

Broaching prejudicial taboos to improve intergroup relations:

A field experiment in Israel [†]

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Abstract

Prejudice reduction interventions often focus on intergroup similarities, positive shared experiences, and cooperation, while avoiding explicit engagement with prejudicial taboos relating to negative stereotypes, dehumanizing beliefs, and contentious political disagreements. Since prejudicial taboos are an unspoken foundation of intergroup tensions, we argue that interventions which overlook them, and fail to address the “elephant in the room,” might fall short of challenging the foundations of intergroup prejudice. Therefore, we suggest that constructively broaching prejudicial taboos could be an effective way to improve intergroup relations. Building on this argument we develop a scalable educational program in which elementary school students watch and discuss episodes of an Israeli TV series “You Can’t Ask That,” which depicts children from minority groups responding to taboo questions. To test the effects of our intervention, we implemented a field-experiment in Israel which coincided with a cycle intense inter-communal violence. Our findings suggest that broaching prejudicial taboos affected attitudes and behaviors. Compared with students in a control group, treated students’ positive affect towards outgroups increased by over 0.38 SD, their perceptions of intergroup similarity increased by over 0.36 SD, and their willingness to sign up for an intergroup contact initiative increased by 0.17 SD, 7-14 days post-treatment. We demonstrate that these effects are driven by attitudinal change amongst prejudicial students, and emphasize how constructively addressing prejudicial taboos head on can be an effective strategy for prejudice reduction, especially amongst prejudicial individuals, and even in times of intense intergroup violence.

[†]This study was pre-registered on OSF (<https://osf.io/kdt8y>), and was approved by the IRB office at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, as well as by Israel’s Ministry of Education. Achord center, and specifically Ronit Hanzis, Ido Oren, and Shir Tankel provided excellent support in designing and implementing the intervention. We thank participants at the MEI workshop at the Harvard Kennedy School for helpful comments and suggestions.

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Prejudicial taboos which include negative stereotypes, dehumanizing beliefs, and contentious political disagreements, are a central component of intergroup tensions. For example, many Israelis believe that “a culture of violence” explains the prevalence of crime in Arab communities (Smooha 2015), and many white Americans believe that “a disposition towards laziness” explains black Americans economic disadvantage (Kinder, Sanders and Sanders 1996; Kam and Burge 2018). Despite the prevalence of prejudicial taboos, they often remain unspoken in intergroup interactions, but influential in shaping intergroup perceptions and policy preferences (Weber et al. 2014). Moreover, existing approaches for prejudice reduction rarely broach these prejudicial taboos directly, in an attempt to improve intergroup relations (Saguy et al. 2009; Saguy 2018; Kteily and McClanahan 2020).

Avoiding sensitive topics, existing approaches for prejudice reduction often focus on harmonious interventions relating to cooperation (Scacco and Warren 2018; Mousa 2020), intergroup similarities (Williamson et al. 2021), norms of inclusion (Murrar, Campbell and Brauer 2020), and empathy building (Kalla and Broockman 2021). While some of these approaches have proven remarkably effective in shaping attitudes and behaviors (Broockman and Kalla 2016; Murrar, Campbell and Brauer 2020; Kalla and Broockman 2021), recent meta-analyses emphasize the modest effects of most interventions, and point to theoretical and empirical limitations of the prejudice reduction literature, calling researchers to develop and test novel theoretically-informed interventions (Paluck, Green and Green 2019; Paluck et al. 2021). Motivated by this call, and by the overwhelming focus of existing research on interventions which avoid direct engagement with sensitive topics, we examine an alternative approach, and test how constructively broaching prejudicial taboos affects intergroup prejudice.

Determining the effectiveness of prejudice reduction interventions which tackle prejudicial taboos directly is an important endeavor for social scientists, with direct practical implications. Avoiding direct engagement with prejudicial taboos might make inter-group exchanges less threatening and more inviting for majority group members (Ron et al. 2017), especially if social norms and personal motivations for political correctness encourage people to shy away from taboos

(Langer et al. 1976; Weber et al. 2014). However, such interventions which overlook the deep roots and uncomfortable foundations of intergroup prejudice, might fail to address “the elephant in the room,” and fall short of challenging the foundations of intergroup tensions.

In what follows we lay out a novel approach for prejudice reduction, which broaches prejudicial taboos directly. Doing so, we attempt to challenge prevailing notions in the literature on intergroup relations, by which prejudice reduction requires harmonious and cooperative interactions between majority and minority group members (Allport 1954). To test the effectiveness of interventions that broach taboos directly, we designed a month-long educational intervention based on the Israeli TV-series “You Can’t Ask That.”¹ In each episode of the TV-series, members of a different minority group are filmed answering taboo questions sourced from home audiences (see Figure 1). Our educational intervention, focused on three episodes depicting Arab, visually impaired, and immigrant children,² and included four weekly sessions in which Jewish elementary school children watched the TV-series and engaged in guided follow-up classroom discussions. The core objective of the intervention was to broach prejudicial taboos, and discuss them in a constructive fashion, in order to reduce prejudice towards multiple minorities, and foster more favorable intergroup attitudes and behaviors.

Broaching Taboos to Reduce Prejudice

Though the specific content of prejudicial taboos is context and time dependent, such taboos often include negative stereotypes, dehumanizing beliefs, and contentious political disagreements. The starting point of our intervention is that prejudicial taboos, which are rarely discussed in cross-group interactions, are a foundational component of intergroup tensions. In line with this insight, existing studies suggest that humanizing outgroups (Haslam and Loughnan 2014), emphasizing similarities, and exposing people to counter stereotypical personalities or information can reduce

¹The TV series is a Hebrew adaptation of an Australian show, which has been translated and aired in multiple countries including the U.S., Canada, and Belgium. See Israeli TV series website here: <https://testkankids.kan.org.il/program/?catid=1527>.

²Immigrants were children of Filipino foreign workers, many of whom are undocumented immigrants in Israel.



Figure 1: “You Can’t Ask That” excerpt. This Figure depicts a moment from an episode focusing on Arab children, in which an Arab girl responds to a question asking “Why is Arabic a scary language?”

intergroup prejudice (Ramasubramanian 2011, 2015; Choi, Poertner and Sambanis 2021; MARBLE et al. 2021). However, doing so does not directly confront prevalent taboos. Instead, such approaches provide competing information to correct or update individual perceptions, and in doing so they might fall short of reducing prejudice, because of individual tendencies towards sub-typing (Richards and Hewstone 2001).

Existing approaches which provide competing information instead of broaching prejudicial taboos might be motivated by the fact that tackling sensitive topics head on is often uncomfortable (Ron et al. 2017). More so, engaging with taboos might possibly reinforce negative beliefs and perpetuate group differences. However, avoiding direct engagement with taboos risks the possibility that they remain unchallenged. Thus one may wonder if and how explicitly and constructively broaching prevalent taboos might affect majority group members’ prejudice towards minorities.

We argue that broaching prejudicial taboos, and exposing majority group members to minorities who constructively dismantle taboos, can improve intergroup attitudes and behaviors. Doing so addresses the uncomfortable albeit foundational elements of intergroup prejudice which often remain unaddressed in conventional interventions. More so, if done in a constructive way, the process of dismantling taboos can further activate three common mechanisms which are conducive for prejudice reduction.

First, since different elements of prejudicial taboos are often associated with perceptions of

group homogeneity (Fiske 1998), broaching taboos can increase people's perceptions of group variability (Brauer and Er-Rafiy 2011; Er-rafiy and Brauer 2013). For example, constructive discussions regarding contentious events of intergroup violence can emphasize that different outgroups hold varying political preferences, and that not all outgroups seek to hurt one's ingroup. In turn heightened perceptions of group variability, as a result of engagement with taboos, can serve to reduce prejudice (Hsieh, Faulkner and Wickes 2021). Second, when majority group members witness minorities directly addressing prejudicial taboos, they receive novel information about the outgroup. Such information can increase perceptions of intergroup similarity. For example, a critical discussion about citizenship status and national identification can serve to emphasize to natives that many immigrants identify with the nation and appreciate local culture. In turn realizations about intergroup similarity can improve majority group members attitudes towards minorities (Falomir-Pichastor, Martínez and Paterna 2010; Brandt 2017; Liberman, Woodward and Kinzler 2017). Finally, broaching taboos can provide majority group members with insights about the type of challenges that minorities face in their daily life. For example, explicitly discussing the content and prevalence of dehumanizing beliefs held by majority group members could emphasize how often minorities suffer from hostile interactions, and how hurtful such interactions may be. These insights about minority group members' challenges, provide a unique opportunity for perspective getting. In turn, experiences of perspective getting can serve to reduce prejudice (Bruneau and Saxe 2012; Kalla and Broockman 2021).

Taken together, our theoretical framework suggests that broaching prejudicial taboos, and addressing "the elephant in the room" in a constructive fashion, can be an effective way to reduce prejudice. In light of this insight, we designed our intervention to focus on three episodes of the TV series "You Can't Ask That." The main objective of the show is to provide home audiences with an opportunity to ask minorities forthright questions regarding prejudicial taboos, and to generate a constructive discussion (in the studio) about sensitive topics regarding intergroup relations. Thus, the show provides a novel platform to address some of the most sensitive and contentious topics relating to intergroup relations.

Our primary goal was to expose majority group students to episodes in which minority children respond to taboo questions, which many children are curious about, yet too shy to ask. The episodes we selected, focus on three outgroups: Arab, visually impaired, and immigrant children. Within these episodes, Arabs children were asked questions such as *Why is Arabic a scary language?* *Do you think we are enemies?* immigrant children were asked other questions, including *Do you eat weird foods?* *Do you think you are Israeli?* and visually impaired children were asked questions about their disability such as *What do you see?* *Do you get bullied regularly?* In response to these questions, children further discussed a host of complex and sensitive topics relating to group identity, political disagreement, experiences of racism and ableism, cultural differences, and physical disability.

Our intervention included four meetings, which were designed to constructively discuss prejudicial taboos. In the first three meetings, students watched a group-specific episode (15 minutes), and engaged in follow-up classroom discussions (30 minutes). In the final meeting, students watched a recap from all three episodes (15 minutes), and engaged in an overview discussion (30 minutes). We designed classroom discussions to focus on the TV series main theme—prejudicial taboos—and to connect this theme with the core theoretical mechanisms noted above, relating to: information about outgroup variability, intergroup similarities, and perspective getting. In doing so, we ensured to broach prejudicial taboos in a constructive fashion. An Elaborate description of the TV series is provided in Appendix S1, and an overview of our educational program is described in Appendix S2.

Research Design

To test our intervention we implemented a field experiment with 12 Israeli classes in grades 4-6. After receiving IRB approval from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, permission from Israel's ministry of education, and informed consent from students' parents, our field experiment followed three steps depicted in Figure 2.³ First, we surveyed 270 students from 12 classes in grades 4-6,

³In line with our IRB approval, and agreement with the ministry of education, all students in treated classes participated in our intervention, however only students for whom we received

to collect baseline demographics and pre-treatment measures of our main outcomes. After completing the baseline survey, we block randomized classes into treatment and control conditions by grade, resulting in 6 treated and 6 untreated classes. Students in treated classes, participated in our month-long educational curriculum, which was delivered by a professional educational practitioner.

As depicted in Figure 2, the start of our intervention coincided with a cycle of intense violence between Jews and Palestinians. Between May 10-21 2021, intense missile fires and inter-communal clashes disrupted life in many cities across Israel, including our intervention site. Violence was so intense, that some schools closed for several days, but during the study period, our partner school largely operated, and we concluded implementing our intervention amongst treated classes in the first week of June.

