analysis of the effects of contact with a multicultural past allows me to explore its effects beyond intergroup relations. Since this new type of indirect intergroup contact utilizes the local history of diversity as a tool for prejudice reduction, the literature on people-place relations offers important insights into the possible consequences of such history for the broader community/society (through building local social capital) and not only for the individuals who experience such contact.

As indicated above, the idea of contact with a multicultural past means to gain new knowledge about historical ethnic diversity of one's place of residence, but also to

directly engage with the historical heritage. Acquiring new knowledge about one's place of residence changes the cognitive component of place attachment. It influences how a given place is perceived and understood, i.e. *place identity* defined as "cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives" (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 59). Increasing people's knowledge of local history should first of all increase their interest in local history (see Devine-Wright, 2001; Lewicka, 2005, 2014). This interest, next to social and demographic characteristics, has been shown to shape place attachment (Lewicka, 2008, Low, 1992). A strengthened emotional bond with one's place of residence should in turn be associated with stronger social capital indicators such as civic engagement and generalized social trust (e.g. Lewicka, 2005; Wakefield et al., 2001).

In contrast to the previous studies, the present ones make use of an intervention carried out in a natural setting and utilizing longitudinal designs. Thus they allow me to draw causal conclusions regarding the relationships between the intervention, interest in local history, place attachment, and civic engagement.

Poland and Polish-Jewish Relations as a Research Context

Ethnic homogeneity in Poland. Poland constitutes an interesting case in the study of intergroup relations. It is one of the least ethnically diverse countries of the European Union. Recent Eurostat data show that the numbers of foreign nationals living in Poland are still very small, as compared to the rest of the EU. Only Romania and Slovakia may be characterized as more ethnically homogeneous than Poland (Eurostat, 2015; Vasileva, 2010). Similarly, the last National Census shows that almost 95% of the population of the country declares a solely Polish ethnic identity, 2% declare both Polish and another ethnicity, while only 1.55% define themselves as not ethnically Polish

(Central Statistical Office of Poland, January 01, 2013). From a historical perspective the current situation is highly untypical. Being situated between the East and the West, thus constituting an area of contact between different cultural influences and economic interests, up until World War II Poland had been a land where many diverse ethnic groups settled. The Second National Census conducted in 1931 evidenced this diversity. Interestingly, in contrast to the current methodological approach which asks directly about respondents' ethnic identification, the 1931 census defined ethnicity based on native language and religious denomination. In the early 1930s, ethnic Poles constituted only 65.4% of the total population of the country, followed by Ukrainians (15.7%), Jews (9.6%), Belarussians (6.1%), and Germans (2.3%; Eberhardt, 2006).

World War II, the Holocaust, and over 40 years of communism with its explicit anti-diversity policies put an end to the ethnic diversity of Poland. That is why the opportunities for direct intergroup contact in Poland are very limited. According to the Eurobarometer 2009, only about 25% of Poles declare knowing people of other ethnicities (the mean value for the EU-27 was 57%; European Commission, 2009). These results are corroborated by a representative sample survey carried out by the Center for Research on Prejudice in 2013. It showed that about 80% of the Polish population have had no direct contact with Jews or Roma people, almost three quarters have never met a homosexual person, and almost 60% have never met a German person (Stefaniak & Witkowska, 2015).

The lack of direct intergroup contact is associated with greater prejudice. For instance, it correlates with stronger social distance towards outgroups, that is with a desire not to allow them in one's social milieu (Bogardus, 1925; Stefaniak & Witkowska, 2015). Besides, international comparisons show that Poles express significantly more

prejudice than most other European nations. A representative sample telephone survey carried out in France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, and Portugal (Zick, Küpper, & Hövermann, 2011) showed that Poland and Hungary were the countries consequently showing strongest prejudice against immigrants, Jews, Muslims, people of color, gay people, and highest levels of sexism.

The notorious absence of opportunities for direct intergroup contact and high levels of prejudice make it necessary to look for alternative ways to reduce prejudice in Poland. One idea may be to increase the exposure of Poles to foreigners during visits to other countries. International student exchange programs constitute an example of the influence of such exposure. For example, the Erasmus program organized by the European Commission since 1987 has been gradually growing in size and popularity. Between 1998 (when Poland joined the Erasmus program) and 2011, the number of Polish participants of the program increased by a factor of 10 (Członkowska-Naumiuk, no date). Previous research carried out with a group of Polish students who took part in the Erasmus program in the academic year 2010/2011 confirmed that intergroup contact with Muslims experienced abroad led to a significant decrease in intergroup anxiety and to an improvement of attitudes towards Muslims (Stefaniak & Bilewicz, 2014). Regrettably, such experiences are only available to a select group of people. Another possibility is provided by indirect forms of intergroup contact, such as imagined contact which has been shown to reduce prejudice of Poles towards Romanians who are a highly disliked group within Polish society (Bilewicz & Kogan, 2014). Contact with a multicultural past, an indirect type of contact that utilizes the history of ethnic diversity, may constitute another viable option for stimulating more positive intergroup attitudes today.

Polish-Jewish relations. In this thesis I focus predominantly on Polish-Jewish relations. This is because they constitute a very good example of an intergroup context that can be characterized by historical proximity and interaction, and a current lack of intergroup contact. Before World War II, the Jewish minority was the second largest minority group in Poland (constituting almost 10% of the population; Eberhardt, 2006). Most Jewish people perished in the Holocaust and, in the 1950s, the number of Polish Jews was estimated to hover around a mere 45,000. After the antisemitic campaign of the communist authorities in 1968, many of them emigrated. Today, the Jewish population in Poland comprises around 8,000 people – less than 0.1% of the whole (Central Statistical Office of Poland, January 01, 2013).

Antisemitic attitudes in Poland. Even though the size of the Jewish minority in Poland is extremely small, antisemitic sentiments persist. This situation is sometimes termed *antisemitism without Jews* (e.g. Bilewicz, Winiewski, & Radzik, 2012; Kucia, Duch-Dyngosz, & Magierowski, 2013; Lendvai, 1971). Research on antisemitism, similarly to research on other kinds of prejudice, distinguishes between traditional, blatant prejudice and its more modern, subtle types (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). *Traditional antisemitism* (Krzemiński, 1993) is blatantly hostile. It has a strong religious component and manifests itself in blaming Jews for the death of Jesus Christ. It is now much less common than other forms of anti-Jewish sentiments. Modern antisemitism may take different forms (Zick, 2010). *Secondary antisemitism* (Imhoff & Banse, 2009; Salzborn, 2008) is understood as a belief that Jews are exploiting the history of persecution of their group, and especially the Holocaust, in aim to gain present-day advantages and underserved profits, and that they are responsible for the hostility that meets them (Bilewicz Winiewski, Kofta, & Wójcik, 2013). The *belief in a Jewish conspiracy* constitutes another form of modern

antisemitism. It is based on the conviction that Jewish people strive to gain power and to dominate other groups, that they do so in a secretive way, and are a unitary group, with strong self-interests that has an undeserved control over the financial system, the media, and the politics (Kofta & Sędek, 2005). Even excessive (as compared to rational, see Sharansky, 2004) critique of the state of Israel has been shown as a new way to express hostility towards Jews in a socially acceptable way (Cohen, Jussim, Harber, & Bhasin, 2009; Winiewski, Haska, & Bulska, 2015).

Research conducted in Poland shows that Jews remain a highly disliked group (e.g. Sułek, 2012), that different forms of antisemitism are quite prevalent, as compared to other countries (Kucia et al., 2013), and that Poles seem less tolerant of religious than of ethnic outgroups (Golebiowska, 2009). Representative sample studies ran by the large public opinion research agencies in Poland since the 1970s consequently show that Jews are rather disliked than liked by ethnic Poles (Winiewski & Bilewicz, 2015; Sułek, 2012). The Polish Prejudice Survey conducted in 2009 and 2013 used a more fine-grained approach to assess antisemitism and asked several questions pertaining to traditional and secondary antisemitism, as well as to the conspiracy stereotype of Jews. In 2009 about 15% of Poles agreed or rather agreed with statements expressing traditional antisemitism (e.g. "Jews are responsible for the death of Jesus Christ"), 60% endorsed statements expressing secondary antisemitism (e.g. "Jews want to get reparations from Poles for something that had been done to them by Germans"), and 65% believed in the Jewish conspiracy (e.g. endorsed statements like: "Jews strive to control the world"). In 2013 the results were very similar – 63% of Poles believed in a Jewish conspiracy, 58% endorsed secondary antisemitism, and 23% (a noticeable increase as compared to 2009) agreed with traditionally antisemitic statements (Bilewicz, Winiewski, Kofta, & Wójcik, 2013; Bilewicz, Winiewski, & Radzik, 2012;

Bilewicz, Winiewski, & Soral, 2013). It is important to note, here, that the negative attitudes have been shown to positively relate to both discriminatory behavioral intentions and to actual behavior towards Jews (Bilewicz, Stefaniak, & Witkowska, 2014).

Negative attitudes towards Jewish people are also common among Polish youth (e.g. Weigl, 2008). Ambrosewicz-Jacobs (2000) showed that in the late 90s, more than 30% of a large group of 19- to 20-year-olds interviewed in schools in Kraków believed that Jews owned too much of the world's wealth and 22.3% stated that their feelings towards Jews were negative. A representative survey carried out in 2008 (Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, 2013) showed that Polish youth are not very knowledgeable about Jewish history (only 14% correctly identified the number of victims of the Holocaust) and that about a quarter of them supported statements expressing secondary antisemitism. What is more, research in Kraków (where a quarter of the population was Jewish prior to World War II) shows that ethnically Polish youth do not know much about Jewish culture and have almost no contact with Jews (Ambrosewicz-Jacobs & Orla-Bukowska, 1998). Bilewicz and Wójcik (2009) carried out a study among Polish secondary and high school students ($N = 687$) in 15 small towns in eastern and southern Poland that used to be populated by the Jewish minority (which in some of them constituted a numerous majority). The results showed that the Jews alongside Roma people were the most disliked (as evidenced by high levels of social distance) group among the students. School education proved unrelated to attitudes towards Jews which may be a sign of its inefficacy in promoting tolerance (Bilewicz, et al., 2014).

Additionally, research carried out among Warsaw high school students ($N = 1250$) showed that school education may contribute to the distorted view of history

shared by Polish youth. Specifically, both grades achieved in history and the number of lessons devoted to teaching about the Holocaust were *positively* correlated with overestimation of the help offered to Jews by Poles during World War II (Witkowska, Stefaniak, & Bilewicz, 2015).

All this evidence shows that Jewish people, who used to be a large and important part of Polish society, are a highly disliked minority and that official school education is not a successful tool in reducing these negative sentiments. That is why it is necessary to look into the possibilities offered by informal education and to seek theoretically inspired solutions that may be applied in real-life setting. One such solution is contact with a multicultural past which has been utilized during the School of Dialogue program (see the description in The School of Dialogue as an implementation of contact with a multicultural past in this chapter).

Social capital in Poland. The Polish context is also interesting for studies such as this one due to extremely low levels of social capital and civil engagement observed in the country. International comparisons demonstrate significant differences in social capital across countries. Scandinavia and Western Europe usually come out on top of trust and activism rankings, while southern and eastern European countries tend to score significantly lower (European Commission, 2005; European Observatory, 2007). The results of the European Social Survey show that Poland's scores are among the lowest in Europe, in terms of both generalized social trust and the readiness to participate in any form of voluntary associations (ESS Round 4, 2008). National survey data confirm these low scores: in 2012 only 23% of Poles agreed that most people can be trusted (CBOS, 2012). The Social Diagnosis representative sample survey (Czapiński & Panek, 2015) showed not only that Poles tend to trust other people much less than

their European counterparts but also that there are significant correlations between social capital indices and various facets of social and economic well-being. The Social Diagnosis demonstrated also that Poles, as compared to citizens of other European countries, belong to much fewer social organizations. The civic activity of the Polish population is extremely low. In 2008, 89% of Poles declared that they did not belong to and were not active in any kind of civic organization (Żukowski & Theiss, 2008).

These results were replicated also among young Polish citizens. In 2009, only 16% of students declared that they trusted other people (School Without Violence, 2009). This percentage is even lower among older students. The Social Diagnosis 2007 showed that only 11.5% of youth above 15 years of age declared trusting other people (Czapiński & Panek, 2015). While in primary school about 46% of children do participate in some sort of socially beneficial activities (mostly within their school), this percentage declines rapidly as they enter middle school and high school. Participation in organizations outside of school is much lower (about 32% of students) and, similarly to social trust, it declines with age. Young Poles are generally even less likely than adults to engage in the non-governmental sector (Siemieńska, 2015).

According to developmental research, one of the most significant factors shaping people's civic engagement is their civic participation during adolescence (Youniss, McLellan, Su, & Yates, 1999; Zaff, Malanchuk, & Eccles, 2008). This age constitutes a critical period for achieving an awareness of belonging to a broader community (Erikson, 1968). At least with regard to youth development, it appears legitimate to claim that people learn to be active within society and to practice democracy by directly participating in social life (Newton, 2004). Similar arguments have been put forward about social trust. Uslaner (2000) showed that generalized social trust is a stable quality

of people (it is relatively constant over time). He also argued that it is shaped in childhood and adolescence and that “trusting young people become trusting adults” (p. 574). That is why it is particularly important to encourage civic participation and build social trust in young people.

The School of Dialogue as an Implementation of Contact with a Multicultural Past

Based on the principles of contact with a multicultural past – i.e. learning about and actively engaging with multicultural heritage in one’s place of residence – an intervention was designed that addresses the intergroup relations issues in Poland. This intervention (called the School of Dialogue) is an educational program whose effects have been systematically monitored and evaluated since 2012. The results of these analyses constitute the main part of the research project presented in this thesis and speak directly to the efficacy of contact with a multicultural past as a theory-driven prejudice-reducing and social capital-inducing intervention.

The School of Dialogue was designed and implemented by a Polish non-governmental organization, the Forum for Dialogue, which is dedicated to fostering Polish-Jewish dialogue, reducing antisemitism, and promoting tolerance. It is explicitly based on the premises of contact with a multicultural past: the assumption that an active engagement with outgroup’s historical presence and material heritage in currently ethnically homogeneous locations may be beneficial for intergroup attitudes and for the local community.

Every year the intervention targets middle school and high school students who reside predominantly in small and medium towns in Poland⁴ which used to be

⁴In the four years during which my research was carried out of 112 different locations 16% were villages, 50% were small towns, 24% were medium towns, and 10% were large cities.

populated by a Jewish minority before World War II. The program strives to promote knowledge about the Jewish heritage and culture of pre-war Poland and their influence on Polish culture, as well as about current Jewish inhabitants of the country. The main features of the program which implements the contact with a multicultural past framework comprise the explicit focus on local Polish-Jewish history and the direct engagement with the still existing Jewish material heritage. Thus the program enables Polish students to experience a new type of indirect intergroup contact, as described in this thesis, and through it to reconsider their opinions regarding Jewish people and their attitudes towards their places of residence.

The School of Dialogue entails four, day-long workshops during which students learn about the past of their places of residence and, together with specially trained facilitators, discover the still observable Jewish heritage. There are always two facilitators for each student group, who are trained beforehand in workshop-based historical education during a year-long preparatory training course. The facilitators visit the participating schools four times. Between these sessions, students who participate in the intervention carry out their own independent research into local Jewish history in small groups. They interview the oldest inhabitants of their towns/villages, contact local historians, and visit archives and museums, among other activities. All four workshops make use of rich and context-specific visual materials (e.g. photographs – both archival and current).

Even though there have been some changes to the program over the years, the core has remained intact. During Workshop 1, a group of participants is acquainted with the basic topics related to the history and culture of Polish Jews. They learn about the topography of a Polish-Jewish town, using their own place of residence as an example.

They watch a pre-war movie about life in a small Jewish town and discuss Jewish calendar and holidays. Workshop 2 focuses on local history, with a special emphasis on the history of Jewish people in a given location. The students also discuss issues of leadership and are instructed about ways in which they themselves can actively seek knowledge about the local multicultural heritage. One of the main tasks of the students during the program has them prepare a 'project' (usually a field trip in the footsteps of the local Jewish community). They begin working on the project during the second workshop by planning and dividing the tasks between group members. Between workshop 2 and 3, there are usually 2-3 weeks of break during which the students work on the projects. During Workshop 3, the participants 'rehearse' their project and take the workshop facilitators for the field trip. As all projects created in a given year enter a competition, the students are motivated to prepare interesting, engaging, and interactive projects. During Workshop 4, the students discuss the concept of multiculturalism with a special emphasis on Jewish culture. They learn about different Jewish communities and ways of life and discuss the possibilities of using the field trips that were designed during the program in the future. The last element of the workshop has them write letters about their experiences during the program. The letters focus on the subjective impressions that a given participant had during the program.

Throughout the program, which usually spans over a period of about a month, the students learn that their town/city used to be populated by a significant Jewish minority (which in some places constituted a numerical majority before World War II). By actively engaging with the local heritage, the students are able to discover a new layer of meaning in their well-known, everyday environment.

It is important to note, here, that while the decision to participate in the School of Dialogue program is made by the school officials (and not by the students), in some of the schools the students may volunteer to take part in the program while in others they are delegated for participation by their teachers. Regrettably, no data exists on the extent of self-selection.

Hypotheses

Contact with a multicultural past is conceptualized as discovering and actively engaging with local multicultural history. It provides people with experience-based knowledge of ethnic minorities' historical presence in their places of residence. Based on the expected effects of contact with a multicultural past elaborated above, three main hypotheses are proposed and tested with the following.

People who experience contact with a multicultural past by way of participating in the School of Dialogue program should display significant changes in intergroup and place-related attitudes (Hypothesis 1). As improvement of intergroup attitudes is a typical outcome of indirect intergroup contact (e.g. Miller & Crisp, 2014; Turner et al., 2001; Wright et al., 1997), participation in the program is also expected to lead to an improvement of attitudes towards Jewish people. Contact with a multicultural past aims at building a sense of connectedness between the inhabitants of a given location today and the historically present minority/ies. Therefore, those who engage in contact with a multicultural past (during the School of Dialogue intervention) should also display an increase in the inclusion of Jewish people in the self (Aron et al., 1992) and in the ability to take the perspective of Jewish people (Batson et al., 1997, Vescio et al., 2003). An important objective of contact with a multicultural past is also the development of knowledge of and interest in local (multicultural) history and so these are also expected

to increase as a result of participating in the program. Lastly, drawing on environmental psychology research (Lewicka, 2005; 2014), it is expected that engaging with local history should result in stronger place attachment as well as increased willingness for local community engagement and generalized social trust.

Based on the specificity of contact with a multicultural past and the mechanisms of indirect intergroup contact effects on attitudes I hypothesized that the improvement of attitudes towards Jews will be a result of an indirect effect of greater knowledge of (Hypothesis 2a) and interest in (Hypothesis 2b) local (multicultural) history, greater inclusion of the outgroup (Jews) in the self (Hypothesis 2c), and greater perspective taking (Hypothesis 2d). Specifically, as outlined above, interest in local history has been shown to relate to intergroup attitudes (Wójcik et al., 2011) and is expected to increase as a result of the intervention. Therefore I hypothesize in the current studies that it should mediate the influence of contact with a multicultural past on attitudes towards Jews. Similarly, as the intervention builds knowledge of local multicultural history and knowledge is an established mediator of intergroup contact effects (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) it is also hypothesized to emerge as a separate mediator in the current studies. Furthermore, contact with a multicultural past is designed to build awareness of the historical presence of outgroups in people's current place of residence and to create a sense of connectedness between historical and current inhabitants. Thus I hypothesize that inclusions of Jewish people in the self and perspective taking should constitute crucial (and stronger than knowledge-based, see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) mechanisms of attitude improvement in the described intervention. Inclusion of others in the self is an established indirect contact effects mediator (Turner et al., 2008). However it has not been tested in studies that utilize historical closeness between different ethnic groups. Perspective taking constitutes a crucial mechanism of direct intergroup contact

(Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) and has been shown to as a mechanism of attitude improvement and conflict resolution also in historically-oriented interventions (e.g. Bilali & Volhardt, 2013; Noor, Zebel, Doosje, & Spears, 2009).

Taken together, Hypotheses 2a, 2b, 2c, and 2d propose that experiencing contact with a multicultural past focused on Jewish history of one's place of residence should lead to greater knowledge of and interest in this history, to greater inclusion of the historically present minority – Jews – in the self, and to greater ability to take their perspective, which all should, in turn, be related to more positive attitudes towards Jews. Since the four mediators constitute qualitatively different processes (two of them pertaining to knowledge-based influence of contact with a multicultural past, the other two to changing people's perceptions of outgroup(s) as being closer both spatially and experientially) they will be tested as parallel mediators. Such an analysis will allow me to examine the influence of each of the mediators while simultaneously controlling for the influence of the others and testing their relative importance.

Lastly, I hypothesized that the effects of contact with a multicultural past on social capital indicators – civic engagement intentions and social trust – should result from both increased interest in local history (Hypothesis 3a) and increased place attachment (Hypothesis 3b). Moreover, I assumed that increased interest in local history should also exert an indirect effect on social capital by stimulating place attachment (Hypothesis 3c). Contact with a multicultural past involves people in learning and exploring local history and should therefore lead to an increase of their interest in that history (see Devine-Wright, 2001; Lewicka, 2005, 2014). Such interest has been shown to significantly relate to place attachment (Lewicka, 2008, Low, 1992), which constitutes one of the important predictors of social capital (e.g. Lewicka, 2005; Wakefield et al.,

2001). Consequently, increased curiosity about local history is expected to result in stronger place attachment and – as a result – in greater civic engagement intentions and more social trust. Hypothesis 3 assumes the existence of a serial mediation such that contact with a multicultural past should stimulate interest in history, which should relate to greater place attachment, and in turn to increased social capital.

Chapter 5: Research Plan and Results

In aim to investigate the impact of contact with a multicultural past I conducted three quantitative, longitudinal intervention studies of the School of Dialogue participants. Based on the results of those studies, and with the intention to better understand the observed effects, I decided to conduct a qualitative analysis of the letters that the participants of the School of Dialogue write about their experiences. These analyses were supplemented by a series of three experiments. The rationale for conducting the experiments and the analytical strategy used in them are delineated in the Experimental studies section in this chapter and a summary of all the studies may be found in Table 1.

Table 1

Summary of all studies comprising the empirical part of this thesis

Study	Methodology	Main characteristics of the participants and sample size
Study 1	Longitudinal intervention study	Secondary & high school students, $N = 427$
Study 2	Longitudinal intervention study	Secondary & high school students, $N = 1098$
Study 3	Longitudinal intervention study with a control group	Secondary & high school students, intervention group: $N = 571$; Control group: $N = 111$
Study 4	Qualitative analysis (thematic & quantitative content coding)	Letters written by intervention participants; $N = 814$
Study 5	Experimental online study	Commercial online research panel, inhabitants of Warsaw, Poland; $N = 364$
Study 6	Experimental online study	Commercial online research panel, inhabitants of Warsaw, Poland; $N = 207$
Study 7	Experimental, computer-based study	Secondary & high school students from Suwałki, Poland; $N = 146$

Longitudinal Studies⁵

In order to verify the main research hypotheses, a series of three longitudinal intervention studies was conducted. The studies examined the effects of contact with a multicultural past in four cohorts of the School of Dialogue program participants – in 2012, in 2013 and 2014 (treated as a single study as they measured the exact same variables, which differed slightly from the 2012 and 2015 studies), and in 2015.

Participants and methodology. In total $N = 2207$ students participated in the longitudinal studies. The participants were secondary and high school students from 112 different places (16% villages, 50% small towns, 24% medium towns, and 10% large cities).

⁵The longitudinal intervention studies presented in this thesis were partly funded by a National Science Center Sonata grant entitled “Representations of the past as determinants of intergroup contact” (decision no. DEC-2012/05/D/HS6/03431).

All studies utilized a pretest-posttest methodology and used paper questionnaires administered by workshop facilitators before the beginning of the program and after its completion. Usually about a month elapsed between the two measurements. In aim to ensure the anonymity of my participants a special code, consisting of a combination of letters and numbers associated with (but not revealing any) personal data, was designed with which the participants were asked to sign their questionnaires. Only the results from participants who correctly coded both of their questionnaires are used in the following analyses. There have been several important changes in the study design between the years 2012 and 2013 as well as between 2014 and 2015. All the changes are clearly indicated in the Method sections pertinent to each study. Since the 2013 and 2014 cohorts used exactly the same questionnaire and there were no significant differences on the measured variables between the two cohorts, the data bases from the two cohorts were merged and treated as a single study ($N = 1098$).

Analytical strategy. The analyses of the hypothesized mediations for all of the longitudinal studies were performed using the MEMORE macro (Montoya & Hayes, 2016) which is a tool designed for testing mediational models in repeated measure designs (with two measurements) and allows for testing the relations between changes in the variables that occur over time (while controlling for the effects of average levels of the variables). Using bootstrapping, normal theory, and Monte Carlo computations, MEMORE macro generates confidence intervals that permit inferences on the indirect effects, as well as to test the contrasts between specific mediators. This approach had first been elaborated by Judd, Kenny, and McClelland (2001) and it was extended by Montoya and Hayes who also designed the MEMORE macro for conducting such analyses.

The MEMORE macro is based on a path analytic approach to mediational analyses (e.g. Hayes, 2013) which extends the causal step approach popularized by Baron and Kenny (1986). The approach of the MEMORE macro also develops the path analytic approach to repeated measurement designs which is typical of between subjects mediational designs. MEMORE estimates the total, direct, and indirect effects of a variable X (repeated measurement, e.g. pre- and post-intervention) on a dependent variable Y, via a mediator or a series of up to 10 parallel mediators M. It does so by computing the difference scores on the mediator(s) and the dependent variable and assessing the relative influence of the difference in the mediator on the difference in the dependent variable. It also allows to test for serial mediation with two mediators – i.e. it examines the effect of X on mediator M_1 which carries through mediator M_2 , and affects Y. The indirect effects for the relations between changes over time on all measured variables are estimated using bias corrected bootstrap intervals (Preacher & Hayes, 2004).⁶

Study 1. The main aim of Study 1 was to test whether contact with a multicultural past exerts the hypothesized positive influence on intergroup and place-related attitudes. It investigated the influence of the proposed type of contact on attitudes towards Jews through interest in history, knowledge of history, and inclusion of Jewish people in the self. Study 1 also tested the serial mediation of the effects of the intervention on civic engagement intentions by increased interest in local history and place attachment.

⁶Throughout this thesis, all bootstrap confidence intervals that are computed and reported are 95% confidence intervals.

Method.

Participants. Four hundred and twenty seven students participated in Study 1 in the year 2012. They were between 13 and 19 years of age ($M = 16.14$; $SD = 1.40$). Forty percent attended middle school and 60.1% attended high school. The majority of participants were women (70.1%). Participants of the intervention study came from 26 towns in central and eastern Poland.

Procedure. Students participating in the intervention utilizing the contact with a multicultural past framework received paper questionnaires before and after participating in the intervention. The questionnaires were anonymous.

Measures. All measures used in the study, unless otherwise indicated, employed a 5-point answer scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The full list of items is presented in Appendix A.

Attitudes towards Jews were measured with a single item: the *Feeling Thermometer* (see Alwin, 1997; Bilewicz & Jaworska, 2013; Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993). Participants were asked to indicate how warm/cold their feelings were towards Jewish people on a scale from 0 (extremely cold) to 100 (extremely warm).

Inclusion of the outgroup in the self was measured with a 3-item scale (Aberson & Hovansky, 2002 [translated into Polish by Bilewicz, 2008]). The scale asks about participants' perception of similarity of interests, experiences, and about generalized similarity between themselves and members of a given group. It may be used as an alternative to the conventional pictorial measure of inclusion of outgroup in the self (Aron et al., 1992; Stasiuk & Bilewicz, 2013). In Study 1 the participants were asked about their perceived similarity with Jews. The scores were calculated as simple means,

separately for each measurement point. The scale proved reliable ($\alpha_{t1} = .72$ and $\alpha_{t2} = .80$ in the first and second measurement, respectively).

Interest in place history was measured with a shortened, 5-item version of the scale by Lewicka (Lewicka, 2011; Wójcik et al., 2010). The original scale (Lewicka, 2011; Wójcik et al., 2010) consists of two subscales (interest in the past and focus on the present/future), however, due to space constraints of the intervention studies I chose only 3 and 2 items pertaining to each subscale. I then recoded the reversed items to produce a composite measure. The scale included items such as: “Stories about what was here in the past bore me (reverse coded)” and “I am interested in the history of this town”. The reliability of the scale was $\alpha_{t1} = .58$ and $\alpha_{t2} = .64$.

Knowledge of local Jewish history was measured with a single item: “How, in general, would you rate your own knowledge about the history of Jewish inhabitants of your place of residence?”, with an answer scale from 1 “*I do not know anything about it*” to 7 “*My knowledge of this history is extensive.*”

Place attachment was measured with a 3-item scale, partly based on Lewicka’s scale (2005, 2008b). The scale included the following items: “I like this town”, “I feel attached to this town”, and “I am proud of this town”. The reliability at the two points of measurement was $\alpha_{t1} = .78$ and $\alpha_{t2} = .78$.

The civic engagement measure was composed of three items that tapped into the students’ intentions to become active in their local community and their willingness to share their newly acquired knowledge with the greater public, e.g. “I would like to become engaged in activities beneficial to my local community” ($\alpha_{t1} = .59$; $\alpha_{t2} = .61$).

Results. Below I first present means, standard deviations, and changes over time estimated with repeated measure ANOVAs with effect sizes (see Table 2). They are followed by the analyses of mediation utilizing the MEMORE macro with 5,000 bootstrap samples (Montoya & Hayes, 2016; Preacher & Hayes, 2004).

Contact with a multicultural past was successful at changing participants' level of interest in local history and their assessment of their own knowledge about local Jewish history. The attitudes of students towards Jewish people improved and they showed a greater inclusion of Jewish people in the self. Notably, the students declared that they felt dissimilar towards Jews at Time 1 (i.e. answers below the mid-point of the scale; $t(416) = -9.22; p < .001$) which has been attenuated and resulted in their answers falling exactly in the mid-point of the scale at Time 2, $t(412) = 0.95; p = .35$. Students also developed a stronger place attachment and became more willing to civically engage in their places of residence.

The correlations between variables at Time 1 and Time 2 were positive and significant with the exception of place attachment and measures of attitudes towards Jewish people (Feeling Thermometer and IOS) which did not significantly relate to one another. At Time 2 place attachment did not significantly correlate with interest in and knowledge of local multicultural history.

Table 2

Means, standard deviations, changes over time, and effect sizes of the differences on all measured variables before (Time 1) and after (Time 2) engaging in contact with a multicultural past; and correlations between the variables at Time 1 and Time 2

	Time 1 <i>M (SD)</i>	Time 2 <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>F</i>	η_p^2	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Interest	3.59 (0.73)	3.86 (0.82)	41.55***	0.10		.20***	.19***	.30***	.29***	.35***
2. Knowledge	2.84 (1.22)	4.80 (1.08)	813.13***	0.67	.17***		.01	.22***	.25***	.24***
3. Place attachment	3.24 (0.77)	3.33 (0.70)	7.71**	0.02	.10 [†]	.001		-.01	-.04	.24***
4. Attitudes	62.16 (24.81)	72.73 (24.20)	71.18***	0.15	.30***	.25***	.01		.47***	.29***
5. IOS (Jews)	2.57 (0.94)	3.05 (1.04)	89.12***	0.18	.24***	.20***	.02	.39***		.34***
6. Civic engagement	3.30 (0.78)	3.66 (0.71)	91.23***	0.18	.34***	.27***	.21***	.29***	.41***	

Note. Changes over time were compared using a repeated measure ANOVA. Time 1 correlations are presented above, and Time 2 below the diagonal. Interest = interest in local history; Knowledge = knowledge of local Jewish history; Attitudes = attitudes towards Jews; IOS = inclusion of others (Jews) in the self.

[†] $p < .09$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

In aim to assess the indirect effects of contact with a multicultural past on attitudes towards Jewish people via increased interest in and knowledge of local history, and inclusion of Jewish people in the self a parallel mediation model was analyzed using the MEMORE macro (Montoya & Hayes, 2016), see Figure 1. The total effect of the intervention on attitudes was positive and significant ($B = 9.93$; $SE = 1.29$; $t(362) = 7.68$; $p < .001$; $CI: 7.39; 12.47$). The intervention (represented by the “CMP” variable in the model presented in Figure 1) significantly and positively affected all variables in the model. However, neither increased interest in local history ($B = 0.37$, $SE = 0.43$; $CI: -0.39; 1.33$) nor increased knowledge of local Jewish history ($B = 1.21$, $SE = 1.84$; $CI: -2.40; 4.79$) translated into more positive attitudes towards Jews. Increased inclusion of Jewish

people in the self proved to be a significant mediator of the influence of contact with a multicultural past on attitudes towards Jews, $B = 3.79, SE = 0.76; CI: 2.46; 5.58$. The model which included all three mediators was significant, $F(6, 356) = 8.56, p < .001$ and explained 13% of the variance in attitudes towards Jews.

