

Predicting Peace

The Social Cohesion
and Reconciliation Index
as a Tool for Conflict
Transformation

2nd Edition





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Reconciliation Index as a Tool
for Conflict Transformation
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www.scoreforpeace.org

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The Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD)

is a peace-building think tank. SeeD uses participatory research to make effective and sustainable policy recommendations that seek to support informed decision-making, based on the values of inclusivity, accountability and democracy. SeeD specializes in the development of innovative quantitative methodologies for use in peace-building contexts such as Participatory Polling (a synthesis of Public Policy Polling with Participatory Action Research) and the Social Cohesion and Reconciliation Index, which seeks to understand the underlying social dynamics of conflict and its transformation. SeeD grew out of the **Cyprus 2015 project**, and was designed to build bridges between public opinion and policy makers involved in the Cyprus peace process. It was implemented by Interpeace and supported by the UNDP-ACT programme.

The United Nations Development Programme supports peace-building efforts in Cyprus through the Action for Cooperation and Trust programme. Over the past decade, UNDP-ACT has helped to create opportunities for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to experience the benefits of inter-communal collaboration. It aimed to do this by supporting projects designed to foster cooperation in business, the media, education, and cultural heritage. It also supported inter-communal programmes targeting civil society development, protection of the natural environment and young people. The Social Cohesion and Reconciliation Index was one such project which UNDP-ACT funded in the period 2012 to 2015, and the results are intended to help organisations and citizens play an informed role in the Cyprus peace process.

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Preface

The Social Cohesion and Reconciliation index (SCORE) was developed as part of the UNDP and USAID funded peace-building programme in Cyprus, Action for Cooperation and Trust. Although the SCORE Index was initially designed to help Cypriot decision-makers and peace activists better understand the dynamics of conflict on the island, it was quickly adopted by development agencies in other countries; between 2013 and 2015 the SCORE index was rolled out in Cyprus, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Nepal. One reason for this wider interest was the potential of the index to identify precise entry points for peace-building projects. The index has also demonstrated an ability to identify those indicators which predict societal trends, as well as providing the basis for evidence-based policy recommendations to decision-makers responsible for managing processes of reconciliation.

This book is intended as a resource for peace and development practitioners. To this end, we explain how the SCORE index, which began life as a tool for measuring peace, has evolved into an instrument which can provide predictive outcomes to be used in addressing the structure of conflict. We believe these outcomes can be translated into nationally owned conflict-transformation programmes, and can inform policy decisions. With such an ambitious goal, it is important to state from the outset how we see the index contributing to the existing theory and practice in the field of peace-building and reconciliation.

Fifteen years after world leaders adopted the Millennium Development Goals, the world seems to be coalescing into stable and unstable regions and opinion is divided as to what the future holds. On the one hand research shows that over the past 20 years there has been a decline in the number and severity of internal armed conflicts around the globe¹, and there is a school of thought which argues that by 2050 lethal armed conflicts will be largely concentrated in Africa and South Asia. Other research characterises the present day by chronic political instability, social volatility, proliferation of non-state armed groups, weak governance systems, and toxic disputes over land and natural resources

¹ Peace on Earth? The Future of Internal Armed Conflict, PRIO, 2014, http://file.prio.no/Publication_files/Prio/Hegre%20&%20Nyg%C3%A5rd%20-%20Peace%20on%20Earth.%20The%20Future%20of%20Internal%20Armed%20Conflict,%20Conflict%20Trends%20Policy%20Brief%201-2014.pdf

in many regions worldwide.² In 2013, the world witnessed 414 political conflicts (an increase of 9 from 2012), 221 of which involved the use of violence.³ Whatever the prospects for 2050, today's international community is burdened with the reality that political instability and conflict still occur most frequently in low income countries. The World Bank estimates that 1.2 billion people currently live in Fragile and Conflict Affected Situation Countries (FCS), while 800 million people live in developing countries with the highest homicide rates.⁴ Of the FCS countries and territories for which there is a human development index value (HDI), 69% are categorised as having low human development, while 21 of the 33 countries and territories listed host either a political/peace-building or peacekeeping operation.⁵

These figures put into context the challenges which peacebuilders face in the 21st century and affirm the connections between human security, human development, human rights and peaceful societies. In 2005 the UN Secretary-General articulated this nexus:

*“we will not enjoy development without security, we will not enjoy security without development, and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights. Unless all these causes are advanced, none will succeed. In this new millennium, the work of the United Nations must move our world closer to the day when all people have the freedom to choose the kind of lives they would like to live, the access to the resources that would make those choices meaningful and the security to ensure that they can be enjoyed in peace”.*⁶

In October 2013, the United Nations Inter-agency Framework for Preventive Action (the Framework Team), the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum (CPPF), convened a meeting in New York to discuss current thinking on reconciliation. Their discussions, which affirmed the links made in the 2005 Secretary-General's report, pointed to reconciliation as “a key component of the peace-building agenda dealing with both the causes and consequences of conflict often by focussing primarily on understanding and transforming relationships that have been damaged and destroyed”. The Framework team concluded that the process of transforming relationships would, out of necessity, incorporate a developmental agenda,

² White Paper on Peace-building, Geneva Peace-building Platform, 2015, <http://www.gppplatform.ch/work-streams/resilience-and-peacebuilding/resilience-and-peacebuilding>

³ Conflict Barometer 2013, Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIC), 2014, http://www.hiik.de/en/konfliktbarometer/pdf/ConflictBarometer_2013.pdf

⁴ Fragility, Conflict and Violence, World Bank, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/fragilityconflictviolence/overview>

⁵ Ibid

⁶ The Secretary-General's Report, *In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all*, March 2005, A/59/2005, Paragraph 17

which would work towards some form of social-economic and political equality for the parties. On this basis, reconciliation can be conceptualised as an engine for the promotion of peace-building and development, and part of a deeper social transformation process.⁷

We know that certain characteristics of development act as strong drivers in the SCORE index since the social cohesion dimension incorporated proxy indicators drawn from the concept of human security as defined by the United Nations. The SCORE index therefore, *by definition*, quantifies the relationship between development and reconciliation, by assessing the levels of social cohesion in a given society through the lens of human security considerations. We are convinced that there is symbiotic relationship between social cohesion and reconciliation, one which governs the quality of coexistence between socio-political groups which have experienced conflict events. The SCORE Index, at a theoretical level, shows that factors that positively affect social cohesion, such as trust in institutions, human security and civic engagement, increase the effectiveness of reconciliation initiatives intended to heal the damage caused by conflict. At the same time, the process of reconciliation has the effect of improving the quality of coexistence between conflicting groups. In this context, the formula for human security emerges as one of the most critical variables in defining the predictive outcomes of the index.

Returning to the wider international debate, it is evident that the understanding of reconciliation has been reframed in academic and practitioner circles in recent years. An experts' meeting in South Africa in September 2014, concluded that reconciliation was both a process and an outcome which was predominantly future-oriented and forward-looking. This re-conceptualisation has broadened the understanding of reconciliation beyond that set of post-conflict activities whose main objective was to bring closure to past injustices, and establish mechanisms of accountability (e.g. South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission).⁸ Instead, the discourse now emphasises reconciliation as a process which is not time-bound, but rather provides opportunities to engineer conflict transformation events at different points of the conflict cycle as appropriate.

A central element in this debate, is the need for inclusivity in reconciliation, with an emphasis on people-to-people relationship building. Over recent years many countries

⁷ Tim Murithi, *Inclusive Reconciliation: Towards a transformative Approach to Conflict Prevention, Peacebuilding and Development*. Framing paper presented at the UNDP experts' consultation to critically review reconciliation as a mechanism for conflict prevention and peacebuilding, 2-4 September 2014, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸ Ibid

have initiated inclusive national dialogues as part of innovative approaches to peace-building and constitutional change; such initiatives represent a departure from more traditional and exclusive top-down approaches to peace-making. Examples include Columbia, Nepal, Burma, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Lebanon, Morocco, Jordan, Libya, the Basque Country, Syria and Cyprus.⁹ The objective in each case was to create inclusive, multi-stakeholder processes, capable of engaging with different social, political and economic forces at a variety of levels, and by so doing to legitimise the peace-making exercise. A more 'grounded' process in turn, strengthens the capacity of formal and informal peace structures to establish new, grassroots political realities based on common visions of the future.

The second key component of the reconciliation narrative is the transformation of state institutions. In this respect, reconciliation can also be understood as a process of rebuilding those institutions that are essential to the reconstruction of inter-personal and societal relations. This goes beyond the approach of capacity-building in the traditional sense, to encompass a deeper understanding of the role played by re-engineered institutions in the transformation of relationships, the cultivation of trust and the restoration of the state's legitimacy.¹⁰ The evidence presented here, together with the internal logic of the SCORE index, testifies to the centrality of public institutions in the reconciliation process and the critical role they play in transforming the social, economic and political dynamics of conflict.

Against this background, we will show how the SCORE index can quantify and measure social cohesion and reconciliation in three ways:

- As a people-to-people relationship-building process
- As an institution-transforming and state-building process
- As an engine for development

In this regard, the SCORE index is highly innovative in its application of social science theory to the arena of political science. While several existing reconciliation indices measure different aspects of reconciliation,¹¹ these are rarely explicitly associated with

⁹ ACCORD 25: *Legitimacy and Peace Processes: From Coercion to Consent*. Conciliation Resources. 2014, p.36

¹⁰ Tim Murithi, *Inclusive Reconciliation: Towards a transformative Approach to Conflict Prevention, Peacebuilding and Development*, p.7

¹¹ See for instance the South African Reconciliation Barometer: <http://reconciliationbarometer.org/> - last accessed March 2015 and the Peace Index <http://www.peaceindex.org/defaultEng.aspx> - last accessed March 2015.

concrete proposed interventions, or even with general policy directives intended to enhance the reconciliation process. All too often, measurement of reconciliation appears to be an end in itself, providing a 'barometer' score on the state of peace, and perhaps tracking it over time, but not going any further in teasing out its practical implications. Is more intergroup dialogue called for? Should the peace process be opened up to a broader range of stakeholders? Should personal security concerns be addressed before attempting to advance further in contact efforts? Or is there a need for multicultural education and a revision of history text books? Existing reconciliation barometers often have limited scope to answer such practitioner-relevant questions. Using the results of peace and reconciliation barometers to inform the design of practical peace-building and development interventions is still a work in progress.

The SCORE index attempts to bridge this gap by adapting practical methodologies borrowed from clinical sciences and more specifically from the methods and approaches of clinical psychology – where assessment is never an end in itself but is normally linked to specific interventions to address the identified problem. A very recent trend in clinical psychology has been the application of the 'prescriptive matching' paradigm, wherein a detailed assessment of an individual's personality and behaviour is prescriptively matched with an extensive library of potential interventions, which draw on international best practices. The disconnect between assessment and intervention, already relatively small in the clinical sciences, is limited to virtually nil in the case of prescriptive matching. Similarly, the SCORE methodology acts as a diagnostic tool, to identify the most appropriate peace-building practices to meet the challenges of a conflict or post-conflict context, through an analysis of the SCORE dimension metrics. In this way, it becomes possible to prescriptively and efficiently match assessment and intervention utilizing the index in much the same way as this is done as a matter of course in the clinical sciences.

The socio-psychological dimensions of the SCORE index fit well with the premise that reconciliation is part of an ongoing human process to transform personal, communal and institutional relationships. There is a growing consensus that national reconciliation is a function of communal and interpersonal reconciliation and that for this to be realised, frameworks of engagement need to be put into place which allow the reconciliation process to operate simultaneously at different levels and in a way which is accepted by all. This interplay has been described as follows:

'Firstly, it should frame "reconciliation as building social infrastructure for conflict transformation" through which people can work on their relationships; and secondly, it should

*frame “reconciliation as building citizenship” which should enable citizens to trust one another as citizens again, as well as empower them to have an understanding of their rights and responsibilities. Furthermore, such a framework for reconciliation would include also identifying areas of change within the personal, interpersonal, institutional and cultural dimensions of society, and at the different levels of engagement. The challenge becomes one of responding to this demand for the process of inclusive reconciliation to be undertaken simultaneously and operationalised on different levels of engagement’.*¹²

What emerges from this discussion is the necessity to customise approaches to reconciliation and peace-building initiatives, to ensure that they allow for appropriate levels of engagement and ownership by all stakeholders. Success in this endeavour depends on identifying optimum modalities for fostering, managing and implementing projects and programmes. This process of customisation, of creating individual peace-building initiatives adapted to the needs of each specific context, requires a precise information base, capable of identifying the most salient and perceptive entry points to a problem. We believe that this is where the SCORE index can demonstrate its true value.

Based on statistical modelling techniques and a participatory methodology (described in Chapter 2) the SCORE index can identify the primary drivers, or predictors, of a given scenario. For example, in Cyprus we wanted to identify the strongest predictors for a political compromise between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. The 2014 Cyprus SCORE index prioritised the most significant predictors from a huge number of factors which each had the potential to advance the likelihood of political compromise. In addition, the index identifies the most significant proximate factors to each of the predictors for political compromise. Together, this constellation presents a possible formula for designing an intervention in support of a peace and development programme, one that we used in Cyprus to design policy recommendations.

¹² Ibid, P9

Navigation guide to this book

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the SCORE index and presents the factors driving the development of the index as well as its potential applications. We explain why we chose to build the index around the constructs of social cohesion and reconciliation, and how we attempted to measure them scientifically.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the methodology of the SCORE Index. We illustrate how we used the empirical data to decide which indicators predicted our chosen dimensions of social cohesion and reconciliation and how we calculated numerical scores for each of the dimensions and their indicators.

In **Chapter 3** we demonstrate the theoretical link between social cohesion and reconciliation based on an extensive literature review. We critique relevant studies from the fields of development, politics and psychology and identify connections where appropriate. We also highlight, factor by factor, examples of international best practice which offer specific 'remedies' which have been applied elsewhere to address deficits in reconciliation and social cohesion.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the findings of the Cyprus and Bosnia-Herzegovina SCOREs respectively and analyse the application of the SCORE Index in each of these post-conflict contexts. They also demonstrate how the methodology we employed can anatomize the relationship between groups which were formerly in a state of armed conflict, and measure their respective trajectories towards reconciliation.

Chapter 6 provides a forward-looking conclusion, assessing the future of the SCORE Index. It provides some tentative suggestions for how the index can develop and be expanded, both in terms of its implementation in a wider range of contexts and of future development of its methodology and range of practical applications.

Christopher Louise and Alexandros Lordos

Nicosia, Cyprus, 25 March 2015

The second key component of the reconciliation narrative is the transformation of state institutions. In this respect reconciliation can also be understood as a process of rebuilding those institutions that are essential to the reconstruction of inter-personal and societal relations. This goes beyond the approach of capacity-building in the traditional sense, to encompass a deeper understanding of the role played by re-engineered institutions in the transformation of relationships, the cultivation of trust and the restoration of the state's legitimacy. The evidence presented here, together with the internal logic of the SCORE index testifies to the centrality of public institutions in the reconciliation process and the critical role they play in transforming the social, economic and political dynamics of conflict.

Chapter One

Introduction to the SCORE Index

Christopher Louise, Maria Ioannou, Alexandros Lordos

The SCORE index is designed to identify and measure two preconditions for peace in society. The first of these is **social cohesion**, which refers to the nature of the coexistence between individuals within a given social group and the institutions that surround them. The second component is **reconciliation**, which refers to on-going efforts to establish peace between groups which were previously engaged in a dispute or conflict.

Development of the index

Although much work has been done to promote improved intergroup relations and peaceful coexistence in divided societies, there is still a dearth of tools capable of adequately identifying and analyzing the factors which underpin a peaceful society. Scholars as well as practitioners are thus often left in the dark as to which peace-building activities, interventions and policies are the most efficient in promoting positive outcomes for intergroup relations.

The SCORE index came about as a result of the large number of peace-building and reconciliation programmes being established in Cyprus, funded by international donors (UNDP, EU, EEA and USAID). During the course of many years of work on long-term peace-building projects a number of salient observations came to light.

Firstly, although these initiatives were individually monitored and evaluated (through trust surveys, programme and project-level evaluations) it was impossible to measure what impact the programmes were having on the overall reconciliation process. The need to evaluate peace-building programmes is not particular to Cyprus. Today, as governments and donors seek more effective ways to manage development outcomes, there is a

growing international demand for a mechanism that enables the impact of peace-building and reconciliation projects to be quantified. It has been observed that both donors and practitioners in the field of conflict resolution and peace-building know remarkably little about the effect of reconciliation efforts in post-conflict societies and that ‘the beneficial relationships between truth, justice, healing, reconciliation, and peace are yet to be studied empirically’.¹

The second observation relates to the first and concerns the fact that those donor organisations funding reconciliation programmes often do so without a clear understanding of current theory or practice. In order to make informed decisions as to which new initiatives to sponsor or endorse, they need to be able to clearly assess the impact of past programmes. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of programme evaluation data available, and the theory underlying such programmes can often be hard to access or even comprehend.

Policy-makers, donors and practitioners would therefore benefit from a knowledge base, which would allow them to better integrate current reconciliation theory into their strategic thinking, to design and select targeted interventions, to predict and measure the impact of those interventions and to disseminate their results in order to increase the effectiveness of other reconciliation programmes.

The SCORE index and its utility

Through the SCORE index we primarily aim to create a tool that can be used to: a) map social cohesion and reconciliation, b) track levels of social cohesion and reconciliation over time when SCORE is administered at multiple points in time and c) assess social cohesion and reconciliation as predictors of various outcomes. Outcomes can vary between contexts. In Cyprus and Bosnia-Herzegovina to date we focused on political outcomes, namely readiness or willingness for a political settlement, or for political integration.

¹ Brounéus (2008).

The mapping of these two indicators according to demographic criteria such as geographical district and gender can provide a useful breakdown of their levels across society. This analysis by population characteristics and geographical areas, can provide stakeholders and peace practitioners with much needed information to better target their programmes and maximise efficiency.

Tracking the levels of the two indicators over time is particularly useful when it comes to assessing the extent to which they are affected by both peace-building programmes themselves and events exogenous to them. It would be reasonable to expect that the success of peace-building programmes would be demonstrated in changes over time to either or both indicators. If, for example, programmes targeting a particular geographical region or population group are effective, this should be reflected in changes to the levels of social cohesion and/or reconciliation within that demographic group.

We also know that external socio-political and economic developments can affect societal relationships within a group or geographic area (peace-talks and other political developments, changes in the economy, or changes in immigration levels for instance). Tracking changing levels of social cohesion and reconciliation in the context of these exogenous factors can enable us to make assumptions about the extent to which they are impacted by them.

The mapping and monitoring of social cohesion and reconciliation addresses the needs outlined above, in order to deliver better evaluated and better informed peace-building programmes. Beyond this application, the SCORE index will allow peace and development professionals to go further in assessing social cohesion and reconciliation as factors that predict desirable end outcomes.

To date SCORE has been used to test whether social cohesion and reconciliation predict political outcomes, such as a readiness for a political compromise with adversarial groups. The index is based on a working hypothesis that both social cohesion as well as reconciliation are crucial to political outcomes and that higher levels of both social cohesion and reconciliation will lead to greater willingness for political integration or for political compromise. Data collected in each context will help to support, reject, or qualify, this hypothesis.

Why social cohesion and reconciliation?

As has previously been explained, the SCORE index measures two indicators: social cohesion and reconciliation. But why are these two dimensions so important that they should comprise the foundations of a peace index?

Reconciliation has been established as an appropriate remedy to conflicts around the globe. Research into the presence or absence of ‘reconciliation events’ after civil conflicts (for example, a meeting between senior representatives of former opposing factions) found that 64% of countries in which a reconciliation event took place did not return to violent conflict.² However, only 9% of countries that had not experienced a reconciliation event remained free of violence.

Other work has attempted to define different kinds of conflict and post-conflict situations by making further distinctions between ‘hot’ and ‘cold’ war, as well as ‘warm’ and ‘cold’ peace. ‘Hot’ war describes a high-conflict context where (unlike a ‘cold’ war) military force is used. At the other end of the spectrum a ‘cold’ as opposed to a ‘warm’ peace describes a context where, despite an absence of military force, the conflict is far from being fully resolved. Whereas political negotiations can act as a catalyst in ending ‘hot’ wars, reconciliation is one of the most important factors in bringing about the shift from a ‘cold’ to a ‘warm’ (and therefore more sustainable) peace.³

Social cohesion, unlike reconciliation, has received much less attention as an indicator of peace. This is possibly because peace is normally understood as a state of relationships *between* groups and not *within* them. The link between social cohesion and peace, although not that extensively studied, has nevertheless been alluded to in various studies and conflict analyses. The United Nations for example, focused on the importance of human security for human development in its UNDP 1994 Human Development Report and has explicitly made a link between human security and peace (UN’s 2009 Report on Human Security and Peace-Building in Africa).

² Long & Brecke (2003).

³ Miller (2001).

⁴ The term, widely used by sociologists, refers to one’s own group, the group one belongs to, as opposed to the ‘outgroup’, which is any group other than the ‘ingroup’.

⁵ Kofta & Bilewicz (2011); Whitson & Galinsky (2008).

It can be deduced that the strength and characteristics of social cohesion determine how members of what sociologists term the ‘ingroup’⁴ perceive those who are outside, or not part of their group, ‘outgroupers’. This strongly suggests that there is an intrinsic link between social cohesion and reconciliation that needs to be factored into any strategic planning for future peace-building programmes. This hypothesis is corroborated by existing research across the social sciences. Study findings in the area of social psychology for example, show that individuals who experience a lack of agency in society (people who feel they have no control over government decisions - something that is itself an indicator of lower levels of social cohesion) are more likely to blame other groups for their own suffering. This is even more likely to occur at times of hardship for the ‘ingroup’.⁵ Other findings from the fields of economics and political science found a relationship between mutual mistrust within a group, less cooperation, greater isolation, (all components of social cohesion) and a negative view of immigrant groups.⁶

To conclude, social cohesion and reconciliation can be understood as independent dimensions of peace that can influence other peace-related outcomes such as political compromise. This means that understanding the nature of their relationship and their joint, as well as individual societal impact, will allow us to make better and more informed forecasts as to how changes in each of these affect final peace outcomes.

Measuring social cohesion and reconciliation

In order to operationalise the two dimensions of social cohesion and reconciliation and find the best way to measure them, a multi-disciplinary brainstorming process was organised, which culminated in a conference in 2012. Here, international experts from various disciplines including social psychology, sociology and the political sciences, offered their own perspectives on social cohesion and reconciliation and ways in which the two could be conceptually linked. They also shared their experiences in the development of similar indices such as the Israeli Democratic Index⁷ and the South African Reconciliation Barometer.⁸ Participants discussed key themes such as whether there can be a universal

⁶ Putnam (2007).

⁷ <http://en.idi.org.il/tools-and-data/guttman-center-for-surveys/the-israeli-democracy-index/>

⁸ <http://www.ijr.org.za/political-analysis-SARB.php>

understanding of the terms ‘social cohesion’ and ‘reconciliation’, and what an appropriate development process for the index might be. They also explored issues such as; sample selection, variable development and measurement methods, and the adoption of a generalised methodology, which might enable the SCORE index to become an innovative and internationally applicable tool.

Our methodological approach will be covered in greater depth in the following chapter, but the table below presents in summary those components that have been empirically (via the SCORE data), found to constitute the two dimensions. Social cohesion is measured via three key indicators (See table below). These are trust in institutions, human security, and satisfaction with civic life. In Cyprus we also included the representational capacity of public institutions and perceptions of institutional corruption, in the list of social cohesion indicators. The key indicators that make up reconciliation across contexts are; negative stereotypes towards adversarial groups, anxiety about interactions with members of adversarial groups (intergroup anxiety) wanting to maintain weak social ties with them (social distance) and feeling threatened by adversarial groups (social threats). Active discrimination towards members of the other group and positive feelings towards them were also included as indicators of reconciliation in Cyprus and Bosnia-Herzegovina respectively.

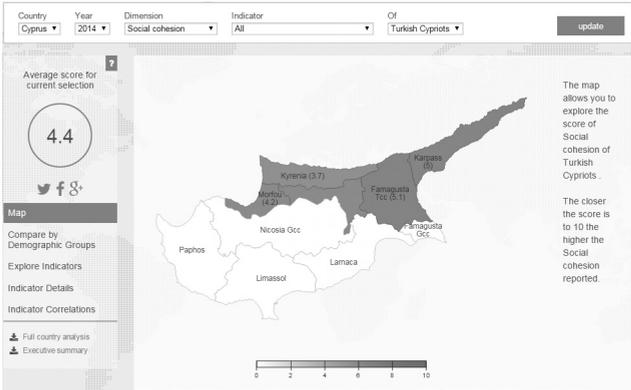
	Cyprus 2013	Cyprus 2014	Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014
Social cohesion			
Perceived corruption	x	YES	x
Trust in institutions	YES	YES	YES
Feeling represented by institutions	YES	YES	x
Human security	YES	YES	YES
Civic life satisfaction	YES	YES	YES
Reconciliation			
Negative stereotypes	YES	YES	YES
Intergroup anxiety	YES	YES	YES
Social distance	YES	YES	YES
Social threats	YES	YES	YES
Active discrimination	YES	YES	x
Positive feelings	x	x	YES

Making use of SCORE data

In broad terms, there are two types of output that can be produced using SCORE data, a descriptive analysis and a predictive analysis. The descriptive analysis relates to the presentation of the scores on each of the SCORE indicators and their breakdown by demographic groups. The predictive analysis refers to the structural relations between the key indicators (social cohesion and reconciliation) and end outcomes (such as readiness for political compromise). The two types of output are presented with examples from existing SCORE results.

A) Descriptive output Mapping reconciliation and social cohesion

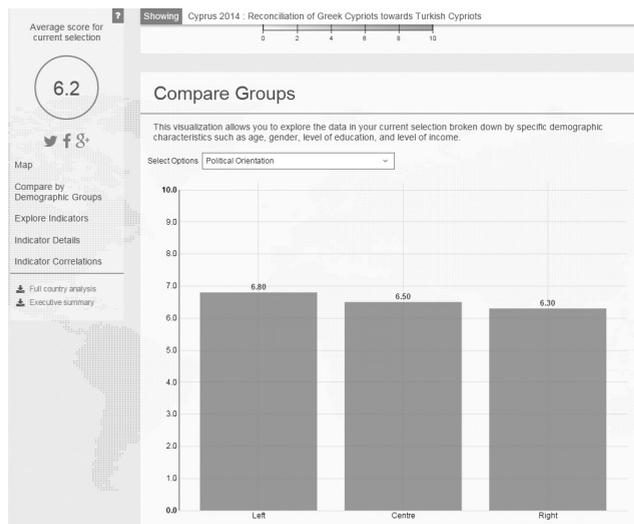
Mapping levels of reconciliation and social cohesion involves breaking down data according to different criteria such as geographical area, political orientation, or gender, in order to provide a comprehensive view of how the SCORE indicators are affected by these demographic factors.



Social cohesion levels amongst Turkish Cypriots in 2014 according to geographical area.

Taken from the SCORE platform www.scoreforpeace.org.

The graph below presents a breakdown of reconciliation scores by political orientation for Greek Cypriots. It shows that the levels of reconciliation of Greek Cypriots towards Turkish Cypriots are influenced by political preferences. In this case, the supporters of more right-wing politics are least inclined to endorse reconciliation with Turkish Cypriots. This kind of information provides an insight into how attitudes vary among different segments of the population and constitutes an important step towards identifying which groups are more resistant to reconciliation.

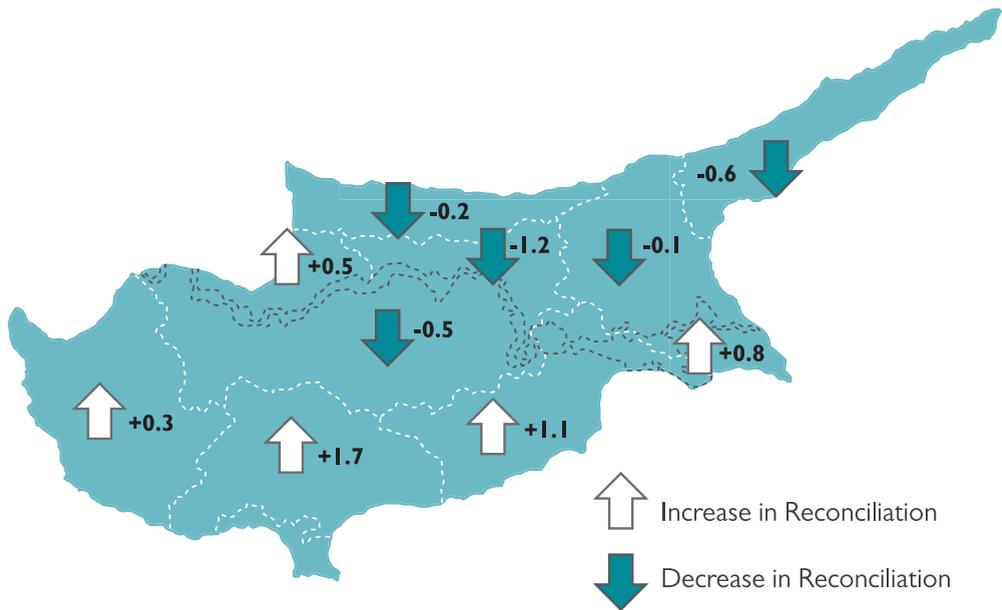


Feelings of reconciliation of Greek Cypriots towards Turkish Cypriots, according to political orientation.

Taken from the SCORE platform www.scoreforpeace.org.

Mapping changes in the levels of social cohesion and reconciliation over time

When SCORE is administered over multiple time points it becomes possible to track discrepancies between levels of social cohesion and reconciliation. In Cyprus, where SCORE was administered twice (2013 and 2014) reconciliation scores were found to have dropped for Turkish Cypriots but not for Greek Cypriots over the period under study. The map on page 25 presents the increase/decrease in reconciliation levels by geographical area. In almost all areas that are inhabited by Turkish Cypriots (the north of the island) reconciliation fell, but the magnitude of the fall varied by geographical area. It was more dramatic in Nicosia than anywhere else.



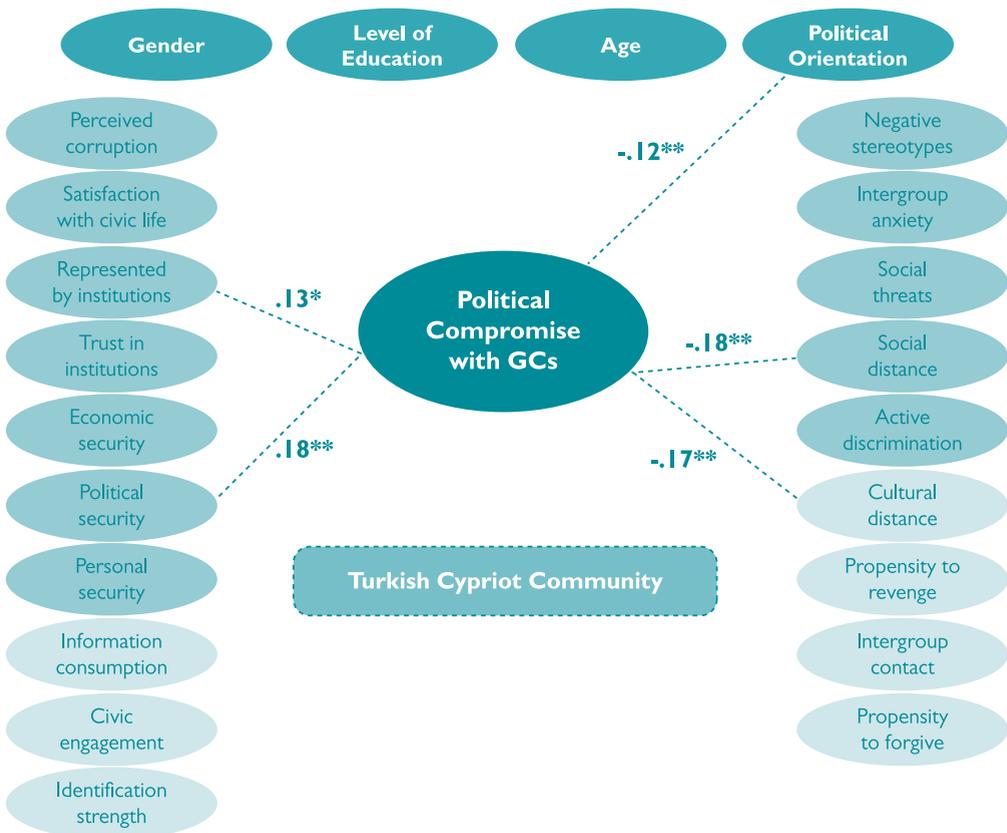
B) Predictive output

Establishing a connection between social cohesion and reconciliation and other outcomes

As noted earlier, levels of social cohesion and reconciliation are expected to predict political outcomes. The working hypothesis is that higher levels of social cohesion and higher propensities for reconciliation with adversarial groups will lead to more readiness for a political compromise, or greater willingness for greater political integration. We are essentially interested in answering the question which specific social cohesion indicators and which specific reconciliation indicators determine political outcomes. The predictive analysis of SCORE data presents the answer.

The diagram on page 26 brings together all the variables measured in SCORE Cyprus 2014 which were tested as possible predictors of readiness for political compromise with the other community. On the left we have the list of social cohesion indicators as well as a list of indicators which are conceptually close to the social cohesion dimension, but which were not empirically found to constitute it.

Similarly, on the right of the diagram we have the indicators that make up the reconciliation dimension and other reconciliation-related indicators. At the top, we have the main demographic characteristics. The diagram shows that amongst Turkish Cypriots there are five indicators that significantly affect readiness for political compromise with Greek Cypriots. A negative value shows that an inverse relationship such as greater social distance for example, is related to less readiness for political compromise. Absence of a negative rating indicates a positive relationship. Feeling represented by institutions, for example, is related to greater readiness for political compromise.



A more elaborate explanation of the diagram is provided in Chapter Four. However, attention should be drawn here to the importance of being able to identify those indicators that significantly affect the final outcome. This knowledge can then be used to inform interventions, since it illustrates precisely which elements need to be addressed to facilitate a positive outcome. It can also be used to generate concrete

policy recommendations, to inform stakeholders of particular problem areas and to recommended ways of addressing problems based on international best practice.

SCORE index data can be used to provide both descriptive and predictive analyses which are useful to policy makers, practitioners and researchers. The descriptive material can provide a very detailed and comprehensive picture of levels of social cohesion and reconciliation. The predictive analysis can show how these two dimensions relate to political outcomes. Both descriptive and predictive outputs can help to equip peace-practitioners with the necessary knowledge and insight to design and implement better-targeted and more efficient peace interventions.

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Chapter Two

The SCORE: From concepts to metrics

Maria Ioannou, Alexandros Lordos, Giorgos Filippou

The SCORE index utilizes a participatory approach whereby information is collected from a representative sample of the target population via a survey. Randomly selected participants are interviewed face-to-face using an open-ended questionnaire. This questionnaire forms the main tool of the SCORE index, and it consists of questions that have been carefully drafted to encompass our specific areas of interest, namely social cohesion and reconciliation, as well as demographics.

The original questionnaire contained items that related to various indicators that we *anticipated* would be components (indicators) of the dimensions of social cohesion and reconciliation. Social cohesion and reconciliation are both theoretical constructs that are abstract and are not observable behaviours. They can be thought of as multi-dimensional ‘umbrella’ constructs which embrace and are constituted by, numerous, less complex elements.

We predicted that the essential components of social cohesion would be trust in public institutions and in their ability to represent citizens in a society, satisfaction with civic and personal life and human security. Negative stereotypes for members of adversarial groups, perceived threats and social distance from them, were all considered as possible indicators of attitudes towards reconciliation. We used the SCORE data to assess which of the anticipated indicators *actually* clustered together to comprise the dimensions in question. This chapter will outline the process by which we ended up deriving the social cohesion and reconciliation dimensions and their scores.

Measuring social cohesion and reconciliation

As noted already, social cohesion and reconciliation are theoretical constructs and not observable behaviours. Due to their high level of abstraction and the fact that they are multi-facet constructs, social cohesion and reconciliation cannot be measured by a single indicator. If an indicator is understood to be a facet of a construct, then a multi-faceted construct would require multiple indicators for it to be identified and quantified.

To add to the complexity of the picture, indicators of highly abstract constructs can often be abstract theoretical constructs themselves (albeit of lesser complexity) and so can only be manifested through smaller components (sub-indicators). Sub-indicators can be directly measured via the items included in the SCORE questionnaire.

The relationship between dimensions, indicators and sub-indicators is complex and is best expressed (in statistical modeling terms) through the *second-order factor model*. This model enables theoretical concepts to be assessed through several less complex, but related constructs, each of which can be measured by the participant's response to multiple questions or items.¹ It has been used widely in the past in work on the 'Big Five' personality traits² and research into psychological well-being.³

The second-order factor model essentially involves establishing a hierarchical structure in which the more highly abstracted concept - the global dimension or second order factor - is placed at the top and is measured, or indicated by a number of less complex concepts, otherwise known as first-order factors or indicators. Second-order factors are essentially one level of abstraction higher than first-order factors.⁴ First-order factors are derived directly from the observed data.

¹ Chen, Sousa, & West (2009)

² De Young Peterson, & Higgins.

³ Hills & Argyle.

⁴ Marsh & Hocevar (1985).

The second-order factor model was adopted for the construction of the SCORE index. Reconciliation and social cohesion were thought of as theoretically complex, second-order factors, otherwise referred to as *dimensions*. These dimensions are made up of less complex first-order indicators, some of which are also abstract constructs. They include factors such as satisfaction with civil life, or negative stereotypes of the ‘other’ group and are referred to as *indicators*. They can be measured by participants’ responses to the specific questions in the SCORE survey, otherwise known as observed items, or sub-indicators. *Figure 1* presents the model in the form of a diagram.

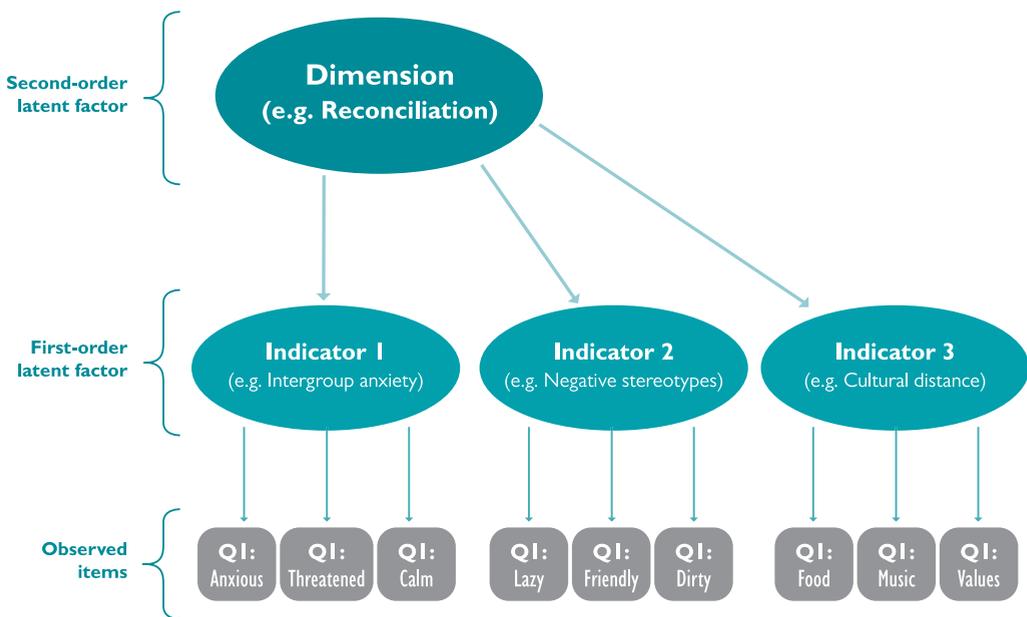


Figure 1. Hierarchical model showing the relationship between dimension, indicators, and observed items (sub-indicators).

Indicators of reconciliation and social cohesion

Before moving on to present the indicators of social cohesion and reconciliation, the following disclaimer has to be made. It is our intention that the SCORE index should be used in different international contexts. It was therefore important to ensure that the indicators of social cohesion and reconciliation, as well as the questionnaire questions (items) used for measuring them, were as generalised as was practical. For this reason special attention was given to the ‘universality’ of the indicators as well as to the drafting of the questions or ‘items’ used for measuring them. In other words, we tried to identify indicators and items that would be meaningful across multiple settings.

However, each country is unique, so not every component of the tool can be entirely identical. A process of local adjustment or calibration was therefore needed before the SCORE index could be rolled out in different countries. Calibration was necessary to customize the index to the particularities of each country. Any disparities in indicators and items across countries where SCORE is applied are a consequence of this calibration process.

Additionally, the initial use of the measuring tool (SCORE I in Cyprus, in 2013 and SCORE I in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 2014) has provided useful feedback about its strengths and weaknesses. This has led to adjustments and refinements being made to subsequent versions of SCORE. Amendments to SCORE II in Cyprus (2014) focused particularly on social cohesion indicators.⁵

To summarize, it would be inappropriate for us to devise a tool that was absolutely identical from country to country, since local particularities need to be incorporated into any tool being used to measure such context-dependent concepts. Instead, the tool is intended to evolve as part of a dynamic process, one which attempts to use the input of researchers and administrators to refine future versions. This enables SCORE to be sensitive and responsive to local conditions.

