A Textbook Case of Parasocial Contact

by

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Abstract

The early 2000s in Israel-Palestine were characterized by a closing of political and social connections, creating a widening divide between the two peoples. Organized efforts to promote an atmosphere conducive to building peace in Israel-Palestine have traditionally focused around two theoretical approaches that are both based on face-to-face communication between Jewish-Israelis and Palestinians. Contact hypothesis is a grassroots, or bottom-up, approach that focuses on reducing prejudice among individual members of the general population. Track two diplomacy is a top-down approach that aims to reduce prejudice among social elites who will go on to influence policy. These approaches appear to share a goal and, ideally, would work in coordination. However, these approaches are limited in audience and reach. With increasing barriers to face-to-face interactions the audience has become even more limited. These limits result in a failure for these projects to have influence beyond the individual participants as well as a gap between the bottom-up and top-down approaches. In 2002 a group of high school history teachers and peace researchers came together to produce a ground-breaking history textbook with a unique dual narrative format that could bridge this divide and build a route to better relationships. The dual narrative project extends the limits of traditional contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy by producing a physical artifact, the textbook, in an example of parasocial contact hypothesis. Parasocial contact is the mediation of contact through mass media and allows for reaching all levels of the population beyond the limitations of the traditional approaches. Despite the opposition this project generated, it provides a format that can be explored further. Future educational projects both in Israel-Palestine and other social conflicts around the world can use this project as a template. The parasocial contact hypothesis approach is one that should be considered more seriously for future projects due to its potential to circumvent some boundaries that prevent direct contact, and its ability to reach broader populations.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Ardythe Harder. No part of this thesis has been previously published.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The video art piece "Abraham Abraham Sarah Sarah" by Nira Pereg consists of two video loops of the same length, projected on opposite walls in an otherwise empty room. The videos start with black backgrounds with two words in white on each wall: "Abraham Abraham" on one, with "Sarah Sarah" mirrored back. After several seconds of this, the videos start. Each video shows the ending of a religious ceremony. One wall depicts the end of a Jewish observance. The facing wall depicts the end of a Muslim observance. The videos on each wall show the various markers of that religion being packed up and stowed. Prayer rugs are stacked, books are placed in bookshelves, cupboards are filled and closed, and banners are taken down and rolled. People place fencing in front of storage areas. The rooms are emptied. The small number of people in each video work quickly. There are sounds of furniture being dragged, doors closing, and electric screwdrivers whizzing on the videos, but there are no voices recorded. Finally, on both videos, a single person walks through the rooms doing a final check. A forgotten item is lifted over the fences into the storage area. The footsteps echo, then the rooms are shown to be completely empty. In each video there are still images showing the rooms empty except for the pillars, the painted walls, and closed cupboards. The images shown differ in the two videos. They do not mirror each other in each moment. Then the viewer watches in both videos as two different people open doors and walk back into the rooms. A second small group of people enter, and things start to be set up again. On the wall where the Muslim service had been taken down there is now a Jewish service being set up. Across the room, on the wall where a Jewish service had been taken down, a Muslim one is being set up. Again, working without speaking, people quickly transform the space. The many mirrored moments between the walls make it clear that each space is one and the same. A distinctive cupboard that was in a still image on one wall appears in the background on the opposite wall. A large space with painted pillars is mirrored in the other direction. Finally the transformation is complete. The small groups of

workers are finished. On the wall where a Jewish service has been taken down and a Muslim one was set up the rooms now have prayer rugs covering the floors. On the wall where a Muslim service has been taken down and a Jewish one was set up, worshippers arrive. There is clear excitement from these worshippers. The video shows people who are taking pictures and pointing before moving out of the camera's view. The videos fade to black and begin again with "Abraham Abraham" mirrored by "Sarah Sarah." The video loops are constantly played on the same wall, so if an observer were to stand facing one of the walls with their back to the other, they would see only half the project.

In the statement that accompanies the videos, the artist says this about her work: this project "digs into real events in order to expose their un-realness or their artificiality, their transhistorical quality. Every segment is an event that is being either contrasted or erased by an event that happens simultaneously" (Pereg).

I had additional thoughts about what I was seeing when I viewed "Abraham Abraham Sarah Sarah" at the Art Gallery of Alberta in December 2014. My thoughts had to do with the nature of the shared space. The two groups interact without ever being in contact; the groups never see each other. In fact, they work to ensure that the other group sees no evidence of their presence. There is a certain respect for each other in emptying the space entirely and of a return to a blank canvas. None of the workers appeared resentful at having to complete the task.

Do the projected images of the room demonstrate mutual respect for each other's right to use the room as a place of worship or are these projected images of the rooms' use emphasizing how each strives to erase the other from the space?

There is no contact between the groups. Each group goes to great lengths to ensure there is no sign of the other's presence in the space. Only the small groups of workers are ever made aware of the other group. I found this most notable in watching worshippers arrive at the end of one of the segments. Both peoples come into the space and never have to be reminded

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that the space is shared. They can come in and consider the space theirs. Watching them react to the transformed space, I observed that they are looking only at their space, and have no sense that they are acknowledging its shared nature. The strength of works like Pereg's is in the ability to show how divided peoples can ignore and erase each other's presence and, through demonstrating the erasure, it becomes impossible for those who observe the work to continue to ignore the fact that the space is shared.

Like "Abraham Abraham Sarah Sarah," a textbook project in Israel-Palestine addressed the tension between erasure and acknowledgement between the two sides of the conflict. The Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME) textbook project used history as a means to show both perspectives in an attempt to bring rapprochement and understanding. This dual narrative project is one of many international and local attempts to find a means to bring about dialogue that could create the potential for peace. There are significant barriers making peace negotiation difficult: these include physical barriers such as walls, political barriers such as laws restricting movement, psychological barriers forming a desire to remain separate, and the theological barriers as seen in Pereg's videos. Peace efforts have become more difficult due to these barriers. The methodological approaches of peacebuilding efforts that have been traditionally utilized are limited both by these barriers and by the small numbers of participants each project impacts. PRIME's textbook project represents an approach that can extend those limits, overcome physical barriers, influence more people, and enhance current techniques to reduce the communication and support gap between bottom-up and top-down efforts.

A prominent effort towards building peace used by bottom-up or grassroots movements is premised on contact hypothesis, namely, the idea that prejudice between groups can be reduced by positive contact experiences. Contact hypothesis has been seen as a tool to solve conflicts that are the result of communication breakdowns and misunderstandings. Researchers such as Ifat Maoz; Deepak Malhotra and Sumanasiri Liyanage; and Robert M. Stein, Stephanie Shirley Post, and Allison L. Rinden have shown a measureable link between intergroup contact

and a reduction in attitudes of prejudice (Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks" 708-710; Malhotra and Liyanage 918; Stein, Post, and Rinden 294-299). The point of contact is to repair communication by constructing a platform for conflicting groups to listen to and learn from each other. Workshops and projects guide the development of a recognition of each other's humanity, and assist to create and promote empathy.

While contact hypothesis is focused on changing perceptions at the individual level, another theory focuses on using face-to-face dialogue to influence top-down peace-making. Track two diplomacy is used by those aiming to introduce peacebuilding at the societal level through policy. Researchers such as David Kellen, Zvi Bekerman, and Ifat Maoz; Esra Çuhadar and Bruce W. Dayton; and Ronald J Fisher (Kellen, Bekerman, and Maoz 544; Çuhadar and Dayton "Oslo and its Aftermath" 157; Fisher 69) explore how unofficial positive personal interactions between politically connected individuals can be incorporated into official life. In track two diplomacy there is the objective to positively address various psychological and prejudice causes of contact and, as a result, to introduce the possibility of bridging social divides. The hope is that the understandings reached in the unofficial interactions will inform and impact future policy decisions of the individual participants and, through those policies, influence broader society.

The reduction of prejudice that contact hypothesis offers, and the addressing of societal change that track two diplomacy presents, offer ways to open lines of communication, or at least to open the willingness to seek out lines of communication. As such, both these theories provide useful tools in the process towards peace. Traditionally, contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy projects occur in a face-to-face setting, called direct contact. In Israel-Palestine, however, direct contact is increasingly impossible as the potential participants are unable to cross physical barriers. Palestinians living within the Territories have their movement restricted by walls, checkpoints, the need for permits, and roads they are forbidden to drive on. Israelis

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are forbidden to enter areas controlled by the Palestinian Authority. Incidental contact in daily life becomes limited by these barriers, as does organized contact through workshops.

The enforced physical separation of the peoples is exacerbated by the psychological desire for separation increasingly shared by both groups. A segment of the peace movement even pursues a form of peace where the two groups are deliberately separate. The desire for separation is highlighted by interview subjects in a recent study (Byrne 114, 118-19).

The fractured nature of the territory and societies is an aspect that is vital to acknowledge and discuss. Physical, political, and psychological barriers are not conducive to finding or establishing a long-term solution. Making face-to-face contact more challenging has not resulted in less conflict or fewer violent outbreaks, yet the possibility for face-to-face contact is becoming less feasible. With the March 17, 2015 re-election of Prime Minister Netanyahu, Israelis have chosen a leader who is vocal about his unwillingness to seek contact for peace, particularly in statements he made directly before the election. "Asked if he meant that a Palestinian state would not be established if he were to continue as Israel's prime minister, Mr. Netanyahu replied: 'Correct'" (Queally). Due to laws forming and enforcing barriers, people cannot travel into or out of the Occupied Territories and thus cannot meet each other. This presents numerous challenges to organizations attempting to host workshops.

The costs of hosting a workshop, combined with the physical barriers, the fact that participants tend to repeat participation in projects, and that those participants already support peacebuilding make traditional workshops problematic. The room fills with the same people and ideas do not expand beyond those individuals. Reduction of prejudice does occur in these workshops, but this result needs to be extended to a larger audience.

A new approach must be found in order to continue to expand contact opportunities. A series of extensions to contact hypothesis known collectively as indirect contact propose a number of alternatives to direct contact. One of these forms of indirect contact, parasocial contact hypothesis, holds promise as the necessary new tool. Parasocial contact hypothesis

contends that contact mediated through mass media, such as television, film, and radio, has similarly beneficial effects of reducing prejudice that direct contact does. Mass media is defined as a form of technology used by an organization to communicate with a large number of people: viewed, read, listened to, etc. (Marshall). The majority of research into parasocial contact hypothesis has focused on how the use of television and film influences prejudice. However, there have also been results that suggest the influence extends to other forms of communication, including printed text (Vezzali et al).

One example of the parasocial contact hypothesis approach could be exemplified in PRIME's pioneering project to create a high school history textbook that uses a parallel, side-by-side format to tell the separate but connected histories of the Israeli and Palestinian peoples. This endeavour is an excellent example of how the impact and influence of direct contact can be extended. The initial phase of the project was a direct contact workshop. Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian teachers met to write and publish a unique history textbook, the first of a kind, wherein two perspectives on history are presented separately but in a shared physical space. Three publications resulted from the direct contact: two test booklets and a final book. The contact experienced by these individuals is preserved within these publications and communicated to others. The publications were intended for a large audience of students.

The two histories within the publications are each given their own space, but are presented together. The first test booklet was produced in 2002 and classroom tested in 2003. The second test booklet was produced in 2004 using the experiences from the classroom testing, but focusing on different historical events than the first test booklet. The final book incorporated the historical events from the first two test booklets as well as three additional historical events, and represented all the experiences from the whole of the project. This book was published in 2012. The final book represents a parasocial contact tool in the form of a mass media artifact as its use is not confined to classrooms, but can be broadly distributed to both the general populations and elites of those populations.

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These publications were all written during a series of face-to-face workshops where participants were in direct contact as they discussed and debated the words to be used. The test booklets as they were used in the classrooms represent an indirect form of contact. The teachers used the booklets to illustrate how other curriculum resources ignore or erase the history of the other side. As well, the teachers prompted their students to envision the experience of their peers on the other side, which served to challenge the students' ignorance.

This exercise in envisioning the experience of the student's peers is an example of imagined contact. Like parasocial contact, imagined contact is a form of indirect contact that does not need face-to-face interaction. Imagined contact is mediated through the participants' minds, and is limited by the need for someone to prompt the contact.

This parasocial contact media artifact holds the promise of effecting the same results as direct contact while circumventing barriers endemic to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Additionally, PRIME aimed for the results of this project to carry into the policy-making sphere by the connection between the current students as the next generation of leaders ("About PRIME"). Through this link, though tenuous, this project has links to track two diplomacy projects. The peace movement has traditionally relied on face-to-face encounters for both contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy projects, which are made more difficult when travel for individuals is restricted. Only recently have more indirect approaches become feasible and broadly theorized (Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes "The Parasocial Contact Hypothesis). Materials such as books are more able to cross boundaries, particularly if digital formats are also utilized. PRIME has made use of both print and digital formats for the textbook project. The dual narrative publications deserve much stronger advocacy within the peace movement. The format of these books addresses many of the difficulties faced by direct contact projects and track two diplomatic efforts in the Israeli-Palestinian context, and provides an additional tool to be used elsewhere. Studying the format and impact of the textbook case provides a deeper

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understanding of the scope of track two diplomacy, contact hypothesis, and particularly the connected parasocial contact hypothesis theory.

The test booklets are not currently in use in classrooms in Israel-Palestine because in October 2010 both the Israel Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Palestinian Ministry of Education and Higher Education (hereafter referred to collectively as "the Education Ministries") banned its use in schools. The lack of backing in this case demonstrates a major cause for the failure of direct contact projects to go beyond individual success in Israel-Palestine. The audience and scope of efforts on the individual level and the efforts on the policy level are limited, and those limits result in a lack of coordination between bottom-up and top-down approaches. Despite this textbook's current lack of success, the example set by PRIME provides insights into how parasocial contact, the filtering of contact through mass media to individuals at all levels of society, can stretch those limits and serve as a way to integrate the aims of the bottom-up and top-down efforts.

In the case of Israel-Palestine, the conflict stems from a great number of causes, and there have been multiple additional reasons for the continuing situation. This study does not attempt to be prescriptive about solutions to the conflict. Ultimately the shape of the solution will be determined by the Israelis and Palestinians themselves. Parasocial contact hypothesis, and the textbook project in particular, provides a potential means with which to assist the process towards that solution, rather than being the whole solution. Going forward, parasocial contact hypothesis, PRIME's textbook project, and the format of the publications provide a framework for future consideration for peacebuilding projects in both Israel-Palestine, and in other conflicts around the world.

Methodology

This case study focuses on exploring the individual and societal levels of impact through a peacebuilding project. The examination of PRIME's textbook project through its conception,

writing process, and the physical books that resulted demonstrates how prejudice levels of individuals are impacted through contact-based projects. Importantly, the textbook project also demonstrates how the influence of a single project can grow, expand, and influence changes on a societal level. In this case the main framework that was used in the creation of the publications was contact hypothesis within the grassroots arena. Thus the contact hypothesis holds a greater share of this discussion. The interactions between contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy, and the links from the dual narrative project to track two diplomacy are drawn. Both contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy, bottom-up and top-down approaches, benefit from the development of this project and of parasocial contact hypothesis. While the focus of this thesis, along with the dual narrative project, is more heavily towards contact hypothesis and grassroots approaches, there will be discussion regarding track two diplomacy and top-down approaches.

The aim of this thesis is to advocate the use of the specific PRIME publications, but also for the use of the format as a template for future projects both within Israel-Palestine and in similar situations requiring conflict resolution. A second goal is to highlight the limits of contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy, and to test the parasocial contact hypothesis as a method of extending those limits. In order to test the theoretical frameworks within this case, this study demonstrates the application of the major elements of contact hypothesis and parasocial contact hypothesis within the project. The successes already achieved are used to demonstrate the likelihood of success for future projects using parasocial contact hypothesis.

The main source of information for the creation of these publications is the PRIME website and articles written by Sami Adwan and Dan Bar-On, the founders and co-directors of PRIME at the time of this textbook project. These articles appear both within the textbook publications themselves, on the PRIME website, and other sources. An article by Shoshana Steinberg and Dan Bar-On provides further details about the process of working on the textbook—including observed interpersonal interactions and some of Bar-On's reflections.

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Finally, there are interviews with the teachers who participated in the project in the back of the *Side by Side* book. These interviews provide personal accounts of the process, as well as how work on the project impacted those who were involved.

The publications are available in a number of languages so that those studying history using these books can experience the histories in the language most comfortable to them. The participants in the project worked in English. Following their initial work the text was translated into Hebrew and Arabic, and at least the first test booklet has also been translated into Italian, French, German, and Spanish (Steinberg and Bar-On 107, 111). For this work, the text was examined in English. There are three publications in total: two test booklets for classroom use and one book that could be used either in or out of the classroom.

The next chapter provides an overview of contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy and trace how the theories have been used and understood by researchers. The chapter examines the weaknesses within these two theories before tracing the evolution of parasocial contact hypothesis. Chapter Three provides context to the textbook project by providing an overview of the organization that made it possible and the conditions in which the textbook came about. Chapter Four traces the creation of the textbook—the process of writing—and contextualizes the creation as a direct contact project. Chapter Five examines how the test booklets extended the direct contact of their creation into the indirect contact in the confines of classroom use, while Chapter Six considers the relationship of the Education Ministries and the media to the test booklets. Finally, Chapter Seven explores how the book published after the Education Ministries' ban grows into a parasocial contact media artifact, and envisions how this project's example can be used in the future.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the world was struggling to comprehend the Second World War while confronting threats posed by the emerging Cold War era. Published in 1954, psychologist Gordon W. Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* explored methods of redressing prejudice, within the context of the post-war period as European countries faced the aftermath of the Holocaust and the undercurrent of anti-Semitism that permitted it. He posited that, given time and contact, differences between groups would vanish and there would arise a peace-within-sameness. Allport's theory, known as "contact hypothesis," laid the foundation for a tradition of peacebuilding projects and workshops based on the principles of contact.

The 1948 Arab-Israeli War—known by Jewish-Israelis as the "War of Independence" and by Palestinians as "Al-Nakba" or "Catastrophe"—as well as the resulting physical division between Israelis and many Palestinians remained recent memory by 1954. Numbers provided by the non-profit organization ProCon tell a tale of mass migration. There had been a shift in the area now known as Israel from a majority Palestinian population to a majority Jewish one. Between 1946 and 1950 the population went from 33.0% Jewish to 50.7% Jewish ("Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Population Statistics"). Not including the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the population was 86.4% Jewish in 1949, while the population of what is now known as the West Bank and the Gaza Strip grew as Palestinians relocated. In 1948, prior to the Arab-Israeli war, the population of the West Bank was 462,100 and the Gaza Strip population was 82,500. After the Arab-Israeli war, in 1950, the population of the West Bank was 765,000 and the population of the Gaza Strip was 240,000 ("Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Population Statistics"). These numbers paint an incontestable reality of mass human movement, but the reasons and motivations behind those numbers are strongly contested. The significance of those statistics differ according to the perspective from which they are viewed. As soon as words are used to describe this history, the history becomes a point of contention, a source of prejudice that

deepens and entrenches the demographic shift separating Palestinians and Israelis. The physical separation occurred at the same time that Allport's contact hypothesis theorized that bringing peoples into contact was the best way to reduce prejudice between peoples, a potential means of bringing reconciliation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Since Allport's initial theory, contact hypothesis has changed and the primary goals of contact projects no longer include assimilation. The creation of empathy, rather than sameness, is now the desired outcome.