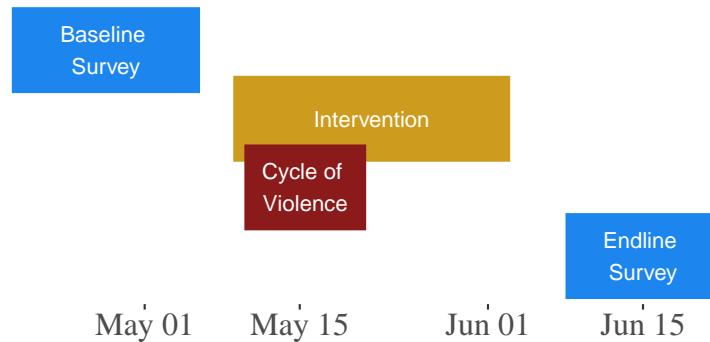


Figure 2: Study Timeline

A week post-treatment, we began collecting endline surveys from 253 students, and students were interviewed 1-2 weeks after the intervention was concluded. In our surveys, we measured attitudes and behaviors relating to outgroup affect, perceptions of similarity with outgroups, support for diversity, interest in intergroup contact, and curiosity about outgroups. We describe the survey wording we used to collect our main outcome measures in Appendix S3.

parental informed consent participated in our surveys. We obtained informed consent for over 70% of students.

Estimation Strategy

To identify the effects of our intervention, we estimate OLS regressions in which we interact mean centered covariates (\mathbf{Z}_i) with our main treatment indicator (X_i) (Lin 2013), and cluster errors by classroom (Abadie et al. 2017). Covariates include gender, assignment block, and pre-treatment outcome measures.⁴ Our estimating equation is presented below:⁵

$$y_{ic} = \beta X_i + \phi \mathbf{Z}_i + \gamma (X_i * \mathbf{Z}_i) + \varepsilon_{ic} \quad (1)$$

Throughout all analyses, our interest is in identifying βX_i , representing the average treatment effect of the intervention on students' post treatment attitudes and behaviors.

Results

In Figure 3, we consider the effects of our intervention on students' positive affect and feeling of similarity towards outgroups. We report both group specific measures (e.g. students' positive affect towards Arabs), and aggregate scales measuring overall affect and similarity towards multiple outgroups combined. Each point estimate in Figure 3 represents the average treatment effect of our intervention on a standardized outcome of interest. We include measures related to groups mentioned in the intervention (e.g. Arab children), as well as Ultra-Orthodox people which were not mentioned in the intervention, in order to consider the extent to which our effects are group specific or more general.

As reported in the left panel of Figure 3, our treatment had a substantial effect on students' positive affect towards outgroups. Indeed, participating in the classroom intervention increased students' ranking of outgroups on a 0-100 feeling thermometer index by over 38% of a SD. In

⁴For our two behavioral measures which were not measured pre-treatment, we adjust our model with pre-treatment thermometer, diversity, similarity, and contact intention indices.

⁵The specification presented in Equation 1 is subtly different from our pre-registered specification, as further discussed in Appendix S9. Our results remain similar in our pre-registered models (where we control for pre-treatment covariates without interacting them with treatment), but we adapt an interaction specification following recent recommendations in the literature (Lin 2013). We report pre-registered models, as well as additional alternative specifications in Section S6 of the appendix.

practice, this effect resembles an 8 points shift on a feeling thermometer, approximately double the magnitude of the average effect of well powered intervention report in a recent meta analysis of prejudice reduction experiments (Paluck et al. 2021).

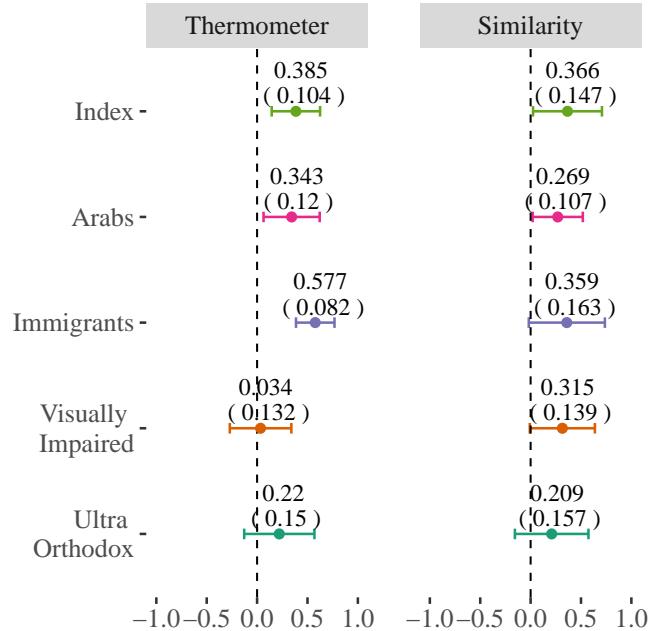


Figure 3: Intervention effects on feeling thermometers and perceptions of outgroup similarity. Each point estimates and corresponding 95% confidence interval is extracted from an OLS model specified in Equation 1.

When turning to examine group specific measures, some interesting patterns emerge. Focusing on groups discussed as part of the intervention, it appears that the treatment increased positive affect towards Arabs and immigrants, but had no effect on affect towards visually impaired children, likely because of ceiling effects in affect towards this group ($\mu = 75.9$, $\sigma^2 = 24.2$, in the pre-treatment period).⁶ Examining positive affect towards Ultra-Orthodox children, which were not mentioned in the intervention, we find a positive albeit imprecisely estimated effect ($p = .18$). We interpret this pattern to suggest that our intervention affected students attitudes towards stigmatized groups mentioned in class, and may have had a more subtle, albeit imprecisely estimated impact on prejudice towards other outgroups which were not mentioned in class.

⁶We further discuss such ceiling effects in Appendix S7.

We further demonstrate that our intervention increased students' perceptions of similarity with multiple outgroups. The average treatment effect on our similarity index, reported on the right hand panel of Figure 3, is over 36% of an SD. This resembles approximately a half point shift on a five point similarity scale. When focusing on group-specific measures, we find that exposure to treatment increased perceptions of similarity with all outgroups, but effects on perceptions of similarity with Ultra-Orthodox children, which were not discussed in the intervention, are smaller and imprecisely estimated ($p = 0.22$).

In Figure 4, we further consider the effects of our intervention on four additional outcomes. First, we show that our treatment affected students behavior, increasing their registration for a future intergroup contact initiative by 17% of a SD, resembling a 5% increase in probability of registration amongst treated students. These findings are in line with effects on the contact intention index, which amount to a magnitude of 24% of a SD increase in response to treatment. When considering the intervention's effect on students' appreciation of diversity, the point estimate is positive but imprecisely estimated ($p = 0.19$). Finally we do not find any evidence that exposure to the intervention increased curiosity about outgroups, measured through a behavioral measure asking students to recommend additional groups to be featured in future seasons of the TV series "You Can't Ask That."

We subject our results to several diagnostic and robustness checks. First, we report balance on pre-treatment covariates in Appendix S4. Second, in Appendix S5, we demonstrate that minimal levels of attrition in the endline survey are not correlated with treatment status. Third, in Appendix S6 we consider the robustness of our results to a host of modeling specifications. Across all specifications, results remain consistent.

Taken together, we interpret the evidence in Figures 3-4 to suggest that participation in the intervention improved intergroup attitudes 7-14 days post-treatment. Specifically, we identify the most pronounced effects when focusing on groups mentioned in the intervention, and outcomes relating to willingness to engage with outgroups in the future. However, one might wonder whether treatment effects are the result of attitudinal change amongst prejudicial or non-prejudicial stu-

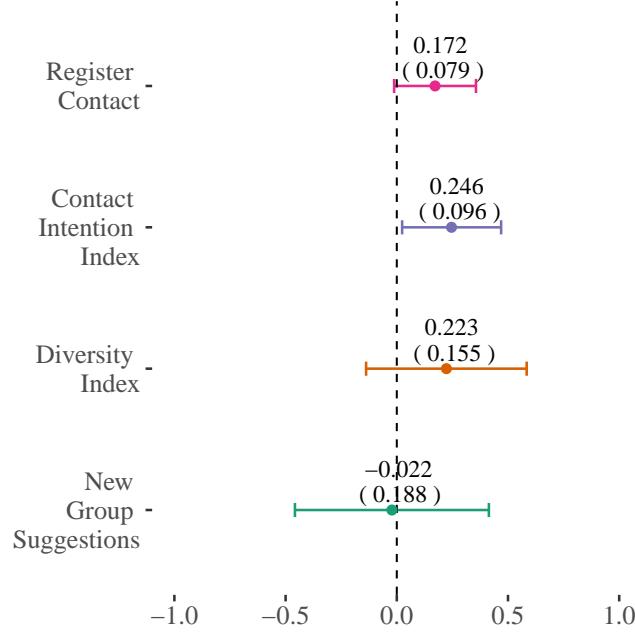


Figure 4: Intervention Effects on Interest in Intergroup Contact, Appreciation of Diversity, and Curiosity about Outgroups. Each point estimates and corresponding 95% confidence interval is extracted from an OLS model specified in Equation 1.

dents. In other words, was our intervention successful by preaching to the choir, or by generating attitudinal and behavioral change amongst the most prejudicial students. We consider this question in Figure 5, by plotting the distribution of our feeling thermometer index for treatment and control groups, pre- and post-treatment.

As reported in Figure 5, amongst control group students the pre- and post-treatment distributions of the feeling thermometer index are relatively similar. In contrast, for treated students, the pre- and post-treatment distributions of the feeling thermometer index are substantively different. Specifically, while the pre-treatment distribution of the feeling thermometer index peaks around 50 (blue line on the right panel of Figure 5), the post-treatment distribution peaks around 75 (red dotted line on the right panel of Figure 5). This difference is driven by post-treatment reduction in the concentration of students below and around the 50 score on the feeling thermometer index. We interpret these findings, as well as additional formal tests of moderation reported in Appendix S8, as evidence that our intervention was effective in large, by shaping the attitudes and behaviors of

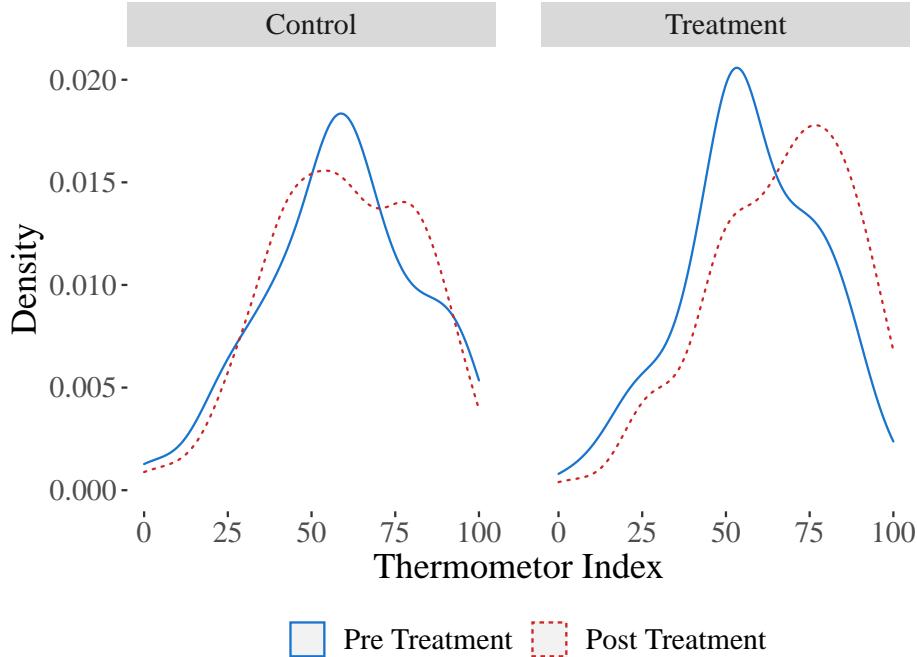


Figure 5: Distribution Changes in Response to Treatment. This plot visualizes the distribution of our feeling thermometer index amongst students from our treatment and control group, pre- and post-treatment.

prejudicial (rather than non-prejudicial) students.