⁵ Researchers refined the social cohesion indicators by breaking down human security into different sub-sections and by adding another aspect of social cohesion, namely the extent to which participants perceived institutions to be free from corruption.

Indicators of social cohesion

In this section we present those indicators which we *hypothesized* would make up the complex construct of social cohesion. Brief explanations, along with examples of the items that measured them are provided below.

1. **Trust in institutions:** measured the extent to which people trusted important institutions like the judicial system, parliament, and the police.
2. **Feeling adequately represented by institutions:** measured the extent to which people felt that their concerns were represented by institutions such as; like parliament, and politicians and that they were part of the decision making process.
3. **Human security:** measured how secure people felt in their everyday lives, in terms of personal security (feeling safe from violence), economic security (having a secure basic income, being able to cover their needs) and political security (the ability to associate freely and express own views).
4. **Satisfaction with civic life:** measured satisfaction with various elements of public life, such as the administration of justice, the state of the economy, and the direction of the peace talks.
5. **Freedom from corruption:** measured the extent to which people perceived public life to be free from corruption.
6. **Satisfaction with personal life:** measured satisfaction with life in general (e.g., personal life, work life, their health levels).
7. **Ethnic group identification:** measured the importance of membership of a particular group to an individual's identity. Participants were asked whether being a part of their chosen group was something that was important to their self-image and something that they felt glad about.
8. **Civic engagement:** measured levels of involvement in civic life (e.g., taking part in political protest, membership of a political party or other organisations).

Indicators of reconciliation

Those indicators which were expected to make up the reconciliation dimension are outlined below.

1. Negative stereotypes: measured the extent to which individuals thought members of adversarial groups were, for example, violent, lazy, or unfriendly.

2. Intergroup anxiety: whether individuals anticipated experiencing negative feelings of threat, unease, or anxiety, if they found themselves alone with members of adversarial groups.

3. Social distance: measured acceptance of a variety of social relationships with members of an adversarial group. For example: having a member of the other group as a close relative by marriage, as a next-door neighbour, as a co-worker, or as a boss.

4. Perceptions of social threat: measured the extent to which individuals considered their own group's way of life to be potentially threatened by adversarial groups. Respondents were asked whether they thought that members of such groups would, for example, corrupt the religious values and degrade the language of their own group, or whether they would affect the ingroup in other negative ways, for example, reducing job opportunities or causing an increase in crime.

5. Active discrimination: refers to explicitly discriminatory behaviour towards members of adversarial groups. Such behavior might include telling distasteful jokes about the other group, refusing to help someone because s/he was a member of the outgroup, or not wanting to be in the same room as members of the outgroup.

6. Positive feelings: the extent to which individuals had warm (as oppose to cold) feelings about members of the other group.

7. Cultural distance: the extent to which respondents felt that aspects of their own culture were dissimilar to aspects of the culture of the other ethnic group. The cultural elements considered included: music, food, values and religious and spiritual beliefs.

8. Propensity for forgiveness: measured the extent to which respondents felt the way to resolve a dispute is by forgiving the other side.

9. Propensity for retribution: measured the extent to which respondents felt that the only way for a dispute to be concluded was through retribution.

10. Intergroup contact: measured the amount of interaction a respondent had with members of an adversarial group.

Construct validation

It was explained earlier that social cohesion and reconciliation are global dimensions or second-order factors and that they consist of first-order factors or indicators, which are interrelated and generally less abstract. First-order factors are indicated by observed questions or items. Which first-order factors make up the second-order factors and which sub-indicators make up the first-order factors, however, can only be hypothesised and the validity of this hypothesis needs to be empirically tested.

To ensure that the indicators we outlined earlier were indeed relevant to the corresponding dimension (social cohesion or reconciliation), it was necessary to test our model through a process known as ‘construct validation’. This was done primarily in order to ensure that indicators of social cohesion and reconciliation related significantly to their corresponding constructs and that a phenomenon known as ‘cross-loading’ did not occur. This means that the indicators had to *uniquely* predict, or load on to the constructs they were supposed to measure. For example, indicators that were supposed to signify *social cohesion* should not also indicate *reconciliation*. Secondly, the questions or items intended to measure one indicator had to load on to that indicator *alone* and to no other. Therefore, if an item was intended to measure *negative stereotypes*, then it could *only* load on to the *negative stereotypes* indicator and not cross-load on to other indicators such as *intergroup anxiety*.

One particularly useful methodology used for construct validation is a practice known as Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). It provides information on the convergent and the divergent validity of a theoretical construct.⁶ Convergent validity describes a strong

⁶ Brown (2006).

interrelation of indicators that all measure the same construct. Taking an example from the SCORE index indicators, convergent validity will occur if negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety, which are both indicators of reconciliation, are highly correlated with each other and both predict reconciliation.

Divergent validity on the other hand, is achieved when indicators measuring different constructs are *not* closely correlated. Using an example from the SCORE index, divergent validity would occur where *negative stereotypes* and *satisfaction with civic life* were not highly correlated and predicted different factors, *negative stereotypes* loading onto *reconciliation* and *satisfaction with civic life* loading onto *social cohesion*.

CFA can be used in conjunction with other approaches to construct validation such as Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient, which captures the inter-correlations between items measuring the same thing and with Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA), which can be particularly useful in extracting information from the data about the factors underlying specific items or questions.

One of the most significant differences between CFA and Cronbach's Alpha as modes for testing a hypothesis is that the latter coefficient only provides information on the internal consistency of one specific variable, so while it is useful in establishing convergent validity, it cannot establish divergent validity. EFA by contrast, can provide information on both types of validity, but, unlike CFA, it is exploratory, and therefore cannot be used to validate pre-existing hypotheses. In CFA, on the other hand, the researcher specifies the model that is expected to make the best fit with the data and then assesses whether the original hypothesis fits the data.

In the case of SCORE, where the indicators as well as the questions or items measuring them were carefully selected and the relationships between dimensions, indicators, and sub-indicators were based on robust hypotheses, CFA emerged as the most suitable way forward to validate our constructs. However, this did not mean that the other two approaches to construct validation were discarded. On the contrary, a step-wise procedure was used. Firstly, the internal consistency of each scale was tested using Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient. Secondly, an Exploratory Factor Analysis was carried out in order to assess whether, despite high internal reliability, items measuring one construct also clustered with items that measured other constructs. If this occurs, it suggests that those items do not measure just a single construct but several. Researchers only employed CFA in the final stage, in order to confirm that the constructs were indeed

uni-dimensional and that items that were supposed to load uniquely on to them did so, rather than onto any other factors.

In the first step we tested the internal reliability of all proposed indicators (of both social cohesion and reconciliation) using Cronbach's Alpha, the value of which can vary from 0 to 1. The closer the value is to 1, the higher the internal consistency of the scale. In principle, values of between 0.7 - 0.8 were considered acceptable.⁷

When satisfactory internal consistency for each component was achieved, we then performed two Exploratory Factor Analyses, one for social cohesion and one for reconciliation, in which we included all the components that we believed constituted each dimension. EFA can identify the number of factors the components load on to. If the components do indeed measure the same thing, then they would be expected to produce a one-factor solution in each EFA, indicating that they are measuring a single construct rather than multiple constructs.

Finally, we carried out a Confirmatory Factor Analysis. For this, instead of asking the programme to identify the number of factors the components loaded on to, we followed the opposite process. We gave the programme the desired solution and told it which items loaded onto which indicators and which indicators loaded onto which dimensions. The analysis then informed us whether or not the proposed solution was a good fit with the data. Whether a solution matches the data well or not, is determined by various statistical indices⁸.

However, it is not enough just to establish that the solution proposed fits the data well. To be sure that the solution we have is the best possible one; we need to compare it to other theoretically plausible solutions. To be more specific, in the construction of the SCORE index our proposed solution was that the components of *social cohesion* would only load onto *social cohesion*, while the components of *reconciliation* would only load onto *reconciliation*. Any theoretically plausible alternatives to this proposed model then had to be statistically compared with it, to ensure that the proposed model formed the best possible fit with the data.

⁷ Field (2005).

⁸ Determining whether or not a model fits the data well is based on specific cut-off criteria for a number of indices. Frequently used criteria are those of Hu and Bentler (1999).

Relationships between items, indicators and dimensions – an example from SCORE Cyprus 2014

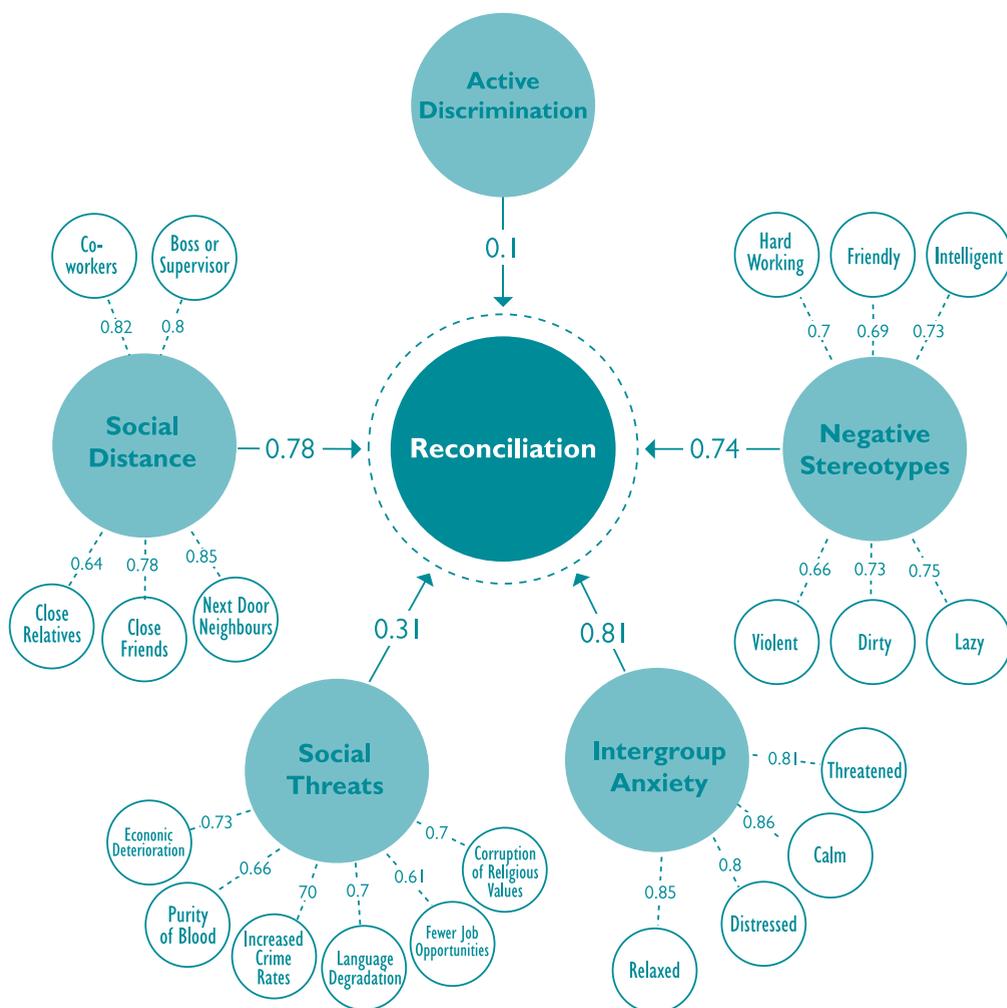
When the processes described above were performed on the data from SCORE Cyprus 2014, the results demonstrated that the best fitting solution involved measuring social cohesion by seven indicators. These were: freedom from corruption, trust in institutions, the representational capacity of institutions, satisfaction with civic life as well as the three aspects of human security; personal security, economic security, and political security. Reconciliation was measured via five indicators: negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, perceived threats, social distance and active discrimination. The remaining indicators did not load onto the corresponding constructs and were consequently dropped from the model.

The next step was to examine the ways in which items loaded onto indicators, and indicators loaded onto their global dimensions. Factor loadings essentially inform us about the relationship between indicators and sub-indicators and between indicators and their corresponding dimensions.

There are three things that are important when it comes to factor loadings:

- a) Their significance: a predictor is only meaningful when it *significantly* predicts the factor that it is supposed to predict.
- b) Their strength: this is indicated by the value of the loading: the closer the value is to 1, the stronger the relationship between the predictor and the predicted variable, and the closer the value is to 0, the weaker the relationship. The diagram below illustrates both the indicators and sub-indicators of reconciliation. It demonstrates that the two strongest predictors of reconciliation are *intergroup anxiety* and *social distance*, while the weakest indicator is *active discrimination*.
- c) Their direction: loadings can have either a negative or a positive value. A negative value means that the higher the mean of the predictor, the lower the mean of the predicted

factor, while a positive value means that the higher the mean of the predictor, the higher the mean of the predicted factor.



Cyprus 2014: Attitudes amongst Greek Cypriots towards reconciliation with Turkish Cypriots.

Calculating scores for social cohesion and reconciliation

Once the model has been finalized, the loadings are then used to estimate the scores for *social cohesion* and *reconciliation* (and for the indicators that constitute them). These scores range from 0 to 10.

The following steps need to be implemented to produce the scores for each indicator (component), as well as for each of the two global dimensions:

Step 1:

Calculate the *Weighted score* for each indicator (component) via the following equation:

$$\textit{Weighted score of component} = \textit{Weight 1} * \textit{Item 1} + \textit{Weight 2} * \textit{Item 2} \dots + \textit{Weight 6} * \textit{Item 6}$$

(Equation 1)

where *Weight* is the loading of the corresponding *Item* on to the indicator, and *Item* is the question used to measure the corresponding indicator.

Step 2:

Rescale each *Weighted score* to a scale ranging from 0 – 10.

In order to do this we need to:

i) find the *Theoretical maximum of the weighted score*.

This is calculated via the following equation:

$$\textit{Theoretical maximum of weighted score} = \textit{Weight 1} * \textit{Maximum value of Item 1} + \textit{Weight 2} * \textit{Maximum value of Item 2} + \textit{Weight 6} * \textit{Maximum value of Item 6}$$

(Equation 2)

Where *Weight* is the loading of the corresponding item on to the component, and *Maximum value of item* is the maximum value one can give as a response to the corresponding item.

ii) use the following equation to produce the *Rescaled weighted score*:

$$\text{Rescaled weighted score} = \frac{\text{Weighted score} * 10}{\text{Theoretical maximum of weighted score}}$$

(Equation 3)

Where *Weighted score* has been computed via **Equation 1** and *Theoretical maximum of weighted score* has been computed via **Equation 2**.

Step 3:

Steps 1-2 are followed for each indicator of each global dimension.

Step 4:

The *Weighted score* of the global dimension is then computed via the same process followed in Step 1, where the *Weighted score* of each indicator was computed. The only difference is that this time we do not use the items but the *rescaled Weighted Scores* of the indicators of each dimension. **Equation 1** therefore changes accordingly:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Weighted score of dimension} = & \text{Weight 1} * \text{Rescaled weighted score of Component 1} + \\ & \text{Weight 2} * \text{Rescaled weighted score of Component 2} + \text{Weight 5} * \\ & \text{Rescaled weighted score of Component 6} \end{aligned}$$

(Equation 4)

Once Step 4 is completed, we then have weighted and rescaled scores for all the indicators. These are the scores for each indicator.

Step 5:

Follow the same process as Step 2 i) and ii) in order to rescale the *weighted score* of the dimension to a 0 – 10 scale. We therefore need to calculate:

i) the *Theoretical maximum of the weighted score* using **Equation 2** which for the purposes of rescaling the weighted score of the dimension, becomes:

$$\text{Theoretical maximum of weighted score} = \text{Weight 1} * \text{Maximum score of Component 1} + \text{Weight 2} * \text{Maximum score of Component 2} + \text{Weight 6} * \text{Maximum score of Component 6}$$

(Equation 5)

We already know that the maximum value of each indicator is '10' now that the components have been rescaled via Step 2 to a 0 – 10 scale. So Equation 5 can be expressed like this:

$$\textit{Theoretical maximum of weighted score} = \textit{Weight 1} * 10 + \textit{Weight 2} * 10 \dots + \textit{Weight 6} * 10$$

ii) Once we have the *theoretical maximum of the weighted average for the dimension* then we can rescale the dimension score to a 0 – 10 scale using **Equation 3**.

Successful completion of these five steps will provide scores for both the indicators of each dimension and the dimensions of social cohesion and reconciliation. The scores would have been weighted, in other words, the weight of each item on the corresponding indicator, and the weight of each indicator on the corresponding dimension, as produced through the CFA, will have been taken into account. The scores for both indicators and dimensions will range from 0 – 10 as they would have been rescaled.

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Chapter Three

Theoretical foundations

Maria Ioannou, Nicolas Jarraud, Christopher Louise

This chapter traces the evolution of the concepts which underpin the social cohesion and reconciliation index (SCORE). The purpose is to deepen SCORE users understanding of the index and its role in assessing degrees of conflict and peace. The analysis is grounded in a literature review which demonstrates that social cohesion and reconciliation are highly complex abstractions that can be understood either as multi-dimensional phenomena, or as multi-component constructs. SCORE's methodology treats the two as multi-component constructs; abstract constructs that both consist of, and at the same time underlie, other, less complex components. The construction of the index is grounded in our hypothesis that these components inter-connect and influence each other. This is a working assumption elicited from the findings of previous studies on the relationship between the components of reconciliation and social cohesion.

Social cohesion and reconciliation can either be studied independently or together. The SCORE index does both. We are interested in mapping the two dimensions independently, but also in seeing if and how, they may relate to each other. This literature review will attempt to highlight possible or previously established connections between the components of one dimension, and the components of another. Finally, we will outline examples of international best practice in the analysis of each component.

A1. Components of Social Cohesion

Identification with the ingroup¹

Individuals belong to a number of social groups. An individual's sense of their social identity consists of their knowledge of their own group membership together with the value and emotional significance they attach to it.² Ingroup identification is primarily a measure of that emotional attachment, as it seeks to measure how strongly people identify with their group. Investigations into ingroup identification aim to determine the extent to which participants feel that membership of a given group is an important part of how they define themselves, or to what extent the ingroup is 'included in the self'.³

In SCORE Cyprus 2013 and 2014, identification strength was measured amongst both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. In the Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014 study, it was measured for the three main groups, Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats. Identification strength was high in both contexts and amongst all communities even though there were inter-communal variations. In all cases membership of a particular group was seen as an important element in how Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs defined themselves.

Group membership and identification are central to social cohesion.⁴ The nature of their relationship however and whether social cohesion precedes ingroup identification, or vice-versa, is a contested issue. Cartwright, (1968), alluded to a circular process whereby 'group cohesiveness refers to the degree to which members of the group desire to remain in the group. Thus the members of a highly cohesive group are more concerned with their membership and are more strongly motivated to contribute to the group's welfare, to advance its objectives, and to participate in its activities'. One can safely assume that an individual who is an active group member and cares for the group's welfare also identifies strongly with it.

¹ The term ingroup refers to one's own group, the group one belongs to, whereas outgroup refers to any group that is not the ingroup.

² Tajfel & Turner (1979).

³ Tropp & Wright (2011).

⁴ Friedkin (2004).

Research into social identity unanimously agrees that social identities or group memberships are not only crucial for the sustainability of the group, but also for individuals. Recent studies show that individuals who identify positively with their groups enjoy better health and report higher levels of well-being⁵. This seems to be true whether the groups' identity embraces ethnicity, nationality, or religious affiliation. Studies amongst Roma and Bulgarian youth for example, found that a strong affiliation with Roma and Bulgarian identities respectively, was a significant predictor of well-being.⁶ Interestingly, a separate study, this time amongst young Romanians and Bulgarians, found that amongst Romanians, nationalism, or extreme identification with an ethnic or national group, was also found to predict better well-being, although this was not the case for Bulgarian youth.⁷

The SCORE index attempts to measure satisfaction with both personal and public life, both of which are discussed in more detail below. The results of SCORE Cyprus 2013 and 2014 and Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014, show that strong ingroup identification is associated positively with satisfaction with personal life. This was the case across all groups. There is also evidence of a positive relationship between strong group identification and satisfaction with public life. This was found to be the case amongst Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus and amongst all groups (Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The relationship however, of ingroup identification and other components of social cohesion such as trust in institutions and their ability to represent all sectors of society, is more elusive. This is why strong ingroup identification has not, to date, been found to be a significant indicator of social cohesion.

Ingroup identification and intergroup relations

Although strong identification with the ingroup correlates positively with social cohesion and brings benefits to both the group and the individual, there is an abundance of evidence from social psychology research to suggest that strong ingroup identification

⁵Haslam, Jetter, Postmes, & Haslam (2009).

⁶Dimitrova, Chasiotis, Bender, & Vijver (2012).

⁷Dimitrova, Buzea, Ljujic, & Jordanov (2013).

can also be the cause of outgroup discrimination. Identification with a social category can be understood as a continuum, with high identifiers at one end of the continuum and low identifiers at the other end. Early experiments in social psychology have shown that the mere knowledge of belonging to a group, even when the group carries no meaning at all, as in the Minimal Group Paradigm,⁸ elicits ingroup bias in the form of a consistent and purposeful preference for the ingroup. Other evidence points to the fact that higher levels of group identification lead to greater degrees of bias towards the ingroup.⁹

However, the extent to which ingroup bias necessarily equates to active discrimination against an outgroup is contested. One study for example, found that ‘ingroup love,’ or bias, does not necessarily go hand in hand with ‘outgroup hate,’ or derogation and that high identification is ‘motivated by preferential treatment of ingroup members rather than direct hostility toward outgroup members’.¹⁰

While recent studies generally confirm these findings, there are some indications that suggest that the picture is somewhat more complicated and that in cases where the identity of the individual is under threat, high ingroup identification *does* lead to discrimination against the outgroup and not just to ingroup bias.¹¹ This is a particularly important finding for conflict and post-conflict societies, where there is often a prevalence of perceived threats to a group’s identity. Indeed, study findings show that in situations of conflict high ingroup identification is likely to be a significant predictor of negative perceptions of the outgroup and of negative intentions towards it.

SCORE studies intergroup relations through the prism of reconciliation, a multi-dimensional construct that encompasses different aspects of intergroup relations including the explicitly negative and derogatory attitude sometimes held by members of the ingroup towards the outgroup. The findings of SCORE Cyprus 2013 and 2014 show that amongst the Turkish Cypriot community, higher identification with the ingroup related strongly and negatively to a lower propensity for reconciliation. What renders this result even more interesting is that identification strength emerged as a predictor of reconciliation even after all other quantifiable variables including demographics were taken into account.

⁸ Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament (1971).

⁹ Gagnon & Bourhis (1996).

¹⁰ Brewer (1999).

¹¹ Branscombe & Wann (1994).

International best practice

The approach of social psychologists to the issue of ingroup identification has involved the creation and promotion of an overarching group identity designed to include both the ingroup and the outgroup. This is known as the Common Ingroup Identity Model¹² and involves the dissolution of initial group categories so that individuals can refer to themselves under a new common category, for example, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots redefining themselves as ‘Cypriots’.

Although the Common Ingroup Identity Model has accumulated a great deal of support from both laboratory and field studies,¹³ it has also been recognised that the endorsement of a common ingroup identity can pose a threat to group distinctiveness.¹⁴ This has been demonstrated¹⁵ in the course of four studies which showed that attempts to re-categorize ingroups and outgroups under a single common identity actually resulted in increased ingroup bias amongst individuals who identified highly with their own group.

All existing research indicates that identity-building is an extremely sensitive process and that external attempts to impose a new identity, particularly to high ingroup identifiers, are more likely to backfire than to bring about positive results. Building a common identity involves the construction of a common vision for the future, while at the same time, respecting the uniqueness of each sub-group. Also, identity-building needs to be participatory and inclusive, since it is a community-wide phenomenon, which can take many years. Outreach work needs to specifically target groups who hold the strongest reservations about coexistence. Indeed, the experience of participatory peace processes around the world demonstrates that the inclusion of a diversity of perspectives and even of ‘spoiler’ groups in the peace process both serves to build trust in the legitimacy of that process and to enable the moderation of extreme perspectives through discussion.¹⁶

¹² Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust (1993).

¹³ Dovidio, Gaertner, Isen, & Lowrance (1995); Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, Matola, Johnson, & Frazier (1997), and see Gaertner & Dovidio (2000) for a review.

¹⁴ Dovidio, Gaertner & Validzic (1998).

¹⁵ Crisp, Stone, & Hall (2006).

¹⁶ Barnes (2002).

Another way to build a common identity is to create common institutions. The recognition and acceptance of common political institutions has been proposed as a conflict-mitigation and reconciliation mechanism in South Africa¹⁷ and Rwanda.¹⁸ Finally, best practice can also involve warning practitioners about what not to do. One such warning comes from a wide-reaching analysis of post-conflict institution-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo*, Afghanistan and Iraq. In these cases it was found that outside agencies, when attempting to build institutions, tended to opt for policies that institutionalised ethnic differences.¹⁹ Instead, the author of the study proposes an approach that is 'flexible with regard to ethnic divides'. Simonsen advocates instead the promotion of alternative inter-ethnic political cleavages which cut across traditional divisions and 'manage, soften, complicate and contain' a conflict situation, enabling a community of mutually shared interest to transcend ethnic division. Such initiatives can involve working on issues of common concern that cut across ethnic groups. However, for this to work, the design of political institutions needs to enable ethnic identities to be transcended rather than enshrined. This can, for example, be achieved by choosing a parliamentary system over a presidential one, a territorial form of federalism over an ethnic one, or even the prohibition of ethnically-defined parties, as is the case in Nigeria.

A2. Components of Social Cohesion

Satisfaction with personal life

We mentioned earlier that high identification with the ingroup leads to higher levels of well-being. Similarly, social inclusion and social support have both been found to contribute not only to mental, but also to physical well-being. Berkman and Syme (1979), for example, using a random sample of the population, found that mortality rates amongst individuals who were well socially integrated, with many social ties were two to three times lower than those of individuals who lacked such social ties and integration. Significantly, this link between social integration and mortality persisted even when

¹⁷ Gibson (2004).

¹⁸ Republic of Rwanda, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (2010).

¹⁹ Simonsen (2005).

* All references to Kosovo shall be understood to be in the context of the Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999)

demographic factors such as income and education level were accounted for. This is consistent with findings from other sociological studies, including Durkheim's seminal study of 1895, which demonstrated that suicide rates were lower in societies with high degrees of social integration and were higher in communities where social bonds were looser.

These results could be explained by the fact that cohesive societies offer more social support to their members. Social support has been found by numerous social-psychological studies to affect both mental and physical health.²⁰ Cohesive societies are also more likely to satisfy an individual's need to belong, or, to put it another way, their members are less likely to experience social exclusion. Recent findings on social exclusion have focused on how detrimental it is to well being, leading to depression, low self-esteem, loss of control, and strong physiological arousal.²¹ In SCORE Cyprus 2014, social exclusion was also measured, and the results showed that social exclusion and satisfaction with personal life were so closely related that they could be united under one single factor which we labelled 'personal distress'. As expected, social exclusion was related to lower satisfaction with personal life.

It would be interesting to know whether social cohesion correlates to all aspects of well-being including job satisfaction. Long-term unemployment and therefore low satisfaction with one's job status, has been found to be associated with a decline in overall life satisfaction.²² It has been argued that unemployment could be viewed as a lack of social integration and thus should be considered as a form of social exclusion.²³ The unemployed may experience a reinforcement of their exclusion if the society to which they belong has no means of supporting them, if, for example, it has a weak welfare system. This ties in with the link between satisfaction with personal life and satisfaction with civic life which we will discuss next, where satisfaction with civic life influences the relationship between satisfaction with personal life and social cohesion. For example, individuals who are generally content with the quality of public services in their society (an indicator of satisfaction with civic life) are more likely to continue to perceive their society as supportive and cohesive, even if they are not entirely satisfied with their employment status.

²⁰ Cohen & Wills (1985).

²¹ Williams (2001).

²² Lucas, Clark, Georgellis, & Diener (2004).

²³ Levitas (1996).

SCORE findings revealed a strong and positive correlation between satisfaction with personal life and satisfaction with civic life. High satisfaction with personal life equated to high satisfaction with civic life and vice versa. This was only the case however in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and not in Cyprus.

Finally, satisfaction with personal life can also be the result of the extent to which individuals feel secure in their everyday lives. Human security is another component of social cohesion which will be discussed below, and the link between the two is self-evident. Feeling secure should contribute to one's well-being. Studies have shown that job insecurity relates not just to reduced job satisfaction, but also to lower levels of subjective well-being,²⁴ a factor that is also directly affected by food and financial security.²⁵ These findings are also corroborated by SCORE results. Human security is strongly and positively correlated with satisfaction with personal life. This was the case in SCORE Cyprus 2013 and in SCORE Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014. In SCORE Cyprus 2014, where human security was broken down into economic, political, and personal security, all types correlated positively with satisfaction with personal life.

However, our results showed that the relationship between satisfaction with personal life and trust in institutions and their representative capacity is less strong if present at all. This is why satisfaction with personal life did not come up in the analyses as a core component of the social cohesion dimension.

Satisfaction with personal life and intergroup relations

Identification with the ingroup is one of the main causes of satisfaction with personal life, so it could reasonably be expected that just as with ingroup identification, personal life satisfaction could also be associated with negative attitudes and intentions towards outgroupers. If however, life satisfaction is a product, or a closer correlate, of human security, a state that has been shown to correlate positively to reconciliation, then personal life satisfaction too would be expected to relate positively to the components of reconciliation.

²⁴ DeWitte (1999).

²⁵ Sano & Richards (2011).

As for the relationship between well-being and prejudice, previous studies have provided support for two contrasting hypotheses. Some studies associated greater well-being with less prejudice. Bassor and Neria, (2009), for example, found that lower levels of well-being were associated with increased levels of prejudice amongst Israelis towards Palestinians. This relationship was even stronger amongst individuals who had experienced war in the form of missile attacks.

A more recent study²⁶ conducted in 2013 on the other hand, found the exact opposite to be true. Using the 1988 Eurobarometer survey, the authors found that higher levels of life satisfaction were recorded alongside greater levels of prejudice towards immigrant and ethnic outgroups in four European countries; France, Britain, the Netherlands and West Germany. Earlier studies too²⁷ had also²⁸ challenged the hypothesis that only *relative* deprivation (the sense of being deprived in comparison to other individuals or groups) leads to greater prejudice. They demonstrated that relative gratification (the sense of being better off in comparison to others), *also* led to more prejudice towards the disadvantaged. These counterintuitive phenomena were explained by two main psychological mechanisms: national pride (which links back to the question of ingroup identification) and the endorsement of dominant ideologies, by the more materially affluent, who enjoy greater levels of satisfaction with their personal lives and seek to protect their positions of privilege.

It seems probable that the positive and negative effects of satisfaction with personal life cancel each other out since, in terms of its impact on intergroup relations, it appears to be a double edged sword. In the context of SCORE this is manifested by the absence of any relationship between satisfaction with personal life and reconciliation.

International best practice

Life satisfaction is an elusive concept, and it is difficult to produce a model for this dimension that would fit across cultures and economic contexts. It seems that increased affluence does not necessarily bring with it greater life satisfaction, since higher income

²⁶ Dambrun & Taylor (2006).

²⁷ Guimond & Dambrun (2002).

²⁸ Dambrun, Taylor, McDonald, Crush, & Meót (2006).

frequently brings with it increased competitiveness over issues of social comparison and status, which ultimately have a negative effect on well-being. Taking this into account, a more productive way forward when it comes to satisfaction with personal life, would be to focus on non-material areas, such as family life and health.²⁹

A3-4. Components of social cohesion

Trusting institutions and feeling represented by them

Feelings of trust in institutions and of being well represented by them were brought together under one construct, because of our assumption that participatory institutions in which citizens feel better represented would also enjoy higher levels of public trust.

Asking the public how much they trust institutions, or how represented they feel by them, is a way of measuring the legitimacy of those institutions. In SCORE Cyprus 2013, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014, the two constructs; trust in institutions and representation by them, were too highly correlated to be treated as separate dimensions. While we were working on SCORE Cyprus 2014 we attempted to refine the way we measured each construct, and drafted items or questions specifically designed to address each construct separately. The result was two distinct constructs.

Trust in institutions and the extent to which they represent society are at the heart of social cohesion. It would be difficult to imagine a cohesive society where trust in institutions was absent and where people did not feel represented by them. Consequently we expect trust in institutions and confidence in their ability to represent the individual to be significant indicators of social cohesion. Indeed in Cyprus 2014 feelings of trust in institutions, as well as feelings of being represented by them were two of the most central indicators of social cohesion.

Trust in institutions and confidence in their ability to represent individual interests are

²⁹ Easterlin (2004).

expected to be associated with high levels of satisfaction with civic life, and possibly by extension, levels of satisfaction with personal life too. We do not however, expect the link between satisfaction with personal life and trust in institutions and their representativeness to be very strong since satisfaction with personal life does not depend on satisfaction with civic life. Regarding the link between these components and human security, we expect the correlation to be positive and high. Living in a society where institutions are trusted and seen as representing the interests of its people should result in enhanced feelings of human security.

The results from SCORE Cyprus 2014 support these hypotheses. Trusting institutions and feeling adequately represented by them were both found to be very highly related to personal security and satisfaction with civic life. However, only being well-represented by institutions was found to be related to satisfaction with personal life.

Even though we expect ingroup identification and trust in public institutions and their representational capacity to be correlated, the direction of this relationship is harder to predict. It could be that individuals who are high-identifiers are simply inclined to see their group in a more positive light. Such a claim would be supported by the social identity theory according to which strong group identification results in a more positive outlook towards the ingroup, often referred to as 'ingroup favouritism'.³⁰ At the other end of the spectrum, untrustworthy institutions that reflect badly on the ingroup, may lead to a decrease in identification or even *disidentification* with the ingroup, because of a clash between personal values and perceived group values.³¹

Alternatively, high-identifiers may well be individuals whose interests are better represented by institutions, something that would naturally predispose those individuals to have higher levels of trust in the institutions concerned. Having said this, there are findings that show that high ingroup identification and high levels of trust in institutions do not always go hand in hand. A study of schools in mafia-ridden neighbourhoods of Palermo³² suggest that mistrust and ingroup favouritism can simultaneously coexist, and that their sustainability is supported by informal institutions such as organised crime.

³⁰ Tajfel et al. (1971).

³¹ Elsbach & Bhattacharya (2001).

³² Meier, Pierce, & Vaccaro (2014).

Trust in institutions and intergroup relations

It has been convincingly argued that individuals who are socialised in countries that are well-governed, in which people trust each other 'due to the existence of a shared, fair and enforced set of rules', will be more likely to perceive outgroupers as trustworthy than individuals brought up in low-trust countries. As a result of this, 'individuals from high-trust countries will be less prone to enter into conflictual interactions with representatives of other states than individuals from low-trust countries.'³⁴ While we would be reluctant to postulate that these claims would easily apply to post-conflict societies, it is worth keeping in mind that an individual's trust towards unknown others (a crucial element of reconciliation), is not merely a dispositional characteristic, but can also be affected by societal factors.

In post-conflict contexts such as Rwanda³⁵ South Africa and Bosnia and Herzegovina, where joint institutions exist, measuring trust is a powerful indicator of levels of reconciliation and coexistence. The Rwandan Reconciliation Barometer includes trust in institutions as one of the key dimensions of reconciliation and protocols for measuring it extend beyond government bodies to encompass agencies that could play either a cohesive or a divisive role, such as politicians, or community and religious organisations.³⁶ Similarly, analysis of the South African reconciliation process, has found that legitimatisation of political institutions such as parliament and the constitutional court, is one of four key dimensions of reconciliation.³⁷

In those post-conflict contexts where common institutions such as truth and reconciliation commissions do not exist, then the question which emerges is whether trust in those institutions, vital to one's civic well-being, can be related to reconciliation. In theory, since reconciliation goes hand-in-hand with the political settlement of an intergroup dispute, it will be facilitated by positive progress towards a political settlement. Whether individuals register such developments as progress or not, depends largely on the degree in which they trust politicians and government (or whoever is negotiating the political settlement)

³³ Jasinski (2011).

³⁴ Jasinski (2011).

³⁵ Republic of Rwanda, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (2010).

³⁶ Republic of Rwanda, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (2010).

³⁷ Gibson (2004).

One of the key ingredients of success therefore, seems to be a participatory process of constitution-building which leads to more legitimate, more democratic, post-conflict institutions, with a better focus on social justice – in other words institutions that people feel they can trust, because they represent and protect their rights. Good examples of countries where participatory processes led to popular support for the new constitution are Rwanda and South Africa. However, when attempting to transform institutions through a participatory consultative process, it is also important to incentivise major power brokers to remain on board, since established power structures may feel threatened by an overly participatory process.

and feel represented by them. Finally, for reconciliation, or at least intergroup contact, to have maximum positive impact on intergroup relations, it has to be *endorsed* by authorities as opposed to being negatively sanctioned by them.³⁸ Once again, official endorsement of a specific behaviour will only really favour this behaviour if the authorities are *already* perceived as legitimate and trustworthy by the wider public.

International best practice

The international community is frequently involved in the reconstruction of institutions in post-conflict societies. However, one particularly wide-ranging study of eight post-conflict contexts (Cambodia, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Uganda, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, El Salvador and Guatemala) demonstrated that although such efforts often succeed in creating new institutions, they then fail to consolidate their democratic legitimacy.³⁹ It has been suggested that this may be due to the fact that international aid agencies tend to follow a project-based approach which does not lend itself to long term sustainability and that such projects place emphasis on short-term financial aid and technical support.⁴⁰ The result is the creation of a community of NGOs and initiatives which successfully deliver seminars and workshops, but which fail to deliver sustainable processes of democratisation.

International actors tend to focus on civil society interventions rather than the consolidation of state institutions. Indeed, 'when outside interventions deprive the state of most of its substance, of the means to play its central role – that is, to define and ensure that some common interests may be guaranteed and served – they also work against the society.'⁴¹ People emerging from a violent conflict may mistrust the state, having possibly been victims of its actions, it is therefore imperative that 'the term state-building should connote the transformation of previously dysfunctional states and not their restoration.'⁴²

³⁸ Allport (1954).

³⁹ de Zeeuw (2005).

⁴⁰ de Zeeuw (2005).

⁴¹ Pouligny (2005).

⁴² Brahimi (2007).

This brings us to the second key ingredient for building trust in institutions and their legitimacy; their ability to represent the interests of all sectors of the society they purportedly serve. According to Brahimi, 'the establishment of a virtuous circle of trust and mutual accountability, and the assumption of rights and obligations by citizens require a state-building agenda that creates an inclusive state to support equitable economic, political and social orders.'⁴³ It is clear that inclusiveness is crucial for successful state-building if the public and civic institutions of that state are to be perceived to be legitimate and commonly owned by the people they serve. Some authors would go further and argue that to be effective, this ownership has to be local and that internationally-led efforts towards sustainable peace-building in countries such as in Haiti, Liberia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Kosovo have little hope of achieving their goals, because of a lack of knowledge of how to rebuild states.⁴⁴

One of the key ingredients of success therefore, seems to be a participatory process of constitution-building which leads to more legitimate, democratic, post-conflict institutions, with a better focus on social justice – in other words, institutions that people feel they can trust, because they represent and protect their rights. Good examples of countries where participatory processes led to popular support for the new constitution are Rwanda and South Africa. However, when attempting to transform institutions through a participatory consultative process, it is also important to incentivise major power brokers to remain on board, since established power structures may feel threatened by an overly participatory process.⁴⁵

Lastly, inclusiveness is as pivotal to peace-building as it is to state-building. When the peace process does not have an inclusive nature, when, in other words citizens feel left out of the peace process and feel they are not represented in it, this can boycott peace-building efforts and damage the sustainability of peace. A good example of a participatory approach to the peace process is the Cyprus Dialogue Forum that was launched by UNDP-ACT in Cyprus. The Forum offers opportunities for the respective political leaderships in both communities to support a credible and high level inclusive dialogue which seeks to build cross-community and cross-sectoral consensus on major issues regarding the negotiation process and the future of the island.

⁴³ Brahimi (2007).

⁴⁴ Samuels (2005).

⁴⁵ Samuels (2005).

A5. Components of social cohesion

Satisfaction with civic life

Satisfaction with civic life can be understood in terms of public perception of service delivery and good governance by state institutions. In Cyprus, questions about satisfaction with public services focused on the economy, the progress of the peace talks, administration of justice and the quality of public services, all of which reflected prevailing public concerns and priorities. When SCORE was rolled out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, satisfaction with the state was expressed in terms of satisfaction with the economy, management of inter-ethnic relations, quality of education, delivery of healthcare and security guarantees for its citizens. In each case, this dimension of the SCORE index measures public satisfaction with the state in areas of importance to their respective societies.

Satisfaction with civic life and social cohesion

We expect satisfaction with civic life to be closely interlinked with trust in public institutions, since it correlates strongly with attitudes towards the trustworthiness of such institutions and their ability to represent the needs of the individual and be receptive to them.

We also expect satisfaction with civic life to be positively associated with satisfaction with personal life. However, the strength of this relationship is harder to predict. It would also be reasonable to hypothesize that trust in institutions which are inclusive and represent all aspects of society will positively and strongly correlate with human security. To the extent that an individual's security is, or can be, dependent on services offered by the state, such as social welfare or the health care system, then greater satisfaction with these services should lead to enhanced feelings of security.