Allport's original aim—that contact at an individual level will influence the broader society—has been difficult to achieve in practice. Allport's influence can be seen in many projects that are ongoing in the Israeli-Palestinian region, such as: The Parents Circle Family Forum, Combatants for Peace, Sulha, and the WhiteFlag Project (*Palestinian Israeli Bereaved Families for Peace*; *Combatants for Peace*; *Sulha Peace Project*; *WhiteFlag Project*). These projects measure success reducing prejudice at the individual level. For example, Combatants for Peace publishes personal stories discussing how contact has caused individuals to change their outlook. Academic research has also shown that individual prejudice reduction does occur as a result of face-to-face contact (Gaertner, Dovidio, and Bachman; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace"; Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks"; Malhotra and Liyanage; Stein, Post, and Rinden); however, the escalation, rather than reduction, in the conflict suggests that these results are influential at the individual level, and in limited numbers, only.

More recent approaches to peacebuilding aim at larger societal change. Track two diplomacy was developed in the 1980s with the goal of addressing the broad psychological causes of conflict. William D. Davidson and Joseph V. Montville referred to track one diplomacy as official diplomacy (154) and track two diplomacy as: "...unofficial, unstructured interaction. It is always open minded, often altruistic, and … strangely optimistic… . Its underlying assumption is that actual or potential conflict can be resolved or eased by appealing to common human capabilities to respond to good will and reasonableness" (155). Track two diplomacy employs avenues of unofficial diplomacy. It focuses on engaging people in elite positions in society and

who hold political influence, effecting top-down solutions to conflict situations. Despite its societal ambition, track two diplomacy does not actively engage the general populace in a way that would achieve the sort of individual gains measured by traditional contact hypothesis projects. Track two diplomacy is a top-down approach while contact hypothesis is one that works from the bottom up. These two approaches appear to offer the ability to converge; however, there remains a gap that limits their impact. As long as peacebuilding efforts fail to involve the entire population, the grassroots goals of contact hypothesis will never be connected with policies generated at the top, and the track two solutions will never satisfy the temper of the people.

One promising approach to closing the gap between the leaders of a society and the populace while also extending the limits of contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy emerged in 2005 when Edward Schiappa, Peter B. Gregg, and Dean E. Hewes introduced the parasocial contact hypothesis. This approach takes advantage of mass distributed media in sound, images, and print to impact large numbers of individuals at the psychological level while potentially influencing the entire social spectrum. Cultural productions that portray perspectives of the Other can be widely disseminated through media such as television, movies, and literature. Mass media not only provides the means to broadcast cultural products to mass audiences it also preserves recordings or objects for redistribution. The potential benefit of parasocial contact hypothesis is outlined here: "We contend that parasocial contact can provide the sort of experience that can reduce prejudice, particularly if a majority group member has limited opportunity for interpersonal contact with minority group members" (Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes "The Parasocial Contact Hypothesis" 97).

The following sections trace the development of contact hypothesis and describe its connection to track two diplomacy, followed by a discussion of the overall goals and criteria of success for these theories, and an elaboration on the insufficiency of either of these or even both together to have a lasting impact for an entire population. Finally parasocial contact

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hypothesis is presented as a development of contact hypothesis, as a means to extend the limits to provide greater benefit and as a tool to reassess the viability of the dual narrative history textbook project.

Contact Hypothesis and Track Two Diplomacy in the Context of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The major element of Allport's theory that has been retained by its developers involves his requirements for a contact event, such a workshop, to be successful: "Prejudice...may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports…, and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups" (Allport 281). Ifat Maoz is a major figure in peacebuilding efforts in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In her peacebuilding research she has found Allport's hypothesis helpful. She summarizes Allport's four requirements as: "... (a) equal status between members of the two groups, (b) intergroup cooperation within the contact situation, (c) individualized and non-superficial contact and (d) support by authority figures can be effective in inducing positive attitude change…" ("Peace-Building with the Hawks" 702). While there is consensus that these four requirements are necessary conditions for a successful contact event (Stein, Post, and Rinden 288; Al Ramiah and Hewstone 529; Pilecki and Hammack 101; Malhotra and Liyanage 910; Niens and Cairns 338; Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks" 702; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace" 722; Maoz "Power Relations" 260; Gaertner, Dovidio, and Bachman 274; Çuhadar and Dayton "The Social Psychology" 277; Shim, Zhang, and Harwood 171; Stathi, Cameron, Hartley, and Bradford 537; Barlow et al 1630; Harwood 148; Harrison and Michelson 328; Dovidio, Eller, and Hewstone 148), there are differences in how researchers define the elements within these requirements. Discussions surrounding the definition of equality is the one that generates the most divergent opinions. The second and

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third requirements of intergroup cooperation, and individualized and non-superficial contact are practical issues that are less problematic for the design of contact projects. The final requirement involving the role of authority figures has not received enough attention by contact hypothesis researchers. There is no agreement regarding the persons or organizations to be considered relevant authorities. This requirement is of critical importance to any peacebuilding contact project in the Israeli-Palestinian context due to the intense asymmetry within society and the the power gap between involved parties.

Equal Status Within Contact

In the past nineteen years, ten highly-cited articles have been published that either directly deal with contact projects in Israel-Palestine, or specifically focus on a relevant portion of the theory, such as the long-term impact of a contact project on the individual participants. For example, Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, and Betty A. Bachman's 1996 article "Revisiting the Contact Hypothesis: The Induction of a Common Ingroup Identity" examines how direct contact can create a shared, or superordinate, identity. Marilynn B. Brewer's 1996 article "When Contact is Not Enough: Social Identity and Intergroup Cooperation" furthers this by arguing that the creation of a superordinate identity is necessary to gain the benefit of direct contact. Robert M. Stein, Stephanie Shirley Post, and Allison L. Rinden published "Reconciling Context and Contact Effects on Racial Attitudes" in 2000 wherein they find that regular, positive direct contact with an outgroup over a period of time is a strong predictor of lowered prejudice. Also in 2000, Ifat Maoz published two articles based on studies of direct contact between Israelis and Palestinians. "Power Relations in Intergroup Encounters: A Case Study of Jewish-Arab Encounters in Israel" examines the relations that develop within contact beyond the superordinate identities studied in the 1990s, while "An Experiment in Peace: Reconciliation-Aimed Workshops of Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian Youth" examines those same relationships—particularly among young participants. In 2003 Maoz extended that research in

"Peace-Building with the Hawks: Attitude Change of Jewish-Israeli Hawks and Doves Following Dialogue Encounters with Palestinians" by focusing particularly on the impact of contact on individuals who identify as ideologically opposed to the peace movement. Deepak Malhotra and Sumanasiri Liyanage showed in 2005 that a direct contact project in Sri Lanka had prejudice-reducing effects that lasted beyond the time of the workshop, in this case that the impacts of a contact workshop were influencing participants' behaviour one year after the workshop was held. Also in 2005, "Conflict, Contact, and Education in Northern Ireland" by Ulrike Niens and Ed Cairns examined the impact of education-specific projects in Northern Ireland. In 2013 Ananthi Al Ramiah and Miles Hewstone performed a review on intergroup contact in "Intergroup Contact as a Tool for Reducing, Resolving, and Preventing Intergroup Conflict." Most recently, in 2014, Andrew Pilecki and Phillip L. Hammack compared the in-contact conversations when history was discussed as opposed to when the future was imagined. Thomas Pettigrew and Daniel Bar-Tal are influential to these authors. Their books are heavily cited by the other researchers.

This body of research tracks a movement away from considering the participants of contact projects as a single entity towards considerations of the types of participants the projects are engaging. This is particularly is evident between the 1990s work on superordinate identities and Maoz's work with self-described hawks and doves. There is also a growing concern with the lasting impact of contact projects. The limits of contact hypothesis are being defined through this progression of research. This can be seen in how the literature encompasses the ways of discussing Allport's four requirements while covering disagreements about how to best meet those requirements. The majority of discussion has focused on the first of the four requirements: that participants be equal within the contact setting.

There is agreement that the number of participants from each side is an important component to create equality within the contact situation (Pilecki and Hammack 103-04; Malhotra and Liyanage 915-16; Al Ramiah and Hewstone 530-31; Stein, Post, and Rinden 291-94; Niens and Cairns 338-39; Pettigrew 12-15, 40-46, 69-81; Maoz "Peace-Building with the

Hawks" 704; Maoz "Power Relations" 262-63; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace" 724). The majority of these researchers seek to have equal—or as close as possible—numbers of participants. Absolute equal numbers is not always possible, as seen in the designs of Maoz; Malhotra and Liyanage; and Pilecki and Hammack for practical reasons, but efforts have been made to ensure that the numbers of participants are as balanced as possible. One such practical obstacle to equal numbers experienced in Israel-Palestine is identifying participants who are willing to engage in the contact. Maoz's 2000 study "An Experiment in Peace" involving tenth-grade students had 64 Jewish-Israeli participants and 67 Palestinian participants. The failure to attain perfect equality in this project was due to minor differences in the population sizes from which participants were recruited. However, the effort to achieve equality of numbers resulted in near parity which allowed the project to continue successfully.

Pettigrew did not run a workshop to inform *Racially Separate or Together?*, but his findings regarding race relations in the United States also emphasize how numbers impact equality in situations of intergroup contact. His goal is to achieve numbers within social institutions, such as the police force, that reflect the proportion of the population, rather than aiming for parity in numbers. The decision to pursue proportionality rather than parity is addressed in the proposal to raise the proportion of African-American police officers in the US police forces to 25% in order to promote a culture of equality (12-15).

After equality of numbers, the designs of contact workshops factor in what Ananthi Al Ramiah and Miles Hewstone call "individual-difference variables" (530-31). In these categories, the researchers control demographic variables which are chosen to attain equality within the workshop. The variables that are chosen differ according to decisions made by workshop facilitators. Some emphasize age (Pilecki and Hammack 103-04; Malhotra and Liyanage 915-16; Al Ramiah and Hewstone 530-31; Niens and Cairns 338-39; Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks" 704; Maoz "Power Relations" 262-63; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace" 724), while some address gender (Pilecki and Hammack 103-04; Malhotra and Liyanage 915-16; Al Ramiah and

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Hewstone 530-31). For some, equality within participants' socioeconomic status is an important criteria (Malhotra and Liyanage 915-16; Al Ramiah and Hewstone 530-31; Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks" 704; Maoz "Power Relations" 262-63; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace" 724) and for others, having participants with equal education levels is important (Malhotra and Liyanage 915-16; Al Ramiah and Hewstone 530-31; Pettigrew 40-46, 69-81). Other individual difference variables that come up more rarely are language proficiency (Pilecki and Hammack 103-04; Al Ramiah and Hewstone 530-31) and drawing participants from areas where they would have similar life experience (Malhotra and Liyanage 915-16; Al Ramiah and Hewstone 530-31; Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks" 704; Maoz "Power Relations" 262-63; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace" 724)—for example, participants being drawn from the same leadership program (Malhotra and Liyanage 915-16)—or similar experience of space—for example, drawing participants from the same neighbourhoods (Stein, Post, and Rinden 291-94).

There were four works in the data set, including Pettigrew, which did not study a specific contact workshop, but instead discussed contact hypothesis in more conceptual terms. These authors discussed what was necessary to achieve equality, though they did not include concrete examples of how to achieve that equality.

Marilynn B. Brewer and Daniel Bar-Tal emphasize the need to create a superordinate identity, or a shared identity that becomes more important than the divisions (Brewer 294; Bar-Tal). This approach aims to achieve equality by enhancing an ideological area in which equality already exists between the participants, and de-emphasizing the ways in which the participants are unequal. The organizations Palestinian Israeli Bereaved Families for Peace and Combatants for Peace put this idea into practice in Israel-Palestine by emphasizing the similarities between the people involved. Both groups are organized around a common desire for an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The former is also organized around participants who have a shared experience of losing a family member to the conflict (*Palestinian Israeli Bereaved Families for Peace*), and the latter is organized around a shared experience of first-

hand knowledge of the conflict (*Combatants for Peace*). These organizations make the shared experiences of the members equal, helping to build a shared, equal identity.

Thomas Pettigrew; and Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, and Betty A. Bachman encourage leadership roles within the contact event to be given to the members of the group that has been disadvantaged in broader society (Pettigrew 12-15, 40-46; Gaertner, Dovidio and Bachman 275). Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, and Betty A. Bachman further develop this idea by also encouraging that the traditionally advantaged group be specifically assigned follower roles within the contact. In this way, equality is achieved by subverting expectations and balancing the in-workshop and out-workshop experiences (275). Though there were no concrete examples of this in Israel-Palestine, one way this could potentially be accomplished in a workshop setting would be to assign a Palestinian participant as a speaker for the workshop group.

Shared Goals and Non-Superficial Interactions Within Contact

The second and third of Allport's requirements comprises the need to have intergroup cooperation, and for the contact to be individual and non-superficial. These two requirements have received less attention as the direct focus of research questions. Questions regarding how to encourage cooperation and create opportunities for non-superficial interaction in different situations are generally addressed within the methodology of research and design of the workshop. Since these answers to Allport's requirements are specific to each workshop, the studies show a wide variety. Once again the solutions of the researchers to bring the participants of opposing sides together in friendly cooperation can be separated into those that describe concrete solutions, and those that remain more conceptual.

The concrete solutions to cooperation between groups was to provide a topic or objective for the participants to jointly engage in. The goal was to achieve shared participation in the project in question. The various projects used different types of activity to encourage shared

participation. These included guided discussion (Pilecki and Hammack 103-104; Stein, Post, and Rinden 291-94; Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks" 704; Maoz "Power Relations" 262-63; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace" 724), lectures (Malhotra and Liyanage 915; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30, 69-80), workshops (Malhotra and Liyanage 915; Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks" 704; Maoz "Power Relations" 262-63; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace" 724; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30, 40-46, 69-80), and creative activities (Malhotra and Liyanage 915). The more conceptual solutions focus on shared experiences. Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, and Betty A. Bachman; Thomas Pettigrew; and Daniel Bar-Tal argue that cooperation should be aimed towards redefining behavioural norms (Gaertner, Dovidio, and Bachman 274; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30, 40-46, 69-80; Bar-Tal). Identifying shared objectives between societies was another proposed solution (Brewer 291-292; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30, 40-46, 69-80; Bar-Tal), as were fully integrated daily activities (Niens and Cairns 338-40; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30, 40-46, 69-80).

The integration of daily activities was also suggested by Ulrike Niens and Ed Cairns; and Thomas Pettigrew as a way of implementing non-superficial contact (Niens and Cairns 338-40; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30, 40-46, 69-80). This is similar to Ananthi Al Ramiah and Miles Hewstone; Thomas Pettigrew; and Daniel Bar-Tal's solution to encourage repeated interactions between the participants (Al Ramiah and Hewstone 531-33; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30, 40-46, 69-80; Bar-Tal). The most conceptual answer was from Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, and Betty A. Bachman who indicated that non-superficial contacts are those that lead to self-revelation (274) though they do not specify how to accomplish this among individual participants.

The concrete solutions to non-superficial contact were focused on group activities that would allow individual participants to interact in a more relaxed atmosphere. These included planned group excursions to tourist destinations (Pilecki and Hammack 103-104), group leisure activities (Pilecki and Hammack 103-104; Malhotra and Liyanage 915), and guided

conversations (Stein, Post, and Rinden 291-94; Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks" 704; Maoz "Power Relations" 262-63; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace" 724).

Both the concrete and the conceptual solutions promoted opportunities to see each other as individuals in order to combat perceptions of the Other as being monolithic or dehumanized (Brewer 293).

Support from Authority Within Contact

For the most part in these studies, the requirement of support from authority is not considered beyond the need for direct support of the participants. Robert M. Stein, Stephanie Shirley Post, and Allison L. Rinden; and Marilynn B. Brewer did not directly address support from authority at all.

The literature discusses support from authority mainly in terms of support directly for the workshop participants by the workshop facilitators (Pilecki and Hammack 103-04; Malhotra and Liyanage 915; Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks" 704; Maoz "Power Relations" 262-63; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace" 724; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30,40-46, 69-81). Another way in which direct support for the participants occurs is through support for the workshop and participants from the larger community such as from a school community (Niens and Cairns 338-40; Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks" 704; Maoz "Power Relations" 262-63; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace" 724; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30,40-46, 69-81; Bar-Tal). Governmental support for individual workshops is more rarely discussed, though Malhotra and Liyanage; Niens and Cairns; and Pettigrew all briefly examine this aspect of authority support (Malhotra and Liyanage 915; Niens and Cairns 338-40; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30,40-46, 69-81). Although all these researchers discuss the need for government support, only Malhotra and Liyanage indicate that the government's support was a factor in the success of not only specific projects but also for the later dissemination of the solutions developed within those projects (915). In examination of authorities that support workshops themselves, Malhotra and Liyanage; and

Pettigrew discuss the sources of financial support necessary for the projects to exist (Malhotra and Liyanage 915; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30,40-46, 69-81).

Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, and Betty A. Bachman; Ananthi Al Ramiah and Miles Hewstone; Thomas Pettigrew; and Daniel Bar-Tal identify broad social norms as an authority (Gaertner, Dovidio, and Bachman 274; Al Ramiah and Hewstone 531; Pettigrew 12-15, 26-30,40-46, 69-81; Bar-Tal). In a workshop scenario the participants' sense of social norms for polite and acceptable behaviour is carried in with them. Having social norms that encourage, support, or at least accept the possibility of engaging in the form that the contact takes makes the possibility for success higher.

The majority of the literature suggests that authority support for individual participants and individual workshops fosters success on an individual level. The studies that focused on a workshop showed, through their statistical analyses of data gathered during those workshops, successes in lowering individual prejudice among participants (Stein, Post, and Rinden 294-97; Malhotra and Liyanage 918; Maoz "An Experiment in Peace" 726-28; Maoz "Peace-Building with the Hawks" 707-10). However, these successes on the individual level have not carried over to the societal level. Although the individuals who participated in these workshops demonstrated clear prejudice reduction, those attitudes have not spread to the wider population. The current public opinion in Israel-Palestine is not characterised by a decrease in prejudice or an increased desire to seek peaceful solutions. This was conclusively demonstrated with the 2015 re-election of Prime Minister Netanyahu. Without more widespread support from policymakers for transmitting the ideas from one workshop to the wider society, combined with the support from a greater proportion of the population, the likelihood of achieving success on a societal level is unlikely. The failure to account for levels of authority outside of the workshop environment, their support, and how that support can be concretely expressed is a reason that contact hypothesis has been unable to elevate individual success to societal success.