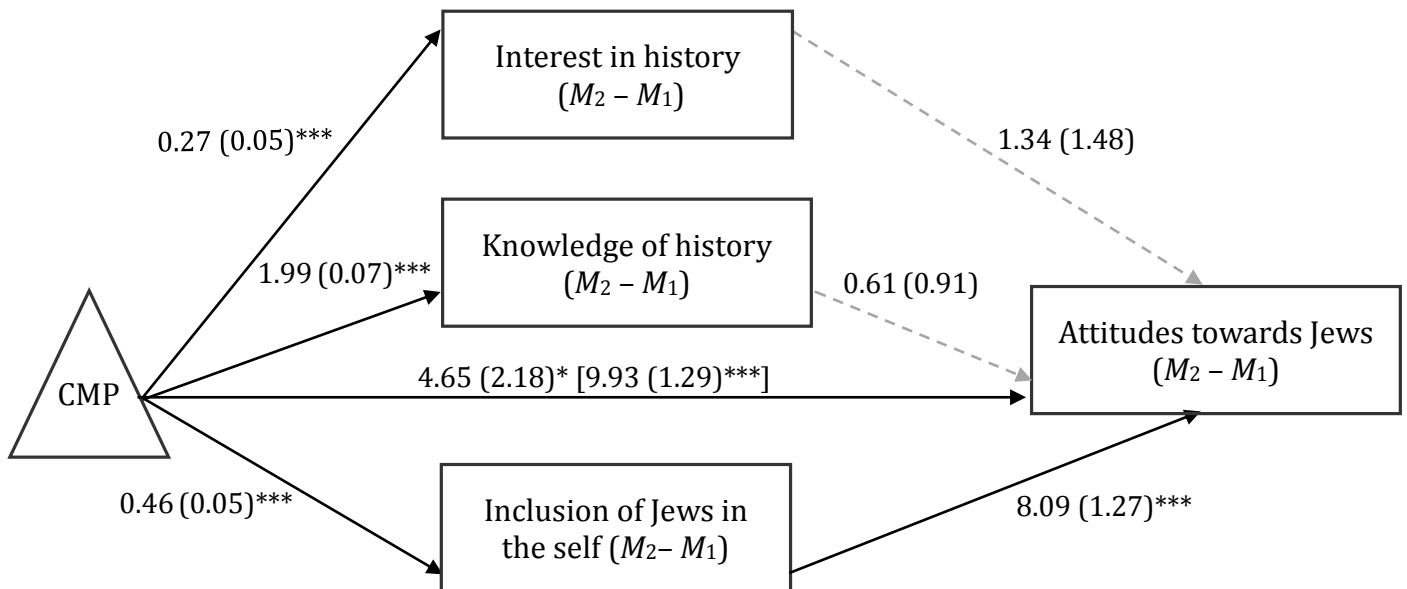


Figure 1. Parallel mediation of the influence of contact with a multicultural past on attitudes towards Jews through increased interest in local history, knowledge of local Jewish history, and inclusion of Jewish people in the self. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. The change in attitudes towards Jews before introducing the mediators is presented in square brackets. The “CMP” variable represents contact with a multicultural past. * $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

In order to test the hypothesis about the mediational influence of contact with a multicultural past on interest in local history and place attachment, and in turn on local civic engagement, an analysis of serial mediation was performed using the MEMORE macro (Montoya & Hayes, 2016). The total effect of the intervention on civic engagement was significant: $B = 0.33; SE = 0.04; t(397) = 7.47; p < .001; CI: 0.24; 0.41$. All variables in the model were significantly affected by the intervention (represented by the “CMP” variable in Figure 2). Increase in interest in local history led to a significant increase in

civic engagement ($B = 0.04, SE = 0.02; CI: 0.01; 0.08$). Increase in place attachment also led to a significant increase in civic engagement ($B = 0.01, SE = 0.01; CI: 0.001; 0.04$). The serial mediation, while in the hypothesized direction, was not significant ($B = 0.002, SE = 0.003, 95 CI: -0.001; 0.01$), which indicated that the two mediators exerted independent effects on civic engagement. The model which included both of the mediators was significant $F(4, 393) = 4.09; p = .003$ and explained 4% of the variance in civic engagement readiness.

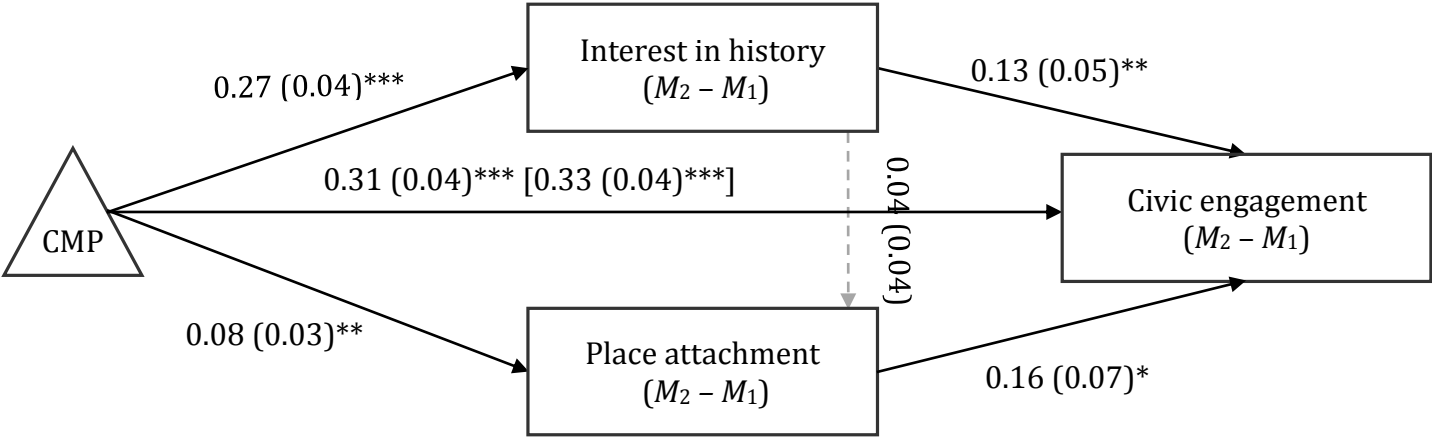


Figure 2. Serial mediation of the influence of increased interest in local history on increased civic engagement through increased place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. The change in civic engagement before introducing the mediators is presented in square brackets. The “CMP” variable represents contact with a multicultural past.
 ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Discussion. The results of Study 1 provided the first evidence that experiencing contact with a multicultural past leads to an improvement of attitudes towards Jewish people and also to greater inclusion of Jewish people in the self. Participants of the intervention became more interested in local history and declared greater historical knowledge. Moreover, students who engaged in contact with a multicultural past

displayed greater attachment to their places of residence and an increased declared willingness to become civically engaged in those places.

An analysis of the indirect effects of the intervention on attitudes towards Jews showed that while contact with a multicultural past resulted in increases in historical knowledge and interest in local history, these two did not directly translate into more positive attitudes towards Jewish people (when inclusion of Jewish people in the self was also included in the analysis). In accordance with the extended contact literature, increased inclusion of Jews in the self mediated the influence of contact with a multicultural past on attitudes towards Jews.

Experiencing contact with a multicultural past resulted in significant changes of people's attitudes towards their places of residence. The intervention led to greater interest in local history and to increased place attachment which were both, in turn, associated with increased willingness for local community engagement. However, these two mediators operated independently. Lack of association between interest in history and place attachment resulted in the serial mediation not reaching statistical significance.

Taken together, the results of Study 1 support the notion of contact with a multicultural past as a tool for attitude improvement and for building a sense of connectedness between oneself and an outgroup (Jewish people). As such it can be seen as yet another indirect form of intergroup contact which may be utilized in contexts which used to be characterized by ethnic heterogeneity in the past, but are currently homogeneous or highly segregated. In addition to that, young Poles who participated in the intervention utilizing contact with a multicultural past developed a stronger and more pro-active bond with their places of residence. This result is important for the

Polish case, which is characterized by particularly low levels of social capital (e.g. CBOS, 2012; Czapiński & Panek, 2015).

Taking a closer look at the measure of civic engagement in Study 1, I realized that it tapped into participants' readiness to share their experience of participating in the intervention as much as into their willingness to work for the benefit of the local community (see Appendix A for the item wording in Study 1). In aim to better test the hypothesized serial mediation I decided to improve the civic engagement measure in Study 2. Besides that, in order to better assess the effects of contact with a multicultural past on building social capital, I used an additional outcome measurement of social capital: generalized social trust which is considered to be a fundamental resource for the functioning of civil society (e.g. Uslaner, 2000).

I hypothesized that contact with a multicultural past could affect generalized social trust by increasing the interest in local multicultural heritage and place attachment. Such a result could then be considered as a "spillover effect" – i.e. an increase in place attachment could lead not only to an increase in local civic engagement intentions, but also to strengthening of social trust (which constitutes a much more general indicator of social capital). A relationship between social capital (also including a question about social trust) and place attachment in adolescents has been shown, for instance, by Dallago and colleagues (2009).

Study 2. The main aims of Study 2 were threefold: to replicate the effects of contact with a multicultural past on improvement of attitudes towards Jewish people and place-related attitudes; to test hypothesized serial mediation model with an improved measure of civic engagement; and to test the possibility that increased

interest in history may exert an influence on participants' generalized social trust (via increased place attachment).

Method.

Procedure. Students participating in the intervention utilizing the contact with a multicultural past framework received paper questionnaires before and after participating in the intervention. The questionnaires were anonymous.

Participants. One thousand and ninety eight students (between the ages of 14 and 19) from 60 towns participated in the 2013-2014 study. Due to a technical error, the participants' gender was not recorded in this study. Among the participants 481 (42.1%) attended middle school and 617 (53.2%) attended high school.

Measures. As in Study 1, unless otherwise indicated, the measures in Study 2 utilized a 5-point answer scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Interest in history ($\alpha_{t1} = .59$; $\alpha_{t2} = .61$), place attachment ($\alpha_{t1} = .77$; $\alpha_{t2} = .81$), attitudes towards Jews and subjective evaluation of knowledge of local Jewish history were all evaluated with the same measures as in Study 1.

Inclusion of Jews in the self in Study 2 was measured with a single item (instead of the 3-item measure used previously): "Do you feel that you are generally similar to Jewish people?"

Due to questionnaire length constraints, I was not able to make the civic engagement scale longer than in Study 1. I did replaced one item ("I would like to share the knowledge I gained throughout the program with other people") with an item tapping into participants willingness to devote their free time to the benefit of their local community (i.e. "I could devote one Saturday a month to do something for my local

community”). Hence, the civic engagement measure was still composed of three items that assessed students’ willingness to become active in their local community ($\alpha_{t1} = .63$; $\alpha_{t2} = .64$).

Social trust was measured with two items taken directly from Putnam (2000): “Most people are honest” and “Most people can be trusted”, $\alpha_{t1} = .77$; $\alpha_{t2} = .79$.

Results. Below I first present means, standard deviations, and changes over time with effect sizes on all measured variables. They are followed by the analyses of mediation computed with the MEMORE macro (Montoya & Hayes, 2016).

Similar to Study 1, Study 2 also found significant influence of contact with a multicultural past on all measured variables. Table 3 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables at both measurement points, and the changes between pre- and post-test (with effect sizes) on all measured variables. Changes over time were assessed with separate repeated measure ANOVAs, which indicated that upon completion of the program, participants declared increased interest in local history and subjectively assessed knowledge of local Jewish history. The attitudes of students towards Jewish people became more positive and they showed a greater inclusion of Jewish people in the self. Students also developed a stronger place attachment and became more willing to civically engage in their places of residence. Their general social trust, while remaining low – as indicated by being below the mid-point of the scale, $t_1(1053) = -12.17$; $p < .001$; $t_2(1043) = -8.95$; $p < .001$ – also increased significantly.

The variables included in Study 2 were significantly and positively correlated at both measurement points. Just as in Study 1, place attachment was not related to Feeling Thermometer and the IOS measure at Time 1 (these associations became significant at

Time 2). Knowledge of local Jewish history was also unrelated to social trust at both points of measurement. Next, I tested the hypothesized mediations of the intervention effects on attitudes towards Jews and local social capital indicators. These analyses were performed using the MEMORE macro (Montoya & Hayes, 2016) with 5,000 bootstrap samples (Preacher & Hayes, 2004).

In aim to assess the indirect influence of contact with a multicultural past on attitudes towards Jews via interest in history, knowledge of local history, and inclusion of Jews in the self, a parallel mediation analysis was performed. The total effect of the intervention on attitudes towards Jews was positive and significant ($B = 8.37$; $SE = 0.94$; $t(419) = 8.92$; $p < .001$; CI: 6.53; 10.22). The intervention (represented by the “CMP” variable in the model presented in Figure 3) significantly and positively affected all variables in the model. Increased interest in local history mediated the influence of contact with a multicultural past on attitudes towards Jews, $B = 1.98$, $SE = 0.51$; CI: 1.04; 3.05 and so did the increased inclusion of Jews in the self, $B = 0.57$, $SE = 0.25$; CI: 0.17; 1.14. Increased knowledge of local Jewish history, while it was positively affected by the intervention, did not mediate its effects on attitudes, $B = 1.08$, $SE = 0.64$; CI: -0.14; 2.35. The model was significant, $F(6, 413) = 7.58$, $p < .001$ and explained 10% of the variance in attitudes towards Jews.

Table 3

Means, standard deviations, changes over time, and effect sizes of the differences for all measured variables before (Time 1) and after (Time 2) engaging in contact with a multicultural past, and correlations between variables at Time 1 and Time 2

	Time 1 <i>M (SD)</i>	Time 2 <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>F</i>	η_p^2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Interest	3.49 (0.49)	3.87 (0.65)	391.05***	0.26		.18***	.32***	.20***	.18***	.34***	.13***
2. Knowledge	2.97 (0.65)	3.51 (0.76)	424.50***	0.28	.29***		.06*	.14***	.07*	.10**	.02
3. Place attachment	3.57 (0.80)	3.87 (0.82)	169.83***	0.13	.29***	.14***		.04	.05	.33***	.22***
4. Attitudes	64.01 (23.01)	70.70 (22.38)	119.37***	0.10	.39***	.27***	.19***		.31***	.23***	.01
5. IOS (Jews)	2.15 (1.02)	2.23 (1.10)	11.71**	0.01	.18***	.18***	.10**	.28***		.19***	.12***
6. Civic engagement	3.23 (0.73)	3.37 (0.74)	39.99***	0.04	.50***	.23***	.40***	.38***	.21***		.25***
7. Social trust	2.67 (0.89)	2.74 (0.93)	9.24**	0.01	.10**	.01	.26***	.08**	.08**	.29***	

Note. Changes over time were compared using a repeated measure ANOVA. Time 1 correlations are presented above, and Time 2 below the diagonal. Interest = interest in local history; Knowledge = knowledge of local Jewish history; Attitudes = attitudes towards Jews; IOS = inclusion of others (Jews) in the self.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

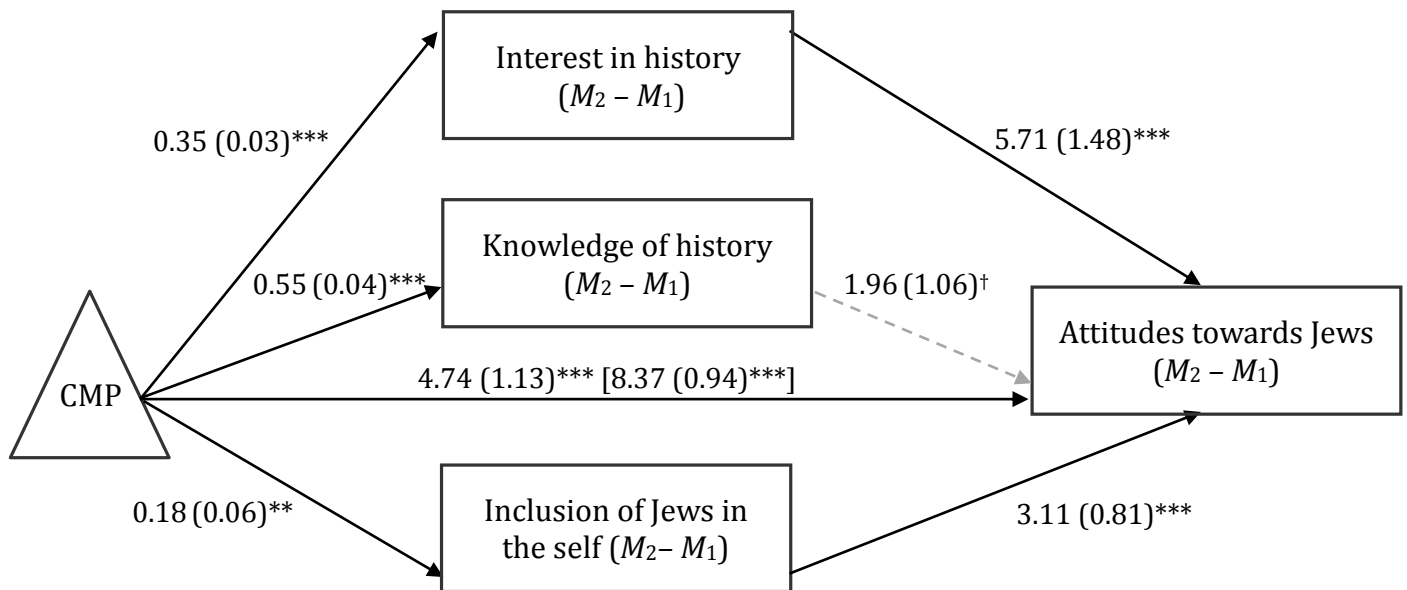


Figure 3. Parallel mediation of the influence of contact with a multicultural past on attitudes towards Jews through increased interest in local history, knowledge of local Jewish history, and inclusion of Jewish people in the self. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. The change in attitudes towards Jews before introducing the mediators is presented in square brackets. The “CMP” variable represents contact with a multicultural past. † $p < .09$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Two serial mediation analyses were performed in order to assess the indirect influence of contact with a multicultural past on social capital indicators (local civic engagement and social trust) via increased interest in local history and stronger place attachment. The total effect of the intervention on civic engagement was positive and significant, $B = 0.13$; $SE = 0.02$; $t(1068) = 6.31$; $p < .001$; CI: 0.09; 0.18. The intervention (represented by the “CMP” variable in the model presented in Figure 4) significantly affected all variables in the model. The effects of the intervention on civic engagement were mediated by both interest in local history and place attachment. Increased interest in local history led to a significant increase in civic engagement, $B = 0.07$, $SE = 0.02$; CI: 0.04; 0.10. Similarly, increased place attachment also led to a significant increase in civic engagement, $B = 0.04$, $SE = 0.01$; CI: 0.02; 0.06. The serial mediation was also

significant, $B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.004$, 95 CI: 0.01; 0.03, indicating that the increased interest in local history related to greater willingness to become active in one's local community not only directly, but also by stimulating greater place attachment. The model with the two mediators was significant $F(4, 1064) = 25.27$, $p < .001$ and explained 9% of the variance in civic engagement intentions.

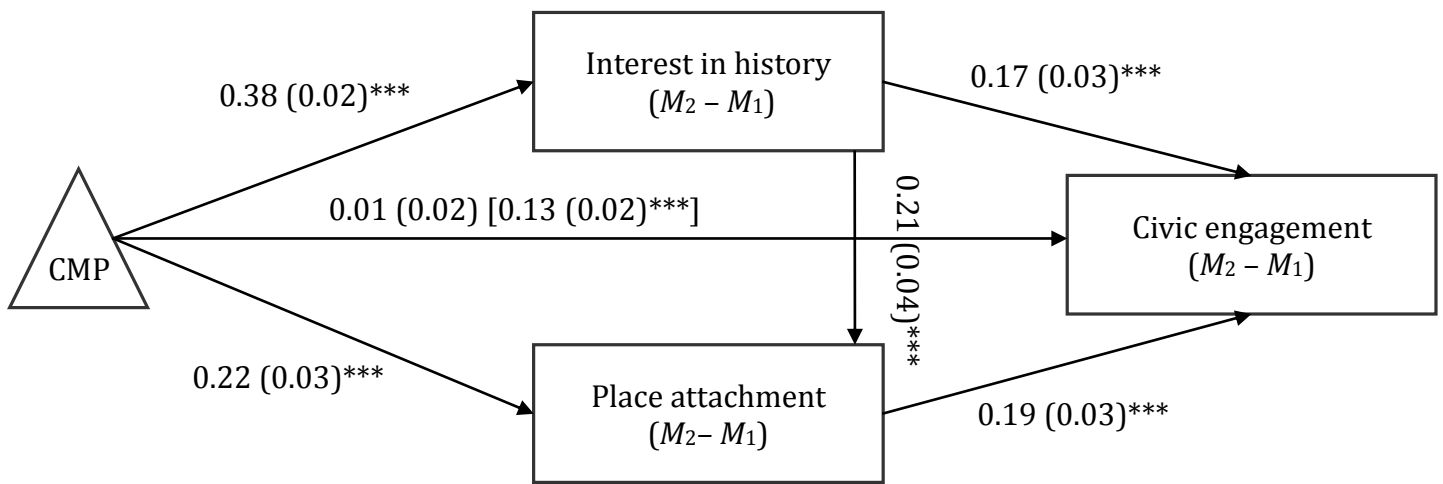


Figure 4. Serial mediation of the influence of contact with a multicultural past on civic engagement through increased interest in local history and place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. The change in civic engagement before introducing the mediators is presented in square brackets. The “CMP” variable represents contact with a multicultural past.

*** $p < .001$

To explore the mechanisms of the intervention's effect on a more general indicator of social capital, an analysis of serial mediation was performed with social trust as the outcome variable. The intervention significantly and positively affected social trust, $B = 0.08$; $SE = 0.03$; $t(942) = 3.02$; $p = .003$; CI: 0.03; 0.13. All variables in the model were significantly affected by the intervention (represented by the “CMP” variable in Figure 5). The effects of the intervention on social trust were mediated by interest in local history (but only indirectly via its effect on place attachment – as

exemplified by a significant serial mediation described below) and by place attachment. Increase in interest in local history did not lead to a significant increase in social trust ($B = -0.01, SE = 0.02; CI: -0.05; 0.03$). Increase in place attachment led to a significant increase in social trust ($B = 0.04, SE = 0.06; CI: 0.02; 0.06$). The serial mediation was also significant ($B = 0.01, SE = 0.004; CI: 0.01, 0.02$) indicating that the increased interest in local history related to increased social trust only indirectly – by stimulating greater place attachment. The model with both of the mediators was significant $F(4, 1061) = 5.92, p < .001$ and explained 2% of the variance in social trust.

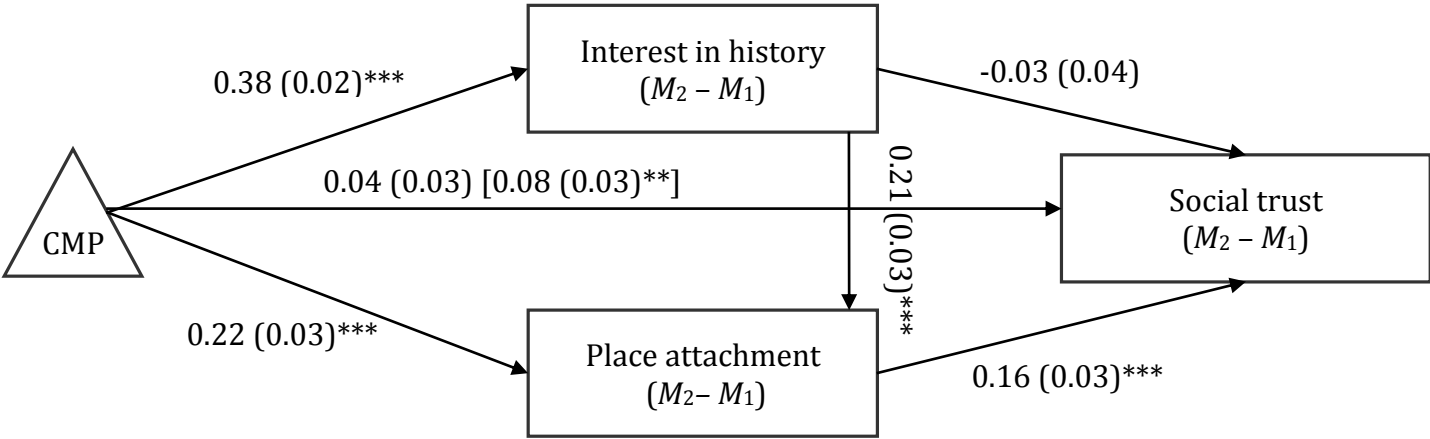


Figure 5. Serial mediation of the influence of contact with a multicultural past on social trust through increased interest in local history and increased place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. The change in social trust before introducing the mediators is presented in square brackets. The “CMP” variable represents contact with a multicultural past. ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Discussion. The results of Study 2 replicated those of Study 1, lending a stronger support to the main assumption of this thesis – namely that contact with a multicultural past is a viable tool for intergroup attitude improvement (as evidenced by more positive feelings towards Jewish people and greater inclusion of Jews in the self among the

participants). What is more, it leads to the development of greater knowledge about local Jewish history and greater interest in that history. Participants of Study 2 became more attached to their places of residence and more willing to become civically active in those places. Importantly, Study 2 also showed that contact with a multicultural past bears potential for stimulating more general indicators of social capital, namely social trust.

As hypothesized, contact with a multicultural past also exerted indirect effects on participants' intergroup and place-related attitudes. Both interest in local history and inclusion of Jewish people in the self, proved to be significant mediators of the influence of the intervention on attitudes towards Jewish people. This corroborated and extended the findings of Study 1 by showing that developing local historical interest may constitute a tool for shaping more positive intergroup attitudes. A positive relationship between interest in local history and intergroup attitudes has been shown in correlational studies (Wójcik et al., 2011), but never demonstrated in longitudinal designs. Inclusion of Jews in the self again emerged as a significant mechanism of the observed positive changes in attitudes towards Jewish people. One reason why the indirect effect of interest in local history was not significant in Study 1 but emerged as significant in Study 2 may be that the observed change in interest in history due to experiencing contact with a multicultural past was larger in the latter ($\eta_p^2 = 0.10$ and $\eta_p^2 = 0.26$ in Studies 1 and 2 respectively).

The results pertaining to place-related attitudes and behavioral intentions show an even more consistent pattern. Specifically, both interest in local history and place attachment proved to be significant mediators of the influence of contact with a multicultural past on civic engagement readiness and place attachment mediated the

influence of the intervention on social trust. The serial mediations were significant for both of the outcome measures confirming that it is possible to stimulate place attachment (and social capital) by increasing people's interest in local history. The only insignificant mediation was the one where interest in local history proved not to mediate the effects of the intervention on generalized social trust. This may be because the measure of social trust constituted a very general measure of social capital (e.g. Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 1995), which was partially independent of the local context (the questions inquired about "people in general"). If I had asked about a more specific group of people (for instance to what extent my participants trusted their neighbors), the relationship between the two variables would have likely been stronger (as shown for example in: Lewicka, 2009). This could have been the reason why in Study 2 interest in local history was not directly associated with social trust, but only influenced it indirectly – by stimulating place attachment. A similar, positive relation between place attachment and social capital was also found in Dallago, et al. (2009).

The results of Study 2 corroborated the results of Study 1 and demonstrated that contact with a multicultural past constitutes an effective method for improving intergroup relations as well as for stimulating positive attitudes towards one's place of residence. Research participants developed not only stronger bonds with their home towns but also strengthened their social capital.

An important limitation of the two longitudinal studies presented so far was that they only included students who participated in the contact with a multicultural past intervention. The biggest value of those studies lies in testing a theory-driven real-life intervention and examining not only changes in attitudes but also the mechanisms responsible for the occurrence of these changes. However, an important constraint to

the conclusions drawn from these studies is a lack of control group. While intervention studies without control groups have been published in the past (e.g. research on dialogue groups among American students: Lopez, Gurin, & Nagda, 1998; on primary school teachers in multicultural education training: Washington, 1981; or among rehabilitation councilors: Brown, Parham, & Yonker, 1996; Byington, Fischer, & Waller, 1997), the lack of control group makes it somewhat difficult to ascertain which effects are due to the intervention and which may be a result of only the passing of time or other, unaccounted processes (e.g. Paluck & Green, 2009; Stephan, Renfro, Stephan, 2004). I therefore decided to include a control group in the third longitudinal study.

Moreover, as research on intergroup contact shows – perspective taking (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Galinsky & Ku, 2004; Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005) constitutes one of the most important mediators of contact effects (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). It is also the mechanism of attitude improvement that proved particularly important for young participants (as evidenced by the meta-analysis by Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014). That is why in Study 3 a short measure of perspective taking was included as a new potential mediator of contact with a multicultural past effects.

Study 3. Study 3 had three main goals: to replicate the effects of contact with a multicultural past on the improvement of attitudes towards Jewish people and on building local social capital; to test perspective taking, another established intergroup contact mediator, as a mechanism of the observed intergroup attitude change; and to provide a more conservative test of these effects by way of utilizing a control group.

Method.

Procedure. Students participating in the intervention using the contact with a multicultural past framework (in the descriptions to follow referred to as the “intervention group”) received paper questionnaires before and after participation in the intervention. The control group was composed of six randomly selected classes (not taking part in the intervention) in schools where the School of Dialogue program was taking place in the year 2015. Participants of the control group received the same questionnaires and filled them in at times corresponding to the intervention group (with roughly the same amount of time elapsing between measurement at Time 1 and Time 2). The questionnaires were anonymous in both groups.

Participants. Five hundred and seventy one students participated in the intervention group and 111 in the control group. The participants were between the ages of 13 and 19 ($M = 15.92$; $SD = 1.52$ in the intervention group and $M = 16.16$; $SD = 1.52$ in the control group). There were 371 women (65%) and 192 men (33.6%) in the intervention group (8 persons did not indicate their gender) and 72 women (64.9%) and 39 men (35.1%) in the control group. Participants of the 2015 study came from 28 towns.

Measures. As in Studies 1 and 2, unless otherwise indicated, the measures in Study 3 utilized a 5-point answer scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Interest in history ($\alpha_{t1} = .63$; $\alpha_{t2} = .66$), place attachment ($\alpha_{t1} = .79$; $\alpha_{t2} = .82$) attitudes towards Jews, subjective evaluation of knowledge of local Jewish history, inclusion of Jews in the self, civic engagement intentions ($\alpha_{t1} = .63$; $\alpha_{t2} = .72$), and social trust ($\alpha_{t1} = .76$; $\alpha_{t2} = .83$) were all measured with the same instruments as in Study 2.

Perspective taking was measured with two items: “I can imagine how a Jewish person sees the world” and “I understand how a Jewish person might feel in Poland”. The composite score was calculated by averaging the answers to those two questions ($\alpha_{t1} = .68$; $\alpha_{t2} = .79$).

Results. Below I first present means, standard deviations, and changes over time with effect sizes in the intervention and the control groups. These will be followed by presentations of correlations between the measured variables in the intervention and the control groups (separately) and by the mediation analyses computed with the MEMORE macro (Montoya & Hayes, 2016). The results of the mediation analyses will be presented for the intervention group first and followed by matching analyses for the control group.

Study 3 found a significant influence of contact with a multicultural past on all measured variables in the intervention group. Table 4 presents the means and standard deviations of all measured variables in the intervention and the control groups as well as the results of a series of mixed model ANOVAs with one between subjects factor (intervention group vs. control group) and one within subjects factor (measurement time: Time 1 vs. Time 2) with effect sizes. For ease of comparing the changes observed in the intervention and control groups, Table 4 is followed by two bar charts (see Figure 6 and Figure 7) depicting the observed differences.

The results of the mixed model ANOVAs indicate that while in the intervention group all variables changed significantly and in the expected direction, the control group was characterized by significant changes on only two variables (place attachment and interest in local history). Participants in the intervention group became more interested in local history and assessed their own knowledge of the local Jewish history as greater

after experiencing contact with a multicultural past. In the control group, the assessment of one's knowledge of local Jewish history did not change between Time 1 and Time 2, but the declared interest in local history did increase. The attitudes of students towards Jewish people became more positive as a result of the intervention. They perceived Jews as being closer to their own self and became better able to take the perspective of a Jewish person. In the control group there was no change in the inclusion of Jews in the self and in perspective taking, and the attitudes measured with the Feeling Thermometer showed an opposite trend to the one observed in the intervention group – i.e. the attitudes became (marginally) more negative at Time 2 ($p = .083$).

The intervention group displayed stronger place attachment, as well as increases on the two indicators of social capital (civic engagement intentions and social trust) at Time 2. While place attachment became stronger also in the control group, the social capital indicators did not. The control group and the intervention group differed systematically in the levels of some of the variables measured at Time 1. The intervention group participants tended to display higher levels of interest in history, warmer feelings towards Jewish people, and greater civic engagement intentions. These differences, their sources and meaning will be elaborated in the discussion of this study.

