# UC Berkeley

## UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations


### Title

Microaggressions in the Context of Conflict: A Study of Perceived Discrimination among Israeli Adolescents


### Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5778t7r8



### Author

Mark, Hanna Frances



### Publication Date

2017

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation



eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

# Microaggressions in the Context of Conflict: A Study of Perceived Discrimination among Israeli Adolescents

by

Hanna F. Mark

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Social Welfare

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Steven P. Segal, Chair
Professor Paul Sterzing
Professor Keith Feldman

Summer 2017

**Copyright Page/Blank Page**

## Abstract

Microaggressions in the Context of Conflict: A Study of Perceived Discrimination amongst Israeli Adolescents

by

Hanna F. Mark

Doctor of Philosophy in Social Welfare

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Steven P. Segal, Chair

Ethnic microaggressions refer to subtle slights or mistreatments that can occur in regard to someone's ethnicity. This study tests the validity of an adapted measure of racial microaggressions among a sample of Israeli students in order to understand which ethnic microaggression dimensions emerge from adolescent self-reports. It uses those dimensions to assess how they correlate with general perceptions of discrimination and with reports of psychological distress. It then seeks to understand how overall reports of microaggressions vary by ethnic identity and geographic locality. Cross-sectional data were collected from high school students throughout Israel ($N$ =1,031). An exploratory factor analysis revealed four dimensions of microaggressions: (1) Invisible Ethnicity, (2) Criminalized Ethnicity, (3) Disadvantaged Ethnicity, and (4) Homogenized Ethnicity. The Invisible and Criminalized dimensions corresponded closely to dimensions identified in prior United States-based, adult-focused research, suggesting that those dimensions may be valid cross-nationally and with both adolescent and adult populations. An ordinal logistic regression revealed that Disadvantaged Ethnicity was the only dimension to significantly correlate with more general perceptions of discrimination. A multiple linear regression revealed that Invisible Ethnicity and Criminalized Ethnicity both significantly correlated with higher levels of psychological distress. Via a two-level hierarchical linear model, it was found that identifying as Arab, Palestinian-Israeli, Ethiopian, or Bedouin significantly correlated with higher reports of microaggressions. However, differences in geographic-locality did little to explain variance in microaggression reports.

Findings from this study suggest that microaggression reports may vary by ethnicity, Israeli identity, level of religiosity, and mother's education level. They additionally reveal that decreases in exposure to microaggressions related to Disadvantaged Ethnicity is associated with a decrease in perceptions of discrimination; decreases in exposure to microaggressions related to Invisible and Criminalized Ethnicity is associated with a decrease in psychological distress. Decreasing psychological distress could also be associated with decreased perceptions of discrimination. This study is the first to examine reports of microaggressions among Israeli adolescents, and to establish the relationship between microaggression reports, perceptions of general discrimination, and psychological distress. By building on social, political, and

developmental psychology theories, it employs a unique approach to understanding how minority adolescents in Israel experience discrimination in their daily lives.

## Table of Contents

Abstract ..... 1
List of Figures ..... iii
List of Tables ..... iv
List of Abbreviations ..... v
Acknowledgements ..... vi
Chapter 1: Introduction ..... 1
Background and Significance ..... 1
Present Study ..... 3
Chapter 2: The Israeli Context ..... 6
Overview & History ..... 6
Current State ..... 7
Group Identity in Israel ..... 8
Chapter 3: Review of the Literature ..... 17
Ethnic Disparities in Israel ..... 17
Perceived Discrimination in Israeli Society ..... 18
Perceived Discrimination and Adolescence ..... 22
Limitations of Previous Research ..... 23
Need for the Current Study ..... 24
Chapter 4: Theoretical Basis and Framework ..... 27
Ethnic Identities in Intergroup Conflict ..... 27
Frameworks Utilized in this Study ..... 31
Application to Dissertation Topic ..... 34
Chapter 5: Methodology ..... 35
Overview of Research Design ..... 35
Study Site and Data Collection ..... 35
Sample and Power Analysis ..... 35
Variables and Measures ..... 36
Analysis ..... 38
Chapter 6: Results ..... 43
Participant Demographics ..... 43
Research Question 1: Factor Analysis ..... 43
Summary of Research Question 1 ..... 50
Precursors to Research Questions 2 through 4 ..... 50
Research Question 2: Ordinal Logistic Regression ..... 55
Summary of Research Question 2 ..... 57
Research Question 3: Multiple Regression ..... 58
Summary of Research Question 3 ..... 59
Research Question 4: Multilevel Modeling ..... 60
Summary of Research Question 4 ..... 64
Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion ..... 66
MAS Dimensions among Israeli Adolescents ..... 66
Reports of Frequent Discrimination Exposure among Israeli Adolescents ..... 67

Reports of Psychological Distress among Israeli Adolescents ..... 70
Reports of Microaggressions among Israeli Adolescents ..... 72
Limitations of the Present Study ..... 74
Summary and Conclusion ..... 75
References ..... 77
APPENDIX A ..... 88
APPENDIX B ..... 104

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Research Questions and Variables for the Proposed Study ..... 5

Figure 2. Israeli Population by Religion ..... 15

Figure 3. Jewish-Israeli Population by Continent of Origin and Birthplace ..... 16

Figure 4. Marcia's (1966) Theoretical Model of Identity Status ..... 22

Figure 5. Hammack et al.'s (2011) Conceptual Model of the Mediation Effect of Delegitimization in the Relation Between Antecedents and Outcome Variables ..... 32

Figure 6. Scree Plot for 21-Item EFA ..... 48

Figure 7. Final Four MAS Dimensions ..... 50

Figure 8. Frequency of Discrimination by Ethnic Group ..... 51

## List of Tables

Table 1. Descriptive Data for Study Participants ..... 44

Table 2. Correlation Matrix for the MAS Items ..... 45

Table 3. MAS Items with Distribution Concerns ..... 46

Table 5. Descriptive statistics for Total MAS and K-6 scores, By Ethnic Group and Overall .... 52

Table 6. Descriptive Statistics for Each MAS Dimension, By Ethnic Group and Overall..... 52

Table 8. Summary of an Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis for the Frequency of Israeli Adolescents' Exposure to Discrimination ..... 56

Table 9. Summary of Parameter Estimates and Odds Ratios for the Dichotomized Cumulative Categories of Discrimination Exposure ..... 57

Table 10. Results of a Multiple Regression Identifying Variables that Significantly Correlate with Psychological Distress ..... 59

Table 11. Means and Standard Deviations of MAS Scores by Ethnic Identity and Geographic Location ..... 62

Table 12. Means and Standard Deviations for Individual-Level Variables, Within- and Between-Levels ..... 63

Table 13. Results of Multilevel Models Identifying Variables that Significantly Correlate with Overall Microaggression Reports ..... 64

## List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| CRT | Critical Race Theory |
| EFA | Exploratory Factor Analysis |
| FSU | Former Soviet Union |
| KMO | Kaiser-Myer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy |
| K-6 | Kessler-6 Measure of Psychological Distress |
| MAS | Microaggression Scale adapted from the RMAS for this study |
| PAF | Principal Axis Factoring |
| PCI | Palestinian Citizen of Israel |
| RMAS | Racial Microaggressions Scale |
| SES | Socioeconomic Status |
| SMI | Serious Mental Illness |
| U.N. | United Nations |
| U.S. | United States |

## Acknowledgements

I understand that this acknowledgements section is typically used to thank those who assisted with this work along the way; I will use this section for that too. But, given its section heading, it also feels fitting to use this space to acknowledge what completing a doctoral degree entailed for me and to reflect on what this dissertation brings to end. Since beginning my combined MSW/PhD path six years ago, the following things happened: I fulfilled 151 units of coursework, held three separate pre-doctoral researcher positions, six separate graduate student instructor positions, four separate readership positions, completed two Masters-level practicums, served in one behavioral therapist position, provided direct clinical practice to approximately 67 separate clients, taught around 200 students, and generated an estimated 51 hours of original lecture and discussion content. I contributed to three international research projects. I ran a minimum of 1,431.1 miles and went to yoga class at least 742 times. I lived in three homes in three cities, with a rotation of ten different roommates. I visited eight different countries in three different continents, traveled to 12 states, and presented at five different conferences. I bought (and then totaled) my first car.

I applied to 16 fellowships, prepared a request to conduct research in a local school district that took months of preparation, co-coordinated the implementation of an international study on Eritrean refugees, submitted my first-first author publication, and applied to a seemingly endless amount of post-graduation jobs. Many of these efforts were met with rejections. I was not always so nice to myself as a result. Three particularly notable heartbreaks plus the loss of a grandmother, an uncle, and dog did not help. In the Fall of 2015, my best friend's mom, Pamela Weisberger, got sick and died in the span of 12 days, one week before my best friend's wedding. I had known Pam for over 20 years and loved her a lot. I still feel all the time like I'm not sure that really happened.

I cried (and in many cases wept) on the phone to or in front of the following people: my parents, my brother, my doctoral advisor (Dr. Steven P. Segal), my doctoral program chair (Dr. Jill Duerr Berrick), the School of Social Welfare's Director of Student Affairs (Mr. Robert Teague), the School of Social Welfare's Director of Field Education (Mr. Greg Merrill), the entire Chrystal-Neff-Morgan family, my therapist (Dr. Shawn Corne), Andrea Mazey, Carolyn Schneider, Dr. Andrew Siroka, Lily WK Coleman, Jana Wayne Schottenstein, Michele Berger, Laura Iris Mattes, Renee Mack, Rachel Gartner, Daniella Uslan, Sarah Shanfield, Dr. Danica Zold, Dr. Aileen Dickinson, Tessa Cafiero, Tara McNulty, Sara Pendleton, Lauren Hulbert, Michael James Wong, Robert Grey, Dr. Leah Jacobs, Lauren Pollare, Jaime Menegus, Dr. Niveen Rizkalla, and probably also Dr. Zach Morris, Elisa Gozarkhah, Iris Early, Jared Schachner, and Amelia Katkov—though I can't remember those specific tears at present.

I also cried (and in many cases wept) in the following locations: in my car alone; in my office alone; in my adulthood bed alone; in my childhood bed alone; at various locations around the UC Berkeley campus; on walks through the Rockridge neighborhood of Oakland; on this bench I like to hike up to atop Claremont Canyon; in Boca Raton, FL; in Vienna, Austria; at Harbin Hot Springs in Calistoga; and at the Costanoa Lodge in Pescadero, CA. Anxiety and sadness have a special way of creeping in and robbing you of hours of your life that you almost always wish you could get back.

Recently, a video went viral of two runners approximately 150 meters away from the end of the London Marathon. One man had made the decision to forfeit his best time in order to stop and assist a deeply fatigued other participant to the finish line. Similar videos to this effect have

gone viral before. News outlets and consumers rightly love these moments for the laudable selflessness and sportsmanship displayed by the helpers.

Yet if I were to be kindest to myself, I'd learn to love these moments because they depict exhausted people finishing what they start, even if it means gasping and hobbling their way to the end. I'd internalize that felt-gory is not something that has to be climactic or immediate--that pride in yourself and your accomplishments can be something that comes slowly and over time. It may even be something that comes only in hindsight, and that's okay. I'd also remember that as tired as that runner was, he probably spent no time after wishing that he had never gotten into the race in the first place. He likely instead spent time reflecting on how he could improve for the future, and feeling grateful that he'd chosen a marathon with people like-minded and caring enough to help him when he needed it most.

That's largely how I've felt about this doctoral journey. Felt-glory in academia may rarely be immediate, but I love the study of social welfare. I love social workers, and I've never once questioned whether I picked the right academic and professional community to be part of.

With that, I acknowledge the people who made my studies possible: My previously mentioned advisor, Dr. Segal, and the Mack Center for Social Conflict and Mental Health that served as such a strong anchor for me throughout my studies. I am very fortunate to have worked under the guidance of my other wonderful committee members, Dr. Paul Sterzing and Dr. Keith Feldman, and I extend deep gratitude to Drs. Tamie Ronen, Giora Rahav, Roni Berger, and especially Riki Savaya, who all partnered with Dr. Segal and myself on the study that yielded this dissertation research. They have all extended much kindness, support, and guidance to me over the years. Dr. Valerie Shapiro, who encouraged my pursuit of doctoral work early on, and Dr. Jill Duerr Berrick, who remained such an advocate and source of comfort for my fellow doctoral students and me while she served as the program chair, additionally deserve mention here.

My uncle, Dr. Bob Mark, aunt, Michal Zak, and cousins, Naomi, Neriya, and Maya Mark, are some of the most exceptional humans I know. Their lives were hugely influential to informing these research questions, and, even despite living across the world from me, they have always found a way to be some of the most inspirational and calming presences in my life.

In terms of my other friends and family who've made decisions to remain my friends and family despite all the moments over the past six years in which I failed to present as my best self, thank you. Especially of course, to my mother, father, and brother, who've steadfastly held onto the roles of my number one fans regardless of how many times I've given them reason to step back. They've all been models of unconditional love and I've been very lucky to have them. To all of the individuals I've still yet to name who have offered me encouragement, insight, feedback, and companionship in sometimes even small ways, I've been very lucky to have you, too. I've found that Ph.D. school is hard for nearly none of the reasons people tell you it's hard, and there hasn't been a single moment of received support throughout it that hasn't meant everything.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## Background and Significance

Microaggressions—a term first coined by Pierce (1970)—are the subtle slights, insults, and mistreatments that take place in regards to someone's race, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexuality, or ability. Whether behavioral, verbal, or environmental, microaggressions can occur with or without conscious intent. They specifically refer to the ambiguous, chronic, and pervasive experiences of perceived discrimination that, while potentially fleeting on their own, can be detrimental in their accumulation.

Sue et al. (2007) identified racial microaggressions as falling into three categories: *Microassaults* are conscious, explicit/intentional actions or slurs such as discriminatory actions, avoidant behavior, or name-calling (e.g., referring to someone as "Oriental" or "colored," deliberately serving a White patron before a person of color, or displaying a swastika); *Microinsults* are communications that subtly demean a person but that can appear neutral or even superficially complimentary (e.g., a White teacher failing to acknowledge students of color in a room, or an employee of color being asked, "How did you get your job?" in a way that implies people of color are not qualified or that affirmative action was a factor at play); and *Microinvalidations* are communications that subtly negate or nullify the experience of a member of a stigmatized group [e.g., a White person repeatedly asking an Arab American person born and raised in the United States (U.S.) where they are from, negating their U.S. heritage, or telling Black Americans, "I don't see color"].

Applied research on microaggressions in the U.S. has further identified dimensions that capture distinct thematic experiences. Among others, these dimensions include notions of: *Invisibility,* or feeling ignored because of one's race; *Criminality*, or feeling like you carry assumptions of aggression because of your race; and *Low-Achieving/Undesirable Culture,* or feeling like others suggest that your racial group is dysfunctional or undesirable (Torres-Harding, Andrade Jr, & Romero Diaz, 2012).

Microaggressions correlate with increased depressive symptoms and decreased positive affect (Nadal, Griffin, Wong, Hamit, & Rasmus, 2014); greater perceived stress, even at a one year follow up (Torres, Driscoll, & Burrow, 2010); and suicidal ideation (Hollingsworth et al., 2017; O'Keefe, Wingate, Cole, Hollingsworth, & Tucker, 2015). Smith and colleagues liken the cumulative exposure response to 'Racial Battle Fatigue,' or something akin to combat fatigue. They argue that people exposed to minority-related stress at societal, institutional, interpersonal, and individual levels deploy coping mechanisms that often model the symptoms of posttraumatic stress (Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007).

Though the mechanism via which microaggressions effect wellbeing is not fully understood, minority-related stress can increase general stress and/or participation in unhealthy behaviors, which can in turn increase health problems (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Pascoe & Richman, 2009). Additionally, some attributes of microaggressions may make them particularly impactful stressors. For one, they are frequently ambiguous, which is arguably more nefarious to psychological wellbeing than more overt expressions because these forms require greater psychological vigilance from the target (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008; Torres et al., 2010). For another, microaggressions can be chronic, and chronic exposure to stressors can accumulate in ways that have distinct negative impacts on psychological wellbeing (Hammen, 2005; Monroe, Slavich, Torres, & Gotlib, 2007; Ong, Fuller-Rowell, & Burrow, 2009). Post's (1992) Kindling Hypothesis offers one explanation. Post

proposed that instead of building up tolerance, an individual's sensitization to certain kinds of stress could actually lower the threshold for triggering a depressive episode or other associated health concern.

Critical Race Theory (CRT, e.g. Solorzano et al., 2000; Yosso, 2005), an interdisciplinary approach that draws from law, sociology, history, ethnic, and women's studies, is often used to ground the study of microaggressions. At its core, CRT attempts to identify, analyze, and challenge the aspects of society that maintain positions of subordination and dominance. The basic CRT model assumes that group-based subordination exists, is endemic to societal functioning, and that groups with privileged status should be challenged. It advocates for placing people in historical contexts and empowering subjugated groups. Adherents to the CRT framework argue that social research on lived experiences is incomplete without accounting for race or racism in the analysis of the problem. Since it is argued that overt racism is now less socially acceptable in advanced societies than it once was (Kennedy, 1989), and since research has found that people are subconsciously motivated to control implicit prejudice (Glaser & Knowles, 2008), CRT argues that it is contemporary scholarship's duty to capture the more covert and potentially more insidious ways that racism or ethnic discrimination exists. Studying microaggressions is one way in which social scientists can do this.

Yet while the study of microaggressions has grown steadily in recent years, the literature mostly derives from the U.S. Minimal research has been conducted in non-Western or non-English speaking countries and even less considers how microaggressions may manifest in countries experiencing ongoing political conflict[1] like Israel. Understanding intergroup relations there—even amongst groups not ostensibly perceived to be antagonistic—may hold particular salience for peace. As established by theorists such as Stephan & Stephan (2000) and Greenberg, Pyszczynski, and Solomon (1986), experiences of threat and terror can impact one group's willingness to trust or coexist with another, and can therefore lead to further hostility and discrimination. Identifying where points of discrimination occur, what forms they take, and how discriminatory behaviors negatively impact individuals is therefore research potentially even more pertinent to countries experiencing political conflict.

Research on microaggressions has also been insufficient when it comes to adolescents. Given that adolescence is a critical period for identity formation; understanding how messages of self-worth are received by adolescents is crucial for understanding how well-integrated identities are formed (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1990). Erikson's work emphasized the importance of adolescence in identity development. He argued that identity formation was adolescence's primary psychosocial task. He saw a well-formed identity as critical for providing of a sense of wellbeing, a sense of being at home in one's body, and of an ideological commitment to one's place in the world (Erikson, 1968). Contemporary research on adolescent brain development further supports Erikson's theory by showing the emotions felt during adolescence can impact the course of an adolescent's brain development and therefore an adolescent's general future wellbeing (Dahl, 2004). It thus follows that disparaging messages about one's identity during this time (like in the form of discrimination) can negatively impact an adolescent.

---

[1] According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program's Armed Conflict Dataset, a country is considered to be "in political conflict" if at least one of the following took place in the prior ten years: (i) five consecutive years of internal conflict wherein at least 25 battle-related deaths per year occurred; or (ii) more than one thousand battle related deaths in total (Themnér & Uppsala Conflict Data Program, 2014).

