

An Initial Test of an Intervention Designed to Help  
Youth Question Negative Ethnic Stereotypes

by

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To the memory of my grandmothers Hajji Fatmeh and Hajji Mariam, both strong, independent, loving women whose compassion for humanity guides my life.

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## Abstract

The present study tested a social cognitive-ecological model to gain an understanding of factors that influence negative ethnic stereotypes and aggressive beliefs toward outside groups. The first goal of this study was to explore how differences in cognition (empathy, perspective taking, social identity, critical thinking) relate to ethnic prejudice and out-group aggressive beliefs. The hypotheses for this goal were that empathy for an out group would relate negatively to ethnic prejudice, negative ethnic stereotypes and aggressive beliefs toward outside groups. Also, it was hypothesized that negative ethnic stereotypes and aggressive beliefs would relate positively to strong ethnic identity and to television viewing of ethnic political violence. The second goal of the study was to test the efficacy of an intervention aimed at reducing ethnic stereotypes and increasing empathy for out-groups among high school students. The hypotheses for this goal were that the intervention would increase perspective taking and empathic behavior resulting in a reduction of youths' negative ethnic stereotypes and aggressive beliefs toward outside groups.

Using an immediate and delayed intervention design, a sample of predominately Arab and Jewish youth from two high schools in the Detroit metropolitan area were recruited. There were 192 students in the first phase of the study. In the intervention phase of the study, 153 students participated with 93 receiving the intervention immediately after the baseline pretest and 60 receiving

it on a delayed basis after the first post-test. Thirty-one of the 153, served as peer educators, delivering the intervention curriculum to the 122 peer trainees in 4 sessions.

Correlational results supported the first set of hypotheses. Mixed results were found in the intervention phase for the second set of hypotheses. Results showed that the intervention significantly impacted peer educators. Their agreement and support of explicit ethnic stereotypes and desire to engage in critical thinking improved from before to after intervention relative to the peer trainees. Scores for all youth on the implicit measure of negative stereotypes decreased. Furthermore, the peer educators' negative stereotypes about outside groups decreased significantly relative to the waiting list control group's negative stereotypes.

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction and Literature Review**

American adolescents today are unable to reach adulthood without directly or indirectly experiencing ethnic prejudice. Adolescents don't have to be the target of ethnic prejudice to be impacted. Even indirect experience such as being a witness to negative ethnic prejudice may influence youth's attitudes, beliefs and behaviors toward ethnic minorities. If they are fortunate enough to escape the influence of negative ethnic stereotypical beliefs from their family, friends, and community, they will most likely be exposed to the media's negative depiction of various ethnic groups and vivid depiction of ethnic violence (Mastro, 2009). Consequently, it is important both to understand how the media influences ethnic stereotypes and to understand what techniques might be used to intervene to counteract the effects of media portrayals that create ethnic stereotypes. The current study has both of these objectives.

The current study is a subset of a larger study examining the effect of a school based psycho-educational intervention on ethnic prejudice and beliefs approving of aggression. The study focuses on Arab and Jewish ethnic groups due to their history of conflict and their negative portrayal in the media. The study expands on the team's previous work examining the relation between exposure to media depictions of violence in the Middle East and youth's negative

stereotypes toward “out” group members (Huesmann et. al, 2011). The previous study’s sample included 46% Arab American youth and 23% Jewish American youth. Youth who measured high on the ethnic identity measure and were exposed to frequent media reports of the Middle-East conflict had the highest levels of negative stereotypes toward the out group. Identification with Arabs predicted negative stereotypes towards Jewish Americans, while identification with Israelis predicted negative stereotypes towards Arabs.

The study is framed in a social cognitive-ecological model (Guerra et. al., 1997) in order to present a number of the constructs impacting negative ethnic stereotypes and beliefs among youth. The first goal of this study is to explore how differences in cognition (i.e. empathy, perspective taking, social identity, critical thinking) relate to ethnic prejudice and aggressive beliefs toward outside groups. The second goal of this study is to test the efficacy of an intervention which aims to reduce ethnic stereotypes among a group of Arab and Jewish high school students. The study builds on a conceptual model which drives the design of the intervention. This model serves as a roadmap of the key concepts to be defined and discussed. Table 1 lists and briefly defines the variables considered in the conceptual model and also targeted by the research study. Figure 1 shows how these variables combine to influence the outcomes.

*Table 1: Main ingredients of constructs targeted.*

Critical Thinking:

1. Challenges held beliefs.
2. Logical and accurate.
3. Maintain skepticism and promotes cognitive dissonance

Perspective Taking:

1. Imagine how the other perceives his situation
2. Imagine how the other feels about his situation
3. Imagine how you would feel about that situation
4. Imagine how you would feel in that situation.

Empathy:

1. An other oriented response: cognitive and affective quality.
2. Cognitive empathy results from perspective taking.
3. Cognitive empathy leads to emotional / affective empathy.

Stereotypes:

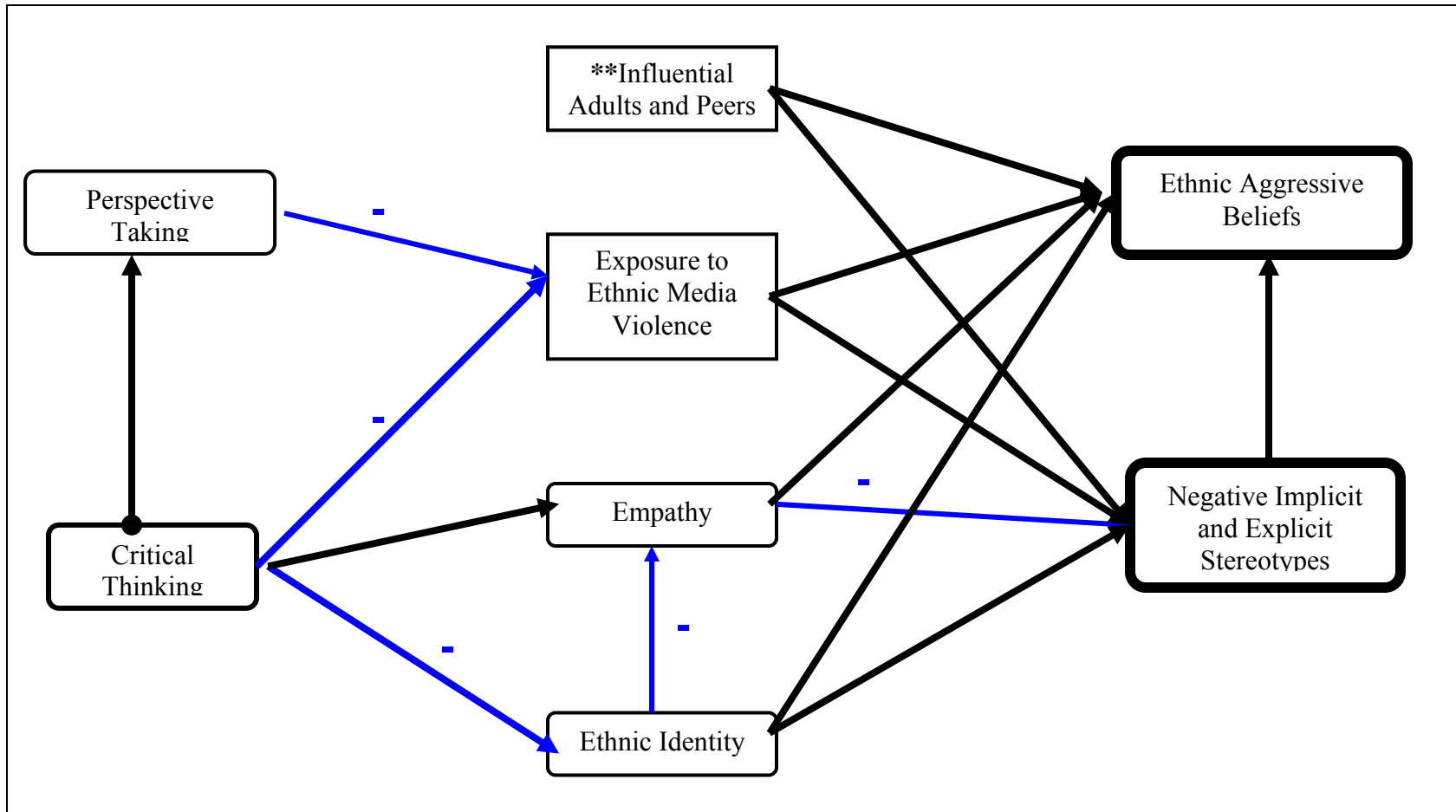
1. Shared assumptions about qualities and traits that members of a social category possess.
2. Implicit stereotypes are unconscious and automatic attributions of a social group.

Prejudice:

1. “Unsubstantiated prejudgment” (Tajfel, 1981).
2. Biased, rigid, and distorted thinking that may be felt or expressed
3. Requires conscious attention

Ethnic Identity:

1. Self is defined in terms of group membership.
2. Adopting norms, values and practices of one’s ethnic group.
3. Feeling of attachment and belonging to one’s ethnic group.
4. Engagement in the unique practices and behaviors of one’s ethnic group.
5. Active commitment to one’s ethnic group.



*Figure 1.* External and internal risk factors impacting ethnic stereotypes and ethnic aggressive beliefs. Internal factors are within boxes with rounded corners while external factors are within boxes with sharp corners. Outcome variables are within boxes with a thick, dark border. Predicted negative relationships are indicated with a blue line and a negative sign while predicted positive relationships are indicated with a black line. \*\* - Will not be tested in the study.

Prior to presenting the study hypotheses and elaborating on the conceptual model as well as the design of the intervention administered, it will be necessary to offer an in depth review of the social science concepts in the model. I begin with a description of the cognitions influencing ethnic prejudice, as well as the prevalence of ethnic prejudices in this country followed by a description of the variables that might mediate the effect of ecological influences on youth's stereotypes

### **Stereotypes, Social Identity and Ethnic Prejudice**

Stereotypes are shared assumptions about the homogeneity of a social group (Killen, M., & Smetana, J. 2009; Greenwald, A., & Banaji, M. 1995). Greenwald and Banaji (p. 20; 1995) elaborate on the term by defining implicit stereotypes as being “introspectively unidentified (or inaccurately identified) traces of past experience that mediate attributions of qualities to members of a social category.” They are considered unconscious and automatic and gain their meaning through the affiliation of a group. Stereotypes may serve to enhance the self-esteem of the individual and group (Bar-Tal, 1997; Jost & Banaji, 1994). Although stereotypes serve an adaptive function and allow individuals to categorize and make sense of their environment, they can however lead to prejudice. According to Allport, stereotypes allow for the rationalizing of prejudices (Park & Judd, 2005). However, Allport does make clear that social categorization of outside groups does not automatically lead to prejudice (Brown, 1995; Park & Judd, 2005). The automatic activation quality of stereotypes makes clear the distinction between Prejudice and Stereotypes. Unlike stereotypes,



prejudices require conscious attention (Higgins & King, 1981; Neely, 1977).

Prejudice refers to the negative and sometimes hostile feelings toward a group or a member of that group (Aronson et al., 1994) and tends to be a result of biased, rigid, and distorted thinking that may be felt or expressed (Brown, 1995 p.6).

Tajfel and Turner (1987) use social identity development theory in order to explain prejudice. According to Tajfel and Turner (1987) social identity theory asserts that individuals define themselves in terms of their group membership. Group membership tends to taint our ability to objectively perceive our environment and is connected to the individual's self-esteem thus encouraging one to promote the in-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The need to maintain a positive self concept may drive the individual towards in-group favoritism at the expense of the out-group. In this way, individuals are driven to devalue the out-group in order to enhance their in-group identity. Tajfel (1981) refers to prejudice as an "unsubstantiated prejudgment" (p.131) which may take on a positive or negative quality and is targeted toward an individual or a group. Although prejudice may have a positive quality, prejudice is primarily thought of as a negative attitude toward an out group (Stephan, 1985; Eagly & Chaiker, 1993). Prejudice not only involves affective and behavioral components but also presents cognitive qualities in the form of negative beliefs (Eagly & Chaiker, 1993). As supported by previous research on out-group threat and prejudice, Nesdale et al (2005), demonstrated how out-group prejudice emerges when members identify strongly with their group and the group encourages the rejection of out-group members as well as group members holding perceptions of out-group threat. Out

group threat may be realistic such as a threat against a group's physical health, power and resources or it may be symbolic threat such as threats against the group's beliefs and values. In-group favoritism at the cost of bias toward the out group leads to prejudice (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel et al., 1971; Brewer, 1999). Dovidio et al (2001, 2004, and 2008) have looked extensively at the effect that a common in-group identity may have on prejudice and negative stereotypes of out group members. They have found that fostering a common in-group identity between groups may lead to a reduction in intergroup bias and prejudice.

Rejection of out-group members and prejudice is not the only possible outcome of strong in-group bias coupled with perceptions of threat by the out-group (Nesdale et. al, 2010; 2005). Beliefs supporting aggression and violence towards out-group members may emerge. The world wide prevalence of ethnic political violence has led researchers to examine the effect of living in countries facing persistent ethnic political violence (Dubow et. al,). A number of studies have found the emergence of aggressive beliefs towards the out-group when individuals hold strong in-group bias and experience or perceive threat from out-group members (Victoroff et. al, 2010; Struch & Schwartz, 1989). Ethnically motivated aggression is not limited to countries experiencing ethnic political violence.

### **Ethnically Motivated Violence**

Ethnically motivated violence stemming from prejudice is a serious problem. The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation defines hate crime as a crime that is motivated by bias against a "race, religion, sexual orientation,

ethnicity/national origin, or disability and committed against persons, property or society” (FBI, 2005, p.1). According to the federal enhancement statute, a criminal offense falls under the category of hate crime if the perpetrators intentionally choose their victim because of the victim’s actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender disability or sexual orientation (Rubenstein, 2004). In 2008, 7,783 cases of hate crime were reported in the United States. This number is even more staggering when we consider the population size of the targeted groups and look at the per capita number as opposed to the raw data. For example, Jewish Americans only make up about 2% of the US population (Sheskin & Dashefsky 2006) but fall victim to 66% of the religious crimes committed in the US (Larner, 2010). Of the reported hate crime cases, 17.9% of were against individuals because of their religious beliefs (FBI, Hate Crime Report, 2008). Over 12% of the reported crimes in 2008 were against those of specific ethnic/national origins (FBI, Hate Crime Report, 2008). Also, it is believed that hate crime is underreported and the actual collected data do not provide us with an accurate reading. For example, there are a number of consecutive years when Alabama and Mississippi reported zero hate crime incidents in their state (Rubenstein, 2004). This scenario seems very unlikely. The majority of hate crimes do not make the news because of their lack of drama. Most incidents of hate crime are committed by individuals who don’t have a criminal history and are able to stay under the radar due to the subtleness of their attacks (Larner, 2010). Verbal abuse and harassment are also not news-worthy but are obviously damaging.

## **Stereotypes and Prejudice Faced by Arabs and Jews**

Arabs in this country, particularly post 9/11, have faced a significant increase in discrimination (Sirin & Balsano 2007; Abu El-Haj 2006; ADC 2003-2007 report; FBI 2001 crime report). The media has continued to vilify Arabs and Muslims, often portraying them as terrorists, enemies of democracy, violent and dangerous (Abu El-Haj 2006; ADC 2003-2007 report). Arab women are seen as submissive, uneducated and under the control of men. Muslims during the second half of 2010 faced an increase in hate crime as well as verbal attacks by the media and political candidates due to the proposed building of the Park51 Muslim Community Center a few blocks from the site of the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center (8/23/2010 ADC press release). A number of Christian leaders continue to preach about the threat Islam poses to the American way of life. For example, during the last months of 2010 and for much of 2011 Reverend Terry Jones from Gainesville, Florida threatened to burn the Quran as a gesture of defiance to Islam. Although Reverend Jones's congregation is very limited in size, he was able to gain national media attention which allowed the conversation of "terrorist, threatening Muslims" to continue. Other nationally prominent religious and political leaders have also spoken out clearly against Islam. For example, Reverend Pat Robertson has often denounced Islam by calling it inherently violent and states that the Quran preaches violence. Reverend Franklin Graham who led the prayer at President Bush's inauguration has on a number of occasions attacked Islam calling it, "a very wicked, evil religion," and announced

to CNN viewers that “Islam requires its followers to become suicide bombers in order to attain salvation” (ADC 2003-2007 report). A Muslim listening to this message by someone our president endorses may be left to feel marginalized in his own country.

Arab and Muslim youth are particularly vulnerable for such feelings. According to the Bureau of Justice and Statistics national survey of American Adolescents, 12% of all youth between the ages of 12 and 18 reported being the subject of hate-related insults (e.g., regarding race, religion, or ethnicity) at school (Devoe 2003). The prevalence of Arab and Muslim stereotyping and discrimination has left Arab students feeling “alienated and invisible” in their classrooms (Suleiman 2004). Our educational system, which lacks cultural competency and sensitivity often, endorses many of the negative stereotypes about Arabs, leaving Arab youth feeling like second class citizens (Abu El-Haj 2006). The school climate needs to change and be more sensitive to the discrimination Arab students encounter. A sense of belonging and community needs to be nurtured and social justice should be practiced.

Although Arabs and Muslims faced the greatest number of hate crimes post 9/11 (Rubenstein, 2004) Jewish people have also endured a long history of prejudice, discrimination and attacks in this country. It was in 2010 when James Von Brunn, a white supremacist and anti-Semite entered the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and killed an African-American security guard. A number of Jewish institutions across the country have been subjected to overt, anti-Semitic protests from Westboro Baptist Church, a small organization out of Topeka,

Kansas (ADL 2009 audit). The signs carried by church members made such blatantly racist statements as, “God Hates Jews,” “The Jews killed Jesus,” and “God Hates Israel.” Jewish youth have also been victims of anti-Semitic assaults. On November 18, 2009, a number of Jewish students in a Naples, Florida middle school were targeted during a “Kick a Jew” Day. These documented incidents point to a persistent problem needing to be addressed.

The ADL’s most recent survey (2009) of American attitudes toward Jews in America does fortunately paint an improved picture for Jewish Americans. The survey includes 11 index statements (i.e. “Jews stick together more than other Americans”; “Jews have too much power in the US”) that are randomly placed among a longer list of statements about Jews. Individuals who agree with six or more of the index statements are classified as anti-Semitic. According to the ADL’s reporting, in 1964 29% of Americans held anti-Semitic views; however the most recent survey finds anti-Semitic attitudes to be at their lowest (12%) to date. This proportion, 12%, may be an improvement but it is still quite staggering and troubling. Also, the survey targeted American attitudes towards Jewish Americans but not their behavior. As years of research on attitudes have demonstrated, attitudes are not always linked to behavior (Bohner & Dickel, 2011; Schwarz, 2007; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005; Greenwald, 2009). A number of contextual variables will predict the likelihood that an individual’s attitude will generate a behavioral response (Bohner & Dickel, 2011; Schwarz, 2007).

Given what we know about social identity, stereotypes and prejudice and given the present volatile Middle-East political climate, negative feelings by

Arabs against Jews and vice versa are predictable. Ruttenberg (1996), in a small sample study of U.S. Arab (Christian) and Jewish college students, found that both groups reported out-group derogatory jokes funnier and more representative of the out group than jokes relating to their in group. Bar-Tal and Teichman (2005) and Teichman, Bar-Tal and Abdolrazeq (2007) surveyed Jewish and Arab youth in Israel to study the extent to which the development of intergroup biases is influenced by collective identity. In both groups the authors found that under a real threat situation, individuals with high collective identity reported the greatest out-group negativity and discrimination. Rouhana and Bar-Tal (1998) identify the Israeli Arab conflict as an example of an intractable conflict which over generations has led to deep rooted biases and prejudices. Intractable conflict is characterized by conflict over basic human needs (i.e. security, identity), the conflict persists for more than a generation, it plays a central role in the lives of group members with frequent political and media focus, the cycle of violence is perpetuated by both sides and both groups feeling victimized and unwilling to make concessions (Bar-Tal, 2007). The shared societal beliefs of victimization and legitimacy of cause strengthens group members' collective identity and allows members to mobilize around a central theme. As social identity theory predicts, an individual's need to positively view his group may lead to biased information processing (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Rouhana & Bar-Tal, 1998). Members are likely to avoid information which challenges their group's beliefs and disturbs their existing schema. These distortions in reality may have the

dangerous effect of justifying aggression and discrimination against the out-group.

Clearly, stereotypes which lead to prejudice may be difficult to eliminate when biased information processing has moved to distortions in reality (Rouhana & Bar-Tal, 1998). Group members' prejudicial attitudes and beliefs may lead to discriminatory behavior towards the out-group. Discrimination is the behavioral manifestation of prejudice and results in biased treatment of out-group members (Quillan, 2006). Discrimination has a negative effect on both physical and mental health (Siefert 2001). A study by Gee et al (2007) expressed the effect discrimination has on mental disorders in a representative sample of 2095 Asian American adults. The researchers controlled for acculturative stress, poverty, and low family cohesion. The findings pointed to an association between discrimination and mental health. Odds of being classified with an anxiety or depressive disorder increased when discrimination was reported. Nyborg and Curry (2003) in their research on racism involving African American 10-14 year old boys found that personal experience with racism as well as the perception of racism was related to internalizing symptoms (i.e. avoidance, feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem). Immigrants who are faced with discrimination may have difficulty adjusting in their new culture and restrict themselves to affiliations with their ethnic group (Nesdale et al. 1997). Immigrants experience with perceived discrimination, even at a young age is found to adversely influence health. Kulis and Nieri (2009) sampled a large group of primarily Latino 5<sup>th</sup> grade youth to examine the effect perceived discrimination may have on youth's



drug use and attitudes. They found a positive correlation between perceived discrimination and drug use as well as pro-drug attitudes. Similarly, other research finds that when the majority culture assigns negative traits toward an immigrant group and discriminates against them, members of the minority group internalize the negative evaluations (Tartakovsky 2009).

### **Social Learning Approach**

Perhaps the strongest case for an ecological approach to addressing ethnic bias and violence is by understanding the impact social learning may have on the development of these negative attributes. Social learning theory states that individuals may develop a repertoire of behaviors simply by witnessing similar behaviors in their environment (Bandura 1977). “Children can acquire entire repertoires of novel aggressive behavior by observing aggressive models and can retain such response patterns over extended periods” (Bandura 1983). Children learn to model aggressive behavior (Bandura, 1986; 2001; Dutton, 1995), which become set patterns in memory and are developed into defined scripts and self-regulating internal standards or normative beliefs which dictate responses and are stable over time (Huesmann, 1998; 1997; 1998; Huesmann & Kirwil, 2007). Children develop aggressive responses to problems through the observation of aggressive models and through enactive learning that may reinforce aggression. Enactive learning allows the child to perform the behavior observed and through the process of rewards and punishment the child is able to determine which behaviors are most rewarding.

According to Huesmann and Eron (1989), children who have many opportunities to observe aggressive strategies for addressing problems will develop scripts approving of aggression and are more likely to exhibit this behavior. Children develop these scripts through real life observations, the media, or through aggressive victimization. As motivated and engaged subjects, children develop scripts that serve as mental guides of expected behaviors which help the child in dealing with situations. There are a wide range of social influences in the child's life which affect the type of scripts that are added to the child's repertoire of responses. The various ecological levels (i.e. home, community, school, and media) provide the youth with numerous opportunities to observe behaviors and adopt scripts which may be supportive of aggression (Dubow et al., 2009).

Dutton (1988) presented the modeling effects on aggression as taking on two distinct types: generalized modeling (i.e. communicating the acceptability of all types of aggression) and specific modeling (i.e. modeling particular types of observed behaviors). Kalmus (1984) explained generalized modeling occurring when children at home observe the acceptability of aggression between family members and specific modeling refers to witnessing and reproducing specific aggressive acts exposed to by family members. Dutton (2000) emphasizes the role that childhood family experiences plays on the acquisition of aggressive habits which tend to be imitative and self-reinforcing and may lead to psychological disturbances. However, Dutton makes clear that ecological influences are necessary for childhood aggressive exposure and behavior to lead to adult aggression. Patterson, DeBaryshe, and Ramsey's (1989, 1992) work on childhood

antisocial behavior demonstrate the interactive properties of social learning. The child is influenced by the observed behaviors of others yet the child's reaction to these observations may have the effect of impacting other's behaviors.

Research on social learning theory has clearly demonstrated that children learn from observations they make within their family and community. Beliefs and behaviors throughout childhood are acquired by modeling important others (Bandura, 1997). Ethnic attitudes and behaviors, as true with other social behaviors are learned from parents and peers (Nesdale et. al, 2005). Children who are socialized in an environment where prejudice is present and endorsed will likely develop prejudicial attitudes (Devine, 1989). Stereotypes and prejudices origin are clearly environmental (Bar-Tal, 1989).

### **Media's effect on Youth's Development of Aggression and Ethnic Stereotypes**

Social learning theory helps to not only explain the development of aggression and stereotypes within a child's family and community but also helps to highlight the impact the media has on the lives of children. Given the role that the media plays in the lives of youth, a review of the literature describing the influence it exerts on the development of aggression is necessary. The media's role in contributing to interpersonal aggression among children is unquestionable (Huesmann et al., 1997; Boxer et al., 2008; Bushman & Huesmann, 2006; Comstock, 2008; Anderson et al., 2009). The media can have an instigating and disinhibiting effect on aggression (Berkowitz, 1993). Hundreds of studies over the past decades have made the convincing case for the harmful effect the media

has on the development of children's aggressive attitudes and behaviors (Comstock, 2008; Donnerstein et al., 1993). A number of reviews (Anderson et al., 2003) and meta-analyses (Bushman & Huesmann, 2006) have left no doubt that violent media exposure has an impact on aggressive behavior.

The US Health and Human Services department (2001) has begun to warn Americans of the dangers posed by the media. As reported in Comstock's (2008) sociological perspective on media and violence, The US Department of Health and Human Services (2001) "identifies greater exposure to television violence between the ages of 6 and 11 as an early risk factor for the commitment of criminal violence equivalent to a felony between the ages of 15 and 18." The panel for Psychological Science in the Public Interest which includes researchers in the field of aggression, made the following conclusions about the influence of media violence on youth:

1. Exposure to violent television or film entertainment facilitates aggressive and antisocial behavior.
2. This facilitation extends to seriously harmful behavior.
3. There is a developmental pattern in which earlier viewing nurtures one or more traits that will be expressed in aggressive and antisocial behavior in a later time period constitute a striking punctuation mark in this area of communication (and psychological) inquiry (Comstock 2009, p. 1199).

Bushman and Anderson (2009) studied the effect of violent media on helping behavior. Subjects were less likely to respond to a confederate's need for help after being exposed to violent media. They minimized the confederate's

need and lacked empathy in their response. The researchers concluded that violent media made people “numb to the pain and suffering of others” (Bushman & Anderson 2009). Studies on violent video games report results similar to those on violent television viewing and in some cases results are more disturbing (Boxer et al. 2008). Television viewing can be passive; playing violent video games is an active process. Violent video games often require the player to shoot victims in order to accumulate points. A recent review, in fact, found that chronic playing of video games increases children’s long and short term aggressive behavior (Anderson, 2004). Television violence has become a major societal health concern. Ten percent of the variance in child aggression can be accounted for by viewing television violence which is comparable to the threat cigarette smoking has on lung cancer (Dodge et al., 2006). This influence is staggering when considering the amount of time children spend watching TV

The media’s effect on the development of aggression has gained greater attention in recent years and has become more recognized and accepted. The public has become more aware of the role the media plays in the lives of children. However, the courts have not always followed the weight of scientific or public opinion. The US Supreme Court in June of 2011 over-turned a law passed by the California courts which banned the sale of violent video games to minors (Richey, W., 2011). The court based it’s ruling on its interpretation of the first amendment but nonetheless, the case brought the issue of violence and media to the public’s attention.