Table 4

Means, standard deviations, changes over time, and effect sizes of the differences for all measured variables at Time 1 and Time 2 in the intervention group and control group

Variable	Intervention group		Control group		Main effects				Interaction	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2	Change		Condition		Change x Condition	
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>F</i>	η_p^2	<i>F</i>	η_p^2	<i>F</i>	η_p^2
1. Interest	3.61 (0.61) ^{a, c}	3.82 (0.63) ^{a, d}	3.25 (0.69) ^{b, c}	3.37 (0.57) ^{b, d}	33.89***	0.05	48.74***	0.07	2.51	0
2. Knowledge	2.99 (0.64) ^a	3.57 (0.72) ^{a, b}	2.98 (0.69)	2.99 (0.71) ^b	47.21***	0.07	27.55***	0.04	44.36***	0.06
3. Place attachment	3.69 (0.82) ^a	3.85 (0.86) ^a	3.56 (0.88) ^b	3.72 (0.88) ^b	16.65***	0.02	2.59	0	0.07	0
4. Attitudes	64.31 (23.46) ^{a, b}	70.46 (23.43) ^{a, c}	53.78 (29.16) ^b	50.81 (27.73) ^c	1.49	0	43.61***	0.06	19.29***	0.03
5. IOS (Jews)	2.11 (1.03) ^a	2.42 (1.17) ^{a, b}	1.96 (0.99)	2.01 (0.96) ^b	7.36**	0.11	8.62**	0.13	5.02*	0.01
6. Perspective taking (Jews)	3.07 (0.87) ^a	3.52 (0.82) ^{a, b}	2.88 (0.89)	2.89 (0.84) ^b	22.86***	0.03	29.94***	0.04	19.43***	0.03
7. Civic engagement	3.27 (0.70) ^{a, b}	3.35 (0.80) ^{a, c}	2.87 (0.75) ^b	2.99 (0.79) ^c	6.17*	0.01	29.17***	0.04	0.20	0
8. Social trust	2.66 (0.91) ^a	2.75 (0.94) ^a	2.59 (0.88)	2.74 (0.90)	7.44**	0.01	0.10	0	0.63	0

Note. Changes over time (“Change”) and the effects of the condition (intervention group vs. control) were compared using a mixed model ANOVA.

Interest = interest in history; Knowledge = knowledge of history; Attitudes = attitudes towards Jews; IOS = inclusion of others (Jews) in the self.

In each row the means that are significantly different are marked with the same letter.

† $p < .09$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

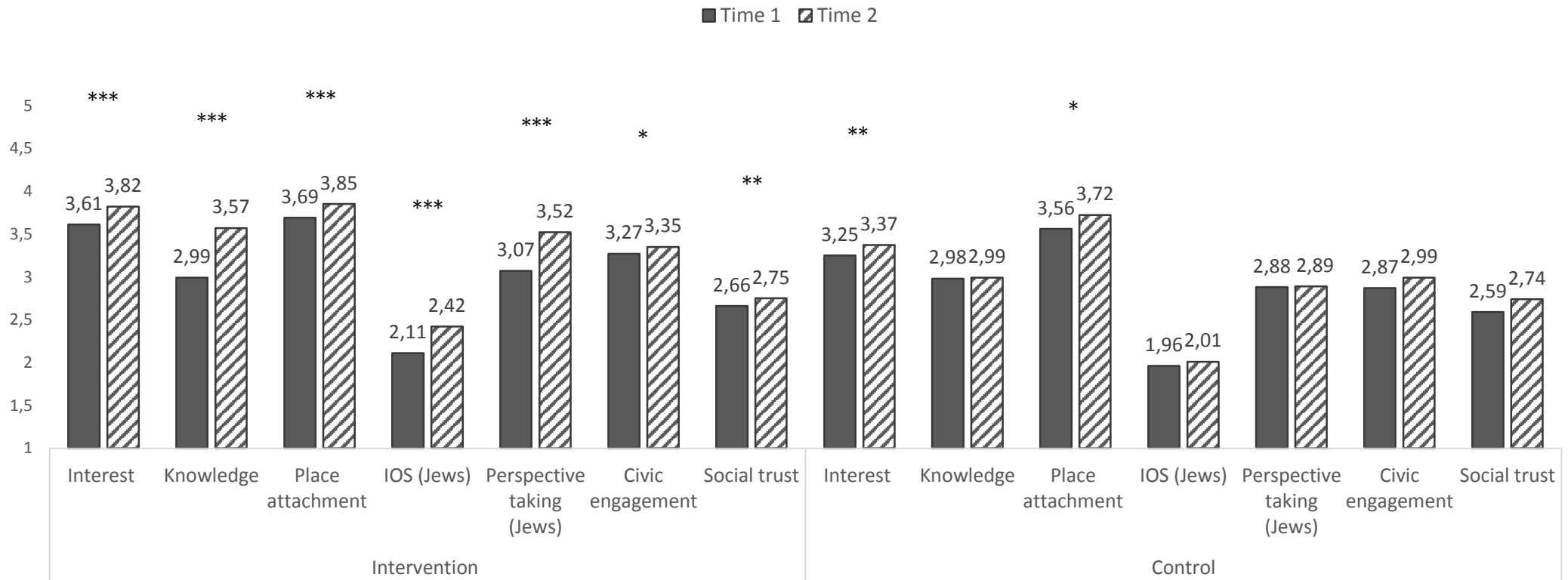


Figure 6. Changes over time on all measured variables in the intervention and control groups. Significant differences are marked with asterisks.
 * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

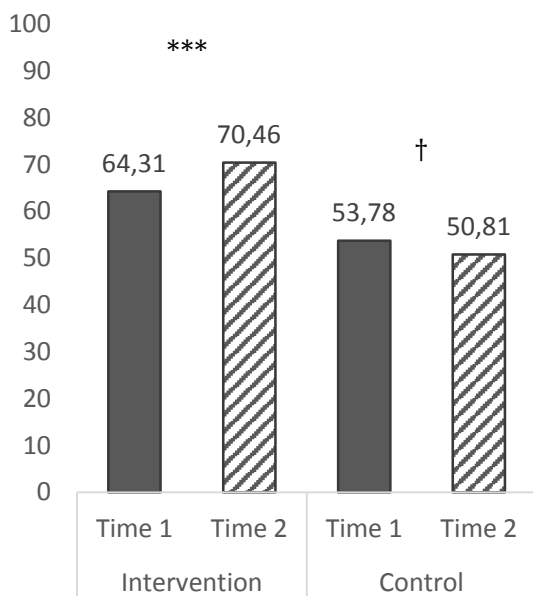


Figure 7. Changes over time on the measure of attitudes towards Jews (Feeling Thermometer) in the intervention and control groups. Significant differences are marked with asterisks. † $p < .09$; *** $p < .001$

Tables 5 and 6 present correlations between all variables at both measurement points in the intervention group (Table 5) and in the control group (Table 6). In the intervention group almost all variables correlated positively and significantly at both time points. The correlations tended to be smaller (or not significant) between place attachment and the variables measuring attitudes towards Jews at Time 1 (which became significant at Time 2) and between knowledge of history and indicators of social capital (see Table 5). In the control group the correlations were generally weaker and less of them attained statistical significance than in the intervention group. At Time 1 social trust and willingness for civic engagement correlated with variables pertaining to attitudes towards Jews. Measures of attitudes towards Jews correlated with one another more strongly at Time 2 than at Time 1 (see Table 6).

Table 5

Correlations between variables at Time 1 and Time 2 in the intervention group

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Interest		.14**	.32***	.21***	.20***	.24***	.40***	.17***
2. Knowledge	.28***		-.03	.21***	.18***	.19***	.07	.003
3. Place attachment	.40***	.19***		.04	.07	.04	.31***	.32***
4. Attitudes	.47***	.28***	.23***		.34***	.17***	.26***	.14**
5. IOS (Jews)	.28***	.20***	.14**	.38***		.24***	.24***	.08†
6. Perspective taking (Jews)	.26***	.34***	.18***	.33***	.25***		.21***	.13**
7. Civic engagement	.53***	.27***	.49***	.40***	.32***	.34***		.27***
8. Social trust	.14**	.03	.29***	.13**	.16***	.14***	.27***	

Note. Time 1 correlations are presented above, and Time 2 below the diagonal. Interest = interest in history; Knowledge = knowledge of history; Attitudes = attitudes towards Jews; IOS = inclusion of others (Jews) in the self.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 6

Correlations at Time 1 and Time 2 in the control group

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Interest		.11	.24*	.37	.24*	.05	.38***	.13
2. Knowledge	.17†		-.43	.13	.13	.19*	.03	-.05
3. Place attachment	.31**	-.07		.05	-.05	-.04	.18†	.07
4. Attitudes	.33**	-.06	.17†		.47***	.11	.23*	.20*
5. IOS (Jews)	.28**	.10	.07	.48***		.00	.32**	.27**
6. Perspective taking (Jews)	.24*	.04	.20**	.25**	.29**		-.01	.22*
7. Civic engagement	.43***	.11	.21*	.28**	.35**	.10		.33***
8. Social trust	.13	-.05	.10	.29**	.31**	.11	.38***	

Note. Time 1 correlations are presented above, and Time 2 below the diagonal. Interest = interest in history; Knowledge = knowledge of history; Attitudes = attitudes towards Jews; IOS = inclusion of others (Jews) in the self.

† $p < .09$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Next, I tested the hypothesized mediations of the intervention effects on attitudes towards Jews and local social capital indicators. This was followed by a set of identical analysis for the control group to test whether the same processes may be operating also among people who did not engage in contact with a multicultural past. All the analyses below were performed using the MEMORE macro (Montoya & Hayes, 2016) with 5,000 bootstrap samples (Preacher & Hayes, 2004).

As a first step, I computed the parallel mediation analysis of contact with a multicultural past influence on attitudes towards Jews through interest in local history, knowledge of local Jewish history, inclusion of Jews in the self, and perspective taking (a mediator which has not been included in the previous two studies). As in Studies 1 and 2, the total effect of the intervention on attitudes towards Jews was positive and significant, $B = 6.63$; $SE = 0.93$; $t(508) = 7.11$; $p < .001$; CI: 4.79; 8.46. All variables in the model were significantly and positively affected by the intervention (represented by the “CMP” variable in the model presented in Figure 8). Increased interest in local history mediated the intervention effects on attitudes towards Jews $B = 0.83$, $SE = 0.39$; CI: 0.11; 1.65. Similarly, greater inclusion of Jews in the self, $B = 0.96$, $SE = 0.31$; CI: 0.45; 1.67, and greater perspective taking, $B = 2.75$, $SE = 0.56$; CI: 1.74; 3.92, were associated with more positive attitudes towards Jews. Knowledge of local Jewish history, while significantly influenced by the intervention, did not mediate its effects on attitudes, $B = 0.54$, $SE = 0.76$; CI: -1.01; 1.94. The model which included all four mediators was significant $F(8, 500) = 12.83$, $p < .001$ and explained 17% of the variance in attitudes towards Jews. The indirect effect of contact with a multicultural past via perspective taking was the strongest as compared to all other mediators, which did not differ from one another.

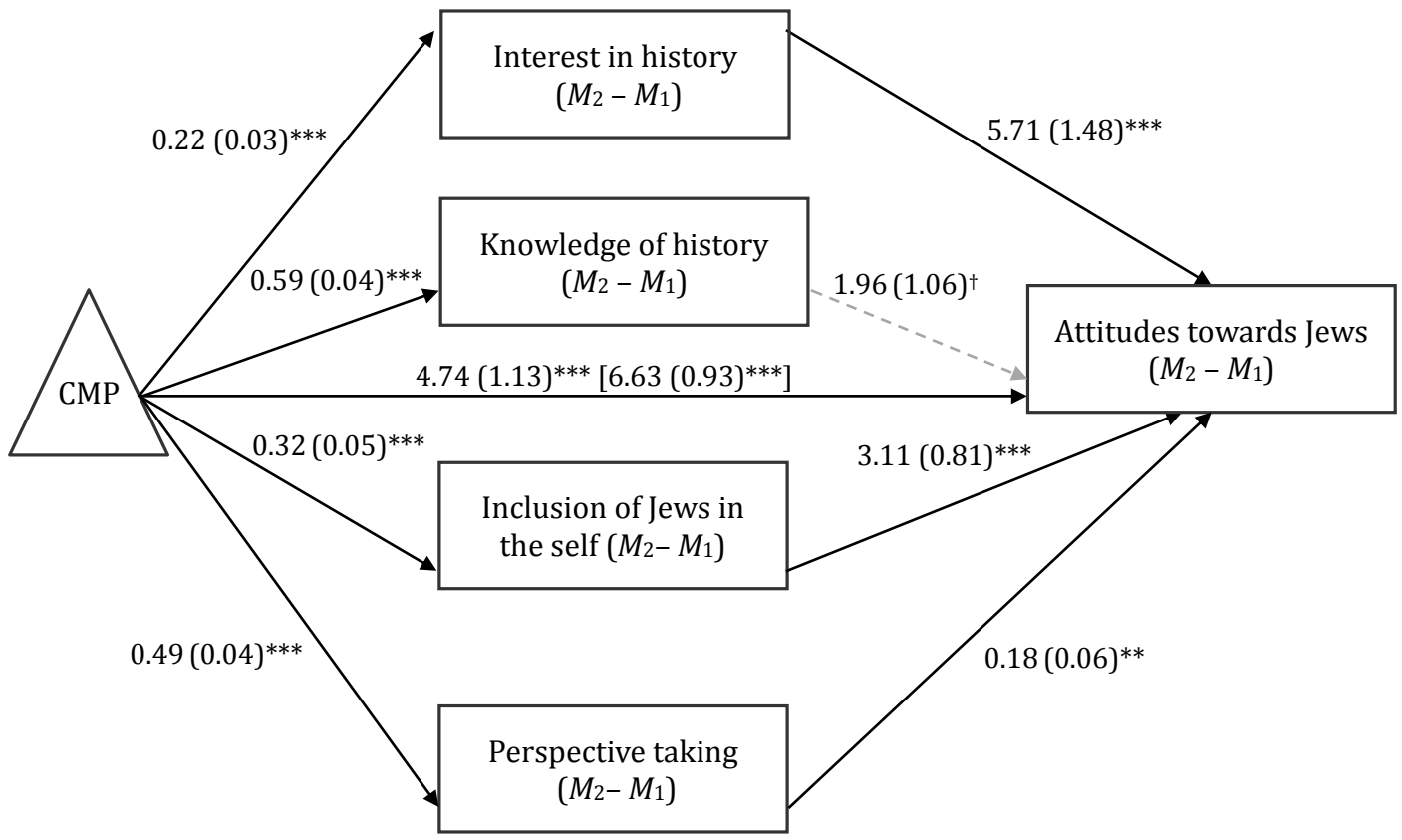


Figure 8. Parallel mediation of the influence of contact with a multicultural past on attitudes towards Jews through increased interest in local history, knowledge of local Jewish history, inclusion of Jewish people in the self, and perspective taking. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. The change in attitudes towards Jews before introducing the mediators is presented in square brackets. The “CMP” variable represents contact with a multicultural past
 † $p < .09$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

In order to test the mediation of contact with a multicultural past influence on social capital indicators (civic engagement intentions and social trust) via increased interest in history and place attachment, two analyses of serial mediation were performed. The total effect of the intervention on civic engagement was positive and significant, $B = 0.08$; $SE = 0.03$; $t(528) = 2.71$; $p = .007$; $CI: 0.02; 0.13$. The intervention (represented by the “CMP” variable in the model presented in Figure 9) significantly affected all the variables in the model. The effects of the intervention on civic

engagement were mediated by both interest in local history and place attachment. Increased interest in local history $B = 0.07$, $SE = 0.02$; CI: 0.04; 0.10 and increased place attachment both led to a significant increase in civic engagement, $B = 0.02$, $SE = 0.007$; CI: 0.005; 0.03. The serial mediation was also significant, $B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.004$; CI: 0.005; 0.02, indicating that the increased interest in local history related to greater willingness to become active in one's local community not only directly, but also by stimulating greater place attachment. The model with the two mediators was significant $F(4, 524) = 24.03$, $p < .001$ and explained 16% of the variance in civic engagement readiness.

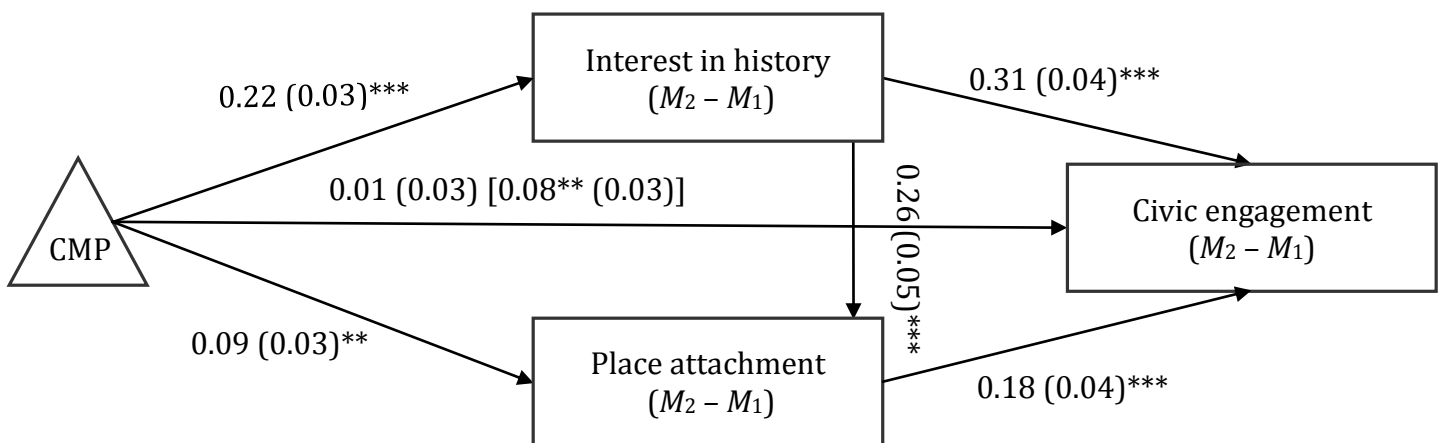


Figure 9. Serial mediation of the influence of contact with a multicultural past on civic engagement through increased interest in local history and increased place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. The change in civic engagement before introducing the mediators is presented in square brackets. The “CMP” variable represents contact with a multicultural past. ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

In order to analyze the mechanisms of the intervention's effect on a more general indicator of social capital, an analysis of serial mediation was performed with social trust as the outcome variable. The intervention significantly and positively affected social trust, $B = 0.09$; $SE = 0.04$; $t(528) = 2.64$; $p = .009$; CI: 0.02; 0.16. All variables in the

model were significantly affected by the intervention (represented by the “CMP” variable in Figure 10). The effects of the intervention on social trust were mediated by interest in local history (but, as in Study 2, this was only an indirect effect via increased place attachment – as exemplified by the significant serial mediation described below) and by place attachment. Increase in interest in local history did not lead to a significant increase in social trust ($B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.02$; $CI: -0.002, 0.05$). Increase in place attachment led to a significant increase in social trust ($B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.001$; $CI: 0.002, 0.03$). The serial mediation was also significant ($B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.004$; $CI: 0.0012, 0.02$), indicating that the increased interest in local history related to increased social trust only indirectly – by stimulating greater place attachment. The model with both of the mediators was significant $F(4, 524) = 4.33$, $p < .01$ and explained 3% of the variance in social trust.

Three mediational analyses were performed for the control group, matching exactly the three analyses for the intervention group described above, in aim to verify whether the same processes operated also among people who did not experience contact with a multicultural past. In the model with attitudes towards Jews as the outcome variable the total effect of measurement (i.e. the passing of time) was significant and negative $B = -4.14$; $SE = 2.03$; $t(99) = 2.04$; $p = .044$; $CI: -8.17; -0.11$.

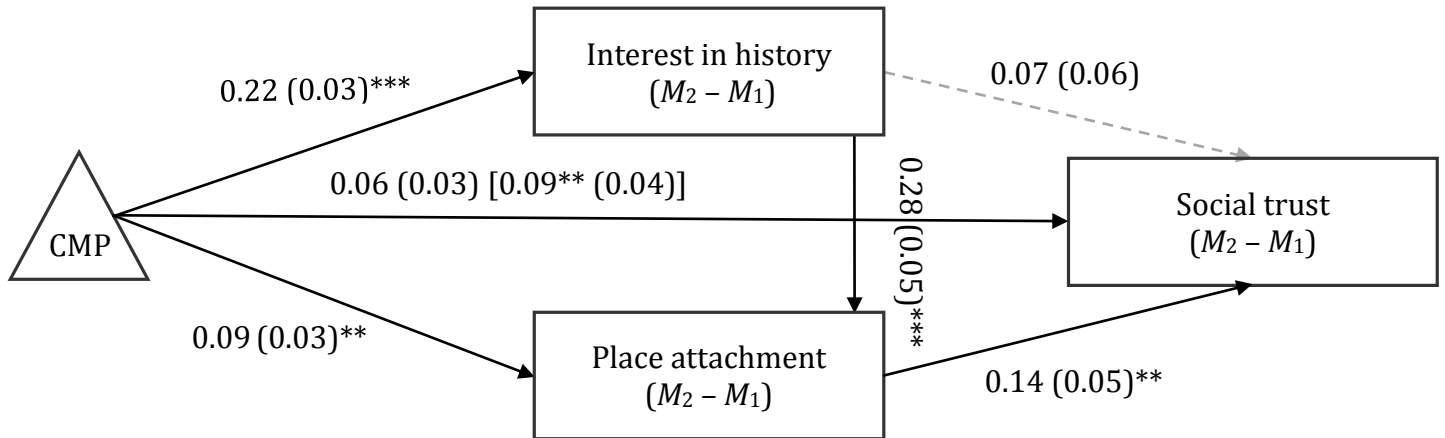


Figure 10. Serial mediation of the influence of contact with a multicultural past on social trust via increased interest in local history and place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. The change in civic engagement before introducing the mediators is presented in square brackets. The “CMP” variable represents contact with a multicultural past.
 ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Only interest in local history was significantly affected by the passage of time (represented by the “Time” variable in Figure 11), while other variables in the model were not (all $ps > .518$). None of the variables included in the model mediated the effects of the passing of time on attitudes towards Jews. Specifically the indirect effect of the passing of time on attitudes towards Jews was not significant when the mediator was interest in local history ($B = 0.27, SE = 0.68; CI: -0.97; 1.83$), knowledge of local Jewish history ($B = 0.18, SE = 0.42; CI: -0.31; 1.66$), inclusion of Jews in the self ($B = 0.00, SE = 0.47; CI: -0.94; 1.06$), or perspective taking ($B = 0.02, SE = 0.51; CI: -0.10, 1.19$). The model with the four mediators was also not significant $F(8, 91) = 1.53, p = .16$.

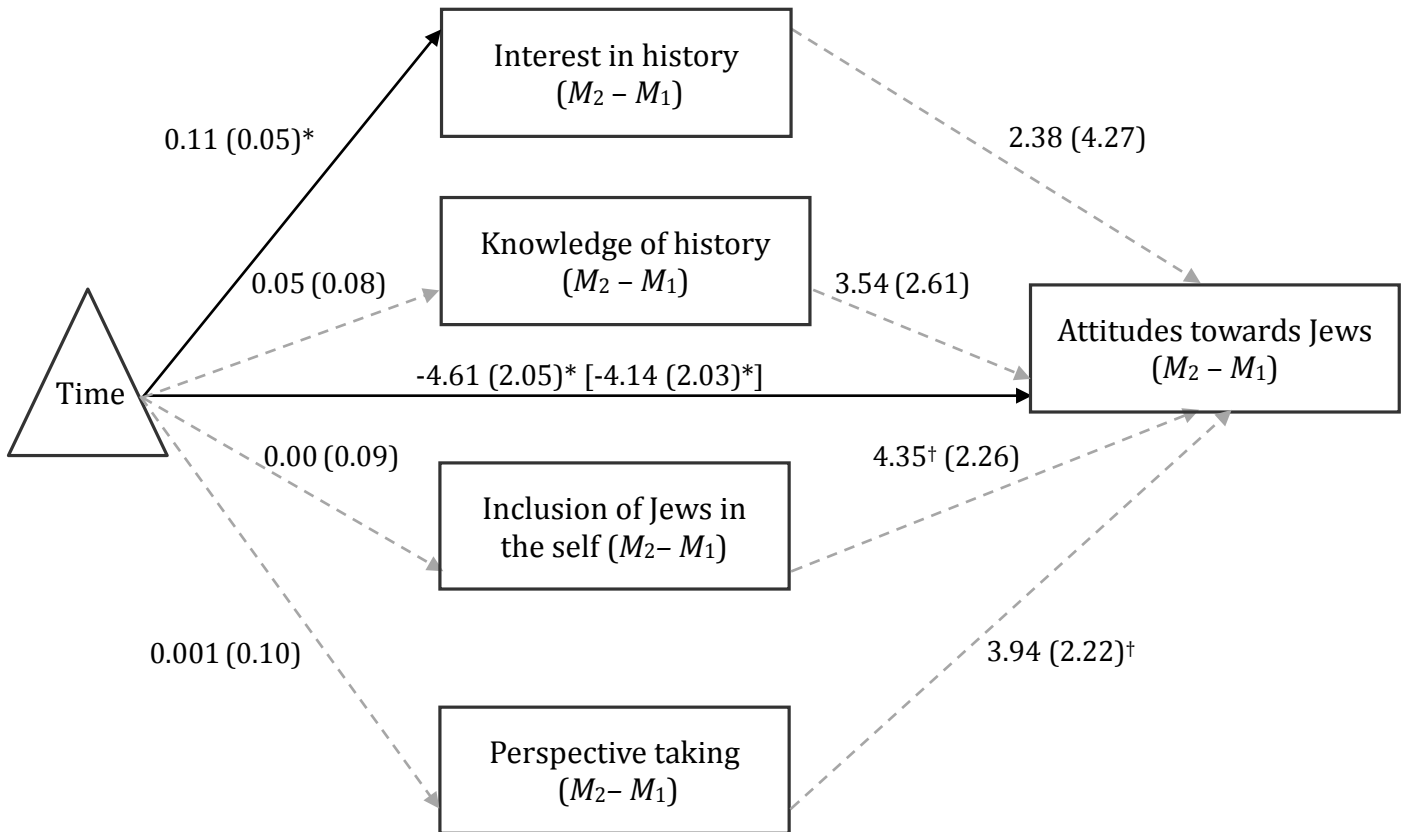


Figure 11. Parallel mediation of the influence of passing of time on attitudes towards Jews through increased interest in local history, knowledge of local Jewish history, inclusion of Jewish people in the self, and perspective taking in the control group. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. The change in attitudes towards Jews before introducing the mediators is presented in square brackets. The “Time” variable represents the passing of time between the two points of measurement. † $p < .09$; * $p < .05$

The total effect of measurement (i.e. the passing of time) on civic engagement was not significant, $B = 0.09$; $SE = 0.06$; $t(104) = 1.46$; $p = .15$; $CI: -0.03; 0.20$. The passing of time (represented by the “Time” variable in the model presented in Figure 12) had an effect on the level of interest in local history but not on the strength of place attachment or on civic engagement intentions. The effects of the passing of time were not mediated by place attachment, $B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.02$; $CI: -0.005, 0.06$ and the serial mediation was not significant, $B = 0.003$, $SE = 0.004$; $CI: -0.001, 0.02$. However, there was an indirect

effect of increased interest in history on civic engagement intentions, $B = 0.04$, $SE = 0.02$; $CI: 0.002, 0.11$. The model with the two mediators was significant $F(4, 100) = 2.79$, $p = .031$ and explained 10% of the variance in civic engagement intentions.

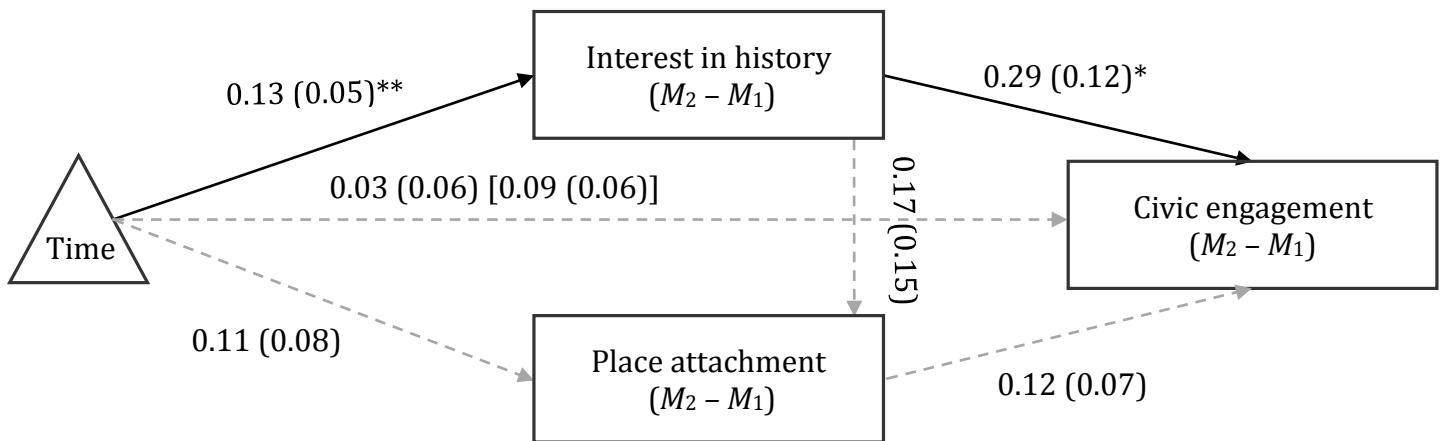


Figure 12. Serial mediation of the influence of passing of time on civic engagement through interest in local history and place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. The change in civic engagement before introducing the mediators is presented in square brackets. The “Time” variable represents the passing of time between the two points of measurement.

* $p < .05$

The total effect of measurement (i.e. the passing of time) on social trust was not significant, $B = 0.13$; $SE = 0.08$; $t(104) = 1.65$; $p = .10$; $CI: -0.03; 0.29$. The passing of time (represented by the “Time” variable in the model presented in Figure 13) had an effect on the level of interest in local history but not on the strength of place attachment or on social trust. The effects of the passing of time were not mediated by any of the two proposed mediator variables. Specifically, increased interest in local history did not mediate the effects of the passing of time on social trust, $B = -0.01$, $SE = 0.02$; $CI: -0.06, 0.03$ - neither did place attachment, $B = -0.03$, $SE = 0.03$; $CI: -0.11, 0.001$. The serial mediation was also not significant, $B = -0.01$, $SE = 0.01$; $CI: -0.04, 0.001$. The model with the two mediators was not significant $F(4, 100) = 1.90$, $p = .116$.

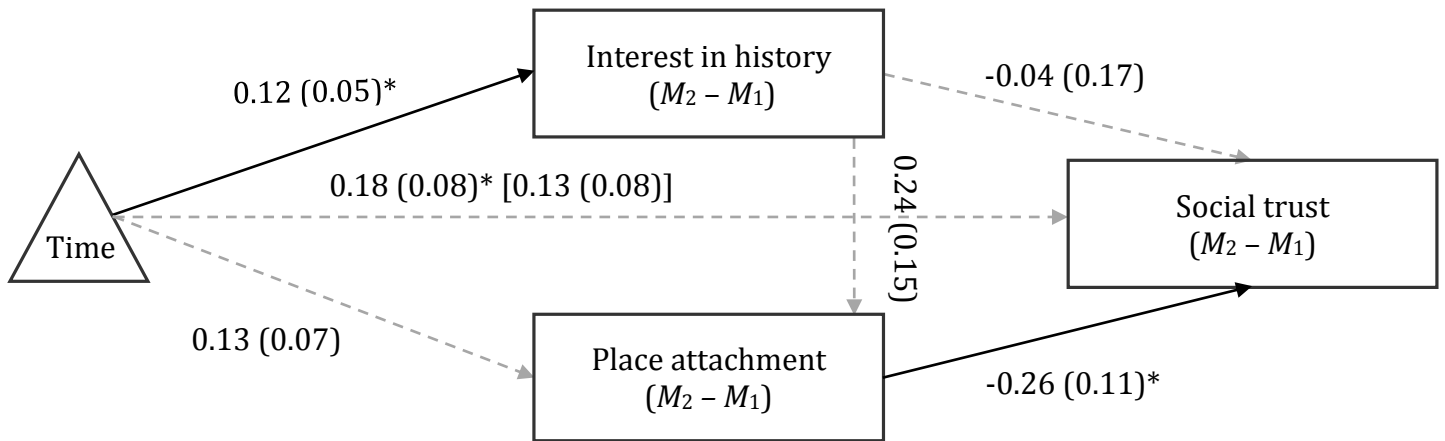


Figure 13. Serial mediation of the influence of passing of time on social trust through interest in local history and place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. The change in civic engagement before introducing the mediators is presented in square brackets. The “Time” variable represents the passing of time between the two points of measurement.

* $p < .05$

Discussion. Study 3 replicated the results of the two previous studies by showing that contact with a multicultural past exerts significant positive effect on all measured variables. Participants of the intervention based on the contact with a multicultural past framework developed significantly more positive attitudes towards Jewish people, perceived them as closer to their own self, and were better able to take perspective of Jewish people and imagine how the world may look like for them. They also developed stronger interest in local history and assessed their own knowledge of local Jewish history as greater. Participants of the intervention became more strongly attached to their places of residence and declared that they would be more willing to civically engage in those places. Their general social trust also increased.

In contrast to these results, students in the control condition developed slightly more negative attitudes towards Jewish people at the second measurement point and showed no changes in the inclusion of Jews in the self and perspective taking. They did

show significant (though smaller than those observed in the intervention group) increases in historical interest and place attachment, but no such changes on the measures of subjective knowledge of local Jewish history or social capital indicators (i.e. civic engagement and social trust). The changes observed in the control group may be just a result of repeated measurement or changes that naturally occur due to cognitive development or other factors. It is significant, that these processes seem to be related to worsening of intergroup attitudes. It is also possible that the intervention and control groups were not completely separate. The schools in which the School of Dialogue program takes place and from which the control group was recruited are rather small in size so it is plausible that some exchange between the intervention and control groups occurred. However, there is no possibility to empirically verify this claim.