My dissertation was cultivated in response to the limited knowledge of the microaggression experience among adolescents and in societies experiencing political conflict. It focuses on the self-reported experiences of high school students in Israel. The tension between the Israeli and Palestinian people is arguably the longest standing conflict of contemporary politics. Yet while a bevy of literature exists that studies Israeli-Palestinian relations and outcomes for those living in the Palestinian territories, less attention has been paid to the wellbeing of minority or subordinate populations within Israel proper, where there is considerable ethno-racial and religious diversity. Of the approximately 25% of people living in Israel who do not identify as Jewish (out of a population of approximately 8.4 million), approximately 1.4 million are Muslim Arabs (including approximately 250,000 Bedouin Arabs), 162,000 are Christian, 134,000 are Druze, and 318,000 are not classifiable by religion (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). Additionally, among the Arab population, national identity divisions are prominent. For instance, a 2012 survey found that only 12% of Israeli Arabs cited Israel as their most important national affiliation with many others citing their religion or their Palestinian heritage as most important (Smooha, 2013).

For the Jewish population, identities can differ by Ashkenazi and Mizrahi heritages, with approximately 47.5% of Jews identifying as Ashkenazi and 50.2% identifying as Mizrahi. Over 120,000 Jews of Ethiopian descent have arrived in the past quarter century as have nearly one million migrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU), many of whom are not Jewish (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). While migrants from the former Soviet Union are Ashkenazi by heritage, their migration status has made them a distinct group in Israeli society. Additionally, it is now estimated that there are 45,000 refugees of primarily Eritrean and Sudanese descent living in the country (African Refugee Development Center, 2015).

As some research has begun to find support for the notion that the exposure to political conflict in Israel may increase intergroup hostility (Canetti-Nisim, Ariely, & Halperin, 2007; Canetti-Nisim, Halperin, Sharvit, & Hobfoll, 2009; Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim, & Johnson, 2006; Johnson et al., 2009), there is reason to ask if intergroup relations in Israel lead to exceptionally negative implications for individual wellbeing. Specifically, it is argued that some in Israel bear a dual-coping burden wherein minority members must grapple with both their minority status and the stress that accompanies exposure to violence (Bleich, Gelkopf, & Solomon, 2003; Hobfoll et al., 2006; Somer, Maguen, Or-Chen, & Litz, 2009); it is well documented that perceived experiences of discrimination regardless of violence exposure is associated with an array of health and mental health concerns for minority group members (Paradies, 2006; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Williams & Mohammed, 2009; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). As such, the discrimination experience in Israel is particularly complex, may place Israeli citizens at unique wellbeing risks, and is deserving of dedicated research.

**Present Study**

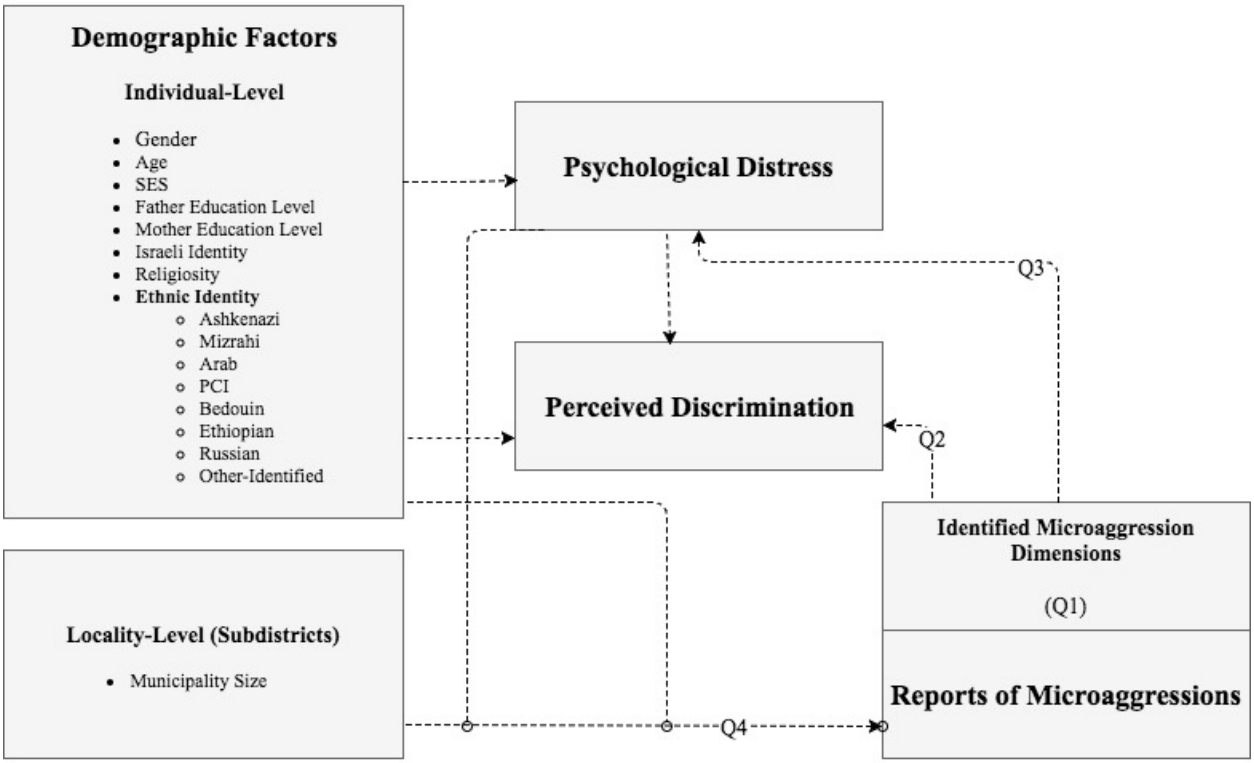
This study uses data from a cross-sectional sample of Israeli high school students to capture their reports of microaggressions. It first tests the validity of an adapted measure of microaggressions with this study's population to understand how previously established dimensions of microaggressions in the U.S. translate to the Israeli context. It then utilizes the identified dimensions to examine which types of microaggressions are associated with general perceptions of discrimination and with psychological distress. It lastly examines how overall self-reports of microaggressions amongst Israeli adolescents vary by ethnic identity, geographic locality, and psychological distress. Overall, and informed by extant research, this study

investigates the presence and impact of microaggressions in Israel by testing the following research questions:

1. Which microaggression dimensions (e.g., Invisibility, Criminality, Low-Achieving/Undesirable Culture) emerge from Israeli adolescents' self-reports on an adapted measure of microaggressions?
2. Which microaggression dimensions are associated with general perceptions of discrimination when controlling for the individual-level demographics of gender, age, socioeconomic status (SES), parents' education level, Israeli identity, and religiosity?
    a. Do general perceptions of discrimination vary by ethnic identity?
3. Which microaggression dimensions are associated with psychological distress amongst Israeli adolescents when controlling for the individual-level demographics of gender, age, SES, parents' education level, Israeli identity, and religiosity?
    a. Do reports of psychological distress vary by ethnic identity?
4. Do overall reports of microaggressions among Israeli adolescents vary by ethnic identity when controlling for gender, age, SES, parents' education level, Israeli identity, and religiosity?
    a. Do they vary by geographic locality when controlling for municipality size at the locality-level?

I looked to minority stress theory, a theory that will be expounded upon in Chapter 4 and that lays out why living as a minority person in a discriminating and stigmatizing society can be burdensome (Meyer, 1995), to guide my hypotheses. Drawing on minority stress theory, I hypothesize that reports of microaggressions will vary by ethnic identity, that differences will persist even when controlling for demographics and psychological distress. I also hypothesize that reports will be more pronounced in larger localities, where adolescents may have more exposure to out-group members, that reports of psychological distress will vary by ethnic group, and that a relationship will be found between overall reports of microaggressions and overall reports of psychological distress. However, given the nature of the conflict between Israel and Palestine, wherein holding onto beliefs about one's own victimization is thought to be a core societal belief driving the conflict (Bar-Tal, 2000), I propose that reports of microaggressions may not vary as widely or as significantly between supposed "dominant" and "non-dominant" groups in the country.

**Figure 1. Research Questions and Variables for the Proposed Study**



## Chapter 2: The Israeli Context

This chapter provides a brief overview into the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the development of the Israeli nation-state. In the past century of fighting approximately 116,000 Arabs and Jews have been killed (Jewish Virtual Library, 2015) and five million Palestinians still live stateless. Israel thus provides an excellent context for exploring the experiences of adolescents growing up amidst violent political conflict. Details of that context will be given here, followed by an explanation of what is meant by the notion of *ethnicity* and a review of the salience of ethnic identities in contemporary Israeli society.

### Overview & History

Though the state of Israel is not yet seventy years old, the biblical conquest of Jerusalem by the Israelites in 1000 B.C.E. dates Jewish stake in the land back three millennia.[2] However, from 720 B.C.E. until the end of the nineteenth century, Jews had no official claim in the region. Instead, for over 2,600 years, the Jewish people lived primarily in a state of diaspora, often finding themselves in exile, under attack, or being forced into conversion by various regimes.

When Muslim armies from Arabia gained control of modern-day Israel in 600 C.E., it was the Romans and not the Israelites that they defeated. From approximately 600 C.E. to the early 1900s, Muslims predominantly ruled Palestine, mostly granting Christians and Jews religious freedom. Because Jerusalem was believed to be where the Prophet Mohammed ascended to heaven, Muslims treated it as a holy city and built the al-Aqsa Mosque around 690 C.E. on the Temple Mount—the same site where the ancient Jewish temples stood prior to Babylonian and Roman destruction (Strauss, 2002).

Only when Zionism, the movement that called for the Jewish people to assume sovereignty in Palestine, emerged near the end of the nineteenth century did Jewish emigration to present-day Israel ensue (Sharabi, 2010). Zionists believed that the only way for Jews to avoid the anti-Semitism and assimilation rampant in Central and Eastern Europe was to remove themselves from it. While Zionism was first met with only mild success (in 1914, only about one percent of Jews worldwide inhabited Palestine[3]), it did win early international support. After Zionist lobbying, Britain's Balfour Declaration in 1917 officially endorsed the idea of a Jewish homeland in Palestine with the qualification that it should not violate the rights of preexisting non-Jewish communities (Carter, 2006). Britain's endorsement became even more relevant in 1920 when the defeated Ottoman Empire was divided up and Palestine came under British control. In 1947 after World War II led to a massive displacement of the Jewish population, the United Nations' (UN) formally recommended that Palestine be split into an Arab and Jewish state.

For many of the 500,000 Arabs already living in Palestine in 1900, the influx of settlers interested in establishing a Jewish state on what had been Arab land for centuries was unacceptable. Many Zionists touted Palestine as a land without a people, awaiting its Jewish redemption. Some Jewish voices, deemed "cultural Zionists," dissented to that message and

---

[2] It is important to note that there is also an ancient Palestinian narrative that links Palestinians with the Canaanite and Jebusite tribes, who likely lived on the land prior to the Israelite conquest (Yiftachel, 2006).

[3] This is a conservative estimate provided by Oren Yiftachel (2006). Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire and not autonomously ruled through the end of World War I. The fact that absentee landlords living in Beirut and Damascus mostly controlled Palestine was a large part of the reason why Jews were able to buy up land relatively seamlessly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

pushed for consideration of the Jewish imposition. Arabs also objected. When Palestine was first placed under British control, Arabs formed a movement to protest, leading to riots and revolts between 1936-1939 (Yiftachel, 2006). Yet the Palestinian Arabs were overruled. On May 14, 1948, an international mandate was put in place and the Jews proclaimed Israel's independence. Britain withdrew from Palestine and the next day, surrounding Arab nations attacked Israel beginning the yearlong War of 1948. The 700,000 Arabs then living in Palestine either voluntarily or forcibly fled, effectively becoming refugees overnight (Strauss, 2002).

For Palestinians, this period of time, called *al-Naqba*, is often seen as the crux of their collective catastrophic dispossession (Yiftachel, 2006). During the first three months of Israel's existence, the fledgling government razed some 400 Arab villages. Deeming the fled land to be abandoned, the government freely confiscated and resold it. Arab homes were expropriated and Jewish refugees from Iraq, Yemen, and Europe were allowed to occupy them. While Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, publically supported equality for the Arab minority that remained in Israel, he privately sought to prevent refugee return. For the Arabs who had been run out or demeaned by the events surrounding the creation of Israel, the Zionist struggle was viewed as something oppressive, discriminatory, and aided by Western imperialism (Carter, 2006; Yiftachel, 2006).

Israel's current boundaries however, and its occupation over the West Bank and Gaza Strip did not come to be until 1967's Six-Day War. Israel managed to defeat a surprise attack from surrounding nations and claimed the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. Approximately 325,000 more Arabs were displaced as a result (Strauss, 2002).

**Current State**

Although the 1978 Camp David Accords returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt, and Israel, Egypt, and Jordan eventually established diplomatic relations, the decades since have been steeped in tension, terrorism, violations of rights, and intermittent periods of warfare. Despite fifty years of start-stop efforts at peace, three major issues have consistently stood in the way: (i) the exact boundaries of a future Palestinian state; (ii) the future of the Palestinian refugees and their "Right of Return" to Israel; and (iii) and the status of control over Jerusalem. While the 1993 Oslo Accords offered some hope for reconciliation, that hope collapsed with the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995. Since then, peace talks at Camp David failed in 2000, leading, in part, to the eruption of the second Intifada. In 2003, the UN-Quartet proposed a *Roadmap* to peace which ultimately saw little implementation. Instead, contemporary relations between the Israeli government and Palestinian leadership feel just as, if not more polarized, than in decades prior. Indeed, a 2008 survey found that 87% of Israelis identified Jewish-Arab relations to be the main problem facing Israeli society (Sharabi, 2010) and the "Operation Protective Edge" during the Summer of 2014 that left 73 Israelis dead and 660 wounded; 2,100 Gazans dead and 11,000 wounded, served as yet another disturbing barrier to reconciliation (Jewish Virtual Library, 2015).

Further, international opposition to the Occupation and the expansion of Jewish settlements in the Palestinian Territories has increased with time. For instance, in October 2014, Sweden became the first European nation to officially recognize Palestine as its own state (Ahren, 2014). Despite the notable economic advantage Israel has over the Palestinian territories, and the support it receives from America, the increasing worldwide criticism has not altered Israel's tactics. The government currently maintains an uncompromising, preemptive

approach to its military strategy, and does not acknowledge that it has perpetrated any injustices. Israel's policies have given scholars good reason to deem the conflict intractable (Bar-Tal, 2000).

## Group Identity in Israel

### Group Identity Defined

Understanding how group identities are constructed, reinforced, and manipulated is essential to understanding what types of group identities exist. Psychoanalyst Vamik Volkan explains large-group identity as the "subjective experience of thousands or millions of people…linked by a persistent sense of sameness [despite] sharing numerous characteristics with others in foreign groups" (Volkan, 2001, p. 32). To Volkan, protection is the main task of large-group identification. Other scholars note additional functions for group-identity. Markus & Kityama (2010) focused on how socialization drives members of a collective to think, act, and feel similarly; Yildiz & Verkuyten (2011) argued that a strong collective identity can transcend internal cultural, religious, and political differences; and Akbaba (2006) emphasized that the more salient a sense of identity, the more it can catalyze both in-group and out-group mobilization into conflict or political action. Constructs such as ethnicity, race, nationalism, and religion are thus important influencers on how identities are organized. The following explores ways to tease these constructs apart.

### Group Identity Constructs Defined: Ethnicity, Race, Religion, and Nationality

**Ethnicity.** Ethnicity is a property of between-group relations that establishes boundaries, provides a subjective sense of belonging, and utilizes shared histories, representations and norms to delineate in-group and out-group members (Eriksen, 2001; Wimmer, 2008). Omi & Winant (1994) similarly see ethnicity as generated from a myth of a shared culture and descent, but identify it as a dynamic construct, which they call a group-formation process. Ethnicity can also be created through a racialization of people who potentially would not otherwise share an identity (Fredrickson, 2002). For example, consider Hispanic pan-ethnicity in the U.S. wherein distinctly different groups like Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, and Mexican Americans, with a shared language, were artificially merged into a single group (Mora, 2014), or the Arab pan-ethnicity of North Africa and the Middle East. Perhaps because of this, some have described ethnicity as more inclusive than race (Sollors, 2002). Frederickson even argues that while not all ethnic groups are races, all races fall within ethnic groups (Fredrickson, 2002).

**Race.** Race is another social construct human groups create to define themselves or others. While it may be associated with social structures and cultural representations, the concept is largely based on phenotypical characteristics, often incorrectly believed to be biological. Its salience to any particular nation in any particular time is contingent upon ever changing socio-political and economic processes. To highlight the dynamic nature of racial constructs, Omi & Winant (1994) invoke the term "racial projects," and clarify that these projects are essentially used for organizing and distributing resources along racial lines. They stress that racial projects are always framed by the historical context and prior conflicts from which they descend.

Frederickson (2002) argues that racial dynamics have evolved so that a newer type of racism now elevates cultural differences over genetic ones, essentially forcing culture do the work of race. The term "ethno-racial" lends itself to a contemporary experience of merging of phenotypically-based group distinctions with culturally-based ones. Indeed, in the U.S., the constructs of race and ethnicity are often used interchangeably. Because research has yet to

demonstrate that different psychological processes are associated with the invocation of the different labels (Quintana, 2007), those interested in development and/or mental health often view this interchangeability as innocuous. However, the differences should be noted.

**Religion.** In general, cultural theorists see religious identities as subtypes of ethnic identities (Gurr, 1993; Wimmer, 2008). Jonathan Fox proposes that religions serve four basic functions: i) to provide meaningful frameworks for understanding the world; ii) to provide standards of behavior that guide an individual's actions and goals; iii) to link people to greater wholes; and iv) to serve legitimizing functions (Fox, 1999). Ethnicity and religion are linked via religion's role in shaping individual preference, perception, and motivation (Akbaba, 2006; Gurr, 1993). More contemporary theorists suggest that religious identities have greater capacity to shape communal identities than do other aspects of culture. For instance, Jeffrey Seul (1999) argues that religion often serves psychological needs better than other sources of cultural meaning; it supplies cosmologies, moral frameworks, institutions, and traditions that provide: "Answers to individuals' needs of psychological stability in the form of a predictable world, a sense of belonging, self-esteem, and even self-actualization" (1999, p. 553). Ted Gurr adds support to the salience of religious identities by arguing they are less flexible and less diffusible. While you can speak two languages or claim heritage from multiple countries, religion is mutually exclusive. You cannot be both Hindu and Muslim (Gurr, 2000)

**Nationality.** Land is a major issue when it comes to intergroup dynamics and because land is frequently demarcated by national boundaries, nationality or national identity are relevant here. Nationality can be thought of as the status of belonging to a particular nation, whether by birth or naturalization (Merriam-Webster, 2014). The European notion of sovereign states and ideology of nationalism generated the now commonly held belief that states should be homelands and incorporate the aspirations of a single people or nation (Galvanis, 2002). Because national identities are bound by histories, traditions, and languages (in addition to territory), there are significant ways that nationality overlaps with the above constructs of ethnicity, race, and religion.