## **Media Impact on Ethnic Stereotypes**

The media's impact on promoting negative stereotypes of minority groups is also important for today's TV viewer. Television programs continue to define ethnic and racial groups without regard for real world distinctions and therefore promote ethno centrism (Mastro, 2003). Minorities are often presented in narrowly defined roles that serve to perpetuate stereotypes held by the mainstream, majority population (Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). The media's inaccurate and misleading representation of ethnic/racial groups has the effect of generating intergroup conflict and discrimination (Mastro, 2003; Mastro et. al., 2009). For example, it is more common to represent minority groups as criminals and whites as victims, often reporting from the perspective of the "white" culture (Mastro et. al., 2009; Mastro & Ortiz, 2008). Also, racial/ethnic minorities continue to be under-represented in the media relative to their number in the US population (Mastro, 2003). The reason for this under-representation may be rooted in the majority culture's drive to maintain their status and exert their power over what they perceive as the out-group (Utseyet et. al., 2008). According to Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory of intergroup conflict, the dominant group is motivated by power to maintain negative and biased representations of minority members. A group is more likely to remain in a position of dominance if they are perceived as superior and more desirable than a competing group. The media's power to encourage social categorization and promote depersonalization of group members leads to stereotypes which more

often then not negatively portray minority groups (Hogg, 2001; Mastro & Kopacz, 2006). Groups are assigned prototypes which clearly define them and separate them from other groups (Leonardelli et. al., 2010). The media highlights and exaggerates group differences which makes inter-group stereotyping more likely (Ramasubramanian, 2010).

These inaccuracies which the media perpetuates in their portrayal of minority groups shape viewers' beliefs and values about these groups (Grabe & Drew, 2007). General categorizations of groups relinquish one from the responsibility of identifying unique attributes, behaviors, and emotions of individuals and promote a stereotypical and depersonalized quality (Hogg, 2001; Turner, 1999) which affects individual feelings, beliefs, and attitudes toward groups. Self-categorization leads to making associations with some groups and rejecting others based on perceived similarities and differences (Turner et. al, 1994), while stereotypes have their origin in the individual's need to maintain their social identity (Turner, 1985). In-groups' adherence to stereotypes and negative attitudes and beliefs toward other groups leads to enhanced coping mechanisms as well as strengthening in-group cohesion (Pitner, et.al. 2003). Individuals need to maintain a positive social identity leads to positively comparing one's group with the out-group (Tajfil & Turner, 1979). This drive encourages stereotypes and negative attitudes to out groups. A group who suffers from lack of resources and power may find coping easier if they can attribute negative traits to the out group so that they may justify the reason for their lower status and power (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). The media's biased and negative

portrayal of ethnic and racial minorities serves to encourage social categorization and strengthen the dominant group's power (Mastro et. al. 2008; Mastro, 2003; Ramasubramanian, 2010).

Negative portrayal of ethnic groups in the media is not limited to fictional television programs. The news media professes objectivity and fairness in reporting, yet demonstrates biased representation and reporting of minority groups (Owens, 2008). Owens (2008) conducted a content analysis of nightly newscasts over a one month period. The sample of newscasts was obtained from the three major national networks in 2005. The results of the analysis revealed a disproportionate representation of Whites as reporters and professionals. Whites were also most often represented as experts and representing companies and government. Ethnic minorities were more likely to be represented in stories featuring sports, natural disasters, and crime. This exclusion of minorities from important and influential positions promotes a biased, negative view of minority groups. Television, according to social learning theory, can play a powerful role in socializing youth about ethnic groups, especially if direct contact with outside ethnic groups is not available (Tan et. al, 1997). Youth may be more susceptible to the images and messages television provides which could have the negative effect of promoting ethnic stereotypes (Tan et. al., 1997).

Ramasubramanian (2010) studied the effect television viewing has not only on negative stereotypes and bias toward minority groups but on the impact these attitudes have on social policies. A computer-based survey was administered to 323 undergraduate students but only the white sample's (85.1%)



responses were analyzed. The students completed four questionnaires which measured:

1. Participants' extent of perceived stereotypes on television.
2. Participants' endorsement of African-American and Latino-American stereotypes.
3. Participants' prejudicial feelings toward Whites, African-Americans and Latino Americans.
4. Participants' support for affirmative action policies.

Ramasubramanian found that participants' perceived stereotypes influenced their real world stereotypes of out groups which affected their feelings of hostility and negative affect toward the out-group and reduced their support for affirmative action policies. The media was found to yield its influence on the participants' beliefs and feelings ( fear, anger, dislike, nervousness) toward minority groups as well as their political behavior, which has the power to influence policies that impact the lives of minority groups.

### **Buffering Variables**

The above literature review has focused on the factors influencing the development of ethnic stereotyping and ethnic based violence and, the need to address this negative development particularly with respect to perceptions of and behavior toward minority groups. The literature suggests that certain cognitions such as improved perspective taking, empathy, and critical thinking may reduce or buffer the effect of ecological influences on the development of ethnic

stereotyping. For the purpose of this study, perspective taking and empathy will be presented as overlapping constructs.

### **Critical Thinking**

The development of critical thinking is an important first step in addressing youth's ethnic stereotypical beliefs. This study's focus on reducing ethnic biases via the promotion of perspective taking and empathy make it necessary to begin by defining and elaborating on the role critical thinking plays. Critical thinking is sometimes referred to as complex thinking but distinctions between the two exist. Presseisen (2001) distinguished critical thinking from other complex thinking processes. Presseisen defined four constructs of complex thinking: critical thinking, creative thinking, problem solving and decision making. However, the four constructs share common skills. Lipman (1995), like Presseisen identified critical thinking and creative thinking as dimensions of complex thinking. However, he also recognized an affective and experiential dimension of complex thinking which he defined as caring. The conceptual model's focus is on critical thinking. Based on the present review of critical thinking, the study scale developed to assess critical thinking may have fallen short of accurately measuring this construct.

Critical thinking is defined as "making sound judgments and claims that meet epistemologically acceptable standards" (Abrami et. al., 2008, p.1104).

Critical thinking needs to be logical and accurate, maintain skepticism, and guard against bias and a narrow perspective (Garside, 1996). Seven categories of learning are identified in Bloom's taxonomy with the first three being hierarchal

and the last four requiring higher order thinking (Bissell & Lemons, 2006; Miri, et. al, 2007). Application (ability to generalize facts to other areas), analysis (ability to dissect issues), synthesis (ability to make connections) and evaluation (ability to objectively apply knowledge to determine the accuracy of information) are all needed for critical thinking to occur (Bissell & Lemons, 2006; Murphy et al., 2009; Abrami et. al., 2008; Epley & Caruson, 2008).

Participating in critical, systematic discussion is a necessary life skill (Abrami et. al., 2008). Critical thinking allows youth to objectively evaluate their beliefs and judgments, and engaging youth using the Socratic Method helps to promote objective thinking (Schoeman, 1997). According to Socrates, true knowledge is only possible by continually questioning and systematically testing our beliefs (Sakezles, 2008). Students who are encouraged to think for themselves and possess the skill to question what they hear from family, friends and the media may be less likely to adopt stereotypical beliefs (Angeli & Valanidas, 2009; Paul, 1995). Critical thinking skills help individuals use logic and reasoning in tackling and resolving differences and also allow for the consideration of opposing ideas (Paul, 1995). Along with having the necessary skills to engage in critical thinking, individuals must also have the disposition to pursue truth through reason and analysis. Individuals need to possess an open-minded, inquisitive and fair-minded attitude and respect for others (Ennis, 1987).

A number of instructional strategies may be easily employed by educators to help students develop critical thinking. Teaching styles that encourage debate and classroom discussion, as well as allow for student questioning of material and

concepts presented, and teaching that incorporates the use of written assignments that force students to take an uncomfortable position and defend it all help to improve student's intellectual thinking (Murphy et al., 2009; Walker, 2003; Snyder & Snyder, 2008). Much has been written on the role of critical thinking in our educational system. The debate continues on whether to teach critical thinking as a general skill with the objective of providing students with a step by step approach to cognitively processing information or whether to immerse (Kennedy et. al, 1999) or infuse (Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1989; Brown, 1997) students with the technique. The approach of teaching critical thinking as a general skill involves teaching students to understand the theories of logic and be able to identify reasoning fallacies (Paul, 1995) while the immersion and infusion method of teaching are content dependent. In the immersion approach students are given a topic and asked to discuss and analyze the issue from various perspectives (Kennedy et. al., 1991; Prawat, 1991) but are not instructed on how to logically break down and think about the issue. Also, critical thinking is not presented as an objective. The infusion approach makes critical thinking very explicit but uses content to demonstrate the strategies employed in critical thinking (Tynj alas, 1998; Collins et. al., 1989). The general approach seems to be the least effective in promoting critical thinking while the questioning and challenging ideas strategy of the immersion and infusion methods seem to yield greater results (Angeli & Valanidas, 2009). In a meta-analysis of 117 studies on critical thinking and the effect instruction has on its development, Abrami et. al., (2008) found that instruction which makes critical thinking an explicit objective

and shows the students how to apply it to a subject was most effective in developing critical thinking skills. Educators may help students challenge irrational messages they are exposed to if they provide them with a learning environment which challenges their beliefs and promotes cognitive dissonance as well as actively engages them in intellectual debates (Angeli & Valanidas, 2009; Paul, 1995). The ability to critically evaluate information allows for the development of perspective taking skills.

### **Perspective Taking**

Perspective taking, made possible by the process of critical thinking, demands mental exertion, and allows individuals to analyze, synthesize and evaluate information (Epley & Caruso, 2008). Perspective taking occurs when one either imagines what it's like for another to be in their position or when one imagines himself in the other's position (Batson, Early & Salvarani, 1997; Shih et. al, 2009). Accessibility of cognitions promoting stereotypes are reduced in perspective taking conditions (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000) since the individual is forced to challenge their own beliefs and consider the position of others. Perspective taking is a prerequisite for stimulating empathic thoughts and feelings toward outside groups. However, imagining how the other feels may be difficult when egoistic motivations interfere with our ability to accurately consider the thoughts, feelings and situation of others (Epley & Caruso, 2008). Keeping egocentrism in check makes imagining how others feel possible and evokes an empathic response. When perspective taking takes the form of imagining how we would feel in the other's position, empathy as well as feelings of distress is

triggered (Batson, Early & Salvarani, 1997). The cognitive task of putting oneself aside requires getting “beyond one’s own point of view to consider the world from another’s perspective” (Epley & Caruso, 2008. p. 299). True perspective taking requires cognitive effort which withstands the possible distorted influence of the ego.

The positive effect of perspective taking has been demonstrated in a number of studies focusing on intergroup dialogue (Gurin & Nagda, 2011; Spencer et. al., 2008; Bargal & Garvin, 2008; Schulz et. al 2001). Intergroup dialogue allows for diverse social identity groups to come together and discuss sensitive social issues in an environment that promotes empathic listening, and perspective taking (Gurin & Nagda, 2011; Spencer et. al., 2008). Gurin & Nagda (2011) conducted 52 multi-university parallel experiments between 2006 and 2009 focusing on either gender or race. College students enrolled in a full term course on race and gender were assigned to either the immediate or delayed intergroup dialogue group. Students completed a survey prior to the participation in the dialogue group, again at the end of the term and one year after the termination of the class. Participation in the groups was found to not only increase awareness of social group identities but also improved student’s intergroup empathy, relations and commitment to social issues. Spencer et al (2008) conducted similar work however focused on high school students from diverse schools. The high school students’ involvement in intergroup conflict was found to increase perspective taking and positive intergroup relations and increase

student's awareness of prejudice as well as decrease youth's prejudice towards peers.

Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci (2003) explored the methods for reducing prejudice against minorities by promoting perspective taking and tested the meditational role this has on empathy and attribution consequences. The authors predicted that improving racial attitudes not only requires empathy but also must address actor-observer differences individuals hold when attributing causes to one's and other's negative outcomes. Negative outcomes faced by out group members are attributed to member's disposition while negative outcomes faced by self and in-group members are assigned situational attributes. White male and female college participants were asked to listen to a recording of an African American male college students discussing with some emotions the struggles and challenges he faced due to his racial membership. Subjects were either instructed to listen empathically to the interview or instructed to remain objective and detached while listening to the interview. The author's findings indicated that perspective taking not only promotes empathic attitudes toward a target but also affects the participant's attribution consequences. Individuals who engaged in perspective taking were more likely to attribute situational causes to a target's negative outcome and reduced the effect of actor-observer differences. Perspective taking had a positive influence on empathy which then improved intergroup attitudes.

### **Promoting Empathy**

Shih, Wang, Bucher & Stotzer (2009) demonstrated the positive effect perspective taking has on empathy, liking and helping behavior. Research participants (non-Asian college students) watched a clip from the Joy Luck Club portraying the conflict Asian Americans face in trying to navigate between two cultures. The researchers conducted three separate experiments each testing the effect perspective taking has on empathy, helping behavior and liking of the outside group. Students who were encouraged to take the perspective of the Asian character demonstrated increased liking and empathy toward the main character. The study demonstrated helping behavior by positioning a confederate outside the research lab who walked in front of the research participant as the participant walked out of the lab. The confederate who was in obvious eyesight of the research participant dropped their key. Notifying the confederate of their dropped key was coded to signal helping behavior. The researcher found that when the confederate was Caucasian, helping behavior was similar for the control and test group. However when the confederate was Asian, the perspective taking group was significantly more likely to help.

Empathy, as presented in the conceptual model (see Figure I), stems from perspective taking. Empathy, an other oriented state, requires the ability to not just imagine what it's like in another's position but affectively take on the perspective of others (Batson et. al., 1997; Epley & Caruso, 2008; Hodson et. al., 2009; Shih et. al, 2009; Vescio et. al, 2003). Empathy for others results from perspective taking and is defined as “an other-oriented response congruent with another's perceived welfare and includes feelings of empathy, compassion and



tenderness (Batson et. al.,1997, p.105). Empathy may be construed as a stable trait determined by nature and development or “as a situation-specific cognitive–affective state” (Duan & Hill, 1996). The latter construction of empathy recognizes the impact situations have on empathy and promotes the training and nurturing of empathy. This understanding that situations and cognitive priming may influence empathic response leaves hope that empathy may be triggered in youth who hold ethnic stereotypes and ethnic prejudice.

Empathy, when used to address issues of conflict, is sometimes referred to as realistic empathy (Schwebel, 2006). R. K. White referred to realistic empathy as not only being able to see other’s through their own eyes and understand their feelings but also the ability to not demonize our opponents (Schwebel, 2006). A reality based approach involves recognizing our opponent’s fears and insecurities and clearly seeing how they may see us and our group resulting in a more humanistic manner to addressing conflict. According to R. K. White (1991):

“Empathy is defined here as simply understanding how a situation looks to another person (or group). It does not necessarily imply sympathy, or tolerance, or liking, or agreement with that person-but simply understanding. In many contexts the word "understanding can be substituted for empathy, but empathy implies especially a focus on the other's situation-trying to look out at his situation through his eyes rather than at him as an individual. It involves much situational, as distinguished from dispositional, attribution.” (p. 292)

Empathy resulting from perspective taking is “cognitive empathy” and is a first step in developing emotional or affective empathy (Shih et. al., 2009; Jolliffe & Farrinton, 2004; Duan & Hill, 1996). Understanding another’s emotions, situation and state results in cognitive empathy but does not always result in an emotional response. Cognitive empathy may trigger a parallel empathic response leading to an individual sharing the same emotions and feelings as the target or trigger a reactive empathy response, which are feelings resulting from one’s reaction to the situation of others (Stephan & Finlay, 1999; Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Duan & Hill, 1996). Affective empathy may be difficult to achieve when group members perceive intergroup threat undermining their status, power and resources (Stephan et. al, 2009). This perceived threat results in intergroup discrimination, prejudice and hostility. Working against irrational feelings of threat will allow for an empathic response. Numerous studies have made clear the positive effect empathy has on reducing prejudice and aggression and on improving prosocial behavior (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987; Schetman & Basheer, 2005; Stephen & Finlay, 1999).

In a study by Finlay and Stephan (2000), white college students were asked to read vignettes describing instances of discrimination suffered by African Americans. The stories were written in the first person and told of experiences with discrimination and injustice faced due to their race. The empathy group was encouraged to use an empathic listening perspective when reading the vignettes. They were told to either imagine how they would feel in the scenario presented and to picture themselves in the author’s place and focus on the feelings and

responses they may have while the second empathy group was given the same instructions with the exception of being instructed to imagine how the author feels and may respond. The control group was told to observe closely the scenarios presented and focus on the sequence and details of the vignette. In-group out-group bias was significantly reduced in the group encouraged to be empathic as compared to the second group who simply observed the facts. Also, African Americans and Whites were evaluated similarly in the empathy instructed group as opposed to the control group who evaluated the Whites group more favorably.

### **Interventions to Reduce Ethnic Stereotyping**

The literature review presented on the development of ethnic stereotypes and the cognitive processes that may impact the negative effect of youths' ecological influences on ethnic stereotypes suggests several ways to develop and test the efficacy of an intervention addressing the issue. Pettigrew (2003) has studied the Arab/Israeli conflict and has recommended three strategies necessary to solve the conflict and bias each side faces. One is termed GRIT (graduated and reciprocated initiatives) and involves both parties making real political concessions. Two is working to dispel the myths each side holds regarding the other and the third is engaging in realistic empathy. Strategies two and three may be readily adopted in an intervention targeting youth. An intervention which encourages critical thinking and accurate assessment of facts will allow Arab youth to eradicate the counterproductive myths they may hold against Jews. Realistic empathy will help Arab youth see Jews as people who may share the

same fears and emotions. The lack of empathy they may presently feel toward Jews “results in demonizing the enemy” (White, 1998; p.121) and helps to continue the cycle of violence the two groups face. Arab youth face daily messages supporting and encouraging their ethnic stereotypes. An intervention that allows youth to think rationally about the messages received and encourages empathic response may work to help diminish long held stereotypes.

David Bargal (2008) has done extensive work with Israeli and Arab youth in Israel focusing on reducing conflict and negative stereotypes between the two groups. Bargal (2008) recruited youth from both groups to participate in a 3-day conflict management workshop. Trained facilitators helped youth to share their in-group experience and allowed them to discuss and clarify beliefs held about each other. Youth were exposed to diverse sources of information in order to promote cognitive dissonance. Facilitators also helped youth understand the reality of living in a place of conflict yet encouraged hope for the future and feelings of empowerment. Youth were provided with conflict management and coping skills. Youth’s negative stereotypic beliefs of the out group conflicted with the direct interactions they had with out group members and conflicting information they learned about the out group. Involvement in the group process was found to promote cognitive dissonance. This effect served to positively change youth’s attitudes and beliefs toward the out group.

A number of studies have looked at interventions used in schools to reduce prejudice and improve intergroup relations. For example, the curriculum, Facing History and Ourselves, uses the study of social justice issues and perspective

taking to look at racism and prejudice in our society to improve intergroup behavior (Schultz, et. al., 2001). Aboud and Fenwick (1999) found positive results in their school-based intervention aimed at reducing prejudice. They developed and tested three interventions targeting high prejudice students. The first is an 11-week classroom program led by a teacher which aims to promote discussions on race and teach students to process individual attributes of out group members as opposed to making biased generalizations. The second study paired together youth who are friends and exposed them to age-appropriate discussions on race with their peers as well as an adult. Youth who were identified as having high prejudicial feelings were paired with a friend who held a different view and were instructed to engage in dialogue on the issue. The last study focused on helping students explore ways that they may respond when they hear others engaging in racially biased conversation. Youth were evaluated prior to the beginning of the intervention and then again two months later. A pre-post intervention/control design with a control group was utilized. Overall, the outcomes found were quite promising especially for high prejudice students. Youth who went through the program reported less prejudice and reported improved peer relations.

Interactive theater has also been used with some success in school-based interventions. Interactive theater actively engages the audience with the characters on stage. The audience can alter the direction and outcome of the performance by the two-way meaningful conversation they have with the characters and observers (Mienczakowski & Morgan, 2001). Based on the work

of Augusto Boal (1995), a Brazilian theater activist, interactive theater is a forum which moves individuals from the monologue type presentation which he saw as oppressive to a dialogue format that he believed could push people to critically analyze social issues and gain empathy that ultimately results in social action. The Illumination Project developed by Portland Community college trains peer educators to perform student written skits. The performance challenges attitudes and beliefs on sensitive social issues of both the audience and peer educators. Zwerling's (2008) two year evaluation of three peer driven interactive theater programs targeting at risk youth found a positive correlation between involvement in the program and lower levels of risky behavior as compared to the national average. The Theater Action Project, adopted by numerous schools involves youth in interactive classroom performances that target issues such as bias, media stereotypes, bullying, dating violence and conflict resolution. Involvement in the program promotes among other things, critical thinking and perspective taking.

Another strategy found to have a positive effect on reducing prejudice is to encourage multicultural education (Banks, 2006). Banks presents five components of multicultural education:

1. Content integration: Diversity (ethnic, religious, racial...) should be represented in the curriculum.
2. Knowledge construction process: Students are encouraged to question historical facts and the dominant group culture that these facts protect.
3. Prejudice reduction: Intergroup relations are promoted and minority ethnic groups are presented in a positive light.

4. Equity pedagogy: Teachers are encouraged to present material in a way that allows all students to learn.
5. Empowering school and social structure: Schools are encouraged to offer positive access to all groups.

Through multicultural education, students are encouraged to challenge stereotypes and to begin looking at history from a number of different angles. Texts are not neutral representations of reality, but rather socially constructed artifacts that "represent particular points of views while silencing others and influence people's ideas" (Luke & Freebody, 1999, p. 20). Critical literacy places particular emphasis on issues of cultural diversity and marginalized groups (Leland, Harste, Ociepka, Lewison, & Vasquez, 1999). A critical perspective challenges conventional assumptions and stereotypes while promoting multiple viewpoints (Phelps, 2010). Arming youth with facts and encouraging them to question information as well as consider the affective component of the people studied may begin to call into question the negative stereotypes they may hold. . Questioning and challenging stereotypes and oppression of minority groups works to promote an open minded, inclusive environment.

Another example of a negative stereotype reduction programs targeting youth is the Anti-Defamation League's A World of Difference Institute Peer Training Program (Levy, Paluck and Green, 2006). The program initially included 539 students, 144 of whom were assigned to the peer trainers group. Peer trainers went through an intensive three day training session and ten weeks of follow up

training on issues of diversity and discrimination. Students Knowledge of recognizing discriminatory behavior, and strategies to intervene and promote social justice were taught and practiced. Peer trainers in the treatment group reported feeling more comfortable discussing issues of prejudice with peers, and being able to promote a bias-free environment in their school relative to control group peer trainers. The findings of the program are positive however the phone interview used to evaluate the program has some limitations. Also, the evaluation did not include questions specifically targeting the student's stereotypes and biased attitudes.

### **Youth involvement in an intervention targeting negative stereotypes**

As presented in the above description of the Anti-Defamation League's peer training program, youth may play an important role in helping their peers confront and address negative ethnic stereotypes. Involving youth as leaders and educators in interventions targeting young people has numerous merits (Stukas et. al., 2000; Adam & Wiemann 2003; Yogeve & Ronen, 1982; Damon, 1984; Cowie et. al., 2002). Peer engagement is supported by social learning theory and action research. Peers involvement may take on a number of forms each with distinct yet overlapping characteristics. Peers may serve as peer educators, tutors, leaders, educators, coaches, and community builders. For the purpose of this study, the term peer educators is used to identify youth who were recruited to work with younger peers from similar backgrounds. The term peer trainees will be used to identify youth who are being trained by peer educators.



Peer educators may be defined as youth who are trained to deliver information, and share ideas with others of similar age, background and experience (Puskar et. al., 2010; Advocates for Youth, 2008). Peer educators may be involved in not only delivering scripted information to their peer group but they could be engaged in varying levels of the intervention. The action research model views youth as agents of change who are involved in planning, delivering and evaluating the intervention (Sabo, 2003; Checkoway and Finn, 1992). The intergroup dialogue work of Spencer et. al., (2008) described earlier utilizes this type of action research approach. The implementation and evaluation of their program involved all stake holders (youth, school personnel, facilitators, research team). Although it may not always be feasible to involve peer educators in all aspects of the intervention, soliciting their input in the intervention's curriculum design and implementation may be an important step in gaining peer educator buy in and support for the intervention (Youth in Focus, 2002).

The Center for Population Options (Felch et. al., 1993) outlines the following merits of implementing peer educators in youth prevention programs: peer educators are more likely to promote an exchange of ideas among participants; peer trainees are more likely to identify with peer educators who they see as being more similar in beliefs, behaviors and outlook than adults; peer educators are perceived as safer to engage with and challenge than adults; peer educators also serve as role models which may have a more powerful impact on attitude and behavior change. The ability of peer educators to relate to and communicate more effectively with youth of similar backgrounds makes them a

powerful resource in implementing interventions targeting sensitive social issues (Turner & Shephard, 1999). A number of scientifically evaluated programs have demonstrated the merits of involving peer educators in prevention programs (Backett-Milburn & Wilson S, 2000; Klindera & Menerwald, 2011; Ross et. al., 2006; Goldberg et. al., 2004; Botvin et. al., 1990).

Interventions utilizing peer educators have demonstrated sometimes greater attitude and behavior gains on the peer educators than the peer trainees (Backett-Milburn & Wilson, 2000; Cowie et. al., 2002; Greenwood et. al., 1989). Research on health education has found that peer educators' endorsement and buy in of the behaviors they are promoting led to positive change of their behaviors and beliefs (Humm & Kunreuth, 1991; Perry et. al., 1986). Peer educators are more likely to demonstrate behavioral change and a reduction in risky behaviors (Medley et. al., 2009). Peer educators' intervention participation has been found to improve their confidence, leadership skills, communication skills, critical thinking (Levy et. al., 2006; Puskar et. al., 2010; Sabo, 2003; Youth in Focus, 2003).

The attitude and behavioral change observed among the peer educators may be explained by cognitive dissonance theory and self-affirmation theory (Aronson et. al., 1999; Steele, 1988; Festinger, 1957). Peer educators who are trained to present a message which they may not personally uphold, will experience cognitive dissonance. The peer educator role comes with the expectation that they will be positive role models for their peers and they will endorse the message they present. The peer educators' public commitment to the

message may lead to their adoption of the message (Amatetti, 1987; McGuire, 1964; Stone et. al., 1994). Understandably, peer educators may be expected to experience greater change than the peer trainees.

### **Necessary components of interventions targeting negative stereotypes**

Based on the research and interventions presented, one can conclude that a number of components need to be present in order for an intervention targeting ethnic stereotypes to be effective. First of all, students should be provided with a safe, open forum to discuss and evaluate stereotypes (Abu El-Haj, 2007). An environment that promotes honesty and respect will allow for dialogue and sharing of thoughts and feelings to occur. According to Abu El-Haj (2007), school environments which emphasize respect for all its members regardless of ethnicity, religion, beliefs and values, will promote healthy, open dialogue and acceptance of all its citizens.

A second variable is to foster an accurate understanding of the out group in order for stereotypes to be challenged. Encouraging critical thinking by promoting a systematic approach to learning more about out group members may work to dispel negative stereotypes (Abrami et al., 2008). Critical thinking which stresses the Socratic Method may help counter youth's bias thinking and encourage objectivity (Schoeman, 1997). Helping students access unbiased information relating to outside group members and assess their position will bring into question their negative ethnic stereotypical beliefs (Banks, 2006). Confronting, debating and challenging these beliefs in the classroom allows for the process of change to occur (Angeli & Valanidas, 2009).

A third variable is to teach and encourage perspective taking. Discussions which help youth imagine being in the position of an out group member and to imagine the struggles they face will foster perspective taking (Batson, Early & Salvarani, 1997). Imagining what it's like to be in an out group member's position and imagining being in that position makes adhering to stereotypes more difficult (Shih et. al, 2009). Through perspective taking, youth will develop empathy which is a crucial variable in an intervention targeting stereotypes (Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003). Empathy takes perspective taking one step further by requiring an affective component to the understanding of out group members (Epley & Caruso, 2008; Shih et. al, 2009). An intervention which allows for an open dialogue and addresses irrational feelings as well as the perceived threat that is attributed to out group members, will help youth develop empathic responses that may counter negative ethnic stereotypes (Stephan et. al, 2009). Lastly, involving peer educators in the intervention may play a critical role in affecting positive change among peer trainees and peer educators (Stukas et. al., 2000; Adam & Wiemann 2003; Yogev & Ronen, 1982; Damon, 1984; Cowie et. al., 2002).

