

This article was downloaded by:[University of Maryland College Park]
On: 4 February 2008
Access Details: [subscription number 789180445]
Publisher: Routledge
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954
Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Moral Education

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713432411>

Cognitive rather than emotional modification in peace education programs: advantages and limitations

Yaacov Boaz Yablon^a

^a Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Online Publication Date: 01 March 2007

To cite this Article: Yablon, Yaacov Boaz (2007) 'Cognitive rather than emotional modification in peace education programs: advantages and limitations', Journal of Moral Education, 36:1, 51 - 65

To link to this article: DOI: 10.1080/03057240601185463

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03057240601185463>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article maybe used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Cognitive rather than emotional modification in peace education programs: advantages and limitations

Yaacov Boaz Yablon^{*}
Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Contact intervention programs are being used as the main vehicle to enhance positive relationships between conflict groups. Current research seeks to reveal the force driving processes that lead to positive contact between conflict groups, and points to the importance of emotional modification. Acknowledging the centrality of emotional modification, the present study points to the importance of defining the desired goals of contact interventions. It aimed to reveal which of the emotional, cognitive, motivational or behavioural components of intergroup relations were most enhanced in peace intervention programs for Israeli Jewish and Bedouin Arab high-school students in Israel. The findings indicate the cognitive realm as the most enhanced. These findings raise the question of the relevance of emotional modification in regions of persistent conflict, and suggest that intervention methods and desired outcomes must be closely linked. Finally, implications for moral education are discussed.

Many peace education programs were developed to enhance and support positive relationships between conflict groups during the last 50 years (Salomon, 2002; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The underlying philosophy of these educational programs is that negotiation is more productive than violence, and that it can also promote understanding and increase peaceful relationships between the conflict groups (Kelman, 1990). Most programs are designed for the young generation at school level, and take place in schools as part of the curriculum. However, despite a concerted effort to promote peace education programs in schools, and a growing interest in such programs from government and non-government agencies, there still remains a significant lack of scientific evidence to demonstrate the effectiveness of such programs (Nevo & Brem, 2002). The main focus of the present study was the implementation of peace education programs and the debate as to whether peace education programs in general and contact intervention programs in particular should be based on cognitive or emotional approaches. This study was undertaken during planned, face-to-face encounters between Jewish and Bedouin Arab high school students in Israel.

* School of Education, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, 52900, Israel. Email: yablon@mail.biu.ac.il

The mosaic of Israeli society

Israeli society is split into a number of national, ethnic and religious sectors and groups, each of which has a different social, economic and political agenda. Because of the heterogeneity of Israeli society, the agendas of the different sectors often clash, with the result being conflict resulting between some or all of the sectors. One of the major conflicts within Israeli society is between Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs, two groups that are wary of each other. Relations between them are permeated with latent hostility, and this hostility is directly related to the Israeli-Arab conflict. As time passes the gap between the two populations grows wider and the two sectors have become increasingly more polarized (Tessler & Grant, 1998).

Tensions between the Jewish and Arab sectors in Israel are based on a battle over resources and on the national aspirations of both the Zionist and Palestinian movements. The tension and hostility between the two groups are very much rooted in the different level of governmental, municipal and public services available to both social groups. This leads to greater gaps between the Jewish majority and Arab minority, and results in frustration and escalated tensions in social relationships between the two sectors. The Palestinian nationality of the Israeli Arabs who remained in the State of Israel after the establishment of the State is another source of tension between the two groups (Abu-Saad, Yonah & Kaplan, 2000). The peace intervention programs that are the concern of the present study are programs provided for the Jewish and Bedouin-Arab population in Israel.

Characteristics of the Bedouin population in Israel

Traditionally, the Bedouin Arab population is largely nomadic, and roamed the Negev Desert areas in search of grazing fields for cattle and sheep, fertile land for wheat and barley, as well as for temporary shelter from the elements. The nomadic tradition is deeply ingrained in the Bedouin way of life and is perhaps the most vital cultural characteristic (Abu-Saad, 1997). However, since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the Bedouin population in Israel has undergone radical change and has been transformed from a traditionally nomadic population to one which is now largely urbanized (Ben-David, 1988). The successive governments have embarked on a policy of urbanization the Bedouin population for two main reasons: (a) to provide the Bedouins with efficient governmental services such as education, health and welfare in towns and villages; and (b) to utilize the large tracts of land traditionally used by the nomadic Bedouins for the establishment of cities, towns and villages for the ever-increasing Israeli population. The process of urbanization of the Bedouins continues to the present day and the latest figures indicate that of the Bedouin population of 130,000 residents in the southern Negev region, approximately two-thirds now reside in cities, towns and villages, with one-third still adhering to their nomadic tradition (Melitz, 1995).

The Bedouins have been loathe to accept the process of urbanization, and as time passes they are increasingly more active in rejecting government attempts to settle them in permanent dwellings (Glaubman & Katz, 1998). They perceive government

urbanization policies as discriminatory and designed to move them from their tribal lands without consideration of their traditional, cultural, social and economic needs (Abu-Saad, 1997).