Identity in Israel

That national boundaries overlap with ethnic ones is a line of thinking invoked by political geographer Oren Yiftachel, who speaks to the conflation of ethnicity and nationality in Israeli politics (Yiftachel, 2006). As Yiftachel argues, when ethnicity and nationalism explicitly combine into ethno-nationalism, they become a political force present in Israel today that is heavily focused on achieving or preserving ethnic statehood. Yiftachel sees ethno-nationalism as the merging of the principle of ethnic self-determination with the post-Westphalian division of the world into sovereign states. The emphasis in contemporary political culture on a group having its own homeland has made it so that issues of territory and national survival are now intertwined with ethnic history and culture.

Yiftachel therefore establishes the notion of *ethnocracy*. Using Israel as an example, he explains that an ethnocarcy is a regime type generated from the fusion of colonialism, nationalism, and capitalism that facilitates the disproportionate expansion and control of a dominant ethnic nation. He argues that ethnocracies lend themselves to inequality in policies, agendas, and resource distribution; key characteristics include unequal citizenship of minority populations and pervasive stratification across ethno-national and ethno-class lines. Though he acknowledges that full equality is not something achieved by even the most advanced democracies, Yiftachel sees the policies of an ethnocratic regime as standing in direct contrast to

the goals of democracy, making the two incongruous, and creating space for long-term political instability (Yiftachel, 2006). Avihu Shohana further elucidates the power dynamics present amongst ethnic divides in Israel by summarizing, "it is not possible to describe the relationships between Arabs and Jews in Israel as those of majority and minority but rather as relationships of colonizer and colonized" (Shoshana, 2016b, p. 1056)

Yiftachel's understanding of Israel as an ethnocratic regime emphasizes the way Israelis identify themselves, their fellow citizens, and why it is difficult for pluralistic forms of Israeli identities to flourish. Sociologist Eva Illouz has put forth that contemporary Israel is not a place where you can be Jewish and simultaneously exist with non-Jews. Such universalism is only achievable outside the country. Because of this, many Jews have stopped identifying with Israel through a deliberate belief that Israel jeopardizes the moral core of their identity. She explains:

> This is not only because of the way in which Israel relates to the Palestinians and the Palestinian issue, but also because of the ways in which Israel has treated Jews themselves. The state has missed a very important opportunity to be a platform in which all the plurality of forms of Judaism could meet and flourish…Israel is unable to solve the conflict with Palestinians for the same reasons it is unable to provide a platform uniting Jews: the country is premised on a primordial, religious, ethnic vision of itself which prevents it from articulating a universal language of rights (Avishai et al., 2014, p. 33).

Hence, Illouz believes that Israel is tracked for mental and economic isolation.

The Israeli experience is thus an example of how murky the distinction between different identity delineators—like ethnicity, race, nationality, and religion—can be, and how the conceptualization of a group's identity can change with context. Despite the fact that Judaism is an organized religion, in Israel it is also rendered an ethnicity with strong nationalistic undertones. This is yet another evolution in the historical tract of the Jewish identity. Frederickson (2002), for instance, points out how older traditions of anti-Semitism were focused on ethnically-driven discrimination. It was undoubtedly bigotry when thousands of Jews were forced to convert or face expulsion from Spain during the Inquisition of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it was not motivated by race, per se, since the opportunity for assimilation (via conversion to Christianity) existed.

In contrast, Germany's Nuremberg laws that enforced multiple racial purity policies before and during World War II were overtly racist. Following Germany's World War I defeat, anti-Jewish sentiment became strongly enmeshed in the rebuilding of a national identity. Jews were pointed to as a pernicious threat to the essence of Germany. By touting Judaism as an unalterable, inherent otherness, the religion was essentially racialized. Thus in different times and in different places, the same group (heavily demarcated by a religion) was conceptualized once as an ethnicity, later as a race, and arguably currently, as an ethno-nationality.

## Ethnic Groups in Israel

**Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jews.** Judaism is not the only religion found in Israel, nor do all Jews in Israel share a single identity. The largest intra-Jewish divide exists between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jews. Approximately 45% of Israeli Jews are Ashkenazi and 48% are Mizrahi (Pew Research Center, 2016). Ashkenazi Jews trace their lineage to Central and Eastern Europe, tend to be lighter in skin color, comprised the majority of the "pioneering" Israeli Jews, and make up approximately 75% of Jews worldwide. Mizrahi Jews trace their descent to Jewish communities of the Middle East and Muslim-majority countries. Mizrahi Jews often categorize themselves as

Sephardi and are grouped ethnically with Jews descending from the Iberian Peninsula, the Ottoman Empire, and West or North Africa. When it comes to Jewish traditions or cultures there are no major differences between the groups. Dissimilarities instead exist in small traditions and often by phenotype. Yet a primarily class-based divide has historically existed between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jews in Israel, with Ashkenazi Jews afforded a more elite status, and Mizrahi Jews sometimes stigmatized for their closer ties to Arab language and culture (Sachs, Sa'ar, & Aharoni, 2007). Similarly, Mizrahim are the only Jews classified as ethnic while Ashkenazim are treated as netural or transparent, mirroring the status of whites in the US (Shoshana, 2016a). In terms of religiosoity a much higher percentage of Asheknazi Jews identify as secular compared to Mizrahi Jews (66% versus 32%), though far more ultra-orthodox Jews come from Ashkenazi heritage (Pew Research Center, 2016).

**Migrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU).** Another notable Jewish group includes migrants from the FSU, many of whom came to Israel (or whose parents who came to Israel) during a major migratory wave beginning in the early 1990s. Specifically, between 1990-2006, over 937,000 FSU migrants settled in Israel, coming to account for over 13% of the total Israeli population. Via the Israeli Law of Return, wherein Jews are defined by having at least one Jewish grandparent, FSU migrants in Israel are immediately eligible for permanent Israeli citizenship. They are entitled to a lump sum of money upon arrival, language classes, limited unemployment benefits, national health insurance, and retraining courses (Haberfeld, Cohen, Kalter, & Kogan, 2011). As more than two-thirds arrive with at least a high school education (Osman & Walsemann, 2013), they also tend to have professional skills. Although Jewish FSU migrants are not ethnically distinct from Ashkenazi Jews, in many ways they reamin a distinct entity in Israeli society. Many FSU migrants choose to retain their own language and cultural traditions, and have expressed more interest in assimilating as a group as opposed to as individuals (Canetti-Nisim & Pedahzur, 2003; Slonim-Nevo, Mirsky, Rubinstein, & Nauck, 2009)

**Migrants of Ethiopian Origin.** Approximately 120,000 Jews of Ethiopian origin currently live in Israel (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). They came to Israel in three major waves starting in the mid-1980s as a means to escape religious persecution. Compared to the migrants from the FSU, however, Ethiopian immigrants have been met with more difficulties integrating and acculturating into Israeli society. Many Ethiopians came to Israel without a formal Western education, with fewer non-verbal skills, and with unique cultural identities (including core symbols, behaviors, and value systems) distinct from the more Western Israelis. Israel's government made few systematic efforts to create a sense of cultural continuity. Given their typically darker skin, Ethiopian Jews have had to deal with more race-related issues than many other migrant populations (Ringel, Ronell, & Getahune, 2005). With some rabbinical institutions still contesting the authenticity of Ethiopian Judaism, some Ethiopians have also met religious discrimination. Despite their legal acceptance as members of the national/religious collective, their phenotypical and ancestral experience fucntions as a stigmatizing marker in their everyday lives (Mizrachi & Herzog, 2012).

**Arab-Israeli versus Palestinian-Israeli.** Israeli citizens who identify as Palestinian (also known as Palestinian Citizens of Israel or PCIs) are the second main national group in the country. PCIs are descendants of Palestinians who remained in Israel proper (i.e. not Palestinians now living within the occupied territories) and obtained citizenship after the establishment of the state in 1948. Arab-Israelis and PCIs tend to maintain cultural attributes and values distinct from Jewish Israelis, speak their own language, and preserve a separate lifestyle

(Canetti-Nisim & Pedahzur, 2003). Historically, their family values are more patriachial, authoritarian and closer knit than those of Israeli Jews, though many Israeli Arabs are currently undergoing a rapid process of cultural modernization (Haj-Yahia, 2000; Sherer, 2009). Many Israelis view PCIs as non-loyal citizens,who aspire to drive Jews out of Israel. The animosity that some Israeli Jews hold and display towards PCIs is widely doucmented in the literature (Canetti-Nisim et al., 2007; Canetti-Nisim et al., 2009).

While all Palestinians are Arab, not all Arabs are Palestinian. Furthermore, not all descendants of Palestinians choose to identify as PCIs. Thus, self-identiyfing as Arab-Israeli versus Palestinian-Israeli can carry important nationalistic undertones. As Israel is at least in a state of cold peace with some neighboring Arab nations (e.g. Jordan and Egypt), not all Arabs are overt foes of the Israeli people nor do all Arabs identify with Palestinian independence. Hence there is reason to examine the experiences of these two identities separately.

That said, Arabs, who constitue approximately 20% of the total Israeli popualtion, are segregated by education, political representation, and employment in Israel. They are usually segregated geographically from Jews as well with only 10% living in mixed cities or towns. Many more Arabs than Jews live in rural areas. As a result, despite their formal status as Israeli citizens, and entitlement to universal benefits such as health insurance and education, Israeli Arabs face many social and symbolic boundaries (Mizrachi & Herzog, 2012).

**Bedouin Arab.** Since migrating from the Arabian Peninsula in the 6$^{th}$ century, Bedouins have primarily lived in the Southern Negev region of what is now Israel. They comprise nearly a quarter of the entire Negev population and hold Israeli citizenship. However, Bedouins tend to have low SES and given their history as a predominantly nomadic people, are often particularly segregated (Beckerleg, Lewando-Hundt, Borkan, Abu Saad, & Belmaker, 1997). Though many Bedouins in Israel have transitioned or are transitioning into a more urban lifestyle, the overall community still meets a number of challenges. Bedouin families are frequently large and live where access to education is low. They average 6.8 children per household with over a third from polygamous families. Living in poor economic regions compounds the group's socioeconomic disadvantage. Economic hardship directly impacts adolescent nutrition, schooling, skill acquisition, health, and personal wellbeing. Bedouin students are absent from school at rates twice as high as those of the total Arab student population (Ben-Rabi, Amiel, Nijim, & Dolev, 2009). Approximately 50% live in unrecognized villages unconnected to national electric, sewage, or water systems (Balint, 2017).

Historically more tribal than nationalistic and not particularly religious, Bedouins have maintained a more neutral relationship with the Israeli government than other Arabs. Some even serve in the Israeli army whereas most other Arabs do not. Though many Bedouins fled during the War of Independence in 1948, the approximately 11,000 who stayed received education, medical care, and more support from the Israeli government than they had from any government prior. These policies though were not designed to cater to Bedouin needs and desires. The Israeli government has ignored Bedouin claims to the Negev and its policies in the late 1960s and early 1970s ultimately pushed the Bedouins into a small number of towns in the Northern Negev (Balint, 2017).

**Druze.** The Druze comprise approixmately two percent of the Israeli population. Many of them became Israeli citizens or permanent residents in the early 1980s following the official annex of the Northern Golan Heights region from Syria. While the Druze identity is both a religion and an ethnicity, and though a large percentage of Druze ethnically identify as Arab, approximately a quarter do not. These people instead consider Druze to be its own ethnicity.

Only 18% of Druze in Israel identify as Druze for religious (as opposed to ancesteral or historical) reasons (Pew Research Center, 2016). Druze are distinct in that many oppose Arab nationalism. Not only do they serve in the Israeli Defense Forces, but many identify as "Druze Zionists," meaning they fully suppport the existence of the state of Israel (Ashkenazi, 2005).

Although the Druze faith developed from the Ismaili branch of Islam, many Druze do not identify as Muslim. They instead see their religion as a blend of all three primary monotheistic religions with tenets of Hindu and Greek philosophy woven in. Druze do not allow conversion to their religion and thus all Druze trace their ancestery to the eleventh century. Because of their unique religious status, Druze have their own courts in Israel for attending to personal matters such as marriage and divorce. They tend to live in the north of the country and unlike some other minority groups, can be found in high-status professions (Adelman, 2015).

**Other Identifications.** While the above identites account for a vast majority of the Israeli population, they still many not be entirely applicable to any given Israeli citizen. Inter-marriage between ethnically-different Jews or Arabs (and in rare instances religiously-different groups) could result in mixed-identities not classifiable by one category. Additionally, small populations of Samaritans, Armenians, Circassians, Bahai's, Vietnamese, and African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem (of African-American descent), live in pockets around the country (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). In the early 1990s after the borders with the Palestinian territories were sealed and a shortage of blue-collar workers ensued, a sizable portion of non-Jewish and non-Arab foreign workers entered the country. These workers took up employment in domestic, agggricultural, and construction sectors and hailed from places as varied as East or Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe, several African countries including Nigeria, Ghana, and Senegal, and Latin American countries (predominantly Colombia), as well (Canetti-Nisim & Pedahzur, 2003). While undocumented workers were subsequently deported en masse from Israel around 2004, some became naturalized and remain in Israel today with their Israeli-born children.

A Note on the Ethnicity Construct

It is important to note that the conceptualizations of group-identity presented in this paper are grounded in Western thought and biased through a Western lens as a result. Accurately studying the subjugated knowledge of subordinated groups is difficult because they have had to define and evaluate themselves via the language and knowledge of dominant groups (Collins, 1991). Eriksen (2001) was not the first to emphasize that ethnic labels are a post-colonial Western means of dealing with non-Western peoples. Omi & Winant (1994) also disparage ethnic theory for providing space for some group diversity but not others (e.g. in the U.S., a white person can be Irish-American or Italian-American, but an African-American is not as quickly conceived of as a Kenyan-American or Ethiopian-American). They point out that the ethnic paradigm excludes qualitative histories of slavery, colonization, and extirpation and can lend itself to victim-blaming as a result. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (Said, 1978) is seminal in its analysis of how the West maintains pre-conceived notions about other, unfamiliar groups. Said uses the Middle East as a reference point to argue that the patronizing, anachronistic, and exoticized depiction of Arabs by the West was not an innocent accident. Instead, he calls the cultural representations of the East "Orientalism" and deems it the result of a motivated process inextricably tied to the imperialist societies that produced it (Said, 1978). With this in mind, it becomes easier to understand the weight Omi & Winant give to "social and historical processes" when it comes to group or racial formation. It is not enough to simply view the creation of

ethnic, racial, or ethno-racial boundaries as concepts that all people can claim in equitable and freed ways. Frequently, these identity constructs have been pushed onto individuals or groups, or inorganically generated by colonialism, ethnicism, classism, or outright racism.

Also problematic with some conceptualizations of ethnicity and race is the lack of space provided for intersectionality. Black feminist theory, for instance, calls for the rejection of additive models of oppression that are rooted in the dichotomous, either/or thinking sometimes associated with Eurocentric, masculine thought. Instead, scholars in this field have advocated for treating race, religion, gender, and other variables as interlocking systems of oppression (Collins, 1991). By rejecting paradigms that account for multiple axes of oppression to be accounted for, it is easier for objectified or dehumanized knowledge to prevail. Since domination operates in part by forcing members of subordinated groups to replace their way of thinking with that of the dominant group (Collins, 1991), rigid interpretations of identity can easily become a means of oppression in and of itself.

That being said, racial-ethnic labels have been relentlessly used throughout history by states and ruling bodes to reproduce social structures and proscribe access to social resources (Shoshana, 2016a). As such, differing groups have had differing experiences that need to be understood. Ethnicity thus serves as an important identity-marker here, because it most parsimoniously encompasses the group identities of the population studied. However, it is used with the knowledge that risks exist for crowding out cultural ways of knowing and that broad identity-classifications do not necessarily map onto subjective everyday experiences of this study's participants.

Religions and Religiosity in Israel

Figure 2 shows the population breakdown of Israeli citizens by religious identity. The largest proportion of citizens (81%) identify as Jewish, 14% as Muslim, one percent as "Other" or no religion, and two percent each as Christian and Druze. Amongst the Jewish population, 40% view themselves as secular, 23% as traditional, 10% as religious, and eight percent as ultra-orthodox. Mizrahi Jews tend to be more religiously observant on average than their Ashkenazi counterparts, though more Ashkenazi identify as ultra-orthodox (Pew Research Center, 2016).

To further illustrate the diversity amongst the Jewish-specific population, Figure 3 breaks down how Israeli-Jews vary by nativity status and region of origin. While 63% of Israeli Jews are of European or U.S.-origin, 18% claim Asian origins and 6% claim African origins.

Little inter-faith interaction occurs in Israel. Between 83% to 98% of Jews, Muslims, Christians, and Druze report that all or most of their close friends belong to their own religious community. Jews are also the least likely to view religion as an important part of their everyday life. Compared to 68% of Muslims, 57% of Christians, and 49% of Druze, less than a third of Jews say religion carries much weight in their daily life (Pew Research Center, 2016). Religious Jews tend to be more politically conservative and more hold more hostile attitudes towards out-group members. For instance, 71% of religious Jews agree that Arabs should be expelled or transferred from Israel compared to 36% of secular Jews; one-to-three percent of those who identify as ultra-orthodox, religious, or traditional consider their political ideology to lean to the left compared to 14% of secular Jews (Pew Research Center, 2016).