### **The Present Study**

Research helping us understand and address youth ethnic stereotypes in this country, particularly among Arab youth is sparse relative to research on other ethnic groups. The present study aims to expand on the research examining media violence, group identity, critical thinking, perspective taking, and empathy in order to further our understanding of youth ethnic stereotypes and prejudice. The

conceptual model (see Figure 1) shows the relations of the predictor variables with negative ethnic stereotypes prejudice and beliefs approving of aggression towards ethnic groups. The model helps to organize our understanding of youth ethnic stereotypes and prejudice.

Part I of the current study focused on research questions exploring the correlations among a number of the constructs: empathy, ethnic identity, negative ethnic stereotypes, television viewing of ethnic political conflicts and aggressive beliefs. Part II focused on the major goal of the study which is to investigate the effect a psycho-educational intervention may have had on students' ethnic stereotypes, ethnic prejudice and ethnic aggressive beliefs. The conceptual model in Figure I shows the predicted effect the intervention will have on the outcomes of negative ethnic stereotypes and beliefs approving of aggression toward out group members.

### **Intervention Outline**

Based on the above review of the literature, an intervention was developed targeting youth's ethnic stereotypes. Peer educators from two schools were recruited to present a four-session curriculum focusing on identifying, challenging and eliminating negative ethnic stereotypes and aggressive beliefs toward out-group members. Peer educators were 11<sup>th</sup> grade students and peer trainees were either 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> graders. Peer educators received thorough training on the issues addressed and on how to present the curriculum to peer trainees. The curriculum was presented to 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grade classes by peer educators who worked in groups of four.

An immediate versus delayed intervention control group design was used. Classes of peer trainees and peer educators were either assigned to the immediate intervention group where they participated in the intervention during the first six weeks of the spring semester (pre-test, 4-sessions, post-test) or they were assigned to the delayed intervention group and did not participate in the intervention until after the first six weeks of the spring semester. The delayed intervention group served as the initial control group for the immediate intervention group.

The immediate intervention (II) subjects were assessed at Time 1 (see Table 3 below), one-week prior to the start of the intervention, and again at Time 2, a week after the last intervention session. The delayed intervention group (DI) subjects were assessed twice before they received the intervention (at Time 1 and at Time 2) and once, about a week after they received the intervention, at Time 3. As Table 3 below illustrates, the delayed intervention group's two pre-intervention assessments corresponded with the immediate intervention group's pre-intervention and post-intervention assessments respectively. Peer educators and peer-trainees received the same assessments at the same times except that the Time 1 assessment for the peer-educators occurred earlier, prior to their being trained on the intervention.

Two other student groups were recruited to participate in the study but they did not receive the intervention. One group was labeled the permanent control (PC) group since students in that group were administered the assessment measures at Time 1 and Time 2 (see Table 3 below) but they never received the intervention. Their assessment administration times corresponded with the

delayed group's two pre-intervention assessment times and the immediate intervention group's pre-intervention and post-intervention assessment times respectively (see Table 3 below). Consequently, the PC group could be combined with the DI group to serve as a control group for the immediate intervention group. The last group formed is labeled the baseline group because these were students recruited from the same class as the peer educators but they were not able to participate in the intervention. This group was administered the assessment measures at Time 1 along with everyone else but was not assessed again. This group's data was only used, along with all the other Time 1 assessment data, to evaluate the correlational hypotheses of Part 1 of the study.

### **Specific Aims**

Based on the above review of the literature, empathy should have the positive effect of reducing prejudice towards outside groups. In the present study, the perspective taking (identification with others) measure will be used as an indicator of empathy. In other studies empathy and perspective taking have been highly correlated and, as described in the above review, perspective taking is an essential component of empathy and is sometimes referred to as cognitive empathy. Additionally, we can predict from social identity theory that youth who score high on social identity will be more likely to reject out-group members and hold negative stereotypes towards out-group members and hold beliefs approving of aggression toward out groups (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Finally, we can also predict from the above review on the media's negative impact, youth's television viewing of ethnic political conflicts will promote negative stereotypes and bias

toward out group members. The following are the specific hypotheses that were tested:

**Part A hypotheses:**

1A. I hypothesize that there will be a negative correlation between ethnic prejudice and empathy for the out-group.

2A. I hypothesize that there will be a negative correlation between beliefs approving of aggression towards other ethnic groups and empathy for the out-group.

3A. I hypothesize that there will be a positive correlation between the strength of ethnic identity and beliefs approving of aggression towards other ethnic groups.

4A. I hypothesize that there will be a positive correlation between the strength of ethnic identity and negative ethnic stereotypes about the out group.

5A. I hypothesize that there will be a positive correlation between negative ethnic stereotypes about the out group and increased TV viewing of ethnic political violence.

**Part B hypotheses:**

1B. I hypothesize that the scores on critical thinking in the immediate intervention group will increase from before to after the intervention (Time 1 to Time 2);



whereas the delayed intervention and the permanent control's group's scores will not increase over the same time.

2B. I hypothesize that the scores of peer educators on empathy towards out group member in the immediate intervention group will increase from before to after the intervention (Time 1 to Time 2); whereas the scores for the peer educators in the delayed intervention group will not increase between the same two times..

3B. I hypothesize that the scores of peer educators on negative ethnic stereotyping and beliefs approving of aggression towards out-group members in the immediate intervention group will decrease from before to after the intervention; whereas the scores of the peer educators in the delayed intervention group will not decrease between the same two times.

4B. I hypothesize that the scores on empathy towards out group member of the immediate intervention group will increase from before to after the intervention (Time 1 to Time 2); whereas the delayed intervention and the permanent control's groups' scores will not increase between the same two times.

5B. I hypothesize that the scores on explicit negative ethnic stereotyping, implicit ethnic prejudice and beliefs approving of aggression towards out-group members of the immediate intervention group will decrease from before to after the

intervention (Time 1 to Time 2), whereas the delayed intervention group's and the permanent control group's scores will not increase over the same two times..

6B. If there is a positive correlation between viewing ethnic media violence and negative ethnic stereotypes, I hypothesize that the intervention will significantly decrease this correlation.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Methods**

This study is part of a larger study investigating the effect of a school-based psycho-educational intervention on ethnic prejudice and beliefs approving of aggression. The study's conceptualization, design, and implementation was a collaborative effort among professor Rowell Huesmann at the University of Michigan, professor Eric Dubow at Bowling Green State University, professor Paul Boxer at Rutgers University, Maureen O'Brien at the University of Michigan, and myself. The larger study focused on Arab and Jewish ethnic groups due to their history of conflict and the media's stereotypical portrayal of their conflicts. The larger study's main objective was to design and evaluate a school-based psycho-education intervention which educated students on the prevalence of ethnic stereotypes and provided them with skills to guard against adopting ethnic stereotypes. It was also meant to gain greater knowledge about the nature of explicit and implicit social-cognitive responses that drive violent ethnically-motivated acts. My dissertation aims are two-fold: (a) to better understand the role that ethnic identity, critical thinking, perspective taking and empathy play in explaining the effects of ethnic stereotyping and aggressive

tendencies against out-groups; and (b) to evaluate the efficacy of an intervention on diminishing ethnic stereotypes as well as aggressive beliefs among a group of predominately Arab and Jewish high school students. My focus on the role that perspective taking and empathy play in influencing ethnic stereotypes and prejudice distinguish it from the larger study's focus.

### **Sample**

Students were recruited from two high schools in the Detroit metropolitan area with high concentrations of Arab American and Jewish American youth. High school A had a predominately Arab population (86%), while high school B had a diverse population with a substantial Jewish (48%) student enrollment. High school A also had a large population of students who emigrated from the Middle East or who are first generation Arab Americans. High school B's population consisted of predominately third generation Americans. Classification as "Arab" was based on the student's response to an ethnicity identification question. Students who checked Arab American or identified an Arab country, as their country of origin in the "other" response were placed in the Arab category. In addition we placed in the Arab American category the few students who did not check Arab on the ethnicity identification question but checked Muslim on the religious identification question. All of these students were from the school (High School A) which has an overwhelming majority of Arab (Lebanese, Iraqi, & Yemeni) students; so we felt safe in making the assumption that these students

were also of Arab ethnicity. Students were identified as Jewish Americans if they checked Jewish American or identified themselves or their parents as Jewish on the religion identification question.

A total of 192 participated in some aspect of the study. Twenty 9<sup>th</sup> grade students were in the permanent control group and 19 11<sup>th</sup> grade students were in the baseline group. A total of 153 of the 192 students participated in the intervention, either in the capacity of peer educators (n = 31) presenting the program or peer trainees (n = 122) receiving the program. The majority of the participants were Arabic (58%) and female (59%). Student peer educators were all eleventh graders with the exception of one tenth grade student. Peer trainees were either 9<sup>th</sup> graders (n=70) or 10<sup>th</sup> graders (n=52). The permanent control group (n = 20) consisted of 9<sup>th</sup> grade students who were administered the measure at time 1 and again at time 2. The baseline group (n = 19) consisted of 11<sup>th</sup> grade students who came from the same pool as the peer educators from High School A. This group only were assessed at time1. Table 2 provides a summary by school of intervention participant distribution based on gender and educator/trainee numbers. Table 3 presents the four study groups and the intervention and test sequence .

*Table 2. Intervention participants by school, gender and role*

	School A	School B
Participants	88	65
Males	29	34
Females	59	31
Peer educators	18	13
Peer trainees	70	52

Table 3. Sequence of experiment for all groups

		<b>Time 1</b>		<b>Time 2</b>		<b>Time 3</b>
<b>Approximate Dates</b>		Mid March 2009		Late April-Early May 2009		Early June 2009
Initial Control ( <i>n</i> =80)	Immediate Intervention ( <i>n</i> =93)	Tested	Intervention	Tested		Not Tested
	Delayed Intervention ( <i>n</i> =60)	Tested		Tested	Intervention	Tested
	Permanent Control ( <i>n</i> =20)	Tested		Tested		Not Tested
	Baseline ( <i>n</i> =19)	Tested		Not Tested		Not Tested
<b>Total (<i>N</i>=192)</b>						

## Procedure

### Recruitment

School A peer trainees were recruited from two ninth grade social studies classes and two ninth grade physical education classes. Males and females at School A attend gender segregated physical education classes. Therefore, one all female ninth grade class and one all male ninth grade physical education class were recruited. The ninth grade social studies classes were both taught by the same teacher and shared the same curriculum and lesson plans.

Peer educators were recruited from these two 11<sup>th</sup> grade AP literature classes. School A offered two 11<sup>th</sup> grade AP literature classes at the time of the intervention. The same teacher taught both classes using a set curriculum and lesson plans. The research goal of delivering a four session program to 9<sup>th</sup> grade students with the aim of helping the students understand the nature of ethnic stereotypes and to provide them skills to guard against ethnic stereotyping was presented to the AP students. Students were asked to volunteer to teach the curriculum to the 9<sup>th</sup> grade class. Although a total of 36 students agreed to participate, only 17 were chosen. The criterion for being chosen to run the curriculum was solely based on scheduling. The peer educators were required to miss four hours from their regularly scheduled class so that they could deliver the intervention. This made it difficult for students who had a core academic class during the hour of the intervention.

School B peer trainees were recruited from two tenth grade social studies classes. Both social studies classes were taught by the same teacher. The social studies curriculum and lesson plans were identical for both classes. The 11<sup>th</sup> grade peer educators were recruited



by the school counselor. The school counselor was asked to identify students who have leadership capability and participate in AP classes.

Prior to the implementation of the study, support of the principals at each of the high schools was secured and classes where the intervention would be implemented were chosen. Principals were asked to recommend general classes that all ninth grade and tenth grade students must take. Based on the principal's recommendations, general classes which are a requirement for graduation were chosen. This helped to increase the representativeness of the sample.

Active, written consent was obtained from the high school students and their parents. Students were told that participation was voluntary and their class grade would not be affected by their participation decision. Students were also informed that their participation and responses would be strictly confidential. Parents received a written description of the study and were provided with the same information regarding confidentiality and the voluntary nature of the study. Over 95% of the student peer trainees returned consent forms from parents to participate in the intervention. All the peer educators recruited returned parent and student consent forms to participate in the study.

### **Survey Administration**

All students recruited to participate in the intervention completed the measures prior to the initiation of the intervention and again after the completion of the intervention. The delayed intervention group were administered the same measures packet three times (see table 3), twice prior to the intervention. The measures took a full class period to complete (approximately 50 minutes). All measures were administered by researchers. The research

team developed test administration instructions. Verbal instructions provided to students were uniform and rehearsed across all groups. The set of measures completed by students included questions relating to ethnic stereotypes, inter-ethnic conflict, ethnic identity, exposure to news media portrayals of ethnic-political violence, critical thinking, perspective taking and empathy towards outside groups as well as relevant demographic questions, described below.

### **Methodological Design**

A correlational design was used to evaluate Part I of the study. Predictors in Part A are hypothesized (ethnic identity, empathy & media) to have a directional relationship with outcomes variables (negative ethnic stereotypes and beliefs approving of aggression toward other ethnic groups). A bivariate, one-tailed correlational design was used to evaluate all Part A hypotheses. Part B of the study evaluating the intervention effect. A pre-test/post-test immediate/delayed intervention design was used to evaluate the intervention. The design is diagrammed in Table 3. Peer trainees and peer educators were assigned to either the immediate-intervention group or the delayed-intervention group. Based on school principal recommendations, 9<sup>th</sup> grade and/or 10<sup>th</sup> grade classes were assigned to take part in the intervention. The immediate intervention group (N=93) served as the experimental group while the delayed intervention group (n=60) as well as the permanent control group (n=20) served as a control to test non-intervention. The delayed intervention group was administered the intervention approximately six weeks after the immediate intervention group. Also, the design of the research study allowed for the repeated measure approach to be used, which meant that subjects in the delayed intervention group participated in both experimental conditions. This has the benefit of decreasing the effects that variations among subjects may

have on the results. Being able to use the same subject in the control and experimental conditions eliminates having to control for characteristic variations that may exist between subjects which may be difficult to identify and control this however does not rule out sources of invalidity such as history and maturation. The effect of time on subjects in a repeated measure design may be controlled if the time gap between conditions is kept to a minimum. Also, the repeated measure design offers the additional benefit of not having to recruit as many subjects since subjects are utilized in all experimental conditions.

The measures were administered 1-2 weeks prior to the start of the intervention and again 1-2 weeks after the intervention was completed to the immediate intervention, delayed intervention, and permanent control groups. The delayed intervention group began receiving the intervention after the immediate intervention group was administered the full curriculum and had completed the post intervention measures. The delayed intervention group was administered the measures at three different times as described earlier as presented in Table 3.

### **Measures**

The conceptual model driving the present study identifies a number of internal and external variables influencing the outcome variables. Internal variables are individual dispositions and cognitions acquired over time that influence beliefs and behaviors. External variables refer to environmental influences which contribute to an individual's cognition and disposition. Drawing valid conclusions requires valid and reliable implementation of the variables identified in the conceptual model. Table 4 lists the variables of interest and their corresponding measures.

*Table 4 Variables and corresponding measures relating to negative ethnic attitudes and beliefs*

<i>Internal</i>		<i>External</i>	
<i>Constructs</i>	<i>Measures</i>	<i>Constructs</i>	<i>Measures</i>
<u><i>Predictors:</i></u>		<u><i>Predictors:</i></u>	
Ethnic identity	Multigroup measure of ethnic identity (MEIM).	Exposure to ethnic media violence	Media exposure measure (EVM).
Empathy (Perspective taking)	Identification with ethnic group measure (IDENT).		
Critical thinking	Complex thinking measure		
<u><i>Outcomes:</i></u>		<u><i>Outcomes:</i></u>	
Empathy(Perspective taking)	Identification with ethnic group measure (IDENT).	Implicit ethnic stereotypes	Implicit association test (IAT)
Critical thinking	Complex thinking measure	Explicit ethnic stereotypes	Ethnic group stereotype measure (ESM) & Vignettes.
		Aggressive normative ethnic beliefs	Normative beliefs about aggression (NOBAG).

A detailed description of the scales used and the construct targeted is presented next. An alpha coefficient for each of the scales is reported. Appendix A provides an interpretation of the construct labels and scale values. Appendix B reports the reliability of scale items for the scales dependent upon specified ethnicity. With regard to the attitudes and beliefs scales about ethnic groups, due to the study’s interest in looking at the influence of ethnicity on attitudes and based on previous work with Arab and Jewish youth, measures were calculated in such a way so that a score was generated for the total scale as well as a subscale looking

only at youth's attitudes and beliefs toward out groups. The study focused on four groups: Jewish American youth; Arab American youth; African American youth and White American youth (neither Jewish nor Arab). For measures relating to out group calculations, Arab participants were scored using their responses to questions specific to their attitudes about Jewish people and vice versa. Similarly, for White participants scores relating to measures mentioning an out group were based upon questions specific to Blacks and vice versa.

### **Ethnic Identity Scales**

The Multigroup Measure of Ethnic Identity, MEIM, (Phinney, 1992) considers components of ethnic identity that are common across groups. The measure served the purpose of assessing how strongly youth identified with their ethnic group, the extent of the involvement with their ethnic group and outside ethnic groups as well how they felt about their ethnic group and outside groups. The 18 question measure consists of three categories with each category targeting the following:

1. Experiences with in group: The individual's ethnic experiences and practices such as participation in cultural traditions and social activities. An example of this category is: I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group such as its history, traditions and customs.

2. Commitment to in group: The individual's involvement in exploring one's ethnicity by understanding the history and traditions of one's ethnic group. This category focused on one's experience within their ethnic community. An example of this category is: I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.

3. Involvement with out groups: The individual's attitudes and involvement with other groups. An example of this category is: I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.

The MEIM items are rated on a 4-point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The measure was found to provide a reliable measure of ethnic identity among an ethnically diverse high school and college sample. Phinney (1992) reported a Cronbach alpha of .81 for the high school sample examined. The present study revealed an alpha of .78 on the full scale. The alphas for the three categories at each time are as follows in Table 5.

*Table 5 Ethnic Identity reliabilities.*

	Time 1 alpha	Time 2 alpha	Time 3 alpha
Experiences with in group	.64	.64	.70
Commitment to in group	.89	.87	.89
Involvement with out groups	.81	.77	.66

### **Ethnic Stereotype Scales**

Due to the social desirability bias that may affect the validity of explicit self-report measures of ethnic attitudes, implicit and explicit measures of ethnic attitudes were used.

The **Implicit Association Test** was used to assess implicit stereotypes and attitudes students have towards four target groups, Jewish, Arab, White and African American groups. The purpose of the IAT was to measure the degree to which students associate an out-group with certain attributes (i.e. violent, peaceful, smart). Based on Greenwald et al. (1998) procedure for conducting the IAT, positive concepts (i.e. peaceful, wonderful, joyful), negative concepts (i.e. terrible, nasty and terrible) and names characteristically identified as Arab/Muslim, Jewish/Israeli, white and African American were presented on a page. Target

groups were evaluated separately on each page. The first page, which used “flower/insect” as the target object, was included for practice purposes to insure that students understood the instructions. Students were asked to match the paired sets of names and twenty-two valence concepts with the target pair. Students were told they had 40 seconds to complete each page. The responses are made quickly in order to represent the subjects’ immediate responses, which are found to reflect attitudes more accurately. Students who associated negative words with a particular target group may hold more negative stereotypes and attitudes towards that group.

Three calculations were utilized for the present study. The IAT out group bad score was calculated from the in-group good/out-group bad page. The IAT out group good score was calculated from the out-group good/in-group bad page. The information from these two scores was used to get a score reflecting youth’s negative attitudes towards the out group. This score was calculated by adding the out group good and in group bad mean reaction times and subtracting from them the out-group bad and in group good mean reaction times. Consequently higher scores mean more negative stereotypes about the out group compared to the in group ( i. e., quicker responding to in group good than to in group bad and to out group bad than to out group good).

The IAT has been utilized in numerous studies and has been adapted to measure various constructs. Alphas for the various measures of the IAT range in the .80 level (Basson et. al, 2000). Coefficient alphas averaged .85 for the present study.

### **Explicit Measures of Ethnic Stereotypes**

Along with the implicit measure of stereotype used, students were assessed on two explicit measures focusing on ethnic stereotypes. Stereotypes were measured using a

semantic differential technique. Opposing sets of characteristics were presented on each line (e.g., friendly=1 and unfriendly=8; mean=1 and nice=8) and students were instructed to circle a number between 1 and 8 that best describes the identified ethnic group (African-American, Arab-American & Jewish-American Teenagers). A total of four adjectives for each ethnic group were presented. The purpose of this measure is to assess the stereotypical perceptions of Arab-American and Jewish-American youth. The measure consisted of four categories: a total measure of the student's ethnic stereotypes, a measure of stereotypes against African American, a measure of stereotypes against Jewish Americans and a measure of stereotypes against Arab Americans. The present research team used the same measure with a similar population in a separate study (N=395) and obtained coefficient alphas averaging .85. Coefficient full scale alphas for the present study are .79. The alphas for the three categories of interest at each time are as follows in Table 6.

*Table 6 Stereotype reliabilities.*

	Time 1 alpha	Time 2 alpha	Time 3 alpha
Explicit negative stereotypes toward all out groups	.79	.76	.85
Explicit negative stereotypes about Jewish Americans	.89	.85	.83
Explicit negative stereotypes about Arab Americans	.84	.85	.85

The second measure of explicit ethnic stereotypes used six vignettes describing hypothetical social situations. The vignettes all involved situations where the student is with a parent or friend who makes a negative comment about an ethnic minority. The purpose of the vignettes is to determine if the subject supported the stereotypes identified in the story and how willing is the subject to challenge family and friends' stereotypes. The vignettes



presented scenarios which targeted stereotypes present in our culture. For example “suppose you and your friends are playing a basketball game and a student from a different ethnic group on the other team elbows you so hard that you fall to the ground. Your friend comes over to help you and says, “Don’t worry about it. Those people are just aggressive by nature.” Students were then asked to respond on a 7-point scale to three questions about the incident (How would you feel about what your friend said; how much would you agree with your friend; what would you do). The response choices on the scale ranged from feeling uncomfortable/upset to not uncomfortable/not upset; agree to not agree; and argue with my friend to agree with my friend. The student’s response to the three questions (agree, feel, do) were looked at separately. A .92 alpha score was obtained for the 18 item vignette scale. The alphas for the three categories at each time are as follows in Table 7.

*Table 7 Vignette reliabilities.*

	Time 1 alpha	Time 2 alpha	Time 3 alpha
Agree with the negative stereotype	.83	.88	.92
Feel comfortable about the negative stereotype	.85	.87	.92
Tell friend I agree with negative stereotype	.83	.88	.89

### **Measures of media exposure to ethnic conflict**

Six questions asked about the student’s exposure to ethnic conflict in the news. As discussed earlier, media exposure to ethnic group violence may have the effect of influencing stereotypes about ethnic groups (Dubow, Huesmann, & Greenwood, 2007; Shoshani & Slone, 2008). The purpose of this measure is to look at the effect media ethnic conflict exposure may have on stereotypes. The first question asked about seeing video clips or photographs of

destruction caused by ethnic groups in other parts of the world (how often have you seen video clips or photographs of buildings, automobiles, or other property destroyed in conflicts between ethnic groups in other parts of the world?). The next two asked specifically about destruction caused by African-American and White conflicts and by Jewish and Palestinian conflict. The next three questions had similar format but asked about physical fighting between the mentioned ethnic groups witnessed via the media (i.e. how often have you seen video clips or photographs of people fighting each other physically, with fists, guns, rocks, or other weapons in conflicts between Israelis and Palestinians?) . The response choices for the six questions were on a 5-point scale ranging from 1= never to 5= almost every day. This measure was also used by the research team in a previous study and found to have a coefficient alpha of .80 (Huesmann, et. al, 2011 in press). The alphas for the present study at each time are as follows in Table 8.

*Table 8 Exposure to Media Reliabilities.*

	Time 1 alpha	Time 2 alpha	Time 3 alpha
Exposure to ethnic conflict in the media	.70	.77	.86

**Normative beliefs approving of aggression towards out-groups.**

The normative beliefs approving of aggression (NOBAGS) scale (Huesmann & Guerra, 1997) ask about the extent to which individuals think it’s appropriate to behave aggressively toward various ethnic groups (African-Americans; Whites; Jewish-Americans; Arab-Americans). The present study focused on the students general beliefs about aggression and asked about the extent to which individuals think it’s appropriate for Whites-Black and Jewish-Arabs to behave aggressively towards each other. This scale served the purpose of assessing subject’s acceptance of verbal and or physical aggression against ethnic groups.

The measure helps to underscore the degree of ethnic prejudice that subjects may deem acceptable. The full 12 question scale assesses the individual's general beliefs about aggression and assesses beliefs about aggression when retaliating to a provocation. Response options are on a 4-point scale and range from its perfectly ok to it's really wrong (i.e." In general is it OK for a Jewish person to insult an Arab person? In general, is it OK for an Arab person to push or shove a Jewish person"). The NOBAGS scale used is categorized into four parts (blacks against whites; whites against blacks; Jew against Arab; Arab against Jew). The NOBAGS scale has been widely used (Cronbach alpha= .87) with diverse populations and is quite reliable in measuring individuals beliefs and acceptance of aggressing towards others. The present sample total scale Cronbach alpha is .95. The alphas for the four categories at each time are as follows in Table 9.

*Table 9 Beliefs about Aggression reliabilities.*

	Time 1 alpha	Time 2 alpha	Time 3 alpha
NOB Approve Aggression by Blacks against Whites	.93	.96	.97
NOB Approve Aggression by Whites against Blacks	.93	.92	.95
NOB Approve Aggression by Jews against Arabs	.91	.91	.96
NOB Approve Aggression by Arabs against Jews	.95	.96	.98
NOB Approve Aggression against Out group	.95	.93	.97

**Empathy and Perspective Taking.**

We assessed the participants empathy towards others by assessing their ability to take the perspective of others, e. g., to identify with others. Students were assessed on their identification with ethnic groups portrayed in the media. Imagining how members of an outside group may feel when facing an aggressive situation and an uncooperative situation indicates one’s level of empathy. Students were presented with eight brief scenarios describing an act of ethnic-political violence. Following the description of each act, students were asked if they have ever imagined what it may be like to be a person from an outside group dealing with a stressful or an unhealthy life situation. For example, “suppose you saw this on television: Palestinians and Israelis involved in a physical conflict, how often have you imagined what it would be like to be a Palestinian in that situation.” Response options are on a 4-point scale and range from 0 (never) to 4 (many times). The research team in a previous study used this measure and found it to have a coefficient alpha of .87. The present total sample yielded a coefficient alpha of .87. The alphas for the four categories at each time are as follows in Table 10.

*Table 10 Empathy reliabilities.*

	Time 1 alpha	Time 2 alpha	Time 3 alpha
Empathize with Out group	.86	.88	.92
Empathy w/Blacks	.77	.83	.90
Empathy w/Whites	.75	.82	.90
Empathy w/Palestinian	.88	.86	.85
Empathy w/Israeli	.85	.82	.87

### **Critical Thinking Scale**

A four question scale was developed to assess student’s critical thinking. The aim of the question was to determine student’s willingness and involvement in critically evaluating

information. A couple of the questions asked are: “I only think as hard as I have to” and “learning new ways to think doesn’t excite me very much.” The study’s goal was to measure critical thinking, however given the content of the items on this scale, it may be more accurate to label this measure as complex thinking. The alphas at each time are as follows in Table 11.

*Table 11 Critical thinking reliabilities.*

	Time 1 alpha	Time 2 alpha	Time 3 alpha
Critical thinking	.66	.72	.84

### **Demographics**

Students were asked to provide demographic information such as age, grade level, gender, place of birth, parents’ birthplace, parents’ educational level, whether visited the Middle East and whether a family member or friend have been harmed by the violent conflicts in the Middle East. The analysis in this study focused on some but not all of the demographic variables.

### **Intervention**

#### **Intervention Objectives**

Based on our previous study of high school students conducted in the Detroit area (Huesmann et. al, 2011) and a thorough review of the literature on the development and promising interventions for stereotypes in youth, a 4-session psycho-educational curriculum was developed. The curriculum was designed to serve the following objectives:

1. Increase awareness about the prevalence of ethnically motivated hate crimes directed at various ethnic groups in the U.S. This increase in awareness is directly tied to the conceptual model. Students need to be armed with accurate information so that judgments are rational and perspective taking and empathy for out group members is promoted.