Finally, it is not easy to make informed and concrete hypotheses based on the relationship between satisfaction with civic life and ingroup identification. However, given how intertwined we perceive satisfaction with civic life and trust in institutions to be, we could reasonably expect that the relationship between satisfaction with civic life and ingroup identification would mirror the relationship between trust in institutions and ingroup identification.

Satisfaction with civic life emerged as a key aspect of social cohesion in the SCORE data from both Bosnia and Herzegovina and from Cyprus. In SCORE Cyprus 2014, satisfaction with civic life was found to be positively related to trust in institutions and representation by them, and with economic and personal security. In SCORE Bosnia and Herzegovina, there was also a strong correlation between satisfaction with civic and personal life which was not the case in SCORE Cyprus. Finally, the data from Bosnia and Herzegovina in some cases demonstrated a positive relationship between satisfaction with civic life and strength of ingroup identification, with higher levels of satisfaction with public life relating to stronger ingroup identification for Bosniaks and Serbs, but not for Croats.

Satisfaction with civic life and intra and intergroup relations

Previous work has demonstrated that the capacity of post-conflict governance structures to deliver public services can be crucial in determining public confidence in them. Similarly, in a pre-conflict situation, loss of confidence in public service delivery can be a sign of a rupture in the 'social contract' between people and their government, which can lead to unpredictable outcomes. To illustrate this, a recent Gallup poll analysing the origins of the so-called 'Arab Spring' found that 'in Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's last year of rule, Tunisians' satisfaction with basic infrastructure, the cost of living, and basic services dropped noticeably.' Yet in those years, Tunisian GDP was actually growing. This finding also indicates that GDP growth is not the only indicator of the economic wellbeing of a society.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ <http://www.gallup.com/poll/157049/tunisia-analyzing-dawn-arab-spring.aspx> - last accessed in July 2014.

Furthermore, the provision of basic services could be of particular importance when states are in a critical period of their existence and in need of legitimacy and popular assent. Although there are many cases where a loss of government credibility has foreshadowed social unrest, it is important to guard against making automatic connections between dissatisfaction with the state and the outbreak of conflict. For example, one study on the 'Arab Spring', focusing on Arab youth, dispelled the myth that dissatisfaction with the regime drove young people to the forefront of the 'Arab Spring' movement, since they actually reported higher levels of satisfaction with their regimes than their elders.⁴⁷

It is hard to conceive of how satisfaction with civic life may be related to intergroup (as opposed to intra - or ingroup) relations and reconciliation in particular. Our hypothesis is that satisfaction with civic life and reconciliation could be related indirectly via human security. To elaborate: we predict that greater satisfaction with civic life will predict greater satisfaction with human security, and that increased satisfaction with human security will in turn lead to a higher propensity for reconciliation.

International best practice

When planning strategic interventions, especially in immediate post-conflict situations where the state is weak, it is tempting to attempt to compensate for poor state service provision by relying solely on non-state actors such as NGOs and the private sector. However, this has the potential to further weaken the emerging or recovering state and ultimately to delegitimize it, as well as harming the sustainability of those services (what happens when the international community departs for example?) and reducing their accountability.⁴⁸ Although in extreme circumstances, or in the early stages of recovery, it may be necessary to temporarily replace the state as an agent of service delivery, this must from the outset be undertaken in such a way as to contribute to the long-term goal of state-building, whilst remaining clear about the limitations of weak governments, recognising the value of some non-state actors and involving the state in an incremental manner.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Hoffman & Jama (2012).

⁴⁸ OECD (2008).

⁴⁹ Batley & McLoughlin (2010).

A6. Components of social cohesion

Human security

The concept of human security was first comprehensively defined in the United Nations 1994 Human Development Report.⁵⁰ The report explores in depth the greater opportunities for development that improved human security brings with it and defines the concept through a range of interdependent components, economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security. Importantly, it also recognises the link between declining human security and the risk of conflict, even calling for an early warning system, based on measurements of human security that would alert the international community to the increased likelihood of intra-state conflict.⁵¹

We expect that human security will particularly influence an individual's openness and responsiveness to different outgroups

In SCORE Cyprus 2013 and SCORE Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014, human security was measured as a global construct by asking people the extent to which they: a) felt financially secure in their current employment, b) felt safe from violence in their daily lives, c) had adequate access to health care, d) had adequate access to physical and economic resources, and e) were satisfied with their environment. In SCORE Cyprus 2014, in order to better align our human security indicators with the UNDP's conceptualisation of human security, the questionnaire included items that covered all possible aspects of security as identified by the 1994 Human Development Report. The results of SCORE 2014 provided empirical support to the existence of three types of human security: personal, economic and political. These three types of human security were all found to be significant indicators of the social cohesion dimension and to be positively related to each other. Of the three types, economic security was found to be the indicator most central to the dimension of social cohesion.

⁵⁰ Krause & Jutersonke (2005)

⁵¹ UNDP (1994). In a sense, the SCORE can be seen as an answer to that call.

We expect human security to be a key component of social cohesion since we believe it can be an antecedent, as well as a consequence of, the other components constituting social cohesion. We know from past studies, that human security can *predict* satisfaction with personal life, in the same way that job security can predict feelings of job satisfaction.⁵² We expect, on the other hand, that human security will be a *consequence* of satisfaction with civic life and the degree one trusts and feels represented by, institutions. The more trust one has toward institutions, the more represented one feels by them and the more satisfied one is with the services offered by the state, the more secure overall one will feel. The link between human security and ingroup identification however, is more elusive, as the direction of causation between them is less easy to establish. It could be that the more secure one feels within one's group the higher one's identification with that group will be. Being highly identified with the ingroup, on the other hand, could potentially make one feel more secure within that group.

In Cyprus SCORE 2014, the three types of human security were positively correlated with all proposed social cohesion indicators, i.e., satisfaction with personal and civic life, strength of identification with the ingroup, trust in institutions and representation by them. Economic and personal security were the two types of security that correlated most strongly with satisfaction with civic life and with trust in institutions and representation by them. Political security was more closely related to strength of identification with the ingroup and satisfaction with personal life.

Human security and intergroup relations

The link between human security and feelings towards others, including prejudicial beliefs towards outgroups, is not new. As long ago as 1943, Abraham Maslow introduced the idea of a hierarchy of human needs which, he argued, enable individuals to reach a state of *self-actualisation*, the stage at the apex of the pyramid which is characterised by, amongst other things, increased morality and lack of prejudice. According to Maslow, for humans to ascend this hierarchy, they first need to fulfill their more basic needs. At the bottom of the hierarchy he placed needs that are crucial for one's survival such as

⁵² DeWitte (1999).

access to food and water, at the second stage he included needs such as physical safety, job security and adequate access to resources. Above this he listed the need for intimate others to care for and be cared for by and then at the final stage, the need to achieve, to belong to a group and to demonstrate respect and be respected by others. The resemblance between the lower level needs of Maslow's hierarchy and the components of human security is clear. Maslow's argument that basic needs must be fulfilled before a person can reach the point of self-actualisation in which s/he can essentially peacefully coexist with her/himself and others, substantiates the hypothesis that human security is important to achieve reconciliation.

Human security has now started to be included as a factor in reconciliation studies. One of the main six hypotheses underlying the Rwandan Reconciliation Barometer for example, is that 'if citizens feel materially, physically, and culturally secure, they will be more willing to commit themselves to national reconciliation processes.'⁵³ Human security is also one of the core indicators of reconciliation in the South African Reconciliation Barometer,⁵⁴ with the hypothesis being, as in the case of the Rwandan barometer, that 'citizens are more likely to feel reconciled if they feel secure.'⁵⁵

Furthermore, human security has, since the 1990s, come to occupy an important role in the foreign policy discussions of significant international bodies. In 1999 the G8 foreign ministers declared their determination to address the negative antecedents of human security, thus underscoring its importance for intergroup relations. There has also been ample encouragement for the European Union to incorporate an understanding of the key role played by human security into its domestic as well as foreign policy.⁵⁶ These suggestions seem to have been well-received by the Union as demonstrated by its awarding of grants to academic institutions which are working on projects in this field such as The Centre for the Law of EU External Relations' work on 'Human security as a new operational framework for enhancing Human Rights projection in the EU's security and migration policies'.⁵⁷

⁵³ Republic of Rwanda, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (2010).

⁵⁴ <http://reconciliationbarometer.org/>, accessed in July 2014.

⁵⁵ Kale (2013); SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey: 2013 Report.

⁵⁶ Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities.

⁵⁷ Information derived from http://www.asser.nl/default.aspx?site_id=26&level1=14462&level2=14464, accessed in July 2014.

We expect that human security will particularly influence an individual's openness and responsiveness to different outgroups (including adversarial groups) and that it will work as a buffer to perceived threats from outgroups. Our hypothesis is that human security is going to be strongly associated with intergroup anxiety and by extension with social distance. Individuals who feel more secure will feel more confident and less apprehensive of interacting with outgroups. Partly because of that they will therefore be more willing to have closer relationships with the outgroup. Furthermore, people who are more secure in their lives will be less likely to perceive outgroups as a threat.

In Cyprus 2014, economic security was the security type associated most strongly with social threats, whereas personal security and to a less extent, political security, had more to do with intergroup anxiety and social distance.

International best practice

Human security is so important to post-conflict peace-building that both existing peace-building initiatives⁵⁸ and human development programmes⁵⁹ should put it at the heart of their thinking processes. However, beyond these general imperatives, it is difficult to identify universally applicable best practices. One option is to turn to manuals such as *Human Security in Theory and Practice*, by the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. It is not appropriate here to reiterate at length the recommendations it contains but Chapter 3 is of particular relevance, since it deals with efforts to establish human security in post-conflict situations. In contexts such as these, a 'people-centred, multi-sectoral, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented approach is recommended.'

⁵⁸ Krause & Jutersonke (2005).

⁵⁹ UNDP (1994).

Finally, approaches to human security should be tailored to the particular type of security being promoted. SCORE has to date provided some evidence of the relative significance of different categories of human security through its research on economic, personal, and political security. It has also established that economic security is very much related to how threatening other groups are perceived to be. In this respect economic security differs from personal and to some extent political security, both of which are related to how people feel about interacting with people from other groups and how much they would want to have them in their everyday lives.

B1. Components of reconciliation

Negative stereotypes

Stereotypes are essentially ways of thinking about behavioural traits or characteristics as being typical of specific social groups or individuals by virtue of their membership of a certain group.⁶⁰ They are characterised by inaccuracy and negativity.⁶¹ Stereotypes have until recently been thought to be inaccurate by definition, because of their over-generalising character. However, recent research suggest that this may not be the case, with some work highlighting what has been described as ‘the unbearable accuracy’ of stereotypes.⁶² There is, on the other hand, a consensus regarding the negativity of stereotypes. Despite the existence of positive stereotypes, most of the stereotypes people hold for outgroups are negative.⁶³

Patterns of stereotyped thinking vary from group to group. The most influential model of stereotypes to emerge from our literature review was the Stereotype Content Model.⁶⁴ This proposes that the content of stereotypes typically varies along two dimensions: warmth (cold vs. warm, unfriendly vs. friendly) and competence (lazy vs. hardworking, unintelligent vs. intelligent). The model also proposes that stereotypes towards different social groups such as feminists, gays and lesbians, and other stigmatized groups fall into

⁶⁰ Stangor (2009).

⁶¹ Allport (1954).

⁶² Jussim, Cain, Crawford, Harber, & Cohen (2009).

⁶³ Stangor (2009).

⁶⁴ Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu (2002).

different clusters along the warmth and competence axis. The model identified two main clusters into which social and demographic groups often fall. The first of these is *paternalized* groups, which are liked as warm, but 'disrespected as incompetent', these include women who conform to traditional gender roles and the elderly. The second cluster is made up of *envied* groups which are respected as competent, but disliked as lacking warmth, such as women who do not conform to traditional gender roles, Asians, and Jews.

Negative stereotypes and intergroup relations

Research has demonstrated that stereotypes are not only affected by the wider social context, but can also *themselves* influence that context. In the case of intergroup conflict, studies show that stereotypes come to replace more accurate information about the other and these stereotypes in turn worsen the conflict.⁶⁵ Furthermore, stereotypes do not simply evaporate once a conflict has ceased and individuals are likely to interpret information they receive about members of an outgroup in a way that fits the stereotypes they already hold.⁶⁶ This can be the case even when the behaviour of members of the outgroup does not correspond to the stereotype attached to their group.

At the same time, pre-existing stereotypes about a group will contribute to perceptions of the group as a threat and consequently to (higher) intergroup anxiety. Intergroup anxiety, as we will discuss in more detail, is particularly detrimental when it is experienced during encounters between members of different groups. Anxiety is capable of depleting an individual's cognitive resources and of affecting their perception – and subsequent recollection of – such encounters. Anxious individuals are therefore more likely to perceive members of a potentially adversarial outgroup as threatening and to store and remember information that corresponds to their pre-existing stereotypes about them, rather than information that might contradict that stereotype.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Hicks (1997).

⁶⁶ Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid (1977).

⁶⁷ Curtis & Locke (2005); Wilder (1993).

Stereotypes can also predict behaviours towards other groups. One particularly interesting study found that individuals who ranked Asians in the aforementioned 'envied' cluster, perceiving them as possessing the high-competent, low-warmth characteristics of the Stereotype Content Model, made less effort to socialise with Asian American students on campus. They had fewer Asian American friends, were less likely to choose to share a room with them, expressed less interest in finding out more about Asian American culture, and had less exposure to it. These students therefore were more socially and culturally distant from the outgroup.⁶⁸

SCORE findings in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Cyprus reveal that across contexts and ethnic groups, negative stereotypes are primarily related to intergroup anxiety. Holding negative stereotypes towards another group renders one more apprehensive of contact with that group. While this finding is broadly constant across contexts and groups, there are also numerous discrepancies with regards to correlates of negative stereotypes. Amongst Croats for example, negative stereotypes towards Serbs are related to high levels of threat and greater social distance from them, whereas for Bosniaks, the correlation between negative stereotypes of Serbs and threats and social distance from them is not that high. In Cyprus too, although there is a very strong correlation amongst Greek Cypriots between negative stereotypes towards Turkish Cypriots and cultural distance from them, this relationship is absent for Turkish Cypriots.

⁶⁸ Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske (2005; Study 4).

International best practice

Addressing stereotypes is important because the ability to change the perceptions of adversarial groups is generally accepted as a precondition for reconciliation. A political settlement will not necessarily cancel negative stereotypes,⁶⁹ but reduction of negative stereotypes could ensure the sustainability of a political settlement. However, because stereotypes are inextricably embedded in the social structure of society, attempts to address them must inevitably confront the task of altering the structure of that society too.⁷⁰ The situation is rendered more complicated because stereotypes are affected by many factors including: economic conditions, the history of intergroup relations and the ingroup's socio-political character in terms of its social cohesion, openness and tolerance. Stereotypes are transmitted through political, social, cultural and educational channels, as well as through direct experience and are moderated by personal factors such as beliefs, attitudes, values, motivations and personality.⁷¹ For these reasons, reducing them to a single formula is difficult. Consequently, the courses of action listed below should not be perceived as 'solutions' to the problem of stereotyping. They do, however, provide a 'menu' of possible approaches.

Good quality intergroup contact is seen as one possible approach to transforming stereotypes.⁷² Contact could potentially influence key characteristics of the stereotype (such as their over-generalized nature and negativity) that make them so destructive to intergroup relationships. Intergroup contact between Hindu and Muslims in Bangladesh for example, led to the perception that the outgroup was more variable.⁷³ Studies found that individuals who had experienced contact with the other religious

⁶⁹ Maoz (2002).

⁷⁰ Pratto, Henkel, & Lee (2013).

⁷¹ Bar-Tal & Teichman (2005).

⁷² Intergroup contact, or interaction between members of different social groups was first proposed by Gordon Allport (1954), as a means of reducing prejudice. Allport argued that for contact to be effective in promoting more positive intergroup relations, it should take place under certain conditions. These conditions were: equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support by the authorities. The accumulated research of recent years has established the usefulness of intergroup contact as a prejudice-reduction mechanism (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). More recent work has acknowledged that even when Allport's optimal conditions cannot always be met at the time of contact, it can nevertheless be successful in reducing prejudice, (Pettigrew, 1997). Current studies therefore emphasise quality of contact, with intergroup friendships being one example of good quality contact, (see Pettigrew, 1997). Quality of contact, rather than frequency, is the most significant prediction of prejudice reduction (see Binder et al., 2009).

⁷³ Islam & Hewstone (1993).

community were less likely to agree with statements presenting all members of that community as being the same. Inter-racial contact in South Africa too, was reported to lead to less negative stereotypes towards ethnic outgroups.⁷⁴

Apart from direct contact, it is clear that institutional change can also affect intergroup perceptions, as can power relations: for example, more powerful groups will tend to be over-represented as the norm in the media.⁷⁵ In terms of what institutions can do, the authors of the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer had the following suggestion: the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was encouraged to focus on combating stereotypes grounded in Rwandan culture such as proverbs, whilst ensuring that schools, community service organisations and religious groups were incorporated into its campaign.⁷⁶

There is a voluminous amount of research showing that stereotypes about adversarial groups are formed at a young age.^{77, 78} It follows that a key institutional intervention in conflict resolution should be to protect children from acquiring such stereotypes, primarily through education as well as other means. One approach would be to deliver a human rights-centred curriculum, which would aim to promote ‘multicultural understanding aimed at reducing stereotypes and hostilities between groups’.⁷⁹ In Cyprus, this is a goal towards which the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research⁸⁰ has been striving. It has produced a series of alternative teaching materials focusing on multi-perspectivity, particularly in history teaching. This is in line with the recommendations of UNESCO for the promotion of a ‘culture of peace’, namely ‘revising curriculum materials, particularly history textbooks, to promote mutual understanding and remove bias or stereotypes.’⁸¹

Others suggest that institutions are only part of the problem, and that since stereotypes are socially ingrained, they can only be addressed through a ‘bottom-up psychological process of change in perceptions and relations’.⁸² The organisation of peace camps for young people has been one strategy adopted to reduce the stereotyped perceptions

⁷⁴ Gibson (2004).

⁷⁵ Pratto, Henkel, & Lee (2013).

⁷⁶ Republic of Rwanda, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (2010).

⁷⁷ Bar-Tal & Teichman (2005).

⁷⁸ Bar-Tal (1996).

⁷⁹ Harris (2004).

⁸⁰ www.ahdr.info

⁸¹ UNESCO (2002).

⁸² Maoz (2000).

that Israeli and Palestinian children have of one another⁸³ and a similar approach has been followed in Cyprus.⁸⁴ The strategy involved organising a series of reconciliation workshops for small mixed groups of Jewish and Palestinian youth, focusing on transformative dialogue. The meetings were led by Israeli and Palestinian facilitators. These intergroup dialogues were followed up by mono-ethnic group work.⁸⁵ This practice of working at both an *inter* and *intra*-group level and of paying attention to the needs of each individual group separately, is now recognised as being particularly important in the field of peace-interventions. Participants in peace-building initiatives can react badly if they feel that their group memberships are being systematically neglected and not adequately recognised.

B2. Components of Reconciliation

Intergroup anxiety

Intergroup anxiety refers to the negative emotion that accompanies the prospect of having to interact with outgroup members. Anxiety can stem from a number of different sources, including the concern not to appear prejudiced, feelings of incompetence, awkwardness, discomfort, or of a lack of control during an intergroup interaction.⁸⁶ Other sources of anxiety relate to individuals' fears of possibly offending the outgroupers via words or deeds or, reversely, the concern that the outgroupers might take advantage of them. Finally, intergroup anxiety can also stem from the fear of being judged or rejected, not just by outgroupers, but also by ingroupers who do not approve of the interaction.

⁸³ Harris (2004).

⁸⁴ UNDP-ACT (2013).

⁸⁵ Maoz (2000).

⁸⁶ Stephan & Stephan (1985).

Intergroup anxiety and intergroup relations

Individuals with high intergroup anxiety avoid having contact with members of other groups⁸⁷ and in cases where they find themselves in an intergroup situation, are more likely to experience heightened psychological arousal. This has the destructive effect of depleting their cognitive resources, which has repercussions on their perception and recollection of outgroup members and the outgroup as a whole. Studies have shown that more anxious people retain more stereotypical information about outgroupers⁸⁸ and form more threatening impressions of them.⁸⁹ In this way, intergroup anxiety can have negative consequences on reinforcing stereotypical views of the outgroup and of the social threats emanating from it. This means that anxiety experienced in intergroup encounters can render the latter a negative experience and lead to further anxiety about and during, future encounters.

Negative stereotypes about the outgroup, together with the perception of potential threat, can lead to apprehension and anxiety about future encounters. If this is compounded by apprehension about even being in physical proximity to the outgroup it often leads to a desire to maintain greater social distance from it, as will be discussed next.

SCORE findings in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Cyprus show that intergroup anxiety is at the very heart of the reconciliation dimension, since it is strongly associated with most reconciliation components, namely negative stereotypes, social distance and social threats and to a lesser extent, with cultural distance. This was the case in both countries and across all studied groups.

⁸⁷ Henderson-King & Nisbettn (1996)

⁸⁸ Wilder (1993)

⁸⁹ Curtis & Locke (2005)

International best practice

Despite the fact that intergroup anxiety can inhibit contact with the outgroup and can be detrimental to perceptions of it and to recollections of the interaction, there is an abundance of research across multiple contexts suggesting that the key to anxiety reduction is in fact successful exposure to the outgroup. It is worth noting a finding from a series of experiments⁹⁰ which demonstrated that despite their feelings of angst and awkwardness, individuals often found that intergroup encounters were more pleasant than they had originally anticipated.

Successful exposure to the outgroup via good quality, face-to-face contact has been systematically found to significantly reduce intergroup anxiety. To give a few examples, good quality contact was found to be associated with reduced anxiety in: Bangladesh amongst Hindus and Muslims,⁹¹ in South Africa amongst mixed race and white South African school children,⁹² in Northern Ireland amongst Catholics and Protestants,⁹³ in the UK amongst white and Asian British teenagers⁹⁴ and in Germany and Belgium amongst German and Belgian school children and children from ethnic minorities living in those countries.⁹⁵

It has been definitively proven that when and where opportunities for good quality contact are created and people decide to take them, such positive interactions can reduce levels of intergroup anxiety for those taking part. However, positive experiences can obviously not be guaranteed. Recent research has revealed that in cases where negative contact takes place, it can have negative consequences on intergroup relations which are greater in magnitude than the positive effects of positive contact.⁹⁶ However, in order to see this in context it should also be noted that positive contact is more common⁹⁷ and that prior

⁹⁰ Mallet, Wilson, & Gilbert (2008).

⁹¹ Islam & Hewstone (1993).

⁹² Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci (2010).

⁹³ Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci (2004).

⁹⁴ Turner, Hewstone, & Voci (2007).

⁹⁵ Binder, Zagefka, Brown, et al. (2009).

⁹⁶ Barlow, Paolini, Pedersen, Hornsey, Radke, Harwood, Rubin, & Sibley (2012).

⁹⁷ Graf, Paolini, & Rubin (2014).

positive contact can have what is known as a ‘buffering effect’ against the effects of any negative subsequent contact.⁹⁸

Regardless of how promising the effects of positive face-to-face contact are on anxiety reduction, the big question remains: what if people simply shy away from contact – a very plausible scenario for highly anxious individuals – and are therefore unable to benefit from it? For this category of individuals, merely increasing opportunities for contact is unlikely to change their perceptions as they are unlikely to take advantage of them. Studies suggest that in settings where contact is unfeasible, or for groups of people who simply do not wish to pursue it, then indirect or non face-to-face forms of contact could be the way forward.

The first pieces of work studying indirect contact found that individuals who experienced extended contact, for example, via a friend or acquaintance in their ingroup who had outgroup friends, reported less intergroup anxiety than individuals with no extended contact.⁹⁹ Even more impressively perhaps, imagined contact, in the form of the simulation of a positive intergroup encounter,¹⁰⁰ was found to consistently reduce intergroup anxiety across a number of different contexts and social groups, be they Muslims and non-Muslims, asylum seekers and secondary school students in Britain,¹⁰¹ or Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot students in Cyprus.¹⁰²

Nevertheless, indirect forms of contact have never been viewed as adequate substitutes for direct contact, but rather as a means of preparing the ground for direct contact and of reducing anxiety. Lower levels of contact breed higher anxiety,¹⁰³ which becomes toxic in the context of intergroup relations.¹⁰⁴ Individuals are better able to reap the benefits of a positive interaction if they embark on the relationship in a less anxious state.

However, the history of contact-based projects shows that the number of beneficiaries is generally small, and the multiplier effect limited. One alternative approach to reconciliation, which has had remarkable outcomes over the last 10 years, is edutainment, a term coined to describe programmes that aim to educate through entertainment.

⁹⁸ Paolini et al. (2004).

⁹⁹ Turner, Crisp, & Lambert (2007).

¹⁰⁰ Turner et al. (2007).

¹⁰¹ Husnu & Crisp (2010a, Experiment 1).

¹⁰² Turner, West, & Christie (2013).

¹⁰³ Plant & Devine (2003); Stephan & Stephan (1985).

¹⁰⁴ Richeson & Shelton (2003).

A typical form of edutainment would be a serial drama, delivered via television or radio.¹⁰⁵ Edutainment has been used widely to effect various kinds of social change, including the empowerment of women, the promotion of family planning, and reductions in instances of domestic violence.¹⁰⁶

Two primary examples are the well known television programme *Sesame Street*¹⁰⁷ and the radio series *Musekeweya* in Rwanda. Exposure to *Sesame Street* was found to promote social tolerance¹⁰⁸ and specifically, more positive attitudes towards African and Latino Americans by European American children.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, when Israeli, Palestinian-Israeli, and Palestinian preschoolers were shown an adapted version of *Sesame Street* in Israel and Palestine, they reported more positive attitudes towards the outgroup.¹¹⁰

*Musekeweya*¹¹¹ is a popular radio series in Rwanda that has been broadcast since 2004 and was designed with the primary aim of preventing violence and promoting reconciliation.¹¹² It addresses the fears and anxieties experienced by many Rwandans around intergroup interactions, following the intergroup violence of the 1994 genocide.¹¹³ The drama 'walks listeners through a trust-building process [as it acknowledges] the difficulties of building trust after a genocide. In the serial, group members who have undergone traumatic experiences are particularly distrustful of the other group; they are, however, encouraged to discuss their fears and anxieties with trusted friends and family, who support them in overcoming their fears'.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁵ Singhal & Rodgers (1999).

¹⁰⁶ Bilali (2014).

¹⁰⁷ See here http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sesame_Street for more (page last accessed in July 2014).

¹⁰⁸ Lovelace, Scheiner, Dollberg, Segui, & Black (1994); Tidhar & Schacter (1986).

¹⁰⁹ Bogatz & Ball (1971).

¹¹⁰ Cole, Arafat, Tidhar, Tafesh, Fox, Killen, & Yung (2003).

¹¹¹ "The main plot portrays the cycle of conflict and violence as played out between two fictional villages (Bumanzi and Muhumuro), and more recently, the difficult path of reconciliation. The fictional villages are situated on opposing hills with a valley in between. Early in the drama listeners learn that a long time ago the government representatives gave sole property ownership of the fertile valley falling within the boundaries of the two villages to Bumanzi. The two villages have lived through years of land dispute because farming land is limited and its quality variable. The drama demonstrates how resentment from these past events, coupled with scarcity of resources due to a drought that affected Muhumuro the most, contributed to rising tensions and escalation of conflict. The tensions are further heightened due to different, though unnamed, ethnic identities. First, Muhumuro groups attacked Bumanzi, followed by later revenge attacks by Bumanzi on Muhumuro. After few acts and cycles of violence, the groups working for peace in both villages managed to stop the conflict, and initiate a process of reconciliation, justice, and peacebuilding" (extract from Bilali, 2014).

¹¹² Staub, Pearlman, & Bilali (2008).

¹¹³ Bilali (2014).

¹¹⁴ Bilali (2014)

Alongside radio and television drama, other forms of fiction have also been demonstrated to have positive effects on intergroup relations, including reducing levels of anxiety. In one study, fictional narratives which aimed to expose readers to Arab-Muslim culture, and presented them with counter-stereotypical examples of Arab-Muslims had the effect of reducing intergroup anxiety among Israelis. Reduced anxiety, in the same study, was also found to lead to an increased ability to take the perspective of Arab-Muslims.¹¹⁵

Finally, Bilali (2014) urges practitioners to proceed with caution when working on programmes aiming to facilitate reconciliation between communities that have been engaged in traumatic events in the past. The first point concerns the striking of a balance between similarities and differences between the fictional story and what happened in reality. Similarities will help to “increase listeners’ identification with the narrative and its characters” whereas differences on the other hand will prevent listeners from identifying closely with the social groups which would lead them to “take sides and use pre-existing schemas and beliefs about the (real) conflict (they had experienced) to understand the fictional story”.

Bilali also raises the point that intervention initiatives take place in a particular socio-political context which may have considerable bearing on how they are perceived. The programme *Musekeweya* in Rwanda for example echoed government policy on reconciliation. Government endorsement can be a good thing, she argues, as long as government enjoys the trust of the wider public. This is one illustration of where research into social cohesion, and in particular into trust in institutions can productively inform interventions targeting reconciliation.

Edutainment has been used widely to effect various kinds of social change, including the empowerment of women, the promotion of family planning, and reductions in instances of domestic violence.

¹¹⁵ Johnson, Jasper, Griffin, & Huffmann (2013).

B3. Components of Reconciliation

Perceived threats from the outgroup

Intergroup threat has been identified as a feeling that is experienced when members of one group perceive that another group is capable of causing them harm.¹¹⁶ This definition has been refined to include a distinction between a) realistic threats, the concern that other groups constitute a threat to one's own group's physical integrity and available resources and b) symbolic threats, namely threats to the world-view of the ingroup.¹¹⁷ This distinction was adopted in SCORE too, where we measured perceived threats by the extent to which individuals felt their group's way of life was threatened by other ethnic groups either realistically or symbolically.

The extent to which other groups are perceived as a threat by the ingroup depends on 'prior relations between the groups, the cultural values of group members, [and] the situations in which groups interact with one another.'¹¹⁸ In general, low-power groups are more prone to perceive threats than high-power groups. However, when high-status groups do perceive threat then their reactions are stronger than those of low-status groups.¹¹⁹ Perceptions of threat were also found to be high amongst groups with parity of status, since this rendered them more equally matched as opponents.¹²⁰ Furthermore, group power, prior conflict, and relative group size are more likely to be associated with realistic threat, whereas historical differences in the cultural values of different groups are more likely to be associated with symbolic threats.¹²¹ In ethno-national or ethno-religious conflicts nevertheless, these two types of threat can simultaneously coexist and be highly correlated.

¹¹⁶ Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison (2009).

¹¹⁷ Stephan, Ybarra, Martnez, Schwarzwald, & Kaspa (1998).

¹¹⁸ Stephan et al. (2009).

¹¹⁹ Stephan et al. (2009).

¹²⁰ Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong (2001).

¹²¹ Stephan et al. (2009).

Perceived threats and intergroup relations

Both realistic and symbolic threats have been hypothesised and found to be highly correlated with negative stereotypes as well as intergroup anxiety.¹²² In fact, such is the theoretical proximity of these constructs that intergroup anxiety as well as negative stereotypes are considered by some analysts to constitute types of threat in their own right.¹²³ The relationship between them is a circular one. Negative stereotypes can lead to the perception of threats and perceived threats can, in turn, generate more negative stereotypes. In a similar manner, individuals with high intergroup anxiety are likely to perceive the outgroup as being more threatening, a perception which in turn contributes to elevated levels of anxiety about them.

Perceived threats, like negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety, have systematically been found to be predictors of negative attitudes towards the outgroup.¹²⁴ There is also ample evidence of the way in which the perception of threat influences behaviour. This can include hostile behaviour towards the outgroup, the desire for more distance from the outgroup, along with increased policing of the ingroup and increased intolerance of ingroup deviants.¹²⁵ It should also be noted that symbolic threats tend to lead to the de-humanisation, de-legitimisation, and moral exclusion of the outgroup, as opposed to realistic threats, which are more likely to induce withdrawal, avoidance, and aggression.

Finally, perceived threats have been found to be a key indicator of attitudes towards concessions made to the outgroup during the course of political negotiations. Studies into Israelis' and Palestinians' perceptions of each other, found that Israelis who perceived Palestinians as posing a higher level of threat were less supportive of making concessions to them.¹²⁶

SCORE results to date have shown that perceived threats do indeed go hand-in-hand with intergroup anxiety, something that applies in both Cyprus and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

¹²² Stephan et al. (1998).

¹²³ see the Integrated Threat Theory by Stephan & Stephan (2000).

¹²⁴ Stephan et al. (1998).

¹²⁵ Stephan et al. (2009).

¹²⁶ Maoz & McCauley (2009).

The correlations between threats and negative stereotypes, as well as between threats and social and cultural distance however, vary in their magnitude between different groups. The relationship between perceived threats and social distance, for example, is very strong in the Greek Cypriot community, but absent in the Turkish Cypriot community. In Bosnia and Herzegovina by contrast, cultural distance is found to be a correlate of perceived threats only for Serbs.

International best practice

Intergroup contact has been found to affect the perception of symbolic as well as realistic threats towards the ingroup. One study conducted in Germany found that direct friendships with foreigners were associated with a reduction in perceived levels of both symbolic and actual threats reported by their German participants.¹²⁷ The study furthermore found that direct friendships reduced perceptions of threat, which in turn led to a reduction in prejudice. Friendships between German respondents and foreigners in other words led to the German respondents reporting less prejudice towards foreigners because they regarded them as less threatening to their own group. A separate survey of the Jewish population in Israel produced similar results: positive intergroup contact was found to be associated with reduced threat perception, which in turn was associated with greater support for conciliatory policies.¹²⁸

In the same vein, an evaluation of the effects of a nation-building intervention programme in Malaysia, found that post-intervention contact among the majority Malay and minority Indian and Chinese groups led the latter two groups to view the majority group more positively. This effect was brought about by a reduction in perceptions of symbolic threat. By contrast, within the majority Malay group, although such contact led to participants rating the two minority outgroups more positively, this was not brought about by a reduction in levels of perceived threat.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Pettigrew, Christ, Wagner, & Stellmacher (2007).

¹²⁸ Pickett, Baker, Metcalfe, Gertz, & Bellandi (2014).

¹²⁹ Al Ramiah, Hewstone, Little, & Lang (2013).

Individuals who identify closely with the ingroup¹³⁰ are more likely to perceive the outgroup as a threat and to react to their perceptions than those who do not. For this reason, some interventions aimed at threat reduction have focused on ingroup identification work. However, this is an approach that should be used cautiously. Attempts to encourage individuals to re-define their social identity may, as has happened in the past, backfire. In Rwanda, for example, the government took measures to suppress ethnic identities, in an attempt to promote national unity. This policy had the effect of eliciting discussions about ethnicity that spilled over from the public to the private sphere. Recent studies have shown that Rwandans resisted this policy¹³¹ and that ethnic categorisation continues to be a salient element in people's lives.¹³²

Other examples of practices that did not produce the expected results include assimilationist policies in multi-ethnic countries such as the U.S.¹³³ and attempts to create a common, overarching ingroup identity that would encompass members of different groups.¹³⁴ Both of these practices actually contributed to higher levels of a particular kind of threat known as 'distinctiveness threat', created by a fear that the distinctiveness of one's group is being challenged.

It is clear that interventions that attempt to have any influence over ingroup identity need to be conducted with great sensitivity if they are to bring about the desired results. One possible approach may be to introduce the concept of dual identification, in which both the overarching shared identity, *as well as* the identities of the other groups, are highlighted and respected. If we take Bosnia and Herzegovina as an example, the promotion of dual identification would involve simultaneously highlighting both the ethnic identities of individual groups; Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, as well as the overarching shared identity of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Professor Herbert Kelman of Harvard University conducted extensive workshops to promote peace and reconciliation in the Middle East and concluded that the development of a dual identity was a necessary pre-condition for effective cooperation and ultimately reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians living in Israel.

¹³⁰ Riek, Gaertner, Dovidio et al. (2002).

¹³¹ Thomson in Bilali (2014).

¹³² Zorbas in Bilali (2014).

¹³³ Wolsko, Park, & Judd (2006).

¹³⁴ Hornsey & Hogg (2000).

B4. Components of Reconciliation

Cultural distance

Cultural distance relates to perceived similarities and differences between the culture of the ingroup and the culture of other social groups. Even though cultural distance is not a standard variable to be included in the measurement of reconciliation, significant differences between the beliefs and values of the ingroup and those of other social groups can lead to negative prejudices towards the other, which undermine reconciliation.

Cultural distance and intergroup relations

According to belief congruence theory¹³⁵ and similarity attraction theory,¹³⁶ the more similar the belief systems of the outgroup to those of the ingroup and the more commonalities the two groups share, the more positive will be the attitudes of one group towards the other. Of course, the reverse may be true too. The more negative the attitudes of one group towards another, the more dissimilar members of that group will perceive members of the other group to be. The way we perceive other groups in other words, is not unrelated to the attitudes we already hold about them.

There is an interesting and counter-intuitive link between *actual* group similarities and differences and *perceived* similarities and differences, as measured via cultural distance. Research has demonstrated that the more *objectively similar* two groups are, the greater the needs of ingroupers to distinguish themselves and their ingroup from the outgroup, in order to preserve their uniqueness. As Jetten and Spears (2003), put it: "...[negative] reactions to groups [can be] driven by the narcissism of small differences". This idea is supported by what is known as the Optimal Distinctiveness Model,¹³⁷ according to

¹³⁵ Rokeach & Rothman (1965).

¹³⁶ Byrne (1971).

¹³⁷ Brewer (1991).

which individuals have two contrasting needs; the need to belong and the need to be distinct. This model predicts that individuals will be more content in a situation where they find that they belong, without compromising their uniqueness. By extension it would be reasonable to expect that individuals would react negatively to situations that do not satisfy those needs, in which they either feel too similar to or too different from others

If citizens feel materially, physically, and culturally secure, they will be more willing to commit themselves to national reconciliation processes.

Extrapolating from this, our prediction is that individuals will be more likely to present themselves as qualitatively different from other groups that are in fact very *similar* to their own. This, would be particularly likely in instances where the outgroup is seen as a threat to the uniqueness of the ingroup. We would extend the hypothesis further and argue that a link can also be made with symbolic threats and that perceived symbolic threats will lead to

respondents reporting greater cultural distance between their respective groups.

So, reported cultural distance can be either a reflection of concerns about the uniqueness and purity of one's own group, or a more accurate perception of two genuinely culturally diverse groups. The consequences are the same in both cases, in terms of its negative impact on intergroup relations. We expect cultural distance to be related to more negative stereotypes (and in fact to reinforce such stereotypes, in order to justify increased cultural distance). We also expect increased cultural distance to be closely linked to a greater desire for social distance, to greater anxiety and as already mentioned, to an increased perception of other groups as threatening.

SCORE results in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Cyprus reveal that cultural distance is most closely related to social distance and to negative stereotypes. The relationship between cultural distance, anxiety and perceived threat varies from group to group. In SCORE Cyprus 2014, for example, there was a stronger relationship between anxiety and threat perception and cultural distance amongst Greek Cypriots than amongst Turkish Cypriots.

International best practice

While common sense would dictate that any interventions which highlight intergroup similarities would contribute to a reduction in cultural distance and therefore an improvement in intergroup relations, this approach is in fact not substantiated by existing research. Individuals can, on the contrary, be particularly resistant to efforts to highlight intergroup similarities if such similarities are perceived as compromising the ‘uniqueness’ of the ingroup – and by extension of the individual. This can have the opposite effect to that which was intended and can lead to a desire to distance oneself and one’s group from the outgroup, rather than experiencing a greater affinity towards them.

This appears to be vindicated by recent studies in Cyprus. Researchers asked Greek Cypriot participants to imagine having a positive interaction with a Turkish Cypriot stranger, with whom they strike up a conversation. Participants were then asked in an experimental manipulation to imagine that during the course of the conversation, they discovered that Greek and Turkish Cypriots were: 1) very similar; 2) very different; or 3) both similar and different, in terms of their ways of life and aspirations. The results showed that the similarity and the dissimilarity conditions (1 and 2) elicited more negative attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots than condition 3 that combined similarities and dissimilarities. Further analyses showed that the superiority of the third condition over the other two was explained by the fact that intergroup similarities were successfully acknowledged without posing a threat to the distinctiveness of the ingroup.¹³⁸

It seems clear that interventions focusing on intergroup similarity and difference as strategies to address cultural distance should be conducted with great sensitivity, as they can all too easily backfire. However, if such interventions allow for the simultaneous affirmation of *similarities* as well as *differences* between two groups, they can indeed have the desired positive effects for intergroup relations.

One particularly fruitful contact intervention was designed to encourage Israeli and Palestinian youth to talk about their respective cultures, their own experiences of the conflict, their national identities and political views.¹³⁹ The work was particularly

¹³⁸ Ioannou, Hewstone, & Al Ramiah (2014).

¹³⁹ Maoz (2003).

successful amongst those who had previously held more hardline or ‘hawkish’ views before contact. Other studies in Israel involving politically and ideologically hardline participants have shown that such individuals tend to question sources of information that do not correspond to their existing views¹⁴⁰ and to disregard information that contradicts them.¹⁴¹ These findings suggest that interventions targeting people who exhibit high degrees of negative prejudice towards the outgroup can be beneficial as long as they do not feel coerced or in some way threatened by the contact-intervention.