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Track Two Diplomacy

Track two diplomacy as a theory began during the Cold War, and was focused on reconciliation efforts between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Now a wide body of literature exists that focuses on efforts in multiple regions. For the purposes of this study, the focus is on the efforts in Israel-Palestine. In the past fifteen years, seven well-cited articles on track two diplomacy in Israel-Palestine have been published. These articles are joined in this analysis by Louise Diamond and John McDonald's 1996 book *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*. In 2001 Dalia Dassa Kaye published "Track Two Diplomacy and Regional Security in the Middle East," an overview of the many track two diplomacy conversations in that region. In 2006 Ronald J. Fisher published "Coordination Between Track Two and Track One Diplomacy in Successful Cases of Prenegotiation" in which he examined how the track two conversations move into official channels. "Peace from Below: Recent Steps Taken along the Track-Two Diplomacy Path" is the 2009 book review by Michael Thomas Kuchinsky. Also in 2009 Esra Çuhadar published "Assessing Transfer from Track Two Diplomacy: The Cases of Water and Jerusalem" which again examines the movement from track two conversations to policy. Esra Çuhadar and Bruce Dayton examine the relationship between theory and practice in their 2011 article "The Social Psychology of Identity and Inter-group Conflict: From Theory to Practice." These authors go on in 2012 to examine in detail the track two diplomacy components within the Oslo process in "Oslo and its Aftermath: Lessons Learned from Track Two Diplomacy." Also in 2012 David Kellen, Zvi Bekerman, and Ifat Maoz examined the problem of self-selecting participants in track two conversations in "An Easy Coalition: The Peacecamp Identity and Israeli-Palestinian Track Two Diplomacy." In these articles there is a great deal of agreement about the components in the definition of track two diplomacy.

On the surface, contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy projects appear very similar. In both cases, participants representing the different sides of a conflict are brought into a face-

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to-face meeting—often organized as a workshop—where discussion occurs, usually directly pertaining to the conflict in question. Yet there are significant differences between these two frameworks.

There is agreement within the track two diplomacy literature that track two diplomacy is contact in an unofficial capacity that is nevertheless linked somehow to the official policy-making structure (Kellen, Bekerman, and Maoz 544; Çuhadar and Dayton "Oslo and its Aftermath" 157; Çuhadar and Dayton "The Social Psychology" 273; Kaye; Kuchinsky 48-49; Çuhadar 641; Fisher 69). There is also agreement within the designs of track two workshops that the way to link to the policy-making structure is through the participants. Some researchers, such as Esra Çuhadar; Dalia Dassa Kaye; and Esra Çuhadar and Bruce W. Dayton include the need for politically connected participants directly in their definition of track two diplomacy (Çuhadar and Dayton "Oslo and its Aftermath" 157; Çuhadar and Dayton "Social Psychology" 273; Kaye; Çuhadar 641). They also emphasize elite, politically connected participants in their workshop designs (Çuhadar and Dayton "Oslo and its Aftermath" 158-59; Çuhadar and Dayton "Social Psychology" 282; Kaye; Çuhadar 643). Ronald J. Fisher as well as David Kellen, Zvi Bekerman, and Ifat Maoz join them in including politically influential persons as participants in the designs of their workshops (Fisher 70; Kellen, Bekerman, and Maoz, 548). While Michael Thomas Kuchinsky does not bluntly state the requirement of politically connected individuals explicitly in either his definition or in his description of who should participate, the types of people he does identify as potential participants are those who are likely to have those types of connections (48).

Track two diplomacy is not the same as official negotiation, and track two projects do not result in binding decisions the way that track one diplomacy can. Ultimately, workshop designers emphasize politically connected participants because they have the ability to influence future policy decisions. The goal, as Çuhadar puts it, is that "... improved relations and jointly formulated ideas are *transferred* and incorporated into the society and/or the official

policymaking process, thus, having an impact at a larger scale" (641 original emphasis). The desire for the transfer of reduced prejudice from the involved individuals to society through the policymaking process illustrates the top-down nature of this method.

Disagreement in the literature comes in the form of categorizing types of track two diplomacy, and identifying the types and timing for the most effective projects. These disagreements showcase places where the researchers feel there are weaknesses in the theory. Of particular concern is the feeling that there is too much breadth to the definition of track two diplomacy. In this view there is too much variety in track two diplomacy projects, requiring a different system of categorization in order for discussions surrounding track two diplomacy to have meaning. The two most common categorizations within track two literature are separation by time, or separation by subdividing the diplomacy tracks. Through the discussion of categorization of track two diplomacy projects, the limits of this theory become clear.

Fisher as well as Çuhadar and Dayton both note that track two diplomacy is most effective during pre-negotiation phases, before the track one diplomacy has begun (Fisher 69; Çuhadar and Dayton "Oslo and its Aftermath" 158), using time periods to categorize track two diplomacy projects. In these articles track two diplomacy is divided into pre-negotiation, negotiation, and post-negotiation phases, corresponding to the efforts in the track one diplomacy process.

Categorizing through time is not a simple proposition particularly in conflicts as complex as the Israeli-Palestinian situation where there have been multiple outbreaks of violence and attempts at negotiation starting from the 1920s. This cycle of violent conflict and negotiation has continued most famously in the 1990s, and most recently in 2014. A key critique that is not addressed in these articles is that characterizing any program in terms of time in such a volatile atmosphere negates the benefit of distinguishing between pre- and post- negotiation phases.

Instead of focusing on dividing types of track two diplomacy projects by time, another attempt to distinguish types of track two diplomacy projects focuses on further dividing types of tracks.

Diamond and McDonald proposed that, instead of two tracks of diplomacy, there is a multi-track web of interconnected levels of diplomatic behaviour. Including the official diplomatic channels they identified nine tracks for diplomatic interaction. The tracks they identified include governmental peacebuilding through diplomacy, which would be otherwise known as track one diplomacy; nongovernmental peacemaking through conflict resolution, which might include efforts such as the contact workshops; peacemaking through commerce, which would involve economic ties between the groups in conflict; peacemaking through personal involvement; peacemaking through learning, which involves educational initiatives such as the dual narrative textbook; peacemaking through advocacy, which would include groups that attempt to impact policy and public opinion such as Peace Now (*Peace Now*); peacemaking through faith in action, which involves specifically religious organizations being involved with the peace efforts; peacemaking through providing resources; and peacemaking through information (4-5). This allows for a large variety of activities to be included in the diplomatic process, as well as providing an accurate and specific way of drawing conclusions about them. A single project does not have to fit into only one category. For example, the dual narrative textbook project would fit not only in the peacemaking through learning category, but also in the peacemaking through providing resources and peacemaking through information categories (Diamond and McDonald 4-5). For this model, the levels are interconnected, overlapping, and equal to each other. Other research, however, calls that equality into question.

Fisher's research into how track one and track two diplomatic spheres coordinated with each other found that there was little direct interaction between the two (74-75). The limited evidence of interaction between these levels suggests that the web of interconnection that Diamond and McDonald identify is not interconnected in a balanced way. The connections between the varieties of track two projects are stronger than the connection between track two

projects and track one efforts. With this evidence, Diamond and McDonald's interconnected web unravels. This model was never widely adopted. There is still a clear divide between track one and track two diplomacy that does need to be acknowledged, even when the variety of diplomatic behaviours is accounted for and communicated.

A model that takes both the divide between track one and track two diplomacy, as well as the diversity that exists under the umbrella of track two diplomacy, into consideration comes from Çuhadar and Dayton. Rather than endeavouring to separate the multiple types of non-governmental interactions from each other and determine which are and are not considered to be track two, Çuhadar and Dayton use a system of categorization to organize track two diplomacy into overlapping subsets. The subsets depend on who the project is for, how the project is organized and by whom, what stage the conflict is in, and the stated aim of the project. One way we can discuss track two projects, according to Çuhadar and Dayton, is to distinguish between outcome-focused initiatives and process-focused initiatives ("Oslo and its Aftermath" 158). The outcome-focused initiatives would be primarily the kinds of policy questions that could be adopted in the track one arena, the idea being that these initiatives should have a direct link into track one diplomacy. The process-focused initiatives can be seen as more directly addressing the psychological causes of the conflict that Davidson and Montville identified (155). They "...are designed to build relationships, trust, and mutual understanding among adversaries at both the elite and grassroots level to prepare the groundwork for peace to take hold…" (Çuhadar and Dayton "Oslo and its Aftermath" 158).

Çuhadar and Dayton identified four main theoretical approaches informing the track two projects they observed. The psychological approach works to overcome negative stereotypes between conflicting groups ("Oslo and its Aftermath" 167-8). The second is the constructivist approach, which identifies conflicting historical narratives as a major contributing factor to violence. Constructivist projects aim to present a narrative that can promote a cooperative environment ("Oslo and its Aftermath" 168). Third is the capacity-builder approach, where the

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goal is to provide education regarding the other side, and to introduce negotiation and mediation skills ("Oslo and its Aftermath" 169). Finally there is the realistic interest approach, which aims to provide a peacebuilding foundation by encouraging collaboration on a shared project or problem. The hope here is that the joint work on a single project will help participants develop a measure of trust ("Oslo and its Aftermath" 169-70).

Regardless of how track two diplomacy projects are distinguished or subdivided, the participants remain the societal elites holding political influence. All attempts to categorize the types of track two diplomacy demonstrate a communication issue. The goal of these projects, to have the understandings reached by these elite participants transformed into official policy, limits the transmission of ideas between the political elites and the general population. The expectation is that through influencing policies that influence will spread through the rest of society. There is a disconnect between the societal elites who participate in the track two diplomacy projects and the general population who are impacted by any policies that could result. Without participating in the understandings reached within the track two diplomacy projects, any resulting policies lack context and meaning outside select circles.

With contact hypothesis' focus on changing the attitudes of the constituency and intending the changes to grow towards the top, and track two diplomacy's focus on changing policy with the intention that the changes will filter down, it appears that the approaches will converge since they are attempting to do the same thing, and both work together towards a shared goal. In practice there is a gap between the top and bottom that is not being reached. The audiences for the organized bottom-up and the organized top-down efforts are small and limited, meaning the efforts are not being communicated to the majority of the populations. Each of the authors in the data sets for contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy organized or observed independent studies. Each project is planned and conducted independently of others. These limited audiences also isolate the organized efforts and projects. The limited overlap between the various projects results in a gap between the elite efforts and those at the

grassroots level. This gap causes a failure in the success of peace efforts from both directions. Bar-On and Adwan observed this gap and the problems that follow: "Peace building is a planned activity, based on bottom-up processes, while peacemaking is a political agreement based on top-down processes. We usually believe that a peace process can become sustainable only when the two are synchronized" (Bar-On and Adwan "The PRIME Shared History Project" 309). An approach that builds broad relationships and involves many people from diverse groups could bridge these unsynchronized efforts.

Parasocial Contact Hypothesis

In 1956, two years after Allport published *The Nature of Prejudice*, Horton and Wohl observed a phenomenon in how audiences interacted with the performers/characters in radio and television. They found that there was the formation of a relationship, even though that relationship was distant and could not be two-way in the fashion of everyday relationships (Horton and Wohl 215). They called this intimacy at a distance "para-social interaction." At the time they discussed the implications of the audience forming a relationship with the performers/characters because of perceived sameness or shared belonging (Horton and Wohl 216-217). Research on parasocial interaction continued in the discipline of communications (for example Annese; and Dibble and Rosaen) but it took until the past decade for it to enter the contact hypothesis discussion.

In 2005, Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes took the idea of parasocial interaction and explored how an audience or viewers' attitudes of prejudice changed when confronted by a performer/character in media that personified the target of that prejudice. Particularly, this study focused on the viewer's prejudice towards gay men, and how that prejudice might be altered after viewing portrayals of gay men through the media of television (Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes "The Parasocial Contact Hypothesis"; Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes "Can One TV Show Make a Difference: *Will & Grace* and the Parasocial Contact Hypothesis"). They found that the

parasocial interaction reduced prejudice within the viewer in a very similar way to how face-to-face contact reduced prejudice within traditional contact hypothesis (Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes "The Parasocial Contact Hypothesis"; Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes "Can One TV Show"). This research group saw positive results through independent studies involving a variety of television shows, both fictional and nonfictional, and both dramatic and comedic (Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes "The Parasocial Contact Hypothesis"; Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes "Can One TV Show"). The field of media literacy also observes reductions in prejudice due to positive media portrayals of marginalized groups (Scharrer and Ramasubramanian 174-176; Ramasubramanian 499). Parasocial contact hypothesis has expanded in scope since the term was coined. While Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes were interested in prejudice surrounding sexual orientation within a single society, Cheongmi Shim, Yan Bing Zhang, and Jake Harwood applied the theory to relationships between nations and ethnic groups. Their study of Korean attitudes towards Americans mediated through watching American dramas found that it is possible to overcome racial, ethnic or national stereotypes through television (Shim, Zhang, and Harwood 185). Researchers such as Vezzali et al. have expanded the use of media to include literature with their 2015 study of how the *Harry Potter* series of books impacted prejudice (Vezzali et al 107). For this study the research group focused exclusively on the narratives and influence through print. The books, not the movies, were utilized. The results showed that identification with the characters of the *Harry Potter* series reduced prejudice towards minorities. Their work demonstrates that visual media is not the only method through which parasocial contact hypothesis can work. The results of these parasocial contact studies indicate that face-to-face contact is not the only way to reduce prejudice.

Since Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes showed how contact can be achieved through media, contact hypothesis theorists have broadened the definition of contact. There is now a distinction between direct and indirect contact, with parasocial contact hypothesis being included in the category of indirect contact (Dovidio, Eller, and Hewstone 148-149; Harwood

150-51; Lemmer and Wagner 152). The umbrella of indirect contact encompasses extended contact which involves a person knowing someone who has an outgroup friend (Harwood 150; Lemmer and Wagner 153; Dovidio, Eller, and Hewstone 148), and imagined contact which involves a leader guiding a person to simulate contact with an outgroup member in their minds (Harwood 152-53; Lemmer and Wagner 152; Dovidio, Eller, and Hewstone 148). Harwood; and Lemmer and Wagner conducted comprehensive overviews of the state of contact hypothesis research. Both overviews found that indirect contact has comparable outcomes in prejudice reduction as direct contact (Harwood 150-53; Lemmer and Wagner 152). With indirect contact forms including parasocial contact, the benefits of contact can be continued, enhanced, and expanded even if the possibilities for direct contact are limited or nonexistent (Dovidio, Eller, and Hewstone 148; Vezzali et al 106; Scharrer and Ramasubramanian 176; Shim, Zhang, and Harwood 172).

By extending the limits of size and scope of a project's audience, the gap in efforts between bottom-up and top-down approaches can be addressed, and both individual and societal success achieved. Parasocial contact is able to reach a large audience in the field, while extended contact and imagined contact are limited, as are direct contact and track two diplomacy. The number of people impacted by extended contact is constrained by the social network of those who are able to experience direct contact. Imagined contact is limited to controlled laboratory settings as it must be guided. Direct contact is made increasingly unfeasible by physical barriers. Track two diplomacy targets only small groups of social elites. The ability of parasocial contact to reach large groups of people is unique among contact forms, both direct and indirect. Parasocial contact hypothesis therefore deserves study and attention on its own. Media in the form of sound recording, film, and the printed word have the ability to facilitate parasocial contact and impact levels of individual prejudice. When distributed to a large audience, the contact is experienced by individuals representing the general population as well as political elites. Though there have not been studies focused on textbooks as mass media,

these printed materials are distributed widely among students, creating the potential for indirect contact. The potential audience, and the potential for indirect contact to occur, increases when books are also made available publically in addition to being accessed by students. Parasocial contact is the ideal lens through which to examine the dual narrative textbook. Because parasocial contact hypothesis is an expansion on the traditional contact hypothesis, it draws on the same principals. The theories are connected. The benefits and goals of the project can be measured using the principles of traditional contact hypothesis while reaching an audience that traditional frameworks cannot address.

The dual narrative textbook project spanned a decade of work, and a number of different but connected approaches to contact. The next chapter will focus on the history of the project, the project's intent, as well as an overview of how direct contact, imagined contact, and parasocial contact interact within the entirety of the project.

Chapter 3: Growing the Textbook

The early 2000s in Israel-Palestine were characterized by a resurgence of violence after the outbreak of the Second (or Al-Aqsa) Intifada in September of 2000. After the hope of the 1993 Oslo Accords and the extensive peace process that followed, the failure to create a lasting peace was discouraging. Both track two diplomacy and contact hypothesis had been practiced extensively during the Oslo process. In the midst of the increasing tensions and outbreak of violence, the organization PRIME (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East), founded by Israeli and Palestinian researchers in 1998, launched a project to create and write a high school history textbook. This textbook project was undertaken without the approval or knowledge of the Education Ministries, and the use of the produced materials in classrooms was eventually banned. Since that ban, PRIME has published another book available to the public: *Side by Side: Parallel Histories of Israel-Palestine*.

Even though the outcome of this project is not in use in its initial conception, its example provides insight into the limits of direct contact methods, and how to extend those limits in order to create a greater likelihood to realize peace. The existence of the publications has resulted in the conversations from the direct contact writing project being stored and available for future use. The fights, arguments, negotiation, and cooperation that participants experienced in interactions with one another can be passed on and developed in the future, and still holds the potential to reach wide sections of the population. This is the strength of the parasocial contact hypothesis' use of media artifacts to establish contact. The potential to reach an extended population has not diminished despite the antagonism from current policymakers. Instead this potential remains dormant, and can grow in places and times where a receptive audience exists.

In addition to informing readers about the two perspectives on history, the two booklets and third book published in this project hold information on the successes and failures of the

project from conception through to creation and production. The lessons learned offer the potential for new opportunities to work towards peace.

The History of PRIME

PRIME is a non-governmental, non-profit organization established in 1998. The organization was co-founded by Dan Bar-On, an Israeli peace researcher and professor of Psychology at Ben-Gurion University, and Sami Adwan, a Palestinian researcher and professor of Education at Bethlehem University. Dan Bar-On worked, in the past, on connecting the children of Holocaust survivors with the children of Nazi perpetrators, and the textbook project was based on his experiences with those interactions (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"). Sami Adwan had a great deal of experience researching textbooks, and also in engaging with face-to-face projects (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"). In addition to this, Adwan had been imprisoned in Israel where he discovered that differences of opinion existed even within Israeli society, and he has spoken about how this experience positively impacted his views on Israeli people (Chen).

Adwan and Bar-On initiated the "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" textbook project. They were aided by two history professors: Eyal Naveh and Adnan Musallam, authorities in their field. The text itself was written during a direct contact project utilizing Bar-On's previous experience and methods. Israeli and Palestinian teachers cooperated within their groups to create a media artifact: the dual narrative textbook. This artifact contains the beginning of contact, waiting to introduce others to the conversation. Although the term was not introduced until later, this artifact allows parasocial contact to occur.

PRIME received funding and assistance from the Peace Research Institute in Frankfurt, Germany ("About PRIME"). PRIME's mission statement announces that their main goal is "...to

pursue mutual coexistence and peace-building through joint research and outreach activities" ("About PRIME"). On their "About" web page, they include a list of other commitments including promoting symmetry and equality between Israelis and Palestinians, avoiding political involvement with either side, and promoting academic freedom and excellence.

The objectives of PRIME are listed along with these statements, and focus on removing or working around religious and psychological barriers between people, and building a culture of peace using intellectual means. The objectives overlap between the grassroots aims of the contact hypothesis and the top-down aims of track two diplomacy. The goals to build regionally-specific solutions, to provide a centre for cooperative activities and to strengthen civil society speak to a desire to engage individuals. These goals are in line with the bottom-up methodology of contact hypothesis. On the other hand, the goals focusing on intellectual infrastructure, encouraging joint academic activities, and training a new generation of leaders speak to an emphasis on drawing participants from the elites of society. These goals are in line with the track two diplomacy methods of influencing top-down policy-making. This mixture of top-down and bottom-up objectives demonstrates an organization that was aware of the multiple levels of peacebuilding efforts, and was looking for a way to bridge those levels.