2. Increase student understanding of the nature of stereotypes and beliefs about other ethnic groups and how these are related to actual behaviors toward those groups.
3. Educate students on how the mass media through movies, TV programs, and the news, contribute to the development of these stereotypes and beliefs.
4. Increase students' understanding of how targeted media messages about specific groups contribute to the development of these stereotypes and beliefs.
5. Educate students on the important environmental influences in the community which contribute to the development of these stereotypes and beliefs. Students will engage in discussions on how our stereotypes may be developed and promoted by our family, peers, community members and messages received in our immediate environment.
6. Provide students with tools which may help them reduce stereotypes between ethnic groups and promote understanding between groups. These tools, namely developing critical thinking and perspective taking strategies as well as becoming more cognizant of biased messages received from the media, peers, and family, help students to address ethnic stereotypes and ethnic aggressive beliefs that they or their immediate group may harbor.
7. Help students learn more about out groups and help them identify accurate, unbiased information regarding the out group. Also, help students understand the out group's perspective and experience in order to promote empathy for the out group

### **Peer Educator Training**

The peer educators received approximately two hours of direct training on each session and were also assigned independent work to help them become more familiar and comfortable with the curriculum. Peer educators met with the researcher after school and reviewed the curriculum as well as practiced delivering the message. A couple of the training

sessions took place during the peer educators lunch hour. The peer educators were trained in groups of four based on the 9<sup>th</sup> grade class that they were assigned. The peer educators were encouraged to review the curriculum and work together outside of school. The researchers met with the peer educators one week prior to each training session in order to review the upcoming curriculum and discuss in detail the training method as well as assign related homework. This helped to maintain uniformity among all peer educators. Peer educators were given the curriculum and encouraged to take notes during training and to ask clarifying questions.

### **Intervention Delivery**

The curriculum was delivered to the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grade classes once a week for four consecutive weeks by the trained peer educators. The peer educators presented the intervention in groups of four while 1-2 researchers were present in the classroom to oversee the mentor's presentations. The peer trainees were told to treat the peer educators as teachers and direct all questions and comments to them. Researchers took notes of the training sessions and shared their experience with the research team in order to maintain consistency and present any concerns that may need to be addressed prior to subsequent trainings. The curriculum is included as Appendix C.

### **Analysis**

Analyses were run using PASW Statistics 18.0. The first set of analysis involved generating descriptive statistics on all the measures identified in order to summarize their characteristics. Means, percentages and frequencies were computed and missing data were noted. Separate descriptive statistics were run on subgroups (Arab/Other Youth; Peer educators/Peer trainees; Male/Females) Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for each test time and group were

computed. Although random assignment of classes was attempted, differences between groups (i.e. ethnicity, role, schools) are expected based on our previous work with this population (Huesmann, et. al, in press). Chi- square and t-tests were performed.

RM -ANOVA were conducted in order to test for significant mean differences between groups. One-tail correlation analyses on the variables identified in Part 1 hypotheses were performed. Part 1 hypotheses do not address the intervention but look at the initial, pre-intervention relationship among the constructs presented. For this reason, all participants ( $N=192$ ), regardless of intervention participation, are included in the correlation analysis.

The study's goal was to make comparisons between Arab-American youth and Jewish-American youth. A total of 30 Jewish American youth, nine of whom took on the peer educator role, were recruited. Due to the small number of Jewish American youth recruited, comparisons between the two groups presented some challenges. Analysis evaluating significant attitude differences between Jewish-American youth and non-Arab youth, revealed little differences between the two groups. Therefore, for some analyses, Jewish American youth results were combined with non-Arab youth results to form the "other" category. Some ethnicity analyses involved comparing Arab and Other groups while other ethnicity analyses compared Arab, Jewish, and Other (non-Arab, non Jewish) groups.

Part B hypotheses all pertain to the intervention and its predicted effect. The delayed intervention group received the assessment battery twice prior to the intervention at Time 1 and at Time 2. In order to confidently use their Time 2 assessment scores and not their Time 1 scores as a pre-test when evaluating intervention effects, a correlational analysis was run to look at the correlation between their Time 1 and Time 2 assessments. All dependent variables were significantly correlated from Time 1 to Time 2 for the delayed intervention group with



the exception of the variables relating to beliefs about aggression. Thus, all pre-intervention to post-intervention analyses do not include beliefs about aggression. Repeated measures analysis of variance was conducted in order to look at differences based on the intervention and differences between youth's role (peer educator or peer trainee), ethnicities, and gender. Although the hypotheses presented do not include predictions based on ethnicity and gender, exploratory analysis on these variables was pursued. The literature review's focus on ethnic identity and stereotypes supports this consideration.

The key analyses testing for significant effects of the intervention compared the immediate intervention groups change from pre-intervention to post-intervention (Time 1 to Time 2) with the change over the same time period in an initial control group consisting of the delayed intervention group coupled with the permanent control group. A repeated measures ANOVA was used to analyze the differential effects of the intervention between the immediate intervention and initial control groups at Time 1 and Time 2. The repeated measures ANOVA allowed for a more confident evaluation of the intervention since youth's pre-intervention and post-intervention scores were compared relative to the scores of youth in the initial control group. The repeated measures ANOVA were run with intervention condition (intervention/control) and role (peer educator/peer trainee) as between subject factors in order to test the Part B hypotheses.. The repeated measures ANOVAs were also run with demographic variables (ethnicity, gender) included as between subject factors or covariates to control for their effect on the outcomes. All main effects and interactions were analyzed. Also, post hoc paired *t*-tests were used to further explore significant interaction effects when applicable.

A repeated measures ANOVA from pretest to post-test was also conducted for everyone who received the intervention (immediate intervention and delayed intervention groups). However interpretations of results must be made cautiously since there is no control group to account for possible history or maturation effects that could be contributing to differences beyond the effects of the intervention.. For this repeated measures ANOVA the only between subject factor was the chosen demographic variable and time was the only within subject factor. Again, all interactions and main effects were analyzed. Lastly, hypotheses 6B which makes correlational predictions based on the intervention effect required overlapping correlation coefficient comparisons using Fisher's Z transformation (Meng et. al., 1992).

## **Chapter 3**

### **Results**

#### **Descriptive Analysis**

The descriptive statistics provide a basic summary of the sample and nature of the measures. In the total sample of 192, the majority of the youth who participated were females (64%), Arabic (60%), and Muslim (61%) (see Table 12). A number of religions are represented in the sample however Islam and Judaism represent 77% of the study sample. School A which has a predominately Arab population represented 66% of the sample. This may explain why only 34% of the youth reported to being third (or more) generation Americans while 44% reported being first generation Americans. The grade representing the largest number of participants is the 9<sup>th</sup> grade group while the 11<sup>th</sup> graders had the smallest representation. The majority (61%) of the students participated in the immediate intervention group.

Table 12. Demographic Variables: Frequencies and Percentages.

Demographic Variables	<i>N</i>	%
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	69	35.9
Female	123	64.1
<b>Ethnicity</b>		
Asian American	6	3.1
African American	7	3.6
Arab American	115	59.9
Hispanic or Latino	2	1.0
Caucasian	22	11.5
Jewish American	28	14.6
Mixed Race	9	4.7
Error or no race indicated	3	1.6
<b>Religion</b>		
Hindu	2	1.0
Muslim	117	60.9
Christian	27	14.1
Jewish	30	15.6
Buddhist	1	0.5
None or Other	2	4.1
Other	5	2.6
None	1	0.5
Error or no religion indicated	7	3.6
<b>School</b>		
School A	127	66.1
School B	65	33.9
<b>Experimental Groups</b>		
Immediate Intervention	93	48.4
Delayed Intervention	60	31.3
Permanent Control	20	10.4
Baseline	19	9.9
<b>Grade</b>		
Ninth	89	46.4
Tenth	54	28.1
Eleventh	49	25.5
<b>Generation in US (<i>N</i>=192)</b>		
Not US Born	28	14.6
First Generation	84	43.8
Second Generation	10	5.2
Third Or Greater Generation	66	34.4
Not Classifiable	4	2.1

<sup>a</sup> – Nineteen participants participated only in baseline measures and did not take on a Peer educator or Peer trainee role. Thus, they are not included in this section of the table

Prior to analyzing the intervention effect on the participants, it was necessary to determine if there was demographic variability between the two schools participating in the intervention. Identifying the differences between the two schools is necessary in order to control for them when testing the effectiveness of the intervention. A Chi-square test was conducted to determine if there were differences between demographic variables by school and by role (peer educator/peer trainee). Table 13 shows the Chi-square test results and t tests for differences between schools. As shown in Table 6 and as expected, the Arab-American sample from School A differed not only from the Jewish-American sample at School B but differed from the total School B sample. For example 84% of the students from School A were either first generation Americans or were born outside of the US as compared with 13% of the students from School B. The two samples differed significantly on the number of males and females recruited their age, their ethnicity, their religion, the grades they represented and their parents' educational attainment. Table 14 shows the demographic differences between the immediate intervention and delayed intervention groups. As shown in Table 14 the distribution of ethnicity and religion in the immediate intervention and initial control groups was also unequal. For example, the majority of the youth in the immediate intervention group were Arab American (63%) and a significantly smaller percentage was Jewish American (9%). Therefore, ethnicity of the participant will need to be included as a control variable to statistically equate the two conditions in order to avoid making false conclusions. Appendix D presents the percentage distribution of school differences for the study groups. Appendices E, F, G, H, and I present respectively the percentage distribution of gender, grade, ethnic, religious and generation differences for the study groups and school. Appendix J presents the school mean differences for age and parent's average education.

Table 13. Demographic Differences Between Schools.

Demographic Variables	School A (%)	School B (%)	df	n	$\chi^2$
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	28	52	1	192	11.44**
Female	72	48			
<b>Ethnicity</b>					
Arab American	87	6			
Jewish American	0	45	6	189	142.89***
White	2	33			
African American	2	8			
Other	9	8			
<b>Religion</b>					
Muslim	94	0			
Jewish	0	49	7	185	140.75***
Christian	3	38			
Other	3	13			
<b>Grade</b>					
9 <sup>th</sup>	70	0			
10 <sup>th</sup>	2	80	2	192	140.75***
11 <sup>th</sup>	28	20			
<b>Generation</b>					
Not born in US	21	3			
First generation	63	10	3	188	104.06***
2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	6	3			
3 <sup>rd</sup> generation	10	84			
<b>Age</b>					
	M (SD)	M (SD)	df	N	t
Age	15.02 (1.06)	15.61 (.64)	178.21	188	4.74***
<b>Parent's Average Education<sup>^</sup></b>					
	M (SD)	M (SD)	df	N	t
Parent's Average Education <sup>^</sup>	2.62 (1.19)	4.10 (.88)	166.41	185	9.58***

\* $p < .05$  (one-tailed) level. \*\* - at  $p < .01$  (one-tailed) level. \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (one-tailed) level.

<sup>^</sup> 1= did not graduate from high school 2=high school graduate;

3=attended college but did not graduate; 4=graduated college; 5= graduate degree completed

Table 14. Demographic Differences between Immediate Intervention Group and delayed Intervention Group.

Study Group	Immediate Intervention (%)	Delayed Intervention (%)	<i>df</i>	<i>n</i>	$\chi^2$
Gender					
Male	35	50	1	173	0.08
Female	65	50			
Ethnicity					
Arab American	63	39			
Jewish American	9	35	6	170	16.11*
White	10	23			
African American	6	0			
Other	12	3			
Religion					
Muslim	67	39			
Jewish	7	41	7	166	20.20**
Christian	17	17			
Other	9	3			
Grade					
9 <sup>th</sup>	53	33			
10 <sup>th</sup>	29	45	2	173	0.47
11 <sup>th</sup>	18	22			
Generation					
Not born in US	20	5			
First generation	44	33	3	169	7.82
2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	3	7			
3 <sup>rd</sup> generation	33	55			
School					
School A	67	43	1	173	1.54
School B	33	57			
	M	M	<i>df</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>t</i>
	(SD)	(SD)			
Age	15.04	15.10	167	169	-0.40
	(0.90)	(0.93)			
Parent's Average Education <sup>^</sup>	3.02	3.35	165	167	-1.62
	(1.41)	(1.22)			

\* $p < .05$  (one-tailed) level. \*\* - at  $p < .01$  (one-tailed) level. \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (one-tailed) level.

<sup>^</sup> 1= did not graduate from high school 2=high school graduate;

3=attended college but did not graduate; 4=graduated college; 5= graduate degree completed

## **Testing Part A Hypotheses**

Part A hypotheses were tested using one-tail correlation analyses. The decision to use one-tail analysis was due to the directional nature of the research hypotheses. Part A hypotheses look to inform us of the relationship between empathy, ethnic identity, exposure to images of ethnic violence and the negative outcome variables discussed. Data from all study participants (N=192) were used for Part A hypotheses since intervention participation is not a focus.

*Hypotheses 1A: Ethnic prejudice and empathy for the out-group are negatively correlated.*

Results confirmed hypotheses 1A. Youth who reported greater prejudice towards the out-group reported less empathic feelings for the out group. Empathic feelings for the out-group were also found to be negatively related to the negative ethnic stereotypes youth had toward the out group. See Table 15.

*Hypotheses 2A: A negative correlation exists between beliefs approving of aggression toward other ethnic groups and empathy for the out-group.*

Results supported hypotheses 2A. Youth who reported beliefs approving of ethnic aggression reported less empathy towards the out group. See Table 15.

*Hypotheses 3A: A positive correlation exists between ethnic identity and beliefs approving of aggression toward other ethnic groups.*

Results did not support hypotheses 3A. A positive correlation between greater ethnic identity and beliefs approving of aggression toward other ethnic groups was not found for the total sample. However, when analyzing only the peer educator data, results supported



hypotheses 3A. Peer educators who reported stronger ethnic identity, reported greater beliefs approving of aggression toward other ethnic groups ( $r = .38$  &  $r = .34$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

*Hypotheses 4A. A positive correlation exists between strong ethnic identity and ethnic stereotypes.*

Results supported hypotheses 4A. Youth who reported stronger ethnic identity were more likely to have stronger negative ethnic stereotypes towards out groups. Further support for the positive correlation that exists between ethnic identity and ethnic stereotypes was found when looking at the Implicit Association Test results. Youth, who reported stronger ethnic identity, as measured by commitment to their in-group MEIM subscale, reported more approval of implicit stereotypes. See Table 15.

Conversely, youth who reported having more experiences and involvement with out group members reported less ethnic stereotypes toward out groups and they reported less prejudice towards out group members. Youth who reported feeling less comfort with the negative ethnic stereotypes demonstrated by family and friends and reported less approval of family and friend's negative ethnic stereotypes also reported having more experiences and involvement with out group members. See Table 15.

*Hypotheses 5A. A positive correlation exists between negative ethnic stereotypes and more TV viewing of ethnic political violence.*

Results did not fully support hypotheses 5A. However similar findings were found for youth's support and feelings of negative stereotypes. Youth's exposure to television viewing of ethnic political violence was positively correlated with youth reporting feelings more comfortable of family and friends' negative ethnic stereotypes and reporting approval of family and friends' negative ethnic stereotypes.

An interesting supplementary result was found regarding television viewing. The result is supported by the literature review on the relationship between TV viewing and beliefs as reviewed in the introduction. The results found that TV viewing of ethnic political violence was positively correlated with normative beliefs approving of aggression toward out-groups. See Table 15.

Sub group analysis:

Correlational analysis of the variables within ethnic groups yielded significant differences. The first set of analysis looked at three ethnic categories: Arab American youth; Jewish American youth and Other (non-Arab and non-Jewish) group. Findings indicate significant correlations within ethnic groups. . Jewish American youth and Arab American youth with stronger ethnic identity, reported greater explicit ethnic stereotype toward the out group. This correlation was not found for the youth in the Other category. Stronger ethnic identity for the Arab American youth was also positively correlated with implicit ethnic stereotype. Also, Arab American youth's empathic attitude towards the out-group was negatively correlated with their normative aggressive beliefs toward out group members. See Table 16.

Correlation analysis within gender yielded some significant findings. Females' scores on the normative beliefs of aggression toward other ethnic groups were positively correlated with the TV viewing of ethnic political violence. For the male sample, a positive correlation between commitment to one's own ethnic group and normative beliefs approving of out group aggression was found. A positive correlation between males' ethnic experiences and practices and their normative beliefs approving of out group aggression was found. See Table 17.

The conceptual model (Figure 2) provides a diagrammed summary of the study's correlational findings. Critical thinking, which was presented in the original conceptual model (Figure 1), has been changed to complex thinking. This was necessary since the construct measured in the present study reflected more of a complex thinking measure than a critical thinking measure.

Table 15. Correlations at Baseline Among Ethnic Identity, Stereotyping, Prejudice, Exposure to Ethnic Conflict in Media and Normative Beliefs approving of Aggression

Scale Items	Experiences w in group	Commitment to in-group	Involvement w out-group	Agree w/ neg. stereo about outgrp	Feel comfort w/neg stereo about outgrp	Tell friend I agree w neg stereo	Empathize w out group	Explicit neg stereo about out group	IAT neg stereo outgrp	Approve Agg at Outgrp
Experiences w in group										
Commitment to in-group	.57***									
Involvement w out-group	-.04	-.14*								
Agree w/ neg. stereo about outgrp	.12	.06	-.31**							
Feel comfort w/neg stereo about outgrp	.05	.07	-.20**	.60***						
Tell friend I agree w neg stereotype	.23	.12	-.38***	.81***	.54***					
Empathize with out grp	.01	-.07	.17*	-.09	-.06	-.18**				
Explicit neg stereo about out group	.17*	.18**	-.19**	.27***	.13*	.20**	-.25**			
IAT neg stereo outgrp	.11	.19**	.00	.09	.06	.08	.03	.07		
Approve Agg at Outgrp	.08	.10	-.02	.10	.08	.11	-.19**	.27***	.05	
Exposure to eth conflict in media	.04	-.08	.05	.25**	.19**	.10	.06	.11	-.02	.13*

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed) level. \*\* - at  $p < .01$  (one-tailed) level. \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (one-tailed) level.

Table 16. Correlations among Ethnic Identity, Empathy, Stereotyping, Prejudice and Normative Beliefs Approving of Aggression by Ethnicity.

Scale Items	Arab (n=124)					
	Experiences with in group	Commit-ment to in-group	Explicit neg stereo about out group	IAT neg stereo out group	Empathize with out group	Approve Agg at Out grp
Experiences w in group	1					
Commitment to in-group	.44***	1				
Explicit neg stereo about out group	.07	.17*	1			
IAT neg stereo out group	.13	.17*	.10	1		
Empathize with out group	.19*	-.01	-.21*	.05	1	
Approve Agg at Out grp	.03	.11	.31***	.13	-.19*	1
Scale Items	Jew (n=30)					
	Experiences with in group	Commit-ment to in-group	Explicit neg stereo about out group	IAT neg stereo out group	Empathize w out group	Approve Agg at Out grp
Experiences with in group	1					
Commitment to in-group	.73***	1				
Explicit neg stereo out group	.39*	.17	1			
IAT neg stereo out group	.21	.20	.20	1		
Empathize w out grp	-.01	.17	-.28	.23	1	
Approve Agg at Out grp	.28	.02	.07	-.27	-.17	1

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Scale Items	Other ( <i>n</i> =38)					
	Experiences with in group	Commitment to in-group	Explicit neg stereo about out group	IAT neg stereo out group	Empathize with out group	NBO: Approve Agg at Out grp
Experiences with in group	1					
Commitment to in-group	.58***	1				
Explicit neg stereo about out group	-.19	-.08	1			
IAT neg stereo out group	-.03	.26	-.21	1		
Empathize with out group	-.01	-.20	-.18	-.16	1	
NBO: Approve Agg at Out grp	-.17	-.06	.04	-.10	-.16	1

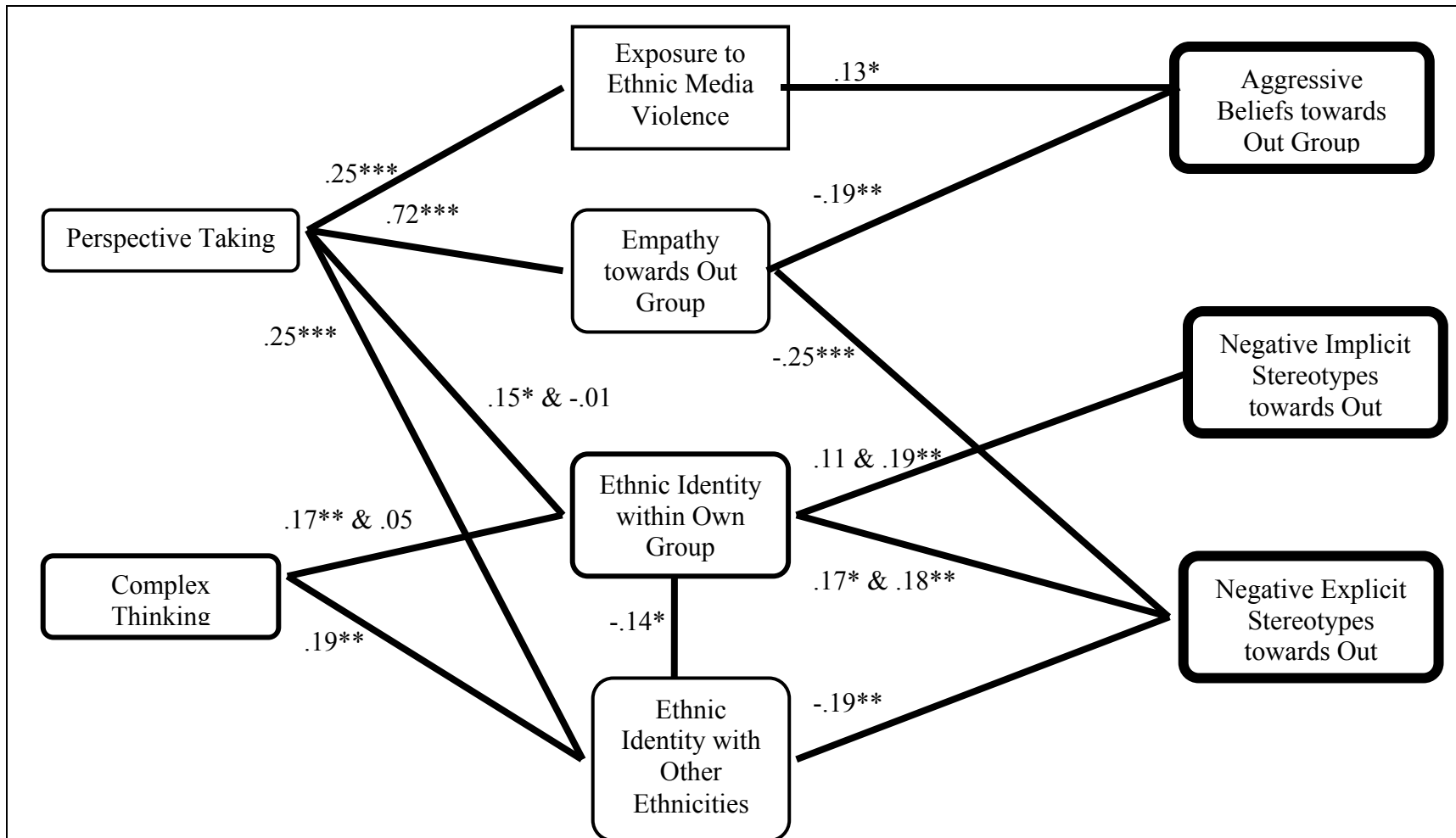
\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed) level. \*\* - at  $p < .01$  (one-tailed) level. \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (one-tailed) level.

*Table 17. Correlations among Ethnic Identity, Exposure to Ethnic Conflict in Media, and Normative Beliefs Approving of Ethnic Aggression by Gender.*

Male (n=69)				
Scale Items	Exposure to ethnic conflict in media	NBO:Approve Agg at Out grp	Experiences with in group	Commitment to in-group
Exposure to ethnic conflict in media	1			
NBO:Approve Agg at Out grp	.09	1		
Experiences with in group	-.15	.27*	1	
Commitment to in-group	.02	.25*	.60***	1
Female (n=123)				
Scale Items	Exposure to Violent Media	NBO:Approve Agg at Out grp	Experiences with in group	Commitment to in-group
Exposure to ethnic conflict in media	1			
NBO:Approve Agg at Out grp	.16*	1		
Experiences with in group	-.02	-.03	1	
Commitment to in-group	.06	-.06	.55***	1

\* $p < .05$  (one-tailed) level. \*\* - at  $p < .01$  (one-tailed) level. \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (one-tailed) level.

Figure 2.



Significant one-tailed correlations between internal and external risk factors and both aggressive beliefs towards out group members and negative explicit and implicit stereotypes towards out group members. Insignificant relationships are not shown. \*- $p < .05$  (one tailed). \*\*- $p < .01$  (one-tailed). \*\*\*- $p < .001$  (one-tailed).



## Testing Part B Hypotheses

Hypotheses 1B. The scores of the immediate intervention group on critical thinking will increase from before to after the intervention relative whereas the delayed intervention group's scores and the permanent control group's scores will not increase over the same time.

Results did not support hypotheses 1B. A repeated measure ANOVA on critical thinking was examined at time 1 and time 2 in order to compare the immediate intervention group to the initial control group. As explained earlier, the initial control group's pre-intervention time 1 and time 2 measures served as the control comparison for the immediate intervention group. A significant Time X Condition interaction was not found on the critical thinking measure-- youth in the immediate intervention group did not show improvement in their critical thinking score as compared to the initial control group,  $F(1, 152)=.01$ , n. s. Table 18 shows the means for critical thinking by condition at time 1 and time 2. However, this analysis revealed a significant main effect of role (peer educator/ peer trainer) for critical thinking ( $F(1, 152) = 23.95$ ,  $p < .001$ ) with the peer educators reporting more desire for critical thinking than the peer trainees. This is shown in Figure 3, standard error bars are shown. Means by condition and role at time 1 and time 2 are presented in Table 19.

Figure 3. Complex thinking main effect for role

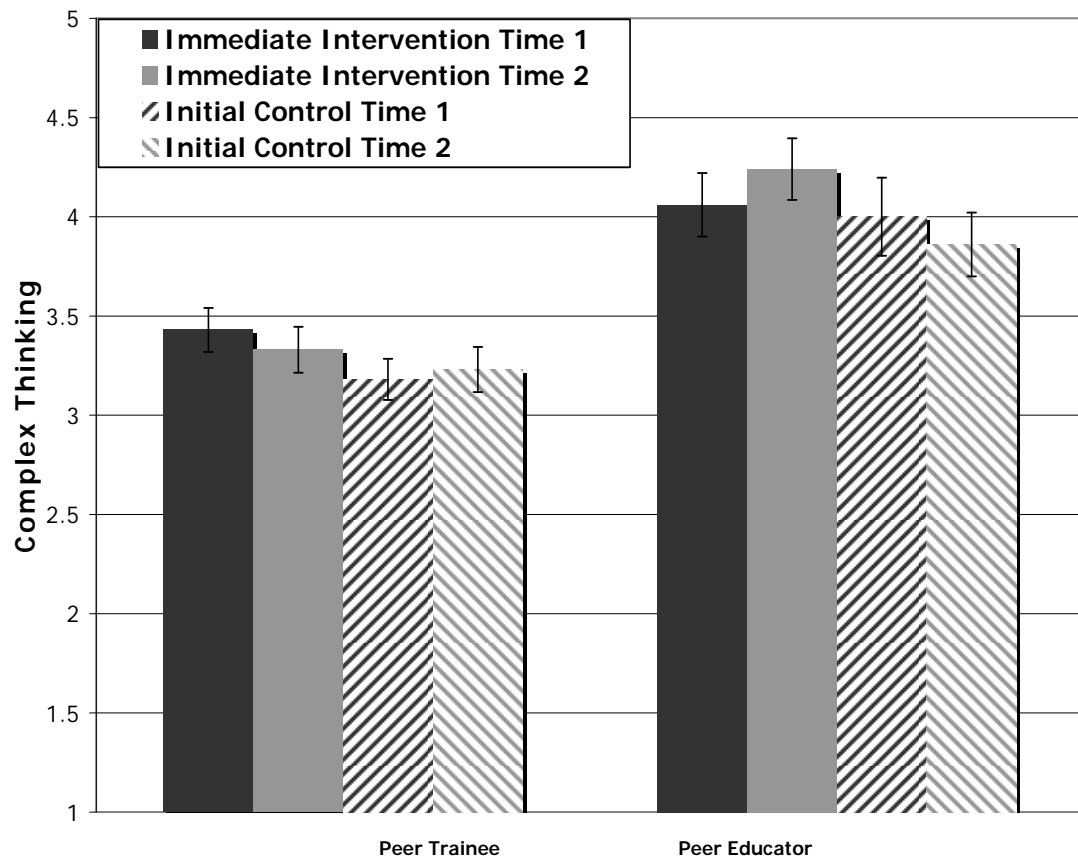


Table 18. Overall Means by Condition at Time 1 and Time 2.