**Figure 2. Israeli Population by Religion**

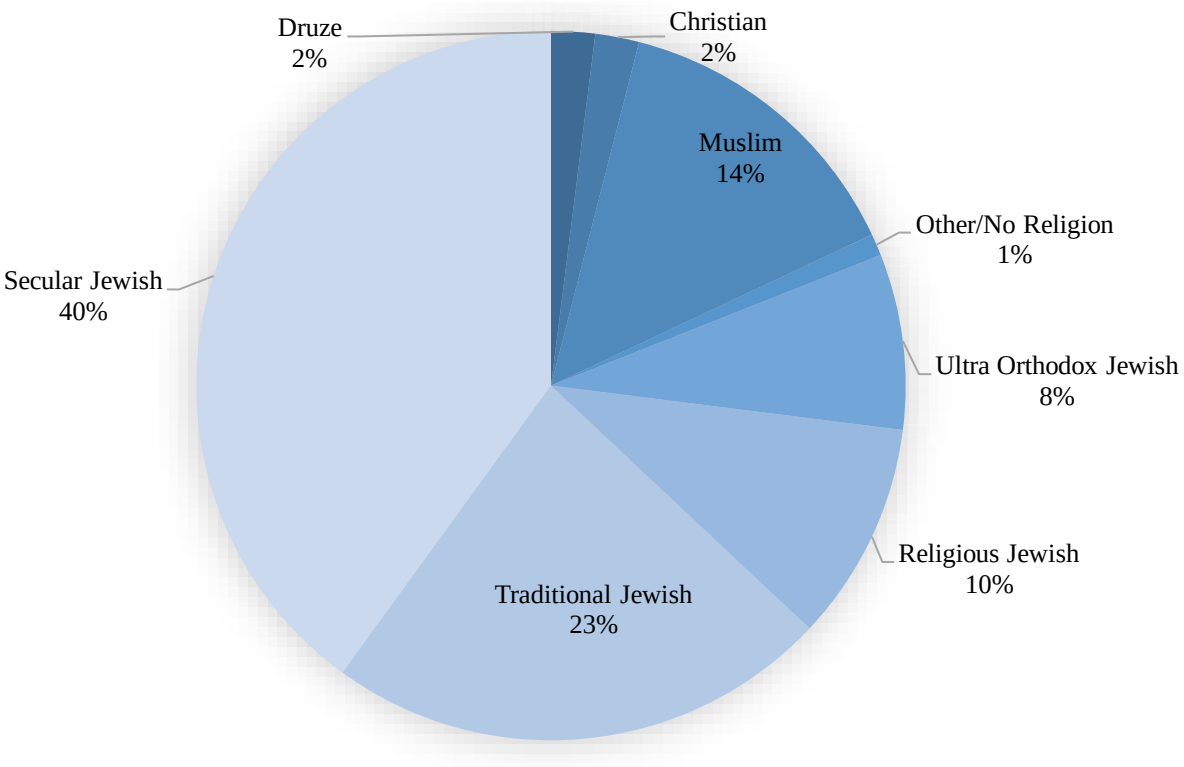
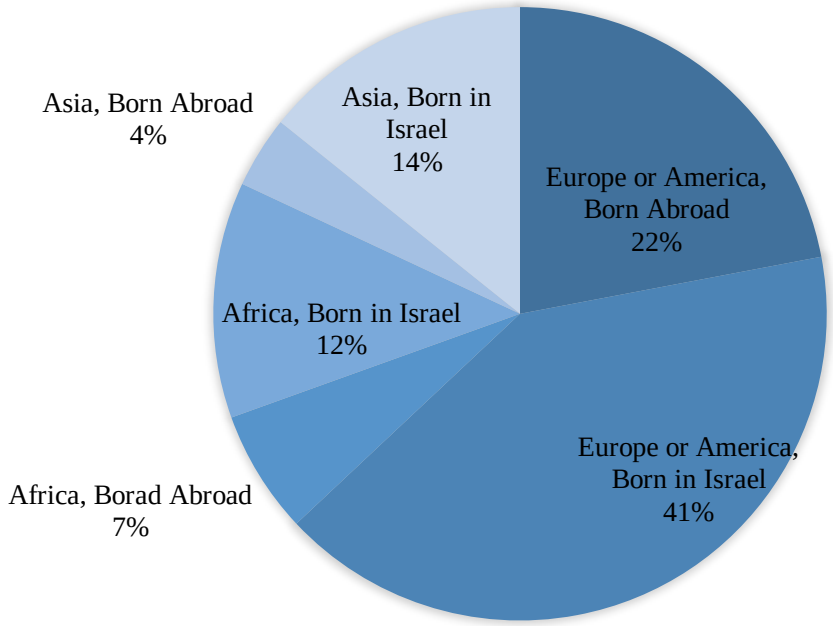


**Figure 3. Jewish-Israeli Population by Continent of Origin and Birthplace**




In sum, Israel is a complex nation home to a wide range of ethnic and religious identities. Yet the presence of diversity in the country has not meant the acceptance of it. Significant ethnic, religious, and class based divides persist, and some argue that Israel's shift away from its historically collectivist orientation towards a more individualistic, decentralized one has contributed to these divisions (Sharabi, 2010). As will be explored in more depth in Chapter 4, it is likely that the political conflict within Israel contributes to greater intergroup divides, discrimination, and segregation, even amongst groups not thought to be antagonistic (Canetti-Nisim et al., 2007; Shamir & Sagiv-Schifter, 2006). This segregation has resulted in implications for wellbeing outcomes.

In the next chapter, the empirical literature that has studied these outcomes will be reviewed, in addition to the other empirical literature relevant to perceived discrimination and wellbeing outcomes within Israel, and perceived discrimination and wellbeing outcomes for adolescents outside of Israel.

# Chapter 3: Review of the Literature

This chapter presents the empirical literature that guided the constructs and questions in this study. It begins by reviewing literature on ethnic disparities in Israel. It then presents the literature examining perceived discrimination within Israel. Following that is a review of research about how ethno-racial discrimination impacts adolescents (predominantly in the U.S.). The chapter ends with critiques of the current literature and an explanation of the need for this current study.

## Ethnic Disparities in Israel

### SES

Israelis display marked levels of segregation, differences in overall education, and unequal economic outcomes between Jewish and Arab groups, within Jewish and Arab groups, and between migrant and native communities (Lewin, Stier, & Caspi-Dror, 2006; Lewin-Epstein, Kaplan, & Levanon, 2003; Moore & Aweiss, 2003). On average native Ashkenazi Israelis earn household incomes 31% higher than the national mean while native Mizrahi Israelis' incomes are 14% higher. In contrast Arab household incomes average two-thirds of the national mean. Income for Israelis from the FSU fall right around the mean while the household income of Ethiopian families in Israel average half of the mean (Swirski et al., 2010; Swirski & Konor-Atias, 2017)—this is despite findings that say Israeli Arabs have a significantly higher concept of work centrality than Israeli Jews (Sharabi, 2010).

Arabs Israelis tend to live in poorer and more rural localities, which receive less governmental funding for education, less investment in infrastructure, and offer fewer economic opportunities than do wealthier Jewish communities. Governmental policies are known to invest more in Jewish immigrants than native-born Arab communities. With less political clout, Arab communities receive less funding for economic development than communities better positioned to command social resources. Arabs that do live in more urban areas and hold higher education levels are more often Christian or Druze than Muslim (Lewin et al., 2006).

Bedouin Arabs encounter some of the greatest economic hardship in the country. Localities predominantly inhabited by Bedouins have unemployment rates of around 14%, over three times that of the national average. Amongst Bedouin males who wish to work, the average length of unemployment is 3.9 years. Forty-four percent of Bedouin children living in recognized localities reside in homes where the father is unemployed (Ben-Rabi et al., 2009).

Adult Jews (excluding the ultra-orthodox) obtain academic degrees and employment at significantly higher rates than their Arab counterparts and are much less likely to fall below the poverty line (Swirski et al., 2010; Swirski & Konor-Atias, 2017). Adult Jews also report greater economic and social resources than do adult Arabs (Somer et al., 2009). Immigrants to Israel are significantly more likely to be low-income, less educated, and to perceive their own SES as low compared to native-born Jews (Baron-Epel & Kaplan, 2009). Even though FSU migrants tend to be educated, they encounter difficulties with adequate job security and experience higher rates of employment compared to other Ashkenazi, foreign-born Jews (Lewin et al., 2006) and fewer foreign-born Ethiopian Jews hold at least a high school degree than do non-Ethiopian Jews and Arabs (Weiss, 2016). However, the FSU community has made significant gains in occupational status and economic outcomes over time (Semyonov & Lewin-Epstein, 2011), and Ethiopian Jews who arrived in Israel before the age of 12 obtain high school degrees at rates similar to that of non-Ethiopian Jews (Weiss, 2016).

Mental Health and Wellbeing

Arabs report psychological distress at higher rates than Jews yet fewer Arabs have access to mental health services (Swirski et al., 2010). This difference holds even when controlling for income (Baron-Epel & Kaplan, 2009). Specifically, Arab Israelis exhibit higher posttraumatic stress symptoms (Gelkopf, Solomon, Berger, & Bleich, 2008; Hobfoll et al., 2006; Johnson et al., 2009; Klodnick, Guterman, Haj-Yahia, & Leshem, 2014; Somer et al., 2009), higher stress levels (Sachs et al., 2007), more depression (Gelkopf et al., 2008; Hobfoll et al., 2006; Johnson et al., 2009; Somer et al., 2009), and less satisfaction with their social support (Hobfoll et al., 2006). However, Arabs are also more likely to use a wider range of coping styles, (e.g., accepting their fate, avoidance, enhancement of personal resources, and collaboration; Somer et al., 2009) and PCIs, specifically, report higher satisfaction with their personal wellbeing than Jewish citizens (Sachs et al., 2007). There is evidence that even though Arab youth have attitudes more supportive of aggression, and that they are apprehended and convicted for crime or delinquency more, Jewish youth engage in delinquent acts at similar rates if not more frequently than their Arab peers (Sherer, 2009; Sherer & Karnieli-Miller, 2004).

In addition, Jewish immigrants to Israel report more psychological distress than do native-born Israelis. Foreign-born adults endorse more depression symptoms (Somer et al., 2009) and more posttraumatic stress symptoms when exposed to political violence (Gelkopf et al., 2008). Further, Nakash and colleagues (2012) found that first- and second-generation adolescent migrants reported higher levels of anxiety, hostility, distress, somatization, and engagement in risk-behaviors than native born adolescents; in a separate study, they found that Israeli migrants of North African or Asian descent (i.e. predominantly Mizrahi migrants) were more than twice as likely as migrants of European or American descent (i.e. predominantly Ashkenazi migrants) to report a mental disorder within the past year (Nakash, Levav, & Gal, 2013).

In terms of physical health, Jews have an average lifespan that is approximately three years longer than Arabs (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2017). This disparity has been largely attributed to differences in infant and child mortality rates between the groups and much higher amounts of relative poverty amongst Arab populations (Chernichovsky & Anson, 2005). Older Arab-Israelis and older FSU migrants report higher rates of functional limitations and limitations to their activities of daily living compared to older veteran[4] Jews, even when controlling for education, income, and trauma histories (Osman & Walsemann, 2013). Additionally, Arab and FSU women have worse overall physical health outcomes than their native-born Jewish counterparts (Baron-Epel & Kaplan, 2009).

Despite the fact their health is objectively worse, there is some indication that Arabs still perceive their overall health status as better than that of Jews. Even when controlling for demographic and socioeconomic variables, Arab men are 3.5 times more likely than Jewish men to report their overall health as very good, and Arab women are 2.5 times more likely to report their overall health as very good (Baron-Epel et al., 2005).

**Perceived Discrimination in Israeli Society**

Quantitative Findings

Despite the differences in SES across groups in Israel, research also shows that SES on its own cannot explain away the disparities in physical and mental health outcomes between

[4] Veteran Israeli Jews were defined as having been born in Israel or immigrated to the country prior to 1989.

ethnic groups in Israel, indicating that other factors such as discrimination related stress could be at play (Baron-Epel & Kaplan, 2009). While no research has captured perceptions of discrimination for all ethnic groups included here, a study of approximately 1,000 Israeli adults found that 71.5% of FSU migrants, 40.5% of Arabs, and 21%of native-born Jews reported ever experiencing at least some discrimination in Israel (Epel, Kaplan, & Moran, 2010). A separate representative sample of adults in Israel found that 14% of the overall population reported ever experiencing blatant ethnic discrimination (Bleich, Gelkopf, Melamed, & Solomon, 2006). Other research has identified that 31.4% of Arabs and 11.2% of Jews experienced some discrimination due to their ethnic identity in the past year, alone (Gelkopf et al., 2008). A separate nationally representative Pew Research Study found that 37% of Muslims reported at least one form of overt discrimination in the past year such as being questioned or detained by security forces, being threatened or attacked, being unable to travel to their home or work, or incurring property damage. Fifteen percent of Christian Arabs and 18% of Druze experienced comparable discrimination (Pew Research Center, 2016).

Amongst FSU and Ethiopian adolescents, perceived discrimination is associated with more delinquency and risk-behaviors including smoking, drinking, drug use, or violence, increased depression symptoms, decreased self-esteem, and increased general psychological distress (Mesch, Turjeman, & Fishman, 2008; Nakash, Nagar, Shoshani, Zubida, & Harper, 2012; Slonim-Nevo et al., 2009; Walsh, Fogel-Grinvald, & Shneider, 2015). It is also associated with more reports of loneliness, emotional and behavioral problems, and worse school competence, body image, and self-esteem, in the first post-migration year for unaccompanied FSU high school students, though the relationships abates over time (Tartakovsky, 2009). In their study of Druze youth, Scrimin, Moscardino, and Natour (2014) found that higher reported levels of discrimination associated with more posttraumatic stress symptoms, psychosocial distress, and emotional behavior problems, as well.

Amongst adults, perceived discrimination may correlate with more posttraumatic stress symptoms for both Jews and Arabs (Gelkopf et al., 2008), with general psychological distress amongst native-born Jews, and with poorer physical health outcomes for both native and foreign born Jewish populations, though potentialy not for Arab populations (Epel et al., 2010). Yet access to social support and social capital can buffer the relationship between discrimination experiences and negative wellbeing outcomes amongst adult populations (Hobfoll et al., 2006; Somer et al., 2009).

Aside from ethnic identity, a number of other demographic factors influence the discrimination experience in Israel. Religiosity is one of these factors. Approximately one-fifth of Jewish and one-fifth of Arab adults believe that there is “a lot” of discrimination against religious Jews in Israel (Pew Research Center, 2016). However, increased religiosity also can perpetuate more deligitimizing and discriminatory attitudes. Increased religiosity can lead to more support for authoritarian political attitudes and support for further political violence (Canetti-Nisim et al., 2007; Zaidise, Canetti-Nisim, & Pedahzur, 2007), more “hatred” of Palestinians (Moore & Aweiss, 2003), and general opposition to the peace process (Tibon & Blumberg, 1999). National identity can be a second contributing factor, wherein stronger Israeli identities can be associated with more outgroup hatred (Moore & Aweiss, 2003). Lower SES, male gender, and less education can also all correlate with higher amounts of deligitimization (Canetti-Nisim et al., 2007; Hammack, Pilecki, Caspi, & Strauss, 2011)

When examing how the the minority experience in Israel differs from other countries, evidence suggests that negative wellbeing otucomes and levels of segregation are more

prounounced in Israel. Compared to FSU immigrants in Germany, FSU immigrants in Israel have more difficulty with host language acquisition over time (Slonim-Nevo et al., 2009). Some research found FSU immigrants in Israel report higher mean levels of discrimination and psychological distress than counterparts in both Germany and Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003). Further, Titzmann et al. have found that reports of discrimination by FSU adolescents in Israel actually increase over time, whereas in Germany, reports decrease (Titzmann, Silbereisen, Mesch, & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2011). Though research is equivocal on the link between perceptions of discrimination and preferences for self-segregation amongst FSU adolescents (Mesch et al., 2008; Titzmann, Silbereisen, & Mesch, 2012; Titzmann, Silbereisen, & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2007), evidence suggests that the discrimination experience in Israel serves as a barrier to optimal acculturation, which in turn serves as a barrier to optimal mental health and socioeconomic outcomes (Nakash et al., 2012).

Qualitative Findings

Qualitative work has uncovered deeper, more nuanced difficulties for ethnic minorities in Israel. In a study of professional soccer players, Yonay and Shoor (2014) applied critical discourse analysis to six years of Israeli media to understand the realities of Jewish/Arab "coexistence" within sports. They found the Jewish majority to understand coexistence as Arab acceptance of the Jewish position. The Jewish majority repeatedly expected Arab players to blend-in, forfeit their right to express rival political views, and repress their Arab-ness, or at least keep it to a minimum. One study focus was the situation Arab players found themselves in when the Israeli national anthem, *Hatikvah*, played at the start of matches. Hatikvah was adopted as the anthem of the Zionist movement in 1933 and expresses the hope of Jews to freely return to their homeland. Since this hope has been realized at a large cost to the Palestinian people, many Arab athletes are uncomfortable when asked not only to stand for the anthem, but to sing along as well. Of 38 news articles identified by Yonay and Shoor that discussed this issue, 31 showed insensitivity to the predicament of the Arab players, or demanded they should demonstrate their loyalty to the Jewish state by singing during the matches and ceremonies.

Via 20 in-depth interviews with Jewish and Arab nursing students, Arieli, Friedman, and Hirschfield (2012) explored the challenges to cultivating culturally safe education in ethnically-mixed settings. Students struggled to acknowledge the self-segregation that occurs due to fear of exacerbating between-group divides. However, students also experienced within-group struggles. For one, Arieli and colleagues identified the difficulties experienced by Ethiopian Jews. Though technically grouped with the Jewish majority, Ethiopian Jews are subject to a racism that is not necessarily legitimized by either Arab or other-Jewish populations. They also identified two salient disagreements amongst Arab students. One pertained to accurately representing their culture in a way in which no unfavorability could be cast, and a second pertained to ethno-national identities. Whereas many Arab students felt they could not incorporate the word "Israeli" into their identity, instead declaring themselves Palestinian, at least one Arab student felt the opposite. For the Jewish students, hearing that Arabs did not feel Israeli was difficult. Some Jews equated the term 'Palestinian' with terrorist. On the other hand hearing an Arab student identify as Israeli, prompted accusations of hypocrisy and denial from the PCI students.

Mizrahi and Herzog (2012) further shed light on the difficulty of discussing identity in Israel. The authors interviewed 90 Israeli ethnic minority adults comprised equally of PCIs, Mizrahi Jews, and Ethiopian Jews to explore each group's willingness to discuss racism and

discrimination. They found PCI particpants were more likely to discuss discrimination in the first person whereas Ethoipians and Mizrahim did not discuss race or racism. Ethiopians specifically avoided discussions of race in efforts to not separate themselves from their Israeli national identity. Mizrahi Jews felt that raising issues of stigmatization was tantamount to admiting social or political inferiority.

That Mizrahi Jews are reluctant to identify ethnic discrimination was underscored in research by Shoshana (2016a), in which he discovered that many in his study opted out of identifying with their Mizrahi ethnicity at all. In interviewing 60 Mizrahi adults—all of whom had graduated from a state-run boarding school for gifted children of low-income immigrants—strong themes of cognitive distance from ethnic identities emerged. Respondents explained they were "beyond that story about Mizrahis and Ashkenazis" (p. 494), choosing instead to identify as a non-ethnic Israeli and turning to stories of individual meritocracy. Yet Shoshana found that some respondents admitted they reminded themselves regularly that they were "beyond" ethnic distinction. He concluded that the very existence of those reminders actually bolstered (or at least enabled) ethnic consciousness even if it was unwelcomed by the indiviudal. He deemed the phenomenon "ethnicity without ethnicity," to highlight that even individuals who want to exist without ethnicity in Israel still feel its structural effects in everyday life.

Shoshana also explored the experiences of PCI adults employed in predominantly Jewish workplaces (Shoshana, 2016b). He interviewed 14 male and 14 female professionals about their encounters with microaggressions, discussing their experiences with the "language of everyday racism." Respondents reported regularly hearing their co-workers employ deragatory terms, insults, or slurs for Arabs in casual conversation. Examples included the terms: "Arab work," to indicate poor quality work, "Arab taste," to indicate bad taste, and flippant references to Arabs as excessively violent, unhygenic, or oversexed. Participants reported feeling breathless, nauceous, pained, deeply sad, enraged, marginalized, and "crazy" when encountering this language. He pointed to how such hegemonic language led to existential struggles within respondents about their own belonging, underscoring the within aspect of the struggle. Instead of confronting Jewish colleagues, all respondents engaged in "self-to-self" reflection, creating a situation whereby they had to be their own self-soothers in the aftermath of each microaggressive encounter. Feeling personal responsibility for being exposed or not exposed to discrimination was also identified by Walsh and Tuval-Mashiach (2012), who found that emerging Ethiopian adults voiced beliefs that their own day-to-day behavior could prevent racism exposure.