There were significant differences in the initial levels of three variables between the intervention and control groups. Participants of the intervention group tended to have warmer feelings towards Jewish people, be more interested in local history, and more ready do become civically active in their places of residence. This may be a result of the participants already anticipating the intervention program (at the time when they fill in the first questionnaire they know that they would be taking part in workshops about Jewish history of their town) and answering the questions in a way to satisfy the workshop organizers. It may also be a result of a partial self-selection among the intervention participants, which is often the case with prejudice reducing interventions (e.g. Paluck & Green, 2009). As mentioned before (in the Longitudinal studies section of this chapter) some of the participants of the intervention are volunteers while others are delegated for participation by their teachers which makes it important to acknowledge here that - at least to some extent - people who were initially open towards the topic of the intervention were more likely to participate. Having said that, research on prejudice

reduction often shows that it is the most prejudiced people - i.e. those least likely to participate in similar interventions and/or similar studies - who show the strongest effects of prejudice reducing techniques when they experience them (see Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009; Hodson, 2008 or Hodson et al., 2009). That is why I expect that a similar pattern could be obtained if my research were repeated with a less self-selected sample.

Study 3 replicated the results of the previous studies with regard to the mediators of contact with a multicultural past effects on attitudes towards Jews. Interest in history, inclusion of Jewish people in the self, and perspective taking all proved to be significant mediators. Among them, perspective taking proved to be the strongest, corroborating similar results obtained with regard to direct intergroup contact by Pettigrew & Tropp (2008). The same analysis carried out in the control group showed that none of the variables emerged as a significant mediator and the whole model did not reach statistical significance. This result provides a much more conservative test of contact with a multicultural past. It shows that while in the intervention group both the change in attitudes is significant and the mediating mechanisms are in line with theory-based predictions, in the control group none of these mechanisms operated and, even more important, the change of attitudes towards Jews was in the opposite direction: they deteriorated with time.

The results of analyses of the mechanisms by which contact with a multicultural past stimulated social capital were also consistent with the results of Studies 1 and 2. Specifically, they corroborated the positive influence of contact with a multicultural past on interest in local history and place attachment which were both, in turn, related to greater social trust and an increased willingness for local civic engagement (although interest in local history exerted only indirect effects – just as in Study 2). Besides,

interest in local history was consistently related to greater place attachment and affected social capital indicators also indirectly by way of stimulating stronger emotional bonds with places where the intervention participants lived. Hence, interest in local history emerged as an important source of place attachment, which lends further support to Lewicka's (2014) argument that it may constitute an important factor shaping the attitudes of current residents and (possibly) newcomers as well. The same analyses carried out for the control group only showed an indirect effect of greater interest in history on civic engagement, though it needs to be kept in mind that the latter did not change significantly between the two measurements.

Qualitative Analyses

While the results of the quantitative analyses were supportive of the contact with a multicultural past idea, I decided to additionally look into the ways in which the research participants themselves conceptualized their own experiences during the intervention. As suggested by Paluck (2012), qualitative data is crucial in prejudice reduction research and can "strengthen, modify, or altogether change the interpretation of quantitative data" (p. 188). For this purpose, I conducted a qualitative analysis of the letters that the participants wrote at the end of the intervention and analyzed the themes conveyed in these letters and the frequencies at which they did. The main hypothesis in the qualitative Study 4 was that participants would write about the aspects of contact with a multicultural past that they found the most significant – but possibly also most difficult or annoying, so broadly speaking those that had the strongest impact – and evaluate these aspects. Both of these issues, i.e. what is written

about and how it is written about, are important if one wants to understand how the students relate to the multicultural history of their places of residence.

Study 4. The main aim of the qualitative Study 4 was to analyze how the students who experienced contact with a multicultural past by way of participating in the School of Dialogue program understand their participation, what they consider important, and how they relate to the new knowledge and experiences. The analyses were performed on letters written by the whole 2015 cohort of participants.

Method. All participants of the School of Dialogue program are encouraged to write a letter to the imagined descendants of local Jews with whose history they engaged throughout the program. In the current study these letters were analyzed using thematic coding (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Howitt, 2010; Howitt & Cramer, 2011) and quantitative content coding (Krippendorff, 2004). First, a set of themes conveyed in the letters was identified. After that a coding system, based on the identified themes, was developed, which was used by two independent coders to code the contents of all the letters. The analyses to follow are based on the themes that emerged from the letters, their frequencies, and the relationships between the topics. The coding system development is described in detail in the Procedure section below.

Participants. Eight hundred and fourteen participants wrote letters about their experiences. The coders indicated that 28 (3%) of letters were written in either an obviously mocking, non-serious fashion or did not have any meaningful contents. These were excluded from further analyses leaving a final sample of 786 letters. All the analyses presented below were carried out on this sample. As the participants were not required to give any personal data in the letters, there is no data on their age. However, participants of the School of Dialogue are always between 13 and 19 years of age and attend middle or high school.

Based on the language used in the letters, gender could be inferred at least for part of the sample. For 76 (9.7%) of the letter authors' gender could not be inferred, 486 (61.8%) letters appeared to have been written by female and 224 (28.5%) by male students. The length of the letters (in sentences) was also recorded. They were between 1 and 36 sentences long, with a mean value of $M = 8.40$; $SD = 4.68$. In aim to keep the letters anonymous and allow for free expression of attitudes and opinions, the participants were asked to refrain from signing the letters in any way that would make it possible to match them with the questionnaire data.

Procedure. As the last task of the intervention program the participants are asked to write letters to imaginary descendants of the local Jews whose history they have just discovered, in which they would describe their experiences and the knowledge that they gained throughout the program. The exact wording of the instruction is: "We would like to share the information about your work and all the knowledge, pictures, and documents that you found throughout the School of Dialogue program with the world. Please share what you have learned, what moved you, what you experienced during the program with the descendants of the Jews whose history you have just discovered. We hope that your letters or their fragments could reach Israel or the USA and will help to build new relations between Poles and Jews. What would you like to share? What would you like to be heard?" The letters are anonymous, but the participants are informed that their fragments might be used for reporting purposes. All participants are encouraged to write a letter.

A set of themes was identified in the letters, using an inductive approach (i.e. "bottom-up", rooted in the actual content of the letters) to thematic content coding (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The list of themes was created based on an earlier

categorization of themes that occurred in letters written by the 2011 cohort of participants ($N = 282$)⁷ and on a thorough reading of 160 (20%) of randomly selected letters written by the 2015 cohort of participants. Based on the list of themes a set of coding categories was created to be used in the quantitative content analysis. Following that, two independent coders were recruited who each received 30 randomly selected letters from the 2015 cohort of research participants (excluding those that were used for creating the list of themes). The coders each coded the contents of 30 letters according to the identified list of themes and using a binary system (i.e. they coded whether a given theme appeared or did not appear in a letter). The coders were instructed to pay special attention to the clarity and ease of using the thematic categories and to assess the extent to which the categories exhaust the themes that occur in the letters. During a subsequent meeting with the coders, the applicability of the categories and the ease of understanding and using them as well as the need for additional categories (which the coders did not see) were discussed. After that each of the coders received a half of all the letters ($N = 412$) to be coded using the established list of categories. They were also asked to note any additional themes that were not part of the coding system but indicated after completion of the task that there was no need for additional thematic categories. This approach to the data allowed to combine the thematic analysis with quantitative content coding (Krippendorff, 2004). As a result I was able to analyze both the meaning of the themes as well as their prevalence and associations between them. In aim to be able to assess the reliability of the coding

⁷This initial analysis was performed by myself as the only coder. As the instruction for the students did not change between 2011 and 2015, these letters could be used as a basis for thematic coding also for the 2015 cohort of participants. Reading both the 2011 and 2015 letters allowed me to become familiar with the themes conveyed in the written material (as suggested by Braun & Clarke, 2006, and Howitt, 2010).

system, 41 randomly selected letters (10% of letters allocated to each coder) were coded by both of the coders.

Results. I will first present the themes identified in the letters. They will be followed by a description of the results of the quantitative content analysis.

The contents of the letters that students who engaged in contact with a multicultural past wrote could be divided into three broad thematic categories: topics pertaining to knowledge about Jewish people and attitudes towards them, topics pertaining to participants' places of residence, and topics pertaining to the intervention itself. Within each of those overarching themes a number of smaller sub-themes was identified.

Themes pertaining to Jews. The subject which occurred in the analyzed letters most frequently was the focus on Jewish topics. Within this broad category a sub-theme of acquiring new knowledge about Jews was identified. The participants wrote that they had learned about or engaged with topics pertaining to Jewish people in general or specified some particular aspects of this knowledge such as Jewish history, Jewish culture, religion or customs. For instance a participant from Głogów (letter no. 124) wrote: "During the workshops we learned a lot about Jewish culture and holidays, as well as about Jewish customs." A participant from Lubasz (letter no. 292) wrote: "I would like to tell you about the workshops that the School of Dialogue made for us. They were about the Jewish community. We learned a lot about them [Jews]. They have a very interesting culture (for instance, do you know that they put little rocks on graves instead of candles?), and their food looks very tasty." A participant from Olkusz (letter no. 358) wrote: "Over the past month my class had 4 meetings (workshops) about the life and the memory places of Jewish people." And another one, from Warsaw (letter no. 671) wrote:

“I have participated in classes taught by Ania and Staś [names of the workshop facilitators] who know really a lot about Jewish culture, Jewish people, about the ghetto, and the times after the war.” The authors of the letters seemed to be positively inclined towards this new knowledge and perceived it as interesting. They often wrote about the new knowledge in great detail – naming the exact places where Jews used to live in their towns and the detail of the Jewish way of life that they got to know.

Some of the participants explicitly addressed the impact that the workshops had on their intergroup attitudes, hence another sub-theme was identified which encompassed topics such as tolerance building and improving attitudes towards Jewish people that resulted from engaging in contact with a multicultural past. A participant from Zbąszyń (letter no. 643) wrote: “Thanks to the project I understood that I need to be even more tolerant of people who have a nationality or culture different than mine. I know that thanks to this it will be easier for me to meet new people, because I will not be using stereotypes.” In a similar vein a participant from Oborniki (letter no. 335) wrote: “After taking part in these classes I changed my attitudes towards and outlook on Jewish culture.” And another one, from Dąbrowa Tarnowska (letter no. 90) stated: “I have changed my opinion about them [Jews]. Now I don’t look at them with aggression, but with liking.” Some of the participants reflected on their earlier negative attitudes and how those changed as a result of taking part in the intervention. For instance a participant from Kłobuck (letter no. 224) wrote: “I realized that there used to be Jews here [in Kłobuck] and that they were the same people as we are, NORMAL, they only celebrated different holidays.” Even more explicitly, participant from Zagórow (letter no. 606) wrote: “I often heard about this [Jewish] culture, in my environment, very negative [opinions] about these topics. Sadly, I have to admit that I began to soak it up: my little knowledge and lack of awareness about those people was likely to cause me too look at

you [the Jewish descendant, receiver of the letter] in a negative way. Taking part in the project – ‘the School of Dialogue’ I got to know and expanded my knowledge about Jewish culture. I changed my attitude towards it and the people who believe in it.” These letters show that engaging in contact with a multicultural past made some of the participants more aware of negative attitudes towards Jews that exist within themselves as well as around them. It is also intriguing that at least in a few instances they attributed the prejudice to a lack of knowledge and reflection.

While the Holocaust was not the main theme of the intervention, it was briefly discussed during the workshops. In some locations the students also visited or learned about places where Jews were persecuted during World War II (ghettos, execution sites). This was mirrored in the letters, as some of the students reflected on this history. A participant from Warsaw (letter no. 800) wrote: “Even though I have heard about the conditions in the Warsaw Ghetto many times and I watched many movies about that no event before made me realize what it was really like. I think the best thing about my participation in this project is that I deepened my knowledge about the sad history of Jews and about the inseparability of Jews and Poles.” Another example comes from a letter written by a student from Głogów (letter no. 117): “The synagogue does not exist anymore; it was destroyed during the Kristallnacht on November 9/10, 1938. Where the [Jewish] cemetery used to be, there is now a park. There is no plaque but if you want, I can take you [the receiver, a Jewish descendant] there.” A participant from Zabłudów (letter no. 600) wrote: “It [the intervention] helped me understand that people with Jewish roots experienced a great tragedy. But I also think that everyone should remember about this tragedy.” Discovering what happened to the local Jewish population and finding remnants of this fate in their local communities was likely a

stronger stimulus for the participants than reading more abstract descriptions of the Holocaust in history textbooks.

Themes pertaining to the place of residence. Many of the participants reflected on the meaning of their place of residence. A major theme relating to these places that emerged from the letters overlaps with the previous themes (i.e. those pertaining to Jewish people) as it focuses on the history of Jewish people in participants' place of residence. Many authors of letters expressed particular interest in the local Jewish history that was being discussed and explored during the intervention and in the fact that what was being discussed happened in the area where they live today. For example, a participant from Lubasz (letter no. 283) wrote: "I've learned a lot of interesting things. I've learned that Jews used to live in a small place like Lubasz. In the places where there are now shops, a pharmacy, restaurants there used to be their [Jewish] houses." A person from Pruszków (letter no. 406) emphasized the process of discovering the places connected with Jewish people who used to live there: "The most interesting for me was looking for places connected with this culture in my city. I found the remnants of a mikveh [ritual bath]. There are only a few tiles left. It's sad that time flies so fast and blurs the signs of the past. Most of the places are very unkept, almost all covered in bushes. The best kept of all is the Jewish cemetery."

Participants also described the topography of their towns connected to Jewish people and mentioned many particular places where Jewish heritage still exists or used to exist in the past. A participant from Bircza (letter no. 22) wrote: "Also, being in Bircza, I didn't know that there used to be a ghetto, a Rabbi's house, and a synagogue. I didn't know where the executions of Jewish people happened, because of this project now I know.", a participant from Głogów (letter no. 121) wrote: "Now I know where the

synagogue and the Jewish cemetery used to be in Głogów. I doubt that anyone would guess what used to be where.” One of the students in Zabłudów (letter no. 584) reflected not only on the topography but also on the state of the Jewish heritage in their town: “The Jews in Zabłudów lived in Drukarzy Zabłudowskich and Chodkiewicza Streets. They worked in tanneries, they were fire fighters, worked at the market. They were like everybody else. The best kept part that tells us that Jews used to live here is the cemetery (on the way to Krzywice). Remnants of tombstones can be seen there and words written in Hebrew. It’s sad that even though they were a majority in Zabłudów, now there are no monuments, museums, written history about Jews from our town. This project allows us to learn more about it.” All these expressions speak to the importance of teaching local (as opposed to general) history of diversity. Students seem to be able to relate to this past better and also display a genuine concern with the local multicultural heritage.

Another subtheme associated with what the participants wrote about their places of residence consists of statements in which they expressed attachment to those places but also described the new knowledge about those places developed during the intervention which (sometimes) led to developing a new perspective on those places. Many participants were referring to their places of residence as “my town” or “my village” which may be treated as an indicator of an emotional attachment to these places. Some of the participants expressed surprise at the fact that many well-known, everyday places turned out to be associated with the Jewish community. A participant from Wyszogród (letter no. 563) wrote: “Walking around Wyszogród, I did not realize that there are so many things connected to Jews here. During the workshops I could get to know the history of this town better.” A similar thought can be found in a letter by a student from Krasnosielc (letter no. 237): “I did not realize how many people and events

in my area were associated with the Jewish community.” A participant from Kłobuck expressed an even stronger experience of looking at their town in a new way (letter no. 218): “Now I look at Kłobuck in a totally different way, especially on one of the schools, which is situated close to where a synagogue used to be. Now, every time that I pass by there, I will imagine it [the synagogue]. I was at the Jewish cemetery and saw the only surviving tombstone.” A participant from Mława (letter no. 310) expressed their interest in the local history: “In September I still had no idea that our city has such an interesting history.” And another one from Dąbrowa Tarnowska wrote (letter no. 89): “I got to know the history of Dąbrowa. Even though I am here every day, I knew so little.” This new knowledge was in some instances explicitly linked to more positive attitudes towards the place of residence, for example in the letter by a participant in Kłobuck (letter no. 225): “Now I look differently at the places around me. Every day, when I walk to school and pass by a building I wonder whether there used to be people of other origins living there. My town is now a lot more interesting to me, and I am sad that there are only so few remnants of the Jewish people’s culture.” These excerpts speak to two important issues. First, students who engaged in contact with a multicultural past were eager to discover the Jewish history of their places of residence. Second, this new layer of meaning discovered in everyday places made them relate to these places in a new way.

Themes pertaining to the intervention. Writing about the intervention itself, the participants often expressed their evaluation of the program. A majority of participants evaluated the program positively. They wrote for instance (participant from Hrubieszów; letter no. 159): “I liked these workshops and the two facilitators, Gosia and Kasia, a lot. I’m happy that these workshops are carried out in my school. Thanks to them I learned a lot of interesting and fascinating things about Jews in my town.” or

(participant from Zbąszyń, letter no. 647): “I think that initiatives such as this one are important as they enrich our knowledge of the past.” Some of the participants wrote that they were initially skeptical, but that skepticism was quickly replaced by enthusiasm for the intervention and its topic, for example (participant from Radzymin, letter no. 425): “A great surprise, and something that I would remember until the end of my life, I think, was the first workshop carried out by two girls, Ania and Beata. At first when I saw them I thought: ‘They came here, they will talk, and leave and I will benefit because I will not have to be in regular classes’, but the reality was very different. The knowledge of the girls [the facilitators] fascinated all of us taking part in the project so much that we started looking by ourselves for information about Jewish people in our Radzymin on the very same day.” or (participant from Sobków, letter no: 476): “At the beginning I wasn’t very excited about it, but now my attitude is different. I look at it like it’s a part of my own history.”

Some critical opinions about the workshops were also present in the letters, for instance (participant from Wizajny, letter no. 523): “We carried out a ‘trial’ field trip and it was a disaster. In my opinion Mrs. [Name] spoke too much for us. [...] It was incredibly boring;” and (participant from Siedlce, letter no. 441): “Honestly, at the beginning of the workshops they were boring, but later they became very interesting and I participated with a smile on my face.”. A participant from Zbąszyń (letter no. 644) wrote: “The subjects that we engage with are very interesting, but I think that the workshops themselves are not very thrilling.” Another one, from Wieruszów (letter no. 515) wrote: “I think that for me it is most important to get to know my own culture and not yours [Jewish]. It didn’t interest me very much. But it had interesting aspects.” Most of the critical opinions, however, pertained to some aspects of the workshops being “boring” or “too long” and not to the idea of discussing the history of the Jewish minority.

An important sub-theme pertaining to the ways in which the participants experienced the workshops has to do with how they related to the knowledge that they gained throughout the program. Many of them spoke about the ways in which they can use this knowledge either for the benefit of the local community or themselves – for instance to have a chance at winning the best project competition which is organized for all of the participants in a given year. These different approaches to using the knowledge about Jewish history of one’s town may be seen in the following fragments of letters. A participant from Zamość (letter no. 633) wrote: “The project gave me an opportunity to deepen my knowledge about Jews, their culture, and Polish-Jewish relations. I’d like to make use of these experiences in my daily life, by organizing events that will build dialogue.” Along the same lines, a participant from Krzepice (letter no. 257) also expressed their willingness to share the knowledge: “I hope that the knowledge that I gained during the workshops will be beneficial in the future when I will be able to, for instance, share it with other people.” A desire to win the competition was expressed, for instance, by a participant from Olkusz (letter no. 366): “All of the workshops and meetings are to help us develop a project [the field trip], the results of which we will have to report and send to the competition. In my opinion we have a good chance to implement the project, because our class’s activity and eagerness motivate all of us to work.” The initial external motivation (winning the prize) was sometimes supplemented by developing a genuine interest for the topic, as in the case of the Mława participant who wrote: “Most of the people in the group are very engaged as we not only count on winning [the competition] but we also began to be interested in the lives of Jewish people.” (letter no. 302).

In general the participants valued the knowledge and believed that it was useful and interesting both to themselves and to the wider public (local community, other

people). Hence they eagerly engaged in the activities during the workshops, but they were also (at least some of them) ready to put in some extra work, spend time and effort in aim to broaden what they had already learned. A participant in Pruszków (letter no. 402) wrote, for instance: “[...] [I]t is a great adventure. Not only do we learn so many things which are really interesting for us (it is, after all, the history of our city and not the times when Constantinople was founded!), but we can share this knowledge, too. We have to look for everything ourselves which gives us a lot of joy and satisfaction, we also organize everything ourselves – that’s my favorite activity.” A participant from Mława (letter no. 308) similarly reflected on the role of active engagement in acquiring knowledge: “These workshops are definitely useful and in my opinion they should take place in every school in Poland. Getting us to engage in games that lead to acquiring knowledge is so much better than just sitting and listening to some pages-long text. Practical knowledge will be remembered better, it’s more effective and it’s definitely not a waste of time.” Another person, from Wyszogród (letter no. 578) plainly stated that: “It was a great experience to gather information for the guided tour.” There were also participants who engaged actively in exploring the local multicultural past during the intervention, but also in their free time. A student from Dąbrowa Tarnowska wrote (letter no. 90): “I really developed an interest in Jewish issues after the workshops. Every day I read about Jews on different forums. I ask my grandma and neighbors about Jews. And they tell me about them eagerly.” A participant from Limanowa shared a similar experience (letter no. 277): “Their [Jews’] history is fascinating. Just searching for information during the long weekend in May and between the workshops were very pleasant for me. I always thought that our Museum in Limanowa does not hold a lot of information. And it was a mistake. The librarian showed us books about Jews. I couldn’t stop reading. I was reading and sat there until the Museum closed (one book was from

the year 1901).” Some students also declared intentions to broaden their knowledge of the local Jewish history in the future (participant from Nasielsk, letter no. 319): “The Jewish themes became very interesting for me personally and I will want to expand this knowledge.”

Quantitative content analysis. Based on the results of the thematic analysis, a system of categories that appeared in the letters most frequently and were of theoretical significance was created. There were 18 categories (see Table 7 and, for ease of presentation, Figure 14) and the coders coded whether a given category was present or not in each letter. As mentioned in the Procedures section of this study, a reliability analysis of the coding system was performed based on the ratings of 41 letters (10% of the total number of letters coded by each of the two coders). The coders agreed in 84% of the cases which translated into a mean Cohen’s kappa of $\kappa = .65$, $p < .001$ which may be considered a substantial level of interrater agreement (e.g. Landis & Koch, 1977; Sim & Wright, 2005).

The most commonly occurring theme was a positive evaluation of the intervention program as a whole – expressed by 81.6% of the participants. Also descriptions of the newly acquired knowledge about Jewish people were very common (mentioned in 69% of the letters). Participants emphasized that they learned about Jewish history (29.4%) and about Jewish culture and religion (59.2%). These results are not surprising, since the students were explicitly asked to reflect on the knowledge and their experiences during the program.

Table 7

Quantitative content analysis of the letters written by the intervention participants – frequencies of thematic categories

Category	Number (%) mentioned	Number (%) not mentioned
<i>Pertaining to Jews</i>		
1. Knowledge about Jews	542 (69%)	244 (31%)
2. Knowledge about Jewish history	231 (29.4%)	555 (70.6%)
3. Knowledge about Jewish religion and culture	465 (59.2%)	321 (40.8%)
4. Building tolerance	127 (16.2%)	659 (83.8%)
5. Improvement of attitudes towards Jews	84 (10.7%)	702 (89.3%)
6. World War II	93 (11.8%)	693 (88.2%)
7. Jewish suffering during World War 2	121 (15.4%)	665 (84.6%)
<i>Pertaining to the place of residence</i>		
8. Jewish community in the place of residence	370 (47.1%)	416 (52.9%)
9. Jewish heritage in the place of residence	274 (34.9%)	512 (65.1%)
10. Knowledge about place of residence history	322 (41%)	464 (59%)
11. Attachment to place of residence	228 (29%)	558 (71%)
12. New perspective on the place of residence	82 (10.4%)	704 (89.6%)
<i>Pertaining to the intervention</i>		
13. Positive evaluation of the intervention	641 (81.6%)	145 (18.4%)
14. Negative evaluation of the intervention	44 (5.6%)	742 (94.4%)
15. Intervention as a pleasant surprise	70 (8.9%)	716 (91.1%)
16. Using the knowledge for the community	150 (19.1%)	636 (80.9%)
17. Individual activity	268 (34.1%)	518 (65.9%)
18. Developing one's knowledge	79 (10.1%)	707 (89.9%)

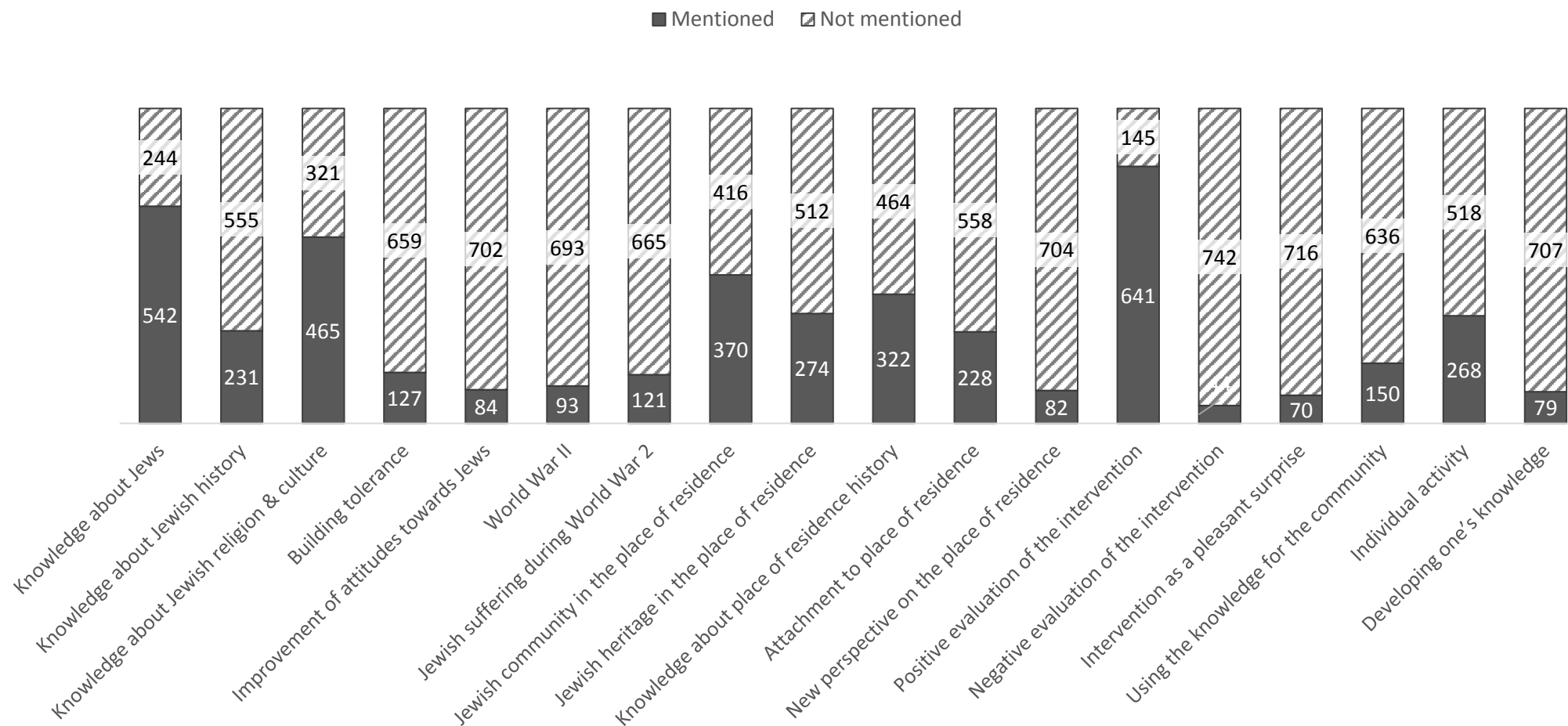


Figure 14. The results of quantitative content coding of the letters. Frequencies of each thematic category are presented. Total number of participants $N = 786$.

The second most commonly occurring group of topics encompassed those pertaining to the presence of Jewish people (47.1% of the letters) and their heritage (34.9%) in participants' places of residence and to their attitudes towards those places. Students also commonly expressed that they learned new things about the history of their places of residence (41%) and they wrote about those places in ways which spoke to their emotional attachment to them (present in 29% of the letters).

The categories occurring least commonly (though still mentioned in at least 9% or 70 letters) were those pertaining to World War 2 and Jewish suffering during the time (11.8% and 15.4% of the letters mentioned those). The workshops, while not shying away from the history of the Holocaust did not make it the primary focus of the intervention hence the participants also focused on this history to a lesser extent. Similarly frequent were descriptions of initial negative expectations about the intervention which were succeeded by positive experiences (expressed in 8.9% of the letters) and of participants' willingness to further develop the knowledge that they had already gained (found in 10.1% of the letters).

In aim to analyze the relationships between different categories of letters content a set of six new variables was computed such that occurrences of categories pertaining to similar topics were added up. This allowed for analyzing the relations between the extent and intensity of writing about a given topic and other topics.

The six new variables were: (1) *knowledge about Jewish people* which consisted of the following categories: knowledge about Jews; knowledge about Jewish history; knowledge about Jewish religion and culture; knowledge about Jewish community in the place of residence; and knowledge about Jewish heritage in the place of residence. (2) *Attitudes towards place of residence* consisted of expressed place attachment; knowledge

about place history; and developing a new outlook on the place of residence. (3) *Improvement of attitudes towards Jews* consisted of two topics – building tolerance and improvement of attitudes towards Jews. (4) *Historical suffering* combined two topics: World War II and Jewish suffering during World War II. (5) *Own activity* consisted of references to using the knowledge for the community; individual activity; and developing one’s knowledge. Finally, (6) *positive evaluation* combined expressed positive evaluation of the program and writing about the intervention as a pleasant surprise. The correlations between these variables were analyzed (see Table 8).

Table 8
Correlations between combined thematic categories

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Knowledge about Jews		.30***	.16***	.22***	.27***	.14***
2. Attitudes towards place			.07	.02	.21***	.08*
3. Attitude improvement (Jews)				.15***	.01	.05
4. Historical suffering					.01	-.06
5. Own activity						.05
6. Positive evaluation						

Note. * $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

The results show that the more the participants mentioned different aspects of knowledge about Jewish people that they gained throughout the intervention, the more they were likely to also express attitude improvement with regard to Jews and the more they expressed positive attitudes towards their place of residence. Writing more extensively about knowledge about Jewish people was also positively correlated with

reflecting on the historical suffering of Jewish people, describing one's own active engagement in the intervention, and its positive evaluation. Expressing more positive attitudes towards one's place of residence was also correlated with a positive evaluation of the workshops and with describing one's own active engagement in the intervention. Participants who wrote about Jewish suffering during World War II were also more likely to express positive attitudes towards Jewish people in their letters.

Discussion. The letters that the participants of the intervention utilizing the contact with a multicultural past framework wrote about their experiences were analyzed using qualitative thematic analysis and quantitative content analysis. Both of these analyses showed that the participants appreciated the program. A majority (almost 82%) expressed explicitly positive evaluations of the intervention. This is important, as it points to the fact that engaging with Jewish heritage was well received by the participants. Some participants (44 persons, 5.6% of the sample) did also express negative opinions about the workshops. However, these were dominated by expressions of the workshops being boring or by criticism of the co-participants' misbehavior or lack of dedication. This is an important result, because it shows that the participants did not question the premise of the workshops as such but rather the execution of the program.

The instruction that was given to the participants about the letters prompted them to reflect on what they had learned throughout the program. That is why they very often described their newly acquired knowledge about Jews – both in terms of their history and culture and their historical presence in the places where the research participants live today. Some of the participants presented very detailed accounts of this new knowledge, describing streets and buildings where Jewish people lived or which were used by them for religious or other purposes. In sum, the letters show the

participants considered the new knowledge to be valuable and were eager to express what they had learned in writing.

The new knowledge led some participants to reflect on their attitudes towards Jews, even though the instruction did not explicitly ask about that. This finding shows that engaging in contact with a multicultural past led the students to reflect on their own intergroup sentiments. Moreover, freely expressing the connection between learning about the Jewish history of one's place of residence and attitudes towards Jewish people speaks to the validity of contact with a multicultural past as a tool for prejudice reduction.

The participants expressed attachment to their places of residence and their letters reveal that they cherished the opportunity to learn about the history of those places. Some of the participants also explicitly described that learning about the Jewish past of their places of residence changed the ways in which they relate to those places. They were also willing to share the newly gained knowledge about Jewish history with other members of their communities. This is significant for two reasons. First, it shows that the students may be aware of a general lack of knowledge about the multicultural history. Second, the eagerness to share the newly acquired knowledge also speaks to its positive evaluation and the students' intentions to engage with the local community.