Research on intergroup contact has shown that direct as well as indirect contact can lead to a perception of the outgroup as being part of oneself¹⁴² and to a desire to discover more things about the outgroup’s culture.¹⁴³ Including the other in oneself is not exactly a measure of cultural distance, but it shares similarities with it, as it is essentially inquiring into the extent to which an individual perceives that the self and the ‘other’ overlap, in other words, the extent to which aspects of the other are included in the self. Finally, the urge to discover the culture of another group through watching films and television programmes, listening to music and learning a language¹⁴⁴ corresponds to the goals of peace-building programmes that focus on intercultural dialogue.

B5. Components of Reconciliation

Social distance

Social distance is probably the strongest predictor of peaceful coexistence which is key for reconciliation. It is also the most proximal predictor to outgroup behaviours as opposed to, for example, stereotypes and cultural distance, which are both about *perceptions* of the outgroup, rather than about the *actual* relationship the individual may wish to have with the outgroup.

¹⁴⁰ Bar-Tal, Raviv, & Freund (1994).

¹⁴¹ Maoz (1999).

¹⁴² Turner et al. (2007).

¹⁴³ Eller, Abrams, & Gomez (2012)

¹⁴⁴ See the work of Eller et al (2012) on intercultural dialogue between Anglo Americans and Mexicans.

Measuring behaviour or behavioural intentions is important for several reasons: Firstly, behaviour, as opposed to beliefs or attitudes, is salient. It is observable and can, along with its consequences, be experienced by the outgroup. It is important in this context to be clear about the distinction between for example, holding negative attitudes about the outgroup and explicitly discriminating against it. The latter is observable and can have a serious negative impact on intergroup relations. Secondly, although common sense would advocate that an individual's perceptions of the outgroup, as well their feelings about it, would accurately predict behaviour towards that group, this is not in fact the case. A substantial amount of research on the relationship between attitudes and beliefs on the one hand and behaviour on the other, has shown that, contrary to expectation, attitudes often do not predict behaviour.¹⁴⁵ We also know that whether or not attitudes manifest themselves as corresponding behaviour depends on factors such as whether that behaviour is socially approved and corresponds to group norms and whether the individual feels confident about behaving in a particular way. An individual may, for example, favour equality of opportunity between social groups in principle, but in practice reject a job application from an outgroup member on the grounds of their being an outgroup member. Another example could be: an individual who in general terms favours closer relationships with outgroup members, but who is nonetheless resistant to the idea of an outgroup member as a family member.

Social distance and intergroup relations

Social distance is perceived to be a *consequence*, rather than an *antecedent* of most of the other components of reconciliation. Negative stereotypes, perceived threats and intergroup anxiety, have been found to predict social distance with high levels of accuracy. However, the directionality of the relation between cultural and social distance is less straightforward. If an individual perceives a social group to be culturally distant from his or her own group, she or he will probably be less willing to have a close relationships with this group. The desire for social distance on the other hand, will keep an individual away from the outgroup and therefore ignorant of it, its culture and ways of life. This ignorance may lead to the perception that the outgroup is culturally and otherwise very different from the ingroup.

¹⁴⁵ Eagly & Chaiken (1993).

It might be useful to highlight some specific links between the remaining reconciliation components and social distance. Intergroup anxiety is probably the component of reconciliation that is most closely linked to social distance. As we have already mentioned, individuals who are apprehensive of intergroup encounters will be reluctant to form relationships with outgroup members.¹⁴⁶ The relationship between perceived threats and social distance on the other hand, is more complex. We predict that realistic threats would be more closely linked with the desire *not* to have outgroupers as co-workers, neighbours, bosses, or supervisors, whereas symbolic threats would be more closely linked with a reluctance to accept outgroupers as members of one's family or as close friends.

Previous research has found little evidence of any direct links between holding negative stereotypes and maintaining social distance from the outgroup. However, negative stereotypes do have an indirect connection with social distance via the other two components, intergroup anxiety and perceived threats. In other words *because* negative stereotypes can lead to higher anxiety and the perception of more threats, they can indirectly lead to less willingness to have close relationships with the outgroup.

There is one more crucial point that is worth mentioning here, as it is very much related to relevant practices. It may be that unwillingness to have closer relationships with the outgroup does not stem from negative attitudes towards that outgroup, but rather from a lack of confidence in knowing how to relate to group members. Feeling anxious and unconfident about forming closer relationships with the outgroup is common, particularly in the context of relationships with members of stigmatised groups, such as people with mental disabilities¹⁴⁷ or groups we do not know much about, as illustrated by studies into attitudes towards Chinese students in Germany.¹⁴⁸ Anxiety and lack of confidence can also be particularly prevalent in the context of long-standing segregation and low intergroup contact such as exists in Cyprus.¹⁴⁹

To summarize, social distance is, in most cases, a consequence of negative attitudes towards an outgroup that is perceived as threatening to the ingroup. This is particularly the case when intergroup relations are tense, or when memories of past traumas and conflict are still strong. However, in instances where intergroup relations are calmer

¹⁴⁶ Henderson-King & Nisbett (1996).

¹⁴⁷ West, Holmes, & Hewstone (2011).

¹⁴⁸ Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright (2011).

¹⁴⁹ Ioannou et al. (2014).

and less belligerent, it can also be a consequence of low confidence and high anxiety, stemming from a fear of the unknown.

SCORE index results in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Cyprus, showed that intergroup anxiety relates most strongly to social distance, closely followed by perceived threats. The relationship between stereotypes and social distance varies between groups; for example, there was a strong connection between the two constructs amongst Croat respondents questioned about their relationships with Serbs. However, the connection was weaker in the context of Serb attitudes towards Bosniaks. Cultural distance was also found to correlate to social distance across countries and groups. The relationship between cultural and social distance was even stronger within the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, thus suggesting that cultural distance contributes significantly to social distance amongst Cypriots.

International best practice

Research has shown that positive intergroup contact whether that is direct, extended or imagined, can lead to reduced anxiety levels and consequently to reduced social distance.¹⁵⁰ In fact indirect forms of contact, both imagined and extended (when a member of one's own group has a close relationship with an outgroup), are particularly useful in helping to prepare people for future direct contact, reducing their anxiety and increasing their willingness to participate in closer engagement with the outgroup.¹⁵¹ Recent studies have also shown that both extended¹⁵² and imagined¹⁵³ contact were successful in increasing individuals' reported efficacy and confidence about actual face- to-face interactions with the outgroup.

In one three-week-long study in Italy, imagined contact and fictional narratives formed the basis of interventions in schools targeting 10-year-olds and their relationships with

¹⁵⁰ Husnu & Crisp (2010); Turner et al. (2013).

¹⁵¹ Gommez, Tropp, & Fernandez (2011).

¹⁵² Mazziotta et al. (2011).

¹⁵³ Stathi, Crisp, & Hogg (2012).

immigrants.¹⁵⁴ The intervention involved imagining meeting an unknown immigrant peer in various situations. Pupils who participated in the intervention reported lower social distance, compared to the control group. Similar results were recorded in another study by the same researchers, who invited Italian children to read a story book which was either related to the subject of multiculturalism or, in the case of the control group, was unrelated. More positive behavioural intentions towards immigrants were reported by the children who had read the story with the multicultural message.¹⁵⁵

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In similar studies in the US, individuals who watched a television programme which portrayed positive relations between blacks and whites reported less social distance towards the outgroup than those who had not watched the programme.¹⁵⁶ This may of course be because people who already held positive attitudes towards the outgroup were more inclined to watch the show. However, studies elsewhere, most notably of the *Musekweya* radio series in Rwanda, have shown that the majority of the targeted audience reported

that similar shows had a positive impact. More specifically,¹⁵⁷ less social distance was recorded among respondents who had been following the show for a year.

The effects of edutainment on social distance may be explained in terms of mechanisms of social learning,¹⁵⁸ whereby 'certain behaviours are encouraged or discouraged by the use of negative, positive and transitional characters in a serial drama.' It would be reasonable, therefore to expect that role modelling would 'influence efficacy and outcome expectations for engaging in behaviours that drive social change.'¹⁵⁹ In other words, characters in the series act as role models for the audience who, via observing their behaviour acquire the know-how (and hence the efficacy and confidence) to behave in the same way themselves.

¹⁵⁴ Vezzali, Capozza, Giovannini & Stathi (2011).

¹⁵⁵ Vezzali, et al. (2011).

¹⁵⁶ Ortiz & Harwood (2007).

¹⁵⁷ Paluck (2009).

¹⁵⁸ Bandura (1977).

¹⁵⁹ Bilali (2014).

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Chapter Four

The Cyprus SCORE: Finding new ways to resolve a frozen conflict

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The SCORE index was developed and first applied in Cyprus; for the first time in 2013 and then 2014 and 2015. The SCORE methodology described in chapter two is the result of refinements made during the evolution of the Cyprus SCORE and lessons learned from the SCORE project which was implemented in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2013. This chapter is devoted to the presentation of the findings of SCORE Cyprus 2014 and 2015. Comparisons to 2013 data will be made when presenting trends or changes across time points. The three questionnaires, SCORE 2013, 2014, 2015 are to a great extent identical. As SCORE 2013 had an exploratory nature and was used as a pilot for the SCORE project, however, we chose to focus on the presentation of the findings of SCORE 2014 and 2015 for which improved versions of the SCORE 2013 questionnaire were deployed.

The chapter will consist of the following sections: the first section will highlight the main methodological differences between SCORE 2013 and subsequent iterations of the tool; the second section will be the presentation and the discussion of the results of the descriptive analysis of the SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 data. Then third section will be comprised of findings of the comparison of 2013, 2014 and 2015 results in such cases where this is possible, and the fourth section will be the presentation of the results of the predictive analysis of SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 data. The final section of the chapter concludes with the discussion of the main findings and the presentation of policy recommendations.

Part 1

Methodological highlights

The data collection for SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 took place between July and September 2014 and June and July 2015 respectively. In both iterations, five hundred participants were interviewed from each of the two main communities (Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots) in a sample that was representative of the voting population. Approximately equal numbers of male and female participants were interviewed (SCORE 2014: Greek Cypriots; 229 male, 271 female; Turkish Cypriots; 279 male, 221 female; SCORE 2015: Greek Cypriots; 243 male, 257 female; Turkish Cypriots; 269 male, 231 female). A break-down of the sample by district can be seen in (Table 1). These are: Nicosia (Greek Cypriot Community - GCC), Limassol, Larnaka, Paphos, Famagusta (GCC), Nicosia (Turkish Cypriot Community - TCC), Kyrenia, Famagusta (TCC), Morfou, and Iskele (Karpas).

	SCORE 2014	SCORE 2015
	N/ district	N/ district
Nicosia (GCC)	196	190
Limassol	139	140
Larnaka	85	80
Paphos	53	60
Famagusta (GCC)	27	30
Nicosia (TCC)	164	164
Kyrenia	123	121
Famagusta (TCC)	115	120
Morfou	58	55
Iskele (Karpas)	40	40

Table 1. Sample size per district in SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015

Measuring social cohesion and reconciliation:

As described in more detail in the SCORE methodology document, social cohesion and reconciliation are abstract constructs that can be measured by a set of indicators. The selection of indicators was based on social psychology and human development theories. Statistical analysis techniques such as Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) were used to verify whether the indicators which were theoretically *expected* to make up the second order factors (social cohesion and reconciliation) *actually* did so based on the data.

Social cohesion

In SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015, Confirmatory Factor Analyses showed that social cohesion is made up of the following indicators: transparency (freedom from corruption), satisfaction with civic life, trust in institutions, confidence in their representational capacity, economic security, political security and personal security. The specific items via which each indicator was measured are shown in Figure 1.

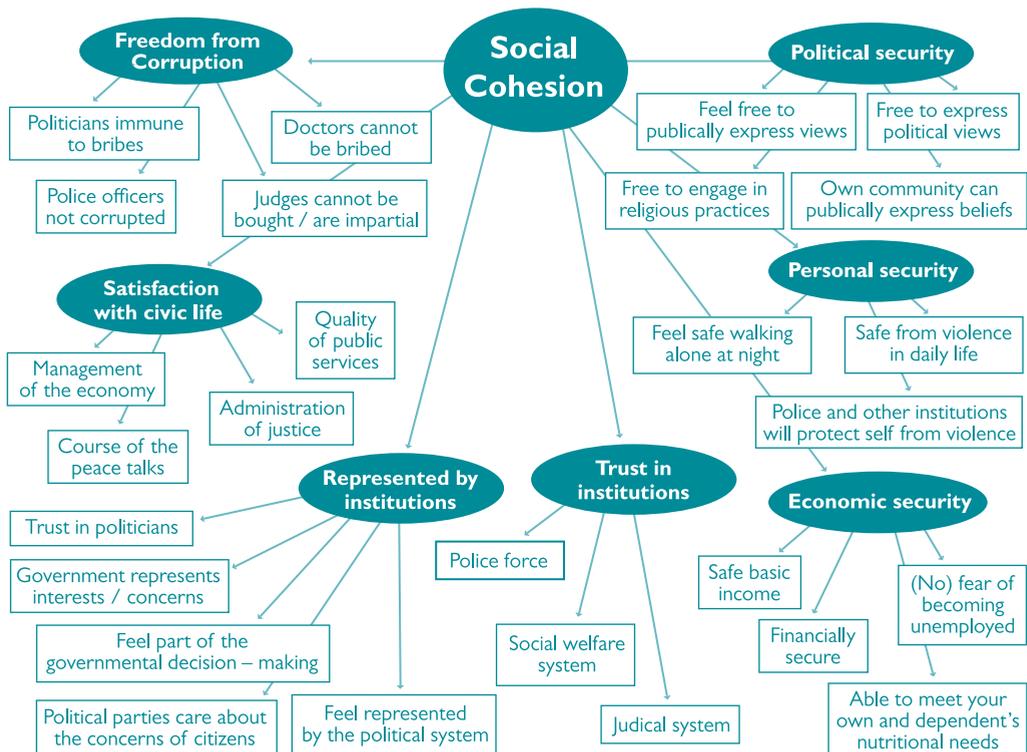


Figure 1. Indicators of social cohesion and items used to measure each indicator.

Reconciliation

Confirmatory factors analyses showed that Reconciliation was best measured by the following five indicators for both SCORE 2013 and SCORE 2015. This was the case for both communities. The five indicators are: negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, social threats, social distance, and negative discrimination. They are shown in Figure 2 along with the items used to measure each indicator.

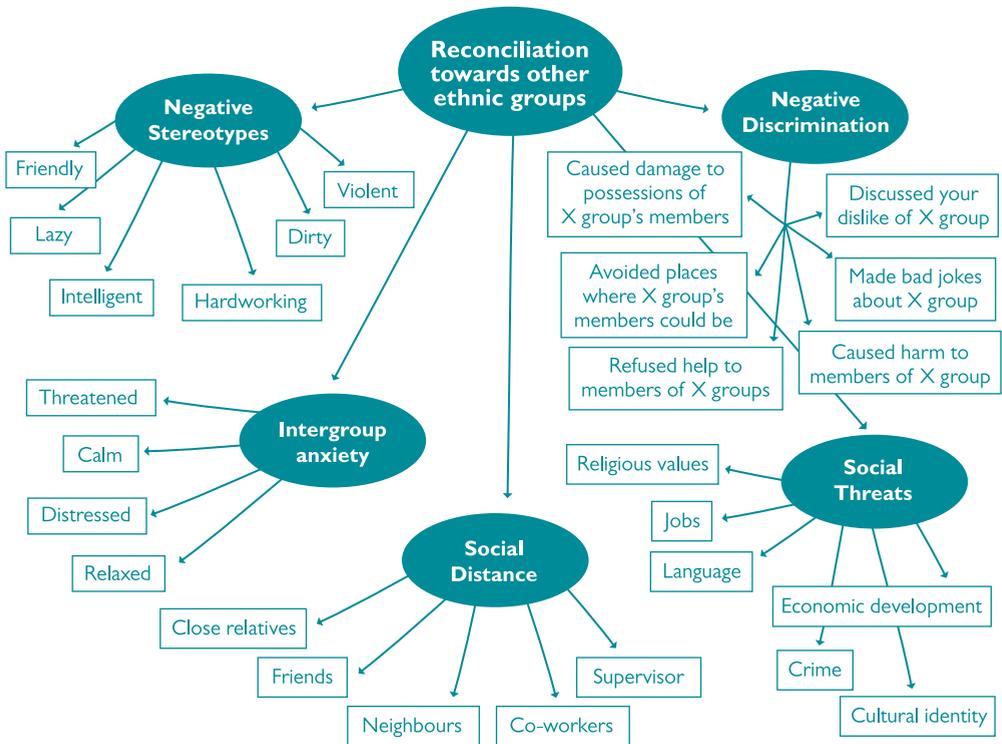


Figure 2. Indicators of reconciliation and items used to measure each indicator.

Readiness for political compromise and personal distress

Apart from social cohesion and reconciliation in both of the latest iterations of SCORE in Cyprus we included items to measure two more dimensions, the first one being (readiness for) political compromise and the second one being personal distress. The dimension of political compromise was measured via the exact same items in both SCORE 2014 and 2015. These four items (see Figure 3) were: support for a federal solution, support for ending the status quo, expectation that peace negotiations will conclude, intention to vote 'yes' at a future referendum.

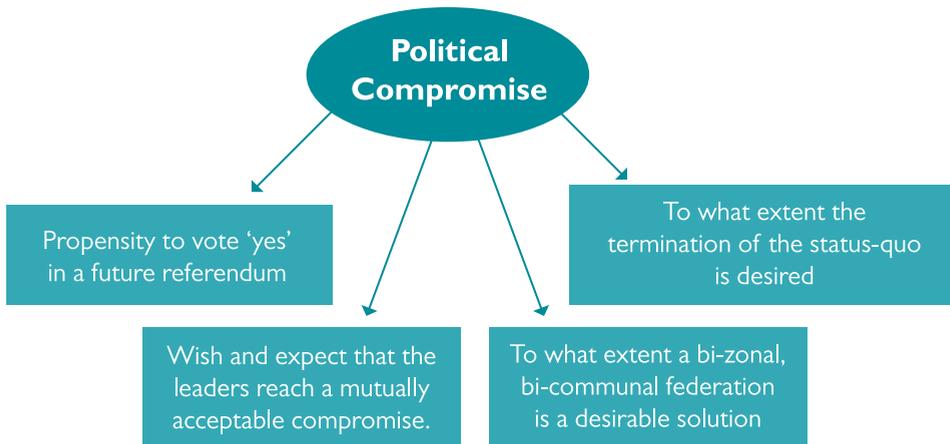


Figure 3. Items measuring readiness for political compromise.

The dimensions of personal distress varied substantially between the 2014 and 2015 iterations of SCORE Cyprus, since for SCORE 2015 we intentionally tried to better capture and measure this additional dimension. For this reason many more items were included in the SCORE 2015 questionnaire aiming at tackling personal distress.

The indicators making up this construct in SCORE 2014 were: (dis)satisfaction with personal life and social exclusion (see Figure 4) while the indicators making up the

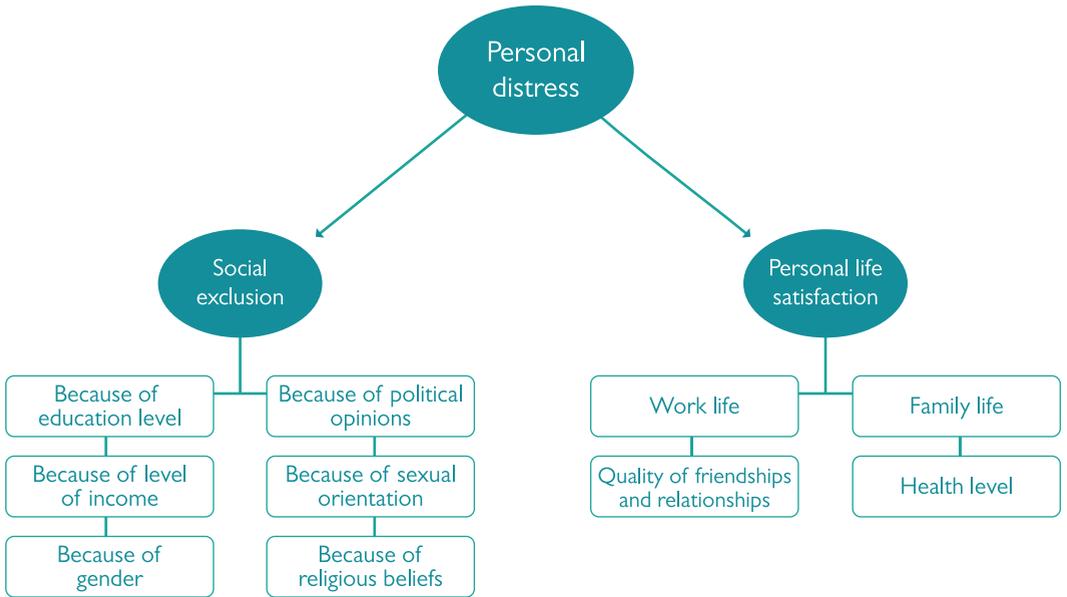


Figure 4. Indicators of personal distress and items used to measure each indicator (SCORE 2014).

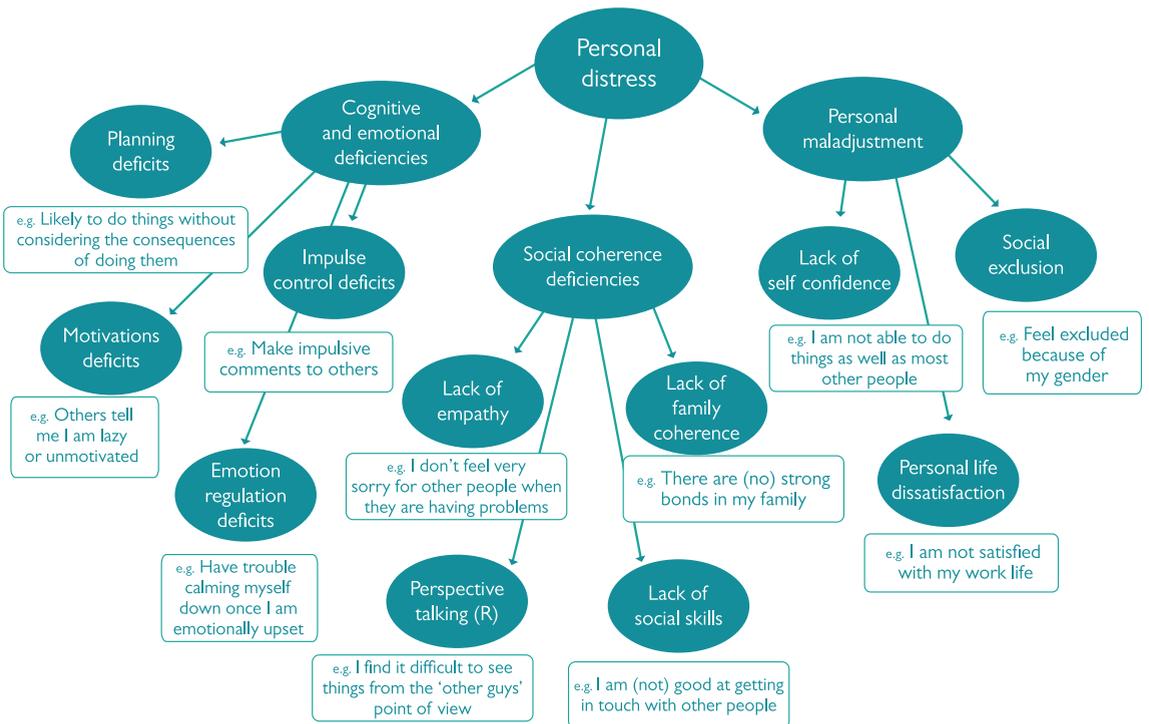


Figure 5. Indicators and sub-indicators of personal distress and examples of items used to measure each sub-indicator (SCORE 2015).

personal distress dimension for SCORE 2015 were: cognitive and emotional deficiencies, lack of social coherence, and personal maladjustment. The sub-indicators making up each of these indicators of personal distress are seen in Figure 5.

Finally, there is a set of stand-alone variables, which do not form part of any of the previously mentioned dimensions, and which were included in both SCORE 2014 and 2015 in Cyprus. Some of them are more closely related to civic life and therefore to social cohesion. These are: information consumption and civic engagement. Others, which are more closely connected to intergroup relations and therefore to reconciliation, are: the quantity and quality of intergroup contact and cultural distance.

Results

What do the numbers mean?

The numbers presented in the descriptive section of the results are means, or rather scores, on each of the dimensions or indicators presented. All scores range between 0 and 10 where 0 and 10 mean different things depending on the valence of the indicator. The name of the indicators suggests its valence. If, for example, we take the indicator 'social threat', which measures the perception of threat from other groups as experienced by respondents, then the very name of the indicator, 'social threat', suggests that a high scoring would mean a higher and not a lower threat.

The numbers outlined in the predictive analysis of the data, represent regression coefficients. These are basically values that show whether and how one variable (indicator) relates to another variable. We only report coefficients that are statistically significant; statistical significance is denoted with an asterisk (*) next to the value¹. The greater the value of the coefficient, the stronger the relationship between the two variables is. A positive value indicates a positive relationship between the two variables, while a negative value indicates a negative relationship between them.

¹ Note that the significance level (α) was set at 5% and therefore coefficients with a p-value < 0.05 were considered to be statistically significant. Note also that we are reporting standardized coefficients.

Margin of error and comparison between SCORE 2013, SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 results

The margin of error is basically an indication of the likelihood that the results generated by our representative sample would be replicated if the whole voting population of the two communities took part in the study. The estimated margin of error for the whole sample in SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 was 3.2% and 4.5% for each individual community. To illustrate what a margin of 4.5% means, let us take the following example: if the reconciliation score of Greek Cypriots towards Turkish Cypriots is 6.3 then this tells us that if SCORE 2014 were to be repeated with 100 different samples, there is a 95 percent chance that any value produced for reconciliation would lie between 6.0 and 6.5.

The margin of error for SCORE 2013 was 2.6% for the whole sample, 3.8% for the Greek Cypriot community and 3.5% for the Turkish Cypriot community. This discrepancy is due to the fact that the sample size of each community was uneven: there were more Turkish Cypriots than Greek Cypriot participants and the margin of error is affected by sample size.

Knowing the margin of error for SCORE 2013 and SCORE 2014 and 2015 allows us to estimate roughly which of the differences between the three measurements are substantial and meaningful and which are not. Reconciliation of Greek Cypriots towards Turkish Cypriots, as recorded in Cyprus 2013 for example, was 5.9, a lower score than that recorded in SCORE 2014. With a margin of error of 3.8% the 2013 score for reconciliation ranges from 5.7 to 6.1. The fact that the maximum possible value of SCORE 2014 (6.1) lies within the range of the SCORE 2014 reconciliation spectrum, warns us that the differences between the reconciliation score in 2013 and 2014 may not be substantial or meaningful enough to capitalize on.

Leaving aside the margin of error, in general, comparisons between the three iterations of SCORE in Cyprus should be interpreted with great caution. In each case the samples were different, making strict longitudinal comparisons impossible. Furthermore, the SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 questionnaires were substantially re-drafted and so some of the disparities between the indices may be the consequence of methodological variation for example, differences in the presentation and order of questions, rather than substantive differences.

Descriptive analysis: presentation of the scores for SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015

Social cohesion

Levels of social cohesion were reported to be higher in the Turkish Cypriot (TC) community than in the Greek Cypriot (GC) community in both SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015. In 2014 as seen in Table 2, Turkish Cypriots reported: more transparency (freedom from corruption), being better represented by institutions, and more economic and personal security, in comparison with Greek Cypriots. The only dimension of social cohesion on which Greek Cypriots reported higher scores was political security. As can also be seen in Table 2, in both communities the main indicator driving down levels of social cohesion is confidence in the representational capacity of institutions.

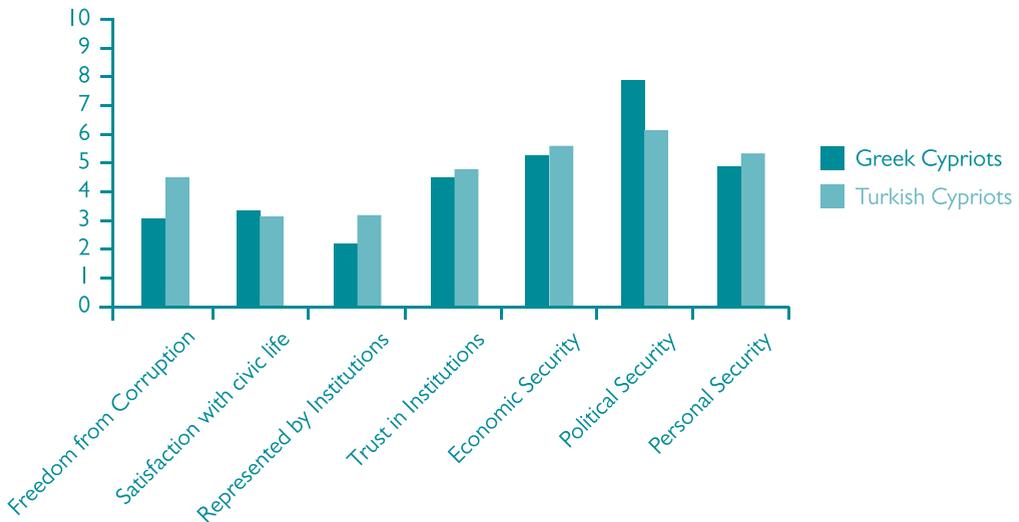


Table 2. Scores for each of the social cohesion indicators in the two communities, SCORE 2014

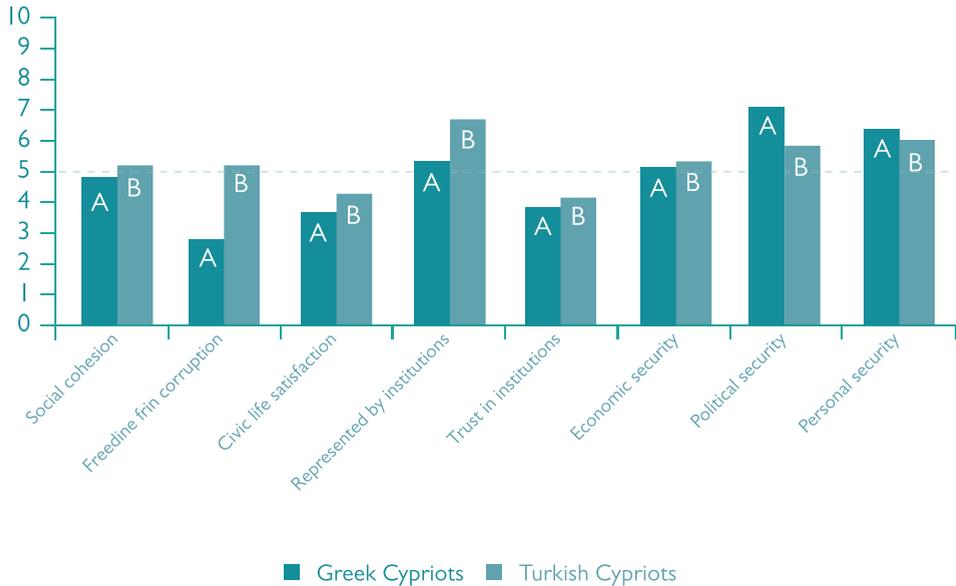


Table 3. Scores for each of the social cohesion indicators in the two communities, SCORE 2015

In 2015 (see Table 3), Turkish Cypriots who overall score higher on social cohesion, report less corruption of the institutions than Greek Cypriots, more satisfaction with civic life and state that they feel more represented by the institutions (in comparison to Greek Cypriots). Greek Cypriots on the other hand score slightly higher than Turkish Cypriots on the human security indicators. Greek Cypriots report feeling more political and more personal security than Turkish Cypriots. Civic life satisfaction and trust in institutions (as well as freedom from corruption for Greek Cypriots) are the indicators that are driving down the levels of social cohesion in both communities.

An interesting discrepancy between year 2014 and 2015 is found in the extent to which individuals feel represented by institutions. Scores on this indicator became higher between years 2014 and 2015 in both communities, and this indicator is essentially responsible for the significant increase in social cohesion in both communities between years 2014 and 2015. Social cohesion moved from 3.9 to 4.9 in the Greek Cypriot community and from 4.4 to 5.3 in the Turkish Cypriot community within the course of a year.

In general, young (18 to 35 year-old) in comparison to the older cohort (over 55 year-olds) and left-wing Greek Cypriots in comparison to right-wing Greek Cypriots are the

segments of the Greek Cypriot population who report the lowest levels of social cohesion in both years. Young Greek Cypriots are score lower in economic security, whereas left-wingers report lower on the indicators that concern institutions and civic life. In the Turkish Cypriot community too, young Turkish Cypriots are the group reporting the lowest levels of social cohesion with economic security being the indicator of social cohesion that mostly differentiated them from the eldest (over 55 group).

There are interesting region discrepancies in both communities when it comes to social cohesion indicators in both iterations of SCORE. In both SCORE 2014 and 2015, Greek Cypriots living in Paphos and those living in Nicosia are the ones who report more corruption of the institutions and less civic life satisfaction. Particularly people in Paphos state that they do not trust institutions and that they do not feel represented by them. The only exception to this pattern is observed for personal security. Limassol is the district for which the lowest levels of personal security are scored.

Differences between regions on the social cohesion indicators became even more apparent in year 2015 where we have people living in Kyrenia and to a lesser extent people living in Morphou showing the least trust to institutions, feeling the least represented by them, and feeling unhappy with civic life. People in Famagusta, on the other hand, score the lowest on the human security indicators: lower economic, personal, and political security than other regions.

Personal distress

The descriptive results for personal distress are going to be presented separately for year 2014 and year 2015 due to the fact that this dimension was measured with substantially different indicators in the two years. We will discuss these findings for each community separately and will refrain from making inter-community comparisons as they carry little meaning for this dimension. We will furthermore highlight the most important demographic differences on this dimension and its indicators within each community.

SCORE 2014

Table 4 presents the personal distress scores, along with the scores of its constituent indicators (social exclusion and personal life dissatisfaction). It is clear that Greek Cypriots experience significantly less distress in their personal lives than Turkish Cypriots. This applies to both aspects of personal distress (social exclusion and dissatisfaction with personal life).

One factor that affects levels of personal distress in both communities is age. Younger Greek and Turkish Cypriots reported experiencing more exclusion and more dissatisfaction with personal life than those over 55. Greek Cypriots reported greater social exclusion due to income, education, and sexual orientation, while their Turkish Cypriot counterparts reported greater social exclusion based on gender, level of income, religious beliefs and political opinions. As for dissatisfaction with personal life, young Greek and Turkish Cypriots are more dissatisfied with most aspects of their personal lives (namely work life, family life, and quality of personal relationships) than the over-55 group, with the greatest discrepancy being, as expected, in work life.

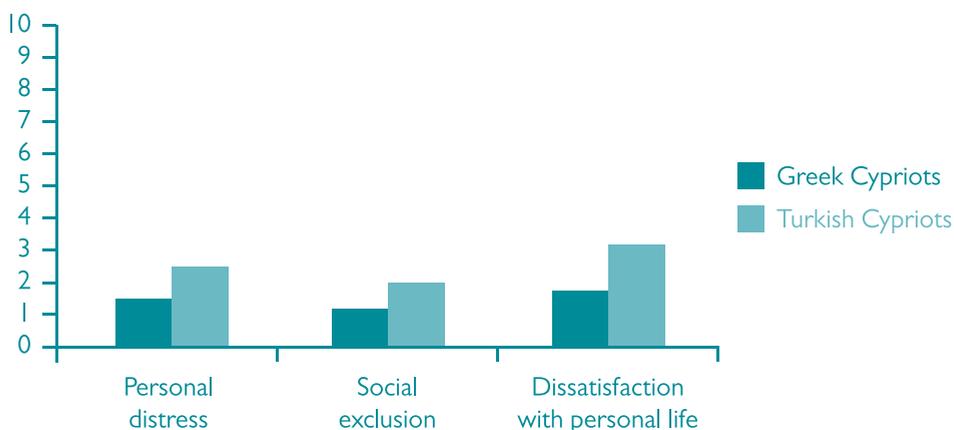


Table 4. Scores for personal distress, social exclusion, and dissatisfaction with personal life in the two communities, SCORE 2014.

SCORE 2015

Table 5 shows the scores of the two communities on each of the sub-indicators of the personal distress indicators. In terms of cognitive and emotional deficits, Greek and Turkish Cypriots find emotion regulation to be a relatively bigger challenge than for example motivation. Regarding social coherence, both communities score high on social skills and family coherence and somewhat lower for empathy and perspective taking. Social exclusion is at very low levels in both communities and overall people of both communities report high levels of self-confidence and high levels of personal life satisfaction.

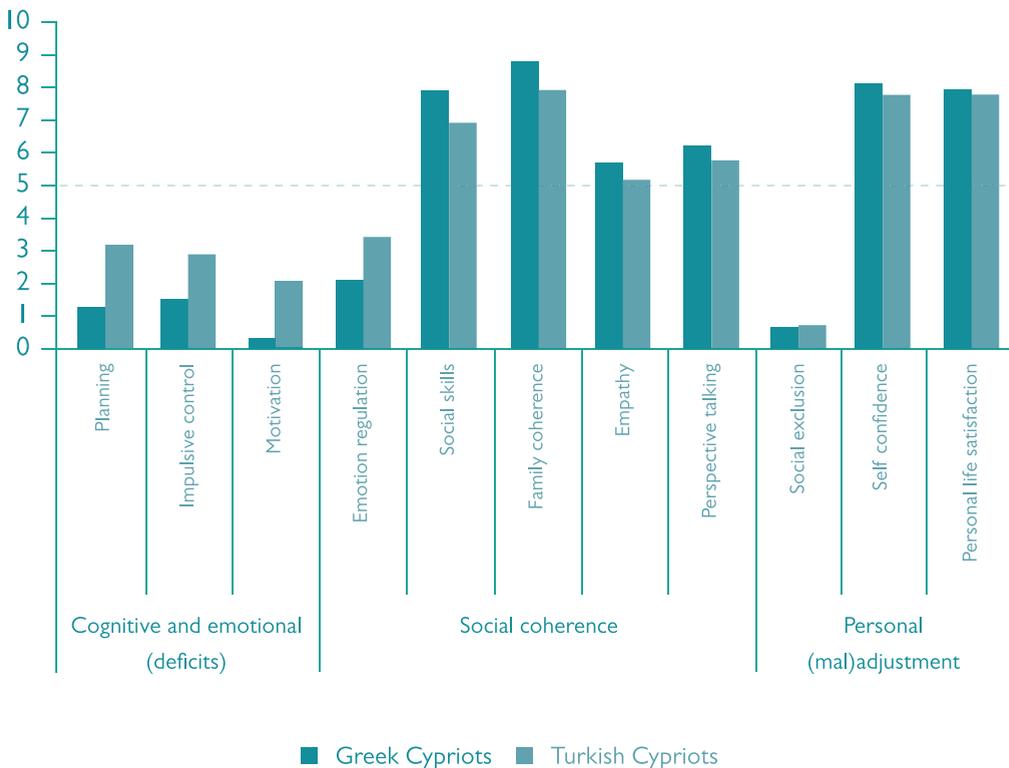


Table 5. Scores for the sub-indicators of the personal distress indicators (cognitive and emotional deficits, social coherence, and personal (mal)adjustment in the two communities, SCORE 2015.

There are certain demographic variables that affect the levels of the cognitive and emotional deficits indicators of the personal distress dimension. These variables are to a great extent similar in the two communities. Age, religiosity and to a lesser extent education and gender affect the levels of cognitive and emotional deficits. Older individuals are better at controlling their impulses, better at motivating themselves to assume action, and better at regulating their emotions. More religious individuals in both communities report to be better at controlling their impulsive behavior and at planning. Finally more highly educated people are also better at planning whereas women in both communities report to be better at regulating their emotions than men.

The levels of the remaining two indicators of personal distress, social coherence and personal mal(adjustment), are not determined by any specific demographic variables in either community. The only relationships found is between (higher) education and (better) social skills in the Greek Cypriot community and (higher) education and (more) family coherence in the Turkish Cypriot community. Education and religiosity are also positively correlated with self confidence among Greek Cypriots. The higher one's level of education and religiosity the more self-confidence one reports.

Reconciliation

SCORE Cyprus measured each community's propensity for 'reconciliation' with other ethnic, religious, or cultural groups. It should be noted here that the term 'reconciliation' based on its pure definition should strictly speaking only be used to describe the relationship between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In this respect, when investigating relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots with other communities living on the island, we are not assessing propensities for *reconciliation* since there has been no breach or rupture between either the Greek or the Turkish Cypriot community with any of them. However, by expanding this category to include other ethnic groups living in Cyprus, we are able to place Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot attitudes to each other in the broader context of their attitudes to all outgroups.

The SCORE 2014 data (Figure 6) show that the two communities do not differ in terms of how reconciliatory they are towards each other. Differences between the two communities do exist however in their attitudes towards other groups. Greek Cypriots, as expected, are significantly more positively disposed to Armenians and Maronites than

Turkish Cypriots are. They also make a distinction between East and West Europeans, as well as between Europeans (especially West Europeans) and Asians, Arabs, and Africans whom they appear to cluster into one category. More specifically, Greek Cypriots see West Europeans in a more sympathetic light than East Europeans, Asian, Arabs, and Africans, making a distinction between them and the others. The other finding that stands out for Greek Cypriots is how *unreconciled* they are to Turks.