Together these studies highlight the complexities of identity politics in Israel. They suggest that although Arab Israelis are willing to acknowledge discrimination to researchers, they are not given much leeway to respond to it in their everyday lives (Arieli et al., 2012; Shoshana, 2016b; Yonay & Shor, 2014). Meanwhile, perhaps because it has not affected their lives or because they are resistant to any discourse that may other themselves from the Jewish majority, some Jewish minority groups are reluctant to acknowledge any discrimination at all (Mizrachi & Herzog, 2012; Shoshana, 2016a). Concerns around accurate representation (Arieli et al., 2012) illustrate the intricacies of the identity experience and suggest that the messages people receive about their identities in Israel are packaged with deeply embeded, pervasive, and subtle cues for which ethnic minority members seem to take a large burden of personal responsibility.

**Perceived Discrimination and Adolescence**

While most studies on perceived discrimination in Israel have focused on adults, negative messages about identity sent to adolescents are particularly important. Scholars of ethnic identity development argue that during adolescence, racial and ethnic identities progress through stages (Romero, Edwards, Fryberg, & Orduña, 2014). Via this process minority adolescents are able to foster identification and positive affiliation towards their own racial or ethnic group and become prepared to respond to future bias or discrimination (Quintana, 2007). As a result, discrimination experiences can negatively affect ethnic minority child development (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996).

Jean Phinney (1989) specifically applied James Marcia's (1966) theoretical model of adolescent identity statuses (Figure 4) to ethnic-identity. She identified the stages of ethnic identity development as: (i) Diffused/Foreclosed ("Unknown") identity, in which the adolescent has not yet explored their identity; (ii) Moratorium, in which the adolescent has explored or is exploring their identity, but has yet to commit to one; and (iii) Achieved, in which the adolescent has obtained a firm commitment to an identity after a period of exploration.[5]

Phinney saw that a more developed, or achieved identity correlated with stronger ego, better self-evaluation capacity, higher sense of mastery, stronger family relations, and more social and peer interactions (Phinney, 1989). A bevy of additional research has since supported the notion that more developed ethnic identities come with wellbeing benefits for minority individuals. For instance, in a review of the developmental psychology literature dedicated to racial and ethnic identity, Quintana (2007) concluded that pride-in and identification-with an adolescent's own racial-ethnic group is associated with improved adjustment and development. Quintana also concluded that racial-ethnic identities are helpful in preparing people for and/or buffering against the negative effects of frequent discrimination exposure.

**Figure 4. Marcia's (1966) Theoretical Model of Identity Status**

1. Diffused Identity: Adolescent has yet to explore an identity and also has yet to commit to an identity
2. Foreclosed Identity: Adolescent has yet to explore an identity, but has committed to an identity (usually based on parental values)
3. Moratorium: Adolescent has explored or is exploring identity, but has yet to commit to one
4. Achieved Identity: Adolescent has made a firm commitment to an identity after a period of exploration

Research supports the benefits of forming an Achieved Identity. Yet when and why adolescents begin to move out of the Diffusion or Foreclosure stage and to the Moratorium search period is disputed. While exposure to discrimination can be a catalyst (Cross Jr., 1995) research in the aggregate points to a slow and subtle process varying by individual. For example,

[5] Marcia had separated out diffused and foreclosed identities—diffused indicating the adolescent had not explored or committed to an identity and foreclosed indicating that the adolescent had not explored but had committed to an identity, usually based on parental values. Phinney was not able to identify tangible differences in the presentation of these two stages in her study, and thus collapsed the two into one.

in Phinney's 1989 study, more than half of the tenth graders interviewed were still in the initial Diffused/Foreclosed stage, whereas a quarter provided enough evidence to be categorized as Achieved. Empirical work since Phinney has consistently found that racial-ethnic identity exploration levels peak in middle adolescence (around 16 years old, Seaton & Yip, 2009). Discrimination in adolescence is therefore even more likely than in adulthood to come at a time when the individual has not yet settled on a relationship with their own racial-ethnic identity and may thus be particularly impacted by its negative messages.

Due to this, discrimination experiences may act not only as psychological or physiological stressors for adolescents, but may also shape how adolescents accept and internalize the negative views society has towards their group. This negativity can potentially lead to internalized oppression or self-hatred (Tajfel, 1982). Moreover, without a developed sense of ethnic self-regard or ethnic centrality, adolescents may be less able to buffer themselves from the psychological harm that exposure to discrimination can bring (Quintana, 2007).

It is therefore not surprising that microaggressions, cumulative discrimination exposures, are consistently found to be harmful to adolescent health and wellbeing. In the US, such discrimination experiences are correlated with increased anxiety, depression, anger, stress, decreased self-esteem, suicidal ideation, and decreased general psychological wellbeing for adolescents of color (Huynh, 2012; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006; Szalacha et al., 2003). Exposure to everyday forms of discrimination is also associated with cigarette smoking and substance use (Basáñez, Unger, Soto, Crano, & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2013; Guthrie, Young, Williams, Boyd, & Kintner, 2002; Lorenzo-Blanco, Unger, Ritt-Olson, Soto, & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2013; Tobler et al., 2013), engagement in serious and violent offending, physical aggression, and delinquency (Isom, 2016; Tobler et al., 2013), riskier sexual health behaviors (Tobler et al., 2013), and lower student motivation and academic success (Benner & Graham, 2011; Faircloth & Hamm, 2005). However, in their three-year longitudinal study, Seaton, Yip, and Sellers (2009) found that reports of racial discrimination amongst African American adolescents was unrelated to a respondents' sense of private regard, or essentially how positively they felt about being an African American over time.

Reporting less stress (Guthrie et al., 2002); a higher positive regard for one's own ethnicity, a higher a sense of ethno-racial centrality (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008); and stronger family connections (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2013) can buffer the detrimental impacts of discrimination. Preparing adolescents for discrimination they may be exposed to in later life also seems to serve as a buffer against negative psychological impacts, even though this practice is also correlated with adolescents perceiving more discrimination overall (Quintana, 2007; Sellers et al., 2006).

**Limitations of Previous Research**

The Lack of Microaggression Research in Israel

In the past decade, significant gains have been made in the study of microaggressions. However, the bulk of scholarship on microaggressions has taken place in the U.S. Since Euro-American and arguably Christian/Protestant determinants (Carter Andrews, 2012) dominate the U.S. majority group, American research is not necessarily translatable to Israel. This is attributable both to the differing values and/or norms between the two countries and to the different nature of inter-group relations for adolescents. While many neighborhoods and schools in the U.S. are segregated due to deeply discriminatory histories of housing policy, SES, and the relationship between certain industries and localities (Isom, 2016), forced segregation on the

explicit basis of race is no longer allowable. In Israel, however, segregation is a norm. Nearly all primary and secondary schools in the country are separated by religious affiliation, and governmental policy is known to favor spatial segregation (Lewin et al., 2006). This has implications for the inter-group exposure many adolescents encounter. Though minority adolescents in Israel can be impacted by discrimination even without inter-religious exposure (Walsh et al., 2015), less diversity can translate into fewer reports of discrimination, at least in school settings (Benner & Graham, 2011; Seaton & Yip, 2009).

Although less reporting of discrimination may seem positive, Benner & Graham (2009) discuss the concerns associated with the ethnic incongruence that minority adolescents can experience when they move from one setting where their group is predominant to another setting where their group is not. When students encounter a substantial decline in the numerical representation of their ethnic group during a move from primary to secondary school, or secondary school to university, for example, adolescents can feel particularly disrupted. It is proposed that the experience can leave them feeling less connected to their schools, and result in them performing less well academically (Benner & Graham, 2011). Thus, homogeneous versus heterogeneous settings may have important implications for microaggressions that little research has accounted for.

Microaggression research also consistently suggests that different groups may be more susceptible to some types of microaggressions than to others, and that any one type of microaggression may impact different people in different ways (Hollingsworth et al., 2017; Nadal et al., 2014). Forrest-Bank and Jenson (2015), for instance, identified that Latino/Hispanic and Asian populations in the U.S. report more experiences with microaggressions related to Exoticization and Assumptions of Similarity, whereas Black populations report more Assumptions of Inferiority. Hollingsworth et al. (2017) found that microaggressions related to a sense of Invisibility, Low-Achieving or Undesirable Culture, and Environmental Invalidations led to suicidal ideation for African American college students, but that other types of microaggressions were not correlated. Therefore, it is not enough for social and behavioral science to acknowledge that microaggressions generally exist. It is necessary that research strives to pinpoint which types of microaggressions are occurring and which types are impactful across various populations. By doing so, schools, educators, and mental health workers can ensure that they are able to validate and normalize microaggression experiences when they occur.

Sue, Capodilupo, and Holder (2008) refer to these validations as "sanity checks." They argue that the psychological distress associated with microaggressions comes about when those on the receiving end are not provided opportunity to properly respond or process. The lack of opportunity to respond or process can morph into internalized racism, self-doubt, or similar phenomena that impact social or identity development. As such, when sanity checks are provided, wellness is promoted, credibility is built, and trust is bolstered. For students especially, this can be helpful for mental health and classroom engagement (Nadal et al., 2014). However, without sufficient knowledge of the microaggression experience in Israel, these supportive responses are rendered impossible.

**Need for the Current Study**

Despite significant gains over the past decade, the literature has been unable to establish the full impact of microaggressions largely because it has been unable to consider the full spectrum of relevant experiences. This is especially true in Israel, where nearly no research has

sought to examine the presence and impact of microaggressions. Further, U.S. scholars remain undecided on how to capture the major underlying dimensions that comprise microaggression experiences. For instance, Torres-Harding and colleagues approximated the six dimensions of racial microaggressions in the U.S. to include: *Invisibility, Criminality, Low-Achieving or Undesirable Culture, Sexualization, Foreigner/Not Belonging,* and *Environmental Invalidations* using their Racial Microaggressions Scale (RMAS, Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Separately, Nadal developed the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS) and identified major microaggression dimensions to include: *Assumptions of Inferiority, Second Class Citizens, Assumptions of Criminality, Exoticization/Assumptions of Similarity, Environmental Microaggressions,* and *Workplace and School Microaggressions* (Nadal, 2011).

While these two dimension sets are similar, they do not fully map onto one another. Nadal found reason to tease out institutional and environmental exposures more than Torres-Harding et al., whose findings focused more prominently on feelings of invisibility. Compared side by side these results underscore that in different settings and with different populations, different microaggression dimensions emerge. They underscore the current need to examine the major microaggression dimensions present in Israel as this study will seek to do, since it is not yet possible to generalize these dimensions across cultures or age groups.

The quantitative approach used here is also important for the expansion of microaggression research. When it comes to the study of microaggressions, qualitative methods dominate. Although qualitative research is necessary for capturing the nuances of the microaggression experience, qualitative research is more time consuming to conduct and typically includes smaller sample sizes with limited generalizability. Applying quantitative, structured scales to the study of microaggressions allows social science to study larger populations in more settings, to establish whether common themes exist across groups, and to explore if perceived discrimination has significant wellbeing impacts (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Further, by striving to expand the taxonomy developed by Sue and colleagues (2007) to other populations, knowledge of microaggressions can continued to be honed. This is critical for ensuring that the phenomenon is being measured as precisely as possible, and also important for facilitating the production of future research.

Further, little microaggression research has attempted to account for variations in geographic location. Some Israeli research has found that adolescents from areas characterized by less political violence have more favorable attitudes towards peace and reconciliation with Palestinians, potentially indicating there could be some geographic trends around out-group attitudes in the country (Solomon & Lavi, 2005) and kibbutz and moshav communities are historically more supportive of compromises for peace (Hammack et al., 2011). In the U.S., the notion of "area racism" or different racism levels by region, is also used to examine correlations between higher levels of racism and larger health disparities for African Americans (Chae et al., 2015). Glaser & Gilens (1997) found that differing racial attitudes in the U.S. correlated to differing racial policies, again giving reason to hypothesize that out-group attitudes can differ by geographic locale. This study will attempt to account for this essential consideration by utilizing a cluster analysis with hierarchical linear modeling to account for the variation in reported hometowns of each study participant.

Therefore, aside from expanding microaggression research to account for the Israeli adolescent experience, my dissertation adds to the literature by utilizing quantitative methods and accounting for the impact of geographic location. It also controls for several key demographic variables—including indicators of SES, national identity, age, gender, and

religiosity—already known to impact perceptions of discrimination and psychological distress in this study's target population. In the next chapter, the theoretical basis and framework that guided this study's design will be established, before the methods and findings are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

## Chapter 4: Theoretical Basis and Framework

In Chapter 1, I establish the problem that this study seeks to address: the presence and impact of perceived microaggressions amongst adolescents living in Israel. I point out that given Israel's heterogeneous society and longstanding, conflicted socio-historical context (as discussed in Chapter 2), that identity politics in the country may be particularly complex and demanding of more holistic exploration. In Chapter 3, I outline what is known of ethnic disparities in Israel, how Israelis report and are impacted by discrimination, and how discrimination is known to impact adolescents, incorporating U.S.-based research. I also help explain why adolescence is a particularly important period for discrimination to be explored.

Because this research does not take from one congruous theory and is instead generated from several interdisciplinary theoretical orientations, I use this chapter to provide overview to these orientations. I begin by discussing the key theories that drive the assumptions inherent in this study—namely, that ethnic groups exist and that ethnic identities are salient for power and conflict dynamics. I then discuss the specific theoretical frameworks that shaped this study and unpack why these analytical frameworks were useful for guiding this research.

### Ethnic Identities in Intergroup Conflict

#### Understanding Power and Conflict

As asserted by Anibal Quijano and summarized by Maria Lugones (2008), all power is structured in relations of domination, exploitation, and conflict. Though Marx's take on the proletariat struggle and the oppression of capitalism made major inroads in the discussion of dominance and inequality, his focus was limited to nineteenth century relations of production and class struggle (Chitty, 2011). In its own dialectic fashion, post-Marxist thought recognized the struggle between the dominant and non-dominant group, but expanded the idea to account for other kinds of group struggles (e.g., race-based, gender-based, or sexual orientation-based), raising philosophical awareness of these in the latter half of the twentieth century. Prominent among these thinkers was Michael Foucault, who shifted the conversation to power relations. Foucault saw the struggle associated with identity as a struggle to find truth (McHoul & Grace, 1993). As the appointed "philosopher of discontinuity," Foucault rejected the positivist notion that truth is the production of scientific methods or of the accumulation of increasing knowledge honed over time. Instead he asserted that what people thought of as their truths were disjointed narratives brought about by power relations and established via the marginalization of subjugated knowledge.[6]

Among his extensive writings, Foucault's concept of *biopower* is particularly relevant to the study of inter-group conflict. To him, biopower is the modernized nation state's prerogative to "make live and let die"—a deviation from the medieval period in which this decision was attributed to a monarch. Biopower is the mechanism with which nation-states are able to manage, control, or subjugate people as large groups. It is literally the way in which governments maintain power over people's bodies. Though Foucault acknowledged that investing in life and attempting to manage general life functions is a normal and expected goal of all governments, he also saw the potential of biopower to lead to horrors like genocide. He believed that the modern

[6] Foucault identified subjugated knowledge as referencing two things: One, the "blocks of historical knowledge which were present but disguised…and which criticism…has been able to reveal"; and two, "knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges located low down on the hierarchy" (Foucault, 1980, pp. 81-82).

state's "investment" in protecting the life of its population could be manipulated and utilized to divide people into groups and to adapt racist mentalities (Foucault, 1980). Illuminating Hannah Arendt's perspective that the politics of race are deeply linked to the politics of death (Arendt, 1976), Foucault believed that genocide could be justified if it was presented as a means of eradicating a group believed to threaten the existence and maintenance of a larger populace.

Achille Mbembe (2003) explores the numerous questions biopower raises including: What conditions allow one to exercise the right to kill or let live? Who is given this right? Does biopower as a construct do enough to sufficiently explain war? He finds his answers in colonialism. In colonies, he argues, the sovereign right to kill is not subjected to outside rule and geographical boundaries physically delineate who does and does not matter, a notion largely derived from Frantz Fanon's "spatialization of colonial occupation" (Mbembe, 2003, p. 26). Mbembe draws on the concept of sovereignty to help explain his complementary, or perhaps alternative, construct of *necropower*. Instead of Foucault's idea that regimes manage people's life as a means of exercising their sovereignty (biopower), Mbembe uses necropower to conceptualize how regimes manage people's exposure to death. Power is generated and reified in enclosed spaces or colonies where terror and death (even social death) exist in abundance—for Mbembe, Palestine is the most accomplished present-day form of necropower.

In their accumulation, the aforementioned theories shed light on the ways larger, structural forces play into the creation of hostile inter-group dynamics, especially in a society demarcated by a longstanding power struggle. While my dissertation does not directly measure the influence of power and conflict, given the socio-political conflict in which it takes place, notions of power and conflict are critical to consider.

Ethnicity's Role in Intergroup Conflict

**Socio-political theories.** That people divide themselves into in- and out-groups in any given society is nearly uncontested; group membership is an intrinsic part of human life (Stewart, 2002). However, the extent to which ethnic identities in and of themselves lead to conflict is debated. On one side are primordialist scholars, who treat ethnicity as a deeply influential factor in inter-group dynamics and in the development of conflict. Donald L. Horowitz (1993) argued that in divided societies ethnicity acts as an easy means to demarcate who does and does not have access to goods and services and thus who does and does not have access to power. Horowitz points out that when the group treated less-well opposes, it becomes easy to differentiate their ethnicity by their opposition, and to paint them as an enemy. This can lead to ongoing periods of conflict or strong authoritarian rule.

On the other side are instrumentalists, who believe ethnicity is not salient until political, social, and economic factors are accounted for. As put by James Kurth (2001), "Discerning the pervasive presence of [ethnicity] in a wide range of…conflicts does not establish [it] as the best explanation for those conflicts" (p. 282). Further, Ted Gurr (1993) worked with his Minorities at Risk dataset to generate an understanding of what propels inter-group relations into conflict. Through a study of 227 communal groups[7] in ninety countries, Gurr and colleagues sought to assess what motivates groups to defend or promote their collective interests. They determined that communal grievances due to relative economic and political deprivation and histories of

[7] Gurr defined communal groups as psychological communities—cultural and religious identity groups whose members share a distinctive and enduring collective identity based on cultural traits and life paths which are of importance amongst them and to outsiders with whom they interact. These groups are without recognized states or institutionalized political status.

political mobilization contributed substantially to whether or not a communal group took political action. Though Gurr recognized the various elements of ethnic identity, such as religion, his empirical evidence pointed to group grievances and mobility and not the make-up of an ethnicity per se as the causes of intergroup strife.

Constructivist scholars fall between primordialists and instrumentalists. They argue that ethnic identity per se does not independently cause conflict, but when it is juxtaposed with social or environmental issues, it can become leverage for mobilizing groups into action (Hasenclever & Rittberger, 2000). Subscribers to this school of thought often treat ethnic identity, and specifically ethno-religious identity, as a moderating factor that can increase the extent or intensity of ethnic violence (Reynal-Querol, 2002). Hasenclever & Rittberger (2000), who focused on group capacity to mobilize, are particularly relevant to this framework. They felt that group mobilization was dependent: (i) on the nature of the conflict, (ii) the self-sacrificing attitudes of the group members, (iii) the relationship between conflicting parties, and (iv) the justification for the violence. They saw the escalation or de-escalation into violence as influenced by the different nature of these criteria. For example, when conflicts relate to values versus material goods, the struggle can become existential. Under these conditions people are more intensely mobilized, violence is seen as more morally justifiable, and compromise is less likely. With conflicts of values, a zero-sum mentality tends to accompany the struggle. Hasenclever & Rittberger also saw the presence of even minimal intergroup trust to be hugely important for staving off violence. They point out that trust is exceedingly more difficult to establish when one side believes the other to be fully immoral or unreasonable.