The stated objective to train a new generation of leaders—and societal elites—created a clear reason to focus on projects targeting youth participation. With Dr. Adwan's education experience in researching textbooks, and Dr. Bar-On's experience with contact workshops, a dual narrative textbook was an excellent way to meet their goals. A textbook brings youth, the leaders of tomorrow, together to cooperate with each other and their teachers in learning. Early in the life of PRIME, the "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" textbook project was conceived and begun.

History of the Textbook

Four years after the creation of PRIME, the "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" project began with the first workshops involving face-to-face contact between the teachers who would also be the authors. There were specific goals for this project. In his outline of "A Joint Palestinian and Israeli Curriculum Development Project January 2002-December 2007," Adwan describes the project goals at length:

> This project of the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME) focuses on teachers and schools as the critical force over the long term for changing deeply entrenched and increasingly polarized attitudes on both sides of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The goal of the project is to 'disarm' the teaching of Middle East history in Israeli and Palestinian classrooms (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools").

This long-term focus within the textbook project means that there is increased chance for the prejudice-reducing benefit over time, providing a greater opportunity for the benefits to become routine. The intention for a long-term timeline also increases the number of participants. The initial participants—the teacher-authors—were joined over time by students and additional teachers. The introduction of the dual narrative opened the possibility for the teachers to guide their students in contact through imagining the situation, perspective, and experience of the other side. Using the booklets in the classroom introduced imagined contact and extended the potential benefits of direct contact to a larger audience. The classroom work was not able to continue, but the final publication is available outside of classrooms, creating parasocial contact. This increases the potential audience to larger numbers than could have been reached through direct and extended contact alone. The larger audience makes it more likely for the benefit of contact to see success on the societal level as well as the individual level, bringing the top-down and bottom-up methods closer together. Expanding the audience introduces multiple individuals to this form of contact, from both the general population targeted by contact hypothesis projects

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and the politically-connected elites targeted by track two diplomacy. Through this parasocial contact mechanism, there is a greater chance that the bottom-up and top-down efforts will be coordinated.

Working from Allport's original conception of contact promoting coming together and eliminating differences, the temptation would be to encourage an agreement between the sides on a single shared narrative. Instead, PRIME encouraged the maintenance of differences through their dual narrative. Thus, success achieved on all levels was not a sense of sameness, but understanding within differences. PRIME's directors were clear on this aim of their project "The goal...is not necessarily to create a single 'bridging' historical narrative that is shared in common by both communities, but to break down stereotypes and build more nuanced understandings by the next generation of citizens..." (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools").

While the idea of a single bridging narrative was rejected, the decision to aim for a dual-narrative format allowed for other kinds of bridging to occur. The two narratives in conversation in a single book allows future participants to build bridges of intercultural understanding. The participation of teachers who are not politically connected still allowed the project to reach the next generation of potential political leaders. In this way there is a bridge between the bottom-up and top-down methods of peacebuilding. The use of media to reach large audiences allows a bridge between individual and societal success. As a parasocial contact project, the textbook concept proves itself as a worthwhile endeavour.

The estimated cost for this project is listed on PRIME's website as being two million dollars (likely in US dollars, though this is not specified). They found funding sources in a variety of ways. According to the information they published online this included U.S. State Department funding from the Wye River People-to-People Exchange Program, the Ford Foundation, private foundations, and Israeli government grants, as well as in-kind donations (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"). These funding

sources, particularly the government grants, show that at the time there was support from the government for contact hypothesis projects. The Israeli government, or at least certain branches of the government, was willing to fund this project even if PRIME was working without the knowledge or approval of the Education Ministries.

The creation of the textbook followed the form of a direct contact workshop. The participants were brought together physically to interact in the hope that they would experience a reduction of individual prejudice. Yet the project extended beyond the bounds of the face-to-face workshop. The recorded individual revelation, cooperation, and understanding that developed through the face-to-face interactions can be accessed by individuals who are separated physically, temporally, and socially from the initial participants. The progression of cooperation during direct contact is recorded and stored in the textbook, creating a physical artifact that can be described as a contact seed. The classroom interactions mediated through the textbook present a situation that is distinct from the face-to-face workshops where the text was written.

The interactions through which the book was created cannot be exactly replicated as the conversations and contact that occurred were a product of the time and people. The textbook's use will result in a different conversation depending upon the individuals who interact with it. As a publication, it is meant for interactions with the reader: the contact between the two sides are mediated through the literature. The textbook project builds on the contact that has already occurred. The readers of the publications are invited to join and extend an ongoing dialogue.

The Writing Process

The timeline to complete writing and testing the booklets was expected to cover six years. There were several face-to-face seminars slated for each year, ranging from two to five days each (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"). This would give the authors of the book time to connect, discuss their

work, and write the text (Steinberg and Bar-On). Facilitating these seminars and selecting the authors were the two co-founders of PRIME, and two historians: Professor Adnan Musallam and Professor Eyal Naveh (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"). The authors were a team of history teachers, or history and geography teachers (Steinberg and Bar-On 106-7; Bar-On and Adwan "The PRIME Shared History Project" 313). Bar-On and Steinberg describe the team demographics in this way: "The team included an equal number of male and female history teachers (six Palestinians, ages 28-67, and six Jewish Israelis, ages 34-65), as well as one female Jewish Israeli observer and evaluator. Teaching experience ranged between seven and thirty-five years" (106).

These teachers were not selected because of any previous interactions with the others, and were not a pre-existing group. While some of the team members had previous encounters, both the website and later publications note that none of the Palestinian teachers had participated in direct contact workshops prior to this textbook project (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"; Steinberg and Bar-On 106-7; Bar-On and Adwan "The PRIME Shared History Project" 313). They were, however, chosen because the facilitators believed that these teachers could work cooperatively within a mixed setting. The selection process was "...based on personal acquaintance and colleagues' recommendations. These teachers were seen as professional and as capable of and interested in cooperating with the other side" (Steinberg and Bar-On 106).

This capability and interest did not mean there were not conflicts within the writing process, and the repercussions of external violence did not stay outside of the group. The family situations of the participants were a concern, and the events in the region were impacting the teachers personally (Bar-On and Adwan "The PRIME Shared History Project" 313-14). One Palestinian teacher withdrew from the project citing loyalty concerns after Israeli soldiers bulldozed a kiosk owned by one of their family members (Schenk). The willingness to work together did not automatically lead to empathy and understanding between the groups. Adwan

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and Bar-On observed that it took an extended period of time for any teacher to ask basic questions of the other side such as "When I teach your text about the 1950s, what is important for you that I emphasize?" (Adwan and Bar-On "The Dual-Narrative Approach" xiv). Even with all these difficulties, the team was able to collaborate and cooperate well enough to bring the book to publication.

Where the Textbook is Now

During the creation process, test booklets of the text were used by participating teachers in test classrooms (Bar-On and Adwan "The PRIME Shared History Project" 315-16). This testing provided useful information for adjusting the text, but it also resulted in the Education Ministries becoming aware of the unapproved textbook. An Israeli Principal of one school which used the publications faced disciplinary action ("Israeli Principal Faces Hearing over Textbook"; Barker). In October 2010 the textbook was officially banned by both the Israeli and Palestinian Education Ministries. The Israeli Education ministry cited that the textbook was "post-modern," "anti-Zionist," and "dangerous" as reason for the ban (Jeffay; Baram; Pfeffer; Jpost Editorial; "Israeli Principal Faces Hearing over Textbook"; Kashti).

As a result of this ban, use of this textbook in Israeli and Palestinian classrooms is currently unfeasible. While on the one hand this could be seen as a failure of the project overall, on the other hand this project provides a model for future projects to extend and expand contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy methods, particularly in places and times where there are barriers to direct contact. Additionally, the publications still exist, and if open support for such contact were to emerge, the textbook could still release the contact potential that it has stored. The initial intention for the textbook has not come to pass, but the potential is nevertheless present.

Chapter 4: Charging the Battery

In terms of direct contact hypothesis, the dual narrative history project meets Allport's criteria. The project achieved equality in the makeup of the participants; there was cooperation in the production of the artifact; the interaction allowed non-superficial relationships to form; and the participants were supported in the production of the artifact by the authority of PRIME. The project achieves success on the individual level in terms of individually reported lowered levels of prejudice among the participants. However, the project's success is limited by the constraints inherent to all direct contact projects. Despite the limitations, the media artifact that arose from the contact project has great potential as a parasocial contact project. This chapter will examine the success of the direct contact portion of the larger project in keeping with the four requirements for a successful contact project.

Due to the secretive nature of this project—operating under the radar prior to the Education Ministries' ban—there is a lack of information regarding this project from outside sources. The co-directors of PRIME ensured detailed documentation of the process. This chapter relies on these documents for information regarding that process. Due to the lack of external sources reporting, there is a potential for bias to exist. Although this potential exists this chapter will continue to rely on the materials from PRIME and the involved researchers. These documents and reflections are invaluable, and provide otherwise unavailable details about the project.

The Four Requirements and Building the Test booklets

Equality Within the Project

Participants for this project were drawn from the same profession. There was a range of experience within the group, but each individual was selected personally for his or her expertise, abilities, and knowledge. Because they were recruited through personal connections, there were

social ties that could be used to build the network within the project. These personal acquaintances were also used to select participants who agreed with the overall goals of the project. All of these, and especially the shared experiences as teachers, would give the group enough similarities to relate to each other as equals.

The similarities within the participants' lives: learning to be educators through both formal education and classroom experience, finding ways to relate to students, and experiments in how to be perceived as an authority in the classroom, provided the participants a way to form a shared, or superordinate, identity with each other. Through this shared identity, which the facilitators promoted, the participants had the equal footing that allowed empathy and friendships to form across cultural boundaries. This, in turn, promoted cooperation within the group. Even though outside the workshop the participants belonged to different groups that are not equal in societal practice, the superordinate identity and each individual's ability to contribute made them all equal within the bounds of the project and the resulting contact.

Cooperation Within the Project

The second requirement is that there be a shared goal or objective to work towards during the project. For this project the goal was to cooperate on creating the dual narrative textbook.

This goal challenged the participants to cooperate in a number of ways. It put them in direct contact with the historical narrative of the other side and forced them to grapple together with the legitimacy and legacy of both narratives. Additionally, since the textbook was intended for classroom use, the teacher-authors needed to understand the value and meaning of both narratives in a way that could be communicated to their students, and to have a final product they would be willing and able to teach.

There was no preexisting model for a dual narrative textbook. As such, participants had to work together to create a new format, one that would make sense and would be accessible.

This level of cooperation and challenge would have been much more difficult if the participants had not had an opportunity to get to know each other outside of the work on the project.

Non-Superficial Contact Within the Project

During the textbook project, structured mingling brought the participants of differing perspectives within the conflict into contact while working in small binational groups and as a whole. However, due to the charged nature of the work there were arguments and confrontations within those groups. The information about the different historical narratives would have been transmitted, but the knowledge of the others as people might have been lost.

The facilitators worked to ensure the participants had time together outside of the work. After each seminar, they took time to walk together through neighbourhoods around the locations where they worked (Bar-On and Adwan "The PRIME Shared History Project" 314), which gave them time to reflect outside of either the external conflict, or the negotiations within the project. The participants and facilitators also took opportunities to go on vacation together to a safe environment, traveling to Turkey and Germany (Steinberg and Bar-On 108). These periods allowed personal relationships to develop, strengthening the superordinate identity that was formed. It is these relationships that are reflected in the final product. The formation of relationships among the teacher-authors satisfies Allport's requirement that contact be non-superficial.

Support from Authority Within the Project

For the success of a direct contact project, direct support for the participants is vital. In this, Adwan and Bar-On were extremely proficient. The teacher-authors of the dual narrative received support with continued personal connections with Adwan and Bar-On during the workshops. During the early workshops, the co-directors stepped in to mediate the disagreements and discussion surrounding the wording of the text (Adwan and Bar-On "The Dual-Narrative Approach" xiv). This mediation role for the co-directors was balanced with the

encouragement for the teacher-authors to converse with each other, and this led to an emergence of deeper discussions between the participants later in the writing process (Adwan and Bar-On "The Dual-Narrative Approach" xiii-xv). In addition to the in-person support during the workshop the co-directors worked behind the scenes. PRIME worked to obtain the financial support to allow the joint activities to go ahead. There was organization to ensure that there were locations for the workshops. This organization and logistics work formed a less visible but vital method of authority support.

The internal support for the workshops, teachers, and writing process from the organization of PRIME does not represent the totality of authority influence for this project. The gap between bottom-up and top-down peacebuilding methods was apparent in the relationship between the authorities within PRIME, and those within the Israeli and Palestinian governments. The goals of the dual narrative project did not align with the policies of the Education Ministries. The co-directors were aware of this discrepancy. Part of their support involved protecting the project by remaining "under the radar" (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"). The organizational attempt to bridge this gap focused on reaching through the bottom-up format, aiming to reach the societal level and influence policy through that path: "...efforts will be undertaken to gain support for use of the shared history booklet from a wider circle of school administrators and parents. This will require partnerships with grassroots organizations that can help reach out to teachers, students, parents, school administrators, and community leaders to build support for institutionalization of the new curriculum by both the Israeli and Palestinian Ministries of Education" (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"). The gap between bottom-up and top-down methodologies extended into the design of the workshops.

With all four of Allport's requirements fulfilled, the design of the dual narrative workshops demonstrate a model direct contact hypothesis project. In the same way as other direct contact hypothesis projects, the benefit of these workshops is high at the individual level. While the

direct contact portion of this project had some influence beyond the teacher-participants, it is the publications that exist as a result of these workshops that extend contact hypothesis.

Individual Level Impact

In the online materials published by PRIME for this project, half the Indicators of Project Success were aimed at the attitudes of the teachers who participated, and the successful production of the test booklets and *Side by Side* book. Indicators 2 and 4: "Achieving consensus agreement on final Palestinian and Israeli narrative texts and translations" (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"), and "Development of materials and methods that can facilitate effective scaling of teacher training to expand use of the shared history booklet throughout both Israeli and Palestinian school systems" (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools") respectively, were fulfilled by having the two *Learning Each Other's Historical Narratives* booklets and *Side by Side: Parallel Histories of Israel-Palestine* book published. Simply by the fact that these books exist, the traditional contact project had succeeded.

Project indicator number 1 was aimed at the participants. This goal was simply that both Israeli and Palestinian teachers participate through the initial six years of the project. While there were individuals who did not see the project through to the end for various reasons, the majority of Israeli and Palestinian participants stayed through the entire process and can therefore be judged a success (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"; Bar-On and Adwan "The PRIME Shared History Project" 315; Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2006).

The post-project thoughts and observations of the facilitators and participants have been published. These stories and statements track the personal feelings from the seminars, and

showcase a number of personal revelations that occurred throughout the process. In the article co-written by Steinberg and Bar-On, it is noted that one of the ways the project impacted the teachers was to restore a sense of hope and agency where before they felt that there was nothing they could do; "On a personal level, teachers noted that doing something meaningful has helped them overcome the sense of depression caused by a political situation that seems to be hopeless" (110).

As the facilitators continued to reflect on the process, particularly to write the forward to the 2012 publication *Side by Side*, they identified a mourning period that the teachers went through as they slowly let go of their previously held views of the other side. Adwan and Bar-On observed that the teaching of Israeli-Palestinian history cannot be neutral or free of emotion in Israel-Palestine, and that it took time for the teachers involved in the project to work their way to empathy (Adwan and Bar-On "The Dual-Narrative Approach" xiii-xv). The journey through this was expressed by one of the teachers, and quoted by Adwan and Bar-On as a demonstration of this mourning process. It is also effective to show the impact the project had on changing the individual attitudes of the participants:

> When I saw the narrative of the other side, first I was angry and frustrated at how different it is from ours. I felt it was not based on facts but on stories and emotions. Later, I learned to cognitively accept the difference, but still felt that our narrative was superior to theirs. Only recently did I learn to see the logic behind their narrative and even to emotionally feel empathy to what they went through (Adwan and Bar-On "The Dual-Narrative Approach" xiv).

In this quotation, the transition away from prejudice due to this teacher's participation in the project is clear.

Other teachers identified transitions within themselves. *Side by Side* includes a section at the end in which all the teacher-authors talked about how the project had impacted them. Four quotations discussed below, two from Palestinian teachers and two from Israeli teachers,

poignantly express how their views about the other side changed over the course of their participation.

While some of the Israeli teachers had previous experience with contact projects, the majority of the participants had never engaged in this kind of discussion before. One Palestinian teacher talked about how simply meeting each other opened up the possibility of discussion: "This is the first time that I have met or talked to Israelis. I usually meet them at the military checkpoints while trying to move from one place to another inside my own country. Now I have to see them, talk to them, and listen to them so that we can work together toward our future on this land" ("Teachers' Personal Trajectories" 394). It is striking to note not only the reaction to having experienced positive interaction for the first time, but also by the transition from "my" to "our" within this short statement.

Another Palestinian teacher mentioned that prior to this contact, he would not have imagined this type of interaction: "I discovered that the meetings were very fruitful. I never thought or experienced this way of exchange of views between sides with completely different viewpoints. More horizons have opened in front of me and have created an interaction between my views and the views of others" ("Teachers' Personal Trajectories" 394-95). Importantly, this teacher did not state that there had been an agreement between his views and the views of the others. Instead there was an interaction between them. This teacher did not change his own views to match those of the others, but the fact that he sees an interaction between those indicates that there is more comfort about the differences.

An Israeli teacher talked about how her preconceived notions of the Palestinian narrative had to be thrown away because of these interactions: "Although I thought I knew the Palestinian narrative, it was only in my imagination. The meetings, sitting together, listening to the Palestinians, and reading their texts was the first time that I have actually read, or listened to, the Palestinian narrative, not imagined it. It was a very important experience for me personally" ("Teachers' Personal Trajectories" 394). This teacher does not state how their imagined

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narrative was different from the narrative expressed within the seminars, however given that the teacher indicated they thought they knew the Palestinian narrative, it is likely that there was a significant difference. That, in itself, shows that a shift in thinking occurred.

Teachers' previous beliefs that they knew the history is a marker of how the erasure of the other side's reality plays out. The students, and teachers, of history are unaware of what they do not know. The dual narrative project brought the historical narratives into the same room. Viewing the narratives together revealed to the teachers how the other's experiences had been erased, and showed them what they did not know.

The second Israeli teacher expresses how this realization catalysed their own change in thinking not only on themselves, but also in how they teach:

> The beginning was pessimistic for me. I didn't think that something would come out of it. I thought that the situation was very tense and the students would not support this situation. … I must say that a lot of my ideas have changed. First, as a teacher, this project has given me new ideas and different points of view. It has also affected my methods of teaching other subjects and not only the subject of conflict ("Teachers' Personal Trajectories" 396-97).

This change suggests a shift in attitude. The journey from believing the project would not make any difference, to having the project impact areas of life other than what was targeted or expected is a large one.