The Greek Cypriot community therefore appears to make two important distinctions, between Europeans and non-Europeans, and between Greeks and Turks. These two divides are not as stark in the Turkish Cypriot community. The gap, for example, between attitudes towards West Europeans and East Europeans and towards West Europeans and the Arab/African/Asian group is small for the TC community, and so is the gap between attitudes towards Turks and Greeks.

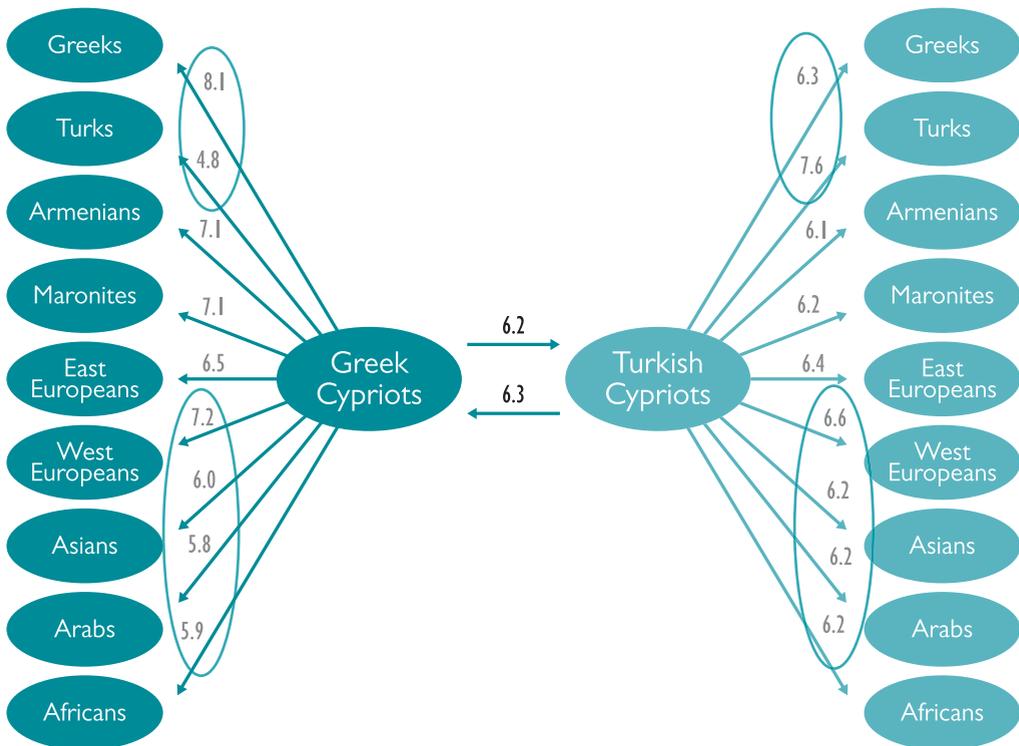


Figure 6. Attitudes of Greek and Turkish Cypriots towards mutual reconciliation, as well as attitudes towards other social groups. The closer the score is to 10 the higher the propensity for 'reconciliation' with that particular group, SCORE 2014.

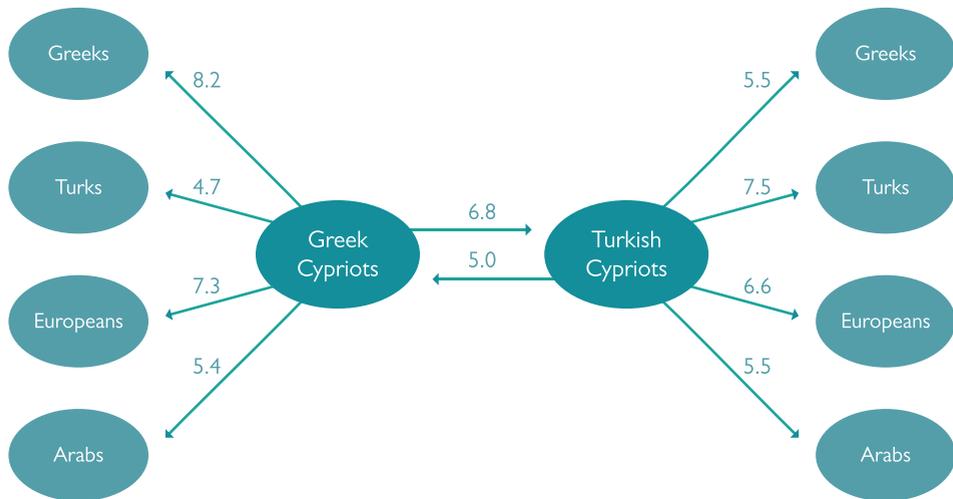


Figure 7. Attitudes of Greek and Turkish Cypriots towards mutual reconciliation, as well as attitudes towards other social groups. The closer the score is to 10 the higher the propensity for ‘reconciliation’ with that particular group, SCORE 2015.

The SCORE 2015 data (Figure 7) show the attitudes towards reconciliation of the two communities towards each other to differ. Greek Cypriots report a greater tendency for reconciliation with the Turkish Cypriot community than Turkish Cypriots do with the Greek Cypriot community. It can be argued, in fact, that Turkish Cypriots are overall not positive to the idea of reconciliation with the other community as they score in the middle of the 10-point scale.

The tendency of Greek Cypriots to distinguish between European/ non European; East/ West; Turkish/ Greeks is seen again in SCORE 2015. The gap in attitudes towards Turks and Greeks on one hand and Europeans and Arabs on the other is greater than the corresponding gaps for Turkish Cypriots. Greek Cypriots are substantially more positive towards Greeks and Europeans than towards Turks and Arabs whereas Turkish Cypriots do not make as sharp distinction between (attitudes towards) Greeks and Turks and (attitudes towards) Europeans and Arabs.

Reconciliation profile

An analysis of reconciliation at the indicator-level shows that the 'reconciliation profile' of the two communities is rather different both in 2014 and (even more so) in 2015. As portrayed in Figure 8, Greek Cypriots in 2014 reported feeling substantially more anxious about interaction with Turkish Cypriots, and being more threatened by them. Turkish Cypriots on the other hand did not report anxiety to meet Greek Cypriots or to be threatened by them, but stated that they wished to maintain greater social distance from them and to have actively discriminated against them.

The 'reconciliation profile' of the two communities in 2015 (Figure 9) shows Greek Cypriots to score higher on every single indicator of reconciliation: negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, social threats, social distance, and active discrimination. The discrepancy between the two communities is particularly prevalent for social distance with Turkish Cypriots practically stating that they want to keep distance from Greek Cypriots when it comes to forming social ties with them.

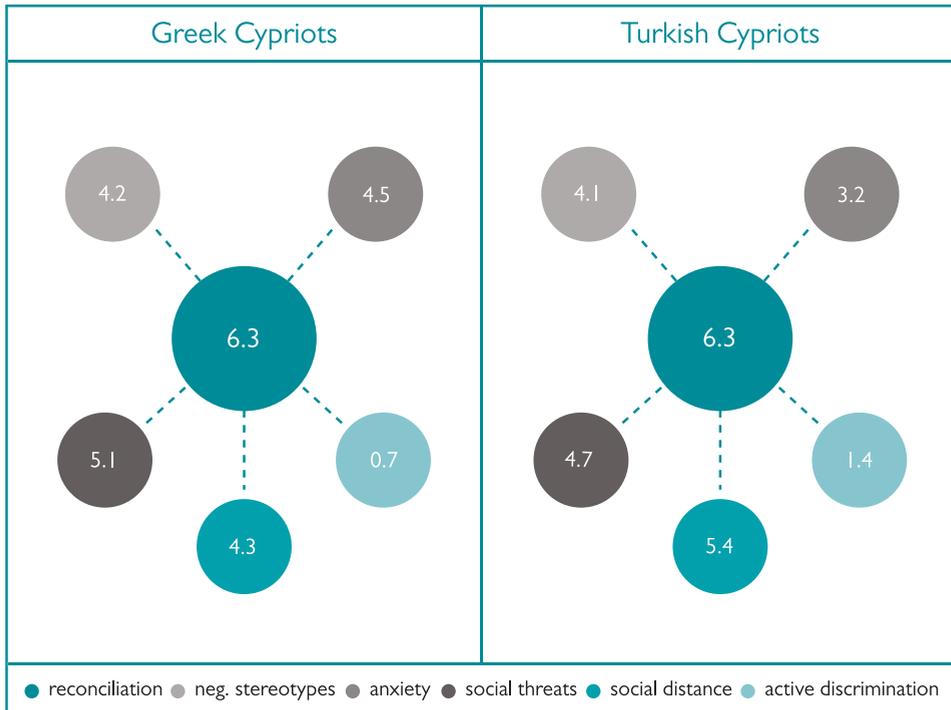


Figure 8. Reconciliation profile of each community, SCORE 2014.

Finally, there are certain demographic characteristics that determine reconciliation levels in the two communities and they are similar between years 2014 and 2015. The common denominator amongst both communities in 2014 is political orientation. Left-wingers have a greater propensity for reconciliation compared with those on the centre/right of the political spectrum. Right-wingers, and to a lesser extent people in the political centre of the Greek Cypriot community, feel more threatened by Turkish Cypriots, and, when compared with people on the left, are keen to keep a distance from them and to discriminate against them. In the same way, those on the centre/right of the Turkish Cypriot community hold more negative stereotypes of Greek Cypriots, feel more threatened by them and desire greater social distance from them.

Political orientation remains as a determining variable of reconciliation indicators only in the Greek Cypriot community. More right wing positioning on the political spectrum among Greek Cypriots is associated with more negative stereotypes towards Turkish Cypriots, more anxiety to interact with them, with feeling more threatened by them, with a greater wish to keep distance from them and with more discriminatory behaviours towards Turkish Cypriots.

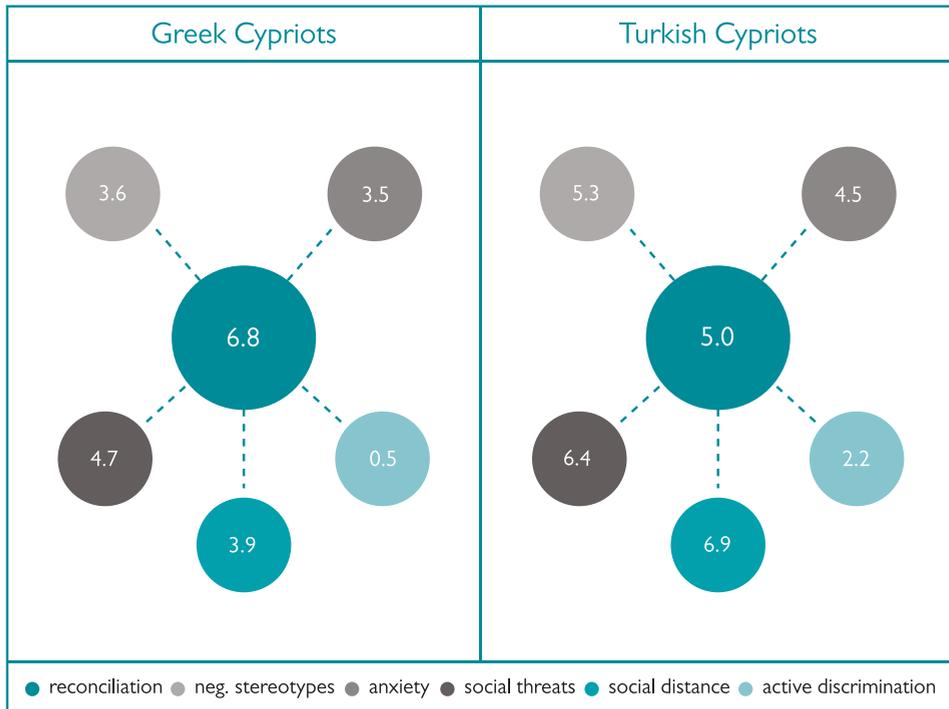


Figure 9. Reconciliation profile of each community, SCORE 2015.

Within the Greek Cypriot community, gender and age also play a part in determining attitudes towards reconciliation with Turkish Cypriots in both 2014 and 2015. Greek Cypriot women are less reconciliatory than men (a common finding with SCORE 2013). The reasons for this include greater anxiety about meeting Turkish Cypriots, higher levels of perceived threat from Turkish Cypriots, and a (greater) desire to maintain a distance from them. As far as age is concerned, younger Greek Cypriots are less reconciliatory than those over 55. They are more anxious to interact with Turkish Cypriots, but also appear to display higher levels of active discrimination against them when compared with the over 55 group. In year 2015 age is becoming as key of an indicator as political orientation is in determining reconciliation. Young (18-35 year old) Greek Cypriots report higher scores on all reconciliation indicators in comparison to their older counterparts (especially the over 55 year olds).

Age becomes a key indicator of reconciliation and its indicators in 2015 in the Turkish Cypriot community. Older (over 55 year olds) Turkish Cypriots report more negative stereotypes towards Greek Cypriots, greater anxiety to have contact with Greek Cypriots and less desire to have social ties with them, than young (18-35 year olds) Turkish Cypriots.

Comparing SCORE 2013 - 2014 - 2015 on reconciliation

A comparison of reconciliation scores between SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 reveals differences over the course of time (see Figure 10). The propensity for reconciliation with the Turkish Cypriot community amongst Greek Cypriots *increased* between 2013 and 2014 and between 2014 and 2015. While the 2013-2014 increase did not reach statistical significance the 2013-2015 difference is significant. This means that attitudes towards reconciliation with Turkish Cypriots became increasingly more positive for Greek Cypriots over the last two years and in 2015 Greek Cypriots are substantially more open towards reconciliation than they were back in 2013.

By contrast, the propensity of Turkish Cypriots towards reconciliation with Greek Cypriots declined during the same period (see Figure 10). The decline in propensity

for reconciliation amongst Turkish Cypriots was significant between 2013 and 2014 and between 2014 and 2015. The propensity for reconciliation of Turkish Cypriots towards Greek Cypriots decreased by more than two units on a 10-point scale from 2013 to 2015.

In an attempt to look deeper into the changes over time of the reconciliation scores of the two communities, we mapped the reconciliation changes (Figures 11a,b) and we tracked the scores of each of the indicators overtime (Figures 12a,b) to see which regions and which indicators are 'responsible' for these changes in the two communities.

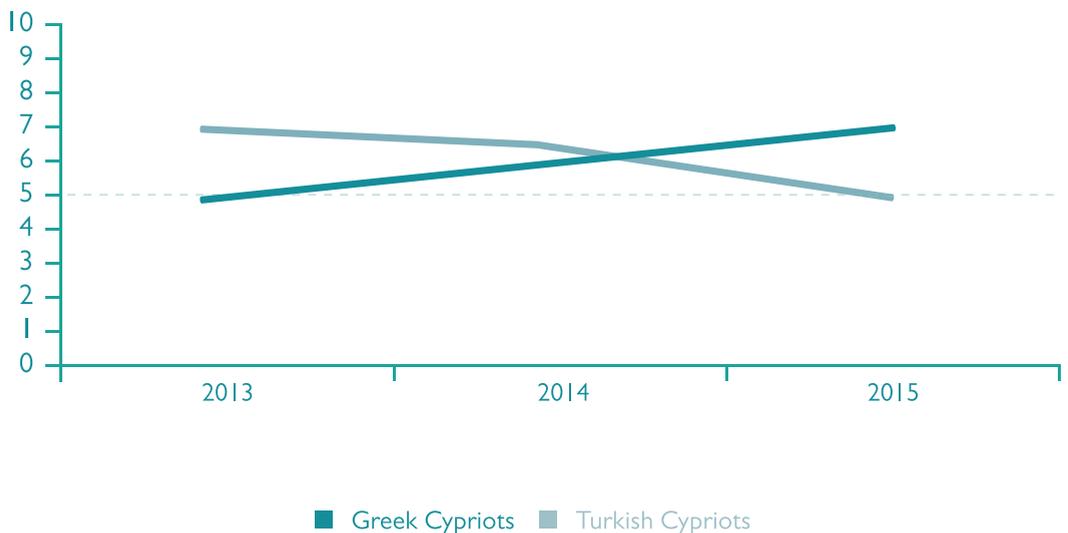


Figure 10. Differences between SCORE 2013, SCORE 2014, and SCORE 2015 in attitudes towards reconciliation with the other community.

As Figure 11a demonstrates, the Turkish Cypriot community reported a *decrease* in its propensity for reconciliation across all districts between 2013 and 2014 apart from Morphou. The decrease was particularly apparent amongst Turkish Cypriots living in Nicosia. Between 2014 and 2015 (see Figure 11b), all districts in the Turkish Cypriot community without any exception scored a decrease in reconciliation. This time around, however, the decrease was minimal among Turkish Cypriots living in Nicosia and very big among Turkish Cypriots living in the rest of the districts and particularly Kyrenia which scored a decrease of 2.5 units on a 10-point scale.

In the Greek Cypriot community the propensity for reconciliation *increased* in all districts between 2013 and 2014 apart from Nicosia. Nicosia in 2014 stood out as the only district to record a decline in positive attitudes towards reconciliation within the Greek Cypriot community and also as recording the largest decline in positive attitudes amongst the Turkish Cypriot community. The picture for Nicosia changed completely in year 2015 in the Greek Cypriot community. Nicosia scored a one unit increase in reconciliation between 2014 and 2015. Nicosia is in fact the district that is responsible for the 2014

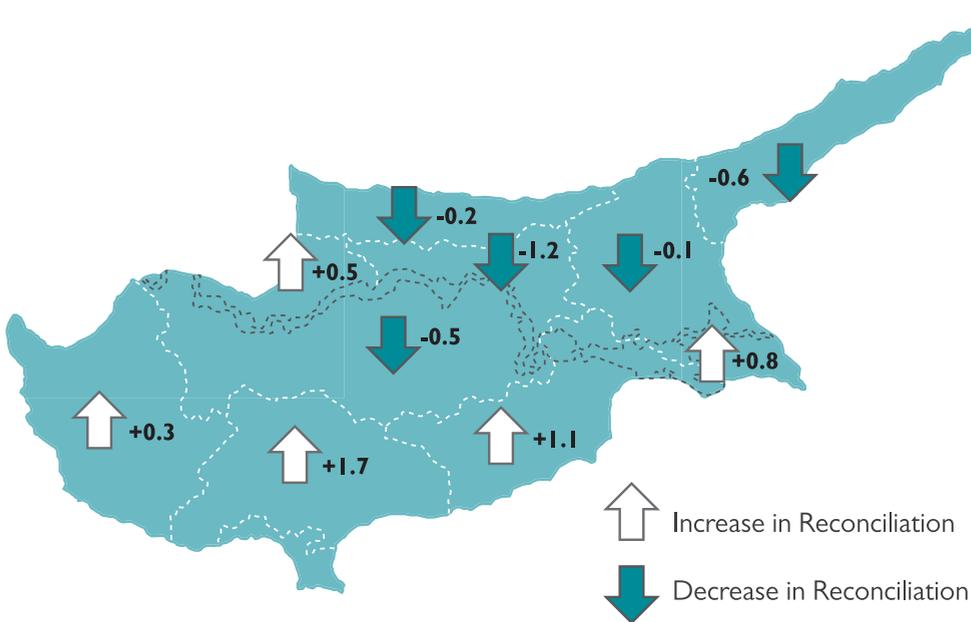


Figure 11a. Difference in reconciliation scores between SCORE 2013 and SCORE 2014, by district.

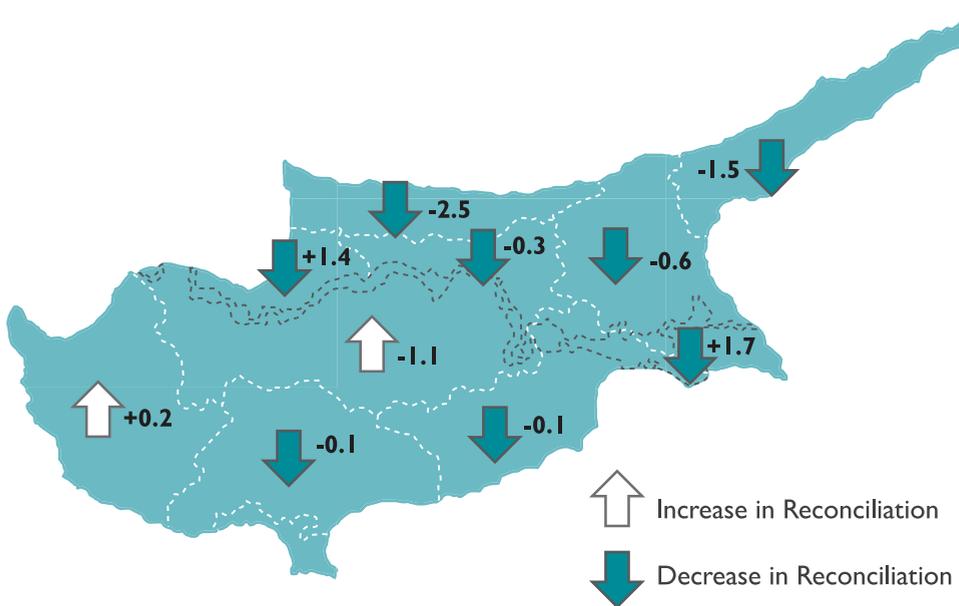


Figure 11b. Difference in reconciliation scores between SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015, by district.

to 2015 reconciliation increase in the Greek Cypriot community. Reconciliation levels in the remaining of the districts in the Greek Cypriot community remained unchanged between 2014 and 2015 notwithstanding Famagusta where a nearly two point decrease was scored.

As Tables 6a and b show furthermore the increase in reconciliation scores in the Greek Cypriot community is not driven by a single indicator; Greek Cypriots score steadily lower on all indicators of reconciliation with the only exception of active discrimination which was and remained at very low levels throughout the years 2013 to 2015.

The same applies for the Turkish Cypriot community, that the decrease in reconciliation scores is reflected across all indicators of reconciliation. If there is something to be said about the reconciliation indicators in the Turkish Cypriot community, this is about social distance which is the indicator with the greatest differences in scores between 2013 and 2014 and 2014 and 2015. Social distance doubled in the Turkish Cypriot community between 2013 (3.5 on a 10-point scale) and 2015 (7 on a 10 point-scale).

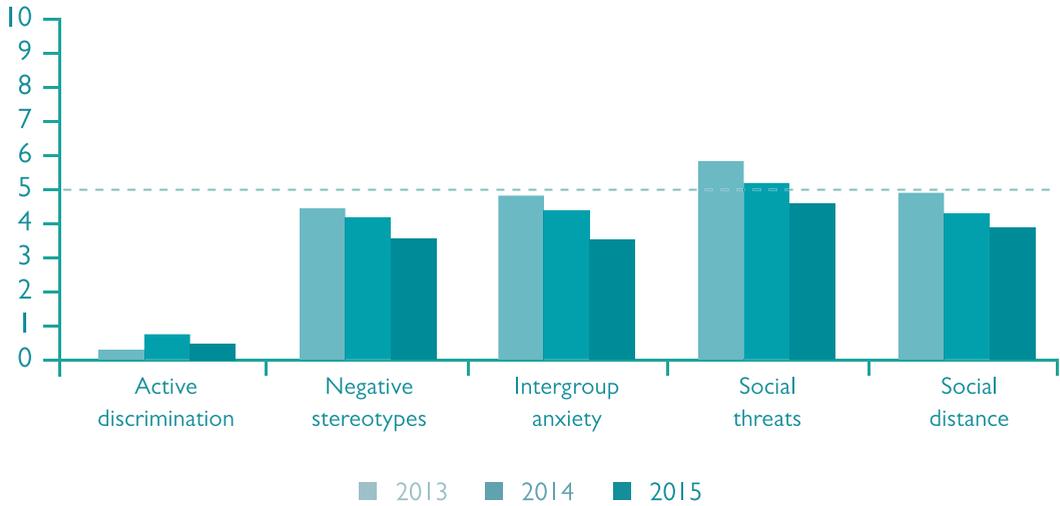


Table 6a. Scores on the reconciliation indicators across SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 for Greek Cypriots

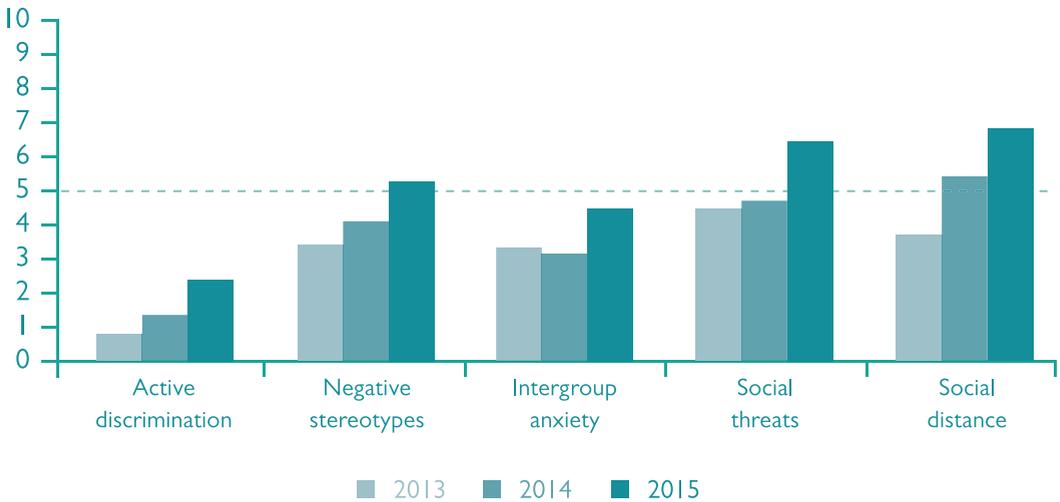


Table 6b. Scores on the reconciliation indicators across SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 for Turkish Cypriots

Other indicators related to reconciliation

Cultural distance

Figure 12 and Figure 13 present the levels of cultural distance that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots reported experiencing from various other ethnic groups in 2014 and 2015 respectively. In 2014, Greek Cypriots reported slightly more cultural distance from Turkish Cypriots, than Turkish Cypriots did from Greek Cypriots. As expected, Greek Cypriots regarded Greeks as being culturally closest to them and Turks as the most culturally distant, whereas Turkish Cypriots considered Turks to be the group culturally closest to them, but they did not differentiate much between Greeks and Greek Cypriots. Both communities cited Western Europeans as being the next culturally closest group, (after Greeks for Greek Cypriots and Turks for Turkish Cypriots). Both communities feel culturally closer to West Europeans than to East Europeans, Asians Arabs, and Africans. While the results on cultural distance are roughly similar to 2014 in SCORE 2015, one

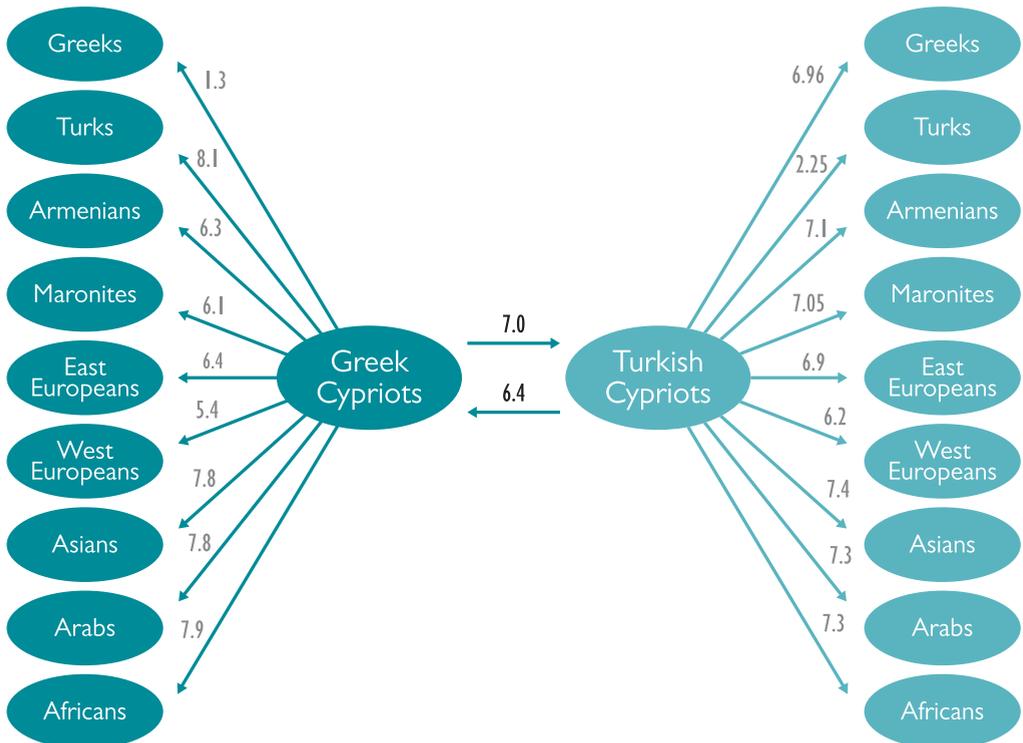


Figure 12. Cultural distance from other groups experienced by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, SCORE 2014

notable difference is on the elimination of the European-Arab gap in the Turkish Cypriot community in 2015. Turkish Cypriots report feeling as culturally similar to Europeans as to Arabs, unlike Greek Cypriots who draw a line between these two groups and unlike SCORE 2014 where Turkish Cypriots reported Arabs as being more culturally distant to them in comparison to West and East Europeans.

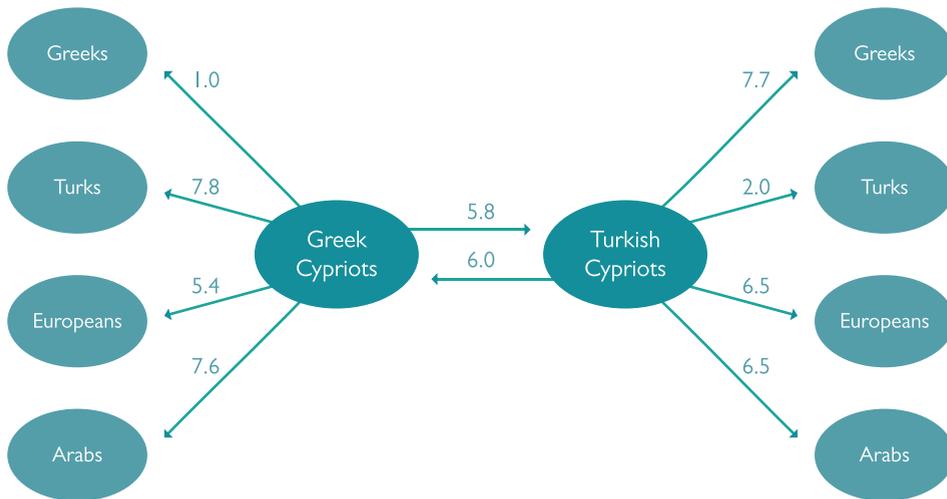


Figure 13. Cultural distance from other groups experienced by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, SCORE 2015

There are a number of factors that determine levels of cultural distance in the two communities. Of the Greek Cypriots sampled, women, the young, the religiously devout, and right-wingers, all reported greater cultural distance from Turkish Cypriots than did men, the over 55s, more secular individuals and left-wingers respectively. This was the case both in SCORE 2014 and in SCORE 2015. Within the Turkish Cypriot community degrees of cultural distance were mostly determined by educational achievement and political orientation in 2014: individuals whose education did not extend beyond primary level, those on the right of the political spectrum, were all more likely to consider Greek Cypriots to be culturally distant. Age was the only factor determining cultural distance in the Turkish Cypriot community in 2015. Older Turkish Cypriots reported themselves as being more culturally distant from Greek Cypriots

As far as changes over time on cultural distance are concerned, the two communities reported feeling more culturally distant from each other in 2014 in comparison to 2013 (see Figure 14), an increase that was sustained in the Turkish Cypriot community in 2015 unlike in the Greek Cypriot community for which cultural distance went back to the 2013 levels.

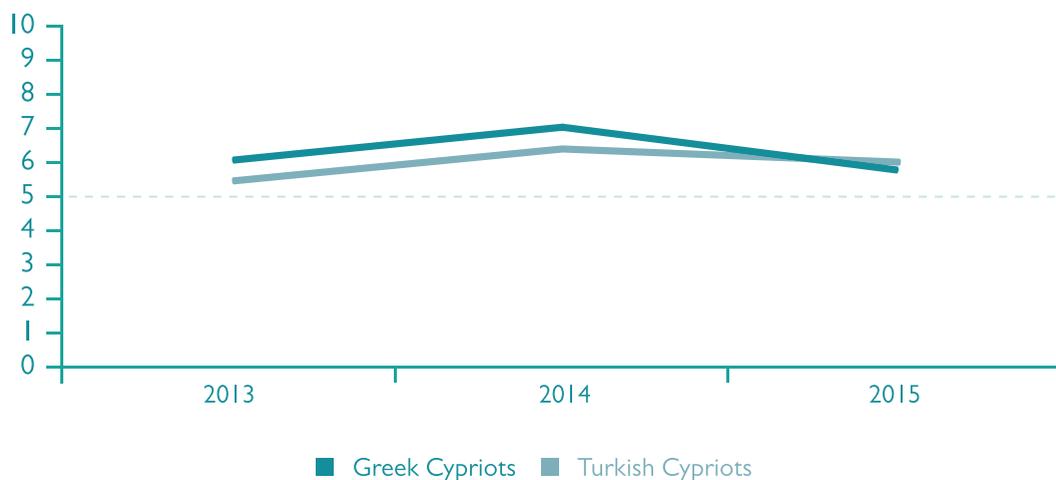


Figure 14. Cultural distance scores across SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 for both communities

Quantity and quality of intergroup contact

Figures 15 and 16 present the quantity and quality of contact with other groups for Greek and Turkish Cypriots in 2014. What stands out in Figure 15 is the very low levels of contact that Turkish Cypriots report having with *all* other groups apart from Turks. Greek Cypriots on the other hand, report at least some contact with most of the other groups listed, apart from Turks. The quantity of contact between the two communities is roughly the same.

Turkish Cypriots report experiencing either ‘rather negative’ or ‘very negative’ contact with all groups other than Turks, whereas Greek Cypriots report experiencing mostly positive contact with all groups and neutral (but not negative) contact with Turks. Another particularly striking difference between the two communities is that Greek Cypriots find contact with Turkish Cypriots to be ‘rather positive’ or ‘positive’, whereas Turkish Cypriots report contact with Greek Cypriots as negative.

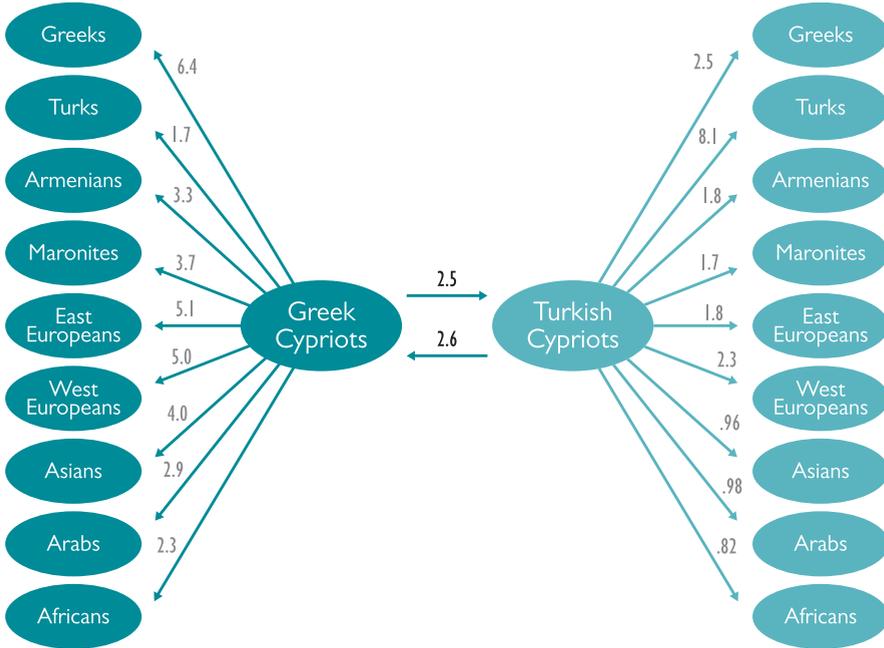


Figure 15. Quantity of intergroup contact with other groups for Greek and Turkish Cypriots, SCORE 2014

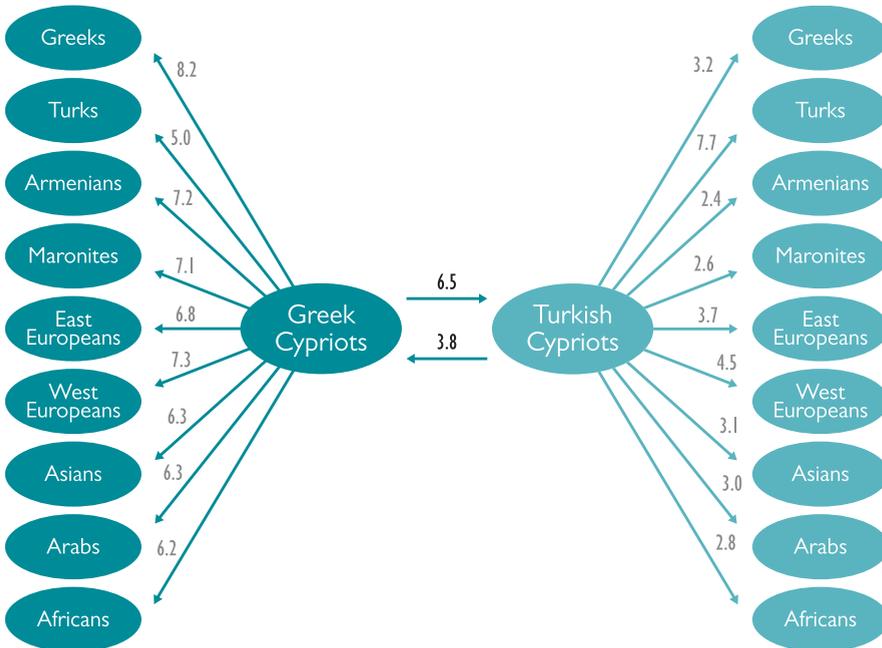


Figure 16. Quality of contact with other groups for Greek and Turkish Cypriots, SCORE 2014

In 2015, apart from face to face (direct) contact with the other community (and other groups) we also measured how much online contact the two communities have with each other as well as with other groups. Online contact was operationalised as contact happening in the virtual world (via social networking sites). The results for both direct and online contact (quantity) are shown in Figure 17. The results for the quantity of direct contact are similar to the results in 2014. Direct contact remains low between the two communities and is higher with Greeks for Greek Cypriots and with Turks for Turkish Cypriots. The online contact reported by Greek Cypriots with Turkish Cypriots as well as the remaining groups is even lower than direct contact whereas this does not stand for Turkish Cypriots who report roughly equal levels of direct and online contact with all groups including Greek Cypriots.

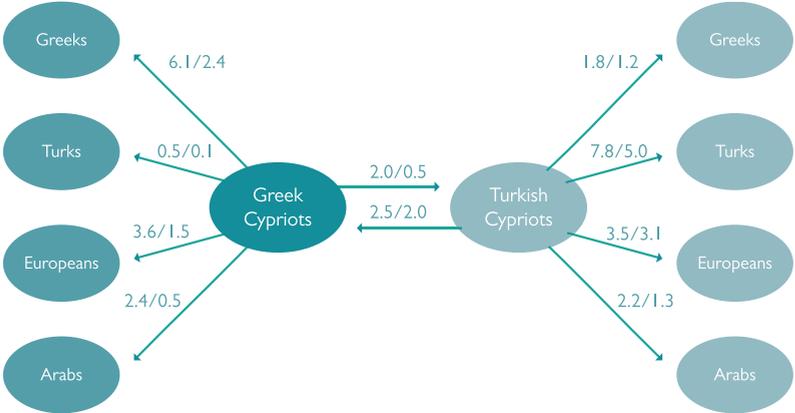


Figure 17. Quantity of direct and online contact with other groups for each community, SCORE 2015.

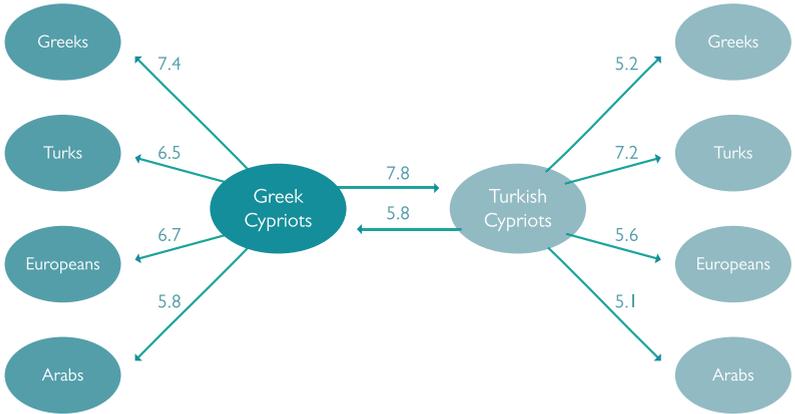


Figure 18. Quality of contact with other groups for each community, SCORE 2015.