In addition to the issue of urbanization, claims regarding governmental neglect are also stressed by the Israeli Bedouin, a population which in general lives at a lower standard of living than the national average (Abu-Saad, Yonah & Kaplan, 2000). Some of these claims are directed at the Bedouin educational system, which is administered by the Department of Arab Education within the framework of the Israeli Ministry of Education. Since the establishment of the State of Israel, the number of Bedouin children in the school system has grown from approximately 150 in 1948 to 27,500 in 1998 while the Israeli educational authorities have not invested the resources to accommodate this growth (Katz, 1998). Thus, in the report for the Commission of Inquiry into Negev Bedouin education held by the Israeli Ministry of Education, Katz (1998) pointed out that Bedouin schools typically lack physical facilities, such as classrooms, libraries, laboratories. In addition, there is a significant lack of qualified teachers, a significantly high student drop-out rate, a remarkably low rate of success in the Israeli matriculation examinations which serve as a major criterion for entry into education at the tertiary level and an almost total lack of extra-curricular activities offered to students by school authorities.

As mentioned in the report (Katz, 1998) these limitations are perceived by the Bedouin population to be part of a planned governmental policy of neglect and are viewed as an extension of grievances held against the Israeli government. Thus the Bedouin community feels grossly discriminated against on all fronts and most especially in the educational domain. All this has compounded the Bedouins' feelings of frustration, anger and even hostility against the majority of the Jewish population and against the successive Israeli governments (which represent the Jewish majority) that have consistently failed to contribute to an improvement of their educational system as well to their social and economic status. The feelings of inequality and bitterness have given rise to the fomenting of anti-Israeli Islamic fundamentalism and a general wariness of the Israeli authorities and Jewish population (Ben-David, 1993).

Characteristics of the Jewish population in Israel

The State of Israel gained its independence in 1948. This followed the United Nations resolution, passed on 29 November 1947, which called for the establishment of two states (one Jewish and one Arab) in Palestine, a territory which had been under British mandate since the end of World War I. Israel was established as a Jewish and democratic state with equal rights granted to the different minority groups within it (Talmi & Talmi, 1977). The Jewish population of Israel in 1948 was 600,000 and since then, as a result of mass immigration, the Jewish sector of the Israeli population has grown to around 6 million. Israel has become a modern western country with a well-established economic, social and educational infrastructure.

The Jewish educational system in Israel is highly developed and enjoys a large budget which allows for dynamic development of facilities, school-based technology, advanced teaching and learning methodologies and varied extra-curricular programs for all students (Gaziel, 1999). The level of training of teachers is good with almost all teachers in the educational system in possession of a college degree and a teaching diploma (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2004). School facilities, such as classrooms, libraries, laboratories, computer rooms and sport facilities are well developed; achievements of Jewish students is on a par with achievement of students in other European countries and the drop-out rate of students is fairly low (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2004; International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 2004a, 2004b).

Contact intervention programs for peace building

One of the most popular and most researched methods in different types of peace programs is based on the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954). This method is especially used in programs designed to increase peace, tolerance and understanding between groups, and to reduce tension within groups in multicultural societies. For example there are programs to reduce tension between former residents of East and West Germany (Wagner, Van-Dick, Pettigrew & Christ, 2003); toward immigrants (Voci & Hewstone, 2003), homosexuals (Herek & Capitanio, 1996) and people with psychiatric disorders (Kolodziej & Johnson, 1996). In all these cases, the underlying principle is that constructive and guided face-to-face meetings between members of conflict groups can reduce inter-group tensions and promote understanding between the groups. In his well-known summer-camp study, Sherif (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961; Sherif, 1966) put these principles into practice. Members of conflict groups worked together on joint tasks and, as a result, demonstrated positive attitudes toward their counterparts. Following his studies, a great number of similar programs were established worldwide.

As Israeli educational authorities are aware of the problems inherent in Jewish-Arab conflict, they have invested educational and budgetary resources to develop many intervention programs designed to mitigate the negative aspects of the conflict within the school system (Winer, Bar-On & Weiner, 1992). Bar and Askalah (1988) specifically indicated the importance of joint Jewish-Arab projects as the major medium for fostering improved Jewish-Arab relations. These projects provide a meeting place that promotes dialogue between the groups as well as understanding of one's own and others' ethnic identities by providing an opportunity for positive inter-ethnic experience. Nevertheless, while there is a great effort to increase students' participation in such programs there is no single approach regarding the content of the interventions and there is no clear strategy in regard to the suitable content to bring about the desirable change.

While contact as a means of enhancing positive relationships between groups became conventional and embraced, on many occasions it is not without limitations. In his early work, Allport (1954) already pointed out four fundamental conditions that should occur in order to bring about positive change. Allport suggested that

contact in itself would not necessarily yield positive modification unless it was made when the groups have equal status, the participants have common goals and intergroup cooperation and the meetings are supported by the authorities. Later scholars have suggested additional conditions to these four, referring to either structural elements of the contact, such as that meeting groups have a common language and that their members participate on a voluntary basis (Wagner & Machleit, 1986), or elements referring to the content of the meetings, such as the type of information provided to each of the groups (Cook, 1978). Pettigrew (1998), however, argued that there are many conditions that may be added or removed and that it is important to distinguish between essential and facilitating conditions. The latter are conditions that related to the mediating factors which lead to a positive change.