Finally, since the implementation of our intervention coincided with a cycle of Jewish-Palestinian violence, we pay close attention to outcomes relating to Arab outgroups. In Appendix S9 we demonstrate that whereas attitudes towards Arabs improved between baseline and endline amongst treated subjects, similar attitudes were impaired amongst students in the control group. We cautiously attribute the negative trend amongst students in the control group to the cycle of violence which coincided with our intervention. In turn, our results emphasize how educational programs can be employed in times of intense intergroup conflict, to counteract the deterioration of intergroup attitudes and behaviors, and promote more favorable intergroup relations.

Discussion

These findings contribute to several theoretical and applied questions. First, we contribute to the literature on prejudice reduction, by laying out a novel and theoretically driven approach to reduce majority group members' prejudice towards minorities. We follow recent calls to adapt “elemen-

tal psychological forces in the service of prejudice reduction” (Paluck et al. 2021, p. 555), and demonstrate how sustained efforts to constructively broach prejudicial taboos, can be a productive pathway towards prejudice reduction. Our results emphasize that successful prejudice reduction interventions do not need to avoid sensitive topics at the heart of contentious intergroup relations, and that critical yet constructive confrontations of taboos can improve intergroup relations.

Second, we join a growing body of research which employs natural and field experiments in order to evaluate the efficacy of prejudice reduction interventions on attitudes and behaviors (Broockman and Kalla 2016; Hameiri et al. 2016; Goldenberg et al. 2018; Scacco and Warren 2018; Siegel and Badaan 2020; Mousa 2020; Lowe 2021; Weiss 2021). Following recent advances, we develop and test a theoretically motivated, intensive, and scalable intervention, in a naturalistic setting, measuring attitudes and behaviors, amongst our population of interest. In doing so, we depart from ongoing trends in the prejudice reduction literature which employ nudge-like interventions, and examine effects immediately post-treatment (Paluck et al. 2021). In turn, our findings emphasize how intensive and carefully curated educational programs can reduce prejudice, and serve to buffer the deterioration of intergroup attitudes in times of escalated conflict.

Finally, the timing of our intervention allows us to shed light on matters relating to temporal validity in the study of prejudice reduction. Many interventions to improve intergroup relations are implemented in divided societies *after* traumatic events of intergroup conflict (Paluck 2009; Scacco and Warren 2018; Mousa 2020). However, few studies focus on shaping attitudes and behaviors during cycles of intense intergroup conflict (Hameiri et al. 2016). This pattern is likely driven at least in part by the fact that common interventions such as intergroup contact initiatives (Scacco and Warren 2018; Mousa 2020), or canvassing efforts (Broockman and Kalla 2016), may not be well suited for times of intense conflict, during which members of different groups may be uninterested or threatened to engage with one another. Building on this insight, and acknowledging the direct threat that conflict poses to intergroup attitudes and behaviors, we designed our scalable intervention in a way that can be implemented even at times where direct intergroup engagement is not feasible. Our results emphasize that prejudice reduction interventions, that do not entail direct

intergroup contact, can serve as an important function in times of conflict, and may be employed in order to buffer deterioration of intergroup attitudes and behaviors.

Despite these contributions, our findings are not without limitations. First, like many field-experiments (Hameiri et al. 2016; Scacco and Warren 2018; Mousa 2020), the geographical scope of our research is somewhat limited. However, we emphasize that generalizability is rarely established through a single study, as it often entails cumulative efforts as part of a broad research program (Samii 2016). Though we find encouraging evidence when testing our intervention amongst our population of interest, we encourage future research to further investigate the generalizability of our results within and beyond Israel. Indeed, to facilitate cumulative learning, we designed our intervention in a way that can be replicated across-contexts, and tested at scale. To that end, we provide a full account of our intervention in Appendix S2, and class materials in Appendix S11.

Second, though significantly improving on a majority of prejudice reduction interventions which measure outcomes immediately post-treatment (Paluck, Green and Green 2019; Paluck et al. 2021), our findings shed light on relatively short-term effects (1-2 weeks post-treatment). Regardless of duration, the effects we identify are substantively meaningful in our context. Indeed, they emphasize the importance of educational interventions in preventing the deterioration of intergroup attitudes and behaviors during cycles of intense conflict. That said, our theoretical framework, and the empirical context of classroom interventions, appear to be a suitable approach for explorations of longer-term effects (Dhar, Jain and Jayachandran 2022). We thus encourage future research to build on our theoretical framework and empirical design, and evaluate the durability of attitudinal and behavioral change, in response to interventions which broach prejudicial taboos.

Finally, though we elaborate on the theoretical framework underlying our intervention, and specify the theoretical mechanisms through which our intervention should work, our empirical focus is on evaluating the overall effect of the intervention, rather than identifying the relevant importance of each particular mechanism. Our empirical focus is driven by the notorious challenges of causally identifying mechanisms (Bullock, Green and Ha 2010), and by the understanding that effective prejudice reduction interventions may very well require “mixing of ingredients

from multiple theoretical perspectives” (Paluck et al. 2021, p. 555). Like recent landmark studies (Broockman and Kalla 2016), our intervention is likely effective through multiple mechanisms. Thus we encourage future research to employ lab, survey, and field experiments in order to build on our work, and further clarify the role of different mechanisms in generating the effects of our intervention.

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Broaching Prejudicial Taboos to Improve Intergroup Relations: A Field Experiment in Israel

Supporting Information for Online Appendix

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S1 You Can't Ask That

Our intervention was inspired by an Israeli TV series names *Sliche al Ha-Shela, Girsat Ha-Yeladim* which directly translates from Hebrew to mean “excuse me for the question, kids version.” This TV show was adapted from an Australian TV show called “You Can’t Ask That,” and was produced by “Kan”, Israel’s national TV network. All Hebrew version episodes are posted online, and can be accessed via the following link:

<https://testkankids.kan.org.il/program/?catid=1527>. Prior to implementation, we consulted with the producers about using their show, and they expressed enthusiasm about our intervention, and noted that there are no copyright issues with using the show, since it is publicly available online.

To date, the Israeli kids version of “You Can’t Ask that” includes 3 seasons, and over 30 episodes, which focus on kids from different backgrounds. In designing our intervention, we chose to focus on three different episodes. These episodes focus on Arab kids, children of immigrant foreign workers (Hebrew: *Ovdim Zarim*), and visually impaired children. We decided to focus on these groups given that the stereotypes and tensions relating to each group are substantively different, albeit very salient for children. As we show in Section S7 below, although the overall positive affect towards children from these groups varies, at baseline all groups considered in the intervention were perceived to be quite different from the ingroup on average.

S1.1 You Can't Ask That: Show Content

In this section, we list the key questions which were sent from home audiences to the children filmed as part of the TV show, as well as the associated discussion topics inspired by these questions. In essence, questions from home audiences were presented to children in the studio in order to inspire and guide in depth discussions about prejudicial taboos and other sensitive and complex topics. While varying in their directness, these questions represent issues that children would be too shy to ask an outgroup to their face. Moreover, many of these questions either directly focused on prejudicial taboos, or sparked discussions which directly related to sensitive and complex topics regarding intergroup relations. Regardless, upon responding to these questions, children raised a host of additional issues regarding prejudicial taboos.

Below is a list of questions and associated discussion topics which are presented in the intervention. Each question is marked with a –, and presented alongside a description of discussion topics marked by *. The goal of this list is to provide readers with a sense of the content described as part of the TV series “You Can’t Ask That”.

- **Arab Children**

- Are you Arab, are you Israeli? What are you?

- * Discussion of the complexity of social identities. Different children discuss the importance of different identities (Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, Israeli), and some explicitly state that their Israeli identity is least salient to them.
 - * Discussion of the distinction between Arab and Palestinian identities.
 - * Many children discuss their varying experiences of being Palestinian, and living on territory that was conquered by the Israeli state. Following up on this issue, some children emphasize that they feel like they do not fully belong to a Jewish-Israeli or Palestinian community, and that they are “stuck in the middle” between two groups in conflict.
 - * The children discuss the challenges of the Nakba and Israeli Independence day coinciding every year. On this topic, one student explicitly stated: “*Jews conquered the land, and they got a new country, Arabs, their lives changed in 180 degrees once they were told their homes aren’t their own.*” This quote emphasizes the sensitive nature of being an Arab/Palestinian in Israel.
 - * Multiple children emphasize that they cannot relate to the Israeli anthem. They explain that they do not sing the anthem, because they cannot relate to the multiple Jewish symbols the anthem celebrates.
- Why is Arabic a scary language?
- * Children acknowledge the fact that Arabic is a rich, albeit complicated language.
 - * Several students argue that the only reason Arabic is considered a scary language, is because Israelis associated it culturally and politically with terrorism. The children note that Jews call Arabic the language of the terrorist, and that when Jews hear an Arab speaking Arabic they think they are planning a terror attack.
 - * Several children describe experiences in which Jewish Israelis blamed them for Palestinian violence, or associated them with intergroup violence. In addition, many children shared their experience of suffering from violent slurs (e.g. “Death to Arabs”). Some children emphasize that these generalizations offend them for many reasons, including the fact that as Arabs living in Israel, they and their families also fear and suffer from Palestinian rocket attacks and other forms of violence.
 - * Multiple children emphasize their frustration with the fact that most Israelis cannot articulate a single sentence in Arabic.
- Do you listen to Arabic music?
- * Children describe their music preferences. Some emphasize that they listen to both Hebrew and Arabic music, others note that they largely listen to music

in the english language. Overall responses to this question emphasize much variability across different children.

– Did you ever face racism because you are an Arab?

- * All children emphasize that they experienced racism in the past. Many students were confronted with offensive slurs, such as: "dirty terrorist" or "stinky Arab," and some suffered from actual physical violence (stone throwing). One child described an experience of being aggressively interrogated in the airport. Another child described being profiled by security personnel when going to the mall, and all these experiences were linked to underlying racism in Israeli society.
- * Given previous experiences with racism, children emphasize that they try to avoid speaking Arabic, in order to limit the possibility of awkward or uncomfortable situations.
- * Many children note that their friends have said to them insensitive statements, such as "You don't look like an Arab." The children emphasize that the origin of racism and its manifestations relate to the fact that most Jewish Israelis never met Arabs.

– Do you watch shows in Hebrew or Arabic?

- * Children describe their TV preferences, some emphasize that they watch Arabic language content, others note that they mainly watch Hebrew and English language content.
- * Several children mention an Israeli TV show named "Fauda" which tells the story of a counter-terrorist unit operating in the West Bank and Gaza, and includes a substantial amount of Arabic. The children note that they find the show awkward, because the Arabic used in the show does not always sound normal or "correct" to them.

– Are we (i.e. Jews and Arabs) enemies?

- * Many children reject the premise of the question, since they do not think that Jewish and Arab children are (or should be) enemies. Indeed, many children note that despite differences in nationality and religion, Jewish and Arab children should be friends, and get along together.
- * Children also acknowledge the sensitive nature of intergroup relations in Israel, stating that there are a lot of tensions between Jews and Arabs. One child notes that initially this land (i.e. Israel/Palestine) was meant to be a country for Arab people, but clearly there is now a Jewish state, and even though the presence of a Jewish state is not ideal, everyone has to try and get along together, because

“we can’t change the past.”

- * Several children acknowledge the merits of diversity, emphasizing that Jewish-Arab cooperation can yield social cohesion and societal strength. Moreover several children note that most Jewish Israelis and Arabs want to get along together, but that there are some “extreme actors” on both sides that try to spoil positive peace and harmonious intergroup relations.

- **Immigrant Children**

- What does it mean that your parents are foreign workers?

- * Children provide a clear explanation of their legal immigration status, and how that status relates to their personal history. For example, one child explains that their parents came from the Philippines, and have lived in Israel for over 20 years working as an aid. Another child goes on to explain that when their parents visa expired, they decided to violate the law and stay in Israel, because they had an urgent need to provide for their families abroad.
 - * Children emphasize their varying forms of identities (e.g. Israeli, Filipino etc...), but all children emphasize that their Israeli identity is rooted in their experience of growing up in Israel and taking part in the Israeli education system.
 - * Some of the children acknowledge that the Israeli government operates according to the law when it classified them as illegal residents, but also emphasize that when the government “follows the law,” that has detrimental consequences for undocumented children. One child notes that sometimes laws can be unethical, and that many historical changes that we care about, including the creation of the Israeli state, are a consequence of violating existing laws and norms.
 - * There is a lengthy discussion of the motivations that led children’s parents to violate Israeli immigration law, and remain in Israel. Several children explain that their parents remained in Israel in order to ensure that their children will have a better and more stable future.