**Socio-psychological theories.** While socio-political thought offers important insight into how ethnic identity may influence intergroup dynamics, a human element is absent from its analysis. Little mind is paid to how mental health, emotional wellbeing, or basic human emotions play into inter-ethnic relations. This is especially concerning given the extent to which inter-ethnic conflicts have lent themselves to an array of exceedingly traumatizing and emotional experiences over the course of history—not least of which include destruction, displacement, dispossession, and collective loss (Panter-Brick, 2010). Socio-psychological theories are therefore necessary to our understanding of inter-ethnic group hostilities.

Important amongst this scholarship is Finley's *Social Identity Approach* (Finley, 2010). Finley argues that considering the psychological processes that make groups and group behavior meaningful is imperative for understanding inter-group dynamics (Finley, 2010). He focuses on how identity-based motivations interact with social structures to predict conflict. He looks to theories of categorization like *Social Identity Theory* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) or the idea that people make sense of their social environment by categorizing themselves and others into contrasting groups. Finley argues that a person's sense of self is defined along a continuum between unique individual and non-unique group member. An individual's social context is what dictates where on the continuum the person falls. Typically, people feel like individuals in intra-group contexts and they feel like group members in out-group contexts.

Via this self-stereotyping, people understand qualities about themselves. It helps create a positive sense of self, but also generates a resistance to things that could threaten their positive identity. Finley reasons that a group's ability to achieve a positive and distinct identity is highly dependent on that group's relative status in a system of social relations. If the group's status in comparison to other groups is unsatisfactory or negative, identity management strategies need to be employed. These strategies include: a personal solution, in which a member leaves the group and moves up on his own; a creative group interpretation, in which the group engages in

behavior such as reclaiming a derogatory word or negatively connotated practice; or implementation of a group movement for change. When the movement for change strategy is chosen, which most readily occurs when a sense of threat is involved (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), a condition for conflict is created (Finley, 2010).

Thus, the Social Identity Approach asserts that the subjective shift from an "I" to an "us" is what makes collective action possible. Once individuals feel rooted within a group, actions become more based on collective understandings, beliefs, and norms that define the "we". The shared sense of identity becomes an important basis for social power. By contrast, when disagreements or internal diversity arises about what a particular group identity means, it becomes more difficult to organize or mobilize individuals around a cause. With this in mind, allowing plural forms of identity to flourish (as Eva Illouz criticized Israel as not being able to do in Chapter 2), theoretically becomes an important tool for peace. If everyone were supported and encouraged to pursue their own individual versions of their most achieved identity, mass cleavages of the "us" versus the "thems" would potentially be much harder to cultivate.

Reicher & Hopkins (2001) establish three aspects that contribute to the strength of a particular social identity. First is the making of a significant distinction between one's own group and others. This us versus them mentality diminishes within-group differences and pushes the characteristics of the "other" to become the referential point for a group's own self-definition. A second distinction is made that determines how much of an impact an outside group imposes. For instance, labeling another group an oppressor who perpetrates against your group of innocents (with rights to defend yourselves) can shape the course of action. Third, social identities become most salient when cultural representations, symbols, or narratives, are invoked that appear to represent the group identity. Thus leaders or organizations become influential when their ideas, experiences, or circumstances are believed to embody those of the group. In other words, mobilization is strongest when leaders or organizations invoke a self-image of being (Yildiz & Verkuyten, 2011).

*Social Dominance Theory* (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006) adds to these Social Identity perspectives. Social Dominance Theory explains the piece of the Social Identity Approach that emphasizes relative statuses and inter-group comparisons. It posits that in societies that produce stable, economic surpluses, group-based social hierarchy is created by discrimination across individual, social, institutional, and ideological levels, which are combined to favor certain groups over others. Social Dominance Theorists thus argue that legitimizing myths (societal or consensually shared social ideologies) are the mechanisms through which discrimination and discriminatory practices become acceptable. The theory maintains that the more an in-group is advantaged, the more likely it is to want to maintain the existing hierarchy and the more an out-group desires to oppose it.

Furthermore, when inter-group hostility begets such intense hostility that a threat of death is involved, a particular sort of anxiety arises. Greenberg, Pyszczynski, and Solomon (1986) coined *Terror Management Theory* to explain how, when people are made acutely aware of their own mortality via exposure to terror or violence, a push ensues to affirm their own cultural worldviews. The authors saw people's cultural worldviews as something that both buffered the anxiety that came from recognizing death's inevitability and that also generated intolerance. Under the threat of terror outsiders who advocate different worldviews can be seen as menacing. Research expanding on Terror Management Theory has found intolerance for others' cultural worldviews to be particularly strong if the "others" are believed to be associated with the perpetrators of terrorism or violence (Canetti-Nisim et al., 2009). Given the heightened sense of

vulnerability, it follows that faced with political violence, people become more fearful of beliefs and viewpoints that differ from their own.

**Frameworks Utilized in this Study**

Bar-Tal's Psychological Conceptual Framework of Intractable Conflicts

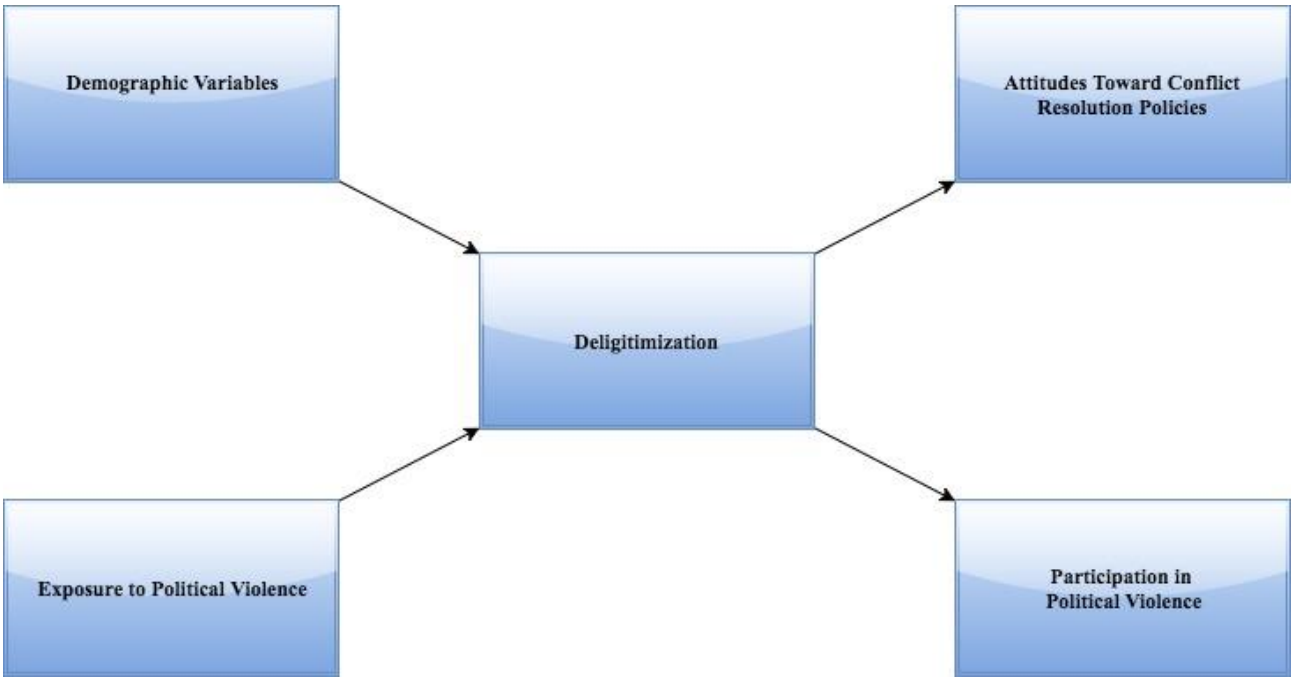
Central to this study is the idea that the conflict between Israel and Palestine is intractable. Daniel Bar-Tal (2000) explains that intractable conflicts are political conflicts distinct due to their durability, viciousness, and the special threat they pose to the international community. They are typically protracted, irreconcilable, violent, of a zero-sum nature, and involve parties who have investment in the conflict's continuation. Societies enmeshed in intractable conflicts involve its members by constructing a "conflictive ethos" which is used to dominate orientation to that society. To be a member of a society engaged in an intractable conflict is to be a society member if not engaged with that conflict, to be at least acutely aware of it.

Bar-Tal puts forth a conceptual framework of intractable conflicts and includes within it the notion that certain psychological infrastructure is necessary for people to withstand the conflict over time. He defines societal beliefs as shared societal cognitions around areas of special concern that construct society's view of the conflict and motivate individuals to act. He lays out the following eight beliefs he deems fundamental to this psychological infrastructure: the justness of one's own goals; security; positive self-image; beliefs about one's own victimization; delegitimizing the opponent; patriotism; unity; and peace. Bar-Tal explains: "these eight societal beliefs help shape the reality of societies torn by intractable conflict. Constituting the conflictive ethos, they underlie society members' perceptions, attitudes, motivations, and behaviors" (Bar-Tal, 2000, p. 354). He argues that these beliefs, which are amplified and transmitted through leaders, mass media, and educational, cultural, social, and political mechanisms, are barriers not just to conflict resolution, but the broader goal of reconciliation. Maintaining the presence of these beliefs is a requisite for intractable conflicts to endure.

Strong adherence to "one's own victimization" (defined as viewing yourself as a victim, and/or focusing on unjust harm, malevolent deeds, and atrocities perpetrated by the adversary) and to "delegitimizing the opponent" (denial of the adversary's humanity through dehumanization, negative trait characterization, out-casting, and negative group comparisons) are underlying beliefs that lend themselves to exclusionary or antagonistic out-group behaviors, including perpetrating microaggressions. The adherence to "unity," or the emphasis on ignoring internal group disagreements in the name of uniting against an external threat, is another core belief that could potentially increase perpetration of microaggressions. If a group is motivated to project an image of sameness, then any phenotypical or ideological deviation from that sameness could be seen as menacing, and hence something to be disparaged. In such a case, any pluralistic forms of an identity could become vulnerable to discrimination or delegitimization.

Indeed, some research has attempted to examine how these core beliefs mediate support for political violence. Hammack and colleagues (2011) drew on Bar-Tal's conceptual framework to examine how delegitimization contributed to further support for political violence and non-compromising attitudes towards conflict resolution amongst Jewish Israeli adolescents. They utilized the model illustrated in Figure 5.

**Figure 5. Hammack et al.'s (2011) Conceptual Model of the Mediation Effect of Delegitimization in the Relation Between Antecedents and Outcome Variables**




Hammack et al. (2011) found that higher levels of delegitimization towards others were associated with higher levels of participation in political violence and uncompromising attitudes toward conflict resolution. While Daphne Canetti-Nisim and colleagues did not draw explicitly on Bar-Tal's conceptual framework, their work also examined different forms of hostile out-group attitudes and their relationship to political violence. They found that when mediated by relative sense of deprivation and psychological distress, exposure to political violence could lead to more support for further political violence, more support for authoritarian attitudes, and more support for ethnic exclusionary attitudes (Canetti-Nisim et al., 2007; Canetti-Nisim et al., 2009; Hobfoll et al., 2006; Johnson et al., 2009). Together this literature suggests that not only do various forms of intergroup hostilities exist in intergroup conflict, but maintaining them and even holding on to one's own sense of victimization can contribute to the perpetuation of the conflict.

While Hammack et al. tested the notion of delegitimization with strong, disparaging statements such as, "Palestinians are backwards and savage people," and "Arabs are an inferior group to Israelis, Europeans, and Americans,"—far more extreme sentiments than those used in microaggression research—their findings raise important questions relevant to this study. The first center on what form the subtler and more minute delegitimizing sentiments characteristic of microaggressions take in Israel. Second, they beg consideration of whether or not the experiences of Israelis of non-European or American origin, or Arabs of non-Palestinian origin are being accounted for within the context of Israel and Palestine's intractable conflict. These questions become ever more important when accounting for the possibility that intervening on these delegitimizing beliefs, in all the forms they take on, could mean intervening on the perpetuation of political violence and non-compromising attitudes towards peace.

Minority Stress Theory

Additionally, this study is predicated on the idea that the microaggression experience is harmful to health and wellbeing. Minority stress theory offers further insight into how negative messages can impact a member of a minority group in any given society. Meyer (1995) describes minority stress as, "being related to the juxtaposition of minority and dominant values and the resultant conflict with the social environment experienced by minority group members" (p. 39). The theory thus proposes that the experience of living as a minority person in a discriminating and stigmatizing society can be burdensome, and can contribute to an accumulation of stress. This stress comes from both negative life events (e.g. from stigmatization and discrimination) and also from the totality of the experience of living as a minority member in a society dominated by out-group members. Stressors in this situation can include more "distal" or objective forms (such as harassment, violence, victimization, or discrimination due to one's minority status), or more "proximal" or subjective forms (such as anticipated stigma or internalized oppression,[8] Reisner, Greytak, Parsons, & Ybarra, 2015). Therefore, minority stress theory supports the idea that the subtler, pervasive, and more chronic forms of discrimination that microaggression research addresses must be accounted for when studying minority stress.

Researchers have often tried to measure the impact of minority stress by studying mental health outcomes. They have examined rates of psychological distress between dominant and non-dominant groups with the expectation that non-dominant groups will report or exhibit distress at higher levels. However, this has not always been the case (Meyer, 1995), and these findings have led some to refute the conceptualization of minority stress. Instead, critics of minority stress theory posit that other conditions outside of ethnic identities—primarily economic conditions—are most contributory to health disparities. This thinking falls in line with instrumentalist scholars who similarly argue that the salience of ethnic identity dissipates in the face of economics. However, as argued by Meyer, this would mean that at higher SES, onerous mental health effects related to minority status would be eradicated. This study disputes such a conclusion.

Others have pointed out important, strengths-based viewpoints that the minority stress model overlooks. For instance, research shows there are some positive effects associated with enduring stress. Learning or personal growth can occur and/or senses of strength in response to overcoming the stressor can develop. These experiences can be thought of as stress-related growth (Cox, Dewaele, Van Houtte, & Vincke, 2010). It is also feasible that some experiences related to minority stress could serve a protective or buffering function from psychological distress. Research on stress-related growth has begun to consider that chronic stress associated with belonging to an identified social minority group may actually lead to cognitive or affective growth, religious growth, and/or social growth for ethnic minority adolescents. Stress-related growth could serve as a coping strategy. Therefore, it is not safe to assume that minority stress in and of itself will result in poorer-wellbeing outcomes for minority members. The experience of minority stress for distinct groups in distinct societies should be explored with that in mind (Vaughn, Roesch, & Aldridge, 2009).

[8] Internalized forms of oppression are the direction of negative societal attitudes towards the self. This internalization forces a person to perceive themselves from the imagined negative viewpoint of others. It often results in injurious psychological effects (Meyer, 1995).

Phinney's Developmental Approach to Ethnic Identity Formation

That minority stress has a unique and significant impact on adolescents is a third relevant layer to this study. In Chapter 2, Marcia's work on personal identity exploration (1966) laid out the steps adolescents take during their efforts to move from a diffused identity—meaning they have yet to explore their identity and have also yet to commit to their identity—to an achieved identity—meaning they have both explored and committed to their identity. Phinney (1989) agreed with Marcia, and Erikson (1968) that identity formation was the primary developmental task for adolescents. Focusing on the development of ethnic identity, Phinney found that the steps adolescents take mirrored Marcia's model. She asserted that particular distress and problem behaviors can arise when ethnic identity achievement is confused (Phinney & Ong, 2007). In part, this is because individuals derive positive self-attitudes from belonging to groups that are meaningful to them and unlike some aspects of identity that are chosen (e.g., occupations), an ethnic identity is typically assigned (Phinney, 1989). Holding one's ethnic group in low regard or otherwise not deriving meaning from it thus becomes entwined with a low-regard for one's self. Given Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory (1979), which asserts that intergroup discrimination occurs due to a desire to "other" and achieve a positive distinctiveness via said othering, then having low self-regard due to a confused identity could result in both internalized distress and the perpetration of discrimination against out-group members.

**Application to Dissertation Topic**

Taken together, Bar-Tal's psychological conceptual framework of intractable conflict, minority stress theory and Phinney's developmental approach to ethnic identity formation underscore the crux of this study. First, these theories highlight why all forms of delegitimizing behavior must be considered within the Israeli context. Second, they explain why the subtle, chronic, and pervasive aspects of the minority experience likely correlate to distress and need to be studied. Third, they underscore why understanding this experience during adolescence is particularly important. This study thus applies all three frameworks.

Instead of seeking to measure how delegitimization correlates with attitudes towards political violence and conflict resolution, this research explores how different, less overt, forms of delegitimization may be experienced by Israeli adolescents. This study does not measure exposure to political violence directly, but instead offers the consciousness of the conflict as a given per Bar-Tal's theory that a conflictive ethos is present and pervasive with any society enduring an intractable conflict (Bar Tal, 2000). It then accounts for ethnic identity to assess how reports of microaggressions vary by group to assess how reports vary by locality while controlling for gender, age, SES, national identity, religiosity, parental education status, levels of psychological distress, and municipality size.

# Chapter 5: Methodology

## Overview of Research Design

This study utilized a cross-sectional, quantitative design to identify the microaggression dimensions that emerge amongst an Israeli adolescent population, the dimensions that associate with perceived discrimination, the dimensions that are associated with the presence of psychological distress, and the relationship between ethnic identity and overall reports of microaggressions. Structured self-reported responses were collected from over one thousand adolescents living in all regions of Israel. Any student enrolled in a participating high school was eligible to participate. The sample size was confirmed using a power analysis presented later in this chapter.

## Study Site and Data Collection

In the Spring of 2014 a study exploring risk and resiliency factors for Israeli adolescents was developed in partnership with the Schools of Social Work at Tel Aviv University and Adelphi University and the School of Social Welfare at the University of California, Berkeley. A Hebrew and Arabic bilingual, self-administered, composite questionnaire was distributed to a convenience sample of high school students across the country (Appendix A). Permission was obtained from Israel's Ministry of Education and from Tel Aviv University's ethics committee. The University of California's Committee for Protection of Human Subjects also reviewed the protocol to ensure that all ethical standards were met and it was determined a second protocol was not required. Data were collected throughout the Spring and Fall semesters of 2015 and written informed consent was obtained from all participants. All parents had the option to object to their child's engagement. Any student in a participating class who was willing and able to complete the questionnaire was eligible. Data on schools or students that declined participation was not collected.