In recent years, however, less attention has been paid to the study of the conditions that allow successful contact and more attention has been directed to asking *what* are the reasons for successful contact and *how* contact between conflict groups actually works (Dovidio, Gaertner & Kawakami, 2003). Thus, in addition to the study of *when* contact works better, emphasis is given to revealing the underlying psychological process by which intergroup contact between conflict groups enhances positive relationships between them.

Traditionally, cognitive rather than emotional processes were seen as a key factor in enhancing positive relations between conflict groups (Paolini *et al.*, in press). The basic assumption was that providing information and knowledge about members of the other group, and of the other group as a whole, enhances positive relationships between the conflict groups as they reduce ignorance and provide meaningful information about each other (Mackie & Smith, 1998; Miller *et al.*, in press). From this point of view contact intervention programs should be cognitively based and designed to provide knowledge about members of the other group. Nevertheless, recent studies have revealed that while cognitive processes have positive contributions to the enhancement of tolerance and understanding between conflict groups, it is the affective factors that are much more influential (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, 2006). As a result, and in order to enhance meaningful outcomes via emotional modification, contact intervention programs are seen as a process which requires time (Pettigrew, 1998). Instead of short-term intergroup cognitive-based contact intervention programs, it is now expected that in order to bring about meaningful change, long-term emotion-based contact interventions are required.

There is growing evidence that the emotional realm is a basis of behaviour and that emotional modification could benefit the facilitation of positive social relationships between conflict groups. Many studies point to the strong relationship between emotions and behaviour, and suggest that emotions serve to organize and enhance behaviour and decrease or increase the occurrence of behavioural patterns (Frijda, 1986; Moore & Ison, 1990; Magai & McFadden, 1995; Lerner & Arsenio, 2000). Both cognition and emotions are seen as types of information processing. However, there is growing evidence of their distinct functioning, and that emotions play a meaningful role in providing direction for both cognitive processes and behaviour (Izard, 1994; Lerner & Arsenio, 2000).

Regarding contact between groups, some studies directly address the contribution of emotions to intergroup relationships. The main focus of these studies is the attitude of members of conflict groups toward each other and the way that emotions can affect these attitudes. Accordingly, attitudes are a reflection of cognitive, affective and behavioural components (e.g. Zanna & Rempel, 1988), and in intergroup relations, emotions rather than cognition are the force driving underlying process (Esses, Haddock & Zanna, 1993; Eagly, Mladinic & Otto, 1994; Jussim *et al.*, 1995). Furthermore, the Intergroup Emotion Theory (Smith, 1993; Mackie, Devos & Smith, 2000) explicitly points to emotions as the basis for the development of intergroup attitudes. According to this theory the identification of any individual with a social group makes the group part of his or her self-identity and belonging to a group therefore carries an emotional significance. Emotions are generated when either the individual or the social part of his or her self-appraisal are threatened and lead to the development of attitudes toward another group or individuals.

As was already mentioned, modification of the emotional basis of relationships between members of conflict groups is a relatively long and complicated process. Although, as suggested, it may eventually lead to a permanent and consistent behavioural change, it is critical to understand that in regions of persistent conflict, such as Israel, this may be an unrealistic goal. Thus, long-term interventions, which do consider the immediate social needs and the present circumstances, may not be seen as the appropriate approach to solve the conflict. In that case, more modest modification in other realms, such as the cognitive aspects of the conflict, can make a positive contribution to the immediate future making this a more appropriate approach.

The main concern of this study is the expected outcomes of inter-group contact interventions. It is suggested that not only optimal conditions that foster positive relationships between conflict groups be studied, nor just the underlying process, but also what are the desirable outcomes as a result of the contact. This necessarily links the methods chosen for the contact interventions and the intervention results. More specifically, the aim of the present study was to reveal which of the different components of the social relationships was most enhanced by the operative peace programs supported by the Israeli Ministry of Education, and to discuss the relevance of an emotion-based versus a cognitive approach. Thus two case studies of peace intervention programs for Israeli Jewish and Bedouin Arab high-school students were undertaken.

Method

Sample

The research sample consisted of 93 students in two groups, each including Israeli Jewish and Israeli Arab students who participated in peace education encounter programs. The two groups were separately sampled, as they were involved in two different programs. Each group consisted of two classes of 17-year-old, eleventh-grade high-school students, one class from a Jewish high school and one class from

an Arab high school. Table 1 presents the number of students, and their gender, from each school in each of the two encounter programs.