- Do you think that we (natives) are racist?

- * Children note that they think that some Israelis are racist, and allude to instances in which they suffered from racial slurs, and hurtful statements. For example, many children experience inappropriate staring, others experienced being mixed up to be part of a cleaning staff, and they often receive statements such as “go back to your home.”
 - * Reflecting on Jewish Israeli racism, one child notes that statements asking him to go home are hurtful, because Israel is his home. Another child noted that

perhaps Jews are afraid of demographic shifts in which non-Jews will become a growing segment of the Israeli population, and perhaps that is a motivating factor for racism in Israeli society.

- Are you afraid to be deported?

- * Much variation in response to this question. Some kids explicitly state that they are afraid to be deported, while other emphasize that they cannot be deported because they luckily obtained Israeli citizenship.
- * Elaborating about the fear of being deported one child stated that "*I think everyday about what will happen if I will be deported. I rarely leave the house. I avoid leaving home. We move every several weeks. I check for cops before I leave the house. It's really stressful.*" In a similar vein, another child describes her experience of police officers raiding her house, and eventually placing her and her family in the Givon jail for 10 days. The child went on to describe how her classmates (both Jewish Israelis and non-jewish immigrants) protested outside the jail where she was placed, until she and her family were released.

- Do you eat weird food?

- * Many children initially laugh from this question, and think it is ridiculous.
- * Upon further reflection, some children note that their Jewish Israeli friends often ask them if they eat snakes and mice.
- * More generally, children emphasize that they do not eat "weird" food. They explain that the food they eat might be different from Israeli food, but there is nothing weird about their own food.
- * Children acknowledge the fact that different social and cultural groups might traditionally eat different types of food. They emphasize that when they started bringing their food to school, some kids asked questions about it, but overtime they would share their food, and their peers really liked it.

- Are you curious to visit the Philippines?

- * Children note that they would be excited to visit the Philippines and meet their extended family. However, at the same time, many emphasize that they would not want to live there, because Israel is their home, and they are not fluent in Tagalog.
- * This questions generates a conversation about relationships with family abroad. Some children note that they talk to family on the phone, but have never met their immediate and extended family in person because they cannot leave Israel without sacrificing their residency status standing. Those children discuss the

emotional toll of being away from family, and having no way of visiting them, or knowing when they might meet in person.

– Do you feel Israeli?

- * All children emphasize that they feel Israeli. They note that they grew up in Israel, and went to Israeli schools. Many of the children explained that they are fully immersed in Israeli culture, and that Hebrew is their mother tongue. One child stated in response to this question: “I dream in Hebrew, I speak Hebrew, I sing Hebrew. I am Israeli in my soul.”
- * Alongside strong identification as Israelis, some children also point to their complex and layered identities, noting that despite the fact that they have never visited the Philippines, they still also identify as Filipino.

• **Visually Impaired Children**

– What do you see?

- * There is a lot of variation in response to this question. Some children note that they never saw anything, and it is hard to compare their experience with the experience of other visually abled people. Other children note that they see some colors or blurry scenes. Elaborating on this point, some children explain the physical reason for which they are visually impaired. For example one child notes that because he cannot control the movement of his eyes, he has trouble in vision. Another child explains how a pigment condition they suffered from has affected their vision.
- * In response to the question, it becomes apparent that different children lost their vision in different stages of life, as a consequence of different medical conditions. When discussing this process, one child noted that *“It wasn’t fun becoming blind. I needed to come to terms with what I am missing out on. The last time I saw a person was 2 years ago.”*

– Do you trip a lot?

- * Many children emphasize that they have trouble navigating space, and that they often trip or bump into different objects. In response to this question, it appears that there is a lot of variation in children’s experiences in navigating space. Indeed, different children describe varying challenges of navigating space with impaired vision, and how they have learned to overcome such challenges.
- * One child describes how he broke both his hands from tripping, and another child describes a moment in which she bumped into a garbage-pale, mistooked the garbage-pale for a human being, and felt very embarrassed during the

experience. Many of the children experienced bumping into polls, and having peers laugh at them for that. In response to such experiences one child noted that "*When people laugh at you, rather than with you, its uncomfortable.*" Another child noted that they "*Don't let anything bring [them] down.*"

- Do other kids bully you because you are visually impaired?
 - * Children elaborate on the different insults they receive in school. Some children note that other kids stick fingers in their eyes, or call them by names. In addition, some children note that they are constantly challenged by other kids, in insensitive ways (e.g. guess how many fingers I am raising).
 - * One child discusses avoidance. Specifically, they note that "*people don't know how to engage with me, and they avoid me because they feel uncomfortable next to me.*" The child further explains that they think that many people feel uncomfortable discussing and engaging with issues, topics, and people they are not accustomed to.
 - * Another child emphasizes that he forget about the people that insult him, but cannot forget about the insults themselves, and that the content of these insults poses personal challenges.
- Do you participate in gym class?
 - * Many children note that they take an active part in gym class, that they try and participate like everyone else, and that sports is one of their favorite activities.
 - * At the same time, several children note that playing with a ball induces much anxiety because it is hard to anticipate balls when being visually impaired.
 - * One child notes that he loves running and jumping, and elaborates on how he runs with a running partner. He emphasizes that many non-visually impaired children are surprised by the fact that he is very active. Another child from Israel's national goalball team, provides an explanation about the sport which was designed for athletes with vision impairment.
- What is the most surprising thing that you taught yourself to do?
 - * Different children mention their surprising skills.
 - * One child elaborates about how when someone is challenged with regards to a specific sense (e.g. vision), other senses can compensate for that (e.g. hearing). The child goes on to describe their hearing skills that allow them to anticipate and recognize people by the sound of their footsteps, explaining how this skill helps them excel in music, and be a good hide and seek player.
- If you could choose to see one thing, what would you want to see?

- * One child elaborates on how he wishes he could see stars. He emphasizes that his family always goes star watching, and he feels left out and wishes he could have the same experience as his siblings.
- * Several children note that they wish they could see their family and their closest friends. Other children note that they are really curious to learn about their own looks, and wish they could have seen themselves. They would like to learn about the color of their own eyes, and see how they look.
- * One child that lost their vision at a later age noted that "*I saw everything I wanted to see in life. My eyes left this world satisfied.*"

S2 Classroom Curriculum

As mentioned above, our intervention focused on three episodes of the TV series "You can't Ask That," and included four classes. The first three classes, centered around the episodes noted above, and the fourth class presented a summary of all episodes as well as a review of the show themes. Based on our theoretical framework, in which we argue that broaching prejudicial taboos can effectively increase perceptions of intergroup similarities, and group variability, and enable kids to engage in perspective getting and taking, we designed our classes to constructively engage with prejudicial taboos while paying close attention to our theorized mechanisms.

Specifically, each of our first three classes focused on a particular social group presented in a particular episode. Thus class number 1 focused on prejudicial taboos relating to Arab children, and in the process of unpacking these taboos, children learned about the concept of intergroup similarity and applied it to the outgroup discussed in the classroom. Class number 2 focused on prejudicial taboos relating to visually impaired children, and in the process of unpacking these taboos, children learned about the concept of group variability, applying this concept to the outgroup discussed in class. Class number 3 focused on prejudicial taboos relating to children of immigrants, and in the process of unpacking these taboos, children learned about the concept of perspective getting and taking, applying this concept to the outgroup discussed in class. Finally, in class number 4, children watched a brief review of all 3 episodes and then engaged in summary activities relating to all three psychological mechanisms discussed in classes 1-3.

All classes were delivered by an educational practitioner employed by AChord center, our implementation partner. The practitioner was trained to deliver classroom activities ahead of time, and was instructed to deliver content according to carefully curated slides. These slides included instructions for classroom activities to engage students with the core objectives of the intervention. For example, during the first class, after watching a 15 minute episode regarding

Arab children, the students engaged in a classroom activity in which they were required to reflect on the similarity between students in their class and children depicted in the TV series, in an attempt to instill a sense of intergroup similarities. In the second lesson, children watched the TV episode regarding visually impaired children. After doing so, they played a game in which they listed the different hobbies that different children in the episode have, in an attempt to instill an understanding amongst students regarding group variability. Finally, in the third class, after watching the episode about children of immigrants, the educational practitioner held a classroom discussion, asking children to cite and reflect on the different challenges that children of immigrants face, while living in Israel in an undocumented status.

While each class focused on a particular psychological theme (e.g. perspective getting), the curriculum was designed to focus on prejudicial taboos, and link these taboos with all three psychological themes that appear in each episode. Moreover, the educational practitioner was instructed to link between the different classes, and indeed, each lesson started with a brief overview of recent class activities relating to the intervention. We provide open access to all slide decks employed in our intervention in Section S11 below.

S3 Survey Methodology

Our study included 2 surveys, a pre-treatment survey implemented before rolling out our intervention amongst treated classes, and a post-treatment survey, implemented 7-14 days following the end of our intervention. Surveys were programmed on Qualtrics, and were distributed via tablets to small groups of children by a research assistant. In our pre- and post-treatment survey we included measures of all our attitudinal outcomes of interest. Moreover, our endline survey included 2 behavioral measures asking students to sign up for an intergroup contact initiative, and asking students to report social groups that should be covered in future episodes of the TV-Series “You Can’t Ask That”.¹ We describe our key outcome measures in Table S1.

Overall, we obtained informed consent from parents of 270 students to participate in our study. Our baseline survey was distributed amongst 270 students, and our endline survey was distributed amongst 253 students. In Section S5 we demonstrate that attrition from the endline survey, or from specific questions on the endline survey is not correlated with treatment, pre-treatment demographics or positive affect towards outgroups.

S3.1 Survey Instrument

Our survey employs common demographic and social questions, as well as questions relating to intergroup relations. When needed, we modified survey wording to ensure that questions

¹As well as questions they might want to ask those social groups.

Table S1: Main Outcomes

	<i>Question</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Measured Pre and Post</i>
Thermometer Index	What are your feelings towards blind/immigrant/Ultra-Orthodox children?	0-100	Yes
Similarity Index	To what extent are you similar to blind/immigrant/Ultra-Orthodox children?	1-5	Yes
Diversity Index	<p>To what extent do you agree with the following statements:</p> <p>1) I can learn a lot from different children.</p> <p>2) It is important to learn from other children even when their ideas are different than mine.</p> <p>3) I enjoy studying with children who are different from me.</p> <p>4) I enjoy playing with children who are different from me.</p> <p>5) In team work... it helps the team a lot when there are children who are different from one another.</p>	1-5	Yes
Contact Intention Index	<p>Think about a blind/Arab/Immigrant/Ultra-Orthodox child you do not know. To what extent would you like to:</p> <p>1) Play with this child.</p> <p>2) Invite this child to your birthday.</p> <p>3) Help this child with their difficulties in homework.</p> <p>4) Help this child if they were lost.</p>	1-5	Yes
Register for Contact	There may be a project bringing together children from different backgrounds. Would you like to sign up for this project?	Yes/No	Only Post
New Group Suggestion	Currently, there is a new screening of the TV show "You can't ask that". Please indicate up to six groups you would like to see featured in new episodes.	0-6	Only Post

were clear to students in grades 4-6. Below we report English translation of our survey. We mark with a † questions that were only included in the post-treatment wave.