Scale Items	Immediate Intervention ( <i>n</i> =93)		Initial Control ( <i>n</i> =80)	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Empathize with in group	2.68 (0.91)	2.37 (0.94)	2.69 (0.91)	2.58 (0.93)
Empathize with out group	1.84 (0.81)	1.88 (0.84)	1.81 (0.82)	1.89 (0.78)
Agree w/ neg. stereo about outgrp	2.87 (1.29)	2.82 (1.30)	2.69 (1.10)	2.54 (1.05)
Feel comfort w/neg stereo about outgrp	3.06 (1.40)	2.96 (1.33)	2.96 (1.22)	2.50 (1.01)
Tell friend I agree with negative stereotype	3.07 (1.20)	3.07 (1.20)	2.89 (1.07)	2.76 (1.08)
NBO: Approve Agg	1.41 (0.65)	1.48 (0.69)	1.53 (0.68)	1.41 (0.51)
NBO:Approve Agg at Outgrp	1.60 (0.91)	1.61 (0.99)	1.67 (0.91)	1.50 (0.76)
Experiences with in-group	2.85 (0.51)	2.84 (0.48)	2.91 (0.54)	2.99 (0.53)
Commitment to in-group	3.30 (0.50)	3.25 (0.48)	3.40 (0.45)	3.41 (0.48)
Involvement with out-group	3.23 (0.50)	3.21 (0.52)	3.20 (0.50)	3.19 (0.45)
Explicit neg ethnic stereotypes	3.53 (1.02)	3.65 (1.03)	3.56 (0.92)	3.59 (0.79)
Explicit neg stereo about out group	3.82 (1.78)	3.90 (1.57)	4.16 (1.68)	4.20 (1.53)
IAT neg stereo outgrp	3.52 (4.87)	2.59 (5.22)	3.92 (4.64)	2.89 (4.69)
Critical Thinking	3.57 (0.95)	3.52 (1.03)	3.31 (0.89)	3.35 (0.91)
Total Empathy (Perspective Taking)	2.12 (0.65)	2.06 (0.71)	2.15 (0.67)	2.13 (0.67)
Exposure to Ethnic Conflict in Media	3.39 (0.62)	3.32 (0.63)	3.50 (0.63)	3.20 (0.71)

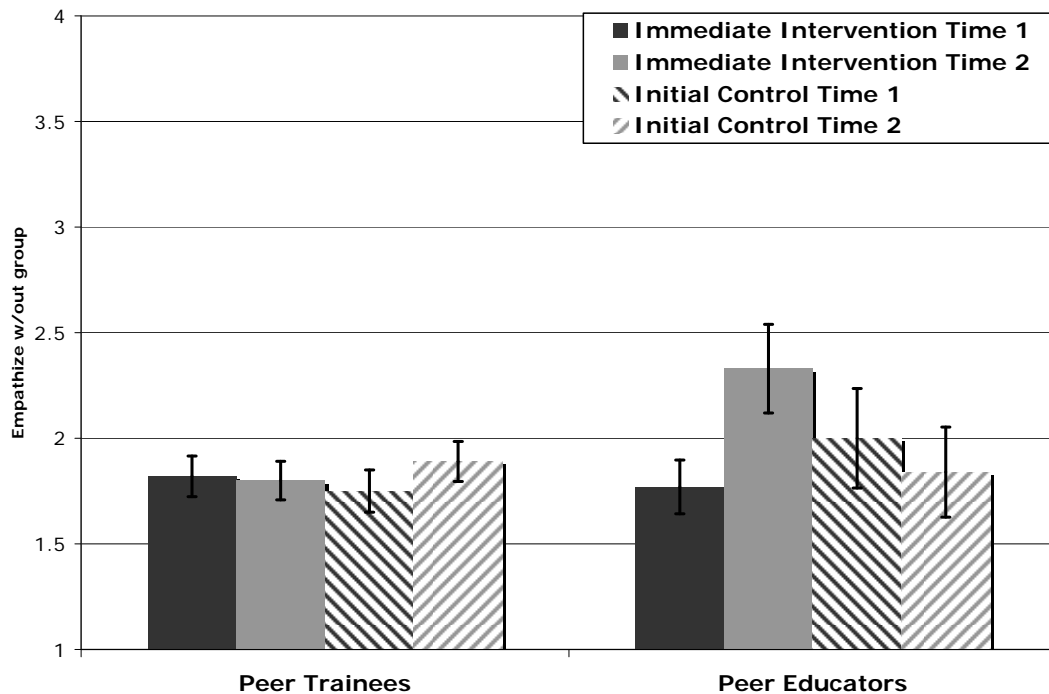
Table 19. Means by Condition and Role at Time 1 and Time 2.

Scale Items	Immediate Intervention (n=93)				Initial Control (n=80)			
	Peer trainee (n=75)		Peer educator (n=18)		Peer trainee (n=67)		Peer educator (n=13)	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Empathize with in group	2.64 (0.97)	2.29 (0.99)	2.85 (0.56)	2.70 (0.58)	2.59 (0.93)	2.52 (0.95)	3.19 (0.58)	2.95 (0.67)
Empathize with out group	1.85 (0.86)	1.78 (0.80)	1.77 (0.54)	2.33 (0.89)	1.79 (0.82)	1.90 (0.79)	1.92 (0.86)	1.84 (0.77)
Agree w/ neg. stereo about outgrp	2.95 (1.26)	2.96 (1.32)	2.55 (1.37)	2.26 (1.11)	2.68 (1.13)	2.50 (1.06)	2.74 (0.99)	2.76 (1.03)
Feel comfort w/neg stereo about outgrp	3.01 (1.31)	3.09 (1.38)	3.23 (1.71)	2.44 (0.97)	2.90 (1.22)	2.43 (1.00)	3.27 (1.24)	2.85 (1.06)
Tell friend I agree with negative stereotype	3.14 (1.21)	3.23 (1.20)	2.81 (1.18)	2.44 (1.02)	2.89 (1.11)	2.71 (1.10)	2.85 (0.87)	3.00 (0.97)
NBO: Approve Agg	1.47 (0.69)	1.48 (0.72)	1.21 (0.41)	1.47 (0.57)	1.57 (0.70)	1.45 (0.54)	1.32 (0.49)	1.20 (0.30)
NBO:Approve Agg at Outgrp	1.70 (0.98)	1.62 (1.04)	1.22 (0.44)	1.56 (0.77)	1.69 (0.92)	1.56 (0.80)	1.54 (0.89)	1.16 (0.36)
Experiences with in-group	2.81 (0.52)	2.79 (0.49)	3.01 (0.43)	3.04 (0.37)	2.87 (0.56)	2.98 (0.54)	3.12 (0.41)	3.03 (0.47)
Commitment to in-group	3.30 (0.49)	3.24 (0.48)	3.29 (0.53)	3.32 (0.48)	3.36 (0.46)	3.41 (0.49)	3.63 (0.32)	3.40 (0.44)
Involvement with out-group	3.15 (0.51)	3.16 (0.53)	3.41 (0.47)	3.42 (0.42)	3.18 (0.48)	3.20 (0.46)	3.28 (0.57)	3.17 (0.43)
Explicit neg ethnic stereotypes	3.58 (1.04)	3.62 (1.07)	3.32 (0.91)	3.80 (0.86)	3.57 (0.96)	3.58 (0.79)	3.54 (0.73)	3.60 (0.77)
Explicit neg stereo about out group	4.04 (1.87)	3.96 (1.68)	2.98 (1.00)	3.66 (1.01)	4.22 (1.76)	4.29 (1.62)	3.86 (1.26)	3.70 (0.80)
IAT neg stereo outgrp	3.79 (3.98)	3.61 (4.76)	2.33 (7.81)	-2.20 (4.65)	3.90 (4.88)	2.97 (4.71)	4.00 (3.28)	2.45 (4.80)
Critical Thinking	3.44 (0.97)	3.34 (1.02)	4.06 (0.68)	4.24 (0.66)	3.16 (0.86)	3.25 (0.93)	4.02 (0.68)	3.86 (0.58)
Total Empathy (Perspective Taking)	2.10 (0.69)	2.00 (0.72)	2.22 (0.50)	2.28 (0.68)	2.11 (0.70)	2.11 (0.71)	2.33 (0.54)	2.23 (0.41)

Hypotheses 2B. 2B. I hypothesize that the scores of peer educators on empathy towards out group member in the immediate intervention group will increase from before to after the intervention (Time 1 to Time 2); whereas the scores for the peer educators in the delayed intervention group will not increase between the same two times.

Results supported hypotheses 2B. A repeated measure ANOVA analysis for Time X Condition X Role within subjects effects found a Time X Condition X Role interaction ( $F(1, 145) = 5.65, p < .05$ ). This is shown in Figure 4. The means by condition and role presented in Table 18 show that peer educators in the immediate intervention group improved their empathy towards out-group members relative to youth in the initial control group. A post hoc paired  $t$ -test revealed that this increase in empathy for the out group for peer educators within the immediate intervention was significant ( $t(14) = -2.73, p < .05$ ).

Figure 4. Empathy for out group time X condition X role interaction



Hypotheses 3B. I hypothesize that the scores of peer educators on negative ethnic stereotyping and beliefs approving of aggression towards out-group members in the immediate intervention group will decrease from before to after the intervention; whereas the scores of the peer educators in the delayed intervention group will not decrease between the same two times.

Results on post-intervention measures of implicit negative ethnic stereotypes by peer educators found support for hypotheses 3B. Post-intervention results on beliefs approving of aggression towards out-group members by peer educators did not support hypotheses 3B. A repeated measures ANOVA analysis for Time X Condition X Role between subject's effects yielded significant results on the implicit prejudice measure. The three way interaction was only marginally significant but a two-way Condition X Role interaction for implicit prejudice ( $F(1,146)=4.30, p<.05$ ) was significant. Peer educators scores on the implicit prejudice measure were lower when compared to the youth within the initial control group. From Figure 5 one can see that the decrease in implicit negative stereotypes for the peer educators from pre-intervention to post-intervention contributed to the significant interaction. Overall, both peer educators' and peer trainees' scores within the immediate intervention group on implicit prejudice decreased, however, the peer educator's decrease was much larger which contributed to the significant interaction.. In fact, a post hoc paired *t*-test showed that the decrease in implicit prejudice for peer educators within the immediate intervention group was significant ( $t(14)=3.15, p<.01$ ), while the decrease shown for peer trainees within the immediate intervention group was not significant ( $t(64)=0.62, ns$ ). Figure 5 illustrates the findings. There was also a main effect of Role for implicit prejudice, with the peer educators reporting less overall implicit prejudice than

the peer trainees regardless of whether or not they received the intervention ( $F(1, 146)= 4.00$ ,  $p<.05$ ).

Agreement with negative stereotypes ( $F(1,152)=3.28$ ,  $p<.10$ ) and response to negative stereotypes ( $F(1,151)=3.31$ ,  $p<.10$ ) were both approaching significance for Condition X Role effects. The decrease in these scores within the immediate intervention group from pre-intervention to post-intervention seems to be what produces these role by condition interaction. Similar to the implicit prejudice results, only the Peer Educator group decreased on agreement with negative stereotypes and response to negative stereotypes when compared to the peer educators within the initial control group. A post hoc paired  $t$ -test revealed that the decreases in both agreement with negative stereotypes ( $t(17)=2.37$ ,  $p<.05$ ) and response to negative stereotypes ( $t(17)=2.37$ ,  $p<.05$ ) were significant for peer educators within the immediate intervention group. However, the peer trainees within the immediate intervention group increased on both agreement with negative stereotypes and response to negative stereotypes. A paired  $t$ -test conducted post hoc showed that neither the increases in agreement with negative stereotypes ( $t(65)=-0.28$ ,  $ns$ ) nor response to negative stereotypes ( $t(64)=-0.47$ ,  $ns$ ) were significant for peer trainees within the immediate intervention group. Figures 6 and 7 displays the positive effect the intervention had upon agreement with negative stereotypes and actions against negative stereotypes, respectively, for the peer educators.

Figure 5. Implicit prejudice condition X role interaction

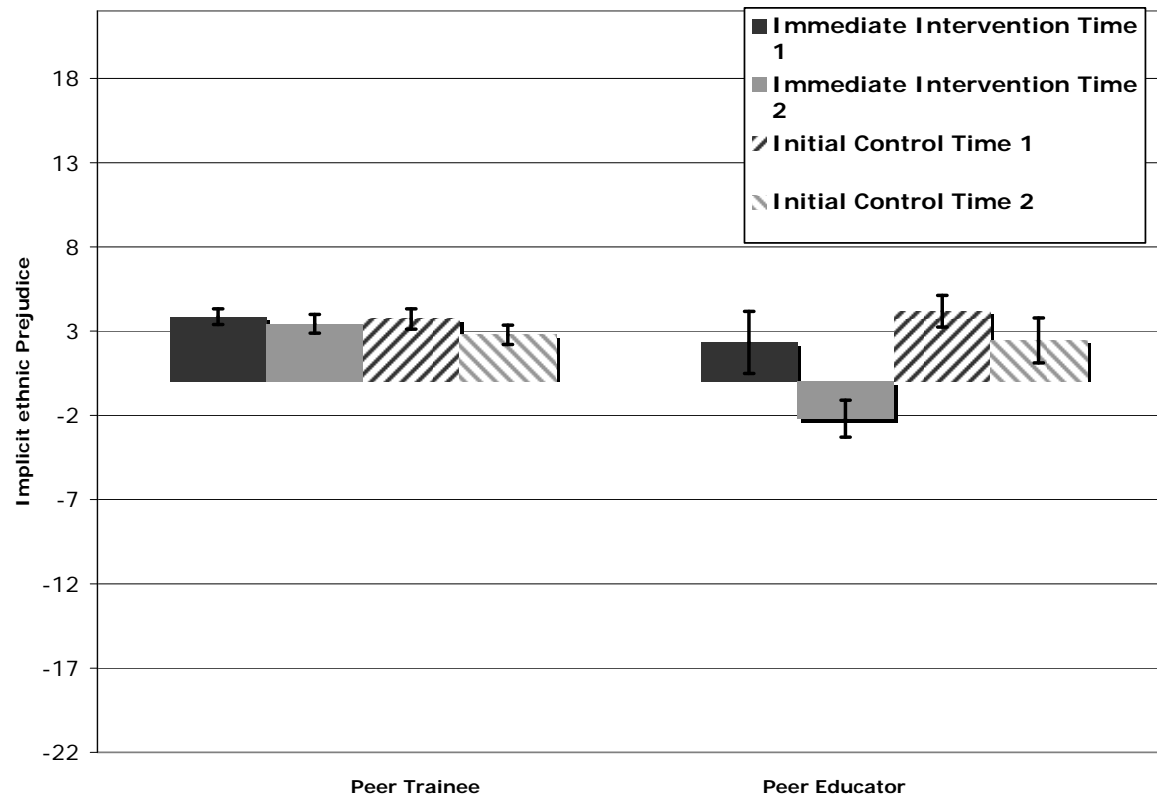
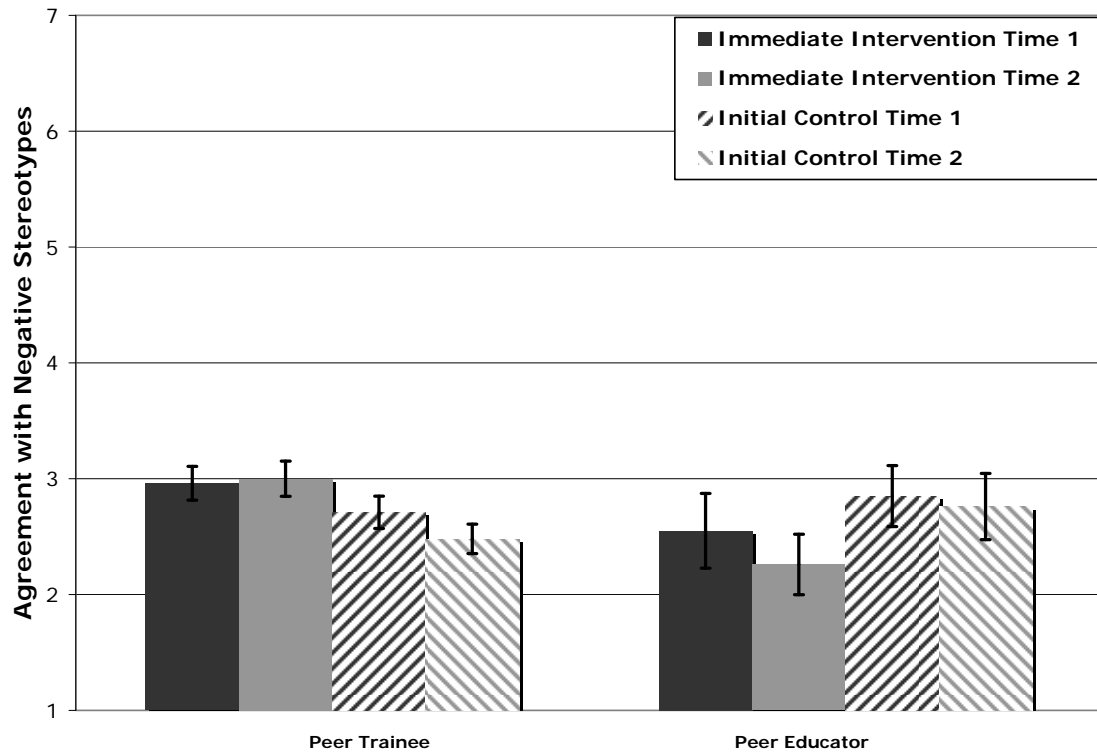


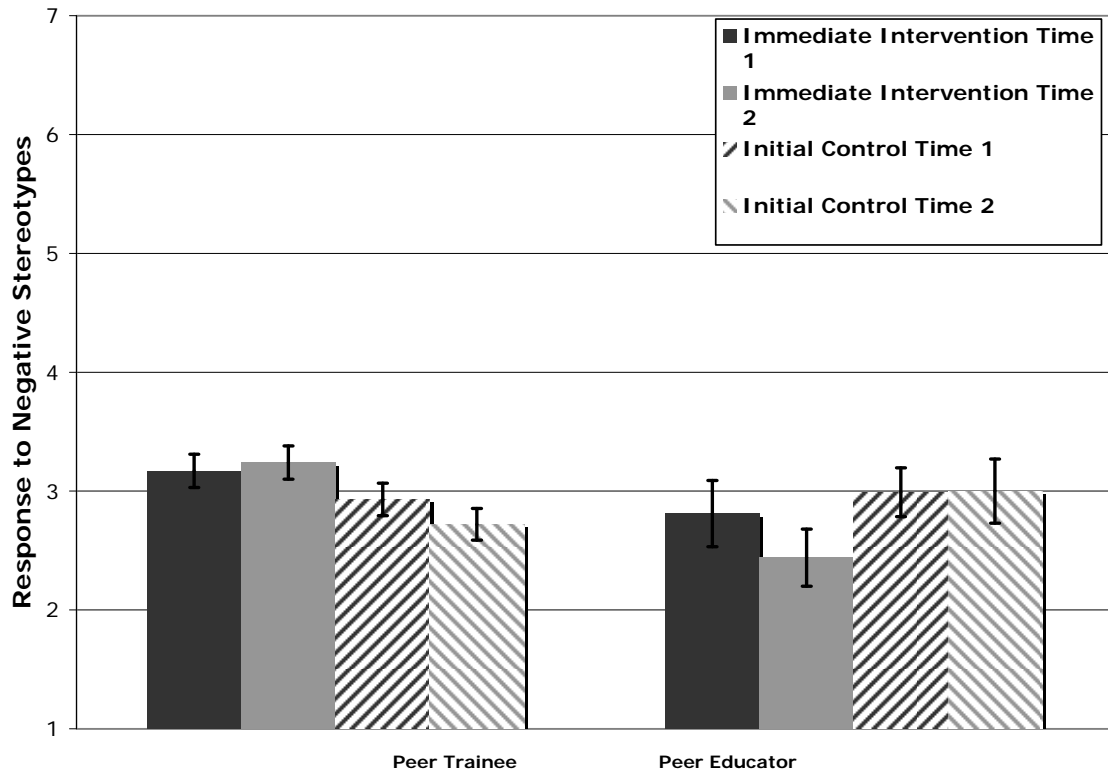


Figure 6. Agreement with negative stereotypes condition X role interaction



Peer educators in the II group report less agreement with others verbalized negative ethnic stereotypes when compared to peer educators within the DI group. Standard error bars are presented.

Figure 7. Response to negative stereotypes condition X role interaction



Peer educators in the II group report a decrease in approval of peers' and family's negative ethnic stereotypes compared to peer educators within the DI group. Standard error bars are presented.

**Hypotheses 4B.** I hypothesize that the scores on empathy towards out group member of the immediate intervention group will increase from before to after the intervention (Time 1 to Time 2); whereas the delayed intervention and the permanent control's groups' scores will not increase between the same two times.

A repeated measure ANOVA comparing change from Time 1 to Time 2 in the immediate intervention group with change in the initial control group on empathy towards the out group did not reveal a significant effect. A significant difference on out-group empathy between the intervention group and the initial group was not found. A repeated measures ANOVA without condition included was also run on all intervention participants (immediate intervention and delayed intervention) to see if scores changed from pre-intervention to post-intervention in the intervention groups on empathy towards out group members. This pre/post intervention analysis allowed for examination of differences over time and how they related to demographic variables. It also allowed for a bigger sample size. Since the analysis did not involve comparison to a control group, results should be interpreted cautiously. Pre/post intervention analysis found that Arab American youth increased their empathy for the out group following the intervention while youth from other ethnicities unexpectedly decreased their empathy for the out group subsequent to the intervention ( $F(1,125)=2.86, p<.10$ ). Table 20 presents the overall means at pre-test and post-test. Table 21 presents the overall means by ethnicity at pre-test and post-test. The Time X Ethnicity interaction on empathy towards the out-group is shown in Figure 8.

A significant main effect for time was found for empathy for own ethnicity across analyses conducted at pre-test and post-test. Specifically, for empathy for own ethnicity a significant main effect for time was found within the time X role analysis ( $F(1,125)=4.14, p<.05$ ), time X ethnicity analysis ( $F(1,125)=8.20, p<.01$ ), and within the time X gender analysis

( $F(1,125)=7.91, p<.01$ ). Thus, although all interpretations must be made cautiously since pre-test to post-test analyses involve no comparison to a control group, it appears that all intervention participants decreased their empathy for their own ethnicity following the intervention. An example of this effect from the time X role analyses is presented in Figure 9.

Figure 8. Empathy for out group time X ethnicity interaction

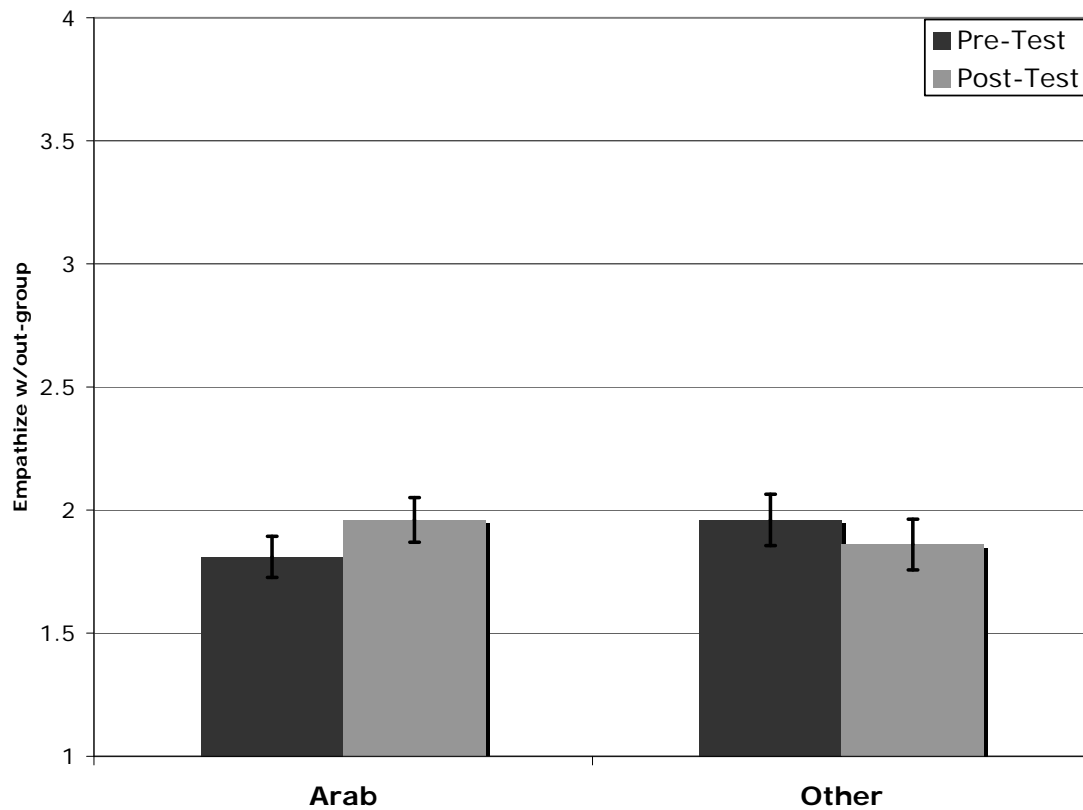
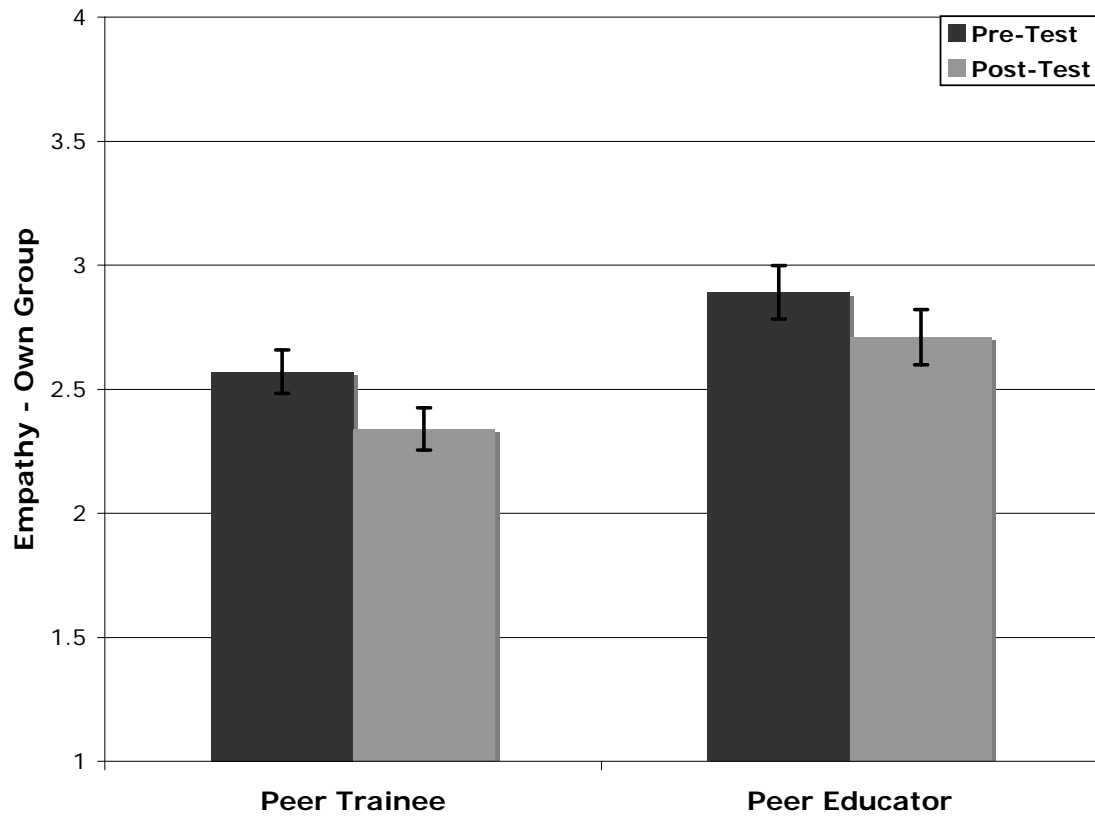


Figure 9. Empathy for own group time X role interaction



*Table 20. Overall Means at Pre-Test and Post-Test.*

Scale Items	Pre-Test	Post-Test
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Empathize with in group	2.60 (0.92)	2.40 (0.91)
Empathize with out group	1.86 (0.81)	1.92 (0.84)
Agree w/ neg. stereo about outgrp	2.80 (1.19)	2.82 (1.25)
Feel comfort w/neg stereo about outgrp	2.90 (1.26)	2.91 (1.28)
Tell friend I agree with negative stereotype	3.00 (1.16)	3.00 (1.16)
NBO: Approve Agg	1.42 (0.59)	1.51 (0.70)
NBO: Approve Agg at Outgrp	1.53 (0.80)	1.64 (0.96)
Experiences with in-group	2.89 (0.51)	2.91 (0.49)
Commitment to in-group	3.31 (0.48)	3.28 (0.50)
Involvement with out-group	3.19 (0.49)	3.13 (0.51)
Explicit neg ethnic stereotypes	3.54 (0.95)	3.70 (1.00)
Explicit neg stereo about out group	3.95 (1.70)	3.98 (1.48)
IAT neg stereo outgrp	3.33 (4.82)	1.96 (5.22)
Critical Thinking	3.47 (0.92)	3.41 (1.02)
Total Empathy (Perspective Taking)	2.11 (0.66)	2.07 (.72)
Exposure to Ethnic Conflict in Media	3.29 (0.66)	3.19 (.070)

Table 21. Means by Ethnicity at Pre-Test and Post-Test.