Measures

Four different questionnaires were used to measure aspects of the social relationships between the Jewish and Arab participants: (a) Motivation to participate in Encounters between Israeli Jewish and Israeli Arab groups; (b) Emotions as measured by Feelings toward members of the other group; (c) Cognition as measured by Perceptions regarding the personal traits of members of the other group; (d) Behavioural patterns of the social relationships as measured by Social distance. The four questionnaires were used in many other studies in Israel for measuring relationships between social groups (e.g. Saporta, 1993). In order to deliver the questionnaires to the Arab participants of this study, the Hebrew version of the questionnaire was translated into Arabic by a professional translator proficient in social science research. The four questionnaires used to measure the four aspects of the social relationships were:

1. *Motivation to participate in encounters.* An eight-item questionnaire based on a questionnaire developed by Saporta (1993) was used to measure the participants' willingness to participate in peace education encounter programs between Jews and Arabs in Israel. The answers were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1—very low support, 5—very high support). Items were summed to yield a single index of attitudes. Internal consistency for the questionnaire was measured by Cronbach Alpha and yielded a correlation of .77.
2. *Feeling checklist.* A 21-item Feeling Checklist, based on a valid and reliable established checklist (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999) was translated and adapted to the needs of the Israeli population by Tur-Kaspa-Shimoni (2001). The checklist includes 21 emotions, such as anger, warmth and shame, and the respondent is requested to indicate on a 7-point Likert-type scale the degree of each emotion toward members of the other group. Face validity, judged by four experts, was set as the validity criterion for the 21 items. Items were summed to yield a single index of emotions; a high mean score on the 21 items was related

Table 1. Number of students and gender in each of the two encounters

	Encounter 1		Encounter 2		Total
	Jewish	Arab	Jewish	Arab	
Male	12	11	8	9	40
Female	12	14	15	6	47
Missing	1	—	1	4	6
Total	25	25	24	19	93

- to positive and favourable emotions toward the other. Internal consistency for the feeling checklist was measured by Cronbach Alpha and yielded a correlation of .82.
3. *Trait rating.* A 21-item semantic differential scale was used to measure the cognitive aspect of the relationships which was the participants' perception of traits of the 'typical other'. The questionnaire was used by Ben-Ari and Amir (1987) and revised by Saporta (1993) for use in Israeli society. Respondents were asked to characterize their perception of the 'other' triads with bipolar adjectives such as: honest-dishonest, open-minded- close-minded, and gentle-rough, on a 7-point scale. High mean scores for the 21 items related to a positive perception of the other traits. Internal consistency for the trait rating was measured by Cronbach Alpha and yielded a correlation of .81.
 4. *Social distance scale.* A 13-item questionnaire was used to measure the participant's willingness to interact with someone from the other group. The scale developed by Saporta (1993) was based on the Social Distance Scale (SDS), originally developed by Bogardus (1928). The questionnaire samples verbal reports about the degree to which the participants are willing to interact with a person from another group. Participants were presented with 13 statements (e.g. 'study with him/her for exam'; 'live with him/her in the same building' and 'be his/her partner for a trip'). Participants were instructed to 'rate the following statements on the following scale about a person of the same sex from the other group' using a Likert-type 1-7 point scale (1—definitely unwilling, 7—definitely willing). Items were summed to yield a single index of social distance. Internal consistency for the questionnaire was measured by Cronbach Alpha and yielded a correlation of .83.

Procedure

In order to enable group encounters in the first phase of the project, four teachers (two from each high school) participated in a one-day workshop designed to train them as moderators of student workshops in both the Jewish and Bedouin high schools. The topics discussed by the teachers during the workshop addressed different aspects of inter-group conflict and included issues such as, stereotypes, perceptions, democracy, equality and the importance of inter-ethnic tolerance. In addition, organizational issues and school arrangements for the meetings were discussed and made.

The main phase of the project consisted of four face-to-face encounters between the Jewish and Bedouin students. In these meetings students attended lectures given by experts on inter-ethnic mediation, and participated in informal face-to-face inter-ethnic small-group meetings in which they were encouraged to get know each other. The first meeting day was dedicated to self-disclosure in which students presented themselves, their families and their way of life. The second and the third days were dedicated to issues regarding living in a democratic country and ways of solving conflicts using the tools of democracy. The fourth day was dedicated to dealing with

social and environmental issues that the two societies share. In addition, they had discussions about their impressions of the project and how they could plan for further inter-group social contact in the future. During each of the meeting days students had lunch together and leisure time for informal meetings.

The time interval between each meeting was one month and between each meeting students in both Jewish and Bedouin high schools separately took part in weekly sessions where they discussed issues related to the meeting in which they participated. No dramatic political, social or military events took place in the region during that time, and the relationships between Israeli Arabs and Jews were not harmed or brought to the fore.

The research questionnaires were administered to the 93 participants in their school classroom by a research assistant who explained the aims of the study and the questionnaires. Data collection was carried out in a pre-post research design. Participants responded to the research questionnaire a week before the onset of the encounters and a week after the end of the encounters. As mentioned, the time interval between the two administrations was four months. In accordance with the guidelines of the Israeli educational system, respondents' anonymity was ensured.