It is noteworthy that participants who wrote more extensively about the knowledge about Jewish people that they gained during the program were also more likely to write about their place-related attitudes, about improvement of attitudes towards Jews, about their own active engagement during the intervention, and to express more positive evaluation of the program. Even though these are only correlational results, they speak to the validity of the interrelations between learning

about and engaging with local Jewish history and attitudes towards Jewish people and one's place of residence. Thus they lend much support for contact with a multicultural past as a new type of indirect intergroup contact. It may appear as if there were some discrepancies between the intervention studies' results and the content analysis. For instance, describing one's own activity during the program was not associated with expressing more positive attitudes towards Jews and not much was written about civic activity or social capital. But this can be explained with the instruction that explicitly asked the students to reflect on their knowledge (which they promptly did) and that the letters were just short description of experiences. The main purpose of the above analyses was to find out how the students related to the whole program beyond their answers in the questionnaire. Naturally, not every impression could have been described in the letters, and the fact that some issues did not make it into the letters does not indicate that the hypothesized processes (which were confirmed in the intervention studies) were not represented. Much rather, it validates the need for a multi-method approach.

Taken together the thematic analysis and the quantified content analysis of the letters corroborate the findings of the interventions studies. The themes that were identified in the letters pertained very closely to the variables tested in the interventions studies. Students wrote about their new knowledge, attachment to places of residence, their intergroup attitudes, and active engagement during the program. The fact that the program was evaluated very positively might constitute one of the factors contributing to its established effectiveness and be associated with the strengthening of motives related to decreased prejudice (Kossowska, 2006).

Experimental Studies⁸

The main aim of the intervention studies was to test the efficacy of contact with a multicultural past as a tool for prejudice reduction and for building local social capital. The three studies were successful in repeatedly showing the positive effects of the intervention in question. Contact with a multicultural past consists of several elements: it provides people with reliable knowledge about the historical presence of outgroup(s) and their material (and non-material) heritage that is still present in the participants' places of residence and it also allows for an active, personal engagement with this history and heritage. These elements are incorporated into the intervention which lasts over a period of about a month. This means it is difficult to disentangle the effects of different aspects of contact with a multicultural past on attitudes.

Moreover, while longitudinal designs (especially inclusive of control groups) allow for causal inferences (e.g. Howitt & Cramer, 2011; Stephan et al., 2004), the majority of social psychological knowledge has been acquired by way of using experimental methodology (e.g. Bar-Tal, 2004; Sears, 1986). Brzeziński (2004; p. 282) argues that experiments, and especially laboratory experiments, constitute the most effective way of verifying scientific hypotheses. Experiments allow scholars to draw sound causal inferences based on a manipulation of variable(s) assumed to be the cause(s) of a given phenomenon and on observation of the effects of such a manipulation (Brzeziński, 2004; Hallberg, Wing, Wong, & Cook, 2013; Howitt & Cramer, 2011).

⁸The experimental studies were supported by the statutory research funds awarded to the Author by the Faculty of Psychology, University of Warsaw in 2015.

In the follow-up to the main test of the contact with a multicultural past framework – the three longitudinal intervention studies described above – I decided to experimentally test its three most important elements and explore how each of them affects the two types of outcome variables that were of particular theoretical interest: attitudes towards Jewish people and attitudes towards one's place of residence. In the intervention studies all participants simultaneously experienced all of the elements of contact with a multicultural past. An experimental assessment of these effects was an attempt to disentangle them.

The three significant elements of contact with a multicultural past are: (1) learning (or being reminded) about the historical presence of other ethnic groups in one's place of residence, (2) learning (being reminded) about the existence of the outgroup's material heritage, and (3) actively engaging in exploring the multicultural past of one's place of residence. I hypothesized that each of these elements, when used in an experimental setting, should exert positive effects on attitudes towards Jews and place-related attitudes of research participants. Moreover, these effects should follow the same indirect effects pattern that were elaborated for the longitudinal studies (see the Hypotheses section). Each of these elements will be isolated, i.e. the participants will experience one of them at a time and only for a short time, which is characteristic of an experimental setting. Therefore the effects will likely be smaller and less systematic than those found in the intervention studies.

In aim to verify these assumptions, a series of three independent experiments was conducted. Two of the experiments were carried out among inhabitants of Warsaw who were members of an online research panel and the third one was conducted among secondary and high school students in Suwałki (a city in northeastern Poland). Each of

the experiments described below tested a different element of contact with a multicultural past. These elements entail progressively more complex ways of interacting with multicultural history. The first one relies on simply informing people about the historical presence of outgroup(s) in their places of residence, the second explores the effects of being informed about the still existing material heritage of an outgroup, and the third investigates the role of individual active engagement with the multicultural heritage.

Study 5. One of the core assumptions of contact with a multicultural past is that being provided with knowledge about the historical presence of an outgroup in one's current place of residence should constitute an experience similar to indirectly meeting members of the outgroup. The current and the historical residents are shown to share the same space, just separated by time. In Study 5 I wanted to explore the possibility that simply providing research participants with information about the historical presence of a Jewish community in their place of residence could have effects similar to those obtained in the intervention studies.

I expected that, if the information about multicultural history was the crucial element of contact with a multicultural past, informing people that their city used to have a sizable Jewish minority should result first and foremost in improved attitudes towards Jewish people and in greater inclusion of Jewish people in the self. Similar to the intervention studies, I expected such information to result in greater interest in local history, increased place attachment, willingness for local community engagement, and social trust. Moreover, if information about the historical presence of an outgroup is the key element of contact with a multicultural past, similar indirect mechanisms should be responsible for the hypothesized changes in attitudes, as those established in

intervention studies. Specifically, providing people with information about Jewish history of their city should lead to more positive attitudes towards Jews by way of increasing interest in local history and the inclusion of Jewish people in the self. Greater interest in local history should also be related to increased place attachment and, in turn, to increased levels of social capital indicators.

Method. In aim to test the influence of merely informing people that their place of residence has a multicultural history on intergroup and place-related attitudes an experimental study was conducted among inhabitants of Warsaw. The city was chosen for two main reasons. First, it used to be the second largest Jewish community in the world before World War II (US Holocaust Memorial Museum, no date). Over 350,000 Jewish people inhabited the city, which constituted about 29% of its population (Gawryszewski, 2009). Second, the large size of the city allowed easy access to research participants.

Participants. Three hundred and sixty four people participated in the online experiment. The participants were members of one of the Polish commercial online research panels and received panel credits for their participation. There were two filter questions that only allowed people who identified as being between 18 and 35 years of age and living in Warsaw to take part in the study. In the full sample there were 251 (69%) women and 110 (30.2%) men, 3 participants did not indicate their gender. Mean age of the participants was $M = 27.45$ ($SD = 4.61$). However, as only 276 (193 women, 82 men, 1 did not indicate gender; $M_{age} = 27.13$; $SD = 4.57$) people meaningfully answered

the question which assessed whether they read the experimental manipulation or not, only their answers were analyzed.⁹

Procedure. After the participants answered the filter questions they were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions. In each of the conditions they were presented with a short text introduced as an excerpt from a book about the history of Warsaw in the interwar period (see Appendix B for the exact wording). In the experimental group 1 the text described the history of the Jewish community in Warsaw between the two World Wars. In experimental group 2 the same text also contained an additional description of intergroup contact between Poles and Jews (in aim to verify whether historical intergroup contact could have an additional positive effects on intergroup and place-related attitudes). In the control group the participants read about the history of Warsaw between the two World Wars, but without any references to the Jewish community. All three texts were worded so that they would be as similar to one another as possible (e.g. each of them referred to the rapid development of the city, to the presence of theaters, newspapers, places of worship etc.).

After reading the text the participants were asked to shortly summarize its contents so as to ensure that they had read the required passages. Those who did not complete this task were treated as if they had not read the manipulation and excluded from further analyses. Next, a questionnaire followed which was identical for all three groups. The questionnaire measured the variables that had been used in the previous studies, that is: attitudes towards Jewish people, inclusion of Jewish people in the self, interest in local history, place attachment, civic engagement intentions, and social trust.

⁹All the analyses which are reported below were also repeated for the full sample and yielded very similar results.

In order to limit the influence of demand expectations on the results the questionnaire was presented as one pertaining to attitudes about Warsaw and the intergroup attitudes questions were asked also about four other (except Jews) ethnic groups who used to and/or currently live in Warsaw: Ukrainians, Roma, Chinese, and Vietnamese. After completion of the experiment the participants were fully debriefed, thanked, and informed about the possibility to access the study results.

Measures. Unless otherwise indicated the measures used in Study 5 utilized a 5-point answering scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The full list of items is presented in Appendix E.

Attitudes towards Jews were measured with the Feeling Thermometer (Alwin, 1997; Bilewicz & Jaworska, 2013; Haddock et al., 1993).

Inclusion of the outgroup in the self was measured with the 3-item scale (Aberson & Hovansky, 2002; Bilewicz, 2008). The participants were asked to assess the extent to which they felt that they had similar interests, experiences, and were generally similar with 5 outgroups: Jews, Ukrainians, Roma, Chinese, and Vietnamese (the latter four used in aim to restrict demand characteristics). Only the inclusion of Jewish people in the self was used in the analyses below. The scale proved reliable ($\alpha = .83$).

Interest in place history was measured with a shortened, 5-item version of the scale by Lewicka (Lewicka, 2011; Wójcik et al., 2010). The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = .67$.

Place attachment was measured with the full, 9-item scale of place attachment by Lewicka (2005, 2008). The scale included items like: "I am proud of Warsaw" and "I miss Warsaw when I am away for long." The full scale demonstrated very poor reliability

($\alpha = .45$). Thus, based on a factor analysis, three items were excluded. The remaining 6-item scale was reliable ($\alpha = .78$) and was used in the subsequent analyses.

The civic engagement measure was composed of the same three items used in the intervention studies and tapped into the students' willingness to become active in their local community ($\alpha = .59$).

Social trust was measured with the following two items by Putnam (2000): "Most people are honest" and "Most people can be trusted", $\alpha = .62$.

Results. Descriptive statistics and correlations between all measured variables, together with tests of the experimental manipulation will be presented first (see Table 9). To ensure a level of comparability with the intervention studies, mediational analyses were also conducted using the PROCESS macro with an extension for multicategorical independent variables (Hayes, 2013; Hayes & Preacher, 2014), which allows to test mediation models in experimental designs.

As can be seen in Table 9, the experimental manipulation had no effect on any of the measured variables. It did not affect attitudes towards Jewish people, nor was it relevant for people's attitudes towards the places where they lived.

As the research hypotheses were directional, an additional analysis of planned contrasts was performed which compared both of the conditions that provided information about the history of the Jewish community in Warsaw to the control condition (contrast 1). The analysis of contrasts did not yield any significant effects (see Table 9).

Table 9

Means and standard deviations of the measures in each of the three experimental conditions; comparisons between the experimental conditions (one-way ANOVA) with effect sizes; and correlations between variables in the sample

	Condition 1	Condition 2	Condition 3	<i>F</i>	η^2	Contrast 1	1	2	3	4	5	6
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>			<i>t</i> (273)						
1. Interest	3.55 (0.74)	3.54 (0.80)	3.59 (0.70)	0.13	< 0.001	-0.18		.06	.01	.36***	.34***	.04
2. Attitudes	54.58 (27.80)	58.08 (25.49)	51.98 (30.04)	1.16	0.01	-0.13			.62***	-.03	.01	.22***
3. IOS	2.75 (1.08)	2.94 (1.00)	2.88 (1.00)	0.75	0.01	-1.17				.05	.15*	.29***
4. Place attachment	3.55 (0.80)	3.56 (0.81)	3.55 (0.74)	0.004	< 0.001	-0.09					.47***	.28***
5. Civic engagement	3.12 (0.96)	3.27 (0.87)	3.09 (0.73)	1.16	0.01	-0.54						.36***
6. Social trust	2.89 (1.08)	2.97 (1.13)	2.97 (1.04)	0.15	0.001	-0.55.						

Note. Condition 1 = Polish history; Condition 2 = Jewish history; Condition 3 = Jewish history with an emphasis on intergroup contact between Poles and Jews. Interest = interest in history; Attitudes = attitudes towards Jews; IOS = inclusion of others (Jews) in the self.

Contrast 1 = Condition 1 vs. Conditions 2 & 3; neither of the *F* tests nor the contrast were significant.

p* < .05; **p* < .001

In aim to analyze whether the experimental manipulation had any indirect effect on attitudes towards Jews, a parallel analysis of mediation was performed with the experimental condition as a multicategorical independent variable and interest in local history and inclusion of Jews in the self as mediators. The experimental condition was dummy-coded into *Dummy 1* which compared the experimental group 1 (Jewish history of Warsaw) to the reference category and *Dummy 2* which compared the experimental group 2 (Jewish history of Warsaw with an emphasis on historical intergroup contact) to the reference category. The control condition (Polish history of Warsaw) was the reference category.

Neither condition significantly affected the mediators ($ps > .23$). In the model with all of the variables, inclusion of Jewish people in the self – while not affected by the experimental manipulation – was the only significant predictor of attitudes towards Jews, $B = 16.99$; $SE = 1.28$; $p < .001$; CI: 14.47; 19.52. Interest in local history was not related to attitudes $B = 2.22$; $SE = 1.76$; $p = .21$; CI: -1.24; 5.67. Neither *Dummy 1* ($B = 0.40$; $SE = 3.25$; CI: -6.00; 6.81) nor *Dummy 2* ($B = -4.89$; $SE = 3.24$; CI: -11.27; 1.50) were related to attitudes towards Jews. The indirect effects of *Dummy 1* ($B = -0.02$; $SE = 0.33$; CI: -0.90; 0.54) and *Dummy 2* ($B = 0.10$; $SE = 0.32$; CI: -0.31; 1.11) via interest in local history were not significant and so were the indirect effects via inclusion of Jewish people in the self ($B = 3.13$; $SE = 2.66$; CI: -1.85; 8.51 and $B = 2.19$; $SE = 2.63$; CI: -3.03; 7.40 for *Dummy 1* and *Dummy 2* respectively). The model with both of the mediators was significant $F(4, 271) = 45.26$; $p < .001$ and explained 40% of the variance in the dependent variable (see Figure 15).

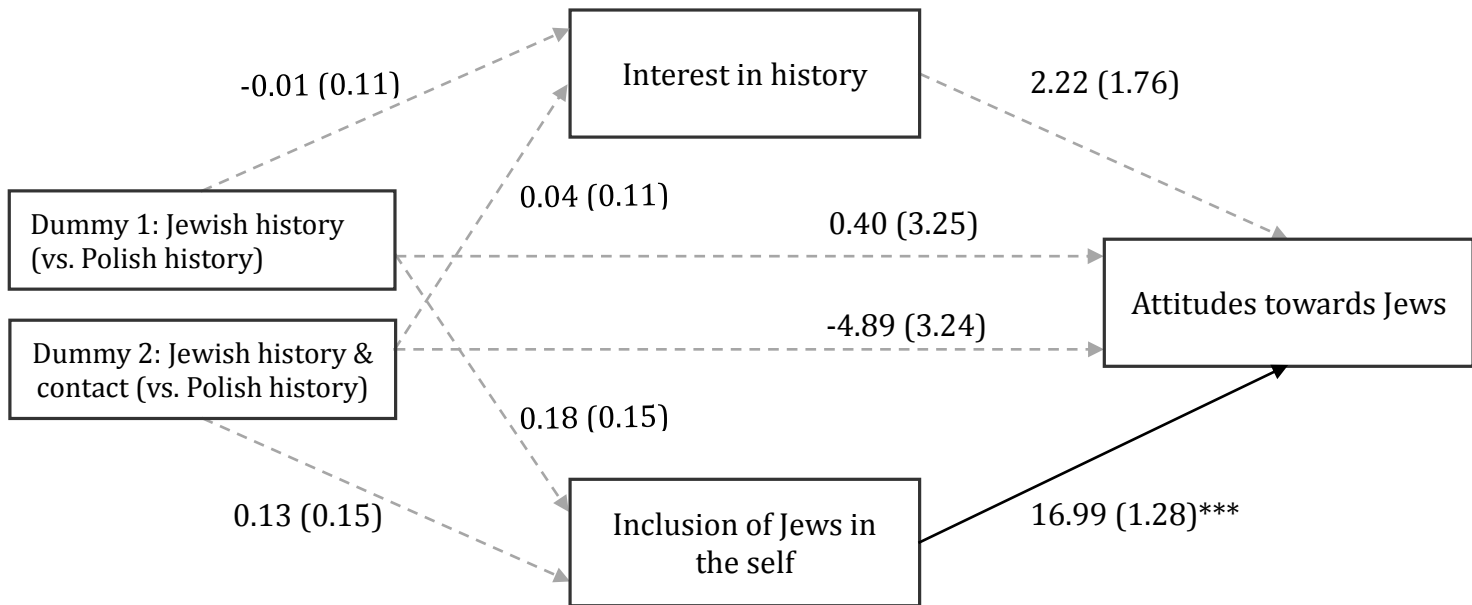


Figure 15. Parallel mediation of the influence of the experimental manipulation on attitudes towards Jews through interest in local history and inclusion of Jews in the self. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets.

*** $p < .001$

Two parallel mediation analyses were also performed in order to test the possible indirect effects of the experimental manipulation on civic engagement intentions and social trust. The experimental manipulation was dummy coded in the same way as in the previous analysis – i.e. *Dummy 1* compared the first experimental condition (Jewish history), and *Dummy 2* the second experimental condition (Jewish history & Polish-Jewish contact) with a reference category (Polish history). Two variables were entered as mediators: interest in local history and place attachment. In the model with civic engagement as the outcome variable the experimental manipulation did not affect the mediators ($ps > .698$). Interest in local history ($B = 0.22$; $SE = 0.06$; $CI: 0.10; 0.35$) and place attachment ($B = 0.44$; $SE = 0.06$; $CI: 0.32; 0.56$) were both positive and significant predictors of civic engagement intentions. Neither of the dummy-coded experimental conditions related to civic engagement intentions: $B = 0.15$;

$SE = 0.11$; $CI: -0.07; 0.36$ and $B = -0.04$; $SE = 0.11$; $CI: -0.26; 0.18$ for *Dummy 1* and *Dummy 2*, respectively. Neither *Dummy 1* ($B = -0.002$; $SE = 0.03$; $CI: -0.06; 0.05$) nor *Dummy 2* ($B = 0.01$; $SE = 0.03$; $CI: -0.04; 0.07$) had any indirect effect on civic engagement intentions via interest in history. The indirect effects via place attachment were also not significant ($B = 0.005$; $SE = 0.05$; $CI: -0.10; 0.11$ and $B = 0.003$; $SE = 0.05$; $CI: -0.10; 0.11$ for *Dummy 1* and *Dummy 2*, respectively). The model wherein both of the mediators were included was significant $F(4, 271) = 24.35$; $p < .001$ and explained 26% of the variance in civic engagement intentions (see Figure 16).

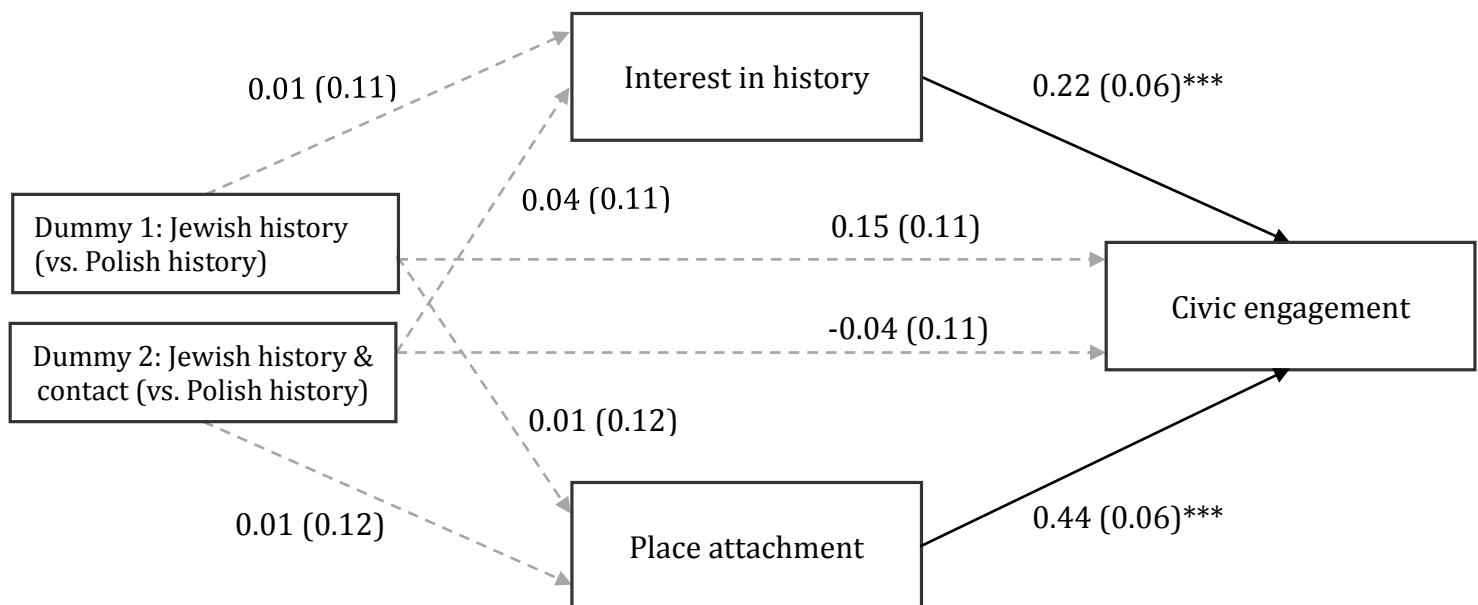


Figure 16. Parallel mediation of the influence of the experimental manipulation on civic engagement through interest in local history and place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets.
 *** $p < .001$

In the model with social trust as the outcome variable the experimental manipulation did not affect the mediators ($ps > .698$). Interest in local history was not related to social trust ($B = -0.10$; $SE = 0.09$; $CI: -0.27; 0.08$) but place attachment

($B = 0.41$; $SE = 0.09$; $CI: 0.24; 0.58$) was a positive and significant predictor of social trust. Neither of the dummy-coded experimental conditions related to social trust: $B = 0.07$; $SE = 0.16$; $CI: -0.23; 0.38$ and $B = 0.08$; $SE = 0.16$; $CI: -0.23; 0.38$ for *Dummy 1* and *Dummy 2*, respectively. The indirect effects of *Dummy 1* ($B = 0.001$; $SE = 0.02$; $CI: -0.03; 0.04$) and *Dummy 2* ($B = -0.004$; $SE = 0.02$; $CI: -0.06; 0.01$) on social trust via interest in history were also not significant. Similarly, the indirect effects through place attachment were not significant ($B = 0.005$; $SE = 0.05$; $CI: -0.09; 0.11$ and $B = 0.003$; $SE = 0.05$; $CI: -0.10; 0.10$ for *Dummy 1* and *Dummy 2* respectively). The model in which both of the mediator variables were included was significant $F(4, 271) = 5.95$; $p < .001$ and explained 8% of the variance in social trust (see Figure 17).

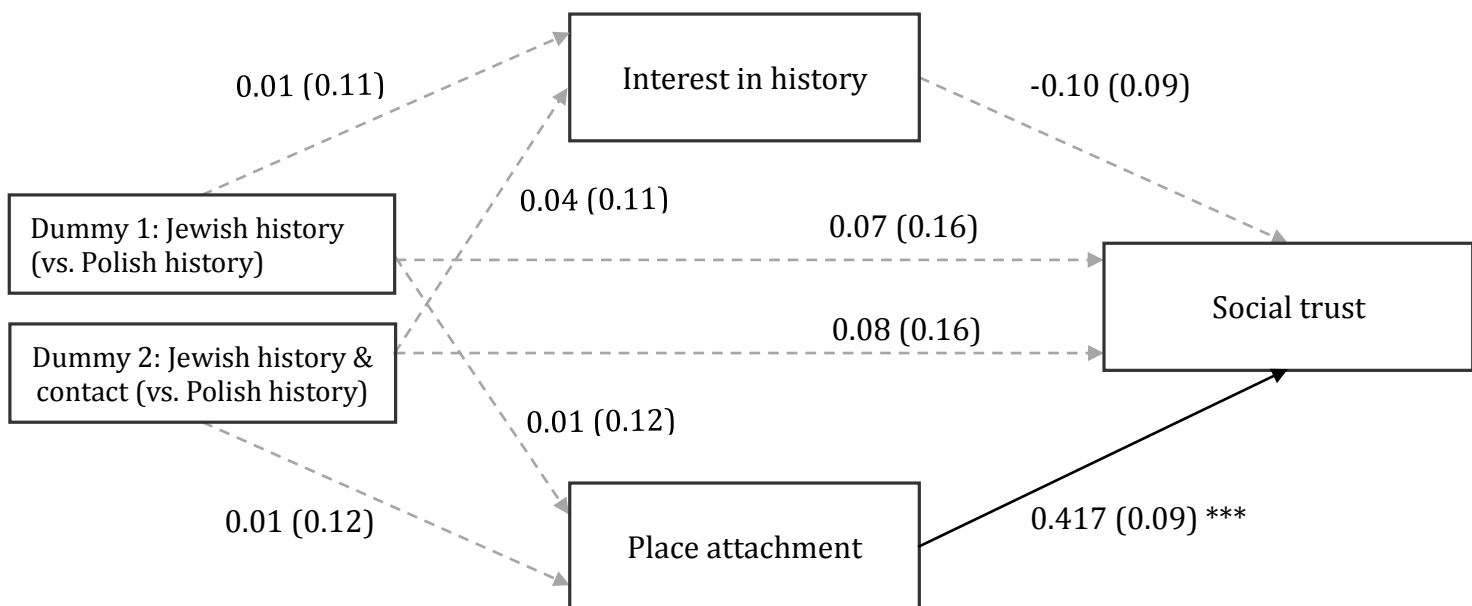


Figure 17. Parallel mediation of the influence of the experimental manipulation on social trust through interest in local history and place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Discussion. In an attempt to investigate the role of providing people with information about the multicultural history of their place of residence, a large sample of young adults, who live of Warsaw, were presented with short summaries of the history of Warsaw between the two World Wars in Study 5. These summaries either presented the history without any reference to ethnic minorities in the city (control condition), presented the history of the Jewish community in Warsaw (experimental condition 1) or emphasized the intergroup contact between Poles and Jews in Warsaw (experimental condition 2). The experimental manipulation did not exert any significant effects on any of the measured variables. It did not affect intergroup attitudes of the participant, nor was it influential for the place-related attitudes (place attachment, civic engagement, or social trust). The three mediational analyses mirroring the analyses performed for the intervention studies did not find any indirect effects of the experimental manipulation on the variables of interest.

The inclusion of Jewish people in the self was significantly and positively associated with attitudes towards Jewish people, which highlights the validity of perceiving similarity and closeness with an outgroup for shaping attitudes towards it. Participants who felt closer to Jewish people were also the ones who had more positive attitudes towards them. Place attachment emerged as a consistent and positive correlate of place-specific civic engagement intentions but also of a more general social capital indicator: i.e. social trust. Just as in the intervention studies, interest in history was related to civic engagement intentions but not to generalized social trust. This corroborates my earlier results and points to the fact that interest in local history may be related to social trust in an indirect way.

The lack of meaningful results with regard to the experimental manipulation may be a consequence of several factors –the difference in data collection method (online vs. paper questionnaire), location (Warsaw vs. mostly small towns) or methodology (experiment vs. intervention studies carried out before). However, I would like to emphasize the potential influence of the brevity of the experimental manipulation (depending on the condition it consisted of between 149 and 189 words), which might have been not quite engaging enough for the participants. This is especially the case if it is compared to the intervention studies, where participants' exposure to contact with a multicultural past is much more intense and longer.

It is possible that simply informing people about the multicultural heritage of their place of residence is not enough to influence their intergroup and place-related attitudes. Contact with a multicultural past is theorized to rest not only on knowledge about multicultural history, but also on an active engagement with the outgroup's heritage. Therefore, in Study 6, I decided to investigate the effect of focusing participants' attention on the material, architectural (or other) remnants of the outgroups' presence (e.g. buildings, street names) in their place of residence on intergroup and place-related attitudes. Material heritage of an outgroup not only communicates information about multicultural history but also emphasizes the outgroup's historical presence in one's place of residence.

Study 6. A crucial element of contact with a multicultural past consist in that it provides people with information about the remnants of an outgroup material heritage that still exist in their places of residence. The presence of an outgroup's material heritage conveys information about the historical presence of that outgroup but also constitutes a visible testimony of that presence. As evidenced by the qualitative thematic

analysis and the quantitative content coding, learning about multicultural history of well-known, everyday places is a very important experience, at least for some participants. Study 5 showed that simply telling people that members of an outgroup used to live in their current place of residence may not be effective in changing their attitudes, but the still existing material heritage may exert a stronger effect due to its concreteness and spatial presence.

In Study 6 I therefore expected that providing participants with information about the still existing material heritage of an outgroup in their places of residence should have a positive influence on the variables hypothesized to be susceptible to contact with a multicultural past effects, more specifically on attitudes towards Jewish people, inclusion of Jewish people in the self, interest in local history, increased place attachment, willingness for local community engagement, and social trust. Moreover, I expected the same mechanisms to be responsible for the hypothesized changes in attitudes as I had found in the intervention studies. Exposing people to information about the still existing Jewish material heritage should lead to an increase in interest in local history and the inclusion of Jewish people in self and, in turn, to improvement of attitudes towards Jews. Greater interest in local history and increased place attachment should also be related to increased levels of social capital indicators.

Study 6 was designed to test the influence of familiarizing oneself with the topography of the historical outgroup's presence in one's place of residence for the effects of contact with a multicultural past. This process was operationalized as engaging with information about the still existing (or about the no-longer-existing but significant) material heritage of the outgroup in the place of residence. Reactions to information

about the outgroup's heritage were compared to reactions to similar types of historical heritage but belonging to the ingroup.

Method. An experimental online study was conducted among inhabitants of Warsaw. As in Study 5, Warsaw was chosen because of the rich history of the Jewish community in the city but also due to practical reason regarding the ease of access to research participants. The study investigated the role of reading about historical heritage of an outgroup vs. the ingroup which was described as still existing or not existing anymore.

Participants. Two hundred and seven people took part in the study. A set of two filtering questions (about participants' age and place of residence) were asked at the beginning of the study so as to ensure that only inhabitants of Warsaw between the ages of 18 and 30 took part in it. There were 161 (77.8%) women and 45 (21.7%) men; 1 person did not indicate their gender. The average age of the participants was $M = 25.80$; $SD = 3.29$. As 17 people failed to correctly answer the open-end question that assessed whether they read the experimental manipulation, the following analyses were performed on a sample of 190 participants (149 women, 40 men, 1 did not identify; $M_{\text{age}} = 25.72$; $SD = 3.28$).¹⁰

Procedure. This research was introduced to the participants as a study about the history Warsaw and attitudes towards the city. The participants were also told that they would be shown a description of one randomly selected architectural object from a database of 100 objects of importance in the history of Warsaw. After answering the filter questions the participants who met the study's criteria were randomly assigned to

¹⁰All the analyses which are reported below were also repeated for the full sample and yielded very similar results.

one of four experimental conditions in a 2 x 2 factorial design. They read a short description of a religious building that was either Catholic (a church) or Jewish (a synagogue) and either still existed in the cityscape of Warsaw or had been destroyed during World War II (the experimental manipulation materials, as the participants saw them, are presented in Appendix C). Following the manipulation the participants were asked to summarize the text in 2-3 sentences that would be appropriate to present to a foreign tourist. This task was introduced to make sure that the participants read the description of the building that was presented to them. Those who failed to provide an answer to this question (N = 17) were excluded from the subsequent analyses. After the manipulation the participants were presented with a questionnaire which was identical in all of the experimental groups. Upon completion of the study the participants were thanked and debriefed and informed about the possibility to access the study results.

Measures. Most measures in Study 6 were identical with those in Study 5 and utilized the same answering scales. More specifically, they included interest in local history ($\alpha = .68$), attitudes towards Jews (Feeling Thermometer); inclusion of Jewish people in the self ($\alpha = .84$), civic engagement intentions ($\alpha = .76$), and social trust $\alpha = .96$.

Place attachment was measured with the same 3 item scale as in the intervention studies ($\alpha = .89$). Please refer to Appendix E for the wording of all measures.

Results. Descriptive statistics and the results of a two-factor ANOVA with effect sizes are presented first (see Table 10). They are followed by a correlational analysis between the measured variables (see Table 11) and three analyses of mediation using the PROCESS macro with an extension for multicategorical independent variables (Hayes, 2013; Hayes & Preacher, 2014).

The experimental manipulation in Study 6 had an effect on four of the measured variables. Participants who read about historical buildings that still exist (regardless of their association with Poles or Jews) tended to express greater interest in local history than those who read about buildings that do not exist anymore. There was also a marginally significant effect ($p = .057$) of reading about Jewish historical buildings vs. Polish historical buildings (regardless of whether they still existed or not) on inclusion of Jews in the self. The participants who read about Jewish material heritage perceived Jewish people to be slightly closer to their own self than those who read about Polish buildings. Two main effects of the experimental manipulation on civic engagement intentions were significant. Participants who read about Polish (as opposed to Jewish) heritage and those who read about the still existing (as opposed to not existing) buildings were more likely to declare that they would want to become active in their local community. Post hoc tests showed that in the condition in which the not existing synagogue was presented, the willingness to be active was particularly low. A similar pattern was found for the social trust measure – reading about the existing (as opposed to not existing) heritage was associated with more social trust expressed by the research participants.