Scale Items	Arab (n=88)		Other (n=65)	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Empathize with in group	2.56 (0.89)	2.35 (0.89)	2.66 (0.97)	2.49 (0.96)
Empathize with out group	1.81 (0.78)	1.93 (0.86)	1.93 (0.87)	1.89 (0.83)
Agree w/ neg. stereo about outgrp	3.02 (1.24)	3.06 (1.25)	2.49 (1.06)	2.45 (1.17)
Feel comfort w/neg stereo about outgrp	3.08 (1.32)	3.17 (1.31)	2.64 (1.14)	2.52 (1.15)
Tell friend I agree with negative stereotype	3.15 (1.23)	3.20 (1.12)	2.77 (1.02)	2.71 (1.17)
Experiences with in-group	2.97 (0.49)	2.90 (0.43)	2.78 (0.53)	2.92 (0.57)
Commitment to in-group	3.36 (0.46)	3.25 (0.51)	3.23 (0.51)	3.32 (0.48)
Involvement with out-group	3.15 (0.46)	3.06 (0.51)	3.25 (0.50)	3.25 (0.49)
Explicit neg ethnic stereotypes	3.58 (0.99)	3.86 (0.94)	3.49 (0.90)	3.45 (1.05)
Explicit neg stereo about out group	4.23 (1.90)	4.27 (1.58)	3.55 (1.27)	3.55 (1.20)
IAT neg stereo outgrp	3.40 (4.89)	1.58 (5.49)	3.21 (4.60)	2.63 (4.66)
Critical Thinking	3.55 (0.95)	3.56 (0.99)	3.35 (0.88)	3.20 (1.02)
Total Empathy (Perspective Taking)	2.12 (0.65)	2.10 (0.71)	2.10 (0.67)	2.03 (0.74)

**Hypotheses 5B.**

I hypothesize that the scores on explicit negative ethnic stereotyping, implicit ethnic prejudice and beliefs approving of aggression towards out-group members of the immediate intervention group will decrease from before to after the intervention (Time 1 to Time 2), whereas the delayed intervention group's and the permanent control group's scores will not increase over the same two times.

A repeated measure ANOVA analysis (time by role by condition) at Time 1 and Time 2 for the immediate intervention group and the initial control group on explicit negative ethnic stereotyping and beliefs approving of aggression towards out-group members did not reveal a significant effect. However, a significant main effect of time (pre-intervention to post-intervention) was found for an analysis of both intervention groups combined suggesting that the intervention possibly decreased implicit prejudice. Figure 10, Figure 11 and Figure 12 are examples of this effect. The figures show youth's implicit prejudice test scores before and after the intervention.



Figure 10. Implicit prejudice overall

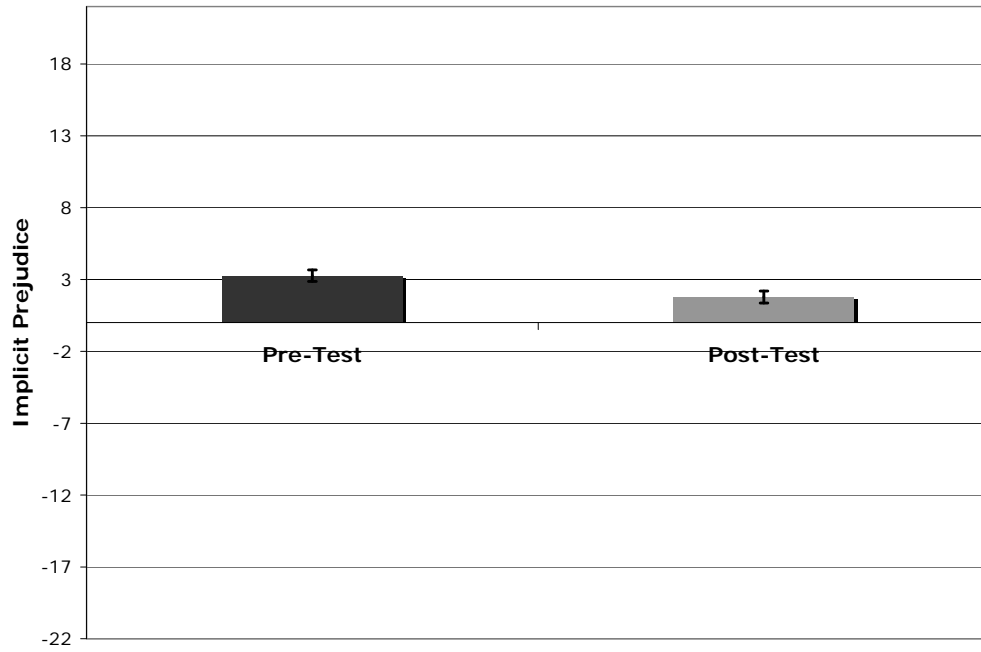


Figure 11. Implicit prejudice main effect for time in gender

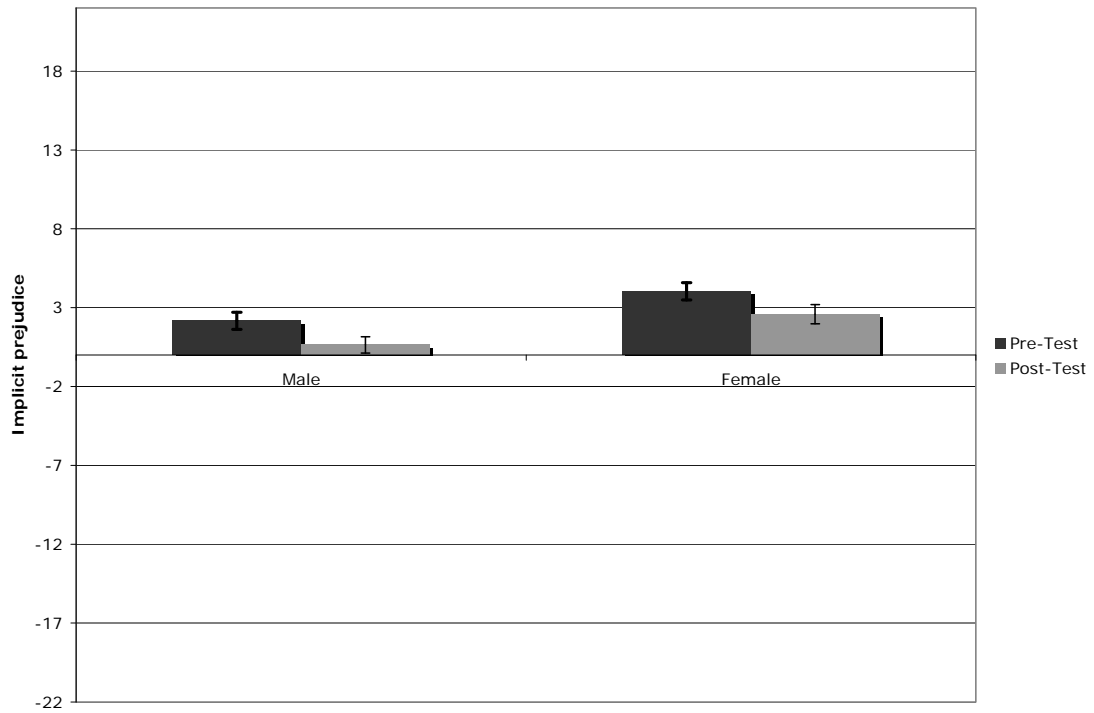
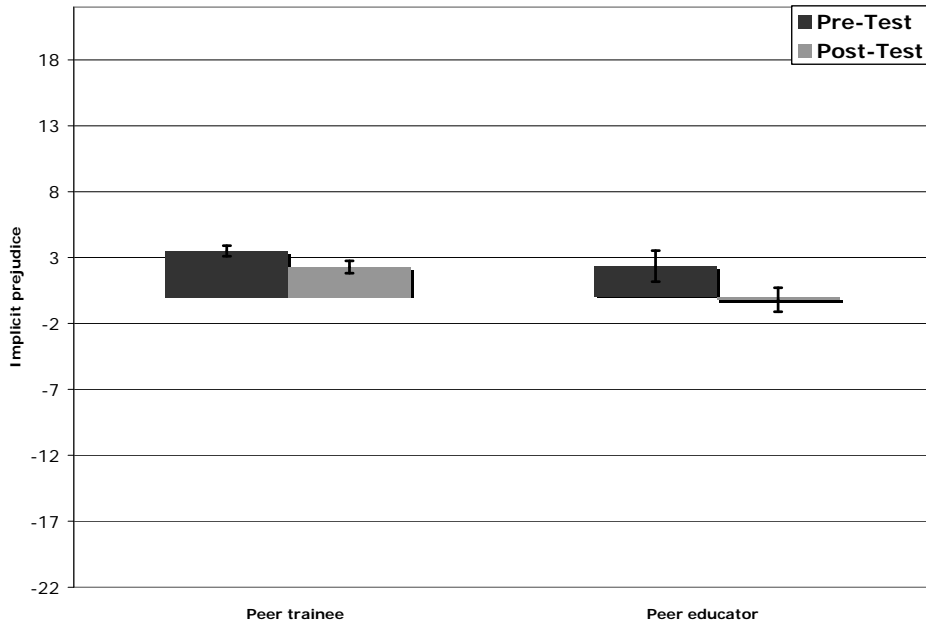


Figure 12. Implicit prejudice main effect for time in role



**Hypotheses 6B.**

If there is a positive correlation between viewing ethnic media violence and negative ethnic stereotypes, the intervention will significantly decrease this correlation.

Results did not support hypotheses 6B. In order to compare the pre-test ethnic viewing of media violence values with the pre-test and post-test negative ethnic stereotypes dependent variables, overlapping correlations (Meng et. al., 1992) were conducted. Correlation coefficients underwent Fisher’s Z transformation before any comparisons were made. As Table 22 shows, the correlation coefficients tested did not reveal a significant difference from pre-test to post-test.

**Results relating to ethnic identity.**

A repeated measure ANOVA was also conducted at Time 1 and Time 2 for the immediate intervention group and the initial control group on the ethnic identity measures. A Time X Condition X Ethnicity interaction was found for experiences with in-group

( $F(1,152)=4.35, p<.05$ ) Arab participants in the initial control group reported more ethnic experiences and practices and a greater commitment to their in group and showed a greater increase over time in these scores than participants of other ethnicities. Figure 13 shows Arab American youth's ethnic experiences and practices relative to other ethnic groups tested. The repeated measures ANOVA analysis at time 1 and time 2 also found significant main effects of ethnicity. Arab American youth reported more agreement with negative stereotypes ( $F(1,152)=4.78, p<.05$ ), and more negative stereotypes towards out group members ( $F(1,151)=15.35, p<.001$ ) than participants of other ethnicities. This analysis may provide further evidence of the strong effect ethnic identity has on negative ethnic stereotypes. Figure 14 shows Arab American youth's reported agreement with negative stereotypes and Figure 15 shows their negative stereotypes towards the out-group relative to other ethnicities.

Figure 13. Ethnic experiences and practices, Time X Condition X Ethnicity interaction

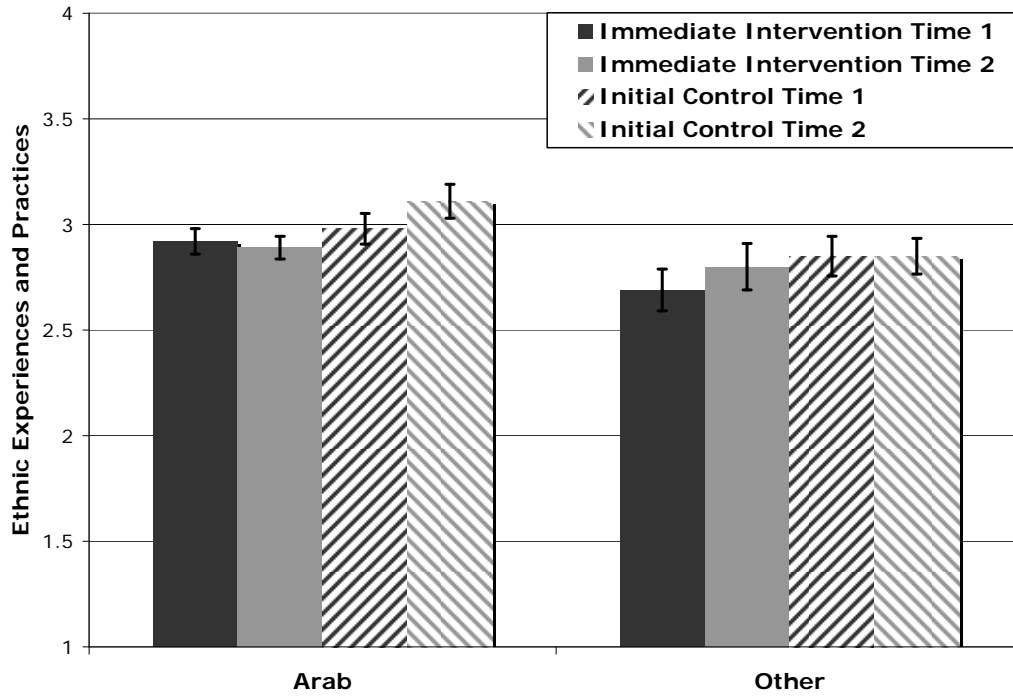


Figure 14. Youth's support of negative ethnic stereotypes: Ethnicity main effect

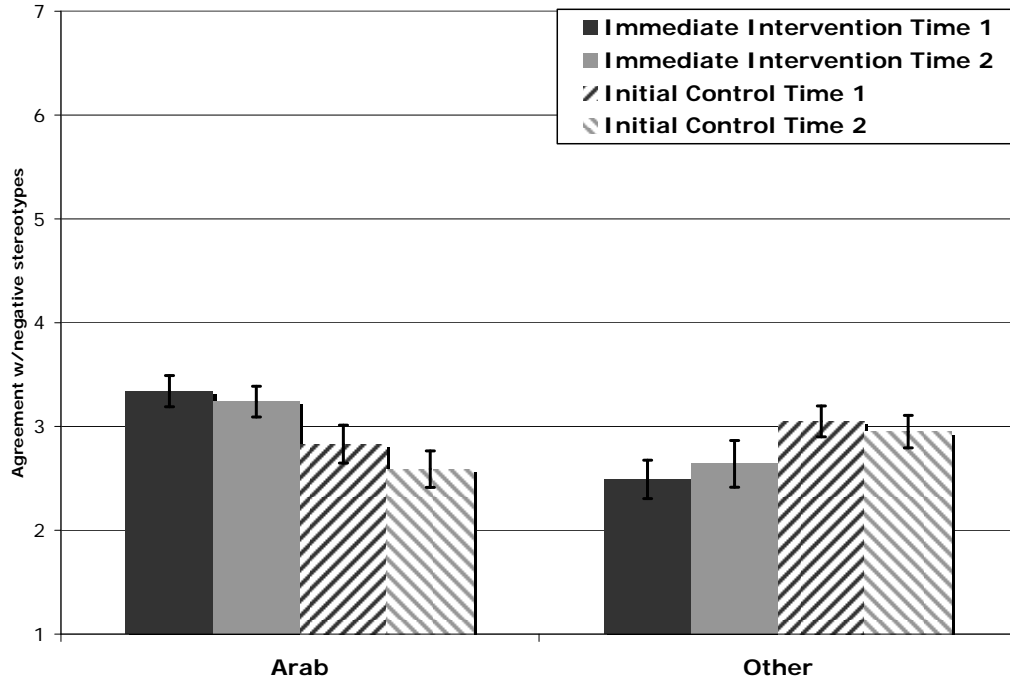
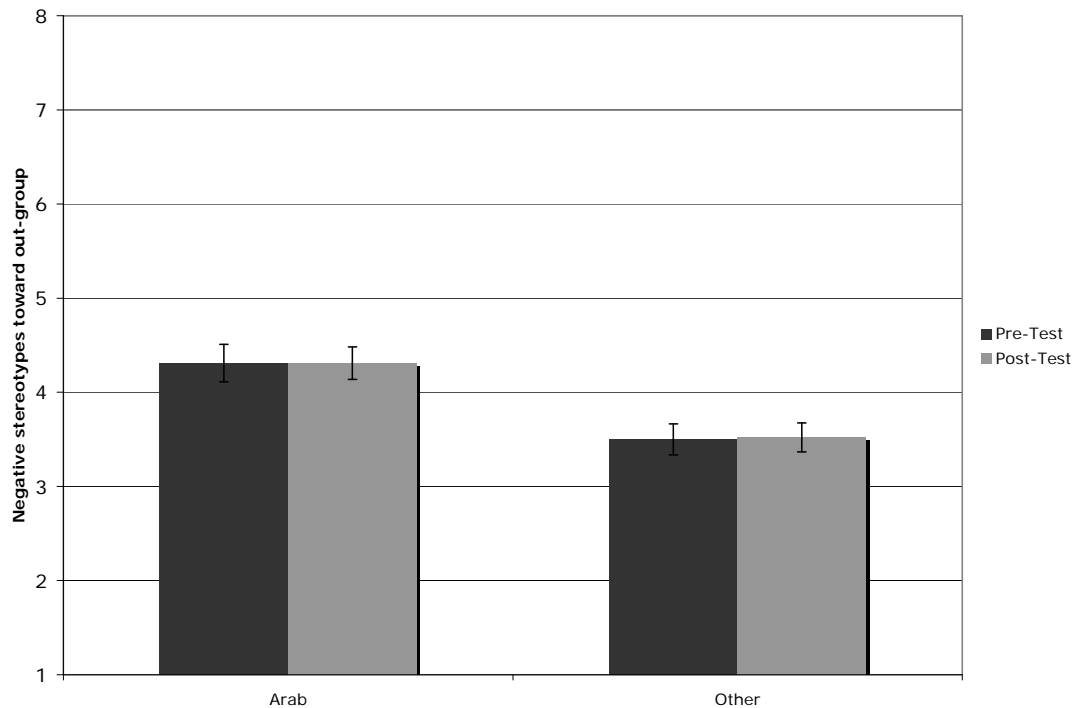


Figure 15. Negative stereotypes toward the out-group: Ethnicity main effect



### Exploratory Gender Analyses

Also, as expected, there was a main effect of gender for total beliefs about aggression ( $F(1,145)=14.46, p<.001$ ) with males reporting higher levels of beliefs about aggression when compared to females. This result is shown in Figure 16.

Somewhat surprisingly, the intervention seems to have had a differential effect with regard to gender for approval of negative stereotypes ( $F(1,132)=3.32, p<.10$ ) and response to negative stereotypes ( $F(1,132)=2.78, p<.10$ ) both of which have Time X Gender interactions approaching significance. The intervention seems to have had the expected effect of decreasing both approval of negative stereotypes and response to negative stereotypes in females, but, males reported an increase in both approval of negative stereotypes and response to negative stereotypes.

However, a post hoc *t*-test revealed that the increases in approval of negative stereotypes ( $t(56)=-1.47, ns$ ) and response to negative stereotypes ( $t(56)=-0.99, ns$ ) to be insignificant. Similar results were found for females during post hoc testing with their decreases in both approval of negative stereotypes ( $t(76)=1.20, ns$ ) and response to negative stereotypes to be insignificant. See figures 17 and 18 for a graphical representation of this result.

Figure 16. Beliefs about Aggression Main Effect for Gender.

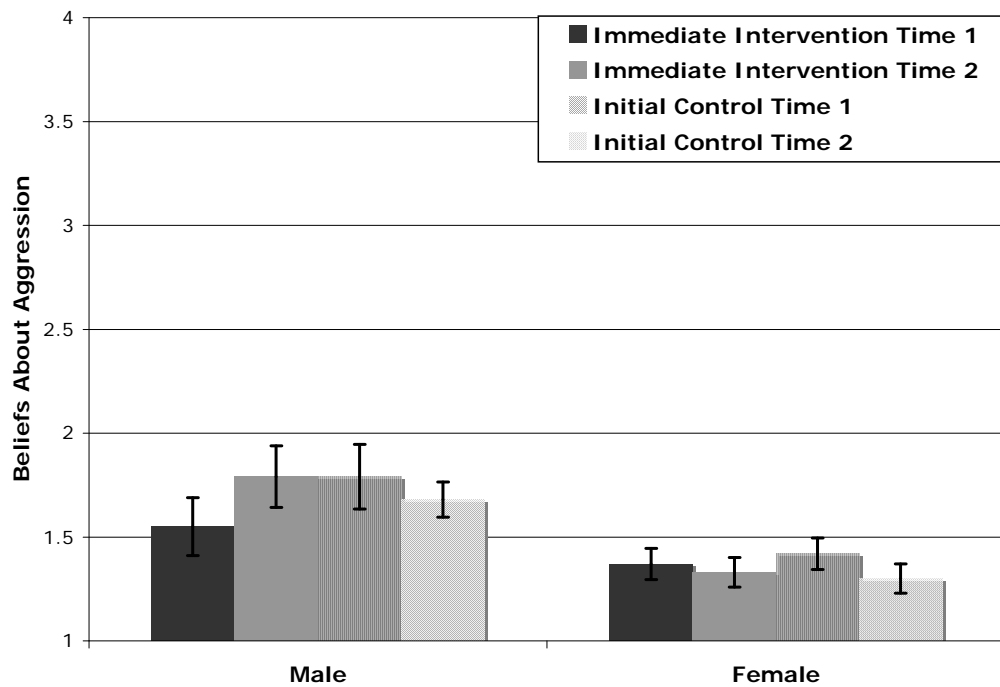


Figure 17. Approval of Negative Stereotypes Time X Gender interaction

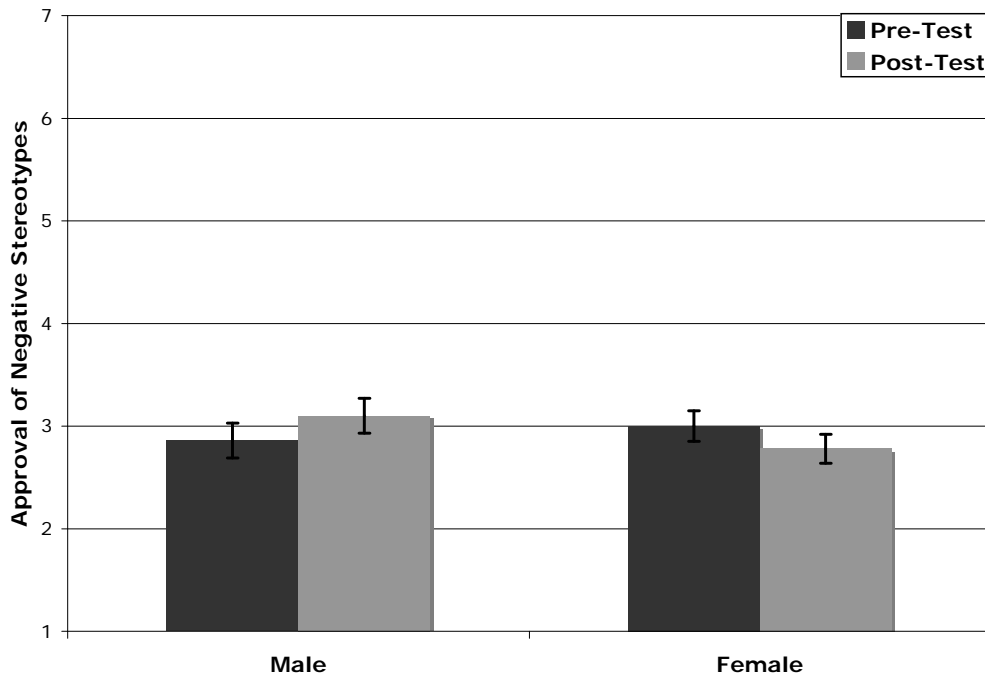
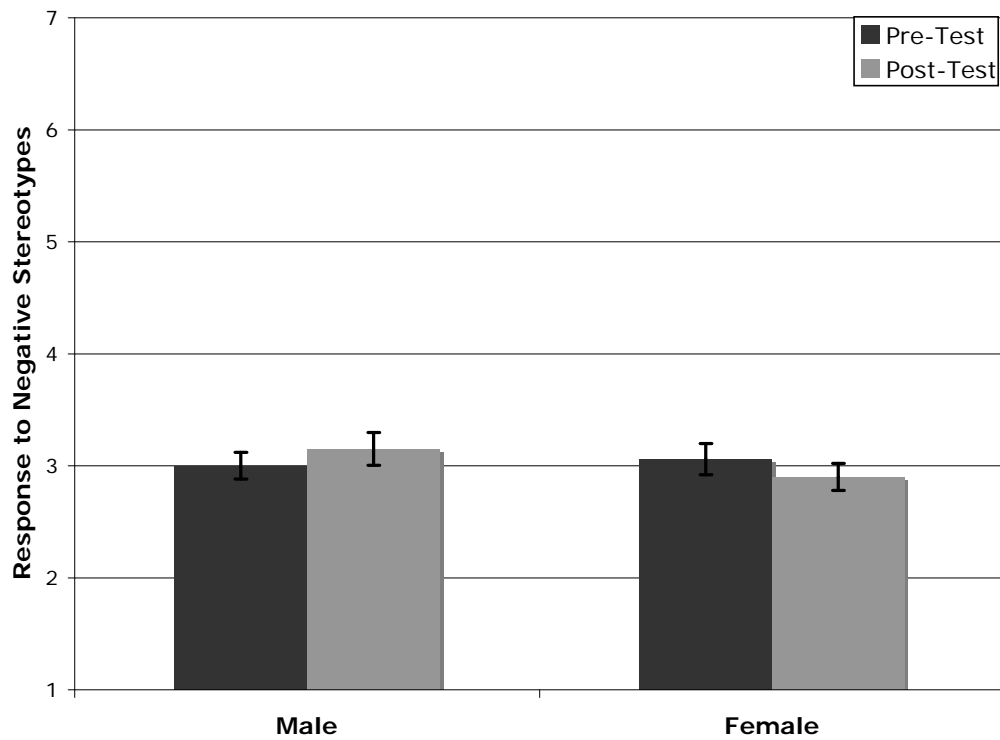


Figure 18. Response to Negative Stereotypes Time X Gender interaction





## Chapter 4

### Discussion

The first goal of this study was to explore the relationship between cognition (i.e. empathy, perspective taking, social identity, critical thinking) and negative ethnic stereotypes and aggressive beliefs toward outside groups. The second goal of this study was to test the efficacy of an intervention developed with the aim of reducing ethnic stereotypes among a group of high school students. The study team's decision to recruit Arab American youth and Jewish American youth to participate in the intervention was driven by the research team's previous work with this population (Huesmann et. al., 2011). The long history of conflict between Jews and Arabs in the Middle East as well as their experiences with negative ethnic stereotypes in this country, made them likely candidates for a study focusing on negative ethnic stereotypes. Although a large number of the youth recruited (60%; n = 115) were identified Arab, the Jewish youth sample was substantially smaller (16%; n = 28) than desired. This made drawing general conclusions regarding the Jewish youth population more challenging. Also, the two schools that participated in the study were significantly different on a number of demographic variables (ethnicity, religion, parent's education, generation status). Drawing conclusions based on comparisons between Schools A (predominately Arab) and School B may be misleading. The following is a discussion of the correlations tested and the important intervention findings.