Results

The aim of the study was to reveal which of the different components of the social relationships was most enhanced by the peace programs provided for Jewish and Arab high-school students in Israel. The four aspects measured were emotional, cognitive, motivational, and behavioural.

In order to examine the influence of participation in the contact intervention on the four aspects of social relationships, participants' responses from the two encounter programs were separately compared in a univariate ANOVA test with repeated measures for each of the research variables, using the Bonferroni procedure to control the probability of a Type I error. Results (see Table 2) indicated a significant difference only in the cognitive aspects of the social relationships while no differences were found in the emotional, motivational, and behavioural aspects. Thus, after their participation in the peace intervention program, both Jewish and Arab participants, from the two separate encounters, showed more positive cognitive perceptions towards their counterparts. No differences were found in their emotions toward the other, their motivation to meet with members of the other group or their willingness to engage in inter-group contact.

In addition to the main question of this study regarding the differential influence of the encounters, the extent of the conflict between the Israeli Jewish majority and Arab minority was studied. A univariate ANOVA with repeated measures for the four research variables (cognition, emotions, motivation and behaviour) was conducted separately for each of the two encounter programs, and yielded a significant difference between the Jewish and Arab subgroups [$F(3,144)=26.88$; $p<.05$; $F(3,120)=13.35$; $p<.05$]. Bonferroni's *post-hoc* tests indicated that in both encounters Jewish participants were more negative than their Arab counterparts in

Table 2. Means, standard deviations and *f* results on the four aspects of social relationships for Jewish and Arab students in before-after experimental configuration

	Group	Factor	Time				<i>F</i>	Sig*
			Before		After			
			<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Encounter 1	Jews	Motivation	3.62	0.51	3.70	0.55	.37	.55
		Cognition	3.14	0.48	3.55	0.43	8.61	.007
		Emotion	3.94	0.73	4.20	0.78	1.76	.20
		Behaviour	3.39	0.88	3.62	0.89	1.09	.30
	Arabs	Motivation	3.64	0.46	3.81	0.48	1.79	.19
		Cognition	3.31	0.42	3.57	0.48	5.28	.03
		Emotion	3.96	0.74	4.35	0.78	4.21	.06
		Behaviour	3.19	0.75	3.90	0.77	1.26	.20
Encounter 2	Jews	Motivation	3.73	0.47	3.90	0.56	1.49	.23
		Cognition	3.26	0.50	3.69	0.36	16.67	.001
		Emotion	4.12	0.65	4.32	0.76	.98	.33
		Behaviour	3.51	0.81	3.74	0.85	.71	.40
	Arabs	Motivation	3.71	0.63	3.93	0.52	1.66	.21
		Cognition	3.26	0.51	3.64	0.35	6.54	.02
		Emotion	4.12	0.50	4.10	0.55	.02	.89
		Behaviour	3.40	1.00	3.83	1.03	2.18	.16

* Level of significance adjusted for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

their willingness to share their lives with members of the other group ($p < .05$). No differences were found in the emotional, cognitive and motivational realms.

Discussion

The main aim of the present study was to reveal which of the different components of social relationships was most enhanced by the encounters between Israeli Jewish and Arab high school students in selected programs. It appeared that of the four aspects of social relationships measured in this study—cognition, emotion, motivation, and behaviour—change as a result of participation in the encounters was significant only in regard to the cognitive realm. Thus, while no differences were found in participants' emotions toward the other, motivation to engage in contact intervention programs or willingness to interact with members of their conflict group, participants showed less prejudice and stereotyped attitudes toward members of their conflict group.

The above findings can be interpreted from a number of different perspectives. Quantitatively it should be stressed that if social relationships were improved in only

one of the four factors measured in this study then, relatively, the encounters should be seen as a failure. Similarly, as the modification was not significant in either the emotional or the behavioural domains, then no real improvement in social relationships has been gained throughout the encounters. This perspective is based on the assumption that emotions are those that serve to organise and enhance behaviour and that they are the basis for the occurrence of behavioural patterns (Frijda, 1986; Moore & Ison, 1990; Magai & McFadden, 1995; Lemerise & Arsenio, 2000). It follows that if peace intervention programs do not result in any emotional modification, these programs require rethinking and subsequent changing.

However, while emotional rather than cognitive processes are seen as underlying inter-group relations (Esses *et al.*, 1993; Eagly *et al.*, 1994; Jussim *et al.*, 1995) there are studies suggesting that the degree to which the contribution of the emotions to inter-group relations depends on the nature of the relations or the specific issue of concern (Haddock, Zanna & Esses, 1994). Thus, for example, Dovidio, Esses, Beach & Gaertner (2002) found, in their study of attitudes of white participants toward Blacks and Asians, that attitudes were based on affect when it concerned further contact with members of the other group and on cognition when it comes to the endorsement of social policies. In addition, as cognitive modification can be considered faster and easier to achieve than emotional modification, any positive change, even for a short time, is a desired outcome in regions of persistent conflict such as Israel.