The pattern of correlations (see Table 11) revealed a significant positive association between attitudes towards Jewish people (Feeling Thermometer and inclusion of Jews in the self – which were both positively correlated with one another) and generalized social trust. The other two place-related types of attitudes – place attachment and civic engagement – were not correlated with intergroup attitudes. Interest in local history was positively associated with place attachment and civic engagement intentions, and place attachment positively correlated with both of the social capital indicators – civic engagement intentions and social trust.

Table 10

Means and standard deviations in 4 experimental conditions and the results of a two-factor ANOVA with effect sizes

Variable	Condition 1 <i>M (SD)</i>	Condition 2 <i>M (SD)</i>	Condition 3 <i>M (SD)</i>	Condition 4 <i>M (SD)</i>	Main effects				Interaction	
					Group		Existence		Group x Existence	
					<i>F</i>	η_p^2	<i>F</i>	η_p^2	<i>F</i>	η_p^2
1. Interest	3.82 (0.76) ^a	3.85 (0.62)	3.45 (0.79) ^a	3.65 (0.59)	2.22	0.01	7.66**	0.40	0.57	0.003
2. Attitudes	55.70 (31.75)	59.89 (24.94)	52.50 (32.76)	55.50 (24.94)	0.72	0.004	0.59	0.003	0.84	< 0.001
3. IOS (Jews)	2.70 (0.98)	2.76 (1.02)	2.49 (1.18) ^a	2.99 (0.95) ^a	3.65 [†]	0.02	0.02	< 0.001	2.48	0.01
4. Place attachment	4.62 (1.28)	4.46 (1.36)	4.56 (1.33)	4.04 (1.31)	3.10	0.02	1.84	0.01	1.57	0.01
5. Civic engagement	3.66 (1.04)	3.34 (0.99) ^a	3.41 (1.37) ^b	2.73 (0.93) ^{a, b}	8.82**	0.05	4.49*	0.03	2.42	0.01
6. Social trust	3.17 (1.43)	3.17 (1.31)	2.85 (1.57)	2.66 (0.94)	0.14	0.001	4.56*	0.02	0.14	0.001

Note. Condition 1 = church, exists; Condition 2 = synagogue, exists; Condition 3 = church, does not exist; Condition 4 = synagogue, does not exist. Group = ethnic belonging of the building (i.e. Polish vs. Jewish); Existence = the building still exists vs. does not exist. Interest = interest in history; Attitudes = attitudes towards Jews; IOS = inclusion of other (Jews) in the Self. In each row the means that are significantly different are marked with the same letter.

[†] $p < .09$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 11

Correlations between all variables in the study

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Interest		.14 [†]	.10	.31***	.39***	.10
2. Attitudes			.62***	-.08	.03	.17*
3. IOS (Jews)				-.05	-.01	.31***
4. Place attachment					.46***	.19**
5. Civic engagement						.27***
6. Social trust						

Note. Interest = interest in history; Attitudes = attitudes towards Jews; IOS = inclusion of others (Jews) in the self.

[†] $p < .09$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

As in the previous studies, the indirect influence of the experimental manipulation was tested using the PROCESS macro with an extension for multicategorical independent variables (Hayes, 2013; Hayes & Preacher, 2014). The experimental conditions were dummy coded (identically in all three analyses described below) in such a way that the Polish & existing building (Condition 1) was the reference category. *Dummy 1* compared Condition 2 (Jewish, existing building), *Dummy 2* compared Condition 3 (Polish, not existing building), and *Dummy 3* compared Condition 4 (Jewish, not existing building) to the reference category.

In the model with attitudes towards Jews as the outcome variable, two parallel mediators were tested, namely interest in local history and inclusion of Jewish people in the self (see Figure 18). Only one of the dummy-coded experimental conditions significantly influenced interest in local history: reading about a non-existing Polish building (*Dummy 2*) was associated with a smaller expressed interest in history ($B = -0.35, SE = 0.14; CI: -0.63; -0.08$). There were no other significant effects of the

experimental conditions on the mediators ($ps > .149$). Neither of the experimental conditions affected attitudes towards Jews: *Dummy 1*: $B = 1.61, SE = 4.77; CI: -7.79; 11.01$; *Dummy 2*: $B = 0.66; SE = 4.75; CI: -8.71; 10.03$; *Dummy 3*: $B = -4.58; SE = 4.75; CI: -13.96; 4.79$. Interest in local history was not related to attitudes towards Jews ($B = 3.03; SE = 2.42; CI: -1.75; 7.81$), but inclusion of Jewish people in the self emerged as a significant and positive predictor, $B = 17.05; SE = 1.61; CI: 13.87; 20.24$. The indirect effects of the experimental manipulation via interest in local history were not significant: $B = 0.22, SE = 0.61; CI: -0.47; 2.28$ for *Dummy 1*, $B = -1.07, SE = 1.07; CI: -4.18; 0.33$ for *Dummy 2*, and $B = 0.39, SE = 0.20; CI: -0.09; 0.69$ for *Dummy 3*. The mediation by inclusion of Jewish people in the self was also not significant, *Dummy 1*: $B = 0.87, SE = 3.64; CI: -6.40; 7.87$; *Dummy 2*: $B = -3.68, SE = 3.79; CI: -11.08; 3.75$; *Dummy 3*: $B = 5.31; SE = 3.52; CI: -1.41; 12.61$. The model with both of the mediators was significant $F(5, 184) = 23.68; p < .001$ and explained 39% of the variance in attitudes towards Jews.

The next analysis assessed the indirect influence of the experimental manipulation on civic engagement intentions through interest in local history and place attachment (see Figure 19). As in the preceding analysis the dummy-coded condition 3 (Polish, not existing building, *Dummy 2*) exerted a significant negative effect on interest in local history, $B = -0.35, SE = 0.14; CI: -0.63; -0.08$. The other two dummy coded conditions were not related to interest in local history ($ps > .211$). *Dummy 3* (Jewish, not existing building) was negatively related to place attachment ($B = -0.58, SE = 0.26; CI: -1.10; -0.05$), while the other experimental conditions did not relate to place attachment ($ps > .725$). Both interest in local history ($B = 0.49, SE = 0.10; CI: 0.28; 0.68$) and place attachment ($B = 0.29, SE = 0.06; CI: 0.17; 0.40$) significantly and positively

related to civic engagement intentions. Only one of the experimental conditions (*Dummy 3*) directly influenced civic engagement, $B = -0.63$, $SE = 0.20$; CI: -1.02; -0.23, while the

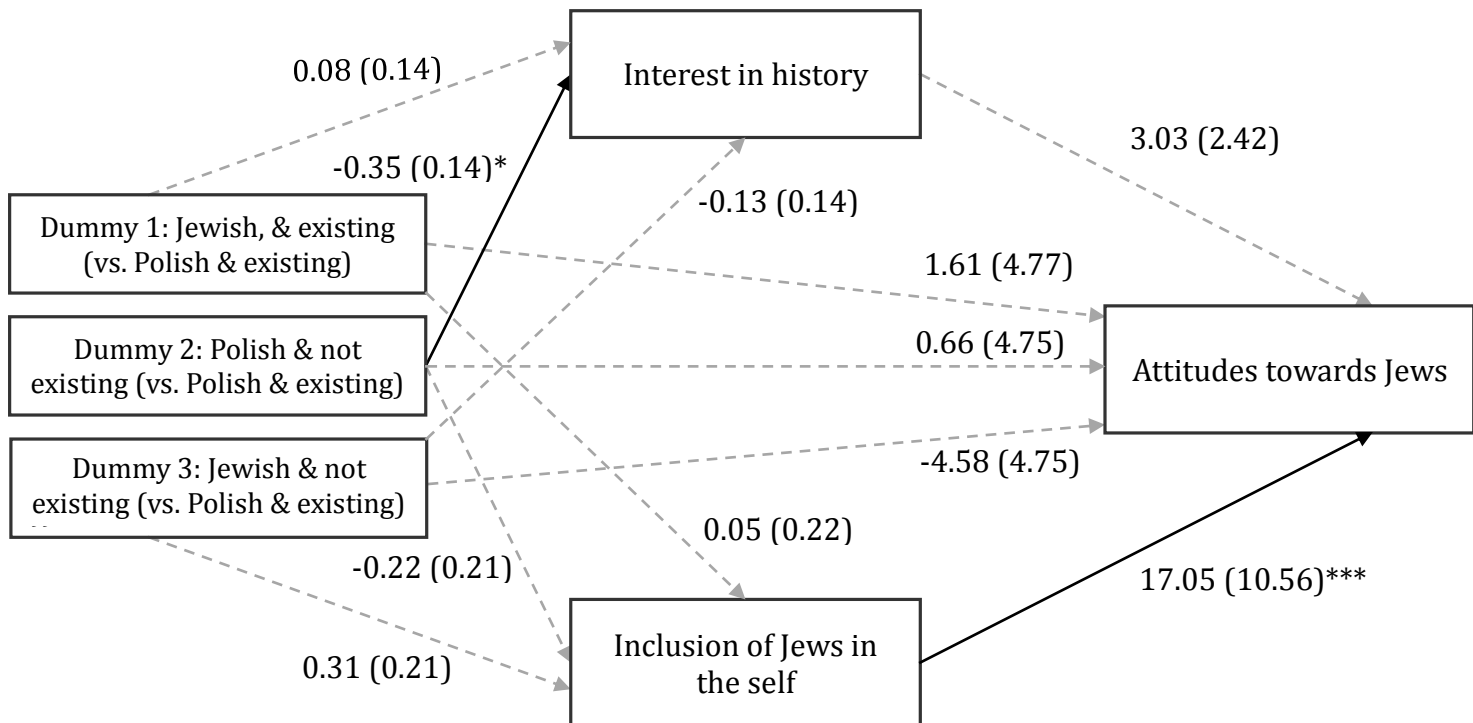


Figure 18. Parallel mediation of the influence of the experimental manipulation (presentation of buildings) on attitudes towards Jews through interest in local history and inclusion of Jews in the self. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets.

* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

others did not relate to it (*Dummy 1*: $B = -0.24$, $SE = 0.20$; CI: -0.63; 0.16 and *Dummy 2*: $B = 0.05$, $SE = 0.20$ CI: -0.34; 0.44). *Dummy 1* ($B = 0.04$, $SE = 0.07$; CI: -0.09; 0.20) and *Dummy 3* ($B = -0.17$, $SE = 0.09$; CI: -0.21; 0.07) did not affect civic engagement indirectly through interest in history but *Dummy 2* did have such an indirect effect $B = -0.06$, $SE = 0.07$; CI: -0.40; -0.03. The indirect effect of the experimental manipulation via place attachment was only significant for *Dummy 3*, $B = -0.17$, $SE = 0.09$; CI: -0.38; -0.02, but not for *Dummy 1*, $B = -0.03$, $SE = 0.08$; CI: -0.19; 0.14 and *Dummy 2*, $B = -0.01$, $SE = 0.08$;

CI: -0.17; 0.15. The model with the two mediators was significant $F(5, 184) = 18.52$; $p < .001$ and explained 33% in the variance of civic engagement intentions.

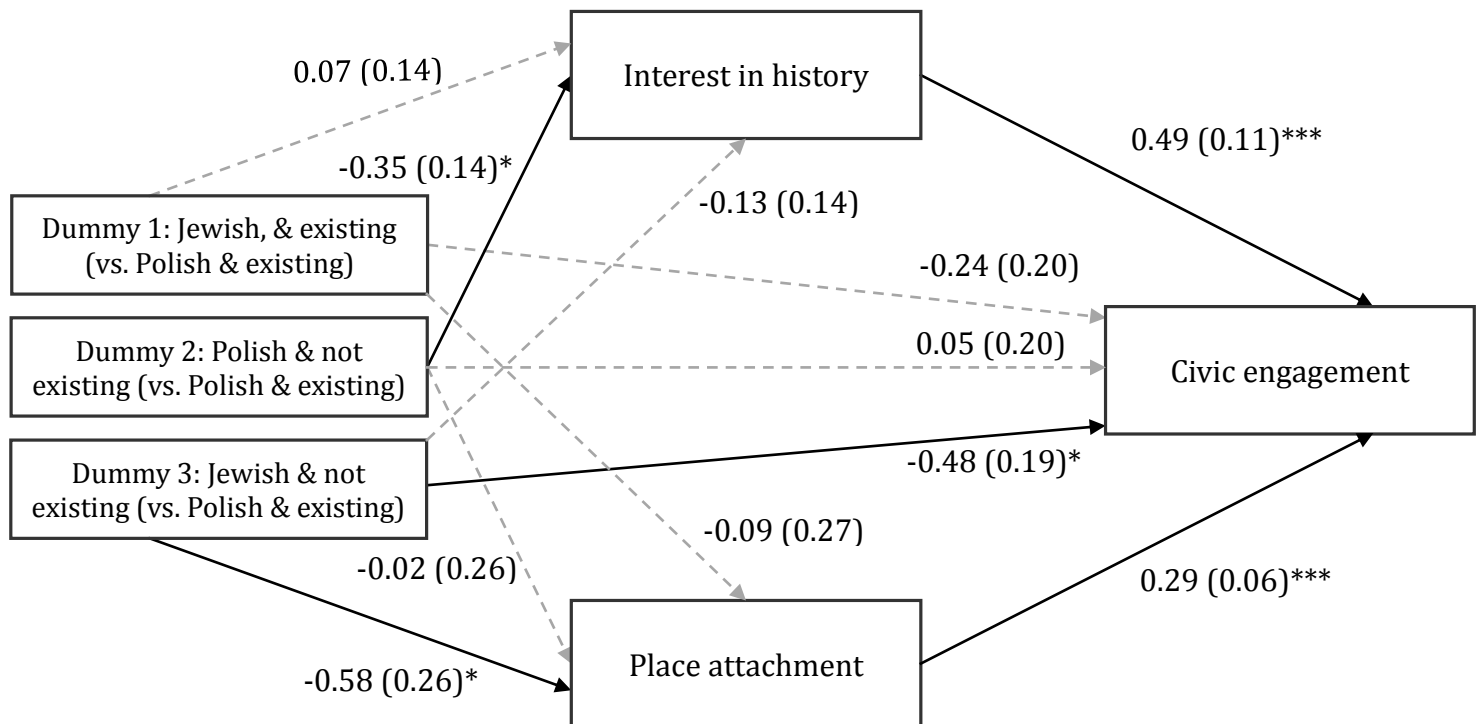


Figure 19. Parallel mediation of the influence of the experimental manipulation on civic engagement intentions through interest in local history and place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets.

* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

In the model with social trust as the outcome variable (see Figure 20) the influence of the experimental condition on the two mediators was identical as in the previous model. Dummy-coded condition 3 (Polish, not existing building, *Dummy 2*) exerted a significant negative effect on interest in local history, $B = -0.35$, $SE = 0.14$; CI: -0.63; -0.08. The other two conditions were not related to interest in local history ($ps > .211$). *Dummy 3* (Jewish, not existing building) was negatively related to place attachment ($B = -0.58$, $SE = 0.26$; CI: -1.10; -0.05), while the other experimental conditions did not relate to place attachment ($ps > .725$). Interest in history did not

relate to social trust, $B = 0.05$, $SE = 0.15$; CI: -0.24; 0.34, but place attachment was a positive and significant predictor $B = 0.17$, $SE = 0.08$; CI: 0.02; 0.33. None of the experimental conditions related to social trust: *Dummy 1*, $B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.28$; CI: -0.53; 0.56; *Dummy 2*, $B = -0.32$, $SE = 0.27$; CI: -0.86; 0.22; *Dummy 3*, $B = -0.38$, $SE = 0.28$; CI: -0.92; 0.17. Neither of the indirect effects via interest in history was significant: *Dummy 1*, $B = 0.004$, $SE = 0.03$; CI: -0.03; 0.10; *Dummy 2*, $B = -0.02$, $SE = 0.06$; CI: -0.16; 0.11; *Dummy 3*, $B = -0.01$, $SE = 0.03$; CI: -0.12; 0.04. And only *Dummy 3* (Jewish, not existing building condition) exerted negative indirect effect on social trust via decreased place attachment, $B = -0.10$, $SE = 0.01$; CI: -0.002; -0.001. The other two experimental

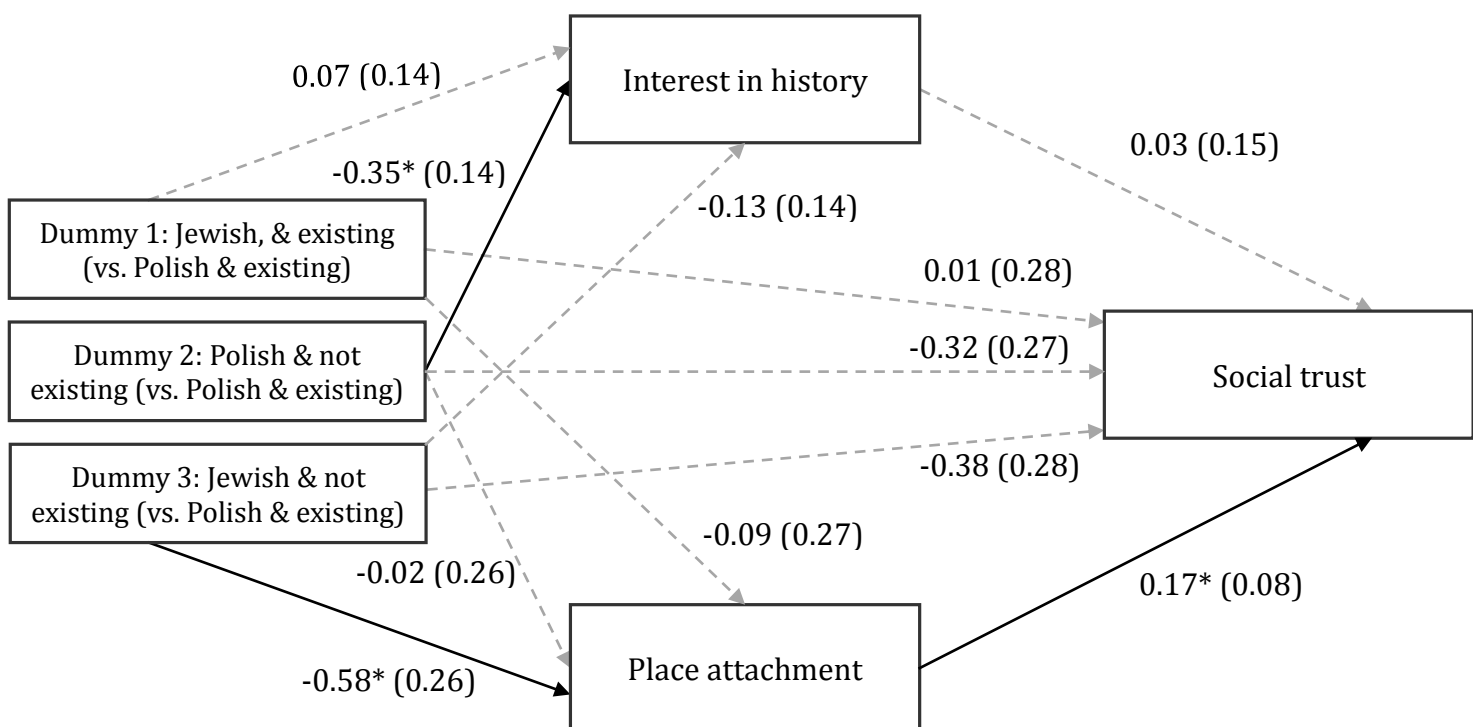


Figure 20. Parallel mediation of the influence of the experimental manipulation on social trust through interest in local history and place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets.

* $p < .05$

conditions did not have such indirect effects via place attachment: $B = -0.02$, $SE = 0.05$; $CI: -0.16; 0.07$ and $B = -0.003$, $SE = 0.05$; $CI: -0.13; 0.09$ for *Dummy 1* and *Dummy 2* respectively. The model with both of the mediators was marginally significant $F(5, 184) = 2.17$; $p = .059$, and explained 6% of the variance in social trust.

Discussion. The main aim of Study 6 was to test whether providing people with information about the still existing (or once existing) heritage of an outgroup in one's place of residence may influence the intergroup and place-related attitudes as it indirectly speaks about the presence of the outgroup and about its spatial proximity to the ingroup in the past. A sample of inhabitants of Warsaw was presented with information about historical buildings in the city that were either Polish (churches) or Jewish (synagogues) and either still existed or had been destroyed during World War II.

Existing heritage, regardless of its belonging to the Polish or the Jewish group, was associated with greater interest in local history, civic engagement intentions, and greater expressed social trust than not existing heritage. The fact that existing sites are more interesting than those that do not exist seems quite intuitive – they may be visited, explored, and are visible in the cityscape. The analysis of mediation revealed that those people who read about a Polish building that does not exist felt significantly less interested in local history and in turn were less likely to become civically engaged. Those who read about the not-existing Jewish building also felt less attached to their city and in turn declared lowered civic engagement intentions and social trust. The current data does not give ready answers as to why people were less likely to be civically active and were less trustful after reading about the buildings that do not exist anymore. However, it seems plausible that only when reading about the existing historical heritage, participants focused on the city as it is today and on its present needs. Reading

about buildings that are long gone was reflected in distancing from those needs and decreased levels of civic engagement intentions and social trust.

Civic engagement intentions were greater among people who read about Polish (and not about Jewish) heritage. This seems contrary to the effects found in the intervention studies where a consistent and positive effect of engaging with an outgroup's heritage was found on civic engagement. It is noteworthy that this effect was driven primarily by the very low levels of civic engagement intentions among people who read about a synagogue which was destroyed during World War II. This was confirmed by the mediational analysis, where a significant indirect effect was found meaning that reading about the destroyed synagogue lowered people's place attachment and was in turn related to lowered civic engagement intentions. It is possible that this particular story reminded research participants about the difficult Polish-Jewish history which still constitutes an obstacle in the relations between the two groups (e.g. Bilewicz & Jaworska, 2013) and caused them to feel less connected to the city and in turn to be less likely to become civically engaged in it. A short experimental study (as opposed to longer interventions) does not allow any space for properly addressing such difficult history. This assumption could be tested in future studies which would ideally contrast the reactions to heritage which is more or less associated with the problematic intergroup past.

The study results revealed a marginally significant effect of the ethnic affiliation of the presented building. Participants who read about Jewish heritage displayed slightly greater inclusion of Jewish people in the self than those who read about Polish heritage. Taking into account that this effect was a result of a very brief manipulation, it lends at least partial support to the idea that engaging with outgroup heritage in one's place of

residence may constitute a viable tool for prejudice reduction. Reading about historical heritage did not have any indirect effects (via interest in local history or inclusion of Jews in the self) on attitudes towards Jews. Still, once again inclusion of Jewish people in the self emerged as a positive and significant predictor of attitudes towards them.

Providing people with short information about local multicultural heritage (be it statistics and a description of the ethnic makeup of their city before World War II or a description of buildings associated with ethnic minorities) does not seem to be enough to significantly affect their intergroup and place-related attitudes. The last of the definitional elements of contact with a multicultural past – the active engagement with the local multicultural history – remained to be tested. Study 7 was designed to analyze the role of this last factor.

Study 7. The participants of the intervention studies had many opportunities to visit sites, learn about the history of particular buildings, and otherwise meaningfully engage with the multicultural history. This active engagement constitutes a crucial element of contact with a multicultural past. Studies 5 and 6 did not provide much support for the idea that simply presenting people with information about multicultural past or the material heritage of an outgroup should lead to improvement of attitudes towards one's place of residence or to intergroup attitudes. However, it remains possible that it is the active engagement in exploring the multicultural history that is necessary for these changes to occur.

Creating a situation where research participants in an experimental setting experience an active, personal engagement with multicultural history presents a challenge and necessitates simplification. For the purpose of Study 7, personal activity in exploring the multicultural past was operationalized as individually searching for

information on the internet and was contrasted with being provided with the same information about the history of an ethnic outgroup which used to live in one's place of residence in the form of a short text.

Similarly to the previous studies, I hypothesized that individual activity (searching for information) in exploring the multicultural history of one's place of residence should result in an improvement of attitudes towards Jewish people and the inclusion of Jewish people in the self. It should also lead to an increased interest in local history, place attachment, and social capital (as evidenced by greater civic engagement intentions and social trust). The same mechanisms were expected to be responsible for the observed changes. That is, improvement of attitudes towards Jewish people was expected to result from increased interest in local (multicultural) history and greater inclusion of Jewish people in the self, while increased levels of social capital (civic engagement intentions and social trust) were expected to result from increased interest in local history and place attachment.

Method. An experimental study was conducted among students of a middle and a high school in Suwałki, Poland. The city used to have a very large Jewish community before World War II, which constituted a numerical majority for some time (Ambrosiewicz, 2016; Eilender, no date; Spector & Wigoder, 2001). In an attempt to manipulate the individual engagement with this multicultural history, the students were asked to find answers to seven questions about the history of their city. Some of the students had to search for those answers by themselves on the internet (individual activity condition), while others were given a short text where all the required information could be easily found (information provided condition). Out of the seven

questions three were identical in all conditions and four pertained to the Jewish past of the city or only to the Polish past of the city (depending on the condition).

Participants. One hundred and forty six students participated in the experiment. There were 66 women (45.2%), 79 men (54.1%), 1 person did not indicate their gender. The students were between 14 and 18 years of age ($M = 15.49$; $SD = 1.28$). For the middle school students the headmaster of the school acquired a written permission from their parents for the participation in the study.

Procedure. The experiment was conducted during an IT class, entirely on computers using Qualtrics software. The participants were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions in a 2 (Polish vs. Jewish history of Suwałki) x 2 (Information about history provided vs. Individual search for information about history) factorial design. All participants were instructed that the study was about the history of Suwałki and about attitudes towards the city and were subsequently presented with the experimental manipulation (see Appendix D for the exact wording of the manipulation).

The participants were asked to answer seven questions about the history of Suwałki. The questions were pretested with four independent judges for the ease of finding their answers online. Three questions were identical in all conditions: “Who established Suwałki as a city and when did it happen?”; “To which country did Suwałki belong during the partitions of Poland?”; and “When did the German occupation of Suwałki during World War II end?” The other four questions were different depending on whether a given participant was assigned to the Jewish history or Polish history condition. In the Jewish history condition the participants were asked the following questions: “When did Jews begin to settle in Suwałki and how big of a part of the city’s population did they constitute in 1841?”; “When was the Great Synagogue in Suwałki

built?"; "Which minorities living in Suwałki in the 19th century made up the ethnic and religious mosaic of the city?"; and "What was the religious denomination of Lejb Mordkowicz Lejbman and how did he die?" In the Polish history condition the participants were asked the following questions: "How many brick houses were in Suwałki in 1827?"; "When was the St. Alexander church built?"; "What was the number of inhabitants of Suwałki in 1872?"; and "The Gallows Hill was a place of executions. Who was executed there?" The participants who were in the condition where historical information was provided were asked to read a text of 414 (Polish history) or 428 (Jewish history) words in which they could find all the information necessary to answer the seven questions, most of them were bolded for ease of finding. In the condition where participants were to search for the necessary information by themselves, they were asked to look for the answers to the seven questions on the internet, using search engines.

The participants were given 15 minutes to answer the seven questions, after the time elapsed those who had not finished answering the questions were asked to proceed with the rest of the study, a questionnaire identical for all the experimental conditions.

After completion of the questionnaire the participants were thanked, debriefed, and given an opportunity to enter a draw in which 10 vouchers for an online shop selling media products were distributed, with each voucher having a value of 50zł.

Measures. Unless otherwise indicated the measures used in Study 7 utilized a 5 point answering scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The full list of items is presented in Appendix E.

Attitudes towards Jews, interest in local history ($\alpha = .64$), civic engagement intentions ($\alpha = .70$), and social trust ($\alpha = .83$) were measured with the same items/scales as in Study 5.

Inclusion of the outgroup in the self was measured with the same 3-item scale as in Study 5 (Aberson & Hovansky, 2002; Bilewicz, 2008) but the outgroups about which the participants were asked were adjusted to the local context. They were Jews, Roma, Russians, and Lithuanians (the latter were filler items). Only the inclusion of Jewish people in the self was used in the analyses below. The scale proved reliable ($\alpha = .71$).

Place attachment was measured with full, 9-item scale of place attachment by Lewicka (2005, 2008). After recoding the 2 reverse-scored items, the scale showed good reliability ($\alpha = .88$) and hence the score on a full scale was used in the analyses.

Results. The answers to questions about history will be analyzed first followed by the results of a two-factor ANOVA and three analyses of mediation using the PROCESS macro with an extension for multicategorical independent variables (Hayes, 2013; Hayes & Preacher, 2014). Descriptive statistics and the results of a two-factor ANOVA with effect sizes are presented in Table 12 and the analysis of correlation between all measured variables in Table 13.

Each participant was asked to answer seven open-end questions (either based on the provided historical text, or based on information that they were able to find on the internet). The answers were then coded as true or false but also as reasonable (an answer was reasonable when it pertained to the question, even if it was false) or unreasonable (when the answer did not pertain to the question at all). The results of this assessment showed that the conditions in which the participants had to search for information were characterized by smaller numbers of correct answers ($M = 3.07$;

$SD = 1.55$) than those where the information was provided in the text ($M = 5.71$; $SD = 1.59$), $F(1, 142) = 105.03$; $p < .001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0.43$. There was no effect of the Polish-Jewish dimension of history, $F(1, 142) = 2.03$; $p = .157$ and no interaction of the two factors, $F(1, 142) = 0.12$; $p = .725$. The same pattern was found with regard to the reasonability of the answers which was higher in the conditions in which information was provided for the participants ($M = 6.33$; $SD = 1.34$) than when they had to search for it themselves ($M = 5.04$; $SD = 1.78$), $F(1, 142) = 61.05$; $p < .001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0.15$. There were no effects of the Polish-Jewish dimension of history, $F(1, 142) = 0.38$; $p = .537$ and no interaction effect $F(1, 142) = 0.01$; $p = .922$.

The experimental manipulation did have a significant effect on students' attitudes. Working on topics related to Jewish history was associated with significantly more positive attitudes towards Jewish people, than working on historical topics that were only related to Polish history (see Table 12). A very consistent negative effect of undertaking own activity in searching for information (vs. being provided with it) emerged. The students who had to find answers to the seven questions about history consequently showed less interest in local history, smaller place attachment, less inclusion of Jewish people in the self, more negative attitudes towards them and less social trust. All variables in the model were positively and significantly correlated with one another. The correlations ranged from weak to strong, the strongest being the ones between civic engagement and place attachment, and between attitudes towards Jews and inclusion of Jews in the self (see Table 13).

Table 12

Means and standard deviations in 4 experimental conditions and the results of a two-factor ANOVA with effect sizes

Variable	Condition 1 <i>M (SD)</i>	Condition 2 <i>M (SD)</i>	Condition 3 <i>M (SD)</i>	Condition 4 <i>M (SD)</i>	Main effects				Interaction	
					Group		Own Activity		Group x Own Activity	
					<i>F</i>	η_p^2	<i>F</i>	η_p^2	<i>F</i>	η_p^2
1. Interest	3.66 (0.66) ^a	3.69 (0.64) ^b	3.30 (0.84) ^a	3.32 (0.65) ^b	0.06	< 0.001	9.88**	0.07	0.001	< 0.001
2. Attitudes	44.06 (27.12)	57.45 (29.06)	36.42 (27.63)	44.91 (25.30)	5.83*	0.04	4.95*	0.03	0.29	0.002
3. IOS (Jews)	2.30 (1.01)	2.54 (0.86)	2.00 (0.90)	2.06 (0.82)	1.04	0.01	6.82*	0.05	0.52	0.003
4. Place attachment	3.59 (0.44)	3.56 (0.44)	3.44 (0.45)	3.35 (0.45)	0.67	0.01	5.97*	0.04	0.12	0.001
5. Civic engagement	3.10 (1.01)	3.06 (0.85)	2.84 (1.01)	2.90 (0.69)	0.004	< 0.001	1.96	0.01	0.08	0.001
6. Social trust	3.20 (0.93)	3.14 (0.88)	2.97 (1.01)	2.73 (0.93)	0.93	0.007	4.27*	0.03	0.37	0.003

Note. Condition 1 = Polish history, information given; Condition 2 = Jewish history, information given; Condition 3 = Polish history, active searching; Condition 4 = Jewish history, active searching. Group = Polish vs. Jewish history; Own activity = students received information vs. had to search for it. Interest = interest in history; Knowledge = knowledge of history; Attitudes = attitudes towards Jews; IOS = inclusion of others (Jews) in the self. In each row the means that are significantly different are marked with the same letter.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 13

Correlations between all variables in the study

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Interest		.20*	.24**	.36***	.46***	.43***
2. Attitudes			.49***	.25**	.23**	.21*
3. IOS (Jews)				.24**	.33***	.18*
4. Place attachment					.54***	.33***
5. Civic engagement						.37***
6. Social trust						

Note. Interest = interest in history; Attitudes = attitudes towards Jews; IOS = inclusion of others (Jews) in the self.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

The hypothesized indirect effects of the experimental manipulation were tested using the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) with an extension for multicategorical independent variables (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). The experimental conditions were dummy coded (the coding was the same in all three analyses described below) in such a way that Condition 1 (Polish history; historical information given) was the reference category. *Dummy 1* compared Condition 2 (Jewish history; information given), *Dummy 2* compared Condition 3 (Polish history; individual search for information), and *Dummy 3* compared Condition 4 (Jewish history; individual search for information) to the reference category.