## Sample and Power Analysis

During a year of collection, 1,044 anonymous responses were received from Israeli high school students. Via a separate power analysis for the exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and regression analyses, this sample size was deemed to be more than sufficient. Specifically, a sample size of at least 220 EFA was determined to be a conservative estimate, as 5-10 cases are recommended per measure item (Comrey & Lee, 1992). For the regression analyses, power was calculated for a two-sided hypothesis test utilizing a significance level of $\alpha = .05$. The calculations were based on a proposed model with an estimated 18 variables utilizing G*Power (seven ethnic dummy independent variables, four microaggression dimension variables, and seven control variables—age, gender, SES, religiosity, father education level, mother education level and national identity). Calculations determined that a sample size of 351 would yield 80% power and a small effect size of $f^2=.06$ (Cohen, 1992). As microaggressions are often subtle and cumulative in their impact, a smaller effect was applied to this current study. This falls in line with prior meta-analytic literature that has found the effects of perceived discrimination to be small (Pascoe & Richman, 2009). For the multilevel model, the sample size was also deemed acceptable given that multisite studies have more power and thus require smaller sample sizes than standard regressions. The recommended 10-20 minimum number of clusters for random effects models was utilized as a proxy to determine the acceptability of required number of clusters in analysis (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2012).

**Variables and Measures**

Dependent Variables

**Microaggressions (MAS).** Experiences of microaggressions were assessed via an adapted version of the 32 item Racial Microaggressions Scale (RMAS, Appendix B) first developed in the U.S. by Torres-Harding et al. (2012). The original Torres-Harding et al. scale, developed with a diverse sample of both college-based and community-based adults in an urban setting, was meant to assess specific themes of racial microaggressions that had been presented and discussed in the literature—largely by Derald Wing Sue and colleagues (e.g. Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2009; Sue et al., 2008; Sue et al., 2007). These themes included:

- *Alien in Own Land*: Being treated as if you do not belong, or with assumptions that you are foreign-born because you are a person of color and therefore not a "true" national
- *Ascription of Intelligence*: Being treated as intellectually inferior or with assumptions of lower intelligence
- *Colorblindness* and *Denial of Individual Racism:* Having racial or cultural issues minimized or invalidated, including statements that indicate a person does not "see" race
- A*ssumption of Criminal Status or Criminality:* Being treated as someone dangerous, aggressive, or likely to engage in criminal behavior
- *Invalidation of Interethnic Differences*: Being treated as if you are interchangeable with others of your same race, or if you are void of thoughts or ideas unique from the rest of your racial group
- *Exoticized*: Being overly sexualized because of your racial background
- *Myth of Meritocracy*: The belief that life chances are due to solely to effort and that race poses no obstacles; feeling like your success is perceived by others to be atypical or exceptional due to your racial background
- *Pathologizing Cultural Values or Communication Styles:* Being treated like your cultural background and/or communication styles are dysfunctional or less valuable than those of the dominant culture
- *Second-Class Citizenship*: Being treated as someone of lower status within your own community
- *Environmental Invalidations*: Experiencing a relative absence of people from your background in visible or powerful positions, or being mad to feel like you are the only person of color in a given setting leading to message of being less valued or welcome
- *Invisibility*: Being dismissed, devalued, ignored, or delegitimized by others because of your race

Through a pilot exploration, exploratory factor analysis, and confirmatory factor analysis of their initial 52-item scale, Torres-Harding and colleagues settled on a six-factor solution comprised of 32-items. Their six factors included:

- *Invisibility*: E.g., "I am ignored in school environments because of my race," $\alpha = .89$
  *Criminality*: E.g., "Others assume I will behave aggressively because of my race," $\alpha = .85$
- *Low-Achieving/Undesirable Culture*: E.g., "Others suggest that my racial heritage is dysfunctional or undesirable," $\alpha = .87$
- *Foreigner/Not Belonging*: E.g., "Because of my race, people suggest that I am not a 'true' American," $\alpha = .78$
- *Environmental Invalidations:* E.g., "When I interact with authority figures, they are usually of a different racial background," $\alpha = .81$

- *Sexualization*: E.g., "Other people view me in an overly sexual because of my race," α = .83

For each item, respondents indicated how frequently they had experienced each type of microaggression within the past year via a 4-point Likert-type scale (1=*Never happens to me*, 2=*Rarely Happens*, 3=*Sometimes Happens* 4=*Happens Often*)**.**

To adapt the RMAS for the purposes of this study the scale was translated into Hebrew and Arabic using back-translation methods and adapted to the Israel context via an iterative process overseen by researchers at Tel Aviv University. After omitting seven items deemed by Israeli scholars to be culturally inappropriate, and eliminating the three items related to the *Sexualization* (which was deemed to not be age-appropriate) 22 items remained. Possible scores thus ranged from 22 to 88. Also, the measure was re-worded to reflect that Israeli society is more differentiated by ethnic than racial identification. For the purposes of this study it will only be referred to as the MAS (dropping the emphasis on the racial).

**Psychological Distress.** The K-6 was developed as a sensitive measure for nonspecific distress, capable of discriminating cases of serious mental illness (SMI) from non-cases (Kessler et al., 2002). It focuses specifically on symptoms of major depression and generalized anxiety and is scored via a "1-5" system, resulting in scores than can range from six (no distress) to 30 (high distress). It has been previously translated into Hebrew and Arabic and found to accurately identify respondents thirteen and older with and without SMI (Kessler et al., 2003). The K-6 has reported alpha reliabilities between 0.84 (Segal, Khoury, Saleh, & Gahnam, 2017) and 0.88 (Cornelius, 2013) and, and has been employed in the National Comorbidity Study Replication, in addition to the World Health Organization's World Mental Health Initiative. With adolescent populations the cutoff point for discerning the presence of SMI has been thought to be seventeen (Chan & Fung, 2014), though Kessler et al. (2010) have proposed that a continuous scoring scheme more accurately predicts independent clinical evaluations of SMI. A continuous scoring scheme is utilized here**.**

Independent Variables

**Ethnic Identity.** The main individual-level independent variable was ethnic identity. To understand a student's ethnic identity respondents were asked, "How do you define your ethnic origin?" Responses included: Ashkenazi, Mizrahi, Arab, Palestinian, Druze, Russian, Ethiopian, Bedouin, and Other. For the purposes of this study, each category was recoded into dummy variables with Ashkenazi serving as the reference category. Since only one student indicated they were of Druze origin, they were placed into the Other category. Additionally, because this study exclusively drew from students living within Israel, those who identified as Palestinian will be referred to here as PCI.

**Geographic Locality.** The cluster variable was determined by assigning students into one of 18 Israeli sub-districts based upon the reported locations of their hometowns. These sub-district categories were determined by reviewing official geo-political boundaries in the country (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2017) and were meant to help determine if localities explained any variation in adolescent reports of microaggressions. The number of respondents per district ranged in size from 1 (both Tzfat and Golan) to 182 (Be'er Sheva). The median number was 24. Data on hometowns were only available for 919 survey respondents.

Covariates

The following items were treated as covariates at the individual-level:

1. *Age*. "How old were you at your last birthday?" This was treated as a continuous variable.
2. *Gender. "*What is your gender?" Response options included "male" or "female". This was treated as a dummy variable (0 = female, 1 = male).
3. *SES. "*How would you define your family's financial situation?" Responses ranged from 1= "Very difficult" = 1 to "Very good" = 5. Responses were collapsed into a dummy variable (0 = Moderate/good/very good, 1 = Difficult or very difficult).
4. *Parents' education level.* "What was your father/mother's highest level of education?" 1 = Graduated from elementary or middle school, 2 = Graduated from high school, 3 = Graduated from some higher education, other than a university, 4 = Graduated from university, 5 = Other. Responses were collapsed into a dummy variable for each mother and father's education level. (0 = Did not graduate from any higher education, 1 = Graduated from some high education).
5. *Religiosity*. Students were asked if they would define their family as: 1 = "Very Religious/Haredi", 2 = "Religious", 3 = "Traditional", 4 = "Not Religious", 5 = "Secular". Responses were collapsed into a dummy variable (0 = Traditional/not religious/secular, 1 = Religious or very religious).
6. *Israeli identity*. "Do you consider yourself to be Israeli?". Responses included 1 = "Yes, very", 2 = "Sometimes yes, sometimes no", 3 = "No, not at all"). Responses were collapsed into a dummy variable (0 = At least sometimes, 1 = Not at all).

The following items were treated as covariates at the individual-level:

1. *Municipality Size*. Students were assigned a municipality size based on their hometown's assigned council, which is in turn correlated to population size. Four dummy variables were created for "Medium City" (populations between 50,000 and 99,999), "Small City" (populations between 20,000 and 49,999), "Local Council/Town" (municipalities with this official designation, typically between 2,000 to 19,999), and "Regional Council" (typically for smaller moshavim, kibbutzim, or villages too small to have a unique governing body). "Large City," for populations over 100,000, served as the reference category.

**Analysis**

Analysis for Research Question 1—EFA

This study's first research question seeks to understand what dimensions emerge from Israeli adolescents' self-reports on an adapted measure of microaggressions. It answers this by examining which latent constructs underlie Israeli adolescents' reports of microaggressions via factor analysis. As detailed in the Measures section, items proposed for the MAS were generated by adapting the Torres-Harding et al. (2012) RMAS scale, which identified six latent constructs. However, as that measure was applied to and validated by a college- and community-based U.S. sample, its constructs' generalizability to the adolescent Israeli population studied here was uncertain. An EFA was thus conducted in order to empirically determine the latent variables underlying reports of microaggressions for this study's respondents.

Factor analysis begins from the premise that one large category containing all relevant items is needed to understand the experience in question. It assesses how much of the association among each individual item is explainable by a single concept and then performs a

check to see how well the single-concept premise has fared. If it appears that just the concept alone has not done an adequate job of accounting for co-variation among the items, the factor analysis rejects the initial premise. It then identifies a second concept (that is, a latent variable or factor, referred to as a *dimension* here) that explains some of the remaining co-variation among items. This continues until the amount of co-variation that the set of factors has not accounted for is acceptably small (DeVellis, 2017).

Researchers propose multiple strategies for validating scales using factor analysis (Abell, Springer, & Kamata, 2009). However, EFA is frequently advocated during initial validation (DeVellis, 2017). As this is the first time using this measure of microaggressions among Israeli adolescents, EFA was selected as the optimal choice to explore the factor structure of the MAS.

In order to conduct the EFA, MAS data was entered into IBM SPSS version 24 (IBM Corp., 2014). Respondents who answered less than half of the MAS items were assigned a "Mostly Missing" flag and filtered out (n = 13). For the rest, missing data was analyzed using SPSS's missing values analysis for patterns within the missing data and multiple imputations were utilized to replace the missing values. Descriptive statistics were run with all scale items to test distributions for assumption violations. Kurtotic items that have an absolute value of kurtosis > 7.0, and/or skewed items that had an absolute value of skewness > 2.0 were taken note of and flagged for possible removal from the item pool (DeVellis, 2017).

An item-by-item inspection of the correlation matrix was used to assess for redundancy within item responses prior to conducting an EFA. Items with correlations above 0.7 were inspected closely and reviewed whether or not they were capturing unique information. A 0.7 correlation indicates that 49% of explained variance is being shared, and thus provides reason to exclude redundant items.

An EFA was then conducted on the 22 MAS items in SPSS so that the subscale structures could be investigated. The Kaiser-Myer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO; (Kaiser, 1974) was run in order to determine whether the data were likely to factor well. The KMO statistic must be 0.50 or higher to proceed with factor analysis; values above .70 are good and values above .90 can be considered excellent. The Bartlett Test of Sphericity was also examined to compare the correlation matrix of the data with a matrix of zero correlations, known as the identity matrix. Here, small p-values are desired ($p < .05$), as they indicate that it is unlikely to obtain the observed correlation matrix from a population with no correlation—this suggests that the data indeed has a partnered relationship (Yong & Pearce, 2013).

Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) was selected as the factoring method for the MAS data as it is the preferred method for correlated data, which some items were expected to be given they were captured via Likert scale, (De Winter & Dodou, 2012). A varimax rotation was used as it was projected to improve the interpretability of the model. Varimax rotation is the most popular orthogonal rotation and is thought to purify the columns of the loading matrix so each component is defined by a limited set of variables and components remain uncorrelated (Kabacoff, 2015).

To determine the number of factors to retain, the eigenvalue-greater-than-one rule, the scree plot, and factor reliabilities, and the added variance of each additional factor were all considered. Based on the findings of the EFA, factor structures were analyzed and named, and composite variables were then constructed into subscales. Reliability for these scales were tested using Cronbach's alpha.

Precursors to Analyses for Research Questions 2 through 4—Univariate Analyses

Prior to running regression analyses, univariate analyses occurred for all variables yielding descriptive data. This was done to assess participant demographics for the total sample, present an overall understanding of the frequency of perceived discrimination exposure, present the overall reporting of this study's dependent variables, and examine variable distributions for normality to determine which variables, if any, required transformation, recoding, and/or the use of non-parametric statistical tests.

Frequencies and percentages for categorical variables and measures of central tendency and dispersion, including means, medians, modes, and skewness for continuous variables, were examined. Internal reliability of each scale included in the study was tested and all required diagnostic techniques were executed to ensure the assumptions needed for the statistical procedures were being met. For example, multiple regression requires that the sampling distribution of the mean is normally distributed. Tests of skewness were thus conducted to ensure than no nonparametric versions of tests would be required. Bivariate analyses and examinations of variable correlations (using an alpha level of .05 to detect significance for all statistical tests) also occurred before conducting more advanced regression analyses. This was done to identify any significant associations between covariates and independent/dependent variables to ensure a parsimonious model.

Bivariate correlations were run to determine the relationship between psychological distress scores, total MAS scores, ethnic identities, and individual-level covariates. Post-hoc tests were then examined for all significant effects. Pearson's product moment correlation was utilized to determine the degree of linear dependence of the variables by examining the distance of the correlation coefficient in each case from 1 or -1 (a coefficient of 1 indicates a full direct and positive linear relationship between two variables and a coefficient of -1 indicates a complete and negative linear relationship between the two variables).

Analysis for Research Question 2—Ordinal Logistic Regression

This study's second research question seeks to understand which MAS dimensions are associated with general perceptions of discrimination and how this varies by ethnic identity. Because the outcome variable in this analysis was ordinal and measured with a single item, an ordinal logistic regression was selected for analysis. Gender, age, SES, parents' education level, national identity, religiosity, and levels of psychological distress were all controlled for. The model measured how much variance the independent variables explained in reports of exposure to general discrimination. Using SPSS and approximating four microaggression subscales, the following proportional odds model was formulated:

$$\mathrm{P}(D \geq g|\mathbf{X}) = \frac{1}{1 + \exp[-(\alpha \mathrm{g} + \sum_{i=1}^{k} \beta \mathrm{i}\ X\mathrm{i})]}$$

Here, $D$ is the outcome variable of discrimination exposure, $g$ are the outcome categories (exposure frequency), and $k$ represents the number of independent variables.

A fundamental assumption of the ordinal logistic regression is the assumption of proportional odds. Proportional odds assumes the identified odds ratio is invariant across each level of the outcome variable. When this assumption is met, it ensures valid analytical results by allowing for the use of a single parameter estimate for the independent variable's effect across all outcome categories as opposed to requiring unique parameter estimates for each category (Laerd Statistics, 2015).

To check this assumption, a full likelihood ratio test comparing the fit of the proportional odds model to a model with varying location parameters was run in SPSS. Because this test can flag violations that do not exist (Laerd Statistics, 2015), separate binomial logistic regressions on the cumulative dichotomous dependent variables were additionally run to further assess the assumptions of proportional odds.

Analysis for Research Question 3—Multiple Linear Regression

This study's third research question seeks to understand which MAS dimensions correlate with psychological distress and how this varies by ethnic identity. A multiple linear regression was utilized to answer this question, with gender, age, SES, parents' education level, national identity, and religiosity controlled for. The multiple linear regression was conducted by examining the correlation between the independent variables (the identified microagression subscales from research question 1 and ethnic identities), the outcome variable (psychological distress), and individual-level covariates. The degree of relationship was assessed by observing the proportion of variance in microaggression subscale scores associated with psychological distress, while holding demographic covariates constant. Using SPSS 24, and approximating for four microaggression subscales, the following model was estimated:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta 1 MAS_1 + \beta_2 MAS_2 + \beta_3 MAS_3 + \beta_4 MAS_4 + \beta_5 Mizrahi + \beta_6 Arab + \beta_7 PCI + \beta_8 Ethiopian + \beta_9 Other + \beta_{10} Age + \beta_{11} Male + \beta_{12} SES + \beta_{13} Religiosity + \beta_{14} Israeli\ Identity + \beta_{15} Father's\ Education + \beta_{16} Mother's\ Education + \beta_{17} K\text{-}6 + \varepsilon_i$$

Since reducing the number of items reduces the number of participants required for the sample and increases the study's power to detect differences/make reliable conclusions, eliminating item redundancy is desirable. Here, 'y' is the dependent variable, each β represents the slope coefficient for the corresponding variable, and ε represent the error term for this sample's model. The significance of each coefficient in the model was determined b *p*-values. Data were then examined for any missing or extreme values that could have been incorrectly coded. Assumptions of linearity, constant variance, and normality were also checked to assess for any possible bias in the results.

Analysis for Research Question 4—Random Effects Model

This study's fourth research question seeks to understand how overall reports of microaggressions vary by ethnic status in Israel, when accounting for other covariates and geographic locality. The two-level nested design used the regression equation below:

$$MAS_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta \mathbf{X_{ij}} + \beta_{7ij} Mizrahi + \beta_{8ij} Arab + \beta_{9ij} PCI + \beta_{10ij} Ethiopian + \beta_{11ij} Other + \beta \mathbf{Z_j} + \zeta_{1j} + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

$\mathbf{X_{ij}} = \{X_{1ij} = male, X_{2ij} = ortho, X_{3ij} = fathergrad, X_{4ij} = mothergrad, X_{5ij} = natid, X_{6ij} = k6_log\}$

$Z_j = \{X_{12j} = MediumCity + X_{13j} = SmallCity + X_{14j} = Town + X_{15j} = Regional\};$

$(\zeta_{1j} \mid \mathbf{X_{ij}}, Mizrahi_j, Arab_j, PCI_j, Ethiopian_j, Other_j, \mathbf{Z_j}) \sim N(0, \psi)$

$(\varepsilon_{ij} \mid \mathbf{X_{ij}}, Mizrahi_j, Arab_j, PCI_j, Ethiopian_j, Other_j, \mathbf{Z_j}) \sim N(0, \theta)$

Reported microaggressions for a particular student (i) of a specific sub-district (j) in Israel was modeled as a function of a student specific intercept ($\beta_0 + \zeta_j$), an indicator for being of a specific ethnicity (Mizrahi, Arab, Palestinian, Ethiopian, or Other), and relevant level-1 and level-2 covariates represented in the $\mathbf{X}_{ij}$ & $\mathbf{Z}_j$ covariate vectors, respectively. The β vector

associated with the $\mathbf{X}_{ij}$ vector corresponded to the student-specific, self-reported characteristics. The $\beta$ vector associated with the $\mathbf{Z}_j$ vector corresponded to the baseline district-specific characteristics. The $\zeta_{1j}$ in the intercept represented a normally distributed locality-specific error term with a mean 0 and variance $\psi$, and $\varepsilon_{ij}$ represented a normally distributed locality-and-student specific error term with a mean 0 and variance $\theta$, which was conditional upon covariates.