- Demographics
 - Boy Or Girl?
 - What grade are you in?
 - What is your class name?
- Outcomes of interest
 - People can be similar in some ways, and different in other ways (for example in their personality traits, hobbies, interests, or looks). How similar or different are you from the kids listed below (Arab Kids, Children of Immigrants, Blind Kids, Ultra-Orthodox Kids). *Five point scale*.
 - In this question we are going to ask you to report how many bad and cold feelings, or good and warm feelings you feel towards kids from specific groups. If you feel positive feelings towards kids from a specific group move your pointer towards the warmer and higher portion of the scale. If you feel negative feelings towards kids from a specific group move your pointer towards the colder and lower portion of the scale (Two practice rounds, Arab Kids, Children of Immigrants, Blind Kids, Ultra-Orthodox Kids). *0-100 point scale*.
 - To what extent do you agree with the following statements:
 - * I can learn a lot from kids who are different from me *five point scale*
 - * It is important to hear other kids opinions even when their opinions are different than mine *five point scale*
 - * I enjoy learning with kids who are different from me *five point scale*
 - * I enjoy playing with kids who are different from me *five point scale*
 - * In group activities (for example in gym class) it helps when a group includes kids who are different from one another *five point scale*
 - Please take a moment to think about a (Arab/blind/Immigrant/Ultra-Orthodox) child that you do not know, to what extent would you like to:
 - * Play with this kid *five point scale*
 - * Invite this kid to your birthday *five point scale*
 - * Help this kid with their homework *five point scale*
 - * Assist this kid if they were lost *five point scale*
- Behavioral Measures†

- “You Can’t Ask That” is a TV show that collects questions from children to ask children from other groups. Currently there is a new season that is filming new episodes about children from different social groups. Are there social groups that you would be interested to learn about? Please list any groups that you would like to see included in future episodes, so that we could share this information with the broadcasting team. (We gave children 6 open spaces to mention social group to be included in future episodes. For each mentioned group, a respondents were given space to include questions of interest).
- There may be an activity in the near future, that will bring together children from different backgrounds (secular children, religious children, Arab children, blind children, ultra-orthodox children, and children of immigrants) to meet each other. If you would like to be included in this activity please check this box.
- Miscellaneous †
 - Did you ever watch the TV series “You Can’t Ask That” at home?
 - Did you watch the following episodes recently in class (list of all three episodes, and an overview of all episodes). Only for treatment group.
 - In the past month, some classes engaged in some activities as part of a research project. Do you know what the topic of this project or it’s objective? (open ended question). Only for control group.

S4 Descriptive Statistics

In Table S2 we report descriptive statistics, relating to students gender, age, and grade. In Table S3, we further consider and exhaustive balance check on pre-treatment demographics and attitudes. As depicted in Table S3, we can not reject the null hypothesis for any pre-treatment variable. Some pre-treatment variables, including gender and attitudes towards Ultra-Orthodox are slightly unbalanced ($p < .1$), but these differences are small and accounted for in our estimation strategy. More importantly, for the overall balance test reported in Table S3, we can not reject the null hypothesis of similarity ($p = .277$), providing further assurance that our treatment and control group are similar on observables and unobservables.

S5 Attrition

As noted in Section S3, 17 students participated in our baseline survey, but were unavailable to participate in our endline survey. Moreover, as further discussed in Section S10, due to a technical error, all students were randomly exposed to four out of five batteries of questions

Table S2: Descriptive Statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Boy	270	0.493	0.501	0	1
Age	270	10.389	0.941	9	12
Grade 4	270	0.341	0.475	0	1
Grade 5	270	0.359	0.481	0	1
Grade 6	270	0.300	0.459	0	1

Table S3: Balance Table (Pre-Treatment Measures)

	Adjusted Difference	Significance
Boy	0.10	.
Age	0.13	.
Arab Thermometer	1.08	.
Immigrant Thermometer	1.28	.
UO Thermometer	-6.74	.
Blind Thermometer	-1.24	.
Thermometer Scale	-1.41	.
UO Similarity	-0.30	.
Arab Similarity	-0.19	.
Immigrant Similarity	0.08	.
Blind Similarity	-0.14	.
Similarity Scale	-0.14	.
Diversity Scale	-0.12	.
Contact Scale	-0.08	.

relating to intentions for intergroup contact. In other words, all students had one battery of intention for contact with a specific social group which they did not get a chance to report.

To reduce concerns regarding bias in our estimates as a result of attrition ([Gomila and Clark, 2020](#)), in Table [S4](#) we report a series of regressions diagnosing the correlates of attrition. Specifically, we regress a binary indicator taking the value of 1 if a respondent did not participate in the endline survey (column 1), or did not report answers to a groups specific contact intention item (columns 2-4), over four key variables: A treatment indicator, a gender indicator, an age variable, and our pre-treatment thermometer index. We do not find any evidence that attrition correlates with treatment, or with other pre-treatment measures. This finding reduces concerns that attrition raises threats of bias on our estimates.

S6 Robustness

In this section, we consider the robustness of our results to several alternative estimation strategies. For ease of presentation, we report additional analyses considering the thermometer and similarity indices (rather than group specific measures), as well as all additional attitudinal and

Table S4: Correlates of Missing Values

	Full Post	Blind Contact	Arab Contact	Immigrant Contact	UO Contact
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	0.008 (0.030)	-0.009 (0.053)	0.043 (0.052)	-0.064 (0.051)	0.026 (0.052)
Boy	-0.025 (0.030)	0.007 (0.054)	-0.010 (0.052)	0.044 (0.051)	-0.080 (0.052)
Age	0.020 (0.016)	-0.012 (0.030)	0.020 (0.029)	-0.042 (0.029)	0.054 (0.029)
Therm Index	-0.00005 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.004 (0.001)
Missing Responses	17	56	53	51	55
N	270	253	253	253	253

behavioral measures. First, to address concerns regarding the usage of clustered standard errors with a relatively small number of clusters, in Figure S1, we report models in which we employ a wild cluster bootstrap for clustering errors (Cameron et al., 2008). As seen from Figure S1, our finding remain largely robust to this adjustment. Though the precision of our behavioral measure relating to intergroup contact is reduced, in this specification we find a positive and statistically significant effect on the general diversity measure. However, overall our pattern of results remains similar.

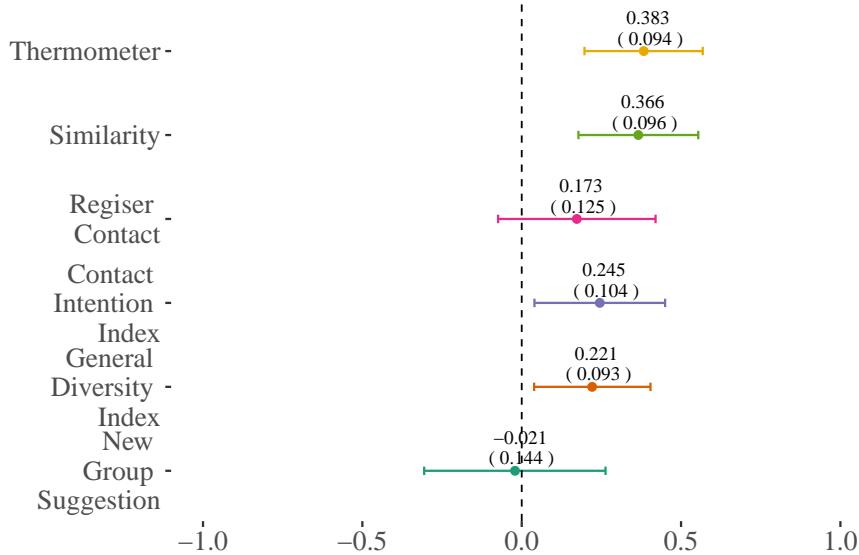


Figure S1: **Wild Cluster Bootstrap Models.** In this Figure, we report additional models, clustering errors using a wild-cluster bootstrap with 1000 simulations.

In Figure S2, we report models in which we employ the same covariates as those reported in

the main text, but we do not interact covariates with treatment. We originally pre-registered this as our main specification, but adopted a superior approach suggested by Lin (2013). Regardless, as reported in Figure S2, our results when adjusting for covariates without interacting them with treatment remain substantively very similar to the main specification reported in our paper, albeit the precision of our estimates is slightly reduced.

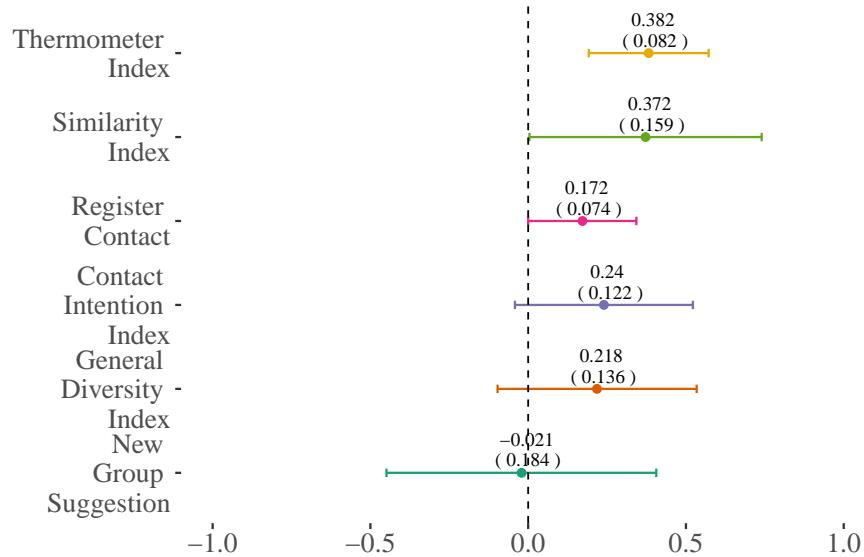


Figure S2: Covariate Adjustments Models. In this Figure, we present point estimates for our main outcomes, in which we control for pre-treatment covariates without interacting covariates with our treatment indicator.

S7 Ceiling Effects

In interpreting our results in the main text, we argue that one possible explanation for the fact that the intervention had a null effect on affect towards visually impaired children might relate to ceiling effects. In other words, it is possible that children had generally warm feelings towards visually impaired children in the pre-treatment period, and there was little room to further move most children on this outcome. That said, we argued that while children might have had warm feelings towards visually impaired children, they may view them as dissimilar, and thus our intervention might be effective in shaping some attitudes towards visually impaired children.

To substantiate this point, In Figures S3-S4 we report pre-treatment means and 95% confidence intervals for our thermometer and similarity measures (by group). Figure S3 emphasizes that in terms of overall affect, visually impaired children enjoy much higher ratings, compared with all other social groups. Indeed, the average affect towards visually impaired outgroups is centered around 75, and the confidence intervals for this visually impaired measure are smaller

than all other groups (suggesting less variance in this measure). In contrast, students' affect towards all other outgroups is far less warm, and closer to 50.

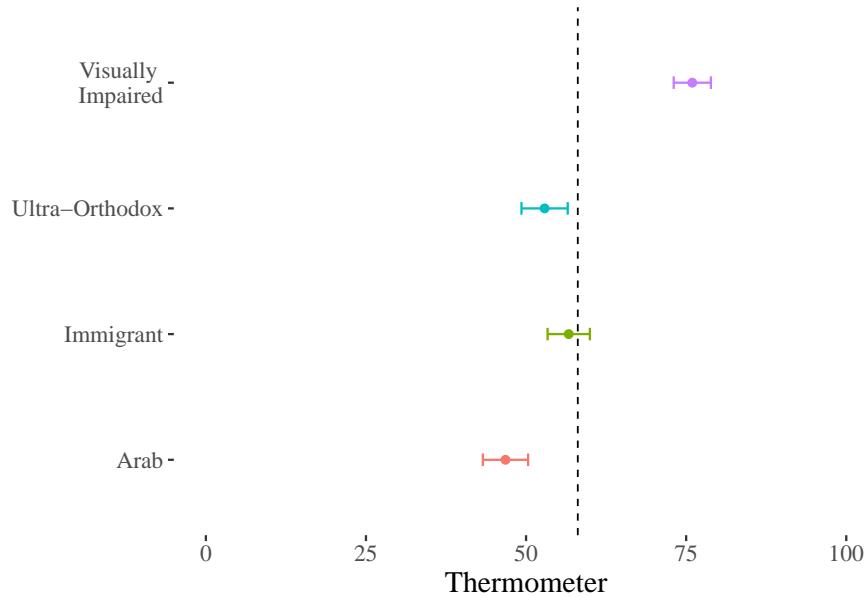


Figure S3: Feeling Thermometer Means. This figure presents means and 95% intervals of group specific thermometers. Dotted line represents overall mean of all thermometers.

