

Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict: Representations of Arabs in Israeli Jewish Society

Daniel Bar-Tal and Yona Teichman

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During the last twenty years, a discernible increase in the analysis of stereotypes and the role they assume during conflicts has occurred, with significant interest emanating from the field of social psychology. For the authors of *Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict: Representations of Arabs in Israeli Jewish Society*, years of research have culminated in a publication that unflinchingly explores such diverse topics as delegitimization tactics and unity as well as the development of perceptions among pre-schoolers.

Daniel Bar-Tal, a professor in Tel Aviv University's Psychology Department, is the author of several notable works on the issue, including *Social Psychology of Intergroup Conflict* (Springer-Verlag: 1998) and *How Children Understand War and Peace* (Jossey Bass: 1999). Likewise, Yona Teichman, a clinical psychologist at Tel Aviv University, brings a level of expertise honed from extensive research on the development and application of an implicit, free-response measure of social representations based on the systematic analysis of human figure drawings. Through this dynamic, they strive to contribute to future peace endeavors by prompting the critical analysis of one's own society and the processes that impede conflict resolution, while encouraging new perspectives that will end the violent cycles that sustain conflict.

From a strong opening chapter, the authors negotiate through twelve chapters adeptly, the most notable of which include chapter 4, "Representation of Arabs in Public Discourse"; chapter 5, "Representation of Arabs in School Textbooks"; and chapter 10, "Studies with Schoolchildren, Adolescents, and Young Adults." All of these chapters are supported by a plethora of tables comprising generalization, characterization, and negativity; color

plates by the children and adolescents surveyed depicting delegitimization, gender, and traditionalism as well as figures on the formation of stereotypes and prejudice; discrepancies between Jewish and Arab images; and delegitimization during intractable conflict.

Introducing the concept of the “psychological intergroup repertoire,” a theme that is explored throughout the book, chapter 1, “The Psychological Basis of International Relations,” addresses the special influence that stereotypes and prejudice bring to bear on psychological functioning. In addition to the numerous theories that rationalize the formation of stereotypic contents and prejudice, the chapter dedicates particular attention to the nature of intergroup relations as an important basis for the evolving psychological intergroup repertoire. Generally viewed as a harmful element in society, the authors explore the positive and negative aspects of stereotypes. Though destructive and polarizing, stereotypes can, conversely, satisfy the needs of individuals and groups for simplicity and order while reflecting the necessity to make better than random decisions at a minimum information cost, often under the pressures of time. Moreover, “stereotypes allow an understanding of the other groups by attributing to them traits, intentions, goals, dispositions, or capabilities. Friendly intergroup relations yield information about positive characteristics of the outgroup” (p. 35). In such a manner, then, one can comprehend the association between the power of stereotypes and the political climate and its collective influence on the repertoire between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

The evolution of the Arab image within the Israeli consciousness is traced through pre-state literature for children and adults via school textbooks and drama, the mainstream of which presented Arabs “in a romantic way at best, but mostly as enemies who could not comprehend Jewish aspirations and who violently opposed the return of the Jews to their homeland” (p. 206). In the aftermath of the state’s foundation, the Palestinian population endured the negative metaphors that portrayed them as a depersonalized, undifferentiated, and threatening entity. The metaphors, though of little interest to the writers, frequently served as ruses through which the promulgation of the Jews’ problems and concerns could be channelled to readers and audiences and, in turn, stoke pre-existing negative stereotypes and delegitimization.

By the 1970s, however, the tide of representation shifted and the Palestinians increasingly came to be represented differently: as individuals with complex and multidimensional personalities who had experienced suffering because of the Israelis. This change brought with it a personalization and a differentiation within the images of Arabs and finally provided a voice for the peace camp, as writers, playwrights, and film makers prompted their

readers and audiences to consider critically how the various authorities treat the country's Arab citizens.

The author's indication that the peace treaties with Egypt (1979) and Jordan (1994) as well as the two Palestinian uprisings presented a catalyst to which the arts world responded by revolutionizing the perception of Palestinians is debatable. As Tamar Liebes notes in *Reporting the Arab-Israeli Conflict: How Hegemony Works* (Routledge: 1997), the positive portrayal of Palestinians in films is witnessed "only rarely, and even then to an audience which is self-selected, with a relatively high level of education, and a special interest in being exposed to an image which could arouse cognitive dissonance" (p. 134). Thus, as over 70 percent of the population continues to perceive the Palestinians through often delegitimizing television news reports, the cinema's role in quashing stereotypes is nullified.

It is with great irony, moreover, that the publication's second flaw should emerge amidst its enlightening chapters. In what should be lauded as a complex triumph, chapter 3, "The Context: The Arab-Israeli Intractable Conflict," smacks of inconsistencies as it blunders through a history of the Arab-Israeli conflict omitting the demeritorious activities exacted by the Israeli government and military, choosing instead to dwell upon the Palestinians' actions. The tangible absence of an Arab perspective on the events is sorely missed, while the language employed virtually perpetuates the delegitimization that is the subject of the study. For example, a typical account informs the readers that "the Palestinian leadership initiated the 'terror Intifada' in September 2000, supposedly because of the visit to the Temple Mount by the Israeli opposition's head Ariel Sharon" (p. 115). While such events are open to interpretation, as an introduction to the conflict the chapter holds too little neutrality to be extolled.

The publication's real virtue lies in the authors' ability to demonstrate the evolution of a negative psychological intergroup repertoire about the rival in the course of a long process. That the experiences of intractable conflict assume a significant role in this process is clear; yet other mechanisms, such as the views expressed by leaders as well as information and analyses presented in the media, equally strengthen the developing repertoire and maintain it through the years. The need for change to emanate not only from the people but also from the leaders is strongly reinforced in subsequent chapters, which enables the publication to recover its position as a commendable evaluation of the role of prejudice and stereotype in conflicts.

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