In the model with attitudes towards Jews as the outcome variable, two mediators of the influence of the experimental condition were tested: interest in local history and inclusion of Jewish people in the self (see Figure 21). Both of the conditions in which the participants had to search for historical information negatively related to interest in

local history (*Dummy 2*: $B = -0.36$, $SE = 0.16$; CI: -0.69; -0.04 and *Dummy 3*: $B = -0.33$, $SE = 0.17$; CI: -0.67; -0.01) while the condition in which information about the Jewish history of Suwałki was provided did not relate to interest in history (*Dummy 1*: $B = 0.03$, $SE = 0.16$; CI: -0.29; 0.35). The dummy-coded experimental conditions had no influence on place attachment ($ps > .17$). Interest in local history was not related to attitudes towards Jews, $B = 2.79$, $SE = 2.98$; CI: -3.10; 8.68 but inclusion of Jews in the self was a positive and significant predictor of attitudes towards them, $B = 13.36$, $SE = 2.32$; CI: -3.10; 8.68. Neither of the dummy-coded experimental conditions influenced attitudes towards Jews (*Dummy 1*: $B = 9.98$, $SE = 5.76$; CI: -1.40; 21.36; *Dummy 2*: $B = -2.68$, $SE = 5.84$; CI: -14.23; 8.87; *Dummy 3*: $B = 4.98$, $SE = 5.94$; CI: -6.76; 16.72). The indirect effects of the experimental manipulation on attitudes towards Jews via interest in history were not significant (*Dummy 1*: $B = 0.09$, $SE = 0.62$; CI: -0.74; 2.05; *Dummy 2*: $B = -1.01$, $SE = 1.28$; CI: -4.80; 0.72; *Dummy 3*: $B = -0.94$, $SE = 1.15$; CI: -4.16; 0.66). Neither were the indirect effects via place attachment, *Dummy 1*: $B = 3.32$, $SE = 2.99$; CI: -2.26; 9.45; *Dummy 2*: $B = -3.94$, $SE = 3.12$; CI: -10.69; 1.82; *Dummy 3*: $B = -3.18$, $SE = 3.00$; CI: -9.61; 2.51. The model with both of the mediators was significant $F(5, 140) = 10.44$; $p < .001$ and explained 27% of the variance in attitudes towards Jews.

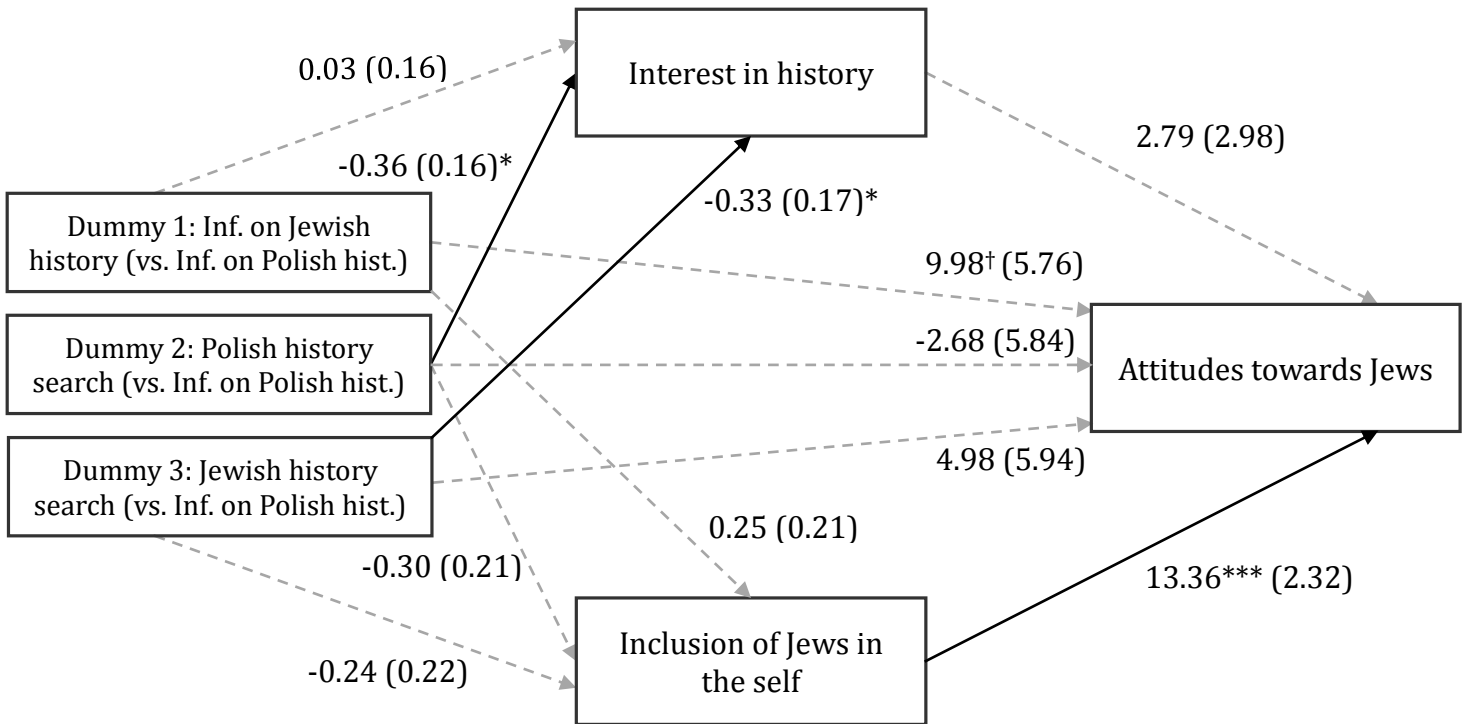


Figure 21. Parallel mediation of the influence of the experimental manipulation on attitudes towards Jews through interest in local history and inclusion of Jewish people in the self. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. Inf. = information provided.

† $p < .09$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Next, the indirect influence of the experimental manipulation via interest in local history and place attachment on the indicators of local social capital was assessed. In the model with civic engagement intentions as the outcome variable (see Figure 22), like in the preceding analysis, searching for information about the Polish (*Dummy 2*: $B = -0.36$, $SE = 0.16$; $CI: -0.69; -0.04$) or Jewish (*Dummy 3*: $B = -0.33$, $SE = 0.17$; $CI: -0.67; -0.01$) history of Suwałki was associated with a decreased declared interest in local history, as compared for being provided with information about Polish history. Being provided with information about the Jewish past (*Dummy 1*: $B = 0.03$, $SE = 0.16$; $CI: -0.29; 0.36$) had no effect on interest in history. Searching for information about Jewish history was associated with decreased place attachment (*Dummy 3*: $B = -0.24$, $SE = 0.11$;

CI: -0.45; -0.03), while the other two dummy-coded experimental conditions had no effect on place attachment ($ps > .141$). Both interest in local history, $B = 0.39$, $SE = 0.09$; CI: 0.21; 0.57 and place attachment, $B = 0.88$, $SE = 0.14$; CI: 0.59; 1.16 were positive and significant predictors of civic engagement intentions, while none of the experimental conditions had any effect on it (*Dummy 1*: $B = -0.02$, $SE = 0.17$; CI: -0.35; 0.32; *Dummy 2*: $B = 0.03$, $SE = 0.17$; CI: -0.32; 0.37; *Dummy 3*: $B = 0.14$, $SE = 0.18$; CI: -0.21; 0.49). Both of the experimental conditions that required research participants to search for historical information by themselves exerted negative indirect effects on civic engagement intention by way of reducing interest in local history (*Dummy 2*: $B = -0.14$, $SE = 0.09$; CI: -0.36; -0.01 and *Dummy 3*: $B = -0.13$, $SE = 0.07$; CI: -0.32; -0.02), while the indirect effect of being provided with information about Jewish history was not significant, *Dummy 1*: $B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.06$; CI: -0.11; 0.14. The experimental condition in which the participants had to search for information about Jewish heritage of their city (*Dummy 3*) also had an indirect negative effect on civic engagement intentions via reduced place attachment, $B = -0.21$, $SE = 0.10$; CI: -0.43; -0.04. The other two dummy-coded experimental conditions had no indirect effects on civic engagement (*Dummy 1*: $B = -0.03$, $SE = 0.09$; CI: -0.21; 0.15; *Dummy 2*: $B = -0.14$, $SE = 0.09$; CI: -0.33; 0.04). The model with both of the mediators was significant $F(5, 140) = 10.44$; $p < .001$ and explained 27% of the variance in civic engagement intentions.

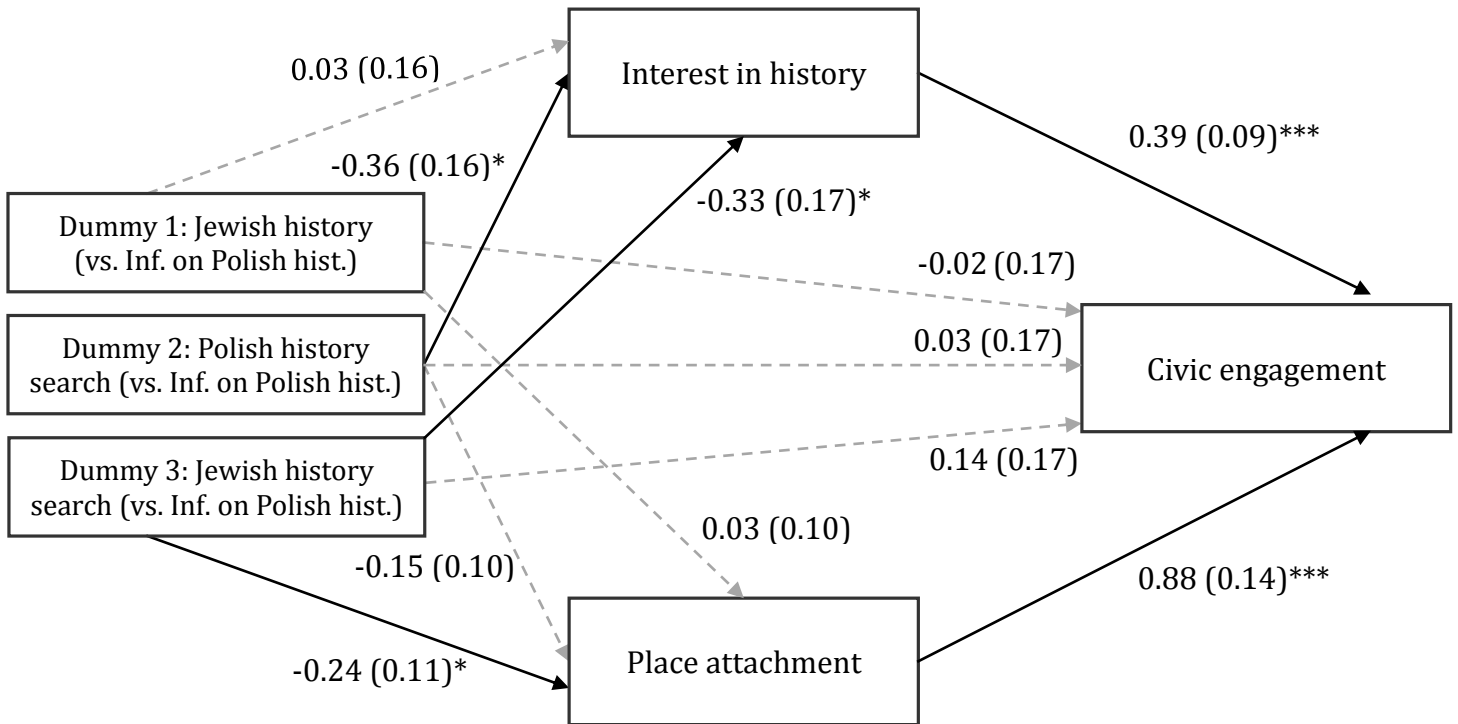


Figure 22. Parallel mediation of the influence of the experimental manipulation on civic engagement intentions through interest in local history and place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. Inf. = information provided. * $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

In the model with social trust as the outcome variable (see Figure 23), the association between the dummy-coded experimental conditions and the two mediators were identical as in the model for civic engagement. Interest in local history, $B = 0.47$, $SE = 0.11$; $CI: 0.25; 0.68$ and place attachment, $B = 0.39$, $SE = 0.17$; $CI: 0.06; 0.73$ were positive and significant predictors of social trust, but neither of the experimental conditions had any effect on it (*Dummy 1*: $B = -0.05$, $SE = 0.20$; $CI: -0.45; 0.34$; *Dummy 2*: $B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.20$; $CI: -0.39; 0.40$; *Dummy 3*: $B = -0.22$, $SE = 0.21$; $CI: -0.63; 0.19$). Both of the experimental conditions that required research participants to search for historical information by themselves exerted negative indirect effects on social trust by reducing interest in local history (*Dummy 2*: $B = -0.17$, $SE = 0.09$; $CI: -0.40; -0.02$ and *Dummy 3*:

$B = -0.16, SE = 0.08; CI: -0.36; -0.03$), while the indirect effect of being provided with information about Jewish history was not significant, *Dummy 1*: $B = 0.02, SE = 0.07; CI: -0.13; 0.17$. The experimental condition in which participants had to search for information about Jewish heritage of their city (*Dummy 3*) exerted an indirect negative effect on social trust via place attachment, $B = -0.09, SE = 0.06; CI: -0.27; -0.01$. The other two dummy-coded experimental conditions had no indirect effects on social trust (*Dummy 1*: $B = -0.01, SE = 0.04; CI: -0.12; 0.06$; *Dummy 2*: $B = -0.06, SE = 0.05; CI: -0.20; 0.01$). The model with both of the mediators was significant $F(5, 140) = 8.42; p < .001$ and explained 23% of the variance in social trust.

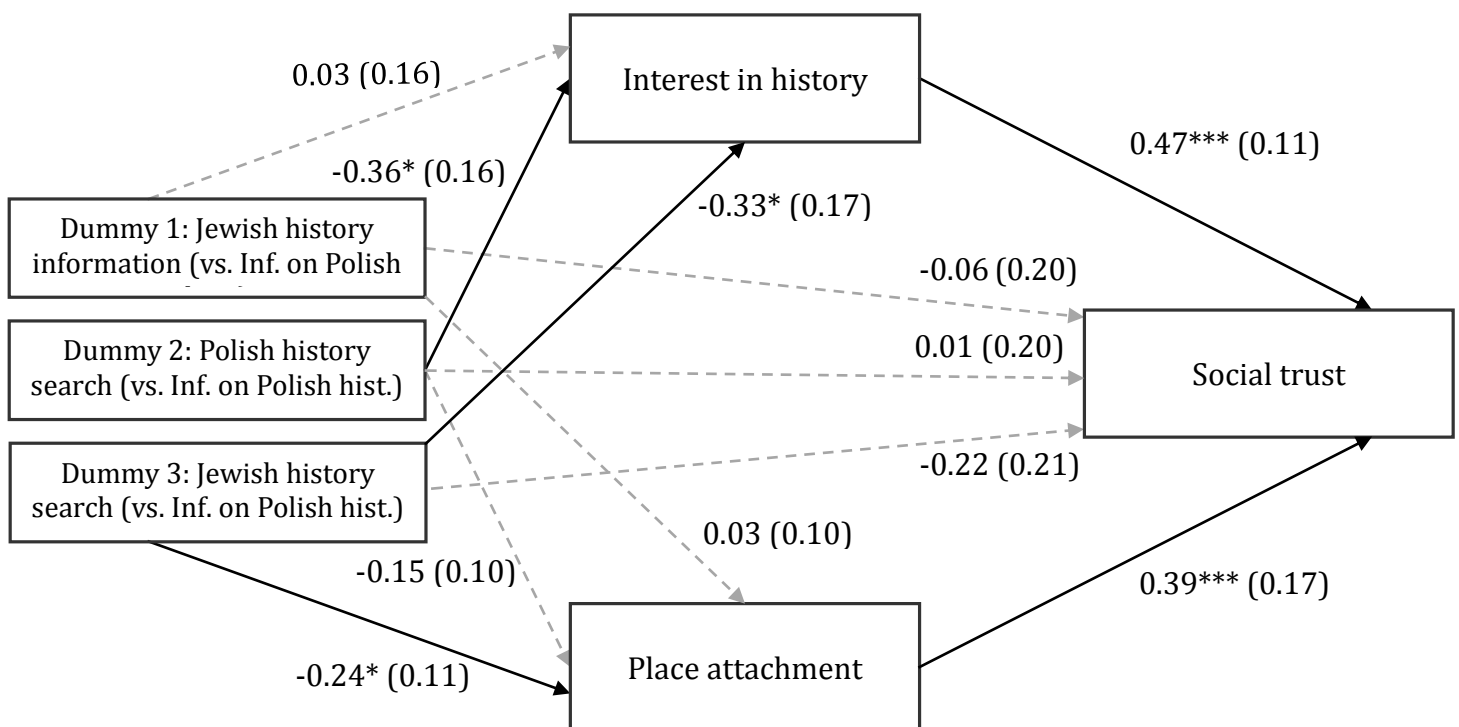


Figure 23. Parallel mediation of the influence of the experimental manipulation on social trust through interest in local history and place attachment. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in brackets. Inf. = information provided. Dash lines are used for relations that are not significant.

* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

Discussion. The main aim of Study 7 was to investigate the role of individual activity in gathering information about the multicultural history of one's place of residence on intergroup and place-related attitudes. Participants of the study – students from a medium-sized city in Poland (Suwałki) - were randomly assigned to conditions in which they either received a short text describing the history of their city (without reference to any minorities, or describing the history of the Jewish minority) or had to search for the same information that was presented in the text by individually engaging in an internet search.

The results showed a significant and positive main effect of engaging with information about Jewish history on attitudes towards Jews. Students who engaged with Jewish history of their city displayed significantly more positive attitudes towards Jewish people, as compared to those who engaged with the history of their city which did not mention the Jewish community. It is intriguing that students in the condition where information about the historical Jewish community of Suwałki was provided showed the most positive attitudes towards Jews. The experimental manipulation did not have any indirect effects on attitudes towards Jews. However, as in all previous studies, the analysis of mediation showed a positive and significant relation between including Jews in the self and attitudes towards them. Moreover, a similar association was also found for interest in local history: students who declared greater historical interest had more positive feelings towards Jews. This corroborates the results found in Oświęcim where interest in local history was also associated with more positive intergroup attitudes among inhabitants (Wójcik et al., 2011).

A very consistent negative main effect of actively searching for information (vs. being given information) about the history of one's city was found for all of the measured variables, with the exception of the measure of civic engagement, came out

unexpected. Students who had to look for the answers to the questions about the history of Suwałki by themselves (on the internet) tended to subsequently declare lower interest in the history of their city, decreased place attachment, and social trust, more negative attitudes towards Jews and decreased inclusion of Jews in the self. This was a main effect not qualified by any interaction, which means that it occurred regardless of whether the history which was being explored was Polish or Jewish. Hence, it is possible that being forced (in the situation of the experiment) to exert extra effort in order to fulfil a task may have a negative effect which shows in generally less positive attitudes. A support for this contention comes from the fact that students in the “searching” condition gave fewer correct answers (regardless of whether they searched for Polish or Jewish history) and their answers more often did not pertain to the questions that were asked. It may be the case that the task was too difficult for the students, which resulted in the negative attitudinal outcomes. It is also possible that being given a complex task to be solved in a relatively short time (15 minutes) led to experiencing difficulties and uneasiness, and hence evoked negative emotions. The significance of temporary mood (be it positive or negative) for evaluations and judgements has been shown by Schwartz and colleagues (Schwartz et al., 1991; Schwartz & Clore, 1983; Schwartz, Servay, & Kumpf, 1985).

The analyses of indirect effects of the experimental manipulation on social capital indicators showed that searching for historical information (either about Polish or Jewish history) led to decreased interest in the local history and in turn to lowered civic engagement intentions and decreased social trust. Besides, searching for information regarding the history of the Jewish community of Suwałki (but not other conditions) exerted a negative effect on civic engagement intentions and social trust by way of decreasing place attachment.

Taken together, these results show that, as predicted, engaging with Jewish history was associated with more positive intergroup attitudes among Polish youth in Suwałki. Furthermore, the young people seemed to have reacted to the task of searching for correct answers to historical questions about their town rather negatively which showed both in their less correct and less meaningful answers, but also in generally more negative attitudes – both towards Jewish people and towards their own city. The hypothesized indirect effects were not supported.

Meta-analyses of the Intervention and Experimental Studies

Following the main analyses of the intervention and experimental studies, I decided to additionally summarize and compare the obtained results by way of performing two meta-analyses. Such an approach allows to test the reliability of the reported results and to investigate the overall effects of contact with a multicultural past vs. experimental manipulations that utilize multicultural history. The results are presented first for the intervention studies and followed by the analysis of the experimental studies' effects.

Results of the meta-analysis of intervention studies. The three intervention studies mostly utilized the same measurement tools with only minor changes between the studies and they assessed the effects of experiencing contact with a multicultural past on attitudes towards Jewish people and on attitudes towards one's place of residence. Hence the mean effect of the intervention on each variable of interest was assessed.

The meta-analytic results were computed using a fixed effects model and following the strategy outlined in Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, and Rothstein (2009),

Lipsey and Wilson (2001), and Johnson and Eagly (2000). Effect sizes for the mean difference between measurements pre- and post-intervention were calculated for all the variables that were used in at least 2 of the studies (i.e. they were not calculated for perspective taking which was only used in Study 3), that is for: interest in local history, knowledge of local history, attitudes towards Jewish people, inclusion of Jewish people in the self, place attachment, civic engagement intentions, and social trust (only measured in Studies 2 and 3). Hedges' (1981) corrected Cohen's d was used as an indicator of the effect size. Table 14 presents these effect sizes with 95% confidence intervals and their statistical significance. As the number of studies ($N = 3$) is very low the heterogeneity of effects was not investigated.

The meta-analysis revealed that the changes in attitudes observed as a result of experiencing contact with a multicultural past were significant and positive for all of the measured variables. The effect of the intervention on subjectively evaluated knowledge of Jewish history can be interpreted as large and the one for interest in local history as medium in strength (Cohen, 1988). The effects for the other variables were all significant, but small in size with the smallest change observed on the measure of social trust.

Table 14

Meta-analytic test of the influence of experiencing contact with a multicultural past across 3 intervention studies. Effect sizes with tests of significance are presented

Variable	Cohen's <i>d</i>	95% CI	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>
1. Interest in local history	0.51	0.44; 0.57	16.07	<.001
2. Knowledge of Jewish history	0.93	0.87; 1.00	28.41	<.001
3. Attitudes towards Jews	0.31	0.25; 0.37	10.00	<.001
4. IOS (Jews)	0.21	0.15; 0.27	6.78	<.001
5. Place attachment	0.27	0.22; 0.34	8.90	<.001
6. Civic engagement	0.21	0.15; 0.27	6.80	<.001
7. Social trust	0.08	0.02; 0.15	2.393	.017

Note. Hedges' (1981) correction for overestimation of population effect size was used.

These results confirm the validity of contact with a multicultural past as a tool for building more positive intergroup attitudes and stimulating positive and pro-active attitudes towards one's place of residence. The fact that the effects for knowledge of and interest in local history emerged as the largest is not surprising, as local Jewish history was the main focus of the intervention and engaging with the multicultural history is a definitional element of contact with a multicultural past. The very small, though statistically significant effect found for generalized social trust is also in line with my earlier intuition that the measure of social trust would be likely to show stronger effects if the students were asked about trust towards people in the local community (e.g. Lewicka, 2009). At the same time it confirms that contact with a multicultural past may have the hypothesized spillover effect and thus seems to translate to more general social attitudes.

Results of the meta-analysis of experimental studies. The three experiments were conducted in aim to verify which of the definitional elements of contact with a multicultural past are particularly pertinent to the observed changes in attitudes. The experiments utilized different designs but very similar (and in many cases identical) measures and shared the crucial element of manipulating information about the historical presence of an outgroup in one's place of residence. Therefore I decided to assess the overall role of experimentally manipulating the awareness/salience of local multicultural history. In aim to do so I conducted a meta-analysis of the effects of providing research participants with information about the historical presence of an outgroup in their place of residence on attitudes towards that outgroup and attitudes towards the place of residence.

In each of the experimental studies the experimental conditions were recoded to reflect this basic distinction. Specifically, in Study 5 the experimental conditions were recoded into: Polish history of Warsaw vs. Jewish history of Warsaw (composed of both conditions where information about the Jewish community in Warsaw was provided). In Study 6, the two conditions where church buildings were presented were recoded into one condition (Polish heritage), and the two conditions in which synagogues were presented were also recoded into one condition (Jewish heritage). In Study 7, the conditions in which students were answering questions about the Jewish community in Suwałki were recoded into one condition (Jewish history) and the conditions in which students answered questions about the history of Suwałki without references to minorities were also recoded into one condition (Polish history).

As in the meta-analysis of the effects of the intervention studies, also in this analysis the results were computed using a fixed effects model (Borenstein et al., 2009;

Lipsey & Wilson, 2001; Johnson & Eagly, 2000). Effect sizes for the mean difference between groups that were exposed to Jewish vs. Polish history were calculated for all variables used in the three studies, that is for: interest in local history, attitudes towards Jewish people, inclusion of Jewish people in the self, place attachment, civic engagement intentions, and social trust. Hedges' (1981) corrected Cohen's d was used as an indicator of the effect size. Table 15 presents the effect sizes with 95% confidence intervals and their statistical significance. Also in this analysis, due to low number of studies ($N = 3$) heterogeneity of effects was not investigated.

The results of the meta-analytic review of the effects of the three experimental studies showed that being exposed to Jewish history did not affect participants' interest in local history, place attachment, civic engagement intentions, and levels of generalized social trust. However, a significant and positive effect, though small in magnitude, was found for the measure of inclusion of Jewish people in the self. People exposed to information about Jewish history tended to perceive Jewish people to be significantly closer to their own self than those who were exposed to Polish history of their places of residence without any reference to historical ethnic diversity. A marginally significant effect ($p = 0.054$) was also found on the measure of attitudes towards Jewish people. Participants exposed to information about Jewish history of their places of residence tended to have slightly more positive attitudes towards Jewish people (as compared to people only exposed to ethnically Polish history).

Table 15

Meta-analytic test of the influence of providing information about Jewish history of one's place of residence across 3 experimental studies. Effect sizes with tests of significance are presented

Variable	Cohen's <i>d</i>	95% CI	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>
1. Interest in local history	0.08	-0.07; 0.23	1.075	.282
2. Attitudes towards Jews	0.15	-0.003; 0.30	1.925	.054
3. IOS (Jews)	0.21	0.06; 0.35	2.687	.007
4. Place attachment	-0.07	-0.22; 0.08	-0.915	.358
5. Civic engagement	-0.07	-0.22; 0.08	-0.881	.360
6. Social trust	0.01	-0.14; 0.15	0.083	.933

Note. Hedges' (1981) correction for overestimation of population effect size was used.

These results show that the effects of providing people with information about the multicultural past of their places of residence in brief, short experimental manipulations are small and many of them emerge as insignificant. The experiments presented in this thesis did not exhibit any of the systematic, positive effects that contact with a multicultural past exerted in its full form on place-related attitudes and social capital indicators. Yet even the brief experimental manipulations were enough to produce a small, but significant effect of perceiving greater similarity and closeness between oneself and members of an ethnic outgroup and (marginally) liking them more. This speaks to the potential of using historical ethnic diversity as a tool for prejudice reduction.

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusions

This thesis introduced and provided a thorough empirical test of a new type of indirect intergroup contact: contact with a multicultural past. Being grounded in the psychology of intergroup relations and intergroup contact theory, on the one hand, and environmental psychology, on the other, this new type of contact constitutes an extension of the body of knowledge dedicated to improving intergroup relations by way of utilizing social psychological processes. It assumes that discovering the history of an ethnic outgroup that used to live in one's place of residence and actively engaging with the heritage of that group comprises an experience similar to other kinds of indirect intergroup contact. As such it may be used as a prejudice reducing tool in places where direct intergroup contact may not be an option due to ethnic homogeneity of the population or segregation.

Taking into account the limitations of purely experimental laboratory studies (e.g. Bar-Tal, 2004; Dovidio et al., 2010; Paluck & Green, 2009) as well as the insufficiency of real-world intervention assessments (e.g. Paluck & Green, 2009; Stephan & Stephan, 2001; Stephan & Vogt, 2004) the research program presented in this thesis combined three different methodologies. Of the 7 presented studies, 3 were quantitative intervention studies, 1 was a qualitative (and quantitative) content analysis, and 3 were experimental studies (2 of them utilized an online sample, while the participants of the third one were secondary and high school students). A total of $N = 2,924$ participants took part in the quantitative (i.e. intervention and experimental) studies. Below I summarize the main findings of this extensive research program.

Summary of the Main Findings and Discussion

In a series of 3 quantitative intervention studies carried out among participants of an anti-prejudice educational program that utilized the contact with a multicultural past framework I found evidence for the effectiveness of this method as a tool for intergroup attitude improvement and stimulating stronger and more pro-active bonds with one's place of residence. In accordance with Hypothesis 1, students who experienced contact with a multicultural past consequently showed significant improvement of attitudes towards Jewish people and greater inclusion of Jews in the self. They were better able to take the perspective of a Jewish persons showed increased interest in local history and place attachment as well as a positive change in local civic engagement intentions and generalized social trust.

These positive changes confirm the validity of contact with a multicultural past as a tool for improving intergroup attitudes thus placing it among other indirect contact types (Mazziotta et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2008; Wright et al., 1997). The attitude improvement following contact with a multicultural past was confirmed also by the qualitative analyses (Study 4). In over 10% of the letters written by the intervention participants, who were not explicitly prompted to reflect on their own attitudes towards Jews in the letters, the authors expressed that their attitudes towards Jews improved as a consequence of the program. Additionally, the meta-analysis of the experimental results (i.e. of Studies 5, 6, and 7) showed that providing research participants with information about the multicultural past of their places of residence had a positive effect on perceiving Jewish people as closer to one's self and a (marginally significant) positive effect on attitudes towards Jews. While the experimental results were much less consistent than those of the intervention studies, the outcome that reminding (or informing) people about the historical presence of ethnic outgroups in their places of

residence leads to an improvement of attitudes towards those groups appears convincing in their particular contexts. The results of all three types of studies together converge to show that historical ethnic diversity may in fact be successfully utilized for prejudice reduction and to stimulate more positive intergroup relations in the present. In places like Poland, where direct intergroup contact is rare (Stefaniak & Witkowska, 2015) such indirect forms of encountering “the other” may constitute a necessary prerequisite for building a society that is more open towards and more accepting of various minorities.

Since the proposed type of contact is strongly rooted in the local context it has been shown to also affect both the interest in local history (Devine-Wright, 2001; Lewicka, 2005, 2014) and the emotional bonds that people maintain with their places of residence (e.g. Low & Altman, 1992; Scannel & Gifford, 2010). As evidenced by the mediational analyses of the intervention studies’ results, an increased interest in local history is associated with increased place attachment. These results constitute the first non-correlational evidence for the possibility of building place attachment and social capital by way of increasing people’s interest in local history (as postulated in Lewicka, 2014). Interest in local history would therefore seem to be of importance for shaping the attitudes of current residents, as well as for the development of place attachment in newcomers. In the era of growing mobility, it is important to explore new ways to establish roots, such as creating a sense of rootedness by familiarizing oneself with the local history. As research in self-continuity shows, a perceived link with the historical past through objects and places constitutes an important aspect of people’s identity (Burriss & Rempel, 2008), including place identity. Contact with a multicultural past, by stimulating knowledge of and interest in local history constitutes a tool for strengthening place-related identity.

Investigation of the mechanisms responsible for the observed changes in attitudes revealed that the improvement of attitudes towards Jews was a result of building a greater sense of closeness between oneself and Jews (inclusion of an outgroup in the self) and perspective taking (only investigated in Study 3) but also of increased interest in local (multicultural) history. Thus Hypotheses 2b, 2c, and 2d were supported. Experiencing contact with a multicultural past led the participants to perceive Jews as being significantly closer to their self and to be better able to imagine the world as a Jewish person may see it which were both related to greater improvement of attitudes towards Jews. Inclusion of an outgroup in the self and perspective taking have respectively been established as mediators of extended and direct intergroup contact respectively (shown for instance in Turner et al. 2008 and Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). The fact that these mechanisms emerged as mediators of contact with a multicultural past lends further credence to it as an indirect form of intergroup contact and shows that it operates in much the same way as the established forms of contact. Moreover, in the Polish context where Jews constitute a little-known but highly disliked minority (e.g. Sułek, 2012; Winiewski & Bilewicz, 2015), such effects are particularly important as they show that properly conducted education may impact deeply rooted and common prejudice.

The fact that interest in local history also constituted an important source of intergroup attitude improvement further validates the contention that engaging with and becoming interested in the historical presence of outgroup(s) in one's place of residence can be a method for attitude improvement. As such it corroborates the earlier findings of correlational studies whereby interest in local history was a significant correlate of more positive attitudes towards outgroups (Wójcik et al., 2010; Wójcik et al., 2011). Interestingly, knowledge of local multicultural history, while being significantly

affected by the intervention (i.e. the students assessed their knowledge as significantly greater after engaging in contact with a multicultural past) did not mediate its influence on attitudes towards Jews (in models where the other mediators were also included) – and so Hypothesis 2a did not find empirical support. This shows that simply knowing about the multicultural past without developing a keen interest in it, is not enough to impact on attitudes towards the historically present “other”. This caveat is corroborated by the results of the three experimental studies presented above, which primarily relied on providing knowledge and whose results were significantly weaker than those of the intervention studies.