When turning to consider students' pre-treatment assessment of group similarity, a different pattern emerges. On average, students report that all social groups are dissimilar from them ($\mu = 2.3$ out of 5), and visually impaired children are no outlier in this case. We interpret the patterns reported in Figures S3-S4, to suggest that while affect towards visually impaired children might have been "too high to move" amongst our student population, other intergroup measures (i.e. intergroup similarity) which were less positive were reactive to treatment.

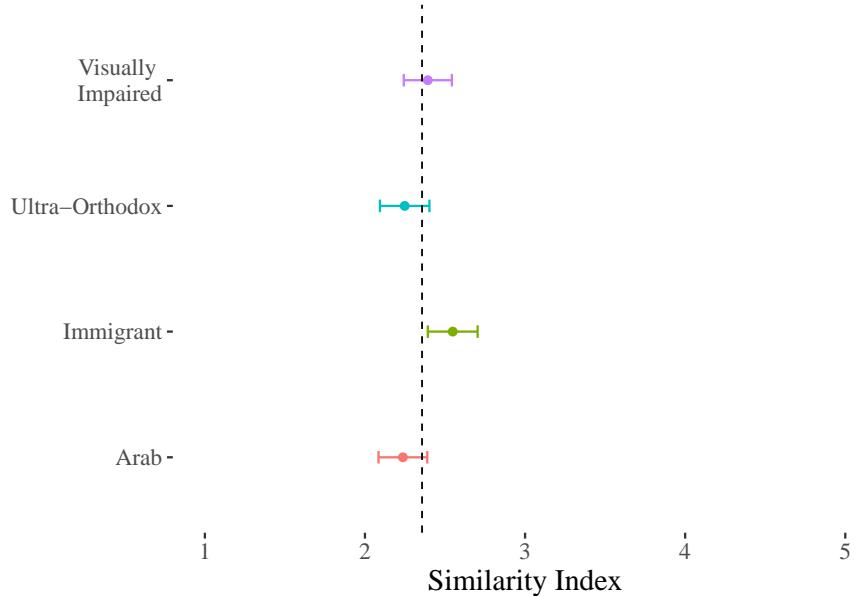


Figure S4: **Group Similarity Means.** This figure presents means and 95% intervals of group specific similarity measures. Dotted line represents overall mean of all similarity measures.

S8 Source of Treatment Effect

In the main text, we plot pre- and post-treatment measures of our thermometer index for treatment and control respondents. We demonstrate that while the distribution of pre- and post-treatment measures are similar for the control group, there is a notable difference in the treatment group distribution. Specifically, while the pre-treatment distribution is centered around 50, the post-treatment distribution is centered around 75, and the share of respondents reporting attitudes below or around 50 decreases significantly. We interpret this pattern to suggest that our main average treatment effects are likely driven by students with lower levels of pre-treatment intergroup affect.

In Figure S5 we implement a similar exercise, with our intergroup similarity index. Interestingly, a similar pattern emerges. While the pre- and post-treatment control group distributions are rather similar, there are stark differences in the pre-post distributions of the treatment group. Specifically, the pre-treatment distribution is centered around 2, whereas the post-treatment distribution is centered around 3. For the most part, this result is driven by reductions in the number of students reporting low levels of intergroup similarity in the post-treatment period.

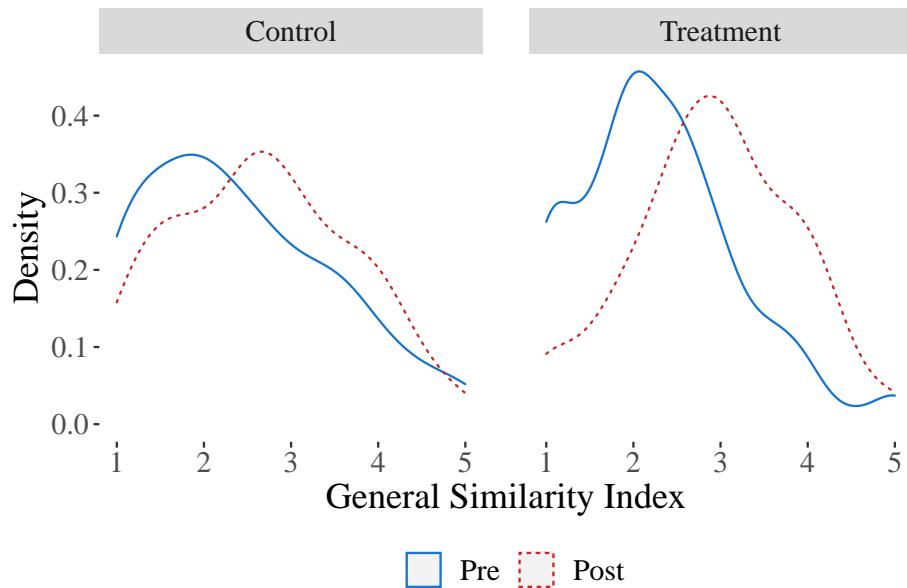


Figure S5: Similarity Index Distribution Changes. This plot visualizes the distribution of our intergroup similarity index amongst students from our treatment and control group, pre- and post-treatment.

We further diagnose the extent to which pre-treatment levels of prejudice towards outgroup moderate treatment effects. To do so, we focus on our feeling thermometer index. In line with our understanding that treatment effects are driven by prejudicial individuals, we expect that pre-treatment levels of the feeling thermometer will negatively moderate the intervention's average treatment effect. In other words, students with higher levels of pre-treatment affect towards outgroups will report smaller average treatment effects.

Before testing this formally, in Figure S7, we ensure that the relationship between our moderator and outcome is linear, and that we have common support to estimate an interaction term of our treatment with our pre-treatment thermometer index (Hainmueller et al., 2019). The diagnoses reported in Figure S7 suggest that considering the interaction of our treatment with a pre-treatment thermometer measure is reasonable in this case.

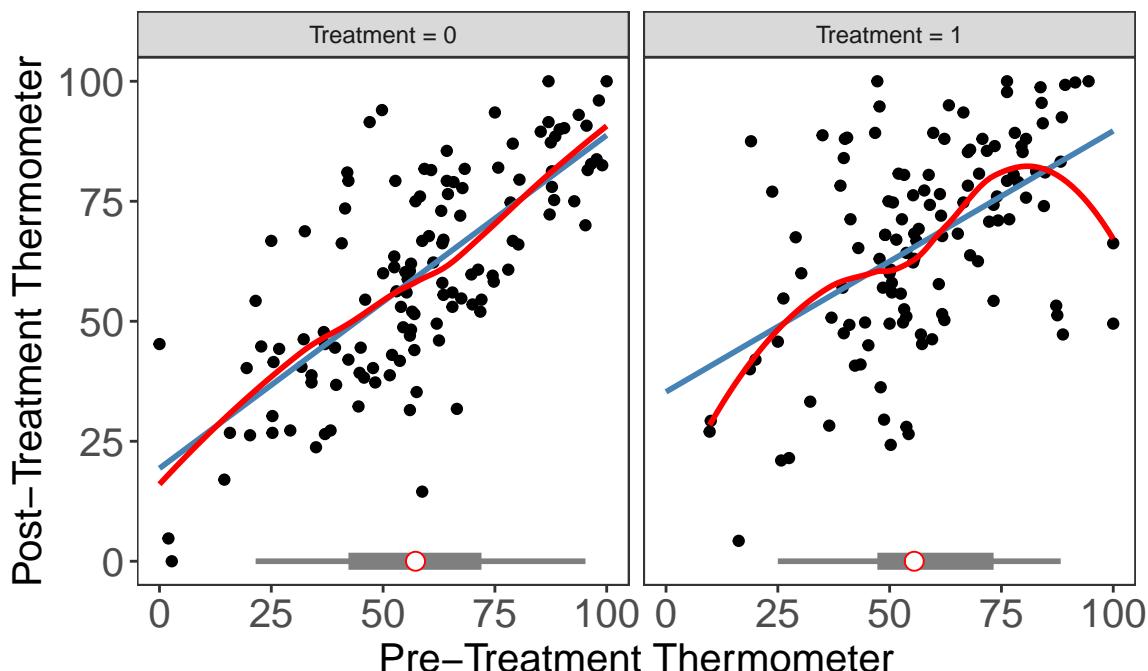


Figure S6: Linear Interaction Diagnostic. This plot demonstrates the relative linear relationship between our key moderator (pre-treatment aggregate thermometer), and our main outcome of interest (post-treatment aggregate thermometer), as well as the common support across values of our moderator.

In Figure S7 we consider treatment effect sizes across levels of our pre-treatment thermometer index. We employ a kernel estimator proposed by (Hainmueller et al., 2019). Our results suggest that for most of our sample the average treatment effect has a similar magnitude, but effect size is smaller, and perhaps indistinguishable from zero, for respondents with high levels of pre-treatment affect towards outgroups. This result, strengthens our overall intuition that our treatment effects are largely driven by prejudicial students. In other words, our intervention is effective by shifting negative attitudes, rather than by preaching the choir.

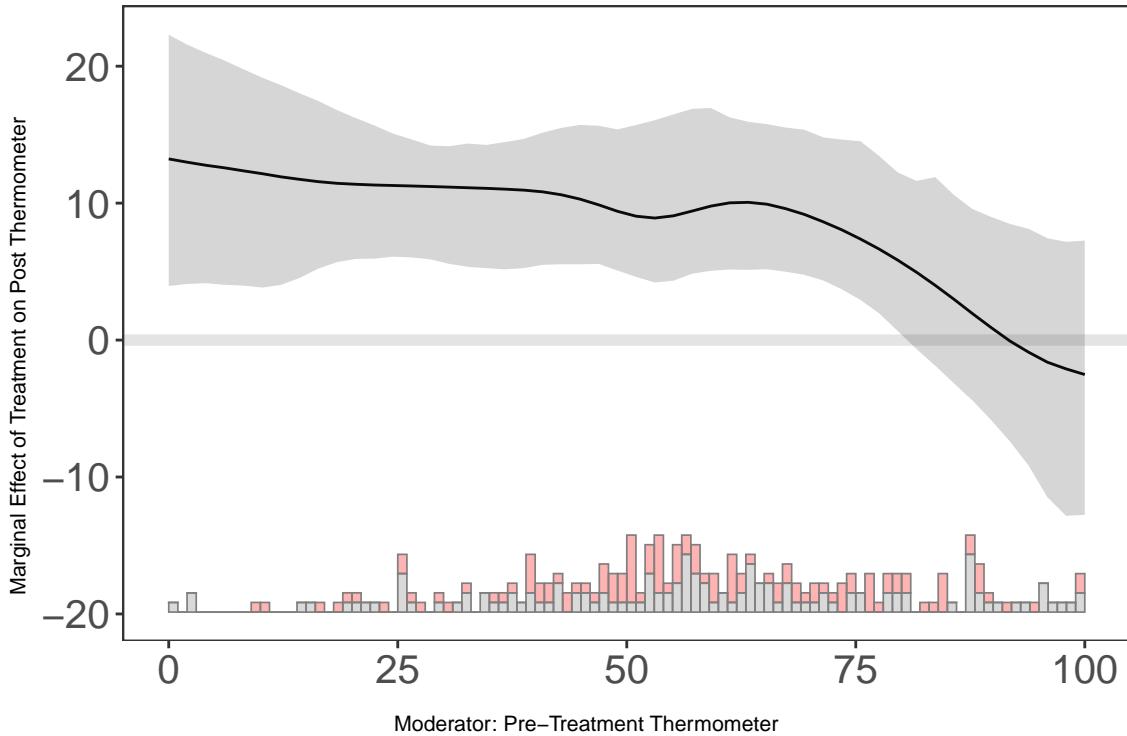


Figure S7: Moderating Effect of Pre-Treatment Affect. This plot presents the average treatment effect of our intervention, across levels of pre-treatment affect towards out-groups.