Societal Level Impact

One of the goals for this textbook project stated by Adwan and Bar-On was to create a textbook that "disarms" the language within education. That is, they wanted to eliminate aggressive language about the other side within the textbook they created. In this, as we shall see, they succeeded. The most aggressive language within the final product was self-reflective; for example, the Israeli narrative negatively portraying Israeli actions. This goal, however, is

based on the assumption that there are dehumanizing characteristics of the Other within textbooks to begin with. There has been a widespread assumption that this is the case. However, in a 2013 study of thousands of passages from textbooks across Israel and Palestine, it was discovered that negative presentations of the Other were rare. Instead the problems are that "Historical events, while not false or fabricated, are selectively presented to reinforce each community's national narrative" ("Scientific Study of Israeli and Palestinian School Books Documents Ways in which 'The Other' is Portrayed" 1) and "There is a lack of information about the religions, cultures, economies and daily activities of the other, or even of the existence of the other on maps" ("Scientific Study of Israeli and Palestinian School Books Documents Ways in which 'The Other' is Portrayed" 1). The problems, in other words, are more that the view of self is overly positive, and that there are few mentions of any kind of the Other. While this was not the problem the textbook was built to address, these are actually things that the dual narrative format does not perpetuate, and can, in fact, overcome by presenting the dual perspectives in the historical narratives.

Once the direct contact hypothesis project portion of this endeavour was complete, there were no further plans for face-to-face interactions. Like any other traditional contact hypothesis project, the participants returned to their lives. The personal impact goals of the seminars were achieved, and this impact included a desire to share their discoveries. As the participants returned to their classrooms, they found that their teaching styles had changed. They wanted to share what they had learned. Again, taken from the teacher's words as recorded at the end of *Side by Side*, I will examine one Palestinian and one Israeli teacher's experiences.

A Palestinian teacher talked about finding ways to share the dual narrative even when it was not permitted by the school: "I wasn't allowed to teach the historical narrative at school because this topic is prohibited and because this idea is still not acceptable. I might be the only teacher who invited her students to her house. I explained the idea to my family and they had no objection. So I invited the students of Grades 9 and 10 and the room was crowded like a

classroom" ("Teachers' Personal Trajectories" 396). This shows not only the dedication of this teacher to share her newfound knowledge, but the fact that the room was crowded showed an openness to the ideas by the students.

An Israeli teacher found that the seminars had a profound impact on her daily teaching habits:

> My teaching style has become interwoven with the Palestinian narrative even when I'm not using this booklet. I can't teach in a different way any longer. Also, I can't mention an incident in our shared history without some clarification, even a few words, about why the Palestinians behaved in a certain way and how they felt trying to explain their actions and decisions in a fair way, according to my understanding ("Teachers' Personal Trajectories" 397-98).

It appears this teacher's experience with the writing process has caused a significant shift in her considerations.

Each of the teachers returning to their classrooms had the opportunity to share what they learned. Some of their students were receptive. The teachers had more potential to share their experiences than many people who may participate in a contact project. However, this still represents a limited audience. While the direct contact project was successful, there is no reason to believe that this project will have more of an impact than others that have come before. If this is where the endeavour ended, it would be another example of a successful traditional contact project. However this is not the end of the dual narrative story. PRIME's project took this direct contact and extended it into the indirect contact arena. This study turns now from the direct contact method that created the media artifact to the physical publications that resulted.

Chapter 5: Storing the Potential

The experience of writing the texts changed the participants' opinions about each other. It also resulted in physical, tangible books, the culmination of their work. The production of the textbooks brought some Israelis and Palestinians together, fostering cooperation between the differing perspectives. The books constitute a physical record of everything each side had learned about the other. The books were produced not only for the participants' benefit, but also for use by others, particularly students and other teachers like themselves. The information captured in the books expresses a record of the difficult process, the conflicts, the negotiations, and the resolutions necessary for the creation of this cultural artifact. The textbooks provide information about two perspectives that were involved in their creation, information that expresses the promise of a new space in which multiple perspectives can meet, a space where each side can acknowledge the other's perspective and strive for shared understanding. The books bring the narratives into the same room.

As a media artifact, the texts contain seeds of cooperation in the form of future projects that could potentially occur throughout the region. In terms of direct contact hypothesis, the project had measureable success. By extending that success beyond the time, place, and individuals involved in the direct contact, the project as a whole could have far greater impact. The use of the published works in classrooms with individuals who were not involved in the direct contact process would expand the scope and stretch the limits of the contact project. Through the increased audience there is a greater likelihood for the benefits of the contact project to move beyond individual impact and reach a broader societal success.

What Do the Books Look Like?

Throughout the six years of the project, three books were produced: two test booklets and a history book. The test booklets were used in classrooms by the participating teachers

over the course of the creation process from 2002 to 2007. The first book was produced in 2003, the second in 2006. The third book was completed, published and released for general distribution in 2012 despite the fact that in 2010 the Education Ministries banned the two test booklets and any future textbooks using the same dual narrative format.

Each of the two test booklets cover three different points in Israeli-Palestinian history. The first booklet covers three major events in the shared history: the Balfour Declaration (1917-1920s), the 1948 war—called the "War of Independence" by the Israeli narrative and the "Al-Nakbah" (catastrophe) by the Palestinian narrative, and the Intifada in the 1980s. The second booklet covers three periods between the events in the first booklet: the 1920s, 1930 to 1947, and the 1967 war.

The two test booklets have the same overall format. The books include both text and black and white images. The book uses landscape orientation, with three columns of equal width on each page. There is some blank space separating each of the columns and providing borderless margins so the text does not feel crowded. The Israeli narrative is in the column at the far left. In the middle there is a column of blank lines intended for student notes. The Palestinian narrative is on the far right. By sharing the note-taking space between the two narratives it forces the student-readers to acknowledge and engage with both narratives in a physical space. The produced media takes advantage of the physical nature of the booklets to create a continued dialogue.

Chapter 1

From the Balfour Declaration to the first White Paper

Introduction
The birth of the Zionist movement

Zionism, the Jewish national movement, was born in the 19th century when the ideology embodied in the *Enlightenment* was disseminated in the European Jewish community. These new ideas planted the first seeds of Jewish nationalism; subsequent birth of Zionism was the result of several factors:

1) The rise of modern anti-Semitism – a deeply-rooted and complicated mixture of traditional religious hatred augmented by 'scientific' racism which categorized Jews as a depraved and pernicious race.

2) The disappointment of western European Jews with the *emancipation* which pledged that the position of Jews in society would equal that of the Christians. The Jews were discouraged when it became clear that in many instances there was equality in name only. Discrimination continued.

3) New European nationalist movements such as those appearing in Italy and Germany inspired similar aspirations among the Jews.

4) An important element was the longing for Zion, an integral aspect of Jewish religious and national identity throughout history. This longing stemmed from the biblical promise that the land of Israel was given to the people of Israel by the God of Israel, and on memories of those historical eras when the people of Israel lived independently in their land. This concept inspired the national anthem, written at that time:

Hatikvah: The Hope

As long as in our heart of hearts
the Jewish spirit remains strong,
And we faithfully look toward the east,
Our eyes will turn to Zion.

The Balfour Declaration November 2, 1917

Contents
* Historical background
* Dividing the Arab East
* Steps leading to the Balfour Declaration
* Arrival of the Zionist Mission in Palestine (April 1918) and Arab reaction
* Arab reaction: Popular uprisings, 1920 and 1929

Maps
* Map of Palestine at the end of Ottoman Rule
* Map of the Anglo-French-Russian Agreement the (Sykes-Picot Agreement) (May 1916)
* Map of the Decisions of San Remo; Mandate (April 1920)

Glossary

References

Historical background

In April 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte put forth a plan for a Jewish state in Palestine. During the siege of Acre, he sought to enlist Jewish support in return for which he promised to build the Temple. The project failed after the defeat of Napoleon in the battles of Acre and Abu-Qir. It represents the first post-Renaissance expression of cooperation between a colonialist power and the Jewish people

However, it was the events of 1831-40 that paved the way for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary in 1840-41, proposed establishing a British protectorate in the Ottoman Empire to be settled by Jews as a buffer area – an obstacle to Mohammed Ali of Egypt and to political unity in the Arab regions.

Fig. 1. Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 1.

While the two test booklets have the same basic structure and format, there are differences in the details. These will be discussed in depth later in this chapter, but they can also be seen in comparison between fig. 1 and fig. 2. Fig. 1 shows the first page of the first test booklet, while fig. 2 shows the first page of the second test booklet.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND THE LAND OF ISRAEL IN THE TWENTIES

The rule of the British Mandate in the Land of Israel (Palestine) began in 1920 following hundreds of years of Muslim Ottoman rule. For the Jewish community in the country, the Twenties were years of growth, despite having begun and ended with violent incidents on the part of the Arabs.

The Riots of 1920-1921
First Violent Clashes

The first violent clashes between Jews and Arabs in the Land of Israel broke out in 1920 and were termed the "Incidents of 5680". They can be divided into two: the events of Tel Chai and the riots in Jerusalem.

Tel Chai was a young, isolated Jewish settlement in the Upper Galilee and the story of the event, which happened there became the first Zionist myth. In 1920, the borders of the British Mandate had yet to be determined. Tel Chai was located in an area disputed by Britain and France and, under these circumstances, suffered attacks by local Arabs. The leaders of the Jewish community were divided on the question of whether to evacuate the isolated settlement or defend it at any price. Some of them argued that the place should be defended even at the price of human lives, on the grounds that the future border of the Jewish state would be determined accord-

PALESTINE IN THE TWENTIES: FROM THE BALFOUR DECLARATION IMPLEMENTATION TO THE EVENTS OF THE 1929 REVOLT

Introduction:

The Jewish question came to the surface forcefully in the Nineteenth Century following a wave of persecutions against the Jews in Europe, alongside the awakening of international problems, primarily the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. This caused many countries, particularly Britain and France, to rub their hungry eyes at the legacy of the ailing sultan and gave rise, specifically with the British, to think not only of ruling that legacy but of extending control over it in every possible way.

After publication of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, Britain imposed the mandatory government on Palestine from 1918 to 1948 and, during this period, gave all the necessary concessions for the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

Arabs and Jews are fighting over the land of Palestine. According to the Jews, they take it for granted that they have historic rights in Palestine although it has not been Jewish for over two thousand years, as a Jewish journalist commented at the height of the victory intoxication in 1948. According to the Arabs, they view these claims or rights as groundless because the Jews did not have full sovereignty over the country at any previous stage in history. The Palestinians insist that they are its true owners.[1]

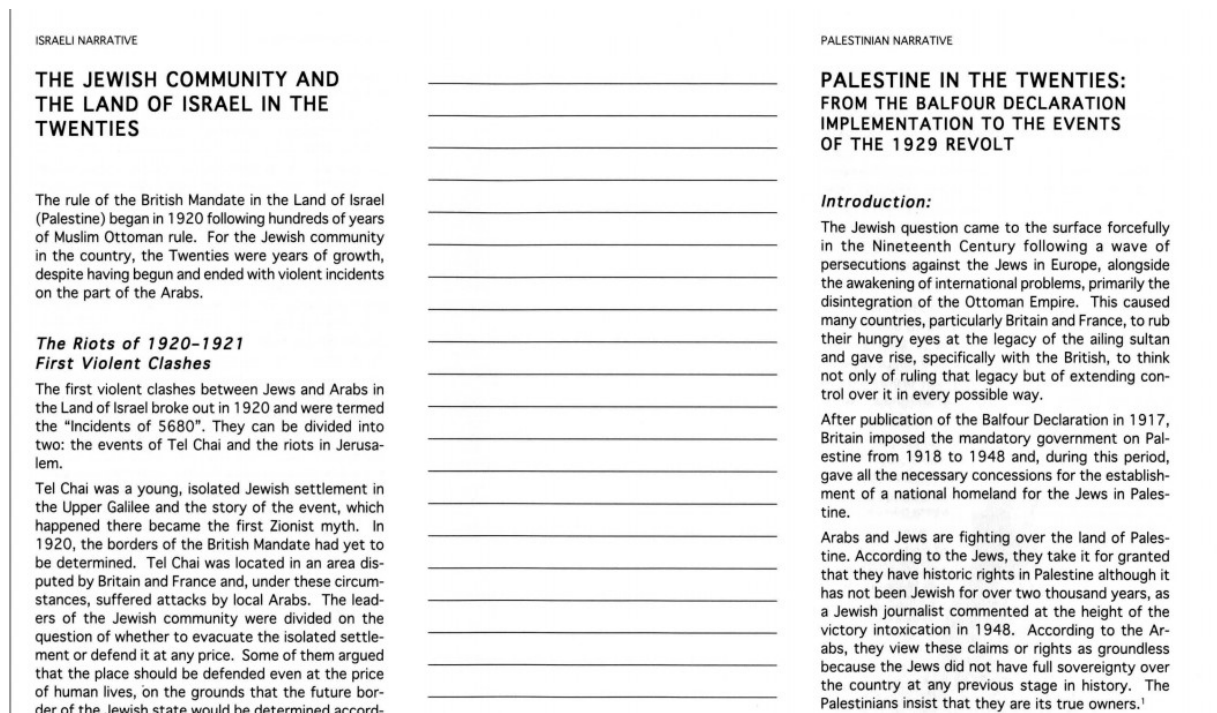Fig. 2. Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2006 5.

In the books the two historical narratives are sectioned into chapters, each chapter covers one historical time period. Each narrative in each chapter is designed to be read as a whole. The textual layout that situates columns to the left and to the right presents choices to the reader. The reader may choose to follow the column of one narrative page after page before returning to the beginning of the chapter to follow the second narrative. A reader may choose to read either narrative in totality first, followed by the other, or to read both narratives in a chapter before going on to the next chapter. In much the same way as the shared column for notes, presenting the reader with active decision making in the reading process takes advantage of the nature of the media's physicality to prompt deeper engagement with the narratives.

The two narratives are not always of equal length, a challenge of the formatting of the book. When one narrative ends sooner than the other, blank space follows. Therefore, on some pages, the narrative that ends early leaves a column of blank space; the middle column of lines for notes remains the same; and the continuing narrative column continues to unfold in its typographic space. Once both narratives in any given chapter come to completion, a new

chapter for both begins on the next page: at the beginning the narratives always come back together.

ISRAELI NARRATIVE   PALESTINIAN NARRATIVE

References

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8. Rosemary Sayigh, op.cit., p. 105
9. Ibid, p. 132
10. From *Al-Ummah Magazine*, Number Twenty-two, Second year – (Shawwal 1402 H) August 1982

CHAPTER 2   PAGE 36

ISRAELI NARRATIVE   **Chapter 3**   PALESTINIAN NARRATIVE

From the Six-Day War to the first Intifada

The Six-Day War broke out on June 5, 1967 and ended six days later on June 10.

During the month preceding the war Egypt stationed armored units and troops in the Sinai Desert (in violation of agreements), signed a mutual defense pact with Syria, Jordan and Iraq, while Egyptian President, Jamal Abdul Nasser delivered inciting speeches about going to war with Israel to destroy the Zionist state.

In Israel there was a considerable amount of consternation; the government and the public felt this was an existential threat to the country's existence, unmatched since the War of Independence.

Intifada 1987

Contents

Historical background
* Formative stages of the *Intifada*
* The last months of 1987
* The spontaneous nature of the *Intifada*
* Palestinian *zajal* [popular rhymed folk songs] and the Intifada

This chapter includes:
* Pre-1967 war map
* Statistics of Palestinian casualties during the Intifada (1987-1989)

Fig. 3. Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 36-37

One of the reasons that the columns do not correspond exactly is because the events in history recognized and highlighted by each other's narratives are not always the same. The

participants would not be expected to agree that the other's focus on events reflected their own particular reality. This difference between the two narratives, the differing of weight for different events, and how those differences impact the message of the narrative can be seen in the opening of the two narratives from the first test booklet. The Israeli narrative opens by saying:

> *Zionism*, the Jewish national movement, was born in the 19th century when the ideology embodied in the *Enlightenment* was disseminated in the European Jewish community. These new ideas planted the first seeds of Jewish nationalism; the subsequent birth of Zionism was the result of several factors:..." (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 1, emphasis original)

The Palestinian narrative opens by saying:

> In April 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte put forth a plan for a Jewish state in Palestine. During the siege of Acre he sought to enlist Jewish support in return for which he promised to build the Temple. The project failed after the defeat of Napoleon in the battles of Acre and Abu-Qir. It represents the first post-Renaissance expression of cooperation between a colonialist power and the Jewish people" (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 1).

In these opening sentences, two very different themes are being built. The Israeli narrative is already being established as a national formation story, as a story of a discovery of shared identity seeking a home. The Palestinian narrative is establishing itself from the beginning as a narrative of resistance to colonialism. Not only do the narratives interpret the events through entirely different theoretical lenses, they do not even share the same starting point. The Israeli narrative begins in the nineteenth century with the slow build-up of the Zionist movement, while the Palestinian narrative begins in the eighteenth century with the siege of Acre and Napoleon's campaign in Palestine, an event that is never mentioned in the Israeli narrative. Nor is the Jewish diaspora's experience ever addressed in the Palestinian narrative.

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These thematic and content differences are more apparent when viewed next to each other, and that juxtaposition is one that can encourage the same types of personal revelations that were experienced with the direct contact. Viewing the differences in the physicality of printed text is another way for a reader to come to the realization of what they previously did not know about the other side's narrative.

The test booklets were produced and tested while the direct contact project was ongoing. The first and second test booklets were produced while the teacher-authors were at different points in their mourning process, and this caused changes within the content between the first and second booklets. It is possible to detect an increase in teacher-author cooperation and cohesion by examining the two publications. This increase in cooperation is evident in an increase in the depth with which the narratives are presented, and continues into the classroom by providing more information and context to the reader.

Test Booklet 1

The first test booklet was produced in 2002 and covers the Balfour Declaration, the 1948 war, and the 1980s. At 52 pages in total, the first test booklet is short. The two narratives have somewhat different formats within themselves. The Israeli narrative begins each chapter with a chapter title, a heading, and then text. The Palestinian narrative begins with a chapter title, followed by a guide of the chapter's contents (subheadings, image guide, glossary, references. See fig. 1). Both narratives end each chapter with a glossary of terms, and the Palestinian narrative includes references at the end of each chapter. There are references for the Israeli narrative listed at the end of the last chapter.

The first chapter is 19 pages in length with the Palestinian narrative extending about half a page beyond the Israeli narrative. The Israeli narrative contains three images to the Palestinian one, but the Palestinian image was given its own page within the textbook. The Israeli narrative covered the time from the 1917 issue of the Balfour document to the First White

Paper in 1922. The Palestinian narrative continues through the 1920s with the Palestinian

reactions to the policies discussed, and this portion of the narrative ends in 1929.

The second chapter is 16 pages in length with the Palestinian narrative extending two

pages beyond the Israeli narrative. The Palestinian narrative contains more images: ten to the

Israeli two. The Israeli narrative covered the time from 1945 to the end of their Independence

War in 1949. The Palestinian narrative covered the period from 1947 to 1963.

The third chapter is 15 pages in length with the Israeli narrative extending four pages

beyond the Palestinian narrative. The Israeli narrative contains more images: three to the

Palestinian one. The Israeli narrative covered the Six-Day War in 1967 to the signing of the Oslo

Agreement in 1993. The Palestinian narrative covered the Six-Day War in 1967 to the 1988

Palestinian Declaration of Independence.