The importance of any kind of modification, even in its cognitive expression in prejudice and stereotypes, can be supported by the additional findings of this study regarding the relationship between the Jewish and Arab participants. Despite fluctuations, relationships between the two groups are negative, and have been so historically (Smooha, 1988, 1993; Seginer, 2001). In this study the majority group, comprised of Israeli Jewish high school students, was even more negative toward the minority Israeli Arab counterparts than vice versa and the two groups showed only slight desire to interact with each other. These social relationships between Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs can be interpreted in relation to the current conflict between Israel and Palestine. Many Bedouin Arab students describe their identity as Palestinian and hold negative opinions regarding the legitimacy of the State of Israel (Kaplan, Abu-Saad, & Yonah, 2001). The most recent political circumstances in Israel, especially the Palestinian uprisings, have probably contributed to the escalation in the participants' negative attitudes toward each other and have further broadened the schism. As already mentioned, in that case any kind of positive modification, even the slightest, should be seen as desirable.

In practice, the enhancement of positive relationships between conflict groups is without doubt an important role of educators and of schools in general. Coexistence education should be designed to enhance thinking that supports tolerance and understanding toward members of conflict groups and eliminate moral exclusion. Such moral education should include the endowing and development of skills such as listening, reflection, cooperation, empathy and problem solving (Harris & Morrison, 2003). Nonetheless, as the goal of moral education, simply stated, is to

promote moral development, the question of the proper way to achieve such goals must still be addressed.

Different scholars have suggested various models of morality that describe relationships among their cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects (e.g. Kohlberg, 1969; Rest, 1983; Eisenberg, 1986; Lickona, 1991). Recently the importance of emotional aspects was emphasized (Eisenberg, 2000). The aim of this study, however, was to study which of these aspects can be modified via face-to-face encounters, which as already mentioned, are used as a main vehicle in order to enhance moral inclusion between members of conflict groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Based on the results of this study it is suggested, at least in regions of persistent conflict such as Israel, that addressing the cognitive aspects of moral relationships would be both easier to do and reasonable to achieve.

At the same time, as the findings point to the limited effectiveness of contact intervention programs, this study suggests the importance of moral education at early stages of schooling. It seems that instead of trying to modify adults' negative relationships, more effort should be made at a time of formative moral experience. It is also suggested that special attention should be given to members of the higher status group, which, as also found in the current study, are usually more negative toward the minority group (Tajfel, 1978; Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002). Moral education at the early stages of moral development should encourage members of majority groups to humanize rather than ignore or disparage members who belong to the minority groups (Opatow, Gerson & Woodside, 2005). Enhancing moral education at early stages of development would therefore allow not only more time for such a process, but may also be more useful than later interventions.

In sum, the results of the current study suggest that the cognitive realm may be the most beneficial for peace intervention programs. This is at a time when there is more scientific evidence and support for emotional modification as a mediator of positive behavioural change. Educators and other practitioners therefore need to make a decision regarding the objectives of contact intervention programs. In some ways they have to choose between investing in a successful short-term modification by bringing about a cognitive change, or to seek more meaningful change and invest in more complex and long-term emotional intervention. In addition, any successful moral education at early stages of schooling may be a primary intervention strategy that would reduce the need for later moderately successful—or even unsuccessful—peace contact intervention programs.

Acknowledgements

This study was supported by the Institute for Community Education and Research, School of Education, Bar-Ilan University, Israel. The author would like to thank Ron Best for his helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