S9 Attitudes towards Arabs in the Shadow of Conflict

As indicated in the main text, between May 10-21 2021, intense missile fires and inter-communal clashes disrupted life in many cities across Israel, including our intervention site. One might expect that such events that unfolded during the time of our intervention may have shaped students attitudes, and specifically attitudes towards Arab children. In this section, we assess this possibility.

To assess patterns of prejudice towards Arab children and their sensitivity to conflict dynamics, we created a scale based on our Arab thermometer, similarity, and contact intention questions ($\mu = 0$ and $\sigma^2 = 1$), which were all measured pre- and post-treatment. Higher values on the scale indicate more positive attitudes towards Arabs. In Figure S8 we plot the pre- and post-treatment means for treated and control students. Interestingly, we find that while in the pre-treatment period, both groups have similar average attitudes towards Arab, in the post-treatment period attitudes towards Arabs become more positive amongst students in the treatment group, and more negative amongst students in the control group.

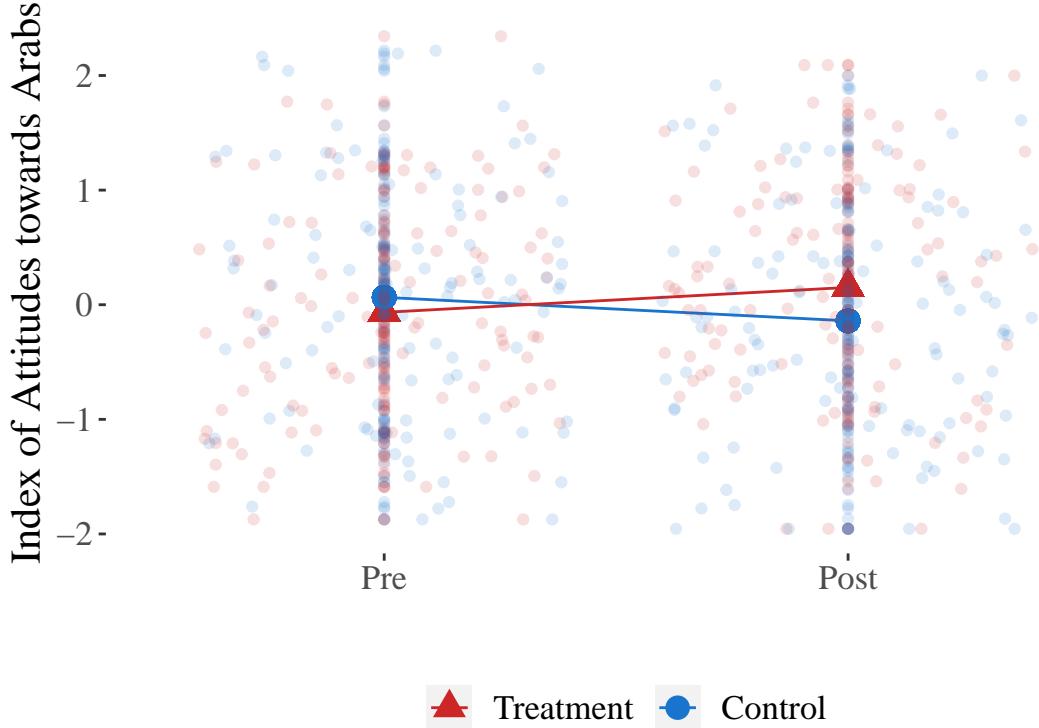


Figure S8: Attitudes towards Arabs Pre- and Post-Treatment. This figure demonstrates that attitudes towards Arabs improved (deteriorated) over time amongst treated (controlled) respondents.

We interpret the pattern reported in Figure S8 to suggest that our intervention likely served as a buffer, limiting the deterioration of intergroup attitudes amongst students in the treatment group. Moreover, it appears that despite the external challenges, attitudes amongst treated students moved in a positive direction. We therefore interpret the patterns in Figure S8 to suggest that educational interventions like ours can be a promising tool to counteract the negative externalities of conflict.

S10 Deviation from Pre-Analysis Plan

In our paper, we make four deviations from our pre-analysis plan. First, we employ an estimation strategy proposed by Lin (2013). Doing so, we go beyond controlling for pre-registered covariates, and also interact those covariates with treatment in order to increase the precision of our estimates. That said, we report our original estimates in Figure S2. Second, for interpretability sake, we control for pre-treatment covariates on the right hand side of the regression, instead of estimating treatment effects on a first difference of the pre-post outcome.

Third, due to a technical error in our Qualtrics surveys, each subject student responded to three out of four intention for intergroup contact batteries. Thus students reported their intention to engage in contact with three, out of our four key outgroups. For that reason, rather than con-

sidering intention for contact with specific social groups, throughout our analyses we consider an overall index of intention for contact with social groups, and for all students this index is comprised of responses to three batteries, relating to three randomly selected social groups. As reported in Table S4, since the presentation of batteries to each students was randomly assigned by Qualtrics, missingness is not correlated with treatment, pre-treatment attitudes our demo-graphics. Finally, we intended to consider the effects of our intervention on attitudes towards a made up minimal group (which we described as the “Supza group” in our surveys). However, while fielding our survey we realized that the concept of a minimal group confused children to a great extent, and for that reason we do not consider this outcome in our intervention.

S11 Intervention Slide Deck

S11.1 Arab Children

סליחה על השאלה

שיעור מס' 1



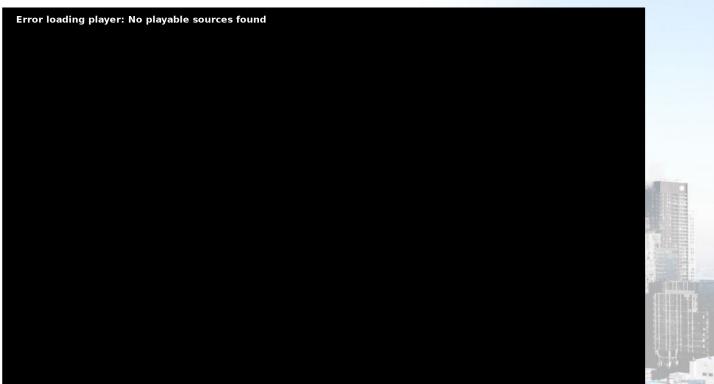
חומר ללמידה

בשיעורים הקרובים נצפה
בSURTOONS מרחיבי אופקים

נחשף לילדים וקבוצות
שיתכנ שטרם פגשתם
נדון בתוכן ונחווה דעה



cut נצפה בSURTOON מסדרת "סליחה על השאלה"



הכר את הדמות



cut נשחק יחד.
אציג בפניכם דמות שהופיעה בSURTOON, נשאל
שאלות על הנער/ה ונשמעו את דעתכם לגבי
ההיגדים המשווים לדמות

מוכנים?



משתפי התוכנית



רימון שלבי



ליורה חайдון



דוד בינימאי



שנאי טובמן



קודש אביב



ריפקה אביטל

מייהו הנער שבתמונה?



- A
- B
- C
- D

- נער בכיתה ו'
- ילד ישראלי
- ילד עברי
- נער חובב מוסיקה



מייהו הנער שבתמונה?



- A ערבי שגר בישראל
- B מוסלמי
- C בן לאם אמואקוריינה
- D מהו בילוי מגוריון: ת"א - יפו

מה הנערה חושבת על
חיים ביחיד?



- A שאפשר להיות היחיד בכלל האחים
- B שעובדים יהודים בישראל הם כמו אנחנו
- C שהוא שותה רק לאום אחד בלבד
- D שיש מתח בין העמים אך היוצרים לגשר

לאיזו מוסיקה מעדיפה
הנערה להאזין?



- A מוסיקה ערבית
- B מוסיקה עברית
- C מוסיקה בכל השפות
- D מוסיקה אנגלית

הנערה שבחתמונה...



- A דוברת עברית רהוטה
- B דוברת עברית, ערבית ואנגלית
- C דוברת רק ערבית
- D דוברת רק עברית

מה אפשר להגיד על
כולם?



- A כולם גברים ונערות
- B כולם ערבים
- C כולם ישראלים
- D כולם שונים זה מזה

מה אי אפשר להגיד על
כולם?



- A שכולם דוברי עברית
- B שכולם או הורים מוסיקה ישראלית
- C שכולם בני אותו המין
- D שלכלם יש אותן דעת

מי הם הנערים והנערות המשתתפים בסרטון?



- A נער/ות כמוני
- B נער/ות שניהם מואיתנו
- C נער/ות מנורר סקרנית
- D נער/ות מארין אחרת

על פי תשובהכם של
המשתתפים לשאלות
ניתן להגיד ש...



- A לכל אחד עמדת אחרת
- B שלפעמם יש עמדות דומות
- C שלפעמם דעתם דומה לשלי
- D כל התשובות נכונות

משימה בקובוצה



לפניכם תמונות של משתתפי
התכנית בה צפינו
מה שונה בינם?
מה דומה בינם וביניכם?

קישוט

רכזו את תשובהכם בדי שבקישור

סליחה על השאלה

היום הכרנו ילדים ערבים וישראלים
הכרנו את עמדתם בנסיבות שונות
בחנו מה דומה בינם וביננו, ומה משותף
ושונה בין לבין עצםם.
ראינו שיש שונות ויש דמיון
הבנו שבקובוצה יש אחדות אך גם גיוון רב.

משימה עצמאית

מצורף דף משימה אישי

חקרו וענו מה דעתכם
ענו על השאלות ושמרו על הדף במחברת

קישור לדף המשימה

קישור



S11.2 Visually Impaired Children



סליחה על השאלה ילדים עם עיורון

Video unavailable
The uploader has not made this video available in your country.

צפו בסרטון

שיםו לב לדומה ולשונה בין הילדיים שבסרטון ושאר הילדיים

הצטוויזו בטוש ודף נייר.
בכל פעם שתתশמו בסרטון מידעו או מאפיין שדומה אצלם, ספנו נקודה על הדף

.....



שחקנית
כדר-שער
ספורטאית
מצטיינת



גולל באקרינה
חין נמצוא אדם
לי שמיעה



בעל כלב
בבר כצחקן
עליו "כפות"
 עבר ניתנה
משחק כדורגל
שחקן גנרטה
ישראל לנור
ידע לשעות
سلطות



קרוה שבירוי
רוכבת על
סוסים
מי הצעדים
יפי הצעדים
ובבל מהזקאות
גבורה אחרון
לקבוצת
ספורט
בසפורט
אצן
טוב בלהקשב



ילדים עם
עיורון

בשיעור זה נכיר קבוצה
 נוספת של ילדים

מכנים?



היום פגשנו ילדים שלא הכרנו
באו נגלה האם יש בינם לבין דברים דומים או משותפים



הציגו את הדף עם הנקודות
כמה נקודות סימנתם?

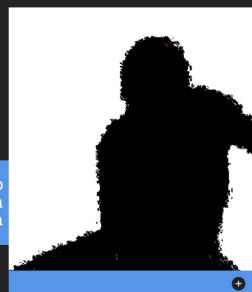
רשמו במחברת אלוי
דברים דומים זיהותם



בחירה פעילות



פעילויות פיסيات
בכרכוב בקבוצות



פעילויות מקומות
במלוא
כיתה/מרוחק



לחווות כיצד עיורים מרגישים

בחורו באחת מהפעולות הבאות ובצעו אותה



משחק כדור-שער
עליכם להבקע שער עם
כדור פטומונים וכייש
עיניהם



ריצה
צאו למסדרון או לחצר
בבוח 2 נציגים
אחד יהיה עם כיסוי עיניים
והשייטו אותו עצמאלי ידי הרץ
וירוץ עמו



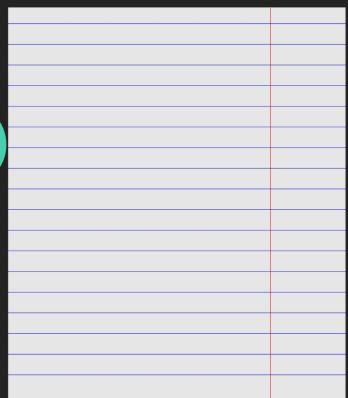
**הליכה בכיתה ללא
התיקות בחפצים**
התקנו מוקזה הרכבה לפניו
דלת הכניסה עם כיסוי עיניים
בליל שתחקלו בחפצים או
רהיים



מי ימצא אותו?
מתנדב מכסה את עיניו. עלינו
למצאו ליד מרוחב על פי צליל
 בלבד



תאזר את
הגשרים בעת
המשחק



עם אלו קשימים מתמודדים הילדים העיורים?