An investigation of the mechanisms by which experiencing contact with a multicultural past influences local social capital showed that increased interest in local history together with increased place attachment were both associated with increases in civic engagement intention. Place attachment (but not interest in history) was also significantly associated with increased social trust. The intervention did not exert significant influence on social trust via increased interest in local history, which is understandable if one considers that the participants were asked whether they trusted people in general (as suggested by Putnam, 2000), which constitutes a measure somewhat independent of the local context. Based on the results obtained by Lewicka (2009) it may be assumed that this relationship would have been significant if the participants were asked about their trust in the members of the local community. However, this remains to be tested. As I have shown above, interest in local history was related to greater emotional attachment to one’s place of residence and in turn to greater civic engagement intentions and increased social trust. These results supported Hypotheses 3a (with the exception of direct influence of interest in history on social trust), 3b, and 3c.

A number of factors contributing to the creation of social capital (Bourdieu 1983; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000; Putnam, et al., 1994, for a review see Halpern, 2005) have been identified, most notably participation in variable social networks (e.g. Erickson & Cote, 2008); adherence to the norms of reciprocity (e.g. Portes, 1998); and membership in associations (e.g. Stolle & Lewis, 2002; Wollebæk, & Selle, 2003). The research presented in this thesis contributes to the understanding of the place-related determinants of social capital by showing that interest in local history may lead to greater civic engagement and social trust – both by itself and by increasing people’s place attachment. This result has practical implications, especially in the light of extremely low civic engagement and social trust in Poland (Growiec & Growiec, 2011; Żukowski & Theiss, 2008). Engagement with local history was shown to improve both of these outcomes. Regrettably, the majority of history lessons at school pertain to national and world history, and not much (if any) space is left to teaching local history. Active teaching and learning methods are also rarely used. In light of my results, I would advise history teachers to include local topics in the curriculum and to attempt to activate their students in search for knowledge, because these processes stimulate place attachment and local social capital.

The significant serial mediation of the influence of contact with a multicultural past on civic engagement intentions and social trust via interest in local history and place attachment found in Studies 2 and 3 constitutes the first empirical test of the influence of interest in local history on social capital indicators via increased place attachment. This result extends the reasoning of Lewicka (2014) – i.e. that interest in local history may be a mechanism of building stronger place attachment – by showing that increased place attachment positively affects social capital.

Apart from the indirect effects via increased place attachment, interest in local history stood as a direct predictor of the motivation to be involved in local issues. This corroborates the earlier studies by Lewicka (2005) but also makes one consider the theoretical value of this construct for broader environmental programs. The presented data suggest that by making people aware of the history of their places of residence it is possible to increase their motivation to act on behalf of those places in the future.

It is also important to consider the intervention studies' participants – middle and high school students between the ages of 14 and 19 – who constitute the part of the Polish population with the lowest interest in history (Lewicka, 2012) and the lowest social capital (Żukowski & Theiss, 2008). In addition to that, young people are by no means free from antisemitic attitudes (e.g. Bilewicz & Wójcik, 2009). In light of this, the fact that the intervention was successful at changing their intergroup attitudes but also at increasing place attachment, interest in history, generalized social trust, and the willingness to become civically engaged in such a sample is quite inspiring. This is especially the case, because civic engagement in adolescence constitutes one of the most significant factors shaping adult civic engagement (Youniss et al., 1999; Zaff et al., 2008) and a similar relationship has also been proposed for the development of social trust (Uslaner, 2000). Teaching local history can thus become a new, important tool for improving the quality of community life in the future.

A comparison between the intervention participants and the control group (Study 3) showed that while the former displayed the expected positive changes in attitudes towards Jews, the attitudes in the control group (marginally significantly) worsened with the passing of time. While the nature of the change observed in the control group is not known at this stage, it remains a possibility that repeated inquiries

about one's attitudes and/or mere passing of time would lead to more negative intergroup attitudes. It is also important to note that while the postulated processes of attitude change (via IOS, perspective taking, and interest in local history) were all significant in the intervention group, none of them was significant in the control group. Therefore, the hypothesized indirect effects were shown to be present among the students who experienced contact with a multicultural past, but not among the students from the same schools who did not share this experience.

An important finding of the presented research program is the discrepancy between the results of the intervention studies' and those of the experimental studies. While stable effects in line with the predictions transpired from the former, the latter showed mixed results, at best. The experimental manipulations either did not affect the participants at all or their effects were small and inconsistent. The meta-analyses of the effects of the two types of studies confirmed this. The intervention effects proved stable and significant across the three studies. The effects of manipulating the information about the Jewish history of participants' places of residence in the experimental studies were not significant for the place-related attitudes. They were marginally significant for attitudes towards Jews, and significant for the inclusion of Jewish people in the self. There are several possible reasons why such a pattern of results was obtained. One explanation is that the experimental manipulations, which are necessarily simplified and somewhat abstract (e.g. Bar-Tal, 2004) may be less effective in influencing a broad range of attitudes. It is important to note that during the intervention the students do engage with their places of residence (by visiting sites or looking at their pictures etc.). The experiments, on the other hand, provide knowledge about those places but without the experiential component.

Therefore another possibility for the differences in results is the reliance of the experimental manipulations on providing information about the Jewish historical presence in the participants' place of residence. In direct intergroup contact research knowledge about an outgroup constitutes a significant, but rather weak mediator of the influence of contact on attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). It is then possible to assume that the not-significant effects of simply informing participants about the Jewish past of their cities was also a weaker stimulus than a complex intervention which utilized an experience-based approach which should typically lead to stronger and more stable attitudes (Fazio, 1990; Christ, et al., 2010).

Additionally, the intervention studies and the experiments were characterized by starkly different approaches. The intervention, based on the contact with a multicultural past framework, was a complex, multifaceted experience in which the participating students learned about another ethnic group's history in the places where they themselves live today. They actively engaged with the heritage of that outgroup, searching for new information, visiting sites, etc. The intervention lasted over a period of about a month and comprised four day-long meetings with the program facilitators. The whole program was evaluated positively and regarded as a meaningful experience by the majority of the participants which is discernible from the qualitative analyses of the letters that they wrote at the end of the intervention. By contrast, the experimental studies attempted to disentangle the specific effects of different facets of contact with a multicultural past. To this effect they utilized short-lived (a maximum of 15 minutes) manipulations that relied primarily of providing the participants with information about different aspects of the multicultural heritage of their places of residence.

It is not surprising that a complex intervention should produce stronger effects, as it influences both cognitive processes (i.e. knowledge about an outgroup, e.g. Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) and emotional ones (i.e. inclusion of an outgroup in the self and perspective taking, e.g. Turner et al., 2008; Wright et al., 1997; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000), the latter of which tend to produce stronger prejudice-reducing effects. A similar result was shown in Beelmann and Heinemann (2014), whereby complex interventions impacted prejudice among youth more strongly than simpler ones (this effect was marginally significant). While the fact that the intervention is complex and likely not reducible to simple mechanisms may be seen as a limitation, I believe that it is also its strength. It is likely that the effects of different elements of contact with a multicultural past interact with one another to produce the observed effects. As suggested by Bar-Tal (2004) social psychology needs to pull a variety of methods and not shy away from focusing on complex, real-life phenomena and contexts, and equally complex ways of affecting them.

Limitations and Future Directions

While the research presented in this thesis utilized three different methodologies and a large number of diverse participants it could still be improved and extended in a number of ways. First, due to questionnaire length constraints the measures used in the intervention studies and repeated, for reasons of replicability of the results, in the experimental studies were short and some of them were characterized by a reliability below the established threshold of 0.7 (e.g. Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). While this constitutes a limitation of the presented research program, there are authors who argue that reliability below the established level may also be acceptable, especially for short scales (e.g. McCrae, Kurtz, Yamagata, & Terracciano, 2011; Schmitt, 1996). Nonetheless, future studies should use full (where available) and longer scales.

In the current research I did not directly measure students' actual civic engagement, but rather their behavioral intentions. This constitutes another limitation. However, in accordance with the theory of planned behavior, behavioral intentions constitute an important prerequisite of actual behavior (Ajzen, 1985, 1991). Therefore I feel confident to assume that intentions to become more civically engaged can reliably lead to actual civic engagement. Future research could attempt to utilize behavioral measures of civic engagement, for instance by actually asking the participants to engage in activities benefitting the local community such as cleaning hateful graffiti or promoting the knowledge about the multicultural past among other inhabitants.

Two of the intervention studies (Study 1 and Study 2) lacked a control group. While this makes my conclusions somewhat weaker, it is not uncommon for studies without a control group to still reach important and informative results (e.g. Brown, et al., 1996; Byington, et al., 1997; Lopez, et al., 1998; Washington, 1981). The results of the two studies remain valid and support the hypothesized influence of contact with a multicultural past on attitudes, as well as the predicted mechanisms of these changes. However, it was only Study 3 which provided a more conservative test of the postulated new type of indirect intergroup contact by way of utilizing a control group. Nevertheless it needs to be acknowledged that while the intervention group in Study 3 showed the hypothesized pattern of changes in attitudes the control group also displayed some changes (i.e. increase in interest in history and place attachment, and a slight worsening of attitudes), the causes of which cannot be unambiguously determined. Members of the control group were also characterized by initially (i.e. as measured at Time 1) less positive attitudes towards Jews, less interest in history, and lower civic engagement intentions. This may be a result of both demand characteristics or self-selection. As mentioned above, the participants of the School of Dialogue sometimes self-selected and

sometimes were selected for participation by their teachers. Yet, since the people characterized by the highest propensity for prejudice also tend to show the strongest effects of prejudice-reducing techniques (see Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009; Hodson, 2008 or Hodson et al., 2009), I would expect to find similar intervention effects with a sample of randomly assigned participants.

It is important to note that the control group was composed of students from 6 randomly selected schools which participated in the School of Dialogue in the year 2015, but who themselves did not take part in the program. As those schools were rather small in size it is not possible to rule out that the participants of the intervention and the control group exchanged some information about the program and the research. In aim to overcome this limitation and provide a more conservative test of contact with a multicultural past, future studies should attempt to utilize control groups from schools similar to those partaking in the intervention, but not those very same schools. Besides, they should strive to gather data on the self-selection among the participants.

The most important further development of the contact with a multicultural past framework that I would like to see pursued in the future entails testing it in other cultural contexts. It can be easily adapted to contexts where current ethnic homogeneity/segregation prevents people from engaging in meaningful intergroup encounters. This is how it could contribute to building more positive intergroup and place-related attitudes in places such as the United States, Israel or Cyprus. According to indirect contact researchers' postulates, engagement in contact with a multicultural past may constitute one of the first steps in preparing people in such contexts for more direct forms of contact in the future. I also believe (though this is an empirical question still to

be tested) that accepting the historical presence of outgroups in one's place of residence could also lead to a greater acceptance of possible newcomers of different ethnic origins.

Conclusion

This thesis introduced a new type of indirect intergroup contact: contact with a multicultural past. In an extensive multi-method research program I was able to show that indirectly encountering "the other" by way of actively engaging with a historical presence of an outgroup in one's place of residence leads to intergroup attitude improvement and to the development of stronger bonds with that place as well as a greater willingness for local community engagement and social trust. Utilizing a broad range of methodologies and testing the new technique of attitude improvement in the field allowed me to avoid some of the limitations of purely laboratory-based research (e.g. Bar-Tal, 2004; Doliński, 2016; Henrich et al., 2010; Sears, 1986). At the same time, using a scientific method for testing a prejudice-reducing intervention provided a valid test of said intervention (Paluck & Green, 2009; Stephan & Vogt, 2004).

The presented studies constitute the first test of the influence of gaining knowledge about local history on place attachment, civic engagement, and generalized social trust that used longitudinal, rather than correlational data. This permitted sounder conclusions as to the effects of becoming interested in local history on people's bonds with their places of residence and their willingness to devote resources (e.g. time) to the benefit of the local community.

My results show a new avenue for tolerance education in areas where remnants of a culturally diverse history exist. Engaging in contact with a multicultural past appears to work in similar ways as other forms of indirect intergroup contact because it stimulates perceptions of connectedness between oneself and the outgroup(s). This

approach is particularly appealing for locations with currently homogeneous populations and for those which are segregated and characterized by intergroup hostility due to historical conflicts. It proves that local historical ethnic diversity can be utilized as a resource in changing intergroup attitudes and building stronger, better connected communities today.

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Appendix A

Measures Used in the Longitudinal Intervention Studies

Interest in place history (Studies 1, 2, & 3)	
1. I am interested in the history of my town/region.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 3 4 5 = Strongly agree
2. Sometimes it is better to demolish an old building than to invest a lot of money in its renovation. (reversed)	
3. Listening to stories about what was here in the past bores me. (reversed)	
4. I believe that the city/regional authorities pay too much attention to the past and not enough to the living conditions of people living here today. (reversed)	
5. I like reading about the past of my town/region.	

Knowledge of local Jewish history (Studies 1, 2, & 3)	
How would you generally rate your own knowledge about the history of Jewish inhabitants of your place of residence?", with an answer scale from	1 = I do not know anything about it 2 3 4 5 6 7 = My knowledge of this history is extensive

Attitudes towards Jews (Feeling Thermometer) (Studies 1, 2, & 3)	
Please indicate how warm/cold your feelings towards Jewish people are using the following scale on which 0 means cold, negative feelings and 100 means warm, positive feelings.	0 - 100

Inclusion of Jewish people in the self (Study 1)	
1. Do you think you have similar interests to Jewish people?	1 = Strongly disagree 2 3 4 5 = Strongly agree
2. Do you think you have similar experiences to Jewish people?	
3. Do you think that you are generally similar to Jewish people?	

Inclusion of Jewish people in the self (Studies 2 & 3)	
1. Do you think that you are generally similar to Jewish people?	

Place attachment (Studies 1, 2, & 3)	
1. I like this town.	1 = strongly disagree
	2
4. I feel attached to this town.	3
	4
5. I am proud of this town.	5 = strongly agree

Civic engagement intentions (Study 1)	
1. I feel responsible for the state of Jewish heritage in my town.	1 = Strongly disagree
	2
2. I would like to share the knowledge I gained throughout the program with other people.	3
	4
3. I would like to become engaged in activities beneficial to my local community.	5 = Strongly agree
Civic engagement intentions (Studies 2 & 3)	
1. I feel responsible for the state of Jewish heritage in my town.	1 = Strongly disagree
	2
2. I would like to engage in activities beneficial to my local community	3
	4
3. I could devote one Saturday a month to do something for my local community	5 = Strongly agree

Social trust (Studies 2, & 3)	
1. Most people can be trusted.	1 = Strongly disagree
	2
	3
2. Most people are honest.	4
	5 = Strongly agree

Appendix B

Study 5 – Experimental manipulation

Control group.

The times between the two World Wars was a period of rapid development in Warsaw in terms of both the area occupied by the city and the number of inhabitants. During that time the areas of today's Mokotów, Czerniaków, Wola, western Żoliborz, Koło, Grochów and Saska Kępy were incorporated into the city. Among other architectural developments the National Museum, the Parliament building, the Okęcie airport, and the Prudential building were built. The latter of which was – at height of 66m - the tallest building in Poland and the second tallest in Europe. Many streets were covered with asphalt. The number of inhabitants grew steadily from 885,000 in 1914 to 1.28 million in 1938. Many political parties and social organizations were located in Warsaw. There were also numerous schools – state gymnasiums and high schools, city and privately owned schools. There were also higher education institutions – e.g. the Józef Piłsudski University

and the Warsaw University of Technology. Printing and publishing houses operated in the city, and many newspapers were published (e.g. "Kurier Warszawski", "Kurier Poranny", "Gazeta Warszawska"). There were 20 theaters (e.g. the Ateneum Theater and the Polish Theater) and about 70 movie theaters. Since 1930, Polish historians (e.g. professor Tadeusz Wałek-Czarnecki and professor Jan K. Kochanowski) worked at the Historical Institute which was established at the Humanistic Faculty of the University.

prof. Tadeusz Karniszewski
„*Interwar Warsaw*”(p. 17)

Experimental group 1.

The times between the two World Wars was a period of rapid development in Warsaw. It was also the largest center of Jewish life in Europe, and the second largest in the world. In 1928, there were 310,000, and in 1938 375,000 Jewish inhabitants (over 30% of the total population of the city). They lived mostly in the northern part of the city constituting a numerical majority in the Muranów, Powązki, Leszno, and Grzybów municipal districts. Many Jewish political parties, social organizations, and schools were located in Warsaw. The Jewish Religious Community administered about 100 primary religious school classes, several preschools, and 2 vocational schools. There were also Jewish printing and publishing houses, as well as daily newspapers (e.g. *People's Newspaper – "Folkscajtung"* and *Today – "Haint"*). Jewish theaters operated in Warsaw,

e.g. the Ida Kamińska Jewish Theater and the New Jewish Theater. Since 1926 Jewish historians (e.g. Majer Bałaban and rabbi Mojżesz Schorr) had been working at the Jewish Historic Institute. The Jewish community constructed many religious buildings, the largest of them being the Great Synagogue which was destroyed by the Germans on May 16th, 1943.

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Experimental group 2.

The times between the two World Wars was a period of rapid development in Warsaw. It was also the largest center of Jewish life in Europe, and the second largest in the world. In 1928, there were 310,000, and in 1938 375,000 Jewish inhabitants (over 30% of the total population of the city). They lived mostly in the northern part of the city, constituting a numerical majority in the Muranów, Powązki, Leszno, and Grzybów municipal districts. Contacts between Poles and Jews were very common in interwar Warsaw. Besides neighborly relations, business ties were also frequent. Polish and Jewish children often attended the same schools and played together after classes. There were even Polish-Jewish gangs of criminals. Many Jewish political parties, social organizations, and schools were located in Warsaw. The Jewish Religious Community administered about 100 primary school classes, several preschools, and 2 vocational schools.

There were also Jewish printing and publishing houses, as well as daily newspapers (e.g. *People's Newspaper* – – "Folkscajtung" and *Today* – "Haint"). Jewish theaters operated in Warsaw, e.g. the Ida Kamińska Jewish Theater and the New Jewish Theater. Since 1926 Jewish historians (e.g. Majer Bałaban and rabbi Mojżesz Schorr) had been working at the Jewish Historic Institute. The Jewish community constructed many religious buildings, the largest of them being the Great Synagogue which was destroyed by the Germans on May 16th, 1943.

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Appendix C

Study 6 - Experimental Manipulation

Experimental condition 1 (Polish heritage, still exists).

Object no. 27

St. Anna's Church in Warsaw


St. Anna's Church in Warsaw – is an existing Roman Catholic church in Warsaw. It was built between 1515 and 1518. The church is located at Krakowskie Przedmieście 66/68 Street (close to the Miodowa Street junction) in the Śródmieście district of Warsaw.

The building survived the destruction of the city during World War II. The church constitutes an important meeting place of the inhabitants of Warsaw. It is a place of worship and large cultural events, such as concerts. In the basement of the church there is a crypt where people who benefited the church are buried.

The church holds regular prayers and masses. It is also open for tours from Monday till Friday between 10.00a.m. and 9.00p.m., and on Saturdays and Sundays between 11.00a.m. and 10.00p.m.

St. Anna's Church in Warsaw



Country	 Poland
Dates of building	1515-1518
Affiliation	Roman Catholic
Architect(s)	Michał Enkinger
Material	Brick
Status	Exists

Experimental condition 2 (Jewish heritage, still exists).

Object no. 27

Nożyk Synagogue in Warsaw


Zalman and Rywka Nożyk Synagogue in Warsaw – still existing and active pre-war synagogue in Warsaw. It was built between 1898 and 1902. The synagogue is located in Twarda 6 street of the Warsaw Śródmieście district.

The building survived the destruction of the city during World War II. Currently the synagogue constitutes the most important meeting point of Warsaw's Jewish community. It is a place of worship and large cultural event, such as concerts, exhibitions, debates. A mikveh – ritual bath – is located in the basement of the synagogue.

Regular prayers are held in the synagogue but it is also open for tours from Monday to Thursday between 9.00a.m. and 8.00p.m. on Fridays until sunset and on Sundays from 11.00a.m. until 7.00p.m.

Nożyk Synagogue in Warsaw



Country	 Poland
Dates of building	1898-1902
Affiliation	Orthodox Judaism
Architect(s)	Leandro Marconi
Material	Brick
Status	Exists

Experimental condition 3 (Polish heritage, does not exist).

Object no. 27

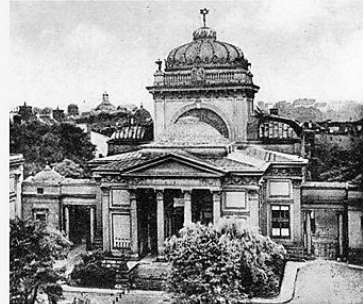
The Great Synagogue in Warsaw

The Great Synagogue in Warsaw – the non-existent, largest synagogue of Warsaw. It was built between 1876 and 1878. The synagogue was located at Tomackie 7 Square in central Warsaw.

The building was completely destroyed during World War II. The Synagogue had the most important meeting point of the Warsaw Jewish community. It was a place of worship and large cultural event, such as concerts, exhibitions, debates. A mikveh – ritual bath – was located in the basement of the synagogue.

Regular prayers were held in the synagogue. Today, at Bankowy 2 Square, where the synagogue used to be located, there is the so called "Blue Building".

The Great Synagogue in Warsaw



Country	 Poland
Dates of building	1876-1878
Affiliation	Reform Judaism
Architect(s)	Leandro Marconi
Material	Brick
Status	Does not exist

Experimental condition 4 (Jewish heritage, does not exist).

Object no. 27

St. George's Church in Warsaw

St. George's Church in Warsaw –non-existent, one of the oldest Roman Catholic churches in Warsaw. The construction of the church began in 1454 at Świętojerska Street close to Freta Street in the New Town.

The building was completely destroyed during World War II. The church constituted an important meeting place for the inhabitants of Warsaw. It was a place of worship and large cultural events, such as concerts. In the basement of the church there was a crypt where people who merited the church were buried.

The church held regular prayers and masses. At today's Freta 18 and 20 lots (in the Śródmieście district of Warsaw) where the church used to be located there is a courtyard of the neighboring residential buildings.

St. George's Church in Warsaw



Country	 Poland
Dates of building	1454 - ?
Affiliation	Roman Catholic
Architect(s)	Unknown
Material	Brick
Status	Does not exist

Appendix D

Study 7 - Experimental Manipulation.

Experimental condition 1 (information about Jewish history provided).

Please, use the next 10-15 minutes to thoroughly read the provided text and to answer the questions about the history of Suwałki that you may find below the text.

Try to find answers to as many questions as possible. Please write your answers in the designated places.

1. Who established Suwałki as a city and when did this happen?
2. To which country did Suwałki belong during the partitions of Poland?
3. When did Jewish people begin to settle in Suwałki and how big of a part of the city's population did they constitute in 1841?
4. When was the Great Synagogue in Suwałki built?
5. Which minorities living in Suwałki in the 19th century made up the ethnic and religious mosaic of the city?
6. What was the religious denomination of Lejb Mordkowicz Lejbman and how did he die?
7. When did the German occupation of Suwałki during World War II end?

History of Suwałki

The first mention of a Suwałki village dates from the year 1688. In 1715, the grand master of the monastery in Wigry issued a document establishing it as a town. The Camaldolese monks demarcated a market square and new streets. The town privileges were approved by king August II in 1720.

During the partitions of Poland, Suwałki was annexed by Russia and it became the **capital of a voivodship** which led to the dynamic development of the city.



The Great Synagogue in Suwałki (destroyed).

The number of new buildings was increased steadily. In 1827, there were 357 buildings, **40 of which were made of brick**. Following the architectural development **the number of inhabitants was growing and, in 1872, it reached almost 20,000 people**. From the beginning of the 19th century onwards large numbers of **Jewish people** settled in Suwałki. Jews constituted over 30% of the population of the city in 1827, over 50% in 1841, and 63% in 1865. In 1821, the Great Synagogue (pictured) in Joselewicza 36 Street (today: Noniewiczza 25) was completed. Four ritual slaughter houses operated nearby the synagogue .

The ethnic and religious mosaic of the city was made up of **Protestants, Old Believers, and Orthodox Christians** – mostly Russians, who moved into the city mostly in aim to take civil service, teacher, or military positions. **The city was a center of cultural life and education**. There were numerous printing houses and libraries. The city was visited by theater groups and many concerts were given.

In the 1840s, the **St. Peter and Paul hospital** and in 1862 the **Jewish hospital** were opened. There were Jewish political and charity organizations in the city. The latter took care of the numerous Jewish poor. The Jews in Suwałki worked as craftsmen (see the picture of a clock produced in Suwałki below) and millers, they operated hotels, produced fabrics, leather, beer, and engaged in trade.

Many Jewish inhabitants of Suwałki were highly assimilated – meaning they were a part of the local Polish community – and remained on very friendly terms with the local Poles. Some of them took active part in fighting the Russians during the January Uprising (in 1963). One of the Jewish insurgents – Lejb Mordkowicz Lejbman – was executed in 1864 on Gallows Hill (Bakałarzewska Street), together with 19 other insurgents.

The Suwałki region saw heavy fighting between Russian and German troops during **World War I** (1914-18). After regaining independence and establishing the second Republic of Poland Suwałki and the region remained a point of contention between Poland and Lithuania.

In the late 1930s the city had approximately 25,000 inhabitants. Its provincial location was a burden on its development. The army had an important role in the city, thanks to the military barracks inherited from the Russians. Suwałki thus became one of the biggest army garrisons of interwar Poland.

At the beginning of **World War II** Suwałki was incorporated into the **Third Reich**. From the first days of the German occupation the civilians in the city were targeted for persecution. In April 1940, members of the local intelligentsia – teachers, officials, priests, and social activists – were arrested. Terror and persecution as well as deportation to forced labor camps lasted throughout the occupation. It ended with a period of heavy fighting between the Germans and the Soviets, who entered the city on **October 23rd, 1944 (the first troops to enter were those of the 3rd Belorussian Front)**.



Clock produced in a workshop of Mr. Glasztejn, a Jewish inhabitant of Suwałki.

Experimental condition 2 (information about Polish history provided).

Please, use the next 10-15 minutes to thoroughly read the provided text and to answer the questions about the history of Suwałki that you may find below the text.

Try to find answers to as many questions as possible. Please write your answers in the designated places.

1. Who established Suwałki as a city and when did this happen?
2. To which country did Suwałki belong during the partitions of Poland?
3. How many brick houses were in Suwałki in 1827?
4. When was the St. Alexander church built?
5. What was the number of inhabitants of Suwałki in 1872?
6. The Gallows Hill was a place of executions. Who was executed there?
7. When did the German occupation of Suwałki during World War II end?

History of Suwałki

The first mention of a Suwałki village dates from the year 1688. In 1715, the grand master of the monastery in Wigry issued a document establishing it as a town. The Camaldolese monks demarcated a market square and new streets. The town privileges were approved by king August II in 1720.

During the partitions of Poland, Suwałki was annexed by Russia and it became the capital of a voivodship which led to the dynamic development of the city.



St. Aleksander Church in 1916.

Between the years 1820 and 1826 the St. Aleksander Church was built in the northern part of the market square (pictured). The number of new buildings increased steadily. In 1827, there were 357 buildings, 40 of which were made of brick. Impressive government buildings were erected. In 1835, the new guardhouse, and, in 1844, the city hall were completed. In the 1840s, also the St. Peter and Paul hospital and the new gymnasium were built.

In the mid-19th century Suwałki flourished. Even though wooden houses still dominated the cityscape, the number of brick houses increased steadily. Following the architectural development the number of inhabitants was growing and, in 1872, it reached almost 20,000 people. In the 19th century many people living in Suwałki still supported themselves through agriculture, but the role of crafts and trade was gaining in importance.

Besides being the administrative capital, the city was also a center of cultural life and education. There were numerous printing houses and libraries. The city was visited by theater groups and many concerts were given.

When the Warsaw-Petersburg railway, which bypassed Suwałki, was opened in 1862 the city lost its privileged position. In 1863, inhabitants of Suwałki joined the January Uprising. Twenty insurgents were executed by the Russian authorities on Gallows Hill. The turn of the century brought more dynamic development thanks to locating numerous Russian troops and the construction of military barracks around the city.

The Suwałki region saw heavy fighting between Russian and German troops during World War I (1914-18). After regaining independence and establishing the second Republic of Poland Suwałki and the region remained a point of contention between Poland and Lithuania. This led to the Sejny Uprising (in August 1918) and to the occupation of Suwałki during the Polish-Soviet War (1920).

At the beginning of World War II Suwałki was incorporated into the Third Reich. Right from the start of the occupation city inhabitants began to spontaneously organize anti-Nazi resistance and underground organizations. Most of them were quickly destroyed by the Nazis and their members arrested. That was why numerous partisan groups were established in the Suwałki region.

From the first days of the German occupation the civilians in the city were targeted for persecution. In 1940, members of the local intelligentsia – teachers, officials, priests, and social activists – were arrested. Terror and persecution as well as deportation to forced labor camps lasted throughout the occupation. It ended with a period of heavy fighting between the Germans and the Soviets, who entered the city on October 23rd, 1944 (the first troops to enter were those of the 3rd Belorussian Front).



Soldiers in Suwałki during World War I

Experimental condition 3 (searching for Polish history).

Please, use the next 10-15 minutes to search for the answers to the following questions about Suwałki history on the internet. Remember that in aim to effectively search for information on the internet, you should make sure that your search terms are precise!

Try to find answers to as many questions as possible. Please write your answers in the designated places.

1. Who established Suwałki as a city and when did this happen?
2. To which country did Suwałki belong during the partitions of Poland?
3. How many brick houses were in Suwałki in 1827?
4. When was the St. Alexander church built?
5. What was the number of inhabitants of Suwałki in 1872?
6. The Gallows Hill was a place of executions. Who was executed there?
7. When did the German occupation of Suwałki during World War II end?

Experimental condition 4 (searching for Jewish history).

Please, use the next 10-15 minutes to search for the answers to the following questions about Suwałki history on the internet. Remember that in aim to effectively search for information on the internet, you should make sure that your search terms are precise!

Try to find answers to as many questions as possible. Please write your answers in the designated places.

1. Who established Suwałki as a city and when did this happen?
2. To which country did Suwałki belong during the partitions of Poland?
3. When did Jewish people begin to settle in Suwałki and how big of a part of the city's population did they constitute in 1841?
4. When was the Great Synagogue in Suwałki built?
5. Which minorities living in Suwałki in the 19th century made up the ethnic and religious mosaic of the city?
6. What was the religious denomination of Lejb Mordkowicz Lejbman and how did he die?
7. When did the German occupation of Suwałki during World War II end?

Appendix E

Measures Used in the Experimental Studies

Interest in place history (Studies 5, 6, & 7)	
1. I am interested in the history of my town/region.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 3 4 5 = Strongly agree
2. Sometimes it is better to demolish an old building than to invest a lot of money in its renovation. (reversed)	
3. Listening to stories about what was here in the past bores me. (reversed)	
4. I believe that the city/regional authorities pay too much attention to the past and not enough to the living conditions of people living here today. (reversed)	
5. I like reading about the past of my town/region.	

Attitudes towards Jews (Feeling Thermometer) (Studies 5, 6, & 7)	
Please indicate how warm/cold your feelings towards Jewish people are using the following scale on which 0 means cold, negative feelings and 100 means warm, positive feelings.	0 - 100

Inclusion of Jewish people in the self (Studies 5, 6, & 7)	
1. Do you think you have similar interests to Jewish people?	1 = Strongly disagree 2 3 4 5 = Strongly agree
2. Do you think you have similar experiences to Jewish people?	
3. Do you think that you are generally similar to Jewish people?	

Place attachment (Studies 5, & 7)	
1. I miss [name of the city] when I am away for a long time.	1 = strongly disagree 2 3 4 5 = strongly agree
2. I feel a stranger in [name of the city]. (reverse)*	
3. I feel safe in [name of the city].	
4. I am proud of [name of the city].	
5. [Name of the city] is a part of me.	
6. I would like to move out of [name of the city]. (reverse)*	
7. I like to engage in issues concerning [name of the city].	
8. I feel rooted here.*	
9. I would like people who are close to me to live in [name of the city] in the future.	

* These items were not part of the composite scale used in the analyses in Study 5 as they did not form a single factor with the other items and distorted reliability of the scale; in Study 7 all items were used.

Place attachment (Study 6)	
1. I like this town.	1 = strongly disagree 2 3 4 5 = strongly agree
4. I feel attached to this town.	
5. I am proud of this town.	

Civic engagement intentions (Studies 5, 6, & 7)	
1. I feel responsible for the state of the historic heritage in [name of the city].	1 = Strongly disagree 2 3 4 5 = Strongly agree
2. I would like to engage in activities beneficial to [name of the city].	
3. I could devote one Saturday a month to do something for [name of the city].	

Social trust (Studies 5, 6, & 7)	
1. Most people can be trusted.	1 = Strongly disagree 2 3
2. Most people are honest.	4 5 = Strongly agree