In addition to being quite short while covering a lot of history, the language used in the

first booklet employs a sparse and simple style. Descriptions are made abruptly and directly. As

an example, here is an excerpt from the second chapter discussing the Palestinian refugees:

From the Israeli narrative:

Most of the Jewish military and civilian leaders in the land welcomed the flight of the

Arabs for political reasons (that the future Jewish state would include as small an

Arab minority as possible); and for military reasons (to distance a hostile population

from the field of battle). During the course of Plan Daled, Hagana forces began to

deport Arabs. However, not all Arabs were deported and there were no high-level

political orders to do so, although military commanders were given freedom to act as

they saw fit (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's

Historical Narrative" 2003 25).

From the Palestinian narrative:

The catastrophe was the result of continual subjugation, killing, executions, arrests,

exile, and conspiracy—international and Arab—against Palestinians; it was the

accumulation of ignorance, weakness and anarchy within Palestinian society which

had to contend with Zionist bands supported by the British (Peace Research Institute

in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 25).

The style in these two excerpts share a telling-not-showing approach to their narratives. References to the two peoples remain broadly general: Palestinians, Arabs, and Jewish "leaders" which suggests history is being represented with broad strokes with little concern with nuance or details that would flesh out references to, for example, Plan Daled or to the Palestinian Society's contention with Zionist forces. There is a hint of adversarial posturing in the direct, to-the-point style employed by both sides of the dual narrative. The discrepancy apparent in the format of the text along with this blunt style suggests an urgency from both sides early in the project simply to be heard. This sparse style can also be seen in this example, from the third chapter, in which both sides describe the incident that initiated the 1987 Intifada. The Israeli narrative says:

On December 8 1987 an Israeli truck hit a Palestinian car in the Gaza strip, killing four

of its passengers. The Palestinians claimed it was a deliberate attack, and described

it as cold-blooded murder. During the funeral crowds of people stormed the IDF

compound in Gaza and threw rocks (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East

"Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 46).

The Palestinian narrative says:

Just one day before the Intifada erupted, on December 8, 1987, an Israeli truck driver

in Gaza deliberately crashed into an Arab car. Those killed were the first Palestinian

martyrs of the Intifada. After the news spread, huge demonstrations erupted over the

West Bank and Gaza Strip (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning

Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 46).

After these introductions, each narrative goes on to discuss events within the Intifada. Neither narrative provides evidence or further description of their claims of the event being

either accidental or deliberate. While each narrative offers their interpretation of events, there is little in the way of elaboration on significant events. There is somewhat more detail about the events that began the violence in the 1920s.

The Israeli narrative says:

In 1920 the first violent confrontations broke out between the Jews and Arabs in the land of Israel.

The 1920 riots can be divided into two parts: the events at Tel-Hai and those in Jerusalem.

Tel-Hai was a remote settlement in the extreme northern part of the Galilee, some distance from Metulla [the main village in that region]. The settlement had been established in 1918 by members of *Hashomer* [the watchman] an organization whose goal was to take over the security and labor in the Jewish settlements-functions which had primarily been filled by Arabs.

The story of what happened there became the first zionist myth (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 10).

This narrative continues by describing Joseph Trumpledor, a person of significant historical importance. The narrative then proceeds to describe the strategic importance of Tel-Hai:

Due to its isolated position, Tel-Hai had suffered many attacks and the Jewish leadership was split on the question of whether to abandon or defend it. The leaders of the Labor Movement maintained that it must be defended at any price, as the placement of Jewish settlements would be a decisive factor in drawing the future borders of the state. A leader of the Labor Movement said: "If we fear forces stronger than our own, then we should abandon Metulla today, Tiberias tomorrow and then everywhere else" (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 11).

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The narrative then goes on to describe the event, which included the death of Trumpledor (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 12). This is one of the most richly descriptive passages in the first test booklet. The descriptions of the location, reason for its importance, and the the debate among the Jewish leadership are significantly more extensive than descriptions in the other examples. Yet the descriptions are still abbreviated. The description of the goals of the organization *Hashomer*, for example, is extremely brief. In addition, the disputed nature of borders, while touched on, is not elaborated, nor is there a reason why the leaders would believe the placement of settlements would impact those borders.

The Israeli narrative is much more descriptive in its portrayal of the event than the Palestinian narrative. At this point once again the narratives do not recognize the same initiating historical event.

The Palestinian narrative says:

> One of the most important direct Arab reactions in Palestine against Zionism and the schemes of the British occupation in this period was the uprising which started in Jerusalem in 1920 during the celebrations held by Muslims on the feast of the Prophet Moses (Nebi Mussa). While the Muslims were celebrating this holiday, the first bloody disturbances in Palestine took place between April 4-8 in Jerusalem. The traditional event turned into violent demonstrations and clashes between Jews and British police, and several Jews and Arabs were killed or wounded (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 11-12).

This narrative continues after this point by discussing the reactions to the violent demonstrations. As in previous examples, this narrative is light on description or detail regarding how the demonstrations and clashes were instigated, and how they progressed.

The first test booklet is significantly different from the second test booklet. For the most part it is not possible to compare the texts using side-by-side comparison of the same events

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because the two test booklets focus on different historical time periods. However, there is some overlap between the two. The 1920s uprisings are one of those points of overlap where the same historical event can be compared between the test booklets. As such, the beginning of the 1920s uprisings are the first examples in the next section.

Test Booklet 2

The second test booklet was produced in 2004, after an additional two years of contact and classroom testing. It covers the 1920s, the period from 1930 to 1947, and the 1967 war. At 92 pages in total, the second test booklet is much longer than the first. The formats of the narratives appear more like a cohesive whole, rather than as being a text written by completely separate people (see fig. 2). The increasing cohesiveness between the first and second test booklets suggests that the participants of the direct contact workshops were able to come to an agreement about how to structure the individual chapters. This is evidence of their more nuanced understandings of the other side's historical narrative brought about by their participation in direct contact. This has been captured in the text and passed on to readers through the publications.

In this booklet the contents guide that was seen in the Palestinian narrative in the first booklet was removed; both the Israeli and Palestinian narratives begin the same way, with chapters that start with a title and move directly into the text. Each side's narrative ends differently with the Israeli chapters ending with references followed by a glossary of terms, while the Palestinian chapters ending with a glossary followed by references, and then finally footnotes.

The first chapter is 31 pages in length, with the Palestinian narrative extending six pages beyond the Israeli narrative. The Israeli narrative contains seven images to the Palestinian six. The Israeli narrative covered from the beginning of the 1920s to 1930, while the Palestinian narrative covered 1917 to 1930.

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The second chapter is 30 pages in length, with the Israeli narrative extending three and a half pages beyond the Palestinian narrative. The Palestinian narrative contains more images: eleven to the Israeli seven. The Israeli narrative covered 1930 to 1947 with a great deal of focus on what was happening in Europe in World War II, while the Palestinian narrative covered 1929 to 1947 with a strong focus on the happenings within Israel-Palestine.

The third chapter is 24 pages in length, with the Palestinian narrative extending six pages beyond the Israeli narrative. The Palestinian narrative contains more images: six to the Israeli three. Both narratives begin with a background to the 1967 Six-Day War. The Israeli narrative focuses on the positions of major players before, during, and after this war into the 1970s. The Palestinian narrative gives a great deal of attention to the battles within the war, more detail on the position of the Arab world regarding the Palestinian situation, and the condition within the Occupied Territories.

In addition to being longer than the first booklet, this second booklet is much more descriptive in tone and depth than the first one. One direct comparison between the two test booklets is possible when examining the narratives' treatments of the uprisings in 1920. The first test booklet's treatment of this event was explored above. In the second test booklet, the Israeli narrative can be seen here:

> The first violent clashes between Jews and Arabs in the land of Israel broke out in 1920 and were termed the 'incidents of 5680.' They can be divided into two: the events of Tel Chai and the riots in Jerusalem.
>
> Tel Chai was a young, isolated Jewish settlement in the Upper Galilee and the story of the event, which happened there became the first Zionist myth. In 1920, the borders of the British Mandate had yet to be determined. Tel Chai was located in an area disputed by Britain and France and, under these circumstances, suffered attacks by local Arabs. The leaders of the Jewish community were divided on the question of whether to evacuate the isolated settlement or defend it at any price. Some of them

argued that the place should be defended even at the price of human lives, on the

grounds that the future border of the Jewish state would be determined according to

the map of Jewish settlement. Labor leader Aronowicz argued: 'If we're afraid of a

stronger force, then we have to leave Metula today, Tiberias tomorrow, and then other

places' (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical

Narrative" 2006 5).

This narrative then goes on to describe the history of Joseph Trumpeldor, followed

immediately by a description of the event in question.

Although the words are largely the same as was seen in the first test booklet, the order

is different. This provides a different narrative structure, which may result in a greater level of

understanding for an unfamiliar reader. There is added description regarding the disputed

borders, which provides insight into the events that followed. The choice to combine the

information about the location in question into a single paragraph, rather than dividing it as had

been seen in the first test booklet, allows the text to guide the reader to a greater understanding

of the historical and emotional weight of the event. Although the description of the event did not

alter from one test booklet to the next in terms of length, the changes that were made reflect a

greater understanding of how to communicate the narrative.

The Palestinian narrative can be seen here:

Every year the Moslems (*sic*) used to go on a pilgrimage from all parts of Palestine to

the [grave of] Nebi Musa, may he rest in peace, near Jericho. The pilgrimage week

was considered the most important religious folkloristic event of the whole year. On

April 4, 1920 the people of Jerusalem gathered to welcome those from Hebron and

Nablus who, as their custom every year, flooded into Jerusalem on their way to the

grave of Nebi Musa. Musa Qassem al-Husseini, the mayor of Jerusalem, spoke and

fired up the demonstrators. A number of Jews happened to pass by and some of them

spat at the enthused crowd at the Islamic religious ceremony. Emotions burst out,

hatred erupted and the battle between the two sides continued until the evening. This

outbreak resulted in nine Jewish dead and 250 wounded and four Arab martyrs (*sic*)

and 20 wounded (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's

Historical Narrative" 2006 21).

This follows the pattern of an extension of description and depth between the first test

booklet and the second that is seen through the majority of the narratives. This lengthening of

description for different events accounts for much of the reason the second test booklet is so

much longer than the first. As with the Israeli narrative, the additions here are ones that expand

and clarify the event for the readers. The instigating moment is described here is much greater

detail than was presented in the first test booklet. There are numbers of casualties included in

this version as well. These details add to the reader's understanding of the event, regardless of

their previous experiences with the history.

As another example, here is an excerpt from the second chapter of the booklet. Here the

two narratives are discussing the motivations of Palestinians to rise up in the late 1930s:

From the Israeli narrative:

The declared goals of the Palestinians in this struggle were: revocation of the Balfour

Declaration and the Mandate, which, in practical terms, meant revocation of the

cooperation between Britain and the Zionist movement and the *yishuv* in the Land of

Israel; cessation of immigration; halting the sale of lands to Jews and stopping the

settlement of Jews in the Land of Israel. The Arabs demanded establishment of one

state in the areas of the Land of Israel—Palestine: an Arab state (Peace Research

Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2006 40).

From the Palestinian narrative:

The Arabs rejected the partition decision because it signalled the creation of a Jewish

state on pure Arab land and only its owners had the right to establish a modern state

thereon in which the Jews would be represented and their rights preserved. For that

reason there was a rapid and determined Arab reaction—the Revolt entered the second stage, revolutionary actions were renewed in a combination of varied ways and means (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2006 54).

While the narratives are not open to each other, the sharpness and abrupt nature of the descriptions seen in the first booklet is muted, and explanations are more detailed and complex. In the first sentence of the Israeli text, mention of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate are elaborated with more detail and meaning with mention of revocations between the main players. The first sentence in the Palestinian text includes causal analysis after its reference to the Arab rejection of the partition decision with the "because" clause.

For the reader, the greater detail, description, and length provides a superior contact experience whether the reader is exposed to only the one volume, or if the reader is exposed to both test booklets. During a direct contact experience, a participant has the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered immediately. During a contact experience mediated through a medium such as a published book, on the other hand, the text provides the only source to answer questions. The second test booklet, through the greater detail, the description, and the inclusion of such things as the "because" clause, answers more questions for the reader in a single volume. The increased length in the second test booklet provides a greater opportunity for the reader to become accustomed to having the two narratives exist together in the same space. For a reader who has also read the first test booklet, the increase in detail demonstrates the increased cooperation and understanding that resulted from the direct contact writing project, demonstrating the potential for the growth of cooperation, coexistence, and understanding between the two sides.

It could be argued that these changes result from the teacher-authors' greater experience in writing in this format rather than as a result of the direct contact. However, even this argument indicates a greater willingness to work together within the team of authors

between the first test booklet and the second. These teacher-authors are making decisions to include longer descriptions, and to format both narratives in the same way. These are indications of a more cohesive team working on the second test booklet. This cohesiveness suggests that the Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian teacher-authors are thinking of each other as being a part of a unit, and becoming used to working together. This demonstrates, at the least, a willingness to look beyond prejudice in order to create a better publication. More than that, the increasing cohesiveness points to a documented reduction in prejudice between the teachers.

Adwan and Bar-On also noted this reduction in prejudice in the introduction to the second test booklet:

> During the work on the second booklet, teachers on both sides became more sensitive to the other side's concerns and needs without giving up the essence of their own narratives. They were more willing to listen to the other side (*sic*) point of view, and developed the ability to avoid harmful language, help each other in allocating materials to add to their narratives and resources for quotation and documentation purposes (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2006 4).

The increased cohesion and reduction in prejudice experienced by the teacher-authors caused by the conversations during the writing of the test booklets can be seen in the recorded words of these booklets. The progress can be traced through the physical artifacts. Because of this record, there exists the possibility for others to enter the conversation, continue it, and extend it.

Conclusions on Test Booklets

The changes between the two booklets show the progress made by the teachers who were writing them in the years they collaborated on the project. The booklets are a record of that progress. The tone of the writing moves toward a less adversarial note in the second of the two booklets. This, along with the participants' agreement on the use of more richly detailed

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descriptions of events in each other's narratives, speaks to an increasing willingness to at least consider one another's perspective. Adwan and Bar-On's observations about how the teacher-authors moved through what they called the mourning process, and towards greater communication and cooperation can be seen reflected in the booklets' format and style.

Beyond the positive effect the collaborative project had on its participants, the booklets present, in their inclusion of the middle column of blank lines, an invitation to their readers to participate in an extended conversation. The centre column of the booklets are left blank for notes, allowing and even encouraging the audience to interact with the text. It is possible with these booklets for the readers to insert themselves in the conversation implied by the two narratives. This feature of the booklets is one that has attracted a lot of attention from the media (Kashti; Zakai; Jpost Editorial; Kestler-D'Amours; "Israeli Principal Faces Hearing Over Textbook"; Schenk; Jeffay) and makes this dual narrative textbook especially unique. The direct contact that created the books was not the end of the project. Instead of being limited to that time and place, the conversation continues in another form.

The test booklets extend the contact project beyond the workshops that covered the writing process. Using the booklets in the classrooms constituted a different contact project from the writing process, and this project also has tenuous links to track two diplomacy project due to the emphasis on the participants being individuals who will be involved in the policy-making process in the future: the students as the next generation of citizens and, thus, the next generation of leaders (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"; Steinberg and Bar-On 105). The test booklets represent an indirect contact addition to the direct contact writing project. The audience is potentially expanded. The test booklets are intended for distribution to large numbers of people, yet there are also large groups who would not have access to the project in this form. There is a movement towards a parasocial contact element, however there are constraints on the test booklets.

While the intended audience for the test booklets has members from all levels of society, it is only open to access by those who are students. This places constraints on the audience that limits the project's reach. A more significant constraint emerges from Allport's four requirements for a successful contact project. While three of the four requirements are fully met, there is a serious limit placed on the reach of the test booklets due to a lack of support from authority.

The Test Booklets and Allport's Four Points

Judging the test booklets in classroom use against the requirements for a successful contact project, it must be concluded that the potential exists for a positive outcome. However, due to problematic support from authority, the potential this indirect contact project offered to impact the broader Israeli and Palestinian societies was not realized.

Equality Within the Test Booklets

Within the test booklets there are two ways in which equality is achieved. There is equality in the text format, and equality within the educational experience.

In the test booklets the narratives are presented as equal, even though the situation in Israel is far from being so. Having the two narratives presented as equal means that the participants (readers, teachers, students) engaging with the narrative see and relate to both narratives—their own and the other's—on equal terms. Within the test booklets, as within the workshops, equality between the narratives is achieved.

It does not automatically follow that the participants interacting with the text are necessarily equal because of the equal opportunity narrative. Additional steps are taken within the education experience to provide the sense of equality among the participants. In this case the participants are all students who are of equivalent ages. Regardless of where the students are physically located, the similarity of life status and age between all students engaging with

these test booklets can provide a feeling of being on equal ground with other students engaging with the same text.

Cooperation Within the Test Booklets

Establishing a feeling of community and togetherness between geographically separate participants supports the requirement for a cooperative goal.

For all readers there is a common goal upon opening one of these publications. Each reader has the goal of becoming more educated. The books and the reader engage in a cooperative effort where the words on the page provide the knowledge for the reader to consider. In a classroom situation this is magnified. In each classroom, all the present students are also readers of the same text. Each participant is surrounded by many others working towards the goal of education using the same booklets.

In the classroom, the words on the page were enhanced by the facilitation work done by the teacher. Many of the teachers were able to introduce classroom activities that could enhance the cooperative feelings between their own students and students of the other side studying the same text. For example, one teacher provided a letter-writing assignment where each of their students had to write two letters about the current situation: one from an Israeli perspective and one from a Palestinian perspective (Steinberg and Bar-On 110). Assignments of this type assist in reminding students that there are other students who are learning the same information. Despite all the differences between the students, the shared experience of learning through the same text highlights similarities as well.

Non-Superficial Contact Within the Test Booklets

Having a parasocial interaction, as defined in 1956 by Horton and Wohl, means being able to form a community and relationships surrounding a shared media experience without having met anyone else within this community. This relies on the ability of the media to connect with the audience, as Horton and Wohl observed the audience connecting with a television

show by writing letters, some of which were then read out (219-220). Parasocial Interaction allows for the possibility of individual and non-superficial contact to occur indirectly.

In a classroom setting, and with the format of the test booklets, there is a direct mechanism by which the students can interact with the text. The third column on each of the pages allows for students to insert their own thoughts and reflections in a way that inserts them into the pages (Bar-On and Adwan "The PRIME Shared History Project" 312; Steinberg and Bar-On 107). This encouraged personalization of the book inserts the students directly into the text, giving their thoughts the same weight as the two narratives.

Many of the student-participants were extremely interested in whether members of the other side were really learning the same material (Bar-On and Adwan "The PRIME Shared History Project" 315). The interactions with the text, and the curiosity about other students, were facilitated and furthered by questions and directions from the teachers to the students such as "Think about the pupils of the other side who say exactly the same thing about our narrative" that Steinberg and Bar-On recorded (110). The letter-writing assignment mentioned above is another way to prompt students into feeling more personally connected to their counterparts on the other side. These assignments are examples of imagined contact.