לימודים

רגשיים

תפקידים

חברתיים

לסיקום

שליחה על
השאלה

ילדים עם עיורון

בשיעור זה הכרנו ילדים עם עיורון
שמענו על התמודדותם היומיומית
על חוויות, חזקות, תחביבים, קשימים ורצונות,
מצאנו ביןנו ובינם דברים דומים,
התנסנו בפעילויות שונות
והרגשנו לרגע כיצד הילדים העיורים מרגישים



סיום הפעילות. תודה על השתתפות הפעולה



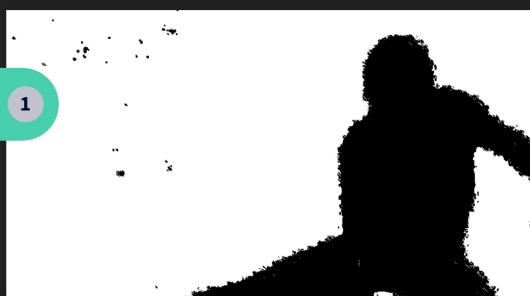
חזרה לבחירת הפעילויות

בשקפים הבאים אציג לכם תמונות או ציללים

תתבקשו לזהות כל פעם משהו אחר

5

מי היא הדמות בתמונה?



רמז

ספיידרמן



1

מה רואים בתמונה?



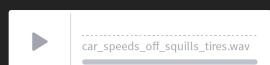
רמצ'

2



3

מה קרה כאן?



האזינו לציליל

3



4

מה קרה כאן?



האזינו לציליל



4

מה קרה כאן?

5



האזינו לצליל



5

מה מורה השעון?



6

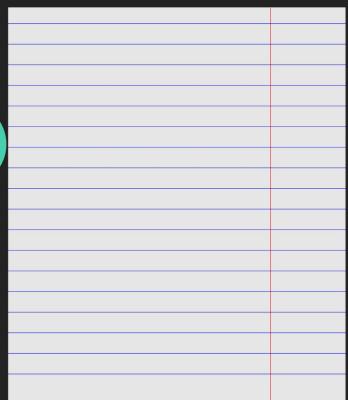


6

HOME



תאזר את
הגשכים בעט
המשחק



לסייע



ילדים עם עיורון



בשיעור זה הכרנו ילדים עם עיורון
שמענו על התמודדותם היומיומית
על חוויות, חוותות, תחביבים, קשיים ורצונות,
מצאנו בינו לבין דברים דומים,
התנסנו בפעילותויות שונות
וهرגשנו לרגע כיצד הילדים העיורנים מרגישים



חזרה לבחירת הפעילויות

סיום הפעילות. תודה על השתתפות הפעילה

S11.3 Children of Immigrants

ילדים עובדים זרים



שליחה על השאלה

בשיעור הקודם הכרנו ילדים בעלי עיורון בשיעור זהה. נזכיר ילדים של עובדים זרים



מה זהעובד זר?

עובד זר

אדם העובר למדינה אחרת, שאינה אדרחה בה, על מנת למצוא פרנסה

ילדים עובדים זרים



הכירו את הילדים שמוזמנים בקורסון.
במהלך הצפייה בקורסון נסנו לחושן על הדומה והשונה ביןיכם לבין הילדים שבקורסון



הדמייה בינוינו



לຮשותכם פתקים נדבקים
חשבו אלו דברים דומים יש בינוינם
ובין יודי העובדים הזרים.
רשמו על הפתק מאפיין, תכונה או
כל דבר דומה אחר
הצמידו את הפתק ללוח

! מה הם
חשובים ?

בואו נחזור לקטעים מהקורסון

צפו בקטעים הקצרים מתחום הקורסון.

מה הילדים חושבים לגבי הנושאים המוצגים בקטעים השונים? העוזרו בדף המצורף



דף עזר

! מה הם מרגשימים?

במשימה זו עליכם לענות מנקודות המבט של הילדים בסרטון "להיכנס" מה היי תחשוטיםכם חווים את האמירות או את המקרים הבאים:

<p>שאלות אם אין קשר למנקה</p>	<p>אף פעם לא ריאיתי את אתותי</p>	<p>אם יצא מהארץ לא אוכל לחזור</p>	<p>לא מגיש לנו להישאר כאן בغال צבע העור והדעת שלנו</p>
<p>ראות את המשפחה שלי ואת חברותי</p>	<p>אפשר להקים כאן משפחה</p>	<p>לא מגיש לנו להישאר כאן בגלל בען הטער והדעת שלן</p>	<p>לאחר תקופה העבודה אנו צריכים לחזור לארץ המוצא</p>

רכזו את תשובותיכם בשקף הבא

רבים ילדים מהגרים חיים בתל אביב, בה נמצא כ-1100 ילדים מהגר עבדה מיגיל לידיה עד ששי, כ- 600 ילדים מהגרי עבודה במערכת החינוך הישראלית, מהם כ- 50 ילדים לומדים בבתי ספר תיכון. ילדים אלו לומדים את אומנות החקלאים שליל ישראלי אחר למד, מחונכים וגדלים על אותם הערכים עליהם אנו גודלים: הספרות העברית, שיעורי האדרחות, של"ח ותרבות ישראל. הם משולבים בחברה, מקיימים קשרים חברתיים עם בני גילם ואינם מכירים מיציאות אחרת.

כמה נתונים

היום הכרנו קבוצה נוספת של ילדים ובני נוער

ילדים עובדים זרים

שמענו וראינו את הילדים מספרים על קשייהם, רצונותיהם ומחשבותם בנושאים שונים ניסינו להבין מכך תחשוטיהם ומחשבותיהם על המשותפים, וכך אנו היינו מרגשימים לו היינו מתמודדים עם האתגרים העזומים מולם ראיינו כיצד הם דוברים את השפה העברית, מהם מרגשימים לגבי החיים בארץ ולגבי בני משפחותם בפיליפינים הרחוקה

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S11.4 Concluding Class



שיעור מסכם בעקבות צפייה בסרטוני שלילה על השאלה

התחלת



עסקנו ב...

ילדים	ישראלים
ערבים	עובדיהם זרים
בעל עיורון	דופפה ושונה
גרשות	מחשבות
יהודוי	משמעות

בשיעורים האחרונים
הכרנו קבוצות שונות,
ובهن ילדים רבים
בשיעור זה נחזר, נזכר
וננסם מה שלמדנו



01

במהלך השיעורים דנו במספר שאלות

בחוץ אחת ותנו דוגמה כיצד היא באהה לידי בישוי באחד מהשיעור



אומם כל הילדים בקבוצה דומים להו	זה דומה לנו לבן הילדים בסרטון	אם היהתי מרגש בseinovichים נגבי או רעים שחוו	המי חשבם הילדיים בseinovichים נגבי או רעים שחוו	עם אולקשיים הממודדים הילדיים הילד/ה מה היו חשובים
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02

לאחר שערכנו דין בוואו
נבחן כמה תובנות



דמיין ושווי בקשר חברו קבוצה
גם בקשר קבוצה עם כהה משפחתי יש
פרטיטים ייחודי ו纷不同于。תנו דוגמאות

נתן למצוא דומה בין ילדים מקבוצות שונות
הכרנו קבוצות שונות ובצל זאת
היצחוט למלוא משותף ודומה בינם
לביניהם. תנו דוגמאות

מה עושים כדי להבין את الآخر
כל תל' לבני א' הרהר א' שאר א'נו
מקשייבים ותהייר א'ו א'ו וטס'ים
לאktor את הדבר מנקודת
מגבון. ספור ל' קראת ההרטוטים
שהיינטן לבון מה' ויל' וושט סייע
לכם להבין מה' הוא חוו

דוגמאות

03



שינויות בתוך הקבוצה

ילדים מאותה קבוצה עשויים להיות
(מאפיינים ייחודיים) (שינויות בינויהם
מהם המאפיינים הייחודיים לכל אחד
מהילדים האלה ?

אם א' שיר ל' קבוצה אחת עם מכנה משותף עדין א' יכול להיות שיר
לקבוצות נוספות ושווה לו מאפיינים ייחודיים שלו

03



שונות בתוך הקבוצה

הילדים בסרטון נבחרו להשתתף בו כי לשניהם מאפיין דומה: הם בעלי עיורון. למרות שיוכחותם לאוֹתָה קבוצה - הם גם שווים אחד מהשני? מה שונה בין הילדים הסרטון?

צפו בסרטון

04



בין ילדים מאוֹתָה קבוצה יש דברים דומים

הדומה בין ילדים מאוֹתָה קבוצה

בין ילדים מאוֹתָה קבוצה יש דברים דומים?
מה דומה בין הילדים?

04



הavanaugh בין ילדים מאוֹתָה קבוצה

בקרב הילדים הסרטון יש דברים דומים. מהם הדברים הדומים?

צפו בסרטון

05



בין ילדים מקבוצות שונות יש דברים דומים

הavanaugh בין ילדים מקבוצות שונות

בקבוצות שונות יש מאפיינים דומים.
מה דומה בין הילדים?

05



הavanaugh בין ילדים מקבוצות שונות

בין ילדים מקבוצות שונות יש מאפיינים דומים. מה דומה למשל בין הילדים הסרטון?

צפו בסרטון

06

דמיון בין ילדים מקבוצות שונות



אני יכול להיות מרכיב שונה או מקבוצה אחרת
שיהו לדברים דומים עם ילדים מקבוצות אחרות

הצעות

לפניכם ילדים מסרטונים שונים. האם יש ביניהם דברים דומים?



שים את עצםך במקום אחר כדי להבין אותו טוב יותר
**מה הוא מרגיש, מה הוא חשוב?
 עם אלו קשיהם הוא מתמודד?**



07

בנייה/בנייה

משמעות

שינויים במרקאה

בעל דשה שונה

מי יעד?

08

לכיתתכם הגיע תלמיד
 חדש עליה חדש מאטיפוףיה



תאור מקרה :

+ מהם לדעתכם תחשויות ומחשובות בימים הראשונים בבית"ס ?

+ האם לדעתכם יהיו ביציכם דברים דומים או משותפים ?

+ מה ניתן לעשות כדי להזכיר אותו טוב יותר ?

עבודה בקבוצות

08

שיתוף בתוכנות

1



2

3

09

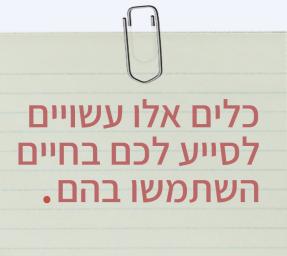
לסיכום

במהלך השיעורים האחרונים נחשפות לכמה דרכים להבין, להכיר
 טוב יותר ולkeletal ילדים אחרים. מתי ויכד עזרו בידע זה?



מתן?

כיצד?



בשיעורים סבב סרטוני 'סלייה על השאלה'
 הכרנו קבוצות שונות,
 מצאנו בקרוב הילדיים
 מאפיינים דומים וברורים ייחודיים
 למדנו לשים את עצמנו במקום الآخر,
 לנסות להרגיש את תחושותינו,
 להבין את מחשבותינו
 ולהסביר מה הינו עושים לו הינו במקומו

תודה על תשומת הלב



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