References

- Abu-Saad, I. (1997) The education of Israel's Negev Bedouin: background and prospects, *Israel Studies*, 2(2), 21–39.
- Abu-Saad, I., Yonah, Y. & Kaplan, A. (2000) Identity and political stability in an ethnically diverse state: a study of Bedouin Arab youth in Israel, *Social Identities*, 6(1), 49–61.
- Allport, G. W. (1954) *The nature of prejudice* (Cambridge, Addison-Wesley).
- Bar, H. & Askalah, J. (1988) *Jewish and Arab youth meetings at 'Givat Haviva'* (Givat Haviva, Institute for Arab Studies) (Hebrew).
- Ben-Ari, R. & Amir, Y. (1987) Israeli tourists in Egypt: meetings and attitude change, *Megamot*, 30(1), 21–30 (Hebrew).
- Ben-David, Y. (1988) *Negev Bedouin agriculture: suggestions for the adoption of governmental policy* (Jerusalem, Jerusalem Institute for the Study of Israel) (Hebrew).
- Ben-David, Y. (1993) *The settlement of Bedouins in the Negev: reality and the need for improvement* (Jerusalem, Florsheimer Institute for Policy Research) (Hebrew).
- Bogardus, E. S. (1928, 1933, 1959) Social distance scale, in: J. P. Robinson, P. R. Shaver & L. S. Wrightsman (1999) (Eds) *Measures of political attitudes. Measures of social psychological attitudes* (New York, Academic Press), 335–339.
- Central Bureau of Statistics (2004) *Statistical Abstract of Israel (No. 54)* (State of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics).
- Cook, S. W. (1978) Interpersonal and attitudinal outcomes in cooperating interracial groups, *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 12(1), 97–113.
- Dovidio, J. F., Esses, V. M., Beach, K. R. & Gaertner, S. L. (2002) The role of affect in determining intergroup behavior: the case of willingness to engage in intergroup contact, in: D. M. Mackie & E. R. Smith (Eds) *Beyond prejudice: from outgroup hostility to intergroup emotions* (Philadelphia, PA, Psychology Press), 153–171.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L. & Kawakami, K. (2003) Intergroup contact: the past and the future, *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6(1), 5–21.
- Eagly, A. H., Mladinic, A. & Otto, S. (1994) Cognitive and affective bases of attitudes toward social groups and social policies, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 30(2), 113–137.
- Eisenberg, N. (1986) *Altruistic emotion, cognition and behavior* (New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum).
- Eisenberg, N. (2000) Emotion, regulation, and moral development, *Annual Review of Psychology*, 51, 665–697.
- Esses, V. M., Haddock, G. & Zanna, M. P. (1993) Values, stereotypes, and emotions as determinants of intergroup attitudes, in: D. M. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds) *Affect, cognition, and stereotyping: interactive processes in group perception* (New York, Academic Press), 137–166.
- Frijda, N. H. (1986) *The emotions* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).
- Gaziel, H. (1999) Educational policy in Israel: structures and processes, in: E. Peled (Ed.) *Fifty years of Israeli education* (Tel-Aviv, Ministry of Defense Publishing) (Hebrew), 67–84.
- Glaubman, R. & Katz, Y. J. (1998) *The Negev Bedouin community: educational and community characteristics—Research Report Number 11* (School of Education, Bar-Ilan University, Institute for Community Education and Research) (Hebrew).
- Haddock, G., Zanna, M. P. & Esses, V. M. (1994) Mood and the expression of intergroup attitudes: the moderating role of affect intensity, *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 24(1), 189–205.
- Harris, I. M. & Morrison, M. L. (2003) *Peace education* (North Carolina, McFarland).
- Herek, G. M. & Capitano, J. P. (1996) Some of my best friends: intergroup contact, concealable stigma, and heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22(4), 412–424.
- Hewstone, M., Rubin, M. & Willis, H. (2002) Intergroup bias, *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53(1), 575–604.

- International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (2004a) *TIMSS 2003 international mathematics report* (Chestnut Hill, MA, TIMSS & PIRLS International Study Center, Boston College).
- International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (2004b) *TIMSS 2003 international science report* (Chestnut Hill, MA, TIMSS & PIRLS International Study Center, Boston College).
- Izard, C. E. (1994) Cognition is one of four types of emotion activating systems, in: P. Ekman & R. J. Davidson (Eds) *The nature of emotions: fundamental questions* (New York, Oxford University Press), 203–207.
- Jussim, L., Nelson, T. E., Manis, M. & Soffin, S. (1995) Prejudice, stereotypes, and labeling effects: sources of bias in person perception, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(2), 228–246.
- Kaplan, A., Abu-Saad, I. & Yonah, I. (2001) Jewish–Arab relations in Israel: perceptions, emotions, and attitudes of university students of education, *Intercultural Education*, 12(3), 289–307.
- Katz, Y. J. (1998) *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Negev Bedouin education* (Jerusalem, Ministry of Education Culture and Sport) (Hebrew).
- Kelman, H. (1990) Interactive problem solving: a social psychology approach to conflict resolution, in: J. Burton & F. Dukes (Eds) *Conflict: reading in management and resolution* (New York, St. Martin's), 199–216.
- Kohlberg, L. (1969) Stage and sequence: The cognitive developmental approach to socialization, in: D. A. Goslin (Ed.) *Handbook of Socialization Theory* (Chicago, IL, Rand McNally), 87–109.
- Kolodziej, M. E. & Johnson, B. T. (1996) Interpersonal contact and acceptance of persons with psychiatric disorders: a research synthesis, *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 64(6), 1387–1396.
- Lemerise, E. A. & Arsenio, W. F. (2000) An integrated model of emotion processes and cognition in social information processing, *Child Development*, 71(1), 107–118.
- Lickona, T. (1991) *Educating for Character* (New York, Bantam).
- Mackie, D. M., Devos, T. & Smith, E. R. (2000) Intergroup emotions: explaining offensive action tendencies in an intergroup context, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79(4), 602–616.
- Mackie, D. M. & Smith, E. R. (1998) Intergroup relations: insights from a theoretically integrative approach, *Psychological Review*, 105(3), 499–529.
- Magai, C. & McFadden, S. (1995) *The role of emotions in social and personality development* (New York, Plenum Press).
- Melitz, A. (1995) *Changes in Negev Bedouin education* (Beer-Sheva, Ministry of Education and Culture) (Hebrew).
- Miller, N., Kenworthy, J., Canales, C. J. & Stenstrom, D. M. (in press) Explaining the effects of crossed categorization on ethnocentric bias, in: R. J. Crisp & M. Hewstone (Eds) *Multiple social categorization: processes, models and applications* (Hove, Psychology Press).
- Moore, B. S. & Ison, A. M. (1990) Affect and social behaviour, in: B. S. Moore & A. M. Ison (Eds) *Affect and social behavior* (New York, Cambridge University Press), 1–21.
- Nevo, B. & Brem, I. (2002) Peace education programs and the evaluation of their effectiveness, in: G. Salomon & B. Nevo (Eds) *Peace education, the concept, principles, and practices around the world* (New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers), 271–282.
- Opatow, S., Gerson, J. & Woodside, S. (2005) From moral exclusion to moral inclusion: theory for teaching peace, *Theory Into Practice*, 44(4), 303–318.
- Paolini, S., Hewstone, M., Voci, A., Harwood, J. & Cairns, E. (in press) Intergroup contact and the promotion of intergroup harmony: the influence of intergroup emotions, in: R. Brown & D. Capozza (Eds) *Social identities: motivational, emotional, cultural influences* (Hove, Psychology Press).

- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998) Intergroup contact theory, *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 65–85.
- Pettigrew, T. F. & Tropp, L. R. (2000) Does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Recent meta-analytic findings, in: S. Oskamp (Ed.) *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum), 93–114.
- Pettigrew, T. F. & Tropp, L. R. (2006) A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751–783.
- Rest, J. (1983) Morality, in: P. H. Mussen (series Ed.) and J. Flavell. & E. Markman (vol. Eds) *Handbook of child psychology: cognitive development* (Vol. 3) (4th edn) (New York, Wiley), 556–629.
- Salomon, G. (2002) The nature of peace education: not all programs are equal, in: G. Salomon & B. Nevo (Eds) *Peace education, the concept, principles, and practices around the world* (New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum), 271–282.
- Saporta, N. (1993) The change of attitudes resulting from meetings between religious and non-religious, and the effect of trait anxiety on the change process. Dissertation submitted at the Department of Psychology (Ramat-Gan, Bar-Ilan University) (Hebrew).
- Seginer, R. (2001) Jewish-Arab relations in Israel: a psychology of adolescence perspective, *The Journal of Psychology*, 120(6), 557–565.
- , M. (1966) *Group conflict and cooperation* (London, Routledge & Kogan Paul).
- Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, J., Hood, W. & Sherif, C. (1961) *Intergroup conflict and cooperation: the robber's cave experiment* (Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Institute of Intergroup Relations).
- Smith, E. R. (1993) Social identity and social emotions: toward new conceptualizations of prejudice, in: D. M. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds) *Affect, cognition, and stereotyping: interactive processes in group perception* (San Diego, CA, Academic Press), 297–315.
- Smootha, S. (1988) Jewish and Arab ethnocentrism in Israel, in: J. E. Hofman (Ed.) *Arab-Jewish relations in Israel: a quest in human understanding* (Bristol, Wyndham Hall), 175–216.
- Smootha, S. (1993) Class, clannish and nationality cleavage, and democracy in Israel, in: A. Ram (Ed.) *Israeli society: critical perspectives* (Tel Aviv, Breirot Publishers) (Hebrew), 172–202.
- Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O. & Bachman, G. (1999) Prejudice toward immigrants, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 29(11), 2221–2237.
- Tajfel, H. (1978) *The social psychology of minorities* (New York, Minority Rights Group).
- Talmi, E. & Talmi, M. (1977) *Lexicon of Zionism* (Tel-Aviv, Maariv Library) (Hebrew).
- Tessler, M. & Grant, A. K. (1998) Israel's Arab citizens: the continuing struggle, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 555(1), 97–113.
- Tur-Kaspa-Shimoni, M. (2001) *Evaluation of the integrated threat theory of prejudice in three domains of intergroup rivalry in Israeli society*. Dissertation submitted at the Department of Psychology (Ramat Gan, Bar-Ilan University) (Hebrew).
- Voci, A. & Hewstone, M. (2003) Intergroup contact and prejudice toward immigrants in Italy: the mediational role of anxiety and the moderational role of group salience, *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6(1), 37–54.
- Wagner, U. & Machleit, U. (1986) Gestarbeiter in the Federal Republic of Germany: contact between Germans and migrant populations, in: M. Hewstone & R. Brown (Eds) *Contact and conflict in intergroup encounters* (Oxford, Blackwell), 59–78.
- Wagner, U., Van-Dick, R., Pettigrew, T. F. & Christ, O. (2003) Ethnic prejudice in East and West Germany: the explanatory power of intergroup contact, *Group processes and intergroup relations*, 6(1), 22–36.
- Winer, A., Bar-On, A. & Weiner, E. (1992) *Directory of institutions and organizations fostering coexistence between Jews and Arabs in Israel* (New York, The Abraham Fund).
- Zanna, M. P. & Rempel, J. K. (1988) Attitudes: a new look at an old concept, in: D. Bar-Tal & A. W. Kruglanski (Eds) *The social psychology of knowledge* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), 315–334.