As far as the quality of (direct) contact is concerned (see Figure 18), those Greek Cypriots who report having contact with Turkish Cypriots rate it to be very positive (even more positive than the previous two years) whereas Turkish Cypriots reporting contact with Greek Cypriots describe it as only somewhat positive (but not negative as they did in 2014). Contact is certainly experienced as a more positive event by Greek Cypriots than by Turkish Cypriots and this is a consistent finding across all SCORE iterations.

Political compromise

Table 7 and Table 8 show how each community scored on the political compromise dimension and the scores for each of the indicators that make up that dimension in SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 respectively. In 2014, although the two communities reported equal levels of readiness to make political compromises, there were some discrepancies between them at the indicator level as shown in Table 7. Surprisingly, Turkish Cypriots supported the federal solution more enthusiastically than Greek Cypriots. However, it might be wise not to take this finding at face-value since Greek Cypriots reported less support for any type of solution (apart from the unitary state), even though they were against the continuation of the status quo.

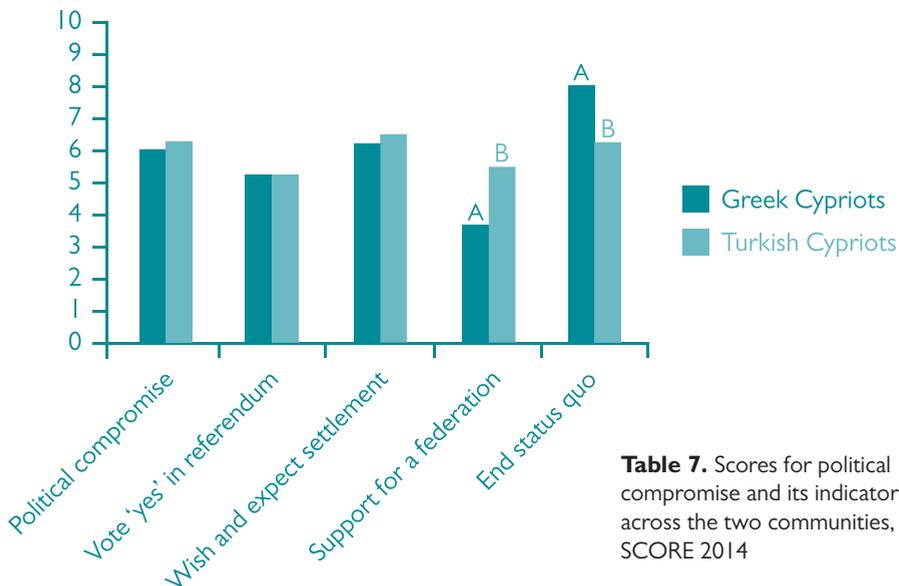


Table 7. Scores for political compromise and its indicators across the two communities, SCORE 2014

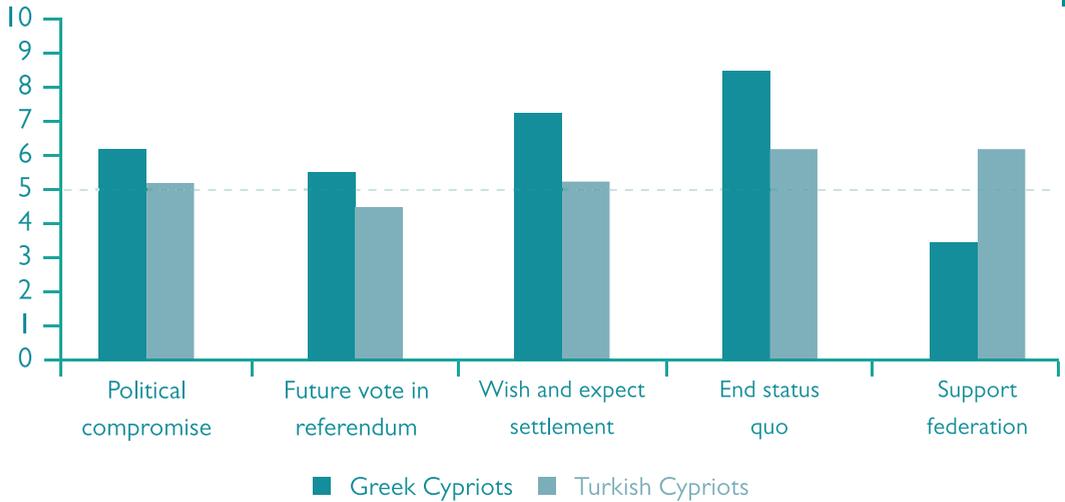


Table 8. Scores for political compromise and its indicators in the two communities, SCORE 2015

Results in 2015 differ from SCORE 2014 in that Turkish Cypriots' readiness for political compromise lowered over the course of a year. This decrease is primarily caused by a decrease in the percentage of Turkish Cypriots who are trending towards a 'yes' vote at a future referendum.

We proceeded to map the changes on the dimension of political compromise across regions in Cyprus (see Figure 19), to find that the most remarkable decrease in the levels of political compromise was score in Kyrenia between year 2014 and 2015, followed by Morphou. Kyrenia moved from being positively inclined to political compromise (with a score of 7 on a 10-point scale) to being against political compromise (with a score of 3.2 on a 10 point-scale). No great changes occurred in the districts of the Greek Cypriot community with the exception of Famagusta. Greek Cypriots living in Famagusta became more inclined to accept a political compromise in 2015 as compared to 2014.

Age and political orientation were the demographic indicators that determined the levels of political compromise in the two communities in SCORE 2014 and 2015. Young Greek Cypriots in comparison to the two older age groups and Greek Cypriots who position themselves at the centre of the political spectrum in comparison to the left or the right wing supporters are less ready for a compromise. The centre and the right are the most resistant to a political compromise in the Turkish Cypriot community as far as political orientation is concerned, whereas young Turkish Cypriots are the ones who are readier for a political compromise in comparison to older Turkish Cypriots.

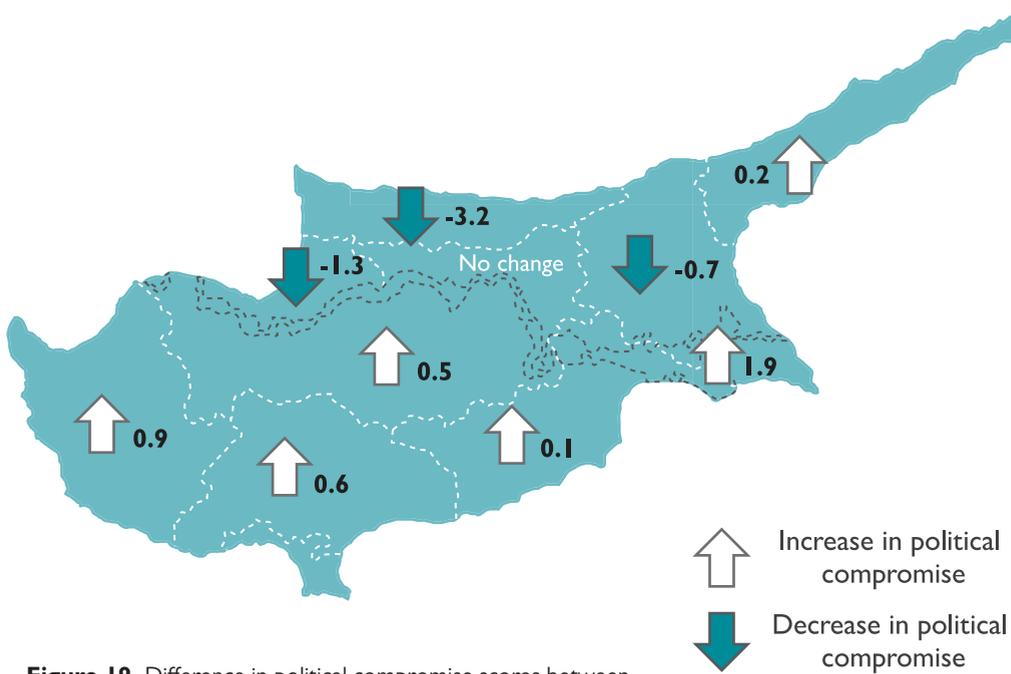


Figure 19. Difference in political compromise scores between SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015, by district

The only common indicator for political compromise used in all SCORE iterations was the vote intentions at a future referendum. A comparison of vote intentions between SCORE 2013, SCORE 2014, and SCORE 2015 can be seen in Figures 20a for Greek Cypriots and 20b for Turkish Cypriots. As the figures show, there is a steady shift toward a 'yes' vote amongst Greek Cypriots and a simultaneous steady decrease of the 'no' vote percentages with the progress of time. The exact opposite trend is observed in the Turkish Cypriot community where the 'yes' vote and the 'yes' vote dropped steadily between 2013 and 2015 while the 'no' vote made a sharp increase particularly between 2014 and 2015. Across all SCORE iterations, Turkish Cypriots are readier to position themselves either for or against a political settlement in a future referendum unlike Greek Cypriots whose majority (over 50%) remains undecided.

Overall, the results of the political compromise dimensions are in line with the results of the reconciliation dimension. The increased propensity towards reconciliation amongst Greek Cypriots is reflected in an increased tendency to vote 'yes' in a future referendum and more readiness for a political settlement in general.

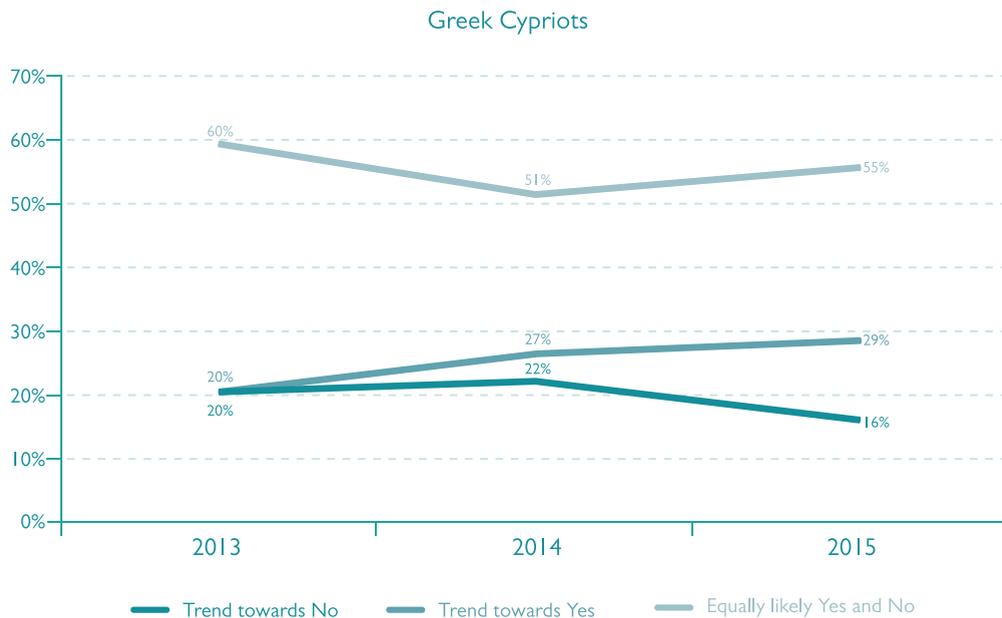


Figure 20a. Vote intentions at a future referendum (in percentages) across SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 for Greek Cypriots.

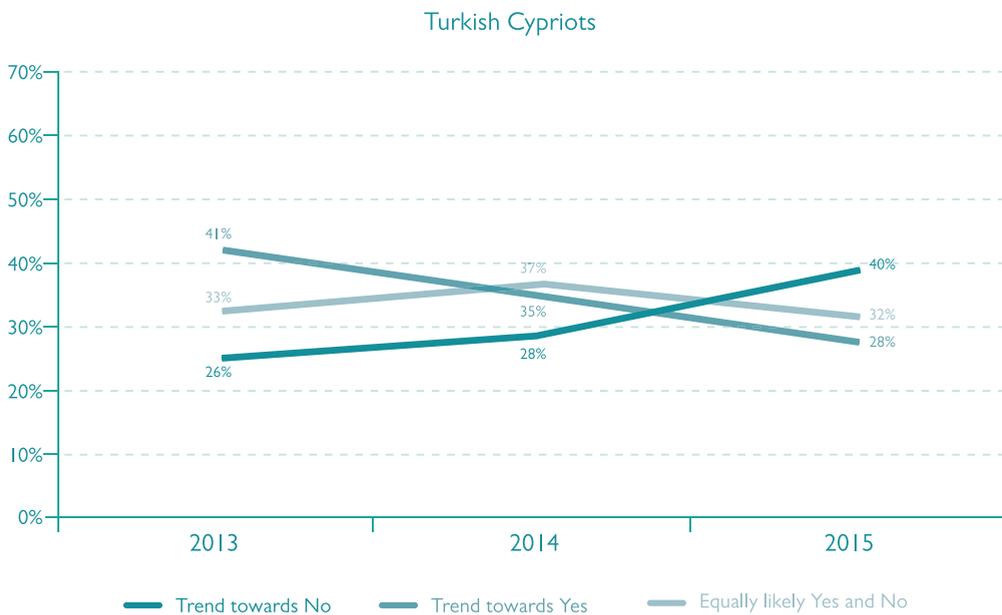


Figure 20b. Vote intentions at a future referendum (in percentages) across SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 for Turkish Cypriots.

Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, whose propensity for reconciliation dropped between 2013 and 2014 and dropped even further in 2015, demonstrated a decline in their wish to reach a political compromise between 2014 and 2015 and they also demonstrated a fall in the percentages of a 'yes' (and an increase of a 'no' vote) between years 2013 and 2015.

Predictive analysis

Examining the relationships between SCORE indicators

The principal question we are seeking to answer via SCORE in Cyprus is: which indicators predict readiness for political compromise within each community. With this in mind, all the indicators measured in SCORE, along with the main demographic variables, were tested as possible predictors of political compromise in each community in 2014 and in 2015. The SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 results of this analysis are presented for each community separately. We will then proceed to elaborate on the SCORE 2015 models at the end of this section.

Greek Cypriot community:

Figure 21a presents the SCORE 2014 findings and Figure 21b the SCORE 2015 findings. In 2014, for Greek Cypriots, satisfaction with civic life, representation by institutions, political security, and the propensity to forgive, all positively predicted readiness for political compromise with the Turkish Cypriot community. This means that greater satisfaction with civic life, greater representation by institutions, higher political security, and a greater willingness to forgive, were all associated with a greater readiness for political compromise. Cultural distance, active discrimination, and social distance, on the other hand, were all negatively associated with readiness for political compromise; the higher the cultural and social distance, and the greater the active discrimination towards the other community, the lower the readiness for political compromise.

In 2015, for Greek Cypriots, representation by institutions, social threats, family coherence, and age were the strongest correlates of readiness for political compromise.

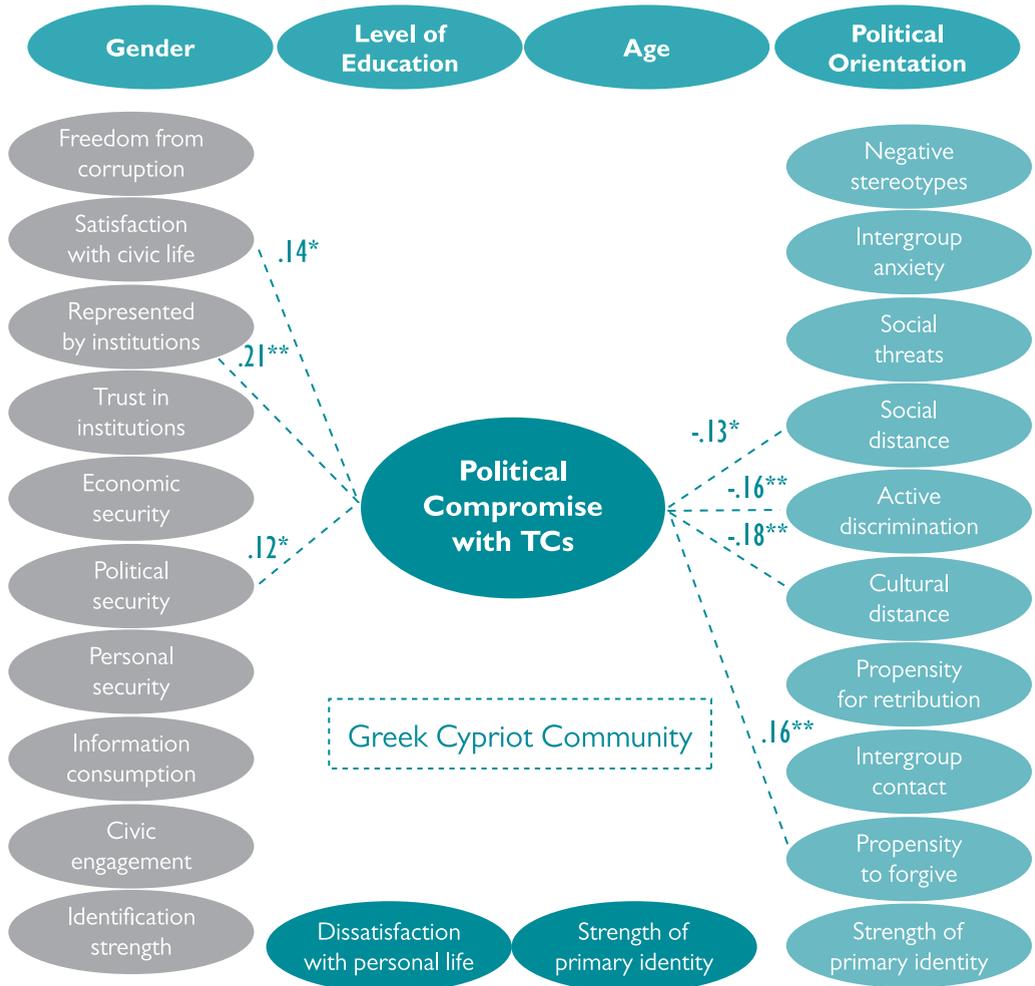


Figure 21a. SCORE indicators tested as predictors of readiness for political compromise with Turkish Cypriots. Those variables connected to readiness for political compromise by a black line are significant predictors of reconciliation either at the 0.05 level (*) or at the 0.01 level (**), SCORE 2014.

Feeling more represented by institutions was associated, as in 2014, with a greater readiness for political compromise, higher levels of perceived threat from the outgroup (an indicator of reconciliation) was also found to associate with less readiness for a compromise. Of the personal distress variables, family coherence was found to be positively associated with political compromise; Greek Cypriots who are in good terms and enjoy strong family bonds are more open to the other community in terms of striking a political compromise with it. Finally, as was already apparent from the descriptive analyses reported above, older Greek Cypriots in comparison to younger Greek Cypriots report higher readiness for a compromise with the other community.

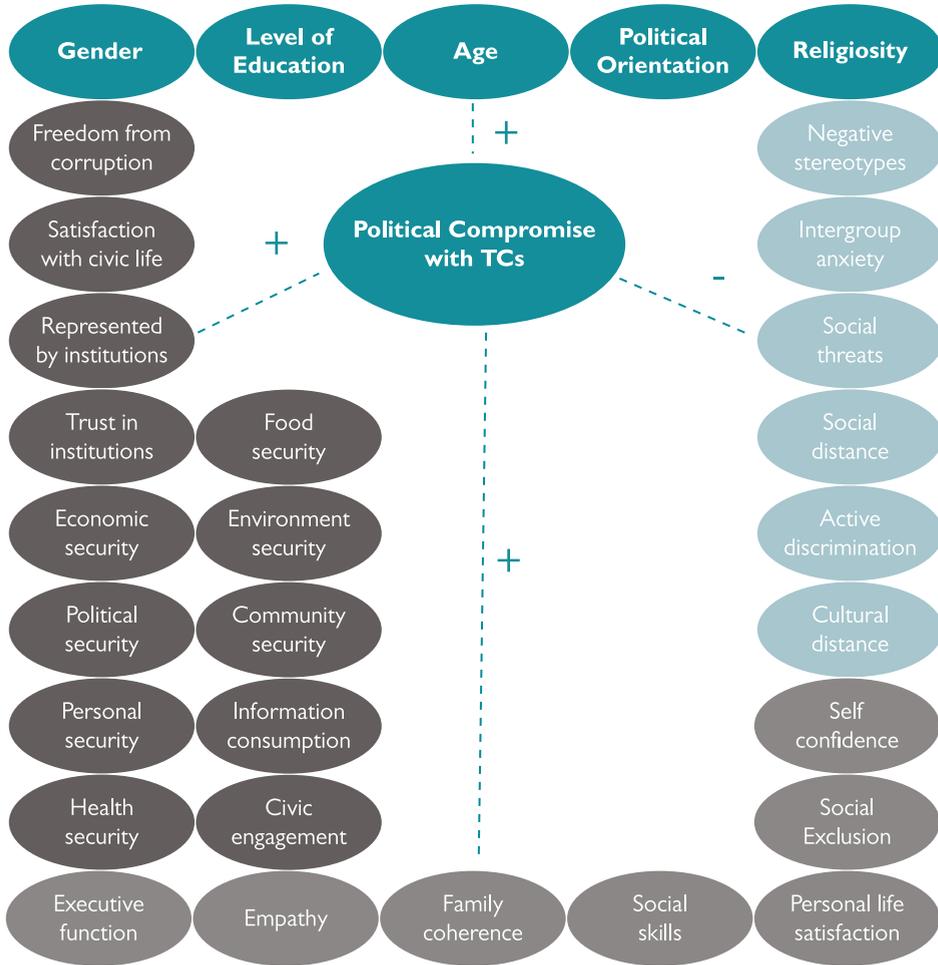


Figure 21b. SCORE indicators tested as predictors of readiness for political compromise with Turkish Cypriots. Those variables connected to readiness for political compromise by a black line are significant predictors of reconciliation either at the 0.05 level (*) or at the 0.01 level (**), SCORE 2015.

Turkish Cypriot Community:

In 2014, within the Turkish Cypriot community, those predictors that were significantly associated with a readiness for political compromise with Greek Cypriots were very similar to those within the Greek Cypriot community (see Figure 22a). Political security and confidence in institutions' representative capacity both predict a greater readiness for political compromise, while greater cultural and social distance both relate to greater reluctance towards political compromise. The demographic variable that emerges as a significant predictor of political compromise within the Turkish Cypriot community is political orientation. Left-wing orientation is related to a greater readiness for political compromise than right-wing orientation.

The results of SCORE 2015 for the Turkish Cypriot community yielded two common indicators with SCORE 2014: political orientation was the single demographic indicator that was found to be directly associated with political compromise in both 2014 and 2015; Turkish Cypriots who position themselves on the left of the political spectrum are more ready for a compromise with Greek Cypriots than Turkish Cypriots who position themselves in the centre or the right of the spectrum. Furthermore, those individuals in the Turkish Cypriot community who perceive Greek Cypriots to be culturally dissimilar to them are more resistant to a compromise with the other community

Contrary to the Greek Cypriot community, individuals who feel they are represented by the institutions of the Turkish Cypriot community are less ready for a compromise. Of the personal distress indicators, executive functioning turns out to directly predict political compromise; individuals in the Turkish Cypriot community who report to be better at planning ahead, who are more calculative, and better at controlling their impulses and emotions, are more ready for a compromise with the other community.

The models below suggest that the two communities face different challenges when it comes to being ready (and willing) for a political compromise with the other community. In an attempt to better understand these challenges that take the form of predictors of political compromise in the models just presented, we proceed to perform an additional analysis whereby we identified the SCORE indicators correlating with each of the identified predictors. This analysis essentially allows us to better understand how each predictor relates to political compromise within each community. We will start by presenting the full model for the Greek Cypriot community and then move on to present the corresponding model for the Turkish Cypriot community.

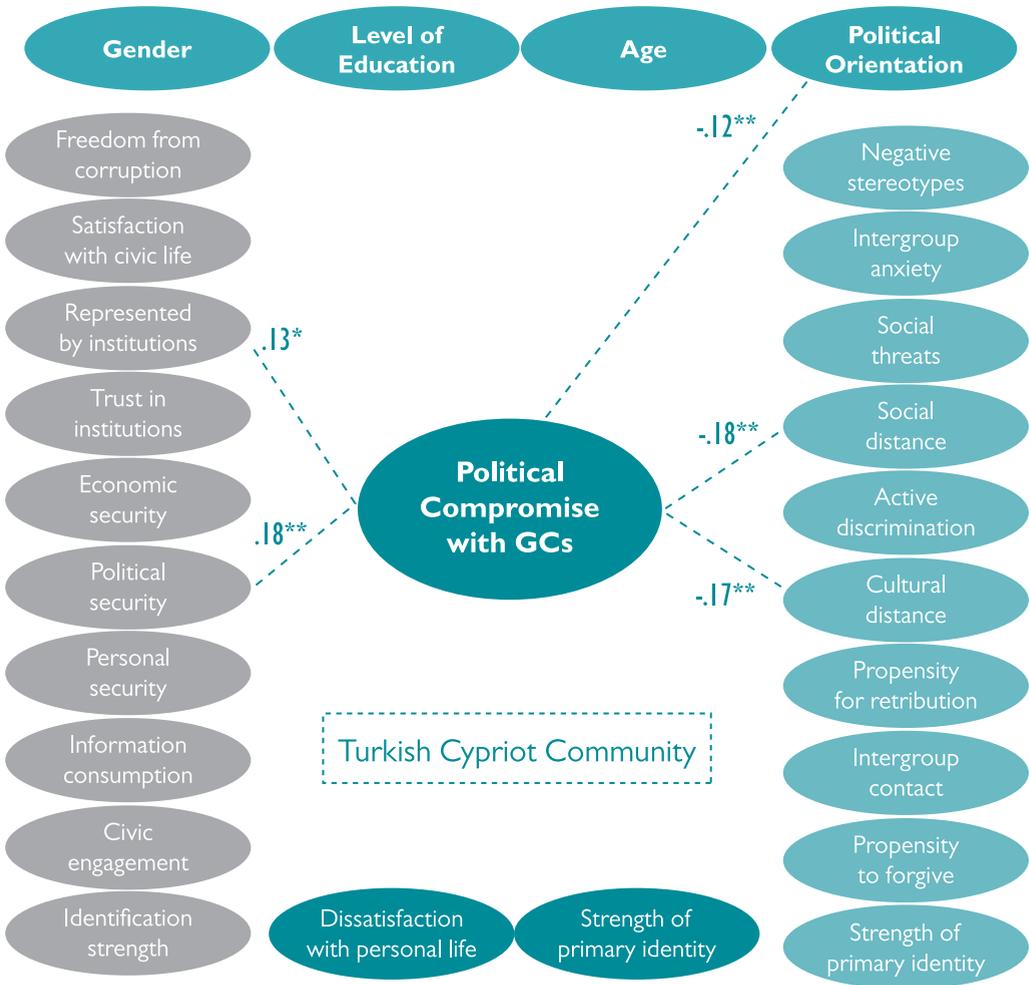


Figure 22a. SCORE indicators tested as predictors of readiness for political compromise with Turkish Cypriots. Those variables connected to readiness for political compromise by a black line are significant predictors of reconciliation either at the 0.05 level (*) or at the 0.01 level (**), SCORE 2014.

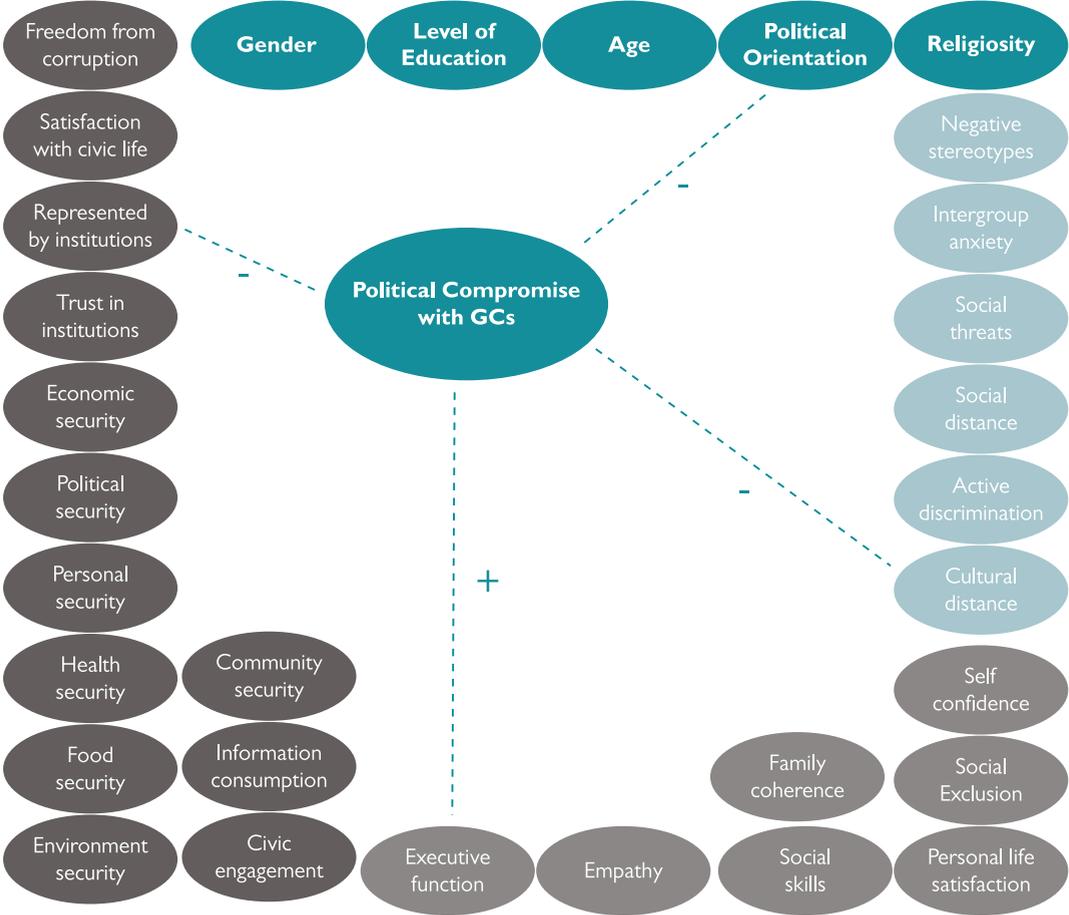


Figure 22b. SCORE indicators tested as predictors of readiness for political compromise with Greek Cypriots. Those variables connected to readiness for political compromise by a black line are significant predictors of reconciliation either at the 0.05 level (*) or at the 0.01 level (**), SCORE 2015.

Greek Cypriot community:

Age, as was presented earlier is related to political compromise, younger Greek Cypriots are more resistant to a compromise with the other community. Age now, is also positively related to information consumption, economic security, social threats, cultural distance, and empathy. This means that younger Greek Cypriots in comparison to their older cohorts consume less information, feel less economically secure, and are less empathetic overall. In terms of intergroup relations young people perceive Turkish Cypriots to be more threatening and they see Turkish Cypriots as different people to themselves. If we were to combine this information then we would have young Greek Cypriots who are less inclined to consume information, who are less empathetic, and who are also more worried about their economic security feeling more threatened by Turkish Cypriots and more culturally different from them, reporting that they are less ready/ willing to compromise with the other community.

Individuals who feel threatened by the other community are less inclined to support a political compromise. They are also more anxious to meet the other community and they desire to keep their distances from it (i.e., avoid having the other community members as neighbors, friends, colleagues etc). Individuals who feel more threatened by the other community are also the ones who have less contact with Turkish Cypriots. Seen from a different angle, lack of contact can breed greater feelings of threat which then lead to greater intransigence regarding political compromise.

Feeling represented by institutions is positively associated with being supportive of a political compromise. This is a finding that stands to reason given that institutions are the ones representing the peoples' interests in the negotiations leading to a settlement. Now people who distrust institutions and who think of them as corrupt, people who are dissatisfied with civic life and who choose to be disengaged from it are the ones who feel least represented by institutions and (partly) because of that are more skeptical when it comes to supporting a political settlement. Interestingly, individuals who report more cultural distance from Turkish Cypriots (i.e., people who see Turkish Cypriots as different from them), feel that their interests are not represented by institutions (or that maybe their worries are not heard by institutions), and for this reason they oppose a settlement.

The last predictor of political compromise for Greek Cypriots was family coherence, people who report lacking strong bonds within their families are less ready to open up

to forming bonds (as a political settlement would require) with members of the other community. Related to perceptions of low family coherence are the individuals' social skills and empathy. Individuals who find it hard to build and maintain relationships with other people (low social skills) and individuals who are less empathetic with other people are also more detached from their own family members and (partly because of that) less ready to open up to 'others'. Family coherence is also affected by food security; insecurity related to satisfying the needs for adequate and good quality food have a toll on family relationships and this affects the way they see political changes.

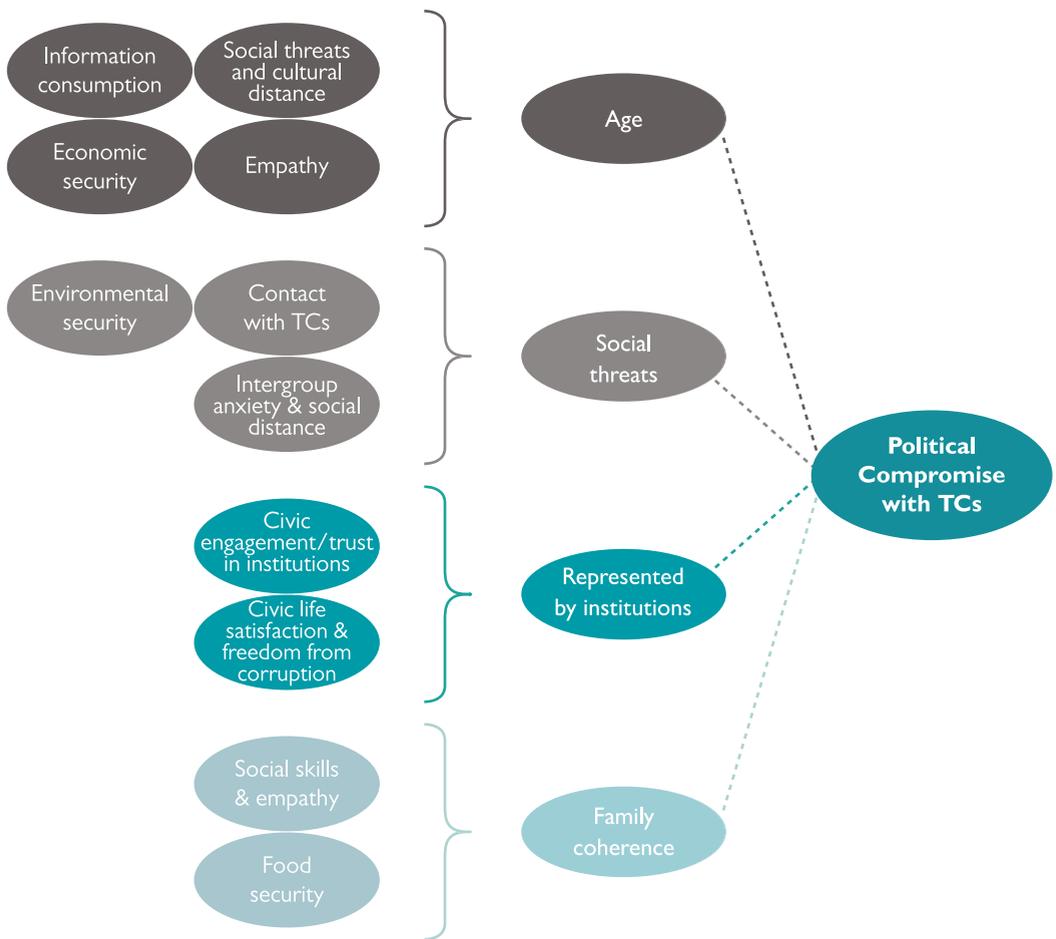


Figure 23a. Factors associated with each predictor of political compromise for the Greek Cypriot community. All relationships are significant at the .01 level (SCORE 2015).

Turkish Cypriot community:

Among Turkish Cypriots, those positioning themselves at the centre or the right of the political spectrum are more resistant to the idea of a political compromise. These same individuals report having actively discriminated against Greek Cypriots in the past and they also report a greater connection to religion. These too are affecting the way they see a settlement that would bring them to share the country with Greek Cypriots.

Turkish Cypriot individuals who see Greek Cypriot as different people are also less likely to endorse a political compromise. These same individuals are more likely to have attained lower levels of education and they report poorer social skills. They also have negative views about Greek Cypriots (negative stereotypes) and prefer to keep their distances from them. The same group of people is at ease within their own community they report higher levels of economic and community security, they are getting themselves informed about current developments, they are active in civic life, and they trust institutions. Maybe because they feel comfortable within their own community they also have less contact with Greek Cypriots. Low levels of contact with Greek Cypriots are associated with greater levels of cultural distance, and by extension, less readiness for a political compromise.

Interestingly, by contrast to the Greek Cypriot community, feeling more represented by own institutions drives Turkish Cypriots away from a political settlement. Turkish Cypriots who feel represented by institutions also experience higher human security (political, food, health, and economic security). They are also more religious but they lack somehow self-confidence. Perhaps this is a group of people who perceive their security and general well-being to be related to institutions. As the institutions of their community provide them with what they need they feel contained within their community and do not wish to open up to Greek Cypriots. The relationship between self-confidence and political compromise via feelings of representation by institutions is a noteworthy one.

What this set of relationships is actually showing is that individuals with high self confidence are readier to open up to the other community and this is partly because they do not feel that the institutions represent them.

Finally, individuals who are less good at functions like personal planning, mental flexibility, inhibition, initiation, and monitoring of action are not as supportive of a political compromise. This set of individuals is more likely to have attained lower levels

of education, to have lower levels of self-confidence, and to be experiencing weaker family ties. The above in combination (negatively) affect the way they approach political compromise with the other community.

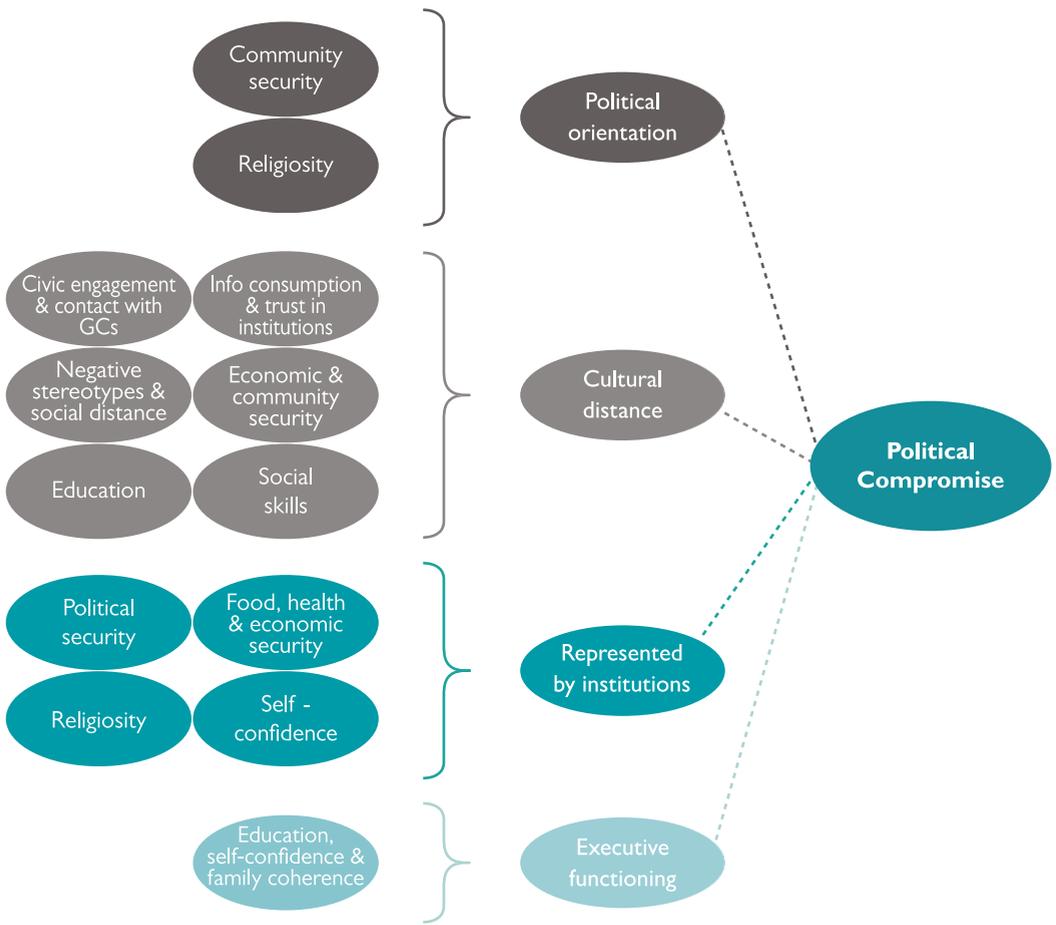


Figure 23b. Factors associated with each predictor of political compromise for the Turkish Cypriot community. All relationships are significant at the .01 level (SCORE 2015).

Using the evidence to identify the problem and define policy directions

There are certain population segments within each community that are less open/ ready to the idea of a political settlement with the other community. We have created a profile of this group of people thus identifying what feeds into their intransigence. Having a more informed impression of who are those people who are opposing a settlement and for which reason allows us to come up with evidence-based policy directions/ suggestions whose goal is to render Greek and Turkish Cypriots more open and readier for a political settlement. The final section of this Chapter therefore will be devoted to looking into each of these groups of people and inquire into ways of reaching out to them and of addressing their needs.