**Part A hypotheses: Differences in cognition's relation to negative ethnic stereotypes and beliefs approving of aggression toward ethnic groups.**

*1. The relationship between Ethnic prejudice and empathic feelings for the out-group.*

Youth who reported negative stereotypes and prejudice toward the out-group were less likely to empathize with the out-group. Empathy in this study was defined as either having a cognitive component which allows youth to consider the position of others' (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000) and/or an affective feature which allows youth to experience the feelings of others ((Shih et al, 2009). The inability to avoid generalizations about the out group and maintain "inflexible generalization" (Allport, 1954) may be expected to lead to prejudice. An individual who is forced to challenge his beliefs and consider all sides will likely avoid prejudicial behavior (Schetman & Basheer, 2005; Stephen & Finlay, 1999). Based on our understanding of prejudice, it is not surprising that youth in the study who reported less empathy for the out-group also reported negative stereotypes towards the out-group.

*2. The relationship between beliefs approving of aggression towards the out-group and empathic feelings for the out-group.*

The present study demonstrated the negative relation between empathy and beliefs approving of aggression. As predicted from research presented on perspective taking and empathy, youth in the study who reported having beliefs approving of aggression towards out group members were also less likely to have empathic feelings towards out-group members. Past work has demonstrated the positive correlation between empathy and pro-social behavior (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). Schetman and Basheer (2005) found in their work with Arab children that the more empathy the Arab children had toward Jewish children, the less likely they would support aggression towards them.

*3. The correlation between ethnic identity and negative ethnic stereotypes and beliefs approving of aggression towards the out-group.*

The present study found support for the predicted positive relationship between ethnic identity and negative ethnic stereotypes as well as beliefs supporting ethnic aggression. Peer educators who reported to having strong ethnic identity also reported having beliefs approving of aggression towards the out-group. Also, youth who reported to having strong ethnic identity, had stronger negative ethnic stereotypes. As the literature review described, ethnic identity offers a number of benefits to individuals. Ethnic identity can buffer the effect of ones' group and protect from the negative effects of the dominant culture (Caldwell et al., 2004). However, ethnic identity may promote negative out group behavior (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The Arab youth, who comprise the majority of the study sample, reside in a community with limited diversity and a great deal of connection to the Middle East. The Arab culture promotes the extended family and ethnic identity is powerful (Barakat, 1993). As a result these youth also scored higher on ethnic identity compared with non-Arab youth in the study.

The study findings support previous work demonstrating that strong in-group bias as well as perceived threat from out-group members may promote beliefs approving of aggression toward the out-group (Struch & Schwartz, 1989). Sturch and Schwartz (1989) found in a study conducted in Jerusalem that in-group bias among Jews positively related to Jews approving the use of aggression against Arabs. It is expected that students who are isolated from the majority culture and reside in a community that is segregated, will have difficulty critically challenging stereotypes and prejudices of out group members. This is especially true for Arabic youth who are exposed to constant bias and negative

stereotypes from the majority culture and whose community reinforces their prejudicial beliefs. Also, due to the ethnic political climate in the United States and the Middle East, youth are expected to maintain strong ethnic identities and to have an “us” against “them” mentality perpetuated by the perceived sense of threat and bias (Bar-Tal and Teichman 2005, Teichman et. al., 2007).

*4. The correlation between Television viewing of ethnic political violence and ethnic negative stereotypes.*

Support for the hypothesis of a positive relationship between television viewing of ethnic political violence and an ethnic negative stereotype was found. Television viewing of stereotypes not only influences stereotype beliefs but has an affect on feelings and behavior (Ramasubramanian, 2010). Stereotypes are encouraged by the media’s focus on group differences. Previous work by the present team on this topic demonstrated that the effect of youth’s exposure to media ethnic war violence depended on the youth’s identification with either the Israelis or Palestinians (Huesmann, et. al, 2011 in press).

The present study’s finding on the positive correlation between television viewing of ethnic political violence and an ethnic negative stereotype was only found for the Arab sample. A number of explanations are considered. First, Arab youth may be accessing media which sympathizes with their ethnic group. A great number of homes in the area receive their news via channels from the Middle East. The reporting may be one-sided which colors the youth’s perception and removes their objectivity. Minority group’s exposure to media supporting their ethnic group serves as a protective layer against the majority culture and also strengthens their sense of ethnic identity (Croucher et. al., 2010). Also, considering the youth’s close knit community, and the increased negative

media reporting they may be exposed to, Arab youth's stereotypes regarding the out groups may serve to protect their sense of self and strengthen their coping mechanisms (Pitner, et. al, 2003).

### **Part B hypotheses: Intervention effects**

#### *1. The intervention's effect on youth's ability to engage in critical thinking.*

The intervention had a positive effect on peer educator's propensity to engage in critical thinking. Peer educators scores improved on critical thinking relative to the peer trainees as well as relative to the peer educators in the control group. Peer educators desire for critical thinking score at baseline was significantly greater than the peer trainee's baseline score. This is not surprising since the peer educators were older and were recruited from an advanced placement class.

The interventions effect on critical thinking should be interpreted with caution. Critical thinking as earlier described consists of skepticism and consideration of opposing ideas (Paul, 1995; Garside, 1996), requires continually questioning and systematically testing our beliefs (Sakezles, 2008) and involves the use of logic and reasoning (Paul, 1995). The complex thinking measure used may have not fully matched the critical thinking construct. The measure had only four questions and some of them did not seem to have good face validity. This may have resulted in low scale reliability. The reliability coefficient for the measure was found to be lower than desirable, thus explaining non-significant correlations. Since this was a newly developed scale, it may have been wise to pilot test the measure and possibly make adjustment. Nevertheless, some findings appear interpretable. For example, peer educators and peer trainees' scores significantly differed in ways expected. The peer educators recruited are students

who enroll in classes which challenge them and promote complex analysis; this cannot be said for the peer trainee group. One would have predicted that peer educators are more likely to be students who excel in critical thinking, and be more engaged and open to the intervention curriculum.

*2. The intervention's effect on youth's ability to engage in empathic response towards out group members.*

Significant results were not found for the total sample on empathic response toward out group members. However, support was found for the hypothesis predicting that the intervention will improve the empathic response of the peer educators when compared to peer educators in the non-intervention group. Peer educators' empathic response towards out groups improved significantly ( $p = <.05$ ) after the intervention.

As elaborated earlier, empathy is a powerful construct in terms of its potential to improve inter-group attitudes and relations. Empathic attitude may result in positive attitudes toward out groups (Batson et al., 1997). The intervention's effect on youth's ability to engage in an empathic response toward out group members was evaluated on two different measures. Students were evaluated on their response to the perspective taking out group subscale which measured youth's ability to imagine what it's like being an out-group youth who is engaged in conflict. A youth's ability to cognitively put themselves in the shoes of an out group indicates cognitive empathy toward that out group (Shih et al, 2009; Jolliffe & Farrinton, 2004; Duan & Hill, 1996). Students' empathic attitude was also evaluated using the vignette sub-scale that asks "how would you feel." This 6-question subscale has an affective component and was utilized in determining youth's empathic attitude.

Peer educators reported an improvement in their ability to imagine themselves in an out group member's position. The peer trainees received 4-one hour sessions of the intervention. They spent much less time being exposed to the intervention than the peer educators. The peer educators' exposure was greater due to the time they spent being trained on the intervention, and the time they spent outside of school understanding and contributing to the intervention sessions. The peer educators had to "sell" the intervention to the peer trainees which may have had the result of increasing their support for the intervention messages (Backett-Milburn & Wilson, 2000; Cowie et. al., 2002; Greenwood et. al., 1989).

Another subgroup which seemed to improve in empathic response is the Arab group. Arab youth reported improvement in their ability to imagine themselves in an out group member's position. The improvement approached significance ( $p = <.06$ ). An interesting observation regarding this change is that the Arab group's baseline value on this measure was less than the non-Arab group's value. The post intervention value of the Arab youth did improve but the improvement value equaled the baseline value of the non-Arab group. This may demonstrate the Arab youth's initial lack of empathic response when it comes to out group members. Again, based on social identity theory, as well as on the study's baseline data, the results are understandable.

When empathic response is evaluated using the vignettes scale, significant positive results were found for both the peer educator and the Jewish youth group. The change experienced by both groups was strong ( $p < .01$ ). The strong merits to the use of vignettes is that youth can easily imagine themselves being in the scenarios presented and their response may be an accurate measure of their feeling toward the out group. The

vignettes force youth to imagine themselves in the scenario which could have the effect of eliciting actual feelings and emotions triggered by the scenario.

A surprising post-intervention result is that all youth decreased in their empathic response toward their own ethnic group. At first thought, this may seem like a negative outcome. However, a number of risk factors associated with strong ethnic identity have been presented. Having a goal of decreasing youth's strong ethnic identity might be a worthwhile endeavor. Helping youth move from seeing their ethnic group as flawless to being 'ok' and equal in value to others may be a first step in reducing youth's negative ethnic stereotypes toward out-groups. Strong ethnic identity, especially in a multi-cultural society, could lead not only to negative social outcomes but also negative personal outcomes. Encouraging youth to find similarities among all ethnicities and to feel comfortable among outside ethnic groups could improve their success in our diverse American culture.

### *3. The intervention's effect on youth's negative ethnic stereotypes.*

The post intervention implicit measure of ethnic stereotype results revealed improvements in the youth's scores on negative ethnic stereotypes. A common theme relating to explicit measures of negative stereotype is that shortcomings due to self-presentation and framing effects exist (Greenwald et al., 2002; Schwarz, 1999). Measures targeting sensitive topics such as negative ethnic stereotypes may be better assessed using implicit measures (Greenbald et al., 2009). The strongest support for the intervention could be found in the results of the implicit measure of out group ethnic stereotype. Although pre and post intervention scores for all youth scores on the IAT out group subscale significantly improved, the peer educators sample demonstrated the most



positive change in implicit ethnic stereotyping. Relative to the peer trainees and the control group, the peer educators demonstrated the greatest improvement in their reduction of implicit out group ethnic stereotypes. Again, this dramatic improvement in the peer educators group may be due to the reasons presented earlier. The increased involvement required of their position, their increased ability to engage in complex thinking and analysis and their leadership role could have all worked to enhance their outcomes (Backett-Milburn & Wilson, 2000).

Peer educators also showed improvement which approached significance on their agreement and response to vignettes demonstrating negative ethnic stereotypes. Results of the vignette measure indicate that peer educators when compared to the peer trainees and the control group, were less likely to agree with their family and friends when they made negative comments regarding a minority member and they were willing to take action against such negative behavior. This result may seem surprising since the pre/post findings for the out group subscale measure of explicit stereotypes demonstrated an increase in stereotypes among the peer educator sample. A number of explanations may explain this finding. The intervention helped youth understand the prevalence of ethnic stereotypes in their society particularly stereotypes targeting the Arab community. The goal was to help youth recognize the prevalence and present them with skills to counter negative stereotypes. Based on the study measures, peer educators were more interested in complex thinking, and they were more engaged in the intervention. It may be that becoming more cognizant of negative stereotypes targeting their group resulted in this negative outcome. This is particularly true for the Arab community that is somewhat insulated from the outside society. Becoming entrenched in the intervention could have

affected the youth's response. It is promising that the peer educator's response to the vignettes improved, which may be more significant than the explicit out group stereotype measure. Unlike the vignette measures, the explicit measures don't elicit feelings or personal attachment. The negative stereotype reported may be due to the negative stereotype priming of the intervention rather than the youth's actual feeling or attitude.

*4. The intervention's effect on youth's ability to reduce their ethnic stereotyping and aggressive beliefs.*

An effect for beliefs approving of aggression towards out group members was not found. Normative beliefs approving of aggression are a trait which by the teen years resist change and thus less likely to change (Huesmann & Guerra, 1997; Huesmann, Guerra, Miller, & Zelli, 1992). The intervention's lack of effect on this variable could be a result of the intervention's length. A four session program may be too short to influence ethnic aggressive beliefs. This may be especially true among the Arab youth whose significantly greater ethnic identity score relative to the non-Arab youth's ethnic identity score may make them more resistant to change.

*.5. The intervention's effect on decreasing the positive correlation between viewing ethnic media violence and negative ethnic stereotypes.*

Although a significant positive relationship was found between negative ethnic stereotypes and viewing of ethnic media violence, support for the intervention's positive influence on this variable was not found. The intervention may have achieved the goal of making youth aware of the negative influences television viewing of ethnic violence presents. However, the number of sessions in the intervention may not have been enough

to affect the negative relationship that ethnic media violence viewing has on negative ethnic stereotypes.

### **Test of the conceptual model**

The conceptual model presented identified a number of internal and external variables influencing the outcome variables. The conceptual model was developed based on our understanding of how social-cognitive ecological influences shape our attitudes, beliefs and behaviors. Youth's development are influenced by multiple interacting ecological levels (family, friends, school, community, media, society) which work to develop internal variables (perspective taking, empathy, social identity, critical thinking) that impact the outcome variables (implicit and explicit ethnic stereotypes and beliefs approving of aggression) tested and discussed.

The model has served as a roadmap of the key concepts tested and discussed as well as served to show the predicted effect of the intervention developed. The risk factors necessary for a propensity to engage in negative ethnic stereotypes and to endorse beliefs approving of ethnic aggression are clearly presented in the model and for the most part have been found to be significantly correlated. The model has accurately identified the multi-faceted influences acting on negative ethnic attitudes and behaviors. The intervention which has been driven by the model has provided us with a solid foundation to build on in continuing to improve our intervention targeting negative ethnic stereotypes and prejudices.

### **Limitations**

There are several limitations of the current study which future research may want to explore and address. The goal of the study was to employ a random selection and

random assignment of high school youth. Conducting research outside the clean, controlled confines of the lab poses some risks to validity. The two schools we recruited were not able to allow absolute randomness in the selection of classes and students. The two schools were demographically quite different so and did add to the diversity of the sample. However, the demographic significant differences among the two school samples make comparisons between them questionable. In our effort to focus on American Arab and American Jewish youth, we wanted to recruit a substantial number of participants from each group. Although School B does have a large Jewish population, the final number of Jewish youth who participated in the project was smaller than hoped. General statements regarding the Jewish youth group were cautiously made. Also, our initial objective was to only recruit 9<sup>th</sup> graders to participate in the peer trainee role. We were informed late into our planning that School B would not allow us to work with the 9<sup>th</sup> grade population due to scheduling and teacher recruitment. This meant that School B peer trainees would all be 10<sup>th</sup> graders. Although the difference is only one year, it can still be significant since the peer educators would then only be one year older than the 10<sup>th</sup> grade peer trainees.

Secondly, some of the classes that were recruited to participate in School A may not have been ideal. The social studies classes worked well since the teacher instructed her students to take the intervention seriously and she encouraged participation. This was not the case with the physical education classes. The physical education teachers provided the researchers with a room to use near the gym and provided very little input into the process. They directed their students to the assigned room but unlike the social studies teacher, they did not encourage their students to participate and to follow the

directives of the peer educators. Many of the students did not want to miss gym class and the peer educators had to work hard to motivate them. The peer educators had to move around the class and push peer trainees to respond to session questions whereas the youth in the social studies class volunteered more to answer questions and willingly present their opinions.

Thirdly, the critical thinking scale may have not provided an accurate measure of the construct and instead seemed to measure complex thinking. As explained earlier, the measure lacked strong internal reliability. It would be recommended to pilot test the measure so that proper adjustments can be made. The study had numerous measures and the goal was to keep the length of the study surveys to a minimum so that students could complete all measure within a 45 minute period. For this reason, the critical thinking scale was kept brief.

Lastly, the intervention used only four sessions to change deep rooted beliefs. Hoping to affect change with only a few sessions may have been too optimistic. The peer educators received more time and were more involved with the intervention which may be why they had the greatest improvement. It may be that instead of having peer educators, and peer trainees, all students should be given a peer educator's role. The research team could provide youth with the general outline of the intervention and instruct the youth to develop a program to address negative ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. It may be a semester long class where the students are fully engaged and contributing throughout the entire process.

## **Conclusion**

## **Implication for Theory**

This dissertation contributes significantly on a number of levels to our understanding of youth's negative ethnic stereotypes. The focus of this dissertation is on the correlates and the prevention of negative ethnic stereotypes among youth. It proposed a number of hypotheses regarding the impact of ethnic stereotypes and prejudice. A conceptual model outlining the key constructs which may positively or negatively influence ethnic stereotypes and aggressive beliefs was developed and defined. As evidenced by this review, addressing ethnic stereotypes is a complicated, multi-level process. The field of ethnic stereotypes is inundated with an impressive collection of scholarly work however this dissertation has synthesized and made connections from these various fields (i.e. cognition, social learning, education, ethnic studies, prevention) and developed a roadmap which may help our youth avoid the trap of engaging in ethnic stereotypes and prejudice. The evidence based prevention and intervention model presented may be useful for all age groups.

This dissertation has presented evidence of the impact that empathy may have on negative ethnic stereotypes and prejudice. Teaching and encouraging perspective taking which results in empathy is not only a tool to prevent negative ethnic stereotypes but it also may improve tolerance and acceptance of all people. The present study has also provided evidence supporting the positive impact of promoting youth to become engaged in interventions targeting attitude and behavioral changes among their peers. Research on this topic may be enhanced by adopting empowerment theory practices in the development of an intervention. The significant improvement among the peer educator group supports this approach. This study has demonstrated that empowering youth to

take on a leadership role, such as a peer educator, positively affects the youth leader.

Future research may want to focus on engaging youth in interventions targeting them so that we gain greater understanding of the youth educator role effect and so that improved outcomes may be achieved.

This dissertation has also provided insight into the dynamics and issues facing the Arab youth minority in this country. Little research has been conducted on this group. The volatile political climate of the Middle East has certainly impacted the lives of Arab youth in the United States. The present work has served to help us better understand the impact that their social environment has on their attitudes and beliefs. Within the Arab youth sample, there was variability in immigration history and socio-economic backgrounds. Exploring this further will benefit our understanding.

### **Implications for Practice**

Understanding the impact that ethnic identity and exposure to negative ethnic stereotypes has on Arab youth may help us effectively address their needs and the need of other minority youth in this country. This dissertation has improved our understanding of ethnic youth minorities and has outlined recommendations to follow in addressing stereotypes targeting youth minority groups. The United States is home to a large number of recent and first generation immigrants. The present study's findings hope to add to our knowledge of how to best service youth immigrant groups.

Understanding the role that empathy might play in minimizing aggressive beliefs and therefore aggressive behavior can have powerful results in a school. This finding has

the potential to make positive, dramatic changes in the field of school violence. The implications of the positive intervention outcomes may serve to improve school climates. Schools hoping to address negative ethnic stereotypes and prejudice may look to adopt interventions which promote empathy and educate students on becoming leaders and agents of change for their school. The importance of critical thinking and perspective taking has been clearly presented. Schools should strive to provide an environment that challenges youths' thinking and understanding. An open, respectful environment which promotes dialogue and diversity of ideas may have a powerful effect on helping youth overcome negative ethnic stereotypes and prejudice. Understanding the ideology behind stereotypes and prejudice and having a model of prevention will benefit all our youth.



## **Appendices**

*Appendix A. Description and interpretation of variable constructs.*

Construct	Measure Name	Range		Descriptors	Higher values indicate...
		Possible	Actual		
Empathize with out group	Identification with ethnic groups-out group subscale	1-4	1.00-4.00	<i>Never-Many times</i>	More empathy towards out group
Empathize with in group	Identification with ethnic groups-own group subscale	1-4	1.00-4.00	<i>Never-Many times</i>	More empathy with own ethnic group
Agreement with neg. stereotypes	Vignettes targeting ethnic stereotypes-agreement subscale	1-7	1.00-7.00	<i>Definitely would not agree-Definitely would agree</i>	More agreement with prejudice
Feeling toward neg. stereotype	Vignettes targeting ethnic stereotypes – feeling subscale	1-7	1.00-7.00	<i>Really uncomfortable or upset-Not at all uncomfortable; not upset</i>	More approval of prejudice
Response to neg. stereotypes	Vignettes targeting ethnic stereotypes – response subscale	1-7	1.00-7.00	<i>I would argue with my friend-I would tell my friend I agree</i>	Less action against prejudice
Normative Beliefs about Aggression (NBO-Total)	Normative Beliefs about Aggression	1-4	1.00-4.00	<i>It's really wrong-It's perfectly OK</i>	More approval of aggressive beliefs
Normative Beliefs about Aggression towards out group (NBO- Out)	Normative beliefs about Aggression-out group subscale	1-4	1.00-4.00	<i>It's really wrong-It's perfectly OK</i>	More approval of aggressive beliefs towards out group
Experiences with in-group	Multigroup Measure of Ethnic Identity – experience subscale	1-4	1.40-4.00	<i>Strongly Disagree-Strongly Agree</i>	More experience with own ethnic group
Commitment to in-group	Multigroup Measure of Ethnic Identity-commitment subscale	1-4	1.00-4.00	<i>Strongly Disagree-Strongly Agree</i>	Stronger commitment to own ethnic group
Involvement with out-group	Multigroup Measure of Ethnic Identity-out group subscale	1-4	1.80-4.00	<i>Strongly Disagree-Strongly Agree</i>	More involvement with other ethnic groups
Explicit ethnic stereotypes	Ethnic Stereotype Measure	1-8	1.00-5.83	<i>Unpleasant words-Pleasant words</i>	More explicit stereotyping
Explicit ethnic stereotypes of out group	Ethnic Stereotype Measure-out group subscale	1-8	1.00-8.00	<i>Unpleasant words-Pleasant words</i>	More explicit stereotyping of out group members
Implicit Prejudice towards out group (IAT)	Implicit Association Test	-22-22	-14.00-17.00	<i>Unpleasant words-Pleasant words</i>	More implicit stereotyping
Critical Thinking	Critical Thinking scale	1-5	1.00-5.00	<i>Really not true for me-Really true for me</i>	More desire for critical thinking
Perspective Taking	Identification with ethnic groups	1-4	1.00-4.00	<i>Never-Many times</i>	More perspective taking
Exposure to ethnic conflict in media	Exposure to violent media	1-5	1.00-5.00	<i>Never-Almost everyday</i>	More exposure to violent media
Parent's Average Education	Demographic questionnaire	1-5	1.00-5.00	<i>Did not finish high school-Pro degree</i>	More education

Appendix B. Reliability of Scale Items for Scales Dependent Upon Specified Ethnicity.

Scale Items	No. of items in Scale	Cronbach's $\alpha$ for Specified Ethnicity											
		African American			Caucasian			Jewish American			Arab American		
		Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
Empathize with in group	4	.90	.74	NA	.77	.92	.82	.87	.87	.88	.81	.80	.76
Empathize with out group	4	.83	.61	NA	.85	.82	.91	.88	.93	.88	.72	.74	.89
NBO - Out Group	3 or 9 <sup>a</sup>	.94	.99	NA	.96	.92	.99	.96	.91	.98	.96	.86	.99
Explicit ethnic stereotypes of out group	4 or 8 <sup>b</sup>	.89	.75	NA	.89	.75	.77	.84	.86	.92	.89	.83	.76

*Note.* At time 3, no African American participants remained in the study and thus, Cronbach's  $\alpha$  does not exist for African Americans at time 3.

<sup>a</sup> Jews and Arabs have scales made up of three items while African Americans and Caucasians have scales based on nine items. The African American scale is a mean of the NBO items specific to Jews, Arabs and Caucasians while the Caucasian scale is a mean of the NBO items specific to Jews, Arabs and African Americans.

<sup>b</sup> Jews and Arabs have scales made up of four items while African Americans and Caucasians have scales made up of eight items. The Caucasian and African American scales are a mean of the items specific for Jews and Arabs.

## Appendix C Intervention Outline

### Understanding and Reducing Ethnic Stereotypes among High School Students

**Curriculum Summary:** This is a 4-session curriculum to be delivered by trained 12<sup>th</sup> grade students (peer leaders) to classrooms of 9<sup>th</sup> graders. The innovative new curriculum integrates the results of our previous research with existing well-established high school curriculum materials in order to teach students about:

- The nature of stereotypes and beliefs about other ethnic groups and how these are related to actual behaviors toward those groups
- How the mass media, through movies, TV programs, and the news, contribute to the development of these stereotypes and beliefs
- How targeted media messages about specific groups contribute to the development of these stereotypes and beliefs
- Methods to reduce stereotypes between ethnic groups, and to promote understanding between the groups

#### **Session 1: Understanding Stereotypes**

##### *Objectives*

1. **(10 min)** Learn the meaning of the word stereotype and achieve an understanding of the fairness of stereotypes
  - a. Student leaders will introduce “*The Three Little Pigs*” (Scieszka, 1989) story from different perspectives
  - b. Student leaders will define stereotypes:
    - “Generalizations about the characteristics of individuals who belong to certain social groups or categories” (*The Handbook of Attitudes*, 2005).
    - An exaggeration of a group’s traits without acknowledging group members’ unique qualities (*The Power of Words*; [www.teachingtolerance.org/words](http://www.teachingtolerance.org/words)).
2. **(25 min)** Learn that ethnic stereotypes are related to actual behaviors toward ethnic groups
  - a. Students will work in groups to come up with stereotype statements relating to their own group
    - Discuss whether these statements are fair
  - b. Student leaders will present data on ethnically motivated hate crimes across the United States
  - c. In small groups, have students generate a list of ethnic groups living in this country
  - d. Working in small groups, leaders will ask each group to focus on one ethnic group and discuss the following questions relating to this group. Workbook pg 3. (*Daily Lesson Plan*; [www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/20080509friday.html](http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/20080509friday.html)):
    1. What is the “picture in your head” when you think of this group?

- 2. Where did you learn or acquire the slang term for this group?
  - 3. Where else have you seen or heard it?
  - 4. What are the hidden implications (connotations) of it? Are they positive, negative, or neutral?
  - 5. Which characteristic does the term emphasize?
  - 6. How does the use of this term harm the people that it supposedly describes?
  - 7. How does it harm those who use it?
3. **(15min)** Understand the role of the media in perpetuating stereotypes
- a. Leaders will describe how the media is a key source of stereotype development. This will be applied first to gender stereotypes (still in small groups)
  - b. Facilitator shows video clips depicting gender stereotypes in popular television programming and guide a discussion based on media literacy questions in relation to the video clip (*Center for Media Literacy*; [www.medialit.org](http://www.medialit.org)):  
Scene from *Meet the Parents* in which Greg explains why he is a nurse. YouTube video clip called *Gender Stereotyping of Women in the Media* 3:07. (Then, students go back into their small groups to discuss the following questions about the 2 video clips.)
    - Who created this message?
    - What creative techniques are used to attract my attention?
    - How might different people understand this message differently?
    - What values, lifestyles and points of view are represented in, or omitted from, this message?
    - What is the effect on the viewer? How might a viewer feel about the characters portrayed? As a male or female, how do you feel about yourself after watching this clip?