Support from Authority Within the Test Booklets

The requirement for authority support for a project is both a mark of success and a problematic point for these textbooks. During the time these test booklets were in use in classrooms there were a number of influences from different types of authorities.

In terms of direct support for the participants that would result in individual level success, there were multiple sources. The student-participants were supported by the teacher-authors who brought these test booklets to the classrooms. The teacher-authors guided the classroom learning, and guided their students as they faced a similar mourning period that the teachers

had experienced (Bar-On and Adwan "The PRIME Shared History Project" 314-315; Adwan and Bar-On "The Dual-Narrative Approach" xi-xv; Steinberg and Bar-On 109-111).

In turn, the teacher-authors received support from the writing project that continued as the test booklets were introduced in classrooms. This included cooperative support from other teacher-authors, as well as support from the co-directors of PRIME. Together, in addition to continuing to write the text, this team also produced Teacher's Guides to support future teachers (Steinberg and Bar-On 109). Some of the teacher-authors were supported by the local school administration, while others were not (Bar-On and Adwan "The PRIME Shared History Project" 315-316).

The Challenges

From an individual level, the indirect contact format of these test booklets provide a high probability of success in its objectives to reduce prejudice and build a potential for dialogue. The audience and influence of the project extends beyond the limits of a project that only employs direct contact. This extension is not, however, limitless. From the perspective societal-level success, this indirect contact format is constrained, and the nature of these constraints need to be understood by future projects examining this format as a model.

As a textbook, the audience for these publications is restricted to students. Targeting youth as the audience has the opportunity to connect to future policy-making decisions by influencing the prejudice of the next generation of leaders. Training a new generation of leaders and strengthening civil society are two of PRIME's objectives ("About PRIME"). This connection to track two diplomacy is present, however these are long-term considerations and any effects would be many years in the future. There is reduced potential for immediate impact on the policy and societal levels.

The location of influence is restrained to the physical place of the school or the classroom. The walls are confining. The intention of the project was for there to be a great

number of interactions with the textbook medium over time, resulting in some of the students who had come into contact with the perspective of the other side through the text to become political and politically connected elites, as well as to exist in all other levels of society (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"). The key to achieving this goal is the ability for these test booklets to be widely used.

The most significant constraint to the booklets becoming widespread came in the question of support from the government level of authority. At no point did this project receive support from the Education Ministries. The project was deliberately under the radar until 2004 when the news of this project reached the Education Ministries. At that time the Israeli Ministry of Education announced that this textbook was forbidden (Steinberg and Bar-On 110).

Although the Education Ministry of the Israeli government forbade the use of the textbook in 2004, the writing process continued as did the classroom testing. In 2010 this became an issue when it was discovered that a High School in Israel was using the textbook in History classes. The principal was called in for a conversation with the Ministry (Baram; Barker; "Israeli Principal Faces Hearing Over Textbook"). The students who used the textbook in history class protested against the Israeli Ministry of Education's ban on the textbook. This protest called the textbook and the Education Ministries' actions to the attention of the international media (Baram; Barker; "Israeli Principal Faces Hearing Over Textbook"; Kashti; "Palestinian Ministry Denies Approving 'Israeli Narrative' Textbook"; Jpost Editorial; Pfeffer). Despite the protest and the international attention, both Israeli and Palestinian Education Ministries confirmed that the textbook was banned from their classrooms. The 2010 ban on the book has ended the hopes for widespread classroom use at the present time.

Chapter 6: Reactions

In October 2010 the Israel Ministry of Education and Culture discovered a high school was using the *Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative* textbook in their history classes. The headmaster of the school was called in to the Israeli Ministry for a conversation. The Israeli Ministry banned the book, and reaffirmed that it had never been approved (Baram; Barker; "Israeli Principal Faces Hearing over Textbook"). The most common reason cited for this ban by the Israeli Ministry was that the word "Nakba"—the Palestinian term for the war in 1948—was not allowed in textbooks (Baram; Zirulnick; Barker; "Israeli Principal Faces Hearing over Textbook"; Mellen).

A minor confrontation ensued as the Israeli Ministry accused the Palestinian Ministry of Education and Higher Education of having approved the project. This was denied by the Palestinian Ministry, and a ban on the textbooks from the Palestinian Ministry of Education and Higher Education quickly followed ("Palestinian Ministry Denies Approving 'Israeli Narrative' Textbook").

The ban on the textbooks from the Education Ministries included a ban on future classroom books of a dual narrative format (Barker; Kashti). In the political climate both of that time and continuing to the present, it is unlikely that this decision will be reversed. This demonstrates the limits of a classroom-based project and emphasises the need for a wider scope.

Having the publications banned from classrooms could have been considered the end of this project and the proclamation of its failure. However, this is not the case. There have been a number of reactions besides the official government ban that lead to hope for the benefit of the dual narrative project to continue.

Student Reactions

As with the individual trajectories of the teacher-authors, the information on how the student-participants were impacted by their exposure to the test booklets in classrooms is anecdotal. The majority of these reports come from the teacher-authors during interviews, or in articles recording the writing process. The teacher-authors talked about the students' desire to learn about the other side, and the capacity of those students to understand and empathize with both perspectives, but also indicated that there was some reluctance or suspicion on the part of the students when the topic was introduced (Steinberg and Bar-On 109-110; "Teachers' Personal Trajectories" 396). The teachers made allowances for students to choose not to participate in classroom discussions regarding the dual narratives (Steinberg and Bar-On 109), and one teacher recalled their students declaring that the use of the dual narrative indicated that the teacher must be Leftist ("Teachers' Personal Trajectories" 396). The recorded reactions from students are largely general impressions rather than specific information on how the exposure to the textbooks impacted their perceptions. The reasons for this are not stated, though it is most likely as protection for those students who participated.

One instance provides information in the students' voices. After the principal of the Israeli school was called to account for the use of the dual narrative textbooks in the school, a group of students from this class protested this ban, arguing in favour of its use in classrooms. This protest was recorded by the Haaretz news source in 2010. One of the students said: "I want to know what the other side is thinking or doing, for better or worse" (Kashti).

The students' reactions to the dual narrative format, both reported by the teacher-authors and reported by the protesting students, contain echoes of the mourning process that the teachers had experienced during the writing. Student claims that the teacher must be Leftist ("Teachers' Personal Trajectories" 396) and that the use of the book reinforced their existing narrative (Kashti) could be indicators that the text may not fulfil its function to reduce prejudice in its audience. With the recorded presence of the mourning period, however, these same

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reactions could also be indicators that the student-participants are at an early stage in that mourning process where they are struggling to relinquish their long-held beliefs (as described in Adwan and Bar-On "The Dual-Narrative Approach" xiii-xv). The willingness and desire to learn the dual narrative that was recorded by both the teachers and the news sources strengthen the likelihood that this second argument is correct. More research directly with the students involved would be required in order to confirm which conclusion is accurate. The impact of the direct contact project was extended into the larger audience of the students, providing a greater opportunity for the positive impacts of contact to move beyond the individual level and into the societal.

Internal and International Media Reactions

The international media was generally positive about the idea of the textbook, enthusiastically discussing the potential of the format both prior to and in the months surrounding the 2010 ban (Croitoru; Schenk; Baram). A great deal of media criticism emerged towards the Israeli government regarding the ban of the textbook. In particular, Ariel Zirulnick used this ban to demonstrate the lack of democracy within the state of Israel. The "fight over textbooks" was number one on the list in the article "Is Israel a Democracy? Five Actions in 2010 That Fueled the Debate." The ban of the *Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative* textbook, and statements made by the Education Minister surrounding that ban, were used as a critique of Israeli democracy, and a demonstration of how the rights of the Arab minority are being challenged (Zirulnick). Jillian Kestler-D'Amours also used the ban to demonstrate the increasingly militaristic nature of Israeli school education. In the article "Militarizing Education in Israeli Schools: Textbooks with Nationalist Themes are Helping Prejudice to Grow in the Classroom, Say Analysts," Kestler-D'Amours demonstrates a number of Israeli Education policies that encourage both extreme nationalism and the production of "good soldiers" (Kestler-D'Amours). The *Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative* test booklets are contrasted with

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other textbooks encouraged to be in use in Israel, and also contrasts the ban of these textbooks against the programs aimed at militarization (Kestler-D'Amours).

In contrast to this criticism, the ban from the government was defended by local media sources. For example, this *Jerusalem Post* editorial takes exception to differences in a definition:

> The textbook presents falsehood as fact.
>
> For instance, in the 'Palestinian narrative,' Zionism is defined as 'an imperialist political movement'...
>
> Zionists may have underestimated the extent of Arab opposition to the creation of a Jewish homeland, but they did not come to Israel with the objective of subjugating and exploiting the Palestinian people (Jpost Editorial).

Whether positive or negative, the attention of the media brought or continued the attention and knowledge of the textbook project to their audiences. Those who had not read the publications themselves had the opportunity to learn about the contact project and how it was being extended. Readers also learned the reasons why the Education Ministries decided to ban the test booklets from classroom use from these news stories.

Factual Errors?

"It is not prohibited to give the perspective of 'the other.' It is prohibited to present that perspective as though they were the facts" (Pfeffer). This statement, made by Education Minister Gideon Saar in October 2010, demonstrates the position that the dual narrative textbooks contained factual errors. The idea of factual errors within the textbook as a justification for banning the books was stated elsewhere as well (Jeffay). In addition to using the uncomfortable word "Nakba," translated as "catastrophe," the book is said to represent bad history. However, the textbook's creation was overseen by history professors and went through a long process of discussion among knowledgeable people before publication. After the level of

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examination the wording of the book was exposed to, it is unlikely that the texts contain factual errors.

If there were easily proven factual inaccuracies within the textbook, ones that were verifiable, the textbook would fail because of these errors. The failure would occur without the Education Ministries' intervention. Instead, the Education Ministries chose to actively ban the use of the textbook. This points to the idea that the ban was not due to a flawed book, but rather a fear or discomfort with something that the dual narrative format represents, and suggests a concern with what different perspectives view as facts.

While protesting the ban of the textbook, one student made a statement that called out the Ministry of Education's arguments for banning the textbook. "'The ministry of education is a coward,' one of the students told *Ha'aretz* newspaper" (Baram). The student's accusation of cowardice is not verifiable, but it is informative. In banning the textbook, the Education Ministries have displayed a certain amount of fear, or at least unease, at what the textbook represents.

The ban by the governments' Education Ministries did remove a key element of authority support for the project. The initial hope to use the dual narrative in classrooms is currently not possible. While the main goal and hope of PRIME's project in creating and publishing a textbook was for that textbook to be used in classrooms, and to be used immediately, it was known that it was a possibility that the textbook would be forbidden and banned. The creators had other hopes for the project, or were willing to be satisfied with more modest outcomes, as they expressed in media interviews at the time of the 2010 ban. Their statements showed that they did not consider the ban to be a sign of their project's failure. "Their priority [Eyal Naveh, one of the authors] said, was to 'show that such an option exists' regardless of whether it sees the light of day" (Jeffay). The creators were also able to express their views on history in relationship to the production of the text: "'We regard history,' [Adwan and Bar-On] wrote, 'as an attempt to build a better future by "looking under every rock" rather than throwing them at each other'" (Zakai).

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Although the current political climate makes a change in policy unlikely, this hope is not without basis. The project itself is prepared for a change that would allow the textbook to reach a larger audience. The textbooks have been published and are physically available in a warehouse (Jeffay). An ordering process is available. If a large distribution request were to occur, the books are ready to be shipped out. The fact that the books exist in the world means that the conversation from the traditional contact project portion of this endeavour is recorded and saved. In addition to the ease by which the mass distribution is possible, this is not the only way to access these texts. The test booklets are available readily and without cost on the Internet, extending their potential to instigate contact to a larger audience. In addition, the existence and example of these publications demonstrates the benefit of using a twinned approach to contact projects.

Additional evidence that factual errors were not a breaking point for these test booklets is that the project continued after the ban from the Education Ministries. A third book that expands on the dual historical narratives has been published since the ban and is available to the general population in print. The possibility that parasocial contact will continue to impact and influence Israeli and Palestinians to consider each other's perspectives is still very real. Combining direct and indirect contact approaches adds value to a single project, and that value can continue significantly after the initial direct contact occurs.

Chapter 7: Reaching Out

The final product from the project is a much larger book, published in 2012. This book, titled *Side by Side: Parallel Histories of Israel-Palestine*, records the shared history of this contested area from the Balfour Declaration to the end of the 1990s/beginning of the 2000s. Including endnotes, glossary, and the teachers' comments that have been quoted earlier, this book is 398 pages in length. There are nine chapters, each focused on approximately one decade. The dual history, and what each narrative focuses on during each time period, can be seen in Appendix 1.

Side by Side is intended for both classroom use and for a wider audience interested in history and in a dual narrative ("Peace Research Institute in the Middle East"). Because it is not restricted to classroom use, the format for this book is different from that of the previous publications. *Side by Side* is formatted vertically. Rather than the three-column per page format of the text booklets this book employs a "mirror image" narrative format. Facing pages hold different narratives. The Israeli narrative is on the left, with its narrative on all the even numbered pages. The Palestinian narrative is on the right, with its narrative on all the odd numbered pages. As in the test booklets, the pages do not match event for event, so it is necessary to read the narratives one after the other, chapter by chapter. While the test booklets were constrained by the walls of the classroom, the student identity of the readers, and the emphasis on guided reading, the *Side by Side* publication's design opens to the possibility of unguided reading and a wider audience. This extends the limits of the contact benefit even further, and makes it more likely that audience members will include both the Israeli and Palestinian general population as well as members of the policy-making elite.

The language and depth of description reflect the further growth of cooperation between the participants in the years since the second test booklet, and experienced by the reader. Both narratives are still very focused on their own perspective of events, but there is more

acknowledgement of the other's narrative apparent within the individual histories. For example, the Palestinian narrative acknowledges the Holocaust:

> The Palestinians were convinced that there was no reason for them to pay for the tribulations and torture that the Jews suffered at the hands of the Christians in Europe, which in fact amounted to a serious crime against humanity (Adwan et al 105,107).

The Israeli narrative acknowledged the challenges faced by Palestinians who had not become refugees after the 1948 war:

> The Jewish majority viewed them with suspicion and discriminated against them, making them feel like strangers in their own land (Adwan et al 172).

The Israeli narrative goes on to speak at length about the Israeli-Palestinian population joining the Jewish-Israeli society in ways such as by participating in the workforce, running for public office, and sending their children to public schools to learn Hebrew (Adwan et al 174).

While these acknowledgements of each other may seem small it is still a recognition that was not present in prior work. Given that the wording of the text was agreed upon through negotiation among the teacher-authors, this change constitutes a record of the growth of respect and understanding between the teacher-authors for the narrative of the other side.

More than being a record of prejudice-reduction at the individual level for the teacher-authors, the text in this book provides a point of potential contact between the two sides for individuals who were not involved in either the writing or testing process. The same way many of the teacher-authors began their direct contact process with no prior personal experience of interacting with individuals from the other side, this text might be the first exposure readers have with a perspective of the other. Each Israeli and Palestinian reader will be faced with a challenge to their historical narrative and will likely undergo the mourning process that the teacher-authors experienced. Unlike the teacher-authors, the individual readers would not have

the benefit of direct interaction with other people to assist their journey through that mourning process. They must rely entirely on the media artifact.

Interactions between Text and Reader

Learning to "...give up those parts of one's narrative which are essential to maintaining a negative and morally inferior collective image of the other…" (Adwan and Bar-On "The Dual-Narrative Approach" xiii) involves coming face-to-face with a different narrative than the one the reader is used to, which can feel like an attack on his or her viewpoint. The reduction of such negative reactions to the Other is the primary objective of the equalized presentation of the two narratives. Having the two narratives presented as equal means that the readers engaging with the narrative see and relate to both narratives—their own and the other's—on equal terms. The perception of the other side's narrative as propaganda can be countered by how the text presents both sides of the narrative: if one is propaganda then so is the other, regardless of which narrative that may be. With equality being shown within the publication document it becomes easier to comprehend how the other side may view the reader's narrative.

The length of the *Side by Side* book is another strength in the format. As with the teacher-authors, it can be expected that most readers will take time to go through the mourning process. A change in mindset cannot happen instantly. Using over 300 pages to move through the narratives provides time for the reader to become accustomed to having the narratives printed together. Where the teacher-authors had time over multiple interactions, a lengthy book offers time over multiple chapters and pages.

One criticism of the test booklets was that the narratives did not expand on the connections between events, or provide detailed explanation for why events occurred (Zakai). The additional length of the *Side by Side* publication means that there is more opportunity for each narrative to provide that explanation. It is a significant contrast to the blunt tone from the first test booklet. For example in the first test booklet the Israeli narrative begins:

Zionism, the Jewish national movement, was born in the 19th century when the ideology embodied in the Enlightenment was disseminated in the European Jewish community. These new ideas planted the first seeds of Jewish nationalism; the subsequent birth of Zionism was the result of several factors…" (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 1).

In *Side by Side* the Israeli narrative begins:

Until the nineteenth century, most Jews lived in the Diaspora. There were approximately 8 million Jews at that time, the majority of them in Eastern Europe. There were only some 24 000 Jews living in the Land of Israel. Ever since they were exiled by the Romans in the first and second centuries, the Jews had kept alive the hope of returning to their land, although we cannot point to any significant actions taken to realize that dream. The change began in the nineteenth century with the birth of the Zionist movement, which aspired to return the Jewish people to its homeland.

The Jewish national movement was born in the nineteenth century, during a period when contemporary ideas of nationalism and the Enlightenment were reaching the Jewish communities of Europe. The Jews began to see themselves as a nation, desiring and deserving of a country of their own. What were the origins of the Zionist movement? (Adwan et al 2)

The Israeli narrative begins at the same historical moment in both versions. The *Side by Side* version lengthens the passage by including historical context for the event. The first test booklet presents the fact of the event, while the *Side by Side* version situates the event within history. The addition of the reason as to why the Jewish people were located in Europe provides an avenue for understanding the Zionist motivations for a Palestinian reader who has little or no background in the Jewish-Israeli history.

Between the first test booklet and the *Side by Side* book, the beginning of the Palestinian narrative remains largely the same in content with changes in language that alter the tone. The word choices developed in *Side by Side* help clarify the details and intention of the narrative even though the presentation of events over the first few pages remain consistent from the earliest publication to the latest. As the first chapter progresses, though, the Palestinian narrative also expands on the events, providing additional context, description, and detail. In discussing the implications of the Balfour Document on Palestinians the first test booklet says:

> This document crowned the efforts of the Zionist-British team under the leadership of Chaim Weizmann whereby British granted a land she did not possess (Palestine) to a group who did not own it (the Zionists) at the expense of those who did possess and deserve it (the Palestinian-Arab people who formed more than 90% of the population). This led to usurping a homeland and making an entire people homeless in an unprecedented manner. What is noteworthy is that Britain committed this crime before her armies even arrived in Jerusalem (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" 2003 8)

In the *Side by Side* textbook the analysis of the same situation reads like this:

> This unholy relationship between British colonialism and the colonialist Zionist movement came at the expense of the people of Palestine and the future of an entire Arab nation. It was the culmination of the efforts of the Zionist-British team under the leadership of Chaim Weizmann whereby Britain granted a land it did not possess (Palestine) to a group who did not own it (the Zionists) at the expense of those who possessed and had the right to it. Ironically, Britain committed this crime even before its armies touched the land of Palestine. …
>
> The declaration was unjust because it ignored the rights of the Palestinians, who comprised a majority of the population, as if they were non existent. By stipulating that 'nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of

existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine,' the declaration clearly implied that

the Arabs were a minority in Palestine, at a time when the Jewish population was the

minority and comprised less than 10 percent of the total population (60,000 Jews

compared to over 650,000 Arabs).