Greek Cypriot community:

- **Youth:** How to get them involved in the peace process, when they are facing the more immediate problem of unemployment? How to inform them about the other community, when they do not pay attention to media?
- **People who find the prospect of co-existence threatening:** How to generate interest in inter-communal contact, while reducing the sense of threat experienced by these people? How to normalize the concept of a 'wider society' which would include people both communities? How to find more practical ways to enable good-quality contact, communication and joint activities with members of the other community?
- **People who feel that they are not represented by the institutions:** How to improve institutional transparency and inclusivity, and more specifically a transparent and inclusive peace process? How to foster engagement in the peace process independent of a citizen's specific beliefs regarding a settlement?
- **People who are experiencing conflict and fragmentation in their own family lives:** How to help people experiencing personally dramatic circumstances to see beyond their

own difficulties and envision a future for their country? How to link development of social skills and empathy with life success both at the personal and at the national level?

Turkish Cypriot community:

- **Right wing people:** How to address the right wing narrative that a settlement will undermine community cohesion of Turkish Cypriots? How can religion be used to promote the language of peace?
- **People who experience Greek Cypriots as belonging to a different culture and society:** How to overcome the negative stereotype that members of the other community 'are different people'? How to develop social skills for daily co-existence with Greek Cypriots?
- **People who feel strongly represented by existing Turkish Cypriot institutions:** How to see the institutions of a unified Cyprus as entities that will represent their interests even more effectively than the existing Turkish Cypriot institutions?
- **People with poor problem solving skills:** How to help citizens, especially the less educated and those experiencing personal difficulties, to take a long and considered view both on personal and on national dilemmas, to see the benefits of a comprehensive settlement?

Chapter Five

The Bosnia-Herzegovina SCORE: Measuring peace in a multi-ethnic society

Maria Ioannou, Nicolas Jarraud, Alexandros Lordos

Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) was the first country after Cyprus where SCORE was implemented. The main groups studied were Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. As in Cyprus, the two main dimensions which made up the index in Bosnia-Herzegovina were; social cohesion and reconciliation. The political outcome was political integration defined as readiness for political compromise and the ability to envisage a shared future with other ethnic groups.

The presentation of the SCORE results for Bosnia-Herzegovina will follow the same format as for Cyprus, with the results of the descriptive analysis presented first. In this section, we will be presenting the results for all the main dimensions and their indicators, as well as those for other indicators of interest. Where there are significant discrepancies in the demographic break-down they will also be mentioned.

This section will be followed by the results of the predictive analysis. This will highlight the indicators of social cohesion and of reconciliation which significantly predict political integration. The chapter will conclude by outlining and discussing the main findings and making corresponding policy recommendations.

Methodological highlights

The index was calibrated for use in Bosnia-Herzegovina in December 2013 and data was collected in March and April 2014. Participants were citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina aged 18 and above. Random stratified sampling was used to produce a representative sample of the population. A total of 2,000 respondents were interviewed face-to-face. Of these, 858 were Bosniaks (43%), 847 were Serbs (42%) and 214 Croats (11%). The remaining

respondents were from other ethnic groups and were excluded from the analysis. This reduced the sample size to 1,919.

The sample comprised 43% male participants and 57% female. The ratio of men to women was about the same across the three ethnic groups. Furthermore, 49% of the sample was recruited from the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (FBiH), 49% from Republika Srpska (RS) and 2% from the neutral, self-governing, Brcko District. Sampling took into account the ethnic composition of each entity; the table below provides a breakdown of each entity's sample by ethnic group.

	Total Entity's N	Bosniaks N (% of entity's N)	Serbs N (% of entity's N)	Croats N (% of entity's N)
Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina (FBiH)	934	698 (75%)	66 (8%)	170 (17%)
Republika Srpska (RS)	945	131 (14%)	775 (82%)	39 (4%)
Brcko Districts (BD)	40	29 (73%)	6 (14%)	5 (13%)

Table 1. Breakdown of each entity's sample by ethnic group.

The majority of participants from the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina were Bosniaks, followed by Croats. Serbs formed only a small fraction of the sample. Not surprisingly, Serbs constituted the vast majority of the sample from Republika Srpska. There is also a sizeable Bosniak minority living in RS, which was proportionately represented in the sample.

The substantial Bosniak minority resident in RS has made it necessary, where appropriate, for us to disaggregate results from Bosniak respondents by entity (FBiH vs RS). The same was done for Serbs, with the caveat that the results for Serbs living in the FBiH should be interpreted cautiously, since the sample size of 66 was small. This also applies to results from Brcko District. A sample size of 40 is extremely small and makes it impossible for the results from Brcko to be interpreted in isolation.

Measuring social cohesion, reconciliation, and political integration

As with SCORE Cyprus, our initial task was to identify the indicators of social cohesion and of reconciliation based on the actual data. The process entailed finding a solution that best fitted the data and which did not differ significantly between ethnic groups. Since it is likely that different groups understand abstract concepts, such as social cohesion, differently, in order to carry out a valid comparison between ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we had to verify first that the three groups conceptualised the concepts in the same way. We needed to ensure in other words, that the sub-indicators and indicators defining each dimension did not differ from group to group.

Our analyses yielded that the dimension of social cohesion was best defined by three distinct indicators, human security, trust in institutions, and satisfaction with civic life. These indicators differed from those identified as defining social cohesion in Cyprus 2014. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, unlike Cyprus, the representational capacity of institutions and freedom from corruption did not emerge as indicators of social cohesion¹. This is because the representational capacity of institutions could not, empirically, (based on our data) be distinguished from trust in institutions. The items measuring trust in institutions and those measuring representation by them were very highly correlated and loaded onto the same factor. We therefore decided to retain the three items measuring trust in institutions in our model, while keeping in mind that trust in institutions and confidence in their representational capacity were essentially the same thing.

Human security was measured as one construct in SCORE Bosnia-Herzegovina. In SCORE Cyprus 2014, it was broken down to its constituents, which resulted in measuring three types of security; political, personal, and economic. SCORE Bosnia-Herzegovina was implemented before the break-down of human security was conceptualised, hence its uni-dimensional structure in the index.

The figure below shows the three indicators making up the social cohesion dimension and the items through which each of the indicators was measured.

¹ The measure of corruption is a new addition to the SCORE Cyprus 2014 which was conducted after SCORE BiH was implemented. We suggest to add this dimension in future reiteration of SCORE BiH.

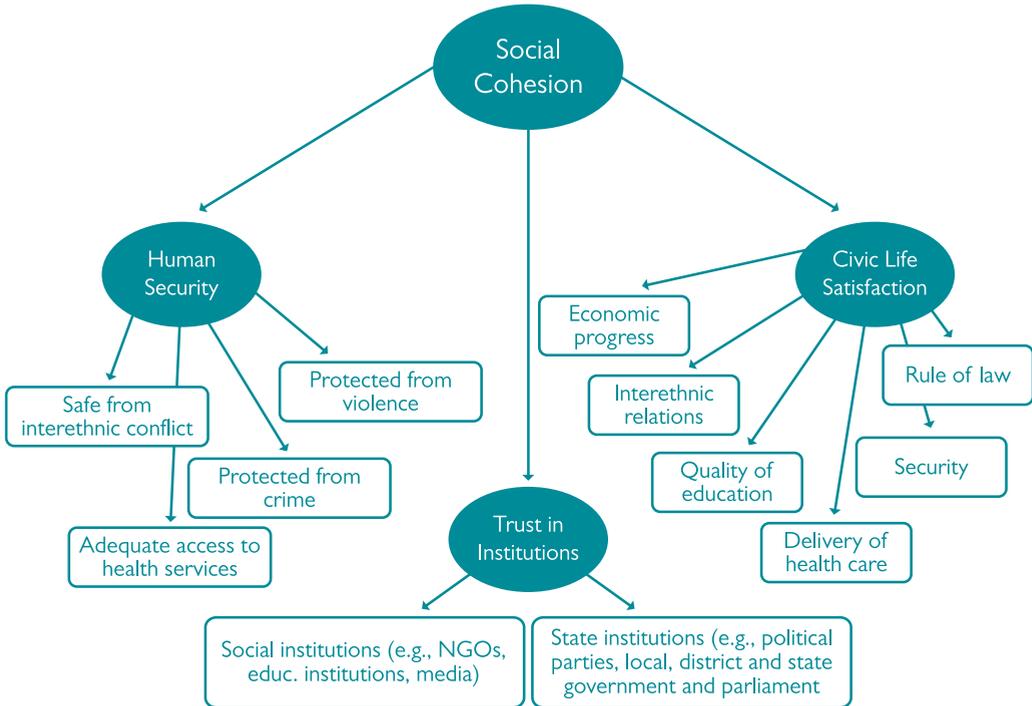


Figure 1. Indicators of social cohesion and items used to measure each indicator.

The reconciliation dimension was made up of five indicators; negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, social distance, social threats, and positive feelings. These indicators are almost identical to those used in SCORE Cyprus. The only difference being that the indicator ‘active discrimination’ was replaced in this instance by ‘positive feelings’. The items measuring each of these indicators are provided in the figure below. The only indicator that was not measured by multiple items, was positive feelings. To measure positive feelings respondents were asked to rate their feelings towards different outgroups on a scale that ranged from very negative to very positive.

Finally, we looked at the items included in the questionnaire measuring Bosnians’ vision for their country. We extracted those items that measured citizens’ views on political integration, which all loaded onto one factor. This factor, which we labelled ‘political integration’, formed the third dimension of the index. The items are presented in the figure below.

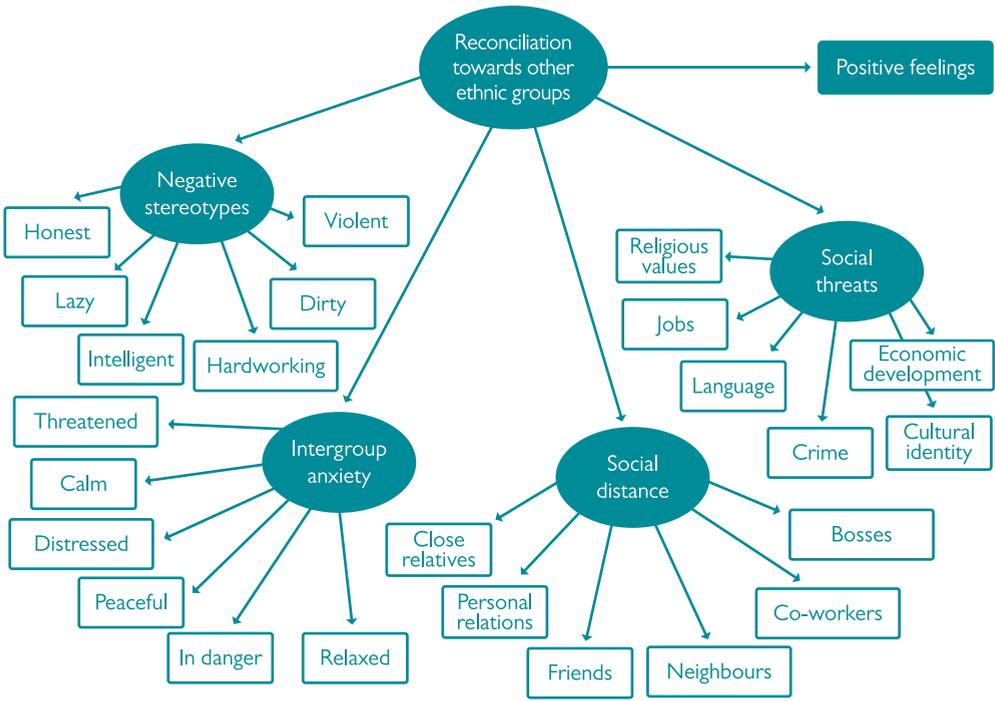


Figure 2. Indicators of reconciliation and items used to measure each indicator.

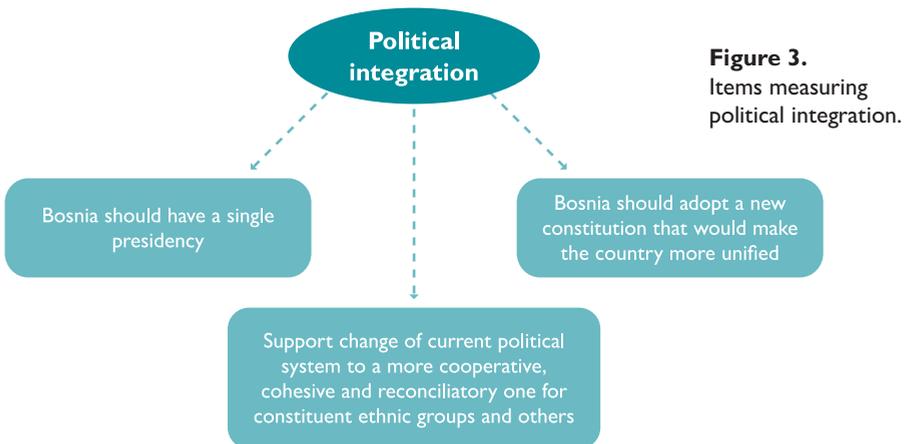


Figure 3. Items measuring political integration.

Results

What do the numbers mean?

The numbers presented in the descriptive section of the results range from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates very low levels of an indicator / dimension and 10 the maximum possible. The numbers in the predictive section represent regression coefficients which indicate whether and how, indicators relate to each other. Regression coefficients are only presented if they are significant at the 95% level (which means that their p-value is below .05). Greater coefficient values indicate stronger relationships between indicators. A positive value indicates a positive relationship between the two variables, while a negative value indicates a negative one.

Part A: Descriptive analysis

Social Cohesion and related indicators

In this section we will present the results for social cohesion and the indicators which make it up. Results will be disaggregated by entity (FBiH and RS) as well as by ethnic group. Apart from social cohesion, a number of other variables were measured that were theoretically related to it, but which did not, in the end register as predictors of the construct. These variables were; satisfaction with personal life, identity preference and strength of identification with preferred identity, civic engagement and information consumption.

Social cohesion

Entity level

There are discrepancies between entities, with the inhabitants of the Republika Srpska experiencing higher levels of social cohesion than citizens of either the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina or the Brčko District (see Table 4).

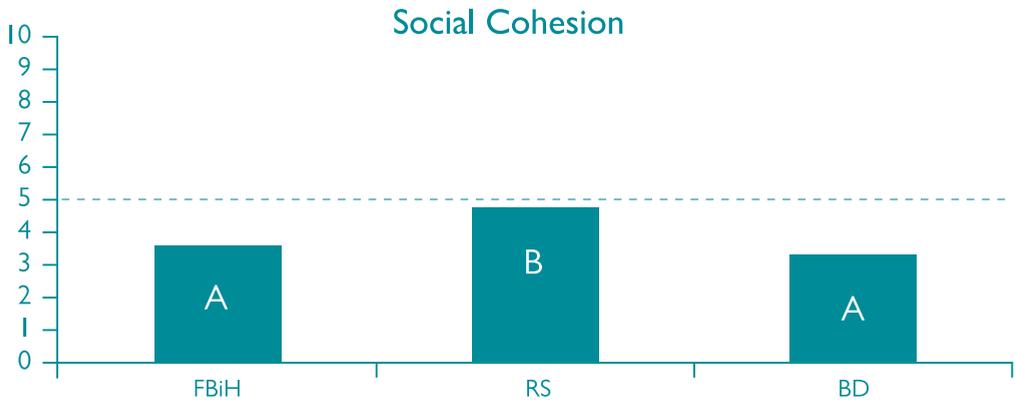


Table 4. Levels of social cohesion at the entity level.

We wanted to examine if this discrepancy reflected ethnic group differences, or whether it was attributable to differences in perception of social cohesion between the different entities. For this reason we focused on the two main entities (FBiH and RS), and produced social cohesion scores for both Bosniaks and for Serbs living in FBiH and in RS. (see Table 5).

Interestingly, comparisons between the results for Bosniaks and Serbs in both entities highlighted significant differences in social cohesion scores, depending on which entity respondents lived in. As we can see in Table 5, there are essentially no differences in social cohesion scores between Serbs and Bosniaks living in the FBiH. However, both Bosniaks and Serbs living in Republica Srpska, reported higher social cohesion scores than those in FBiH, where Bosniaks reported (even) higher scores than Serbs.

These results suggest that the issue of social cohesion is more of a problem in the Federation than in RS and that reported differences cannot be attributed to variations in perceptions of social cohesion by different ethnic groups. It is also interesting that Bosniaks living in RS report even higher levels of social cohesion than Serbs.

This leads to the next question, which is; what the drivers of social cohesion levels in each of the two main entities are, particularly in the Federation, where social cohesion levels are lower than in RS.

As seen in Table 6, the two entities differ for all indicators of social cohesion, with the difference being greatest for human security and satisfaction with civic life. FBiH scored lower on all indicators.

Trust in institutions is the indicator which the lowest scores in both entities. Social institutions are trusted more than the governing institutions in both places and of these, political parties are the least trusted in both FBiH and RS. The most trusted social institutions in FBiH are religious ones, with business and commercial institutions being least trusted. In RS the picture is different. There, the most trusted social institutions are those relating to health, while the least trusted are NGOs, possibly because of their perceived links with the international community.

Levels of human security were significantly lower in FBiH than in RS. Respondents in the FBiH scored particularly low in questions about whether they felt they were safe from crime. This was closely followed by fears that they may have difficulty accessing adequate health care provision. As far as satisfaction with civic life was concerned, the sources of greatest dissatisfaction were the same in both entities, namely, concerns about the performance of the economy and about the rule of law.

Ethnic group level

The breakdown of social cohesion scores by ethnic group mirrored the entity-level findings. As seen in Table 7, Serbs reported the highest levels of social cohesion and Bosniaks the lowest, with Croats somewhere in the middle. Bosniaks reported the lowest levels of human security across all groups, whereas both Bosniaks and Croats reported greater unhappiness with civic life by comparison with Serbs. Levels of trust in institutions (particularly political institutions and more specifically, politicians) were low among all groups - 3 on a scale from 0 to 10 - with the Bosniaks scoring the lowest.

Amongst Bosniaks, social cohesion scores were affected by certain demographic factors: age and levels of education and income. Older respondents, those with higher levels of education, or lower incomes, reported lower levels of social cohesion.

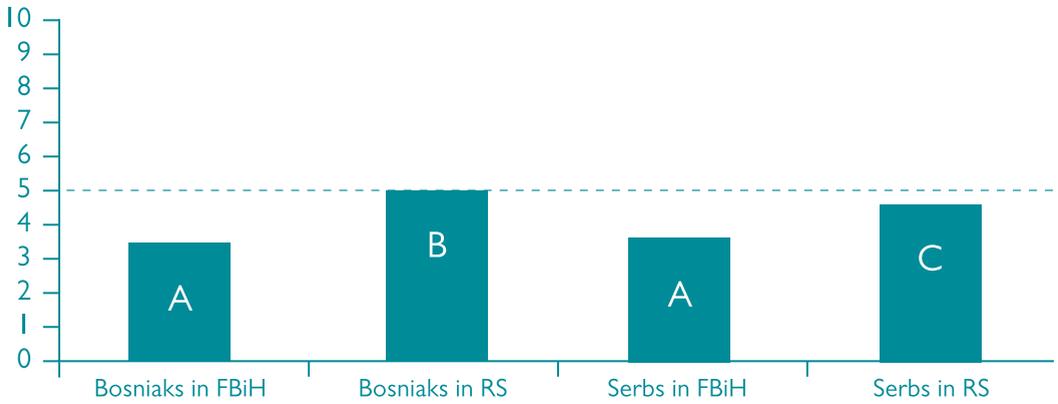


Table 5. Comparison of social cohesion scores of Bosniaks and Serbs living in FBiH and RS.

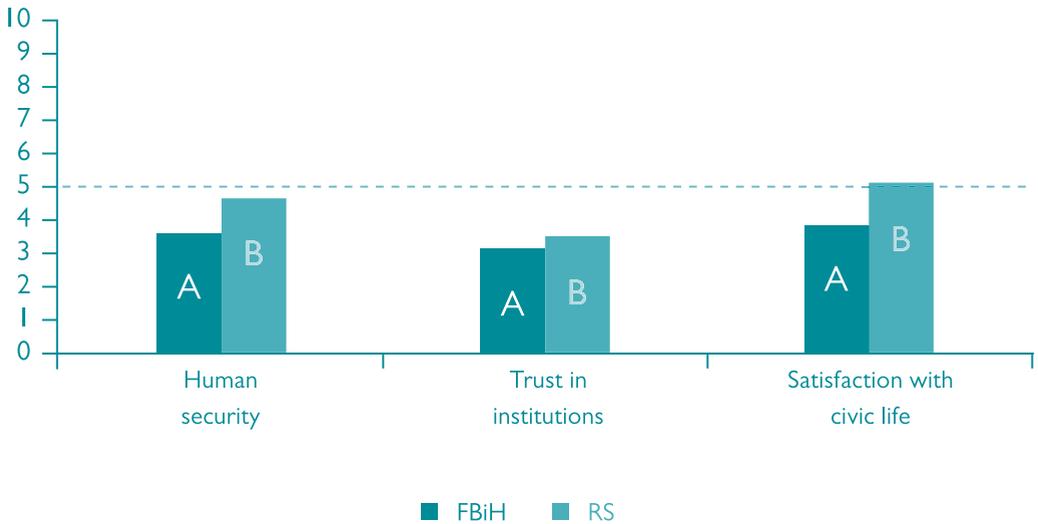


Table 6. Scores on each social cohesion indicator for FBiH and RS.

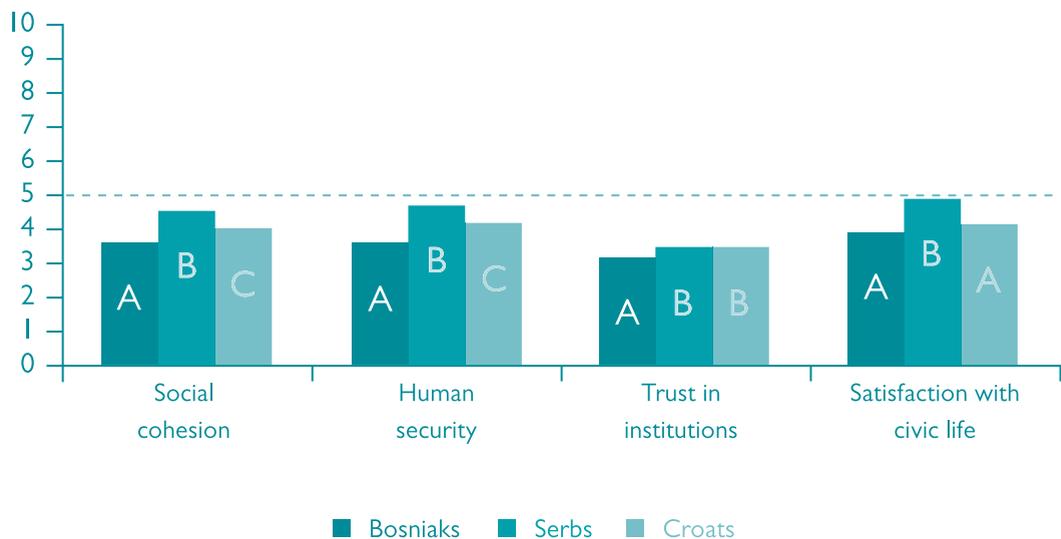


Table 7. Scores for social cohesion and its indicators amongst each of the three main ethnic groups.

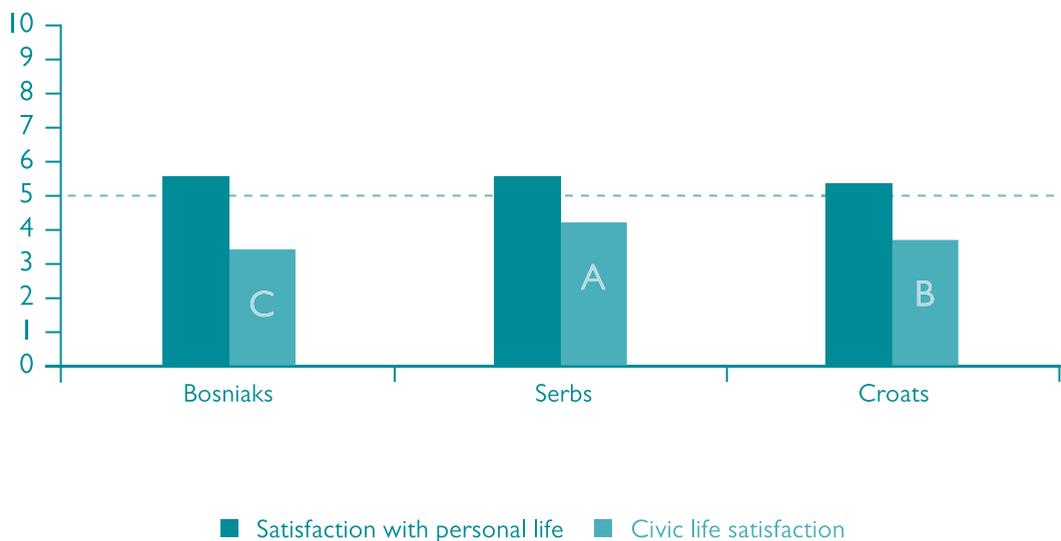


Table 8. Scores for satisfaction with personal and civic life amongst Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats.

Other SCORE indicators that are theoretically related to social cohesion

Satisfaction with personal life

In contrast to satisfaction with civic life, levels of satisfaction with personal life were significantly higher and did not differ between groups (see Table 8). However, although satisfaction with personal life was higher than with civic life, scores were in the mid-range suggesting that Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats were neither satisfied nor dis-satisfied with their personal lives.

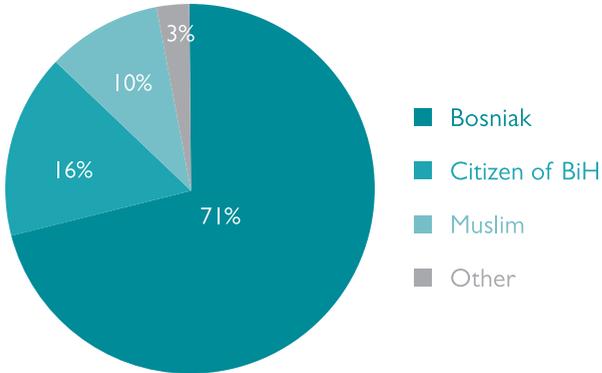
Preferred identity and identification strength

Respondents were asked to choose from a list of identities that which best described them and to report how much their chosen identity meant to them (identification strength). The majority of all ethnic groups selected their own ethnic identity. Significantly more Serbs and Bosniaks 77% and 71% respectively, identified with their ethnic identities than Croats (55%). The percentages of all ethnic groups who chose to identify themselves as citizens of FBiH was small. However, a significantly greater percentage of Bosniaks and Croats (16%) and (11%), respectively, chose to do so, compared to just 4% of Serbs. Religious identity was selected by the same percent of respondents in all three communities.

Civic engagement and information consumption

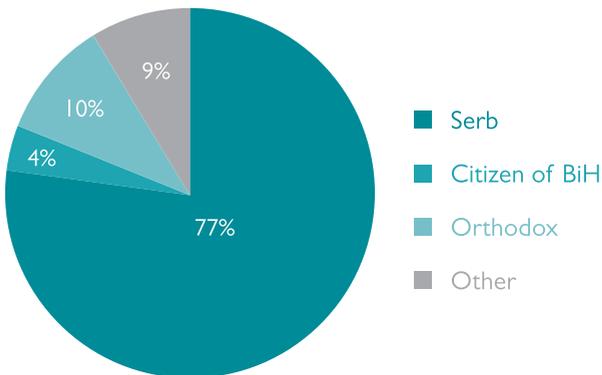
Overall, levels of civic engagement were very low, much lower than levels of information consumption across all groups (see Table 10). One might even assume that the two are somehow inversely related. For example, Serbs adopt a “spectator” approach to public affairs, whereby they consume significantly more information than the other two groups, but also report least civic engagement.

Bosniaks



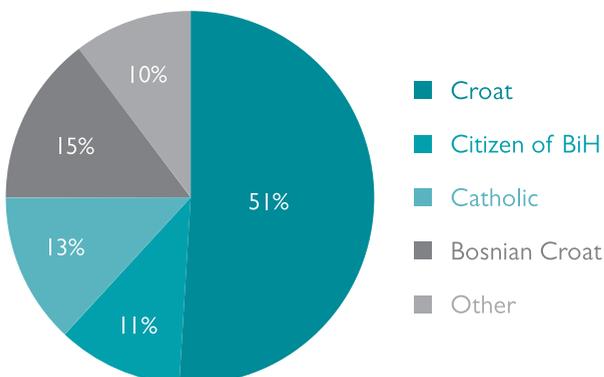
Graph 1.
Self-identification
amongst Bosniaks.

Serbs



Graph 2.
Self-identification
amongst Serbs.

Croats



Graph 3.
Self-identification
amongst Croats.

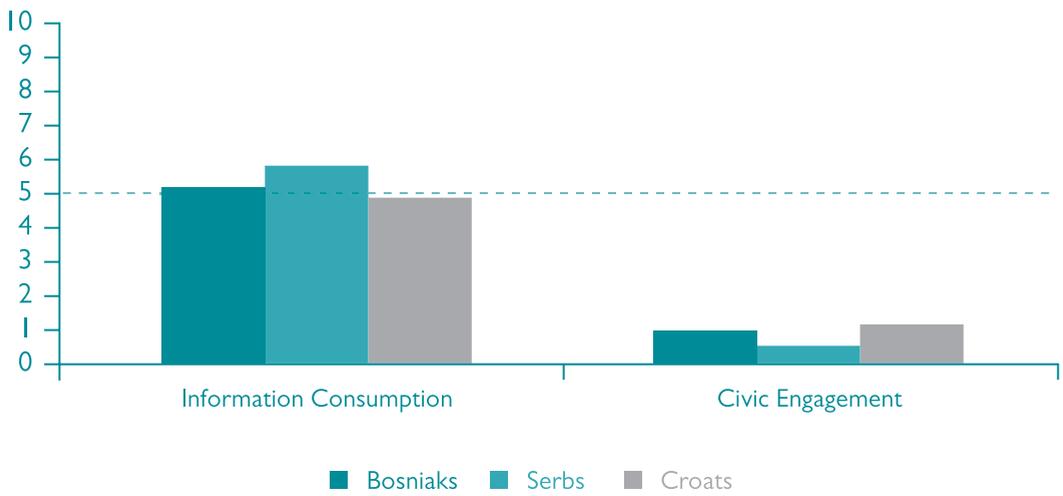


Table 10. Information consumption and civic engagement.

Reconciliation and related indicators

Attitudes towards reconciliation were measured across all ethnic groups. Similarly to SCORE Cyprus, we measured reconciliatory attitudes between the main ethnic groups and also assessed the quality of intergroup relations between the main ethnic groups and ethnic minorities or other groups.

In addition to reconciliation, a number of other variables that are related theoretically to reconciliation were also measured. They are referred to here as reconciliation-related indicators. These were; cultural distance, trust in other groups and quantity and quality of contact between groups. Their results will also be presented.

Reconciliation

In terms of attitudes towards reconciliation; Croats were the most reconciliatory of the three, whereas Serbs and Bosniaks did not differ in terms of how reconciliatory they were towards each other or towards Croats (see Figure 4). Bosniaks living in RS were more reconciliatory towards Serbs than Bosniaks living in FBiH; this difference however, is not statistically significant.

Despite the relatively high reconciliation scores amongst the three main ethnic groups, (a score of over 6 on a 0 to 10 scale), all recorded lower results when asked about the quality of their relations with minorities. Serbs, on average, held the least positive attitude towards minorities and, especially towards Roma, Albanians, and Bosniaks from Sandžak.

Analyses looking into each indicator of reconciliation separately for the three groups showed no great disparities in their reconciliation 'profiles'. If there is one thing that stood out it is that Bosniaks perceived the other two groups as being somewhat more threatening.

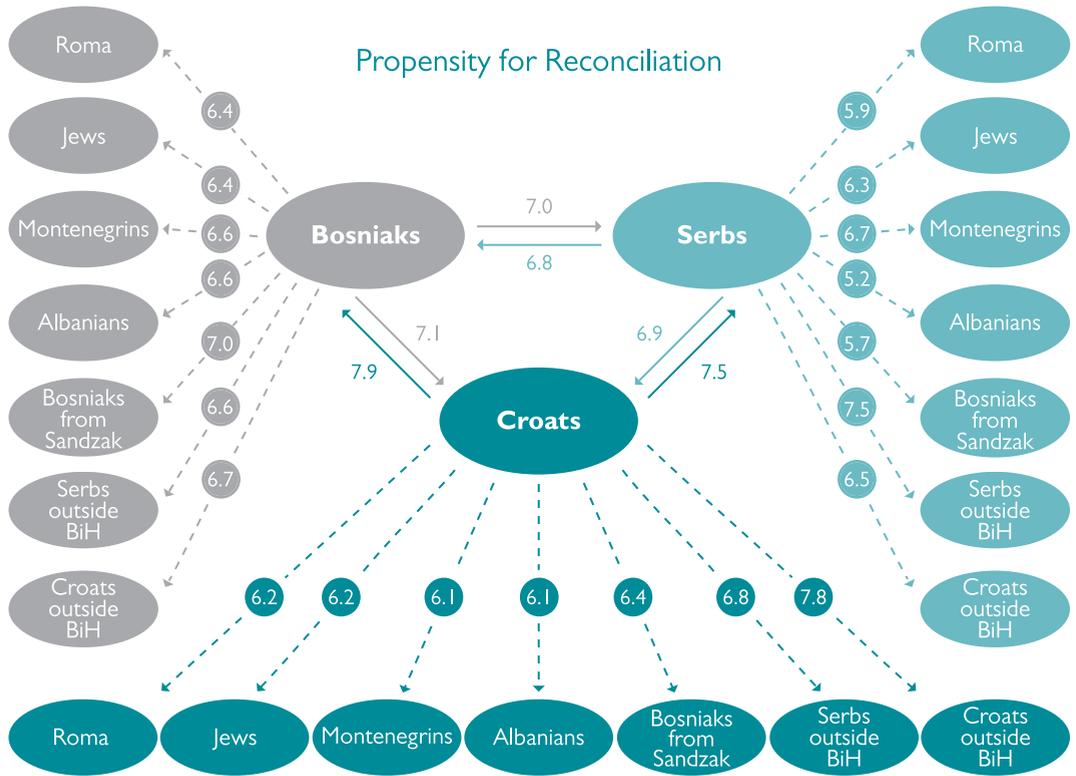


Figure 4. Attitudes of Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats towards mutual reconciliation and towards other ethnic groups. The closer the score is to 10, the higher the propensity for ‘reconciliation’ with that particular group.

In all groups, levels of education were positively associated with reconciliation, with more educated individuals being more readily reconciled to other groups. For Serbs, age was also a significant demographic indicator of reconciliation. Older Serbs were less reconciliatory towards Bosniaks in particular, and also, to a lesser extent, towards Croats.

In all groups, levels of education were positively associated with reconciliation, with more educated individuals being more readily reconciled to other groups.

Other SCORE indicators that are theoretically related to reconciliation

Cultural distance

Levels of reported cultural distance were low amongst all three main ethnic groups (see Figure 5). Croats reported the lowest levels of cultural distance, and also recorded the highest propensities for reconciliation, results which suggest that they are the most conciliatory of all the three main ethnic groups.

As far as the other two groups are concerned, Serbs reported lower cultural distance from Croats than Bosniaks, who did not differentiate between the other two ethnic groups. There was no demographic variable that predicted levels of cultural distance within any of the three main ethnic groups.

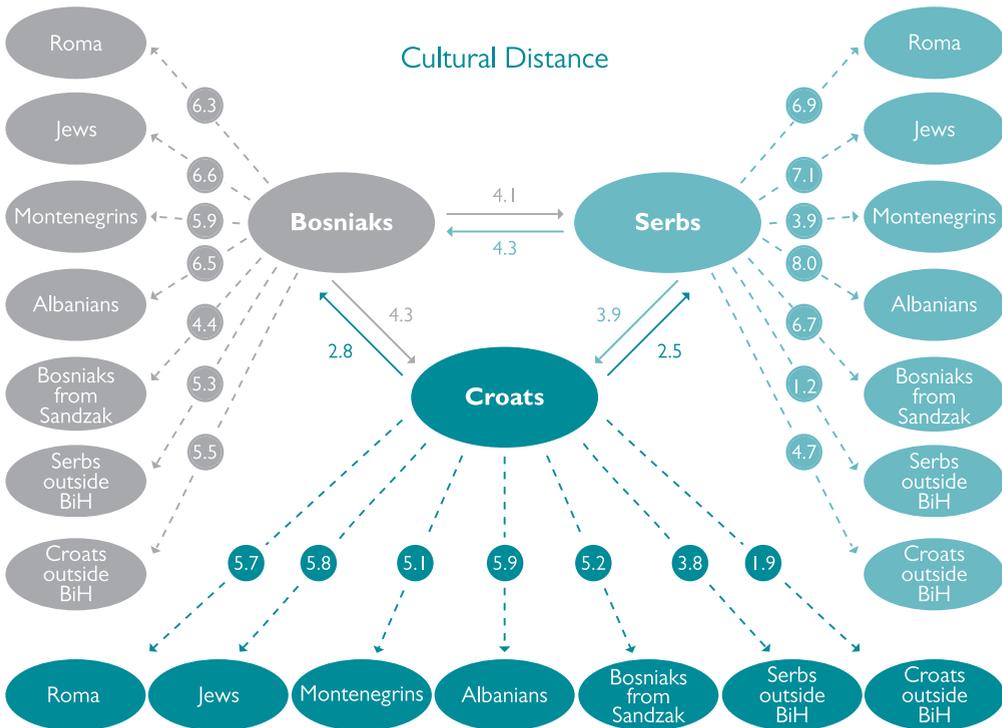


Figure 5. Levels of cultural distance between the three main ethnic groups and between each of the main groups and other ethnic groups.

Respondents reported relatively high levels of cultural distance from the remaining ethnic groups. Albanians, Jews and Roma were identified as being the most culturally distant by Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks. Serbs and Croats reported almost no distance at all from Serbs and Croats (respectively) living outside BiH, highlighting the strength of the connections that these two respective groups have with Serbia and Croatia respectively. Bosniaks, too, reported less cultural distance from Bosniaks living in Sandzak, even though their levels of cultural similarity did not come close to those reported by Serbs and Croats for Serbs and Croats outside BiH.

Trust in other groups

The pattern of results for trust in other groups is similar to that for attitudes towards reconciliation. The significant finding here was that even though levels for reconciliation were above the midpoint (where the midpoint represents indifference towards reconciliation) levels of trust were below the midpoint (where the midpoint indicates neither trusting, nor mistrusting other groups). These results suggest that even though overall relations between the two groups are not negative, there is still little trust between them.

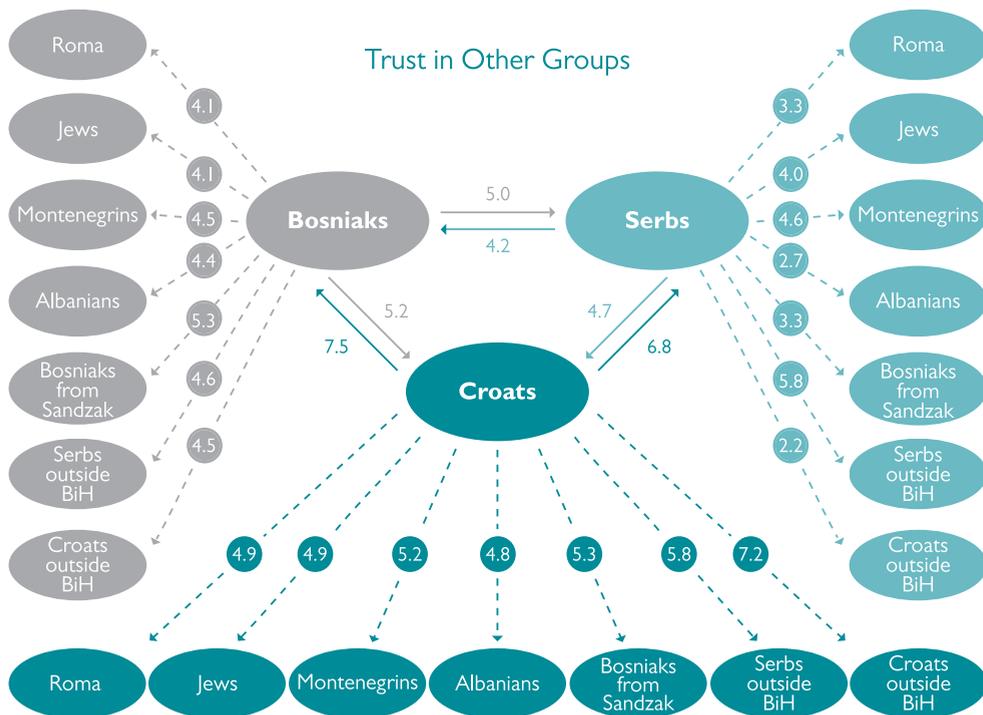


Figure 6. Levels of trust recorded towards each of the main ethnic groups and towards other ethnic groups.

The only reported exception to this was the attitudes of Croats towards the other two groups (see Figure 6). Croats reported significantly higher levels of trust towards both Bosniaks and Serbs. In fact, they were as trusting of Bosniaks and Serbs as they were towards Croats outside BiH.