## **Session 2: Exploring Media and Other Influences in the Development of Ethnic Stereotypes**

### *Objectives*

1. **(15 min)** Understand the ways in which ethnic stereotypes are perpetuated in the media (Small groups)
  - a. Facilitators will present a video clip portraying an example of ethnic stereotypes. In small groups, students will deconstruct the media presentation using critical think/media literacy questions from session 1.
2. **(5 min)** Students will expand their understanding of the way media may manipulate messages (Small groups)
  - a. Present the idea of targeted messages in the media ([www.propagandacritic.com](http://www.propagandacritic.com)) by explaining some techniques that are used to promote these messages
    - “the use of a variety of communication techniques that create an emotional appeal to accept a particular belief or opinion, to adopt a certain behavior or to perform a particular action” ([www.propogandacritic.com](http://www.propogandacritic.com)).

- List various techniques that are most relevant to supporting ethnic stereotypes (these also should be listed in the workbook):
      - 1. *Name calling*: linking a person to a negative idea (e.g., lazy, violent)
      - 2. *Glittering generalities*: opposite of name calling. Linking a person to a positive idea (e.g., patriotic, successful, wealthy)
      - 3. *Testimonial*: a well known person or popular character in a TV show promoting an attitude
      - 4. *Bandwagon*: making the viewer/reader feel that everyone else supports the attitude or belief
      - 5. *Fear*: appealing to held fears about how the negative characteristics of a group will affect your own safety
      - 6. *Unwarranted extrapolation*: assuming that everyone in a group has the characteristics of some of its members even though actual statistics might indicate that this is not the case
- 3. **(5 min)** Students will explore other influences on the development of stereotypes
  - a. Brainstorming activity: The full class will respond to questions posed by the leaders: “Where else do we learn stereotypes besides television? What kinds of experiences or what kinds of settings are most likely to include some kind of teaching about stereotypes?”
  - b. Facilitators should elicit responses that include full range of social contacts (parents, peers, extended family, religious leaders, teachers, etc.) and full range of social venues (home, school, house of worship, mall, restaurants, etc.)
- 4. **(5 min)** Self-reflection journaling exercise. Students should do this on their own and write answers in their workbooks.
 

[www.une.edu.au/ANZAPS/resources/guidelines.htm](http://www.une.edu.au/ANZAPS/resources/guidelines.htm)

  - a. Students will consider how their gender, ethnic background, level of physical ability, age, class and religion affect the way they see the world by asking themselves these questions: (Workbook pg 6)
    - What is my background?
    - How does this affect my world view?
  - b. Students will explore what their stereotypes are toward people who are different than themselves by asking themselves these questions.
    - When a person of another ethnic background walks behind me, how do I feel?
    - How do I react?
    - What sort of person do I think they are?
  - c. Students will think about their use of language including slang, abbreviations, and racist language and ask themselves these questions:
    - Does this language inhibit communication with people who are different from me?
    - How does my language include or exclude others?
- 5. **(20 min)** Students will generate ideas of how to respond to stereotype situations

- a. Leaders will present suggestions of handling stereotypes from a handout based on [www.tolerance.org](http://www.tolerance.org) (Southern Poverty Law Center): 6 steps to speak up against bigotry (<http://www.tolerance.org/speakup/index.html>.)
    - Be ready; identify the behavior; appeal to principles; set limits; find an ally; be vigilant
  - b. Small group activity: The class will be broken into groups and each group is assigned to role-play one of the vignettes that is presented by group leaders. Vignettes portray examples of stereotypes exhibited in different contexts (families, friends/neighbors, school, etc.)
    - 1) Two students in the lunchroom; 2) Store owner and ethnic applicant on phone; 3) Friends mother and her boss; 4) Computer Science teacher;
 (<http://www.learningdiversity.com/index.htm>)
 

At the end of each role-play, leaders will guide a group discussion:

    - Ask the group for suggestions on how the targeted characters could have responded
    - Ask students how it felt to act out these stereotypes
    - Ask the students to identify the techniques discussed earlier that the perpetrators of the stereotypes were portraying
    - Ask the students if they have experienced stereotype discrimination in their own lives
6. *Assignment:* Have students read the summary of the Robbers Cave study (Sherif, 1956; <http://www.gerardkeegan.co.uk/resource/seminalstudies.htm#sherif>). Students should consider the following questions about the study in their workbook:  
(workbook pg 8)
- a. What effects were there in the first stage of the study when the children were separated into their own groups?
  - b. Sherif and his co-workers first tried to get the Rattlers and the Eagles to get along in a manner consistent with the “mere contact hypothesis.” This hypothesis proposes that opposing groups will become less hostile through opportunities to have mere contact with each other—to just get to know one another in casual activities. Did this work? Why or why not? Do you think this could work for groups today who have problems, such as Blacks or Whites, Christian or Jews, Israelis and Palestinians?
  - c. What is a superordinate goal? What activities did the researchers design in the study to work toward a superordinate goal? Please list three superordinate goals that might apply to you as well as other high school students who are from different ethnic groups.
  - d. What is your explanation for why the Rattlers and Eagles were getting along with each other by the end of the camp session?

**Note:** Students may not have the time to read the assignment or complete the questions. That is fine because a Powerpoint presentation describing the study will be presented in the next session. It is still important to let the students know that this will be covered in the next session so they can read the summary and questions to prepare for the session.

### **Session 3: Exploring Processes to Reduce Stereotypes**

#### *Objective*

1. **(35 min)** Review the Sherif study (Assignment 2) (Entire class; one leader presents a powerpoint presentation of the Sherif experiment. The presentation includes breaks for the small groups to discuss questions about phases of the study.) Those questions cover:
  - a. What effects were there in the first stage of the study when the children were separated into their own groups?
  - b. Sherif and his co-workers first tried to get the Rattlers and the Eagles to get along in a manner consistent with the “mere contact hypothesis.” This hypothesis proposes that opposing groups will become less hostile through opportunities to have mere contact with each other—to just get to know one another in casual activities. Did this work? Why or why not? Do you think this could work for groups today who have problems, such as Blacks or Whites, Christian or Jews, Israelis and Palestinians?
  - c. What is a superordinate goal? What activities did the researchers design in the study to work toward a superordinate goal? Please list three superordinate goals that might apply to you as well as other high school students who are from different ethnic groups.
  - d. What is your explanation for why the Rattlers and Eagles were getting along with each other by the end of the camp session?

Make sure that within the presentation, you cover the social psychological processes involved in promoting and reducing inter-group conflict

- Ingroup/Outgroup difference: Ingroup is the group the boys were in, and the Out group was the other group. They described their group, the Ingroup, in favorable terms and the other group, the Out group, in very unfavorable terms.
- Competition/Cooperation: Competition created negative feelings. Cooperation, or working toward a superordinate goal, created feelings of acceptance and stereotypes were reduced.
- Group structure and hierarchy: As the two groups of boys were formed, each group generated their own status hierarchies. Some boys were leaders – usually boys who excelled in sports or had some other special skill or talent that was observed by campers. They also developed accepted ‘rules’ for being members of the group. Ex: “To be a Rattler you have to be like this...”
- Superordinate goal: Goals that are achieved by the cooperation of two groups that normally oppose each other. The superordinate goals in the Cave Robbers study were the repair of the water supply, choosing a movie, joint use of a tug-of-war rope, and helping the food truck get unstuck.



2. **(15 min)** Apply these processes to real-world interactions of the students (Small groups)
  - a. Leaders guide a small group activity. Groups choose an inter-group conflict (preferably between ethnic groups) that the students have experienced or witnessed at school and apply these processes to design an activity to reduce stereotypes between the groups. Leaders should be prepared with sample conflicts to distribute to groups who cannot generate any on their own (e.g., sports competition between two high schools with different ethnic populations that leads to ethnic-related conflict between the teams). What kinds of superordinate goals might be designed to reduce the conflict? Students can use the handout on the 6 steps to speak up against bigotry.

#### **Session 4: Exploring Existing Programs to Reduce Stereotypes and Promote Tolerance**

1. Expand knowledge of methods to reduce ethnic stereotypes and promote tolerance
  - a. **(20 min)** Leaders present programs to the class on websites via Smartboard/Computers in classroom: explain the goal of the program they researched, who designed the program, and the ways in which they promote tolerance between groups or to reduce ethnic stereotypes/conflicts. What positive effects might the program have on the ethnic groups involved? Here are some sample websites. Website descriptions and more websites are listed below.
    - [www.tolerance.org](http://www.tolerance.org) (*Southern Poverty Law Center*)
    - [www.facinghistory.org](http://www.facinghistory.org) (*Facing History and Ourselves*)
    - [www.sjti.org](http://www.sjti.org) (*Social Justice Training Institute*; see links to other websites under “Resources”)
  - b. **(10 min)** In small groups, discuss ways they can reduce stereotypes between ethnic groups in their community or school (if this was not covered in Session 3) using what they have learned in this program
  - c. **(10 min)** Self-reflection. Students will look at their self-reflection piece from Session 2 and read it over. Students will then consider the some of the questions below and answer them in their workbook. (workbook pg 17) When students have answered some of these questions, discuss this in small groups.
    - Has my attitude toward other ethnic groups changed?
    - In what way has it changed? In what ways has it stayed the same?
    - Can I see areas for improvement when considering interacting with groups who are different than I am? What things would I benefit from changing?
    - What are the steps I would need to take in order to make positive changes toward dealing with other ethnic groups? How would this benefit me? How would this benefit others?

- d. **(10 min)** Each student will write a summary of what he or she learned in the program and how it applies to his or her life, and present this to his or her small group. These summaries will be collected.

Session 4 Websites:

**Teaching Tolerance**

- [www.tolerance.org](http://www.tolerance.org)
- Founded in 1991 by The Southern Poverty Law Center (civil rights law firm)
- Mission: To reduce prejudice, improve intergroup relations, and support equitable school experiences for our nation's children
- Programs & Tools:
  - Offers free educational materials (i.e., lesson plans, activities, articles, etc.) to teachers, schools, youth, and parents that promote respect for differences and an appreciation for diversity
  - Sponsors "Mix It Up" activities - encourages students to cross social and ethnic boundaries
    - "Mix It Up at Lunch Day" has students sit and interact with different groups of students during lunch and recess
  - Provides parents and students with personal stories of overcoming bias and encourages them to share their own

**Facing History and Ourselves**

- [www.facinghistory.org](http://www.facinghistory.org)
- Founded in 1976 as an international non-profit organization
- Mission: To engage students of diverse backgrounds in an examination of racism, prejudice, and anti-Semitism in order to promote the development of a more humane and informed citizenry
- Programs & Tools:
  - Examines the historical development and lessons of the Holocaust and other examples of genocide to help make the connection between history and our everyday moral choices
  - Provides professional development opportunities as well as relevant, innovative teaching materials to educators
  - Engages communities in conversations on responsibility and tolerance
  - Develops movies (e.g., *Blessed is the Match*, a documentary about a Jewish poet executed by the Nazis) and books to help students question the significance of their actions and to inspire change

**Social Justice Training Institute**

- [www.sjti.org](http://www.sjti.org)

- Founded in 1998 by four individuals (Jamie Washington, Kathy Obear, Vernon Wall, and Maura Cullen)
- Mission: To help individuals deepen their understanding of oppression/dominance at the individual, group, cultural, and systems levels through the lens of race and racism
- Programs/Tools:
  - Organizes discussions/workshops in communities and on university campuses
    - Explores racism across and within racial groups
    - Engages people in dialogue about the complex dynamics of race, dominance, and oppression
    - Helps people identify and manage their personal "triggering events" (events that cause an innate prejudiced response)

### **Safe Zone For All**

- [www.safezoneforall.com](http://www.safezoneforall.com)
- Adapted from other ally programs at Indiana and Purdue University
- Mission: To create more all-inclusive allies and safe zones (a place where a person can feel safe regardless of any human condition, characteristic, or circumstance that they may have) with the intention of providing support and resources to fight oppression and discrimination
- Programs and Tools:
  - Encourages people to become allies and guides them through the process
  - Invites offices, homes, schools, churches, etc. to display the All Inclusive Ally Safe Zone Logo

### **Students and Teachers Against Racism**

- [www.racismagainstdians.org](http://www.racismagainstdians.org)
- Mission: To bring the image of Native Americans into the present, to support the well-being of Native children in schools through the accurate depiction of history, to bring recognition to the ongoing contributions of Native Peoples today, and to celebrate the varied and rich cultural traditions of all Native people in the United States
- Programs/Tools:
  - Provides suitable lesson plans and curricula that teach about Native cultures
  - Helps dispel stereotypes
  - Offers the Native perspective

### **Anti-Defamation League**

- [www.adl.org](http://www.adl.org)
- Founded in 1913 by Sigmund Livingston in response to rampant anti-Semitism, the Anti-Defamation League is now the nation's premier civil rights/human relations agency
- Mission:
  - To stop, by appeals to reason and conscience and, if necessary, by appeals to law, the defamation of the Jewish people
  - To secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike and to put an end forever to unjust and unfair discrimination against and ridicule of any sect or body of citizens.
- Programs/Tools:
  - Provides educational resources for teachers
  - Holds conferences that bring together advocates of equality
  - Monitors the United Nation's policies, activities, and resolutions and holds meetings with U.N. ambassadors
  - Works with law-makers, law enforcement, and the courts
  - The ADL's Glass Leadership Institute is a program designed to develop the next generation of leaders; leaders who understand the issues facing their community and that will be effective advocates of justice and fair treatment

### **Human Rights Campaign**

- [www.hrc.org](http://www.hrc.org)
- Founded in 1980 by Steve Endean, an advocate for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender equality
- Mission: To have lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people achieve equality and be embraced as full members of the human race at home, at work, and in every community
- Programs/Tools:
  - Provides research and educational programs that engage people in dialogue about equality
  - Produces media programs that showcase a pro-equality message
  - Publishes resources on issues that affect the lives of LGBT (Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender) Americans
  - Funds leadership programs that aim to teach students and faculty at universities about LGBT issues

### **American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee**

- [www.adc.org](http://www.adc.org)
- Founded in 1980 by U.S. Senator Jim Abourezk, it is the largest Arab American organization of its kind

- Mission: To empower Arab Americans, defend the civil rights of all people of Arab heritage in the United States, promote civic participation, and support freedom and development in the Arab world
- Programs/Tools:
  - Offers legal counseling in cases of discrimination and defamation
  - Uses media (e.g., newsletters) to educate the public
  - Promotes cultural events and participates in community activities
  - Sponsors “Reaching the Teachers” campaign, which aims at ensuring an accurate, objective, and fair portrayal of Arab history and cultures in schools

*Appendix D. Percentage Distribution of School Differences for study Groups.*

	School A	School B
	% ( <i>n</i> )	% ( <i>n</i> )
<b>Experimental Groups</b>		
Immediate Intervention ( <i>n</i> =93)	48.8 (62)	47.7 (31)
Delayed Intervention ( <i>n</i> =60)	20.5 (26)	52.3 (34)
Permanent Control ( <i>n</i> =20)	15.7 (20)	0.0 (0)
Baseline ( <i>n</i> =19)	15.0 (19)	0.0 (0)
Totals ( <i>N</i> =192)	100.0 (127)	100.0 (65)

*Appendix E. Percentage Distribution of Gender Differences for Experimental Groups and School.*

	Males	Females
	% ( <i>n</i> )	% ( <i>n</i> )
<b>Demographic Variables</b>		
<b>Experimental Groups</b>		
Immediate Intervention ( <i>n</i> =93)	47.8 (33)	48.8 (60)
Delayed Intervention ( <i>n</i> =60)	43.5 (30)	24.4 (30)
Permanent Control ( <i>n</i> =20)	0.0 (0)	16.3 (20)
Baseline ( <i>n</i> =19)	8.7 (6)	10.6 (13)
Totals ( <i>N</i> =192)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (123)
<b>School</b>		
School A ( <i>n</i> =127)	50.7 (35)	74.8 (92)
School B ( <i>n</i> =65)	49.3 (34)	25.2 (31)
Totals ( <i>N</i> =192)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (123)

*Appendix F. Percentage Distribution of Grade Differences for study Groups, School and Role.*

Demographic Variables	9 <sup>th</sup> Grade	10 <sup>th</sup> Grade	11 <sup>th</sup> Grade
	% ( <i>n</i> )	% ( <i>n</i> )	% ( <i>n</i> )
<b>Experimental Groups</b>			
Immediate Intervention ( <i>n</i> =93)	55.1 (49)	50.0 (27)	34.7 (17)
Delayed Intervention ( <i>n</i> =60)	22.5 (20)	50.0 (27)	26.5 (13)
Permanent Control ( <i>n</i> =20)	22.5 (20)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Baseline ( <i>n</i> =19)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	38.8 (19)
Totals ( <i>N</i> =192)	100.0 (89)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (49)
<b>School</b>			
School A ( <i>n</i> =127)	100.0 (89)	3.7 (2)	73.5 (36)
School B ( <i>n</i> =65)	0.0 (0)	96.3 (52)	26.5 (13)
Totals ( <i>N</i> =192)	100.0 (89)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (49)
<b>Role</b>			
Peer trainee ( <i>n</i> =142)	100.0 (89)	98.1 (53)	0.0 (0)
Peer educator ( <i>n</i> =31)	0.0 (0)	1.9 (1)	100.0 (30)
Totals ( <i>n</i> =173) <sup>a</sup>	100.0 (89)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (30)

<sup>a</sup> – Nineteen participants participated only in baseline measures and did not take on a Peer educator or Peer trainee role. Thus, they are not included in this section of the table

Appendix G. Percentage Distribution of Ethnic Differences for Condition, Study Groups and School.

	Asian American	African American	Arab American	Hispanic or Latino	Caucasian	Jewish American	Mixed
Demographic Variables	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
<b>Condition</b>							
Initial Control (n=93)	83.3 (5)	85.7 (6)	60.2 (59)	50.0 (1)	40.9 (9)	28.6 (8)	71.4 (5)
Delayed Intervention (n=77)	16.7 (1)	14.3 (1)	39.8 (39)	50.0 (1)	59.1 (13)	71.4 (20)	28.6 (2)
Totals (n=170) <sup>a</sup>	100.0 (6)	100.0 (7)	100.0 (98)	100.0 (2)	100.0 (22)	100.0 (28)	100.0 (7)
<b>Experimental Groups</b>							
Immediate Intervention (n=93)	83.3 (5)	85.7 (6)	51.3 (59)	50.0 (1)	40.9 (9)	28.6 (8)	55.6 (5)
Delayed Intervention (n=57)	16.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	19.1 (22)	0.0 (0)	59.1 (13)	71.4 (20)	11.1 (1)
Permanent Control (n=20)	0.0 (0)	14.3 (1)	14.8 (17)	50.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	11.1 (1)
Baseline (n=19)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	14.8 (17)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	22.2 (2)
Totals (n=189)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (7)	100.0 (115)	100.0 (2)	100.0 (22)	100.0 (28)	100.0 (9)
<b>School</b>							
School A (n=127)	50.0 (3)	28.6 (2)	96.5 (111)	100.0 (2)	9.1 (2)	0.0 (0)	77.8 (7)
School B (n=62)	50.0 (3)	71.4 (5)	3.5 (4)	0 (0.0)	90.9 (20)	100.0 (28)	22.2 (2)
Totals (n=189)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (7)	100.0 (115)	100.0 (2)	100.0 (22)	100.0 (28)	100.0 (9)

Note. Three participants either did not indicate an ethnicity or indicated different ethnicities at different times and are thus not included in this table. <sup>a</sup> - Nineteen participants were used for baseline measures only and were excluded from time 1 and time 2 comparisons. Thus, they are not included in this section of the table.



*Appendix H. Percentage Distribution of Religious Differences for Condition, Experimental Groups, School and Role.*

Demographic Variables	Hindu %	Muslim %	Christian %	Jewish %	Buddhist %	Atheist %	Other %	None %	Note.
	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	Seven
<b>Condition</b>									
Initial Control (n=87)	100.0 (2)	58.6 (58)	57.7 (15)	20.0 (6)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (2)	60.0 (3)	100.0 (1)	participants
Delayed Intervention (n=79)	0.0 (0)	41.4 (41)	42.3 (11)	80.0 (24)	100.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	40.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	
Totals (n=166) <sup>a</sup>	100.0 (2)	100.0 (99)	100.0 (26)	100.0 (30)	100.0 (1)	100.0 (2)	100.0 (5)	100.0 (1)	
<b>Experimental Groups</b>									
Immediate Intervention (n=87)	100.0 (2)	49.6 (58)	55.6 (15)	20.0 (6)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (2)	60.0 (3)	100.0 (1)	either did not indicate a religion or indicated different religions
Delayed Intervention (n=59)	0.0 (0)	19.7 (23)	37.0 (10)	80.0 (24)	100.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	20.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	
Permanent Control (n=20)	0.0 (0)	15.4 (18)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	20.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	
Baseline (n=19)	0.0 (0)	15.4 (18)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	
Totals (n=185)	100.0 (2)	100.0 (117)	100.0 (27)	100.0 (30)	100.0 (1)	100.0 (2)	100.0 (5)	100.0 (1)	
<b>School</b>									
School A (n=124)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (117)	14.8 (4)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	40.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	at different times and thus were not included in this
School B (n=61)	100.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	85.2 (23)	100.0 (30)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (2)	60.0 (3)	100.0 (1)	
Totals (n=185)	100.0 (2)	100.0 (117)	100.0 (27)	100.0 (30)	100.0 (1)	100.0 (2)	100.0 (5)	100.0 (1)	
<b>Role</b>									
Peer trainee (n=137)	0.0 (0)	86.9 (86)	92.3 (24)	70.0 (21)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (2)	80.0 (4)	0.0 (0)	included in this
Peer educator (n=29)	100.0 (2)	13.1 (13)	7.7 (2)	30.0 (9)	100.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	20.0 (1)	100.0 (1)	
Totals (n=166) <sup>b</sup>	100.0 (2)	100.0 (99)	100.0 (26)	100.0 (30)	100.0 (1)	100.0 (2)	100.0 (5)	100.0 (1)	

table.

<sup>a</sup> - Nineteen participants were used for baseline measures only and were excluded from time 1 and time 2 comparisons. Thus, they are not included in this section of the table.

<sup>b</sup> - Nineteen participants participated only in baseline measures and did not take on a Peer educator or Peer trainee role. Thus, they are not included in this section of the table.

*Appendix I. Percentage Distribution of Generation Differences for Experimental Groups and School.*

Demographic Variables	Non US	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup> and Greater
	Born	Generation	Generation	Generation
	% ( <i>n</i> )	% ( <i>n</i> )	% ( <i>n</i> )	% ( <i>n</i> )
<b>Experimental Groups</b>				
Immediate Intervention ( <i>n</i> =92)	64.3 (18)	48.8 (41)	30.0 (3)	45.5 (30)
Delayed Intervention ( <i>n</i> =58)	10.7 (3)	22.6 (19)	40.0 (4)	48.5 (32)
Permanent Control ( <i>n</i> =19)	10.7 (3)	13.1 (11)	20.0 (2)	4.5 (3)
Baseline ( <i>n</i> =19)	14.3 (4)	15.5 (13)	10.0 (1)	1.5 (1)
Totals ( <i>n</i> =188)	100.0 (28)	100.0 (84)	100.0 (10)	100.0 (66)
<b>School</b>				
School A ( <i>n</i> =124)	92.9 (26)	92.9 (78)	80.0 (8)	18.2 (12)
School B ( <i>n</i> =64)	7.1 (2)	7.1 (6)	20.0 (2)	81.8 (54)
Totals ( <i>n</i> =188)	100.0 (28)	100.0 (84)	100.0 (10)	100.0 (66)

*Note.* Four participants did not qualify for a generation assignment based on the generation criteria chosen and are not included in this table.

*Appendix J. School Mean Differences for Age and Parents' Average Education.*

Demographic Variables	School A		School B		Differences <sup>a</sup>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
Age (yrs)	15.02	1.06	15.61	0.64	-0.59	0.12
Parents' Average Education	2.62	1.19	4.10	0.88	-1.48	0.15

<sup>a</sup> – Differences computed using school A – school B.

Appendix K. Repeated measures ANOVA Analysis of Time X Condition Effects at Time 1 and Time 2.

Scale Items	Condition			Between Subjects Error		Time			Time X Condition			Within Subjects Error	
	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>
Empathize with in group	0.60	1	0.48	1.26	147	1.81	1	4.43*	0.73	1	1.78	0.41	147
Empathize with out group	0.03	1	0.03	0.91	147	0.63	1	1.68	0.00	1	0.00	0.38	147
Agree w/neg. stereotypes	3.83	1	1.72	2.23	154	1.06	1	1.65	0.61	1	0.96	0.64	154
Feeling toward neg. stereotypes	5.19	1	2.35	2.21	154	6.89	1	7.17**	3.24	1	3.37†	0.96	154
Ethnic Prejudice	3.96	1	1.96	2.02	153	0.73	1	1.21	0.37	1	0.61	0.60	153
NBO - Total	0.09	1	0.14	0.61	147	0.06	1	0.26	0.58	1	2.50	0.23	147
NBO - Out Group	0.01	1	0.01	1.19	138	0.58	1	1.34	0.56	1	1.30	0.43	138
Experiences with in-group	0.65	1	1.46	0.44	154	0.09	1	1.20	0.06	1	0.83	0.08	154
Commitment to in-group	0.73	1	1.84	0.40	154	0.06	1	1.07	0.04	1	0.67	0.06	154
Involvement with out-group	0.02	1	0.05	0.43	154	0.02	1	0.24	0.00	1	0.00	0.07	154
Explicit ethnic stereotypes	0.01	1	0.01	1.37	154	0.47	1	1.02	0.11	1	0.23	0.46	154
Explicit ethnic stereotypes of out group	7.89	1	1.97	4.01	153	0.51	1	0.35	0.00	1	0.00	1.44	153
IAT	6.25	1	0.18	34.22	148	96.31	1	6.88*	0.31	1	0.02	13.99	148
Complex Thinking	3.82	1	3.03†	1.26	154	0.00	1	0.01	0.05	1	0.11	0.50	154
Perspective Taking	0.15	1	0.23	0.65	154	0.02	1	0.07	0.02	1	0.07	0.22	154

†-  $p < .10$  level. \*-  $p < .05$  level. \*\*- $p < .01$  level

*Appendix L. Repeated measures ANOVA Analysis of Time X Condition X Role between Subject Effects at Time 1 and Time 2.*

Scale Items	Condition			Role			Condition X Role			Error	
	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>df</i>
Empathize with own group	1.14	1	0.92	6.14	1	4.98*	0.38	1	0.31	1.23	145
Empathize with out group	0.15	1	0.16	1.17	1	1.27	0.21	1	0.23	0.92	145
Agree w/neg. stereotypes	0.01	1	0.00	1.59	1	0.73	7.18	1	3.28†	2.19	152
Feeling toward neg. stereotypes	0.13	1	0.06	0.56	1	0.26	4.96	1	2.25	2.20	152
Ethnic Prejudice	0.00	1	0.00	1.96	1	0.99	6.55	1	3.31†	1.98	151
NBO - Total	0.01	1	0.01	2.05	1	3.39†	0.14	1	0.23	0.60	145
NBO - Out Group	0.01	1	0.01	2.96	1	2.49	0.03	1	0.03	1.19	136
Experiences with in-group	0.32	1	0.74	1.61	1	3.67†	0.04	1	0.08	0.44	152
Commitment to in-group	0.94	1	2.34	0.29	1	0.73	0.20	1	0.50	0.40	152
Involvement with out-group	0.23	1	0.54	1.25	1	2.96†	0.46	1	1.10	0.42	152
Explicit ethnic stereotypes	0.00	1	0.00	0.11	1	0.08	0.00	1	0.00	1.38	152
Explicit ethnic stereotypes of out group	4.47	1	1.14	22.24	1	5.69*	0.07	1	0.02	3.91	151
IAT	86.12	1	2.65	130.16	1	4.00*	139.80	1	4.30*	32.55	146
Complex Thinking	1.83	1	1.67	26.26	1	23.95***	0.02	1	0.01	1.10	152
Perspective Taking	0.14	1	0.22	1.99	1	3.08†	0.00	1	0.00	0.65	152

†-  $p < .10$  level. \*-  $p < .05$  level. \*\*-  $p < .01$  level. \*\*\*-  $p < .001$  level

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