A closer examination of the declaration would indicate that it made no mention of

inalienable political rights of the Palestinians. Instead it merely mentioned the civil

and religious rights of Palestinians, which is evidence enough that Britain had no

intention of developing the country so as to establish an Arab Palestinian

government (Adwan et al 11, 13).

The *Side by Side* version of this analysis is significantly longer due to the inclusion of

additional information. The analysis' use of quotations from the Balfour Declaration to

demonstrate the reasons for their opposition to the event helps a Jewish-Israeli reader who has

no background in Palestinian history to understand these reasons.

In both these cases, the addition of detail, description, and length to the narratives

assists in building connections across the page. The shorter passages in the test booklets

communicated the core of each perspective, and would be understood by members of that

community. The longer and more detailed passages in this final publication reach for

understanding not only from their own members, but from those across the page as well.

In both the Israeli and the Palestinian narratives, the inclusion of detail and context

position their perspectives in a way that allows a previously unknowledgeable reader to have

access to understanding. Both the length and depth of the narrative in the *Side by Side* book

allow readers time to engage with the narrative, providing the time to consider the perspective

that is presented. The context provided has the benefit of providing readers information to

explore outside of this book if, in the process of reading the dual narratives, a reader wishes to

verify the information provided through outside sources. The detail also permits a relationship

between a reader and the two narratives to grow, resulting in the sense of contact even without

interactions with other people. The contact that began in 2002 is once again inviting a new audience to join the conversation. The limits to this format have not been reached.

Having a parasocial relationship, as defined in 1956 by Horton and Wohl, means being able to form a community and relationships surrounding a shared media experience without having met anyone else within this community. This relies on the ability of the media to connect with the audience, as Horton and Wohl observed the television and radio audiences connecting with their preferred shows by writing letters, some of which were then read out (220).

As *Side by Side* is not fictional, the mechanism by which people develop a relationship with a character such as Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes saw with *Will and Grace*, or as Vezzali et al saw with *Harry Potter* is not available. Instead, the emotional connection that deepens the relationship between the reader and the narratives must come from the text. The detail and context assist that process, but in order to create empathy for the peoples represented through both narratives the *Side by Side* book uses other means as well. One source for such a connection is in the use of poetry within the narratives, such as this one from the Israeli narrative:

> How the cisterns have dried out, the market-place is empty,
>
> and no one frequents the Temple Mount in the Old City.
>
> And in the caves on the mountain winds are howling
>
> and no one goes down to the Dead Sea by way of Jericho.
>
> Jerusalem of gold, and of copper and of light
>
> Behold I am a violin for all your songs. (Adwan et al 202).

Or this one from the Palestinian narrative:

> My homeland!
>
> How kind and compassionate

Oh Mother, when I die,

Bury me in my homeland under the shadow of an olive tree. (Adwan et al 171).

Both of these poems depict a yearning for a place, and were written to convey that yearning. Each poem was written for an audience of their own background, they were not written for this book. The decision was made by the participants to record these poet's words here. Their inclusion into the history book can help build that emotional connection between the words and the readers of both the sympathetic and opposing sides. The poetry and art within the publication are an attempt to invoke the emotional responses not only for their own side, but also for readers across the page.

Book as Mass Media

When *Side by Side* was published, the ban on the *Learning Each Other's Narratives* textbooks had already been established. The constraint of the textbooks' reliance on approval by the Education Ministries had been realized and it was no longer possible to reach a mass audience through the classroom. The direct contact project had been successful, and even the indirect contact portion had seen some success. The costly contact workshops had reached a much larger audience than a single direct contact project alone could. However the project and its prejudice-reducing potential in its original conception would no longer spread. In order to continue reaching out with this contact project, PRIME released the book to a larger audience. *Side by Side* is available for purchase by private citizens either in single copies or in bulk (*Peace Research Institute in the Middle East*). The decision to make the publication available to the public meant that the Education Ministries did not have the power to regulate it. More than that, though, this decision moves this project into a parasocial contact project. By making the book available to people regardless of student status, the shift has been made into a mass media artifact.

In a case such as Israel-Palestine where there are barriers to physical movement by people, a media artifact such as *Side by Side* has greater potential to be transported. It is possible for a book to reach individuals who are not able to participate in direct contact due to those physical barriers.

The spread of the contact benefit, as with all media artifacts, is limited by the interests of potential readers. A strength of classroom use that does not have a similar outcome outside the classroom is that students who would not seek out contact have the same classroom experience along with those who would choose it. Outside the classroom the readers have the option to engage. However, it may be more likely that those who would not participate in a direct contact project may be more willing to engage with other media. In instances where loyalty would be questioned by talking directly to an individual from the other side, a person may be freer to engage with a book. Individuals such as the teacher-author whose family member had his kiosk destroyed may feel better able to continue learning about the different perspectives through means other than direct contact. Additionally, there is a potential for parasocial approaches to engage individuals who are not regularly supportive of the peace movement and would not be inclined to participate in direct contact. Further research is needed to establish the best approach to engage reluctant participants.

Side by Side exists and is available to people now. A hope is that it will continue to be read, and will be read widely. It is possible that in the future there will be opportunities for the dual narrative to return to classrooms to influence the next generation of leaders. With the experience of contact in a media artifact available for classroom use or for reading outside of the classroom, the opportunity exists to communicate the same information to individuals at the grassroots level as well as those involved in policymaking. The hope also exists that the peace movement will take note of the parasocial contact possibility, and that there will be more projects that extend the limits of direct contact and track two diplomacy in the future. In this way it is possible to close the gap between bottom-up and top-down approaches, and create a

societal atmosphere open to negotiation. With an atmosphere encouraging contact and discussion, it increases the possibility for more workable ideas for peacebuilding to emerge.

Conclusion

As in the video project "Abraham Abraham Sarah Sarah," the textbook project that PRIME undertook highlighted how different sides in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can overlap and share space with each other without necessitating complete agreement. The worship space in "Abraham Abraham Sarah Sarah" is altered for two different forms of worship, and the historical narratives in the textbook project share a single book while relating different perspectives on historical events. In both film and text media the two perspectives rarely address each other. Without contrasting the two narratives there would be very little evidence of the existence of another perspective. When the contrast is presented in a shared way, the existence of both narratives must be acknowledged. The perspectives have been brought into physical contact with each other, and the audience is brought into contact with both. Importantly, in both cases, it is not necessary for individuals holding the two perspectives to be present in order for the audience to be impacted by the contact. While the audience for "Abraham Abraham Sarah Sarah" is limited to galleries and museums that have the facilities to show such a project, the contact resulting from a text-based project has the potential to reach many more people.

PRIME's project is an excellent example illustrating how contact can be extended, taking a direct contact project and lengthening it into indirect and parasocial avenues. This project also provides an example of how to bridge the efforts of the grassroots contact hypothesis projects and the top-down track two diplomacy projects. Both of these efforts involve bringing conflicting perspectives into contact, but the audience and the goals are different. While the grassroots projects focus on lowering prejudice on the individual level within the general population, the top-down projects focus on moving efforts into the societal, policy level by focusing on the elites

of the population. For a successful peace process all these audiences and goals are necessary, but the effort must be brought together. The textbook project presents a medium through which that coordination can be achieved through extending the limits of both. The text-based artifact creates contact between the conflicting perspectives in a way that answers the goals and can be used in both grassroots and top-down spheres.

When the "Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative" project started in 2002, the initial goal was to create a bridge between the perspectives within classrooms. The teacher-authors worked in both uninational and binational groups to create textbooks for their own and each other's students. Though this initial vision was altered over the course of the project, the hope and optimism the teachers felt during the project has not been lost.

The test booklets, through the translations into Italian, French, German, and Spanish, have been taught in European classrooms. These classes use the text not only as a way to learn Israeli-Palestinian history, but also to assist in generating empathy in communities with growing Muslim populations (Steinberg and Bar-On 111). The use of the textbook shows direct support for the project from international authorities who are willing to teach the text in their own countries.

The process of writing the text was anything but simple. As the group as a whole discussed the narratives, there was disagreement about what was being portrayed. The disagreement, negotiation, and agreement is preserved and expressed in the final product. The textbook artifact records the results of the growing cooperation and understanding between the teacher-authors, and provides a way for these conversations, discussions, and even arguments to continue to take place.

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This particular project cannot be considered a complete success. While the direct contact project portion was an overwhelming success, the indirect contact of classroom use was unable to fulfill projected goals due to a lack of support from the government authority. Yet it cannot be considered a failure as a project because of this. PRIME established six goals for the project to meet: teacher participation throughout the project, consensus on publication text, prejudice reduction among the student-participants, development of teacher training materials, positive comments from all participants, and interest in expanding into additional schools. Of these six markers for success, half of them were achieved with the direct contact project. Of the final three, only one can be said to have been prevented by the Education Ministries: "Documentation of more open and tolerant attitudes among students introduced to the shared history booklet as compared to those who use traditional history texts" (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"). There has been no opportunity to conduct a comparative study to establish how the textbook impacted prejudice among the student-participants.

The final marker for the success of the project as a whole was "Interest among conference participants (and others not involved in the development project) in expanding use of the shared history booklet in more Israeli and Palestinian schools" (Adwan and Bar-On "'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative' in Israeli and Palestinian Schools"). While the expansion has not been into additional Israeli or Palestinian schools, there has been a great deal of interest not only from the participants but from others regarding the use of this textbook. PRIME won recognition in the form of awards and media recognition for their work on the textbook ("Dan Bar-On and Sami Adwan Awarded Inaugural Goldberg IIE Prize"). While the book is not being spread in Israel-Palestine at the moment, it has been used in classrooms internationally (Steinberg and Bar-On 111-12). Possibly the most significant expansion of the project has been in the *Side by Side* book emerging from the constraints of the classroom and

into the mass media arena. Even though the Education Ministries acted against the project as a textbook, the project itself survived.

Despite the lack of empirical testing of the impact the publications had on their audiences, this study represents an increase in the understanding of parasocial contact's potential in the peacebuilding world. The dual narrative project demonstrates the possibility and potential for alternate methods of contact, which provide additional theoretical tools when face-to-face interactions are difficult. The limits of contact hypothesis and track two diplomacy are extended through wider audiences. These wider audiences assist the transition of a single undertaking from individual benefit to a societal benefit. The bottom-up and top-down efforts are thus able to come together.

The situation within Israel-Palestine is such that one way or another contact will have to happen. For hope of any form of resolution in the future there needs to be discussion, negotiation, argument, and eventual understanding. It does not matter what form this resolution takes; in order for it to occur support from both the individual level and the societal level will be necessary and, therefore, contact will be necessary. Divorcing the need for guided prejudice reduction from a need for direct physical contact means that even with the physical separation of the peoples there are ways to address the psychological and political barriers. PRIME's dual narrative project is ready whenever conditions allow for this conversation to be heard more widely.

Other projects can look to PRIME's example and learn from the successes, difficulties, and failures that were encountered. Future projects both in Israel-Palestine and elsewhere will be able to build upon the lessons learned from this one. Other forms of mass media can be utilized, including new media forms such as blogs, vlogs, and online discussion forums. Hopefully research will occur in the future that will determine how the parasocial contact project impacts the individuals who engage with a dual narrative format. Given that the requirements for a successful contact project are present within the media artifact, contact hypothesis suggests

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that there will be some impact on those who engage with it. This project's existence is hopeful for Israel-Palestine.

The impact of this project and this unique format does not have to be limited to Israel-Palestine. While this case can only comment on its usefulness within the context of the place it was intended for, there is a possibility that a dual narrative format would be productive in other areas where there exists conflict and tension between identity groups.

The future of this project is uncertain. The potential is there for either these publications, or other projects based on this work, to provide positive societal results and continue the individual success. People need to read the books in order to overcome the many barriers blocking the process towards a peaceful solution. The ultimate success of this project requires a large audience from all levels of society. The probability that the textbook will have a positive impact is high. The vital question now is to discover a channel of possibility for these publications, and future projects based on their example, to reach their audience.

Future primary research projects on this approach, whether with these publications or through a different project, could potentially find answers to the question of distribution. Locating possible methods to spread the contact contained in these publications will provide a new tool for peacebuilders both within Israel-Palestine and throughout the world.

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Appendix 1

The Chapters of *Side by Side*: Comparing Headings and Page Numbers

Chapter 1		
	Israeli Text	**Palestinian Text**
Chapter Title	**FROM THE BALFOUR DECLARATION TO THE BRITISH MANDATE IN PALESTINE/*ERETZ YISRAEL***	**THE BALFOUR DECLARATION, 2 NOVEMBER 1917**
# Pages	p. 2-24 12 pages	p.3-25 12 pages
# Images	2	3
HEADINGS and Subheadings (# pages)	BIRTH OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT (p. 2-8, 4 pages)	HISTORICAL PREFACE (p. 3-5, 2 pages)
		PARTITIONING OF THE ARAB EAST (p. 5-9, 3 pages)
	THE BALFOUR DECLARATION (p. 8-16, 5 pages)	THE BALFOUR DECLARATION (p. 9-13, 3 pages)
		ARRIVAL OF THE ZIONIST MISSION IN PALESTINE AND ARAB REACTION (p. 13-17, 3 pages)
		REALIZATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION (p. 17-21, 3 pages)
	CLASHES BETWEEN ARABS AND JEWS: THE 1920 RIOTS (p. 18-22, 3 pages)	
		ONSET OF PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE AND POPULAR UPRISINGS (p. 21-23, 2 pages)
	CONCLUSION (p. 22-24, 2 pages)	APRIL UPRISING (p.23-25, 2 pages)
		CONCLUSION (p. 25, 1 page)

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3" align="center">Chapter 2</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td align="center">Israeli Text</td><td align="center">Palestinian Text</td></tr>
<tr><td>Chapter Title</td><td>THE LAND OF ISRAEL AND THE YISHUV IN THE 1920S</td><td>PALESTINE IN THE 1920S</td></tr>
<tr><td># Pages</td><td>p.26-66
21 pages</td><td>p. 27-67
21 pages</td></tr>
<tr><td># Images</td><td>14</td><td>6</td></tr>
<tr><td>HEADINGS and Subheadings (# pages)</td><td>BRITISH POLICY IN PALESTINE "BALANCED COMMITMENTS" (p.26-34, 5 pages)</td><td>BRITAIN AND THE JEWS (p.27-33, 4 pages)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>1921 UPRISING IN JAFFA (p. 33-37, 3 pages)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>1922-1929: "THE SEVEN GOOD YEARS" (p. 34-36, 2 pages)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>DEVELOPMENT OF THE JEWISH ECONOMY AND HEBREW CULTURE (p. 36-40, 3 pages)</td><td>THE FIRST WHITE PAPER (CHURCHILL'S MEMORANDUM) (p. 37-41, 3 pages)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>NEW COMMUNITIES, SOME OF A NEW KIND ALTOGETHER (p. 40-44, 3 pages)</td><td>THE YEARS OF CALM AND STABILITY (1923-1929) (p.41, 1 page)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN PALESTINE (p.41-45, 3 pages)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>INSTITUTIONAL LEADERSHIP AND POLITICAL PARTIES (p. 44-52, 5 pages)</td><td>THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN PALESTINE (p. 45-53, 5 pages)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>EDUCATION UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE (p. 53-57, 3 pages)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>PALESTINIAN ARAB SOCIETY FORGES A NATIONAL IDENTITY (p. 54, 1 page)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>CONFRONTATION BETWEEN ARABS AND JEWS: THE 1929 RIOTS (p. 56-62, 4 pages)</td><td>AL-BURAQ REVOLT, 1929 (p. 57-67, 6 pages)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>THE PASSFIELD WHITE PAPER: THE BRITISH RENEGE ON THEIR COMMITMENTS</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

| | (p. 62, 1 page) | |
| | CONCLUSION
(p. 62-66, 3 pages) | |

Chapter 3		
	Israeli Text	**Palestinian Text**
Chapter Title	**THE LAND OF ISRAEL BETWEEN 1931 AND 1947**	**THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT: THE 1930S AND 1940S**
# Pages	p. 68-106 20 pages	p. 69-107 20 pages
# Images	8	11
HEADINGS and Subheadings (# pages)	THE 1930S: PEAK YEARS FOR THE "STATE IN THE MAKING" (p. 68-72, 3 pages)	BRITISH POLICY BETWEEN THE WHITE PAPER AND THE BLACK PAPER (p. 69-73, 3 pages)
	THE ARAB REVOLT: THE RIOTS OF 1936-1939 (p.72-84, 7 pages)	THE 1933 UPRISING (p. 73-77, 3 pages)
	The Riots of 1936 and the Peel Commission's Partition Plan	
	The British Response to the Revolt	
	The Jewish Response to the Riots	AL-QASSAM REVOLT (1935) (p. 79-81, 2 pages)
		THE GREAT PALESTINIAN REVOLT (1936) (p.81-87, 4 pages)
	Jews in Nazi Germany, 1933-1939	
	The Third White Paper: Betrayal	
	1939-1945: WORLD WAR II AND THE HOLOCAUST OF EUROPE'S JEWS (p. 84-92, 5 pages)	
	Jews are Moved into the Ghettos	OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLT (p. 87-93, 4 pages)
	"The Final Solution"	
	THE *YISHUV* DURING WWII: COOPERATION AND STRUGGLE	ARAB MEDIATION AND THE PEEL ROYAL COMMISSION

	(p.92-98, 4 pages)	(p.93-95, 2 pages)
	Cooperation	
	Opposition to the British	FROM THE WHITE PAPER (1939) TO *AL-NAKBAH* (1948) (p.97-107, 6 pages)
	1945-1947: THE STRUGGLE TO ESTABLISH THE STATE (p. 98-106, 5 pages)	
	Uniting to Fight the British	
	The Battle over the Aliyah Heats Up	
	The United Nations Debate	

Chapter 4		
	Israeli Text	**Palestinian Text**
Chapter Title	**THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL**	***AL-NAKBAH*, 1948**
# Pages	p. 108-132 13 pages	p. 109-133 13 pages
# Images	2	6
HEADINGS and Subheadings (# pages)	"CIVIL WAR" BETWEEN THE PALESTINIAN ARABS AND THE JEWISH *YISHUV* (p. 112-116, 3 pages)	PALESTINE AND THE 1947 PARTITION PLAN (p. 113-115, 2 pages)
		EVENTS UNTIL THE PERMANENT ARMISTICE (p.115-119, 3 pages)
	PLAN DALET (PLAN D) (p. 116-118, 2 pages)	
	ARAB REFUGEES (p. 118-120, 2 pages)	EVENTS OF THE 1948 *AL-NAKBAH*: EYEWITNESS REPORTS (p.119-127, 5 pages)
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