Levels of trust towards the remaining ethnic groups (especially ethnic minorities) were low. Serbs, who were the most distrustful group on average, reported Croats outside BiH as being the group they trusted least, followed by Albanians, Roma, and Bosniaks from Sandzak. Interestingly, levels of trust experienced by Serbs living in Bosnia, for Serbs living outside the country, were only fractionally higher than midpoint, indicating that even though Bosnian Serbs feel culturally close to Serbs outside Bosnia-Herzegovina and have positive relations with them, they still do not trust them that much. Roma and Jews were the two groups Bosniaks trusted the least. Croats, for their part, considered Albanians to be the least trustworthy ethnic minority group.

Quantity and quality of intergroup contact

Levels of contact varied between Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. Croats reported high levels of contact with Bosniaks and lower levels of contact with Serbs (see Figure 7). This was expected, due to the fact that relatively few Croats live in RS where the majority of Serbs live. Bosniaks and Croats reported equal levels of contact, whereas Serbs report rather low levels of contact with Croats. In general, there was a discrepancy between the quantity of inter group contact reported by Croats and the quantity of contact those same groups reported as having with Croats. However, this is also to be expected, since Croats constitute a minority in BiH and so objectively have more chances to meet members of the majority group, rendering higher levels of contact inevitable.

What is striking, is the very low levels of contact the three main ethnic groups reported having with other ethnic groups. As expected, there was more frequent contact with Roma, since they form a sizeable minority in BiH. Apart from this, levels of contact were rather low. This was the case even between Bosniaks and Bosniaks from Sandzak, Bosnian Serbs and Serbs outside BiH and between Bosnian Croats and Croats outside BiH.

Possibly the most positive finding in this area has been the quality of contact reported by all groups. Contact with each of the other two ethnic groups was described as being very positive (see Figure 8) by Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. This suggests that even though levels of contact are not extremely high, in those instances where it occurs, it is experienced as something positive. Interestingly, contact with Roma, an ethnic group

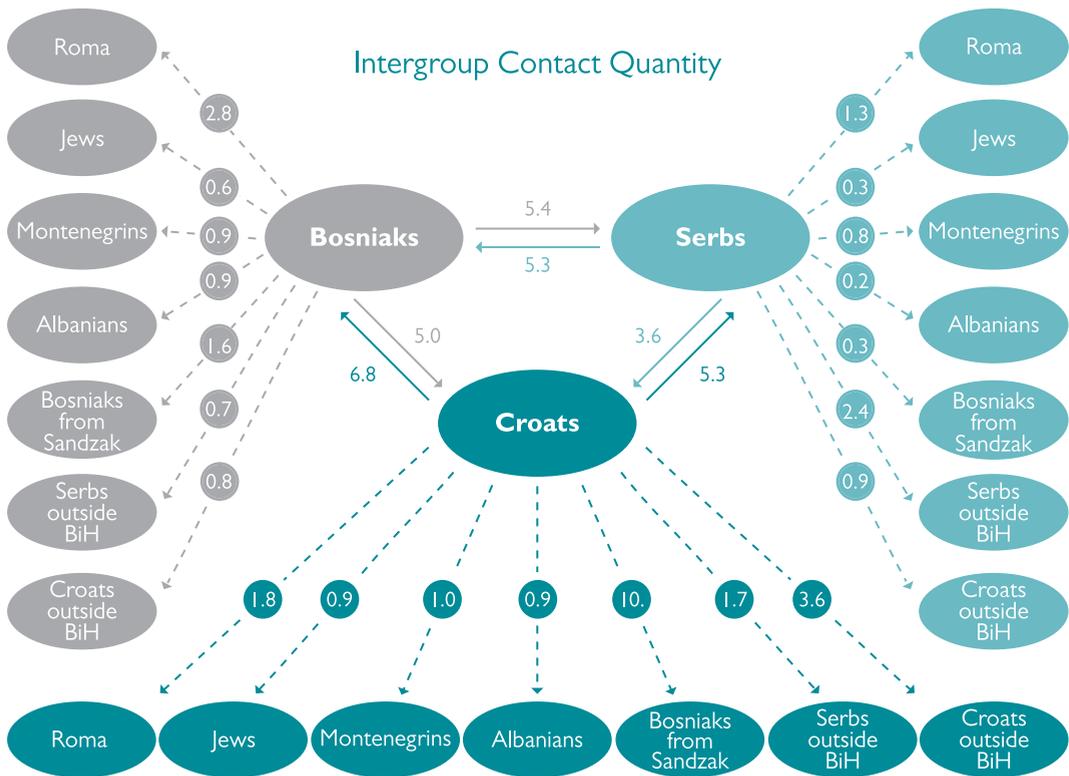


Figure 7. Quantity of contact with members of other ethnic groups.

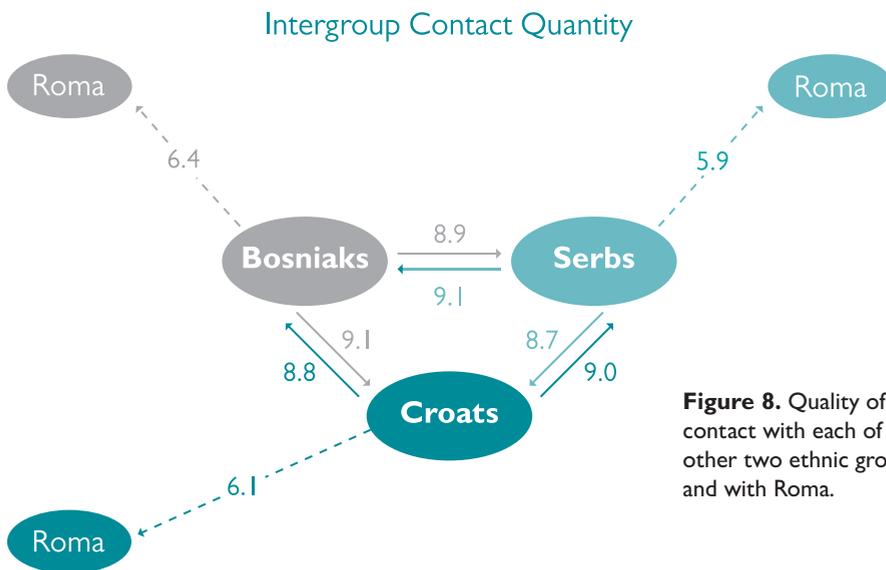


Figure 8. Quality of contact with each of the other two ethnic groups and with Roma.

that the three main groups do not trust and are generally not very positively disposed towards, was also described as positive by all groups.

Political integration

Three indicators, single presidency, change of political system and adoption of a new constitution, form the factor of political integration. Political integration is strongly supported by Bosniaks and is least supported by Serbs. The gap between them is, as predicted, very large. Croats generally support political integration and while they are not as supportive as Bosniaks, they are considerably more so than Serbs. (see Table 11).

Focusing on the item level of the political integration dimension, all groups supported a change in the current political system, preferring one that is more cooperative, more cohesive, and more reconciliatory, both towards the constituent ethnic groups and other minority groups living in BiH. The other two items, single presidency and adoption of a new constitution, elicited different levels of support among the three groups.

Croats endorsed the change of the current political system to a more reconciliatory one, more than they endorsed single presidency or the adoption of a new constitution to make Bosnia-Herzegovina more unified. In comparison to the other two groups, Serbs were particularly resistant to both the single presidency and to the adoption of a new, unifying constitution. Bosniaks, on the other hand, did not distinguish between any aspects of political integration and were equally supportive of all proposed constitutional and executive reforms.

A closer examination of the breakdown of ethnic group by entity (see Table 12) shows that Bosniaks living in RS support political integration significantly less than Bosniaks living in the federation, but that they are still much more supportive of political integration than Serbs living in the same entity. Interestingly, Serbs and Bosniaks living in FBiH are equally supportive of political integration. Caution is needed in interpreting these results as the sample size of Serbs living in the FBiH was very small.

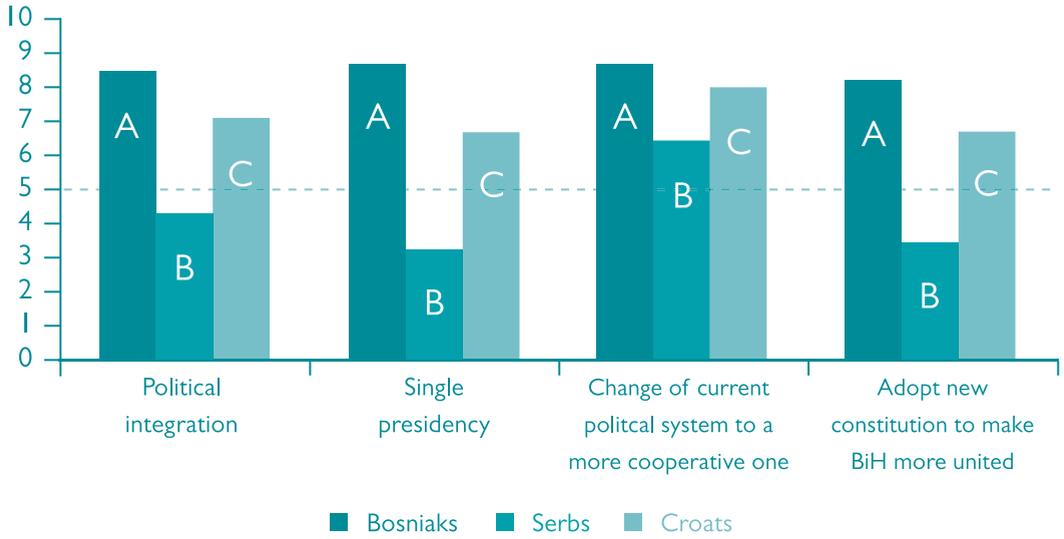


Table 11. Scores for political integration and for the items measuring it amongst the three ethnic groups.

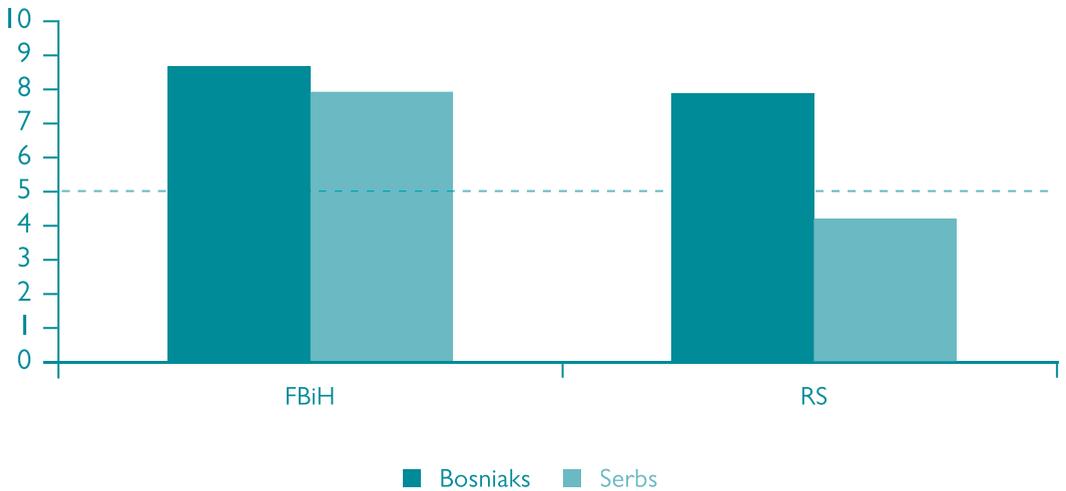


Table 12. Breakdown of scores for political integration amongst ethnic groups (Bosniaks vs. Serbs) by entity (FBiH vs RS).

Part B: Predictive analysis

As with SCORE Cyprus, this part of the results is devoted to answering the question: which aspects of social cohesion and of reconciliation predict the outcome variable. The working hypothesis is that indicators of social cohesion and indicators of reconciliation with adversary groups can be drivers of readiness for political compromise or, as in the case of BiH, drivers of willingness for political integration. For this purpose those indicators relating to social cohesion and those relating to reconciliation with the remaining two ethnic groups (along with key demographic variables) were pitted against each other, as possible predictors of political integration (see Figure 9). This analysis was performed for each of the three groups.

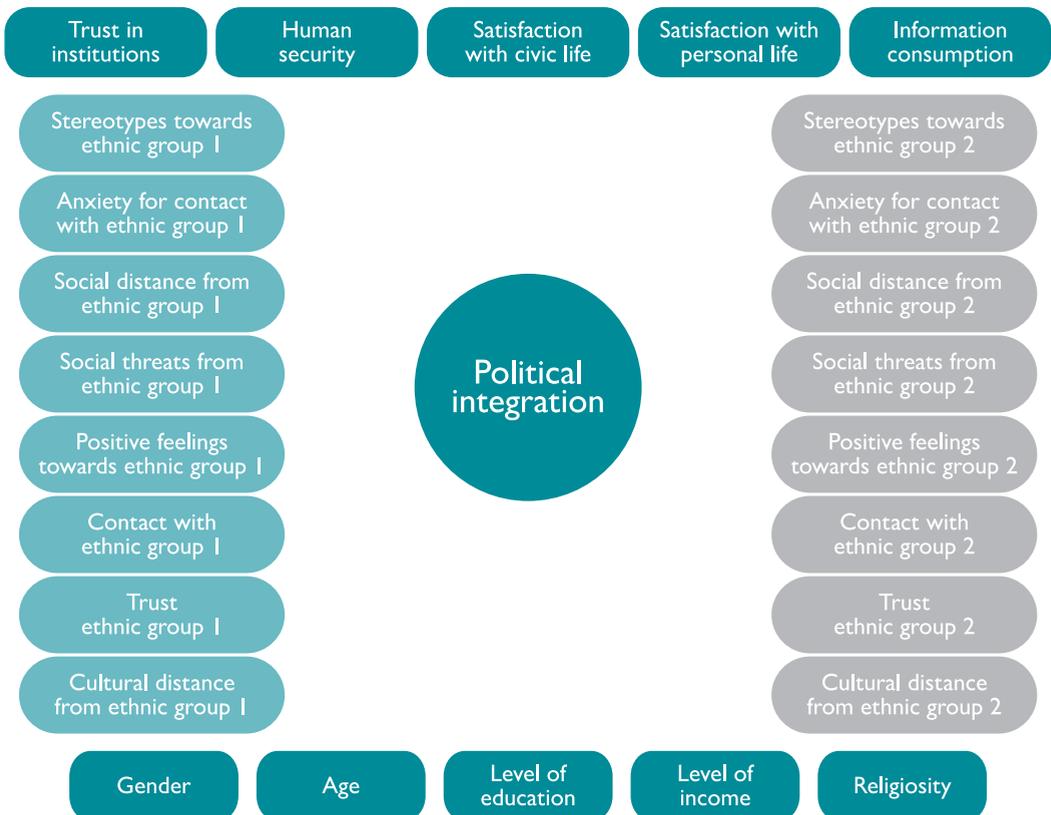


Figure 9. All social cohesion-related indicators (top row), all reconciliation-related indicators for each of the two remaining groups, Ethnic Group 1 (left column), Ethnic Group 2 (right column), and the key demographic variables (bottom row), were tested as predictors of political integration for each group.

Once we had identified the predictors of political integration for each of the three ethnic groups, we proceeded to investigate which other SCORE indicators were related to each predictor, so as to have a more complete picture of that indicator's influence on political integration. We thus isolated each predictor and checked the variables that significantly correlated with it (see Figure 10). The results are reported and explained for each ethnic group separately.

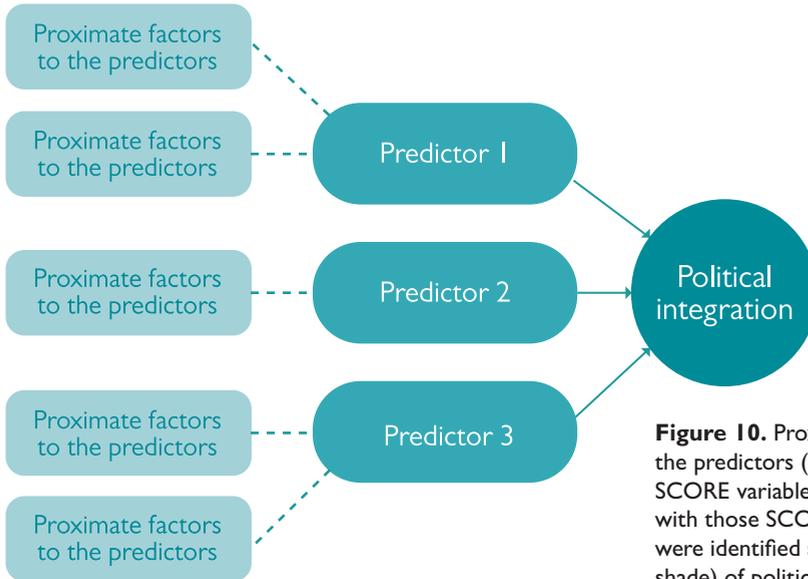


Figure 10. Proximate factors to the predictors (lighter shade) are SCORE variables that are correlated with those SCORE variables that were identified as predictors (darker shade) of political integration.

Bosniaks

The key predictors of political integration for Bosniaks were; satisfaction with personal life, trust in institutions and contact with Croats (see Figure 11). Greater satisfaction with personal life predicted greater support for political integration. The closest factor to satisfaction with personal life was human security. The two were positively correlated; higher levels of satisfaction with personal life lead to higher human security and vice versa. Taken together, these results suggest that individuals who are more satisfied with their life and feel more secure, are more supportive of political integration. Conversely, individuals who are unsatisfied with their personal lives feel more insecure and endorse political integration less.

The second factor predicting Bosniak support for greater political integration was trust in institutions. Greater trust in institutions related to less support for political integration, or, to put in another way, reduced trust in institutions was related to greater support for political integration.

Trust in institutions was significantly correlated with satisfaction with civic life and human security. The less people trust institutions, the less they are satisfied with civic life and the less secure they feel. These in combination, lead to greater support for political integration.

This is an interesting finding that contradicts to some extent the findings above regarding human security. It seems that when human security stems from dissatisfaction with civic life and distrust in institutions, it has a different effect on political integration than when it emerges from satisfaction with personal life. Dissatisfaction with civic governance and distrust in institutions breed insecurity, which translates into a desire to change the system. When insecurity is more closely related to dissatisfaction with personal life, rather than with the state, this leads to less openness to change and the inclusion of the other, or to reconciliation with members of the outgroup. Both of these trends coexist, although possibly not within the same individual, within the Bosniak population.

Finally, contact with Croats is a positive predictor of political integration; the more contact Bosniak respondents reported having with Croats, the more they supported changes to the system that aimed at greater political integration. Importantly, contact with Croats related negatively to cultural distance, indicating that the more Croats are perceived as being culturally dissimilar by Bosniaks, the less contact they have with them and the less likely they are to endorse political integration.

It is noteworthy that none of the indicators of reconciliation towards Serbs (e.g. negative stereotypes towards Serbs, social threats from Serbs), have emerged as a significant indicator of political integration. This may be due to the fact that when Bosniaks consider greater political integration within Bosnia, they think first of Croats. This would suggest that for Bosniaks, relations between their group and Croats is a stronger predictor of attitudes towards political change than their relations with Serbs.

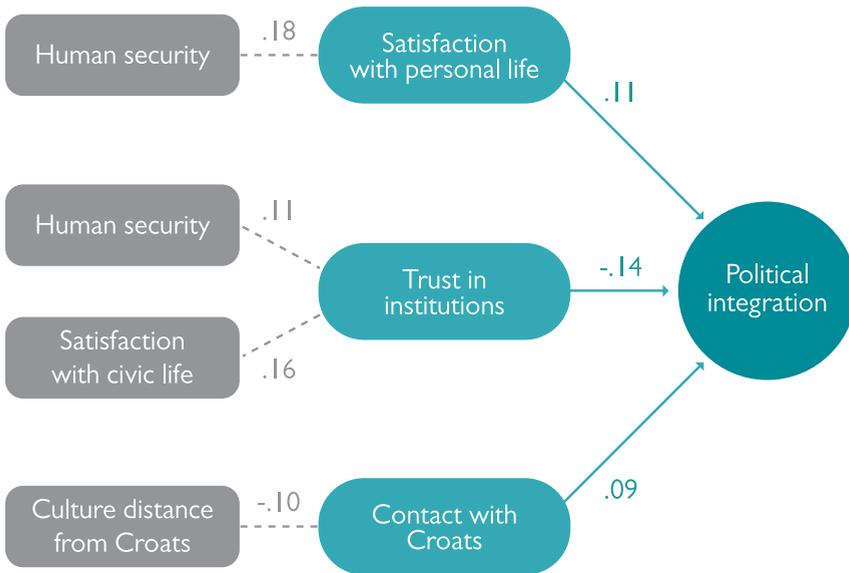


Figure 11. Predictors of political integration for Bosniaks and variables associated with them.

Serbs

Many more factors emerged as key indicators of political integration amongst Serbs. In terms of indicators of social cohesion, the amount of information consumed via the media, life satisfaction, and human security, all negatively predicted political integration. The more information an individual consumes, the more satisfied a person is with their own life, and the more safe a person feels, the less they are likely to aspire to political integration or political change.

As far as reconciliation is concerned, for Serbs, relations with Bosniaks (but not Croats) were found to impact on their support for political integration. Greater social distance and greater perceived threat from Bosniaks led to less support for political integration. Greater trust towards Bosniaks and greater contact with them, on the other hand, led to increased willingness for political integration.

Information consumption goes hand-in-hand with civic engagement and ingroup identification; the more engaged people are in civic matters and the more strongly they identify with their primary identity, the more information they consume. Men also

consume more information than women. If we were to cluster these categories together into a single profile, then we would have civically engaged men, who feel more strongly about being Serbian, who consume more media information and who, maybe because of that, do not support political integration in BiH.

Greater satisfaction with personal life was found to be associated with greater ingroup identification and greater satisfaction with civic life. Being more satisfied with personal, as well as with civic life, related to less support for political integration. Serb respondents reported being essentially happy with their lives as they were, a condition which made them less likely to want to risk the status quo and possibly jeopardise their general well-being. It is interesting that ingroup identification was associated with this predictor (satisfaction with personal life) too. In a sense the results here could suggest that high ingroup identification (verging on nationalism), is a factor contributing to the reluctance to integrate politically with other ethnic groups in Bosnia.

Human security among the Serb population is directly (and positively) related to satisfaction with civic life and trust in institutions. When human security is attributed to a well-run, functioning governance structure, then it leads to a general reluctance to change existing conditions. Conversely, those citizens who are unhappy with civic life and distrust institutions, feel less secure and are more ready to pursue change. Moreover, low human security is associated with greater civic engagement. When civic engagement clusters with low levels of human security, it leads to increased support for political integration. The opposite is true in cases where civic engagement clusters with information consumption, when it leads to a decrease in support for political integration.

As far as reconciliation predictors are concerned, the results of the predictive analysis suggest that nearly all aspects of reconciliation need to fall into place before political integration can be considered a desirable outcome by Serbs. Despite the fact that Serbs and Bosniaks have moved closer to a more reconciliatory perspective, more progress is needed before Serbs might be willing to consider political integration.

Serbs who distrusted Bosniaks and appeared to hold more negative stereotypes about them, also reported higher satisfaction with civic life (most likely in RS.) Trust was also however, related to contact; greater contact with Bosniaks led to greater trust and therefore to more willingness to integrate politically. Cultural distance too, was found to be linked to trust, with people who saw themselves as being more culturally different from Bosniaks also being less trusting towards them.

contact. Older Serbs reported the least contact with Bosniaks. It is important to emphasise that contact between the two groups turned out to be a significant positive factor for political integration both for Bosniaks and for Serbs. This is of the utmost importance as it seems to suggest that greater (positive) contact between the two groups would promote greater willingness for coexistence under a more inclusive political system.

Croats

Three indicators were identified as contributing significantly to political integration for Croats. These were; satisfaction with civic life, contact with Serbs and cultural distance from Bosniaks. Satisfaction with civic life was related to more trust in institutions and together these factors led to less support for political integration. Seen from a different angle, distrust in institutions and dissatisfaction with civic life yield greater support for political integration. This is a finding that all three groups had in common.

Paradoxically, contact with Serbs, was found to be negatively related to willingness for political integration; the more contact Croat respondents reported having with Serbs, the less willing they were to endorse greater political inclusiveness. This rather counter-

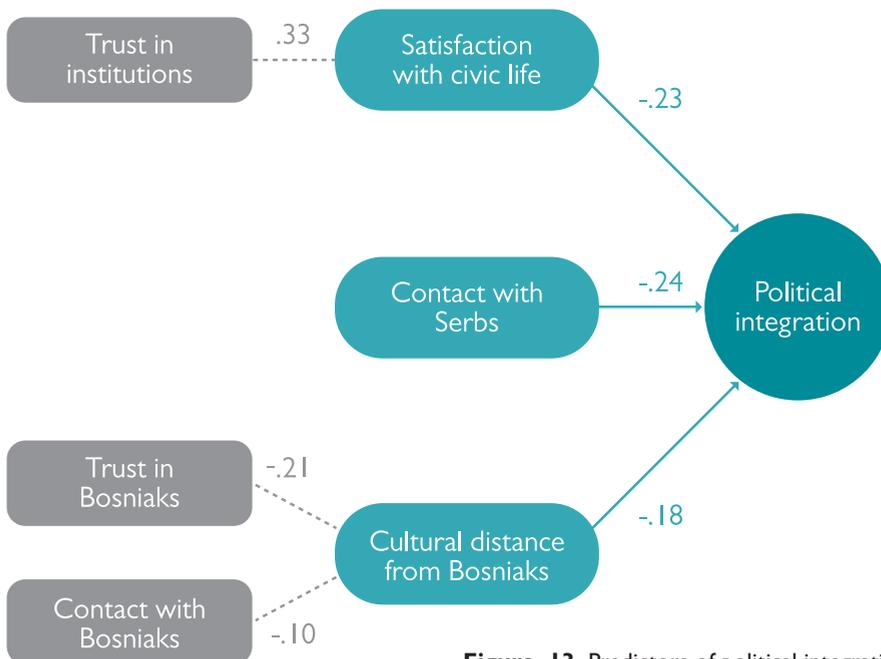


Figure 13. Predictors of political integration for Croats and variables associated with them.

intuitive finding becomes even harder to interpret given the fact that Bosnian Croats reported contact with Serbs as being very positive. So, a positive occurrence that has negative effects on political inclusiveness seems rather odd. A possible explanation could be that perhaps the majority of Croats who have contact with Serbs, are themselves unsupportive of political integration. If this is indeed the case, then this group may be aligning themselves with Serbs who in general are resistant to the idea of political integration. Yet a different explanation for this finding could be that a percentage of Croats might be reporting very negative contact with Serbs, leading to greater resistance to a political system that includes them. This explanation however, seems less likely, given that overall, Croats reported very positive contact between the two groups.

Interestingly and predictably, by comparison, good relations between Croats and Bosniaks related positively to political integration. The less culturally distant Croats perceived themselves to be from Bosniaks, the more they trusted them and the more contact they had. This made them more supportive of political integration.

Key findings and policy recommendations

• Finding I

Of all the social cohesion indicators, trust in institutions was particularly low across all ethnic groups (and entities). Less trust in institutions was linked to greater support for changes to the political system to make BiH more integrated, cohesive and reconciliatory.

Discussion

All ethnic groups reported roughly equally low levels of trust towards institutions with the least trust expressed towards politicians. In a state where service delivery is weak and institutions are distrusted, the social contract is under strain. The results show that in BiH the only ethnic group that seemed committed to active engagement in political action for change were Bosniaks, probably because they feel closer to the state. Mistrust of institutions is not eliciting an impulse towards civic engagement for either Serbs or Croats.

While taking action to change things demonstrates Bosniak commitment to changing a malfunctioning system, social unrest as a result of disappointment with state delivery is also likely to have negative effects on intergroup relations. Hence the only way forward seems to be to work on the ability of the governing institutions to deliver public services and to bolster their integrity.

Policy recommendation

Building trust in government institutions needs to be part of a participatory process, taking particular care to engage with disenfranchised groups who may feel under-represented and powerless, such as Serbs.

• Finding 2

Bosniaks experience very low levels of human security, lower than either Serbs or Croats. Human security was found to predict social cohesion in opposing ways, depending on which other factors it linked with.

Discussion

Bosniaks' low human security stems mainly from the belief that they are unprotected from crime. This seems to have had an impact on respondents' satisfaction with their personal lives and has consequences for political integration. The more insecure people feel in their daily lives, the more they 'hunker down' and are resistant to change. This is a common finding reported in the development literature: when human security is at stake, intergroup relations and peaceful coexistence suffer.

When, however, human security is linked with satisfaction with civic life, then the nature of the relationship between security and political integration changes. The less secure people feel, and the more they link this insecurity to bad delivery of services by the state, the more they endorse political change. The explanation here is obvious, if one's human security is at stake because of the system, then it is reasonable to want to change that system. This was the case for both Bosniaks and Serbs. In the case of Serbs, this dynamic is reinforced by the fact that increased levels of civic engagement related to lower levels of human security. For this group, when civic engagement derives from insecurity, it relates positively to support for political integration.

Policy recommendation

While the absence of human security due to the fragility of state institutions can lead citizens (especially Bosniaks and Serbs) to seek political change, it can also backfire and have an adverse effect on intergroup relations. Human security is ultimately essential, in order to sustain political change. Steps need to be taken at state level to address the human security concerns of the citizens of BiH and special emphasis should be placed on protecting citizens from crime.

• Finding 3

While reconciliation levels between the three main ethnic groups are relatively high, trust between Bosniaks and Serbs is low. In particular, the low levels of trust reported by Serbs towards Bosniaks are detrimental to support for political integration.

Discussion

While Bosniaks and Serbs have come some way in terms of reconciliation, trust between the two groups remains relatively low, with levels below the midpoint. Trust is crucial to sustainable peace and the development of a joint vision of the future.

For Serbs, mistrust of Bosniaks was associated with reduced support for political integration. Trust of Bosniaks was negatively associated with pejorative stereotypes for Bosniaks and to cultural distance from them. However, trust of Bosniaks was also positively associated with higher levels of contact. We will be emphasising the importance of contact below, but suffice to say that the fact that contact and trust are positively correlated is extremely welcome, as it suggests that the contact taking place between the two groups is of a kind that promotes more trusting relationships.

Finally, it should be noted that Croats reported high levels of trust in the other two groups. This, in combination with the fact, that regions in the BiH which are tri-ethnic are also more reconciliatory, points to the possibility that Croats could act as potential intermediaries between Bosniaks and Serbs.

Policy recommendation

Any measures taken towards building greater trust, particularly between the Bosniak and Serb populations would be a move in the right direction. We advise however, that such attempts should include Croats.

• Finding 4

Contact emerges as a significant predictor of political integration across ethnic groups.

Discussion

For Serbs, contact with Bosniaks led to a greater wish for political integration, The same was true for Bosniaks who had contact with Croats. However, for Croats, contact with Serbs was negatively associated with political integration. In attempting to explain this we suggested that since levels of contact between the groups were relatively low to

start with, it was possible that those Croats who elected to have contact with Serbs also endorsed Serb aspirations for autonomy, in other words that they would, by definition, be against political integration.

Contact does however, have a positive effect when it comes to greater political unity among the three ethnic groups, in the case of contact between Serbs and Bosniaks and between Croats and Bosniaks. More contact was significantly associated with less cultural distance across groups and more trust in the case of Bosniaks.

Given that contact between the ethnic groups could have well had the opposite effect, contributing to greater levels of distrust and estrangement, the fact that contact was connected with a more reconciliatory approach to begin with and with greater willingness to endorse political integration as a result of that, is very important.

Policy recommendation

Policy makers often think that by inserting boundaries between groups and reducing contact, they reduce opportunities for friction. This does not seem to be the case for BiH. We therefore recommend that contact should not be obstructed wherever it is happening and that in those areas where contact is not happening it should be encouraged (but by no means imposed). In other words, authorities, CSOs and the international community should create optimal conditions for contact to happen naturally.

• Finding 5

Age was the single demographic variable found to be related to political integration and only for Serbs.

Discussion

The results show that younger Serbs are more open to political integration, to contact and to increased social ties with Bosniaks whom, unlike their elders, they do not perceive to be a threat.

Policy recommendation

It would be important to understand the deep concerns of older Serbs. The young generation of Serbs, Bosniaks and Croats, however, should be given the chance to develop a common vision for the country. The fact that they do not oppose contact and are willing to develop social ties means that the time is ripe for BiH to maximize possible settings where young people from all ethnic groups can work, interact, and live together.

Chapter Six

Future Directions for the SCORE Index

Alexandros Lordos, Christopher Louise

The preceding chapters have described the evolution of the social cohesion and reconciliation index, starting with conceptual origins, moving through the rigour of the methodological modelling and finally demonstrating the result in Cyprus. The full data and analysis for the SCORE project in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Nepal will be published in 2015. The experience of developing and applying the SCORE index to date has revealed that we have merely scratched the surface of SCORE's potential. This final chapter will consider several ways in which the index can continue to evolve in terms of its geographical reach, methodological development and practical utility, for those seeking to push the boundaries of conflict transformation.

(a) Implementation of the SCORE Index in new national contexts

There is significant scope to implement the index in numerous conflict transformation contexts. In 2014 SCORE projects were launched in Nepal and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Nepal the project was in collaboration with the German Development Aid Agency (GIZ) and the Nepal-based NGO Pro Public. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the project was in collaboration with United States Agency for International Development (USAID). In Nepal, the process commenced with an initial calibration mission, followed by fieldwork, which is scheduled to conclude in May 2015. The lessons learnt during this experience have added to our knowledge and understanding of the tool and its ability to accommodate local and regional particularities. Several challenges have added to our understanding of the implementation of the SCORE index. For example, Nepal's low levels of literacy meant that all questionnaires had to be conducted via oral interview, which resulted in specific adaptations to the methodology. At the same time, it was necessary to accommodate a more complex cluster of salient group identities; along lines of caste, ethnicity, religion, political affiliation, and region of residence, within the

research design. The results of the research will be used by Pro-Public and GIZ to formulate recommendations for a Peace Infrastructure in Nepal for consideration by the country's Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction and by other national stakeholders. We are confident that the SCORE methodology can be implemented in any national context where division along group identity lines is a source of political fragmentation, violent conflict, or enduring socio-economic distress. The strength of SCORE in this regard is the relative ease with which it can be adapted to new contexts. The process of tailoring SCORE to a specific country involves the calibration of a core questionnaire through a consultative process that normally takes four to eight weeks to complete. If one includes the fieldwork phase, the data analysis, and the final consultations to develop results-based policy recommendations, the estimated time-frame required for the roll-out of SCORE in a new national context would range from six to nine months.

(b) Integration of qualitative and quantitative data within SCORE

All the SCORE findings presented here were collected through structured questionnaires, conducted nationwide, which produced quantitative data for statistical analysis. However, qualitative data was also collected as part of a pilot scheme incorporated into the Cyprus and Bosnia-Herzegovina SCORE projects. This process involved in-depth interviews with political leaders, leaders of NGOs, local government authorities, and representatives of international organizations stationed within the country. While still at a pilot stage, this initial data collection suggests that there would be great utility in adopting a multi-informant approach for SCORE, with qualitative data from political and civic leaders serving as a contextual backdrop for a more politically relevant interpretation of quantitative survey findings.

(c) Broadening SCORE to include dimensions of psychological resilience

The versions of the index which have so far been implemented in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Cyprus focused on two over-arching dimensions, namely social cohesion as it pertains to the relationship between the citizen and the state, and reconciliation as it pertains to the relationship between multiple groups within society. From this perspective, SCORE seeks to understand conflict through its essential socio-political dynamics and to frame policy recommendations through this lens. However, it is reasonable to assume that psychological fragility and resilience, at the intrapsychic and inter-personal level, may

interact with intergroup dynamics and aspects of citizen-state relations, to predict both socio-political and personal outcomes. For instance, temperamental impulsivity and aggression might interact with negative intergroup stereotypes to predict active intergroup prejudice. Similarly, temperamental flexibility might interact with a strong sense of representation in the political process to predict acceptance of a new constitution that might be brought to a referendum. Such considerations become particularly relevant in cases where post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), resulting from an experience of violent conflict, leads to avoidance of intergroup contact in cases where the 'other' group is considered to have perpetrated the traumatic event.

Incorporating the dimensions of psychological resilience and fragility into SCORE will allow for a more nuanced understanding of a conflict and its root causes, opening the way for designing socio-psychological approaches to conflict transformation. The Nepal project is providing an opportunity to pilot-test the introduction of a psychological resilience component alongside the standard SCORE elements, in order to explore the intrapsychic and interpersonal dimensions of conflict, with a view to providing peace services that also address needs at the individual level.

(d) Longitudinal implementation of SCORE

Longitudinal research design is considered to be the gold standard when investigating possible causal effects and directions of influence in large population-based studies. Longitudinal research involves the collection of data from the same individual participants across multiple time points, and is to be distinguished from time-series research, where the same questions are asked to different individuals across time points. While time-series data (e.g. Cyprus SCORE for 2013 and 2014), can provide evidence of societal trends across time, longitudinal data can point to deeper levels of analysis. Longitudinal data can begin to look at the essence of causality and answer questions such as: "does intergroup contact lead to a reduction of negative stereotypes, or does a reduction of negative stereotypes lead to increased intergroup contact?" Such questions hold immense policy significance, since accurate identification of the direction of causation between associated variables will assist with a more precise design of conflict transformation interventions and policies.

An additional possible use for the longitudinal implementation of SCORE would be in the evaluation of the impact of specific interventions. For example, collecting data

both before and after an extended intergroup dialogue project, allows one to assess its success in improving readiness for reconciliation both directly, among individuals who participated, and indirectly at community level.

(e) Implementation of SCORE in the context of Participatory Action Research

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is a methodology for social change. It involves the participation of societal stakeholders (political parties, civil society organizations, academics, business organizations, youth groups and women's groups) who engage in a dialogue through the facilitation of a convener and are invited to take the lead in interpreting research findings, with a view to proposing policy recommendations¹. The value of PAR lies in the high level of local ownership generated around the research process. Ownership is an important prerequisite for ensuring that policy recommendations genuinely reflect the actual needs of society and that such policies are translated into practice.

There is clearly significant scope for interpreting the findings of a SCORE index within a Participatory Action Research framework. In this context, societal stakeholders could be presented with SCORE results alongside those international best practices associated with the salient SCORE dimensions. Participants would be invited to debate and consider the implications of alternative policies in response to relevant findings. This dialogue could then be used as a basis for developing context-specific policy recommendations and action plans. This approach could work well in circumstances when SCORE findings are presented to participants as part of an ongoing national dialogue. The Cyprus Dialogue Forum, formally launched in March 2015², could be a venue for such an approach. It would enable Cyprus SCORE data to be incorporated into a structured dialogue process, involving political and civic leaders, to formulate evidence and knowledge-based consensus positions in support of formal negotiations.

¹ For an example of how Participatory Action Research can be utilized within a peace-building context, consider the case of Swiss-based international NGO Interpeace (www.interpeace.org), which is operating PAR-based programmes across multiple national contexts.

² <http://cydialogue.org/>

(f) Integration of SCORE with Intelligent Decision Support Systems

Intelligent decision support systems aim to augment the policy-making process by providing a rigorous mechanism through which the perspectives of multiple experts can be integrated, in a way that allows for a dynamic simulation of alternative scenarios through mathematical modelling. A more specific methodology within the family of intelligent decision support systems, known as Fuzzy Cognitive Mapping (FCM), is being pilot-tested for use in the context of SCORE Bosnia and Herzegovina. The FCM approach normally involves generating an elaborate map of all variables that are salient to a system and then considering how these variables are associated with each other. This is done through the input of multiple experts, whose differing opinions are averaged out as a proxy, to achieve an objective perspective. The model can then be run as a mathematical simulation (an evolutionary genetic algorithm), which incorporates all interactions, but which also allows for the introduction of change at different entry points in order to explore the downstream impact of such change on the whole system. FCM is commonly used in modeling environmental and ecological problems, and has been applied more recently to model complex political or security situations in order to test alternative policy scenarios. In SCORE Bosnia and Herzegovina, FCM is being used as a platform to integrate all research findings (quantitative and qualitative) into one mathematical model, which can then serve as the basis for investigating the potential downstream impact of alternative policy options. It is hoped that the FCM method will augment the findings and recommendations already generated through the standard SCORE process, and facilitate an interactive and dynamic interpretation of SCORE in a way that merges expert and stakeholder perspectives with empirical findings.

What if it was possible to predict the specific social intervention projects needed to bring about political accommodation and the peaceful settlement of dispute? To identify exactly which programmes would transform a community's understanding and perception of conflict and trigger the process of reconciliation?

It's an intriguing prospect, which has the potential to transform peace-building and preventative diplomacy into a scientifically precise discipline with correspondingly increased chances of success.

Predicting Peace introduces the Social Cohesion and Reconciliation Index (SCORE) – a unique tool which can be applied across a wide range of contexts to provide practical, country-specific guidance for policy makers and decision-makers. SCORE incorporates approaches that have already been highly successful in the fields of social psychology and human development to design targeted, evidence-based approaches to conflict transformation and social change.

Predicting Peace illustrates how this innovative approach can be used globally to identify policies and programmes which will leverage the most effective results and bring about a positive transformation of the conflict dynamic.



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