This model was for evaluating MAS scores continuously and how they vary by ethnic status. Understanding the differences by ethnicity in reports of microaggressions was evaluated by looking at $\beta_{7...}\beta_{11,}$ which represented the difference in mean scores between respondents of each ethnic group while holding all other covariates constant.

After assessing for assumptions of normality, four models were run overall. Initially, no covariates were included to estimate the percentage of variance in experience of microaggressions that is between and within the districts (null model, Model 1). Model 2 included just the individual-level characteristic ethnic origin given it is the primary independent variable of interest in this study. Model 3 added the remaining individual-level characteristics of the student respondents to understand how microaggressions vary by ethnic status when controlling for other potentially confounding individual-level characteristics. Lastly, the district-level characteristic of municipality size was added to see if the mean difference in MAS scores changed when controlling for population density (Model 4).

# Chapter 6: Results

## Participant Demographics

The mean participant age within the sample was 15.96 (SD = .81). Nearly two-thirds of the sample (63.5%) identified as female. Fifteen-point-two percent of respondents identified as Ashkenazi, 13.3% as Mizrahi, 14.4% as Arab, 32.3% as PCI, 1.3% as Russian, 3.8% as Ethiopian, 2.0% as Bedouin, and 17.8% as of an "Other" or mixed origin. Just over one-third, or 35.3%, of students identified as Jewish, 60% as Muslim, 1.7% as Christian, and another 1.7% as Other. When asked about their family's religious practice, 35.3% reported that they came from a home that was either religious or very religious.

Nearly half (49.8%) reported that their father had graduated from some form of higher education (including post-high school technical degrees), and just over half (53.9%) reported the same of their mother. A much smaller portion (8.0%) indicated that their family's financial situation was difficult or very difficult. Sixteen-point-one percent indicated there was religious diversity in their hometown. Over one-third (34.5%) replied that they did not at all feel like they were an Israeli. When asked how frequently they felt generally exposed to discrimination, 38.9% indicated "Never," 31.4% indicated "Infrequently," 20.2% indicated "Sometimes," and 9.5% of the sample indicated "Frequently" (Table 1).

## Research Question 1: Factor Analysis

Initial Evaluation of the Items

Prior to analyzing the factor structure of the 22 MAS items, all items' inter-correlations and distributions were examined. Via a correlation matrix, Pearson's correlations were found to range from a low of .11 to a high of .80 with a mean inter-item correlation of .40 (Table 2). As Pearson's correlations can be squared to obtain effect size (or proportion of shared variance), this suggests the average inter-item correlation represents 16% shared variance, and that the items would factor acceptably well. While seven items yielded high correlations (greater than $r = .70$) and two items yielded low correlations (less than $r = .20$), which can be troublesome, they were noted with caution rather than removed from the EFA given the exploratory nature of the research question.

All items were also assessed for distribution, skewness, and kurtosis. As items do best if their means are in the middle of the possible item range—in this case 2.0, since the Likert-scale was 4-points (DeVellis, 2017)—a mid-range mean allows for maximum variation. Across items, means ranged from 1.19 (Item 7: "Because of my ethnic origin, my contributions in school are ignored") to 2.16 (Item 14: "People act as if all people from my ethnic group are the same"), indicating fairly desirable capacity for variation across items with slight cause for concern. While there is no consensus in the literature around absolute cut-off scores for skewness and kurtosis, it has been suggested that an absolute skewness statistic of greater than 2.0 and absolute kurtosis statistics of greater than 7.0 should be flagged.

Table 3 identifies MAS items with distribution concerns. Item 7 ("Because of my ethnic origin, my contributions in school are ignored.") yielded a skewness statistic of 3.21 and a kurtosis statistic of 10.44, prompting concern for removal from the item pool. Additionally, item 9 ("People treat me as if I were a criminal because of my ethnic origin.") yielded a skewness statistic of 2.13, indicating a skewed distribution to the right. No other items produced notable cause for concern.

**Table 1. Descriptive Data for Study Participants**

| Demographic Variable | M (SD) |
|---|---|
| Age | 15.96 (.81) |
| | N (%) |
| Female Gender | 659 (63.5%) |
| Ethnicity | |
| Ashkenazi | 152 (15.2%) |
| Mizrahi | 129 (13.3%) |
| Arab | 144 (14.4%) |
| PCI | 324 (32.3%) |
| Russian | 13 (1.3%) |
| Ethiopian | 38 (3.8%) |
| Bedouin | 20 (2.0%) |
| Other | 178 (17.8%) |
| Religion | |
| Jewish | 364 (35.3%) |
| Muslim | 599 (60.0%) |
| Christian | 17 (1.7%) |
| Other | 17 (1.7%) |
| Very Religious/Religious | 371 (35.5%) |
| Very Difficult/Difficult Family Finances | 81 (8.0%) |
| Religious Diversity within Hometown | 153 (16.1%) |
| Does Not at all Feel Israeli | 344 (34.5%) |
| Father Graduated from some Higher Education | 482 (49.8%) |
| Mother Graduated from Some Higher Education | 524 (53.9%) |
| Exposed to Discrimination | |
| Frequently | 93 (9.5%) |
| Sometimes | 197 (20.2%) |
| Infrequently | 306 (31.4%) |
| Never | 380 (38.9%) |

**Table 2. Correlation Matrix for the MAS Items**

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **2** | .41 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **3** | .26 | .56 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **4** | .34 | .49 | .56 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **5** | .33 | .48 | .61 | **.75** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **6** | .29 | .47 | .57 | .65 | **.72** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **7** | **.17** | .47 | .34 | .37 | .47 | **.72** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **8** | .32 | .21 | .45 | .59 | .56 | .47 | .52 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **9** | .29 | .35 | .47 | .53 | .51 | .56 | .32 | .51 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **10** | .35 | .41 | .49 | .55 | .51 | .51 | .30 | .51 | **.72** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **11** | .38 | .44 | .45 | .53 | .53 | .51 | .32 | .50 | .61 | **.71** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **12** | .25 | .43 | .45 | .46 | .49 | .48 | .30 | .40 | .53 | .56 | .56 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | |
| **13** | .31 | .47 | .21 | .25 | .21 | .22 | **.11** | .23 | .27 | .29 | .33 | .29 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | |
| **14** | .29 | .23 | .16 | .23 | .20 | .18 | **.16** | .28 | .28 | .32 | .33 | .28 | .45 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | |
| **15** | .26 | .26 | .30 | .32 | .31 | .29 | .23 | .32 | .29 | .34 | .40 | .34 | .33 | .35 | 1.00 | | | | | | | |
| **16** | .29 | .29 | .32 | .37 | .35 | .31 | .25 | .32 | .28 | .32 | .37 | .34 | .36 | .40 | .43 | 1.00 | | | | | | |
| **17** | .29 | .37 | .40 | .39 | .37 | .38 | **.15** | .33 | .35 | .40 | .41 | .41 | .32 | .41 | .35 | .54 | 1.00 | | | | | |
| **18** | .36 | .52 | .41 | .44 | .42 | .38 | .24 | .37 | .35 | .41 | .44 | .48 | .30 | .38 | .37 | .52 | **.80** | 1.00 | | | | |
| **19** | .38 | .34 | .36 | .39 | .38 | .37 | .28 | .40 | .41 | .44 | .48 | .44 | .32 | .32 | .44 | .34 | .38 | .40 | 1.00 | | | |
| **20** | .34 | .41 | .41 | .39 | .37 | .36 | .24 | .37 | .38 | .44 | .44 | .43 | .33 | .31 | .43 | .46 | .51 | .47 | .57 | 1.00 | | |
| **21** | .39 | .45 | .43 | .49 | 47 | .46 | .26 | .44 | .46 | .50 | .51 | .48 | .33 | .38 | .39 | .40 | .55 | .55 | .42 | .45 | 1.00 | |
| **22** | .38 | .48 | .42 | .44 | .43 | .41 | .22 | .41 | .46 | .54 | .55 | .51 | .34 | .44 | .41 | .47 | .61 | .62 | .43 | .48 | **.73** | 1.00 |

*Notes*:
1.Other people expect me to behave in a manner that does not fit my culture; 2. I am treated like a second-class citizen; 3. I receive poorer services at restaurants and shops; 4. Sometimes I feel as if people look past me or don't see me as a real person; 5. Because of my ethnic origin, people sometimes act like I'm not there; 6. Entertainment venues ignore me because of my ethnic origin; 7. Because of my ethnic origin my contributions in school are ignored; 8. Because of my ethnic origin, people assume that I am less competent and less capable; 9. People treat me like I am a criminal because of my ethnic background; 10. People act as if they're afraid of me because of my ethnic origin; 11. Other people assume that I am aggressive; 12. Because of my ethnic background police and security officials treat me differently; 13. People act as if they understand my cultural identity in spite of the fact that they are from a different culture; 14. People act as if all the people from my ethnic group are the same; 15. People suggest that members of my community are not entitled to preferential treatment; 16. Others suggest that people of my ethnic origin would be more successful in life if they only worked harder; 17. Members of my community have more difficulties than others; 18. People ignore the fact that members of my community have more difficulties than others; 19. When I am successful, people think it is due to preferential treatment and not due to my accomplishments; 20. People suggest that I have to work hard to prove that I am not like other people from my ethnic group; 21. People say that my ethnic origin is problematic; 22. People focus only on the negative aspects of my ethnic origin

**Table 3. MAS Items with Distribution Concerns**

| Item | Mean < 1.50 | S.D. | Skewness > 2 | Kurtosis >7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Item 5: Because of my ethnic origins, people sometimes act like I'm not there | 1.39 | .74 | | |
| Item 6: Entertainment venues ignore me because of my ethnic origin | 1.37 | .73 | | |
| Item 7: Because of my ethnic origins, my contributions in school are ignored | 1.19 | .55 | 3.21 | 10.44 |
| Item 8: Because of my ethnic origin, people assume that I'm less competent and less capable | 1.40 | .79 | | |
| Item 9: People treat me like I am a criminal because of my ethnic origin | 1.38 | .78 | 2.13 | |
| Item 10: People act as if they're afraid of me because of my ethnic origin | 1.44 | .80 | | |

Though six items displayed slight mean centrality concerns and two items displayed skewness concerns, only item 7 displayed both in addition to kurtosis concerns. However, given the exploratory nature of this research question, item 7 was retained in the MAS item pool prior to conducting the factor analysis, with the knowledge that it should be removed should additional issues arise.

Exploratory Factor Analysis

With the 22 MAS items, the KMO measure of sampling adequacy was superb at .94 (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999), and thus the data was considered appropriate for factor analysis. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, which tests whether the correlation matrix differs from an identity matrix, also confirmed the factoring capacity of the data (Bartlett's = 12,796.58; $df = 231$; $p < .001$).

From the PAF using an orthogonal varimax rotation, a four-factor solution was identified by the eigenvalue > 1.0 rule, ranging in the proportion of variance explained from 4.6% to 43.7%. The total proportion of variance explained by the solution was 62.04%. The lowest retained eigenvalue was 1.01, while the highest non-retained eigenvalue was .85. Keeping in the highest non-retained factor would have raised the total explained variance to 65.92%. Expanding to a five-factor was thus considered, as both the eigenvalue > 1.0 rule and the scree plot findings can be known to over or under estimate the number of factors and are not meant to be definitive (Henson & Roberts, 2006). However, in pursuit of parsimony the four-factor solution was retained

After performing the orthogonal varimax rotation for the 22-item MAS and examining the rotated factor structure, the communality coefficient ($h^2$) for each item was noted. The communality coefficient estimates the extent to which an item shares variance with the other

items in the pool. Communality is known to reflect how much of the variance of a measured variable contributed to delineating the set factors, and it is recommended that communalities have a magnitude of at least .40 (Yong & Pearce, 2013).

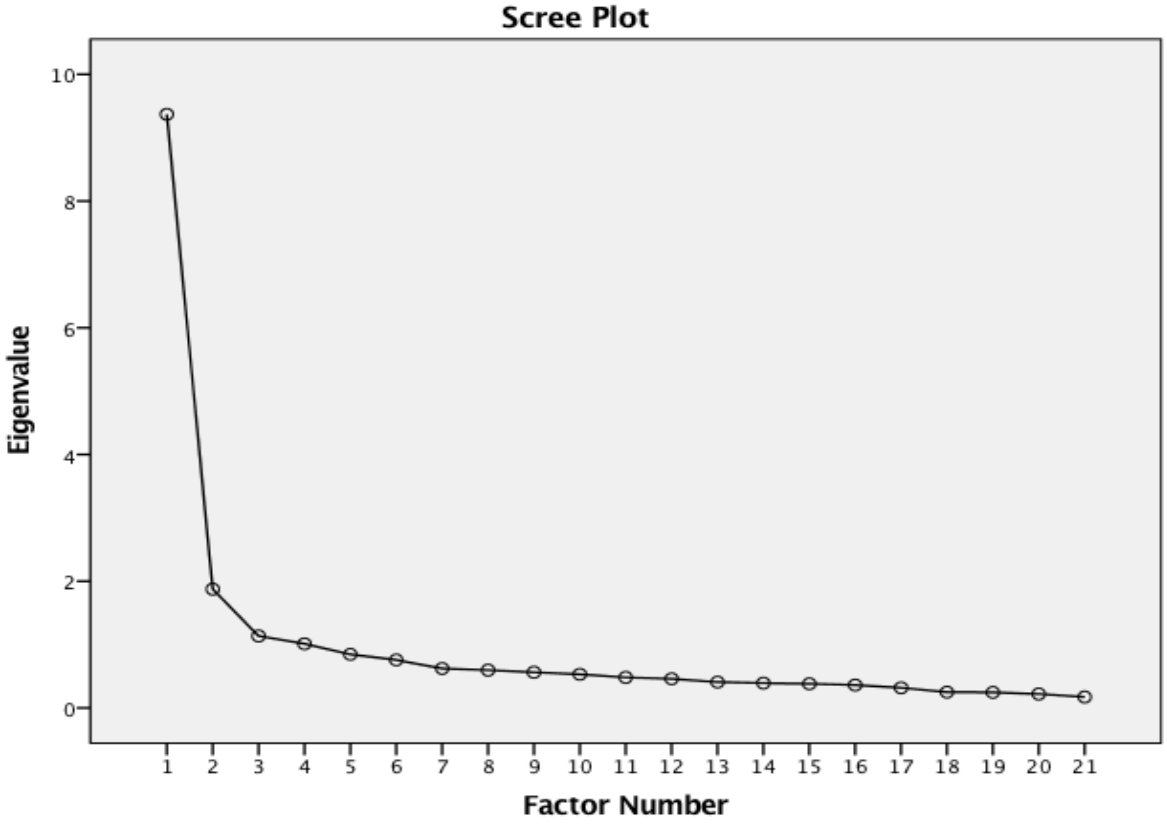
In the initial rotation, four items had communalities lower than .40. Because items with low communalities should be candidates for exclusion (DeVellis, 2017), these items were examined closely. While none of the items with low communalities demonstrated poor mean centrality, skewness, or kurtosis, the item with the lowest communality (item 1) was also the weakest-loading item in the analysis. Item 1 was also the only reverse-coded item in the scale—which is an item type that typically can perform poorly and is seen as having drawbacks that often outweigh their benefits (DeVellis, 2017). Item 1 was thus considered for removal.

However, none of the highly-correlated items (Table 2: 21 & 22, 17 & 18, 10 & 11, 9 & 10, 4 & 5, 5 & 6, 6 & 7) were deemed appropriate for removal. This was because all items performed relatively well in the factor analysis; because for even the highest correlated items (17 & 18), 36% of the variance remained unshared; and because more items correlate with higher scale reliability, and keeping these items seemed beneficial for analysis (with the acknowledgment that they should be tested in future studies, DeVellis, 2017).

When running the varimax orthogonal rotation again without Item 1 (the item with a communality less than .3) a four-factor solution was still identified (Figure 6). Yet this time, the proportion of variance accounted for increased from 62.04% to 63.78%, indicating benefit to the 21-item, versus 22-item, factor pool (Table 4). Specifically, the increase in the proportion of variance indicated that Item 1 was not measuring the target constructs and did not belong in the scale (DeVellis, 2017). With the 21 MAS items, six loaded onto Factor 1, six onto Factor 2, five onto Factor 3, and four onto Factor 4. While four items still retained communalities less than .40, none dropped below .30. Given that no drawbacks were identified in the 21-item model, and proportion explained increased instead, this factor solution was identified as the best fit to the data. Amongst Israeli adolescents, MAS items manifested as a four-factor model.

For factor one, loadings ranged from .566 to .781; three of these loadings (4, 5, & 6) were above .650, which is a magnitude considered to be substantial (DeVellis, 2017). Items loading onto this factor mapped onto the notion of *Invisible Ethnicity*. They captured experiences of feeling looked past, ignored, or not taken seriously due to your ethnic identity. For factor two, loadings ranged from .496 to .583. Items loading onto this factor corresponded to the notion of *Homogenized Ethnicity*—feeling all members of your ethnic group were clumped together in a way in which individual differences were invalidated. These items related to feeling others saw everyone in your ethnic group as the same, that outsiders assumed they could understand your cultural identity, and feeling your personal accomplishments were diluted or drowned out by negative outsider perceptions of their ethnic group. Factor three had loadings ranging from .456 to .774. Two items (17 & 18) loaded above .650 and were considered substantial. Factor three captured the notion of *Disadvantaged Ethnicity*. Loading items linked to feelings your ethnic group is less privileged or treated less well in society and faces more difficulties than others. Factor four's loadings ranged from .447 to .737. One item (10) loaded substantially, while a second item (9) was nearly substantial at .642. Factor four's items related to the notion of *Criminalized Ethnicity*. These items discussed feeling others assumed you to be aggressive, that you were targeted or unfairly treated by police or security forces, and/or that you were criminalized by others due to your ethnicity.

**Figure 6. Scree Plot for 21-Item EFA**




Internal Reliabilities

Following the EFA, reliabilities were calculated for the newly configured subscales. Cronbach's alpha needs to reach the .70 threshold to be considered acceptable (Abell et al., 2009). The new MAS scale of 21 items and all four MAS subscales surpassed this cutoff.

From these calculations, the MAS construct clearly is both conceptually and psychometrically multidimensional. The four latent factors identified through EFA provide evidence to suggest distinct concepts underlying the scale as a whole. However, because these scales were developed in tandem to measure distinct elements of microaggressions and because microaggression experiences are not expected to only manifest in one way, there is significance in seeing all four scales as linked to the greater microaggression whole.

All four factors were transformed into subscale variables in SPSS by summing appropriate items together. Descriptive statistics were run for each scale, and Cronbach's alpha was assessed for internal reliability. Alphas across all four subscales ranged from acceptable to excellent with a statistic of .83 for Invisible Ethnicity, .79 for Homogenized Ethnicity, .88 for Disadvantaged Ethnicity, and .86 for Criminalized Ethnicity. Cronbach's alpha for the MAS scale over al was .93. These findings indicated strong inter-correlation amongst each subscale item and further confirmation of the strength of the factor solution.

**Table 4. Principal Axis Factor with a Varimax Rotation of 21 of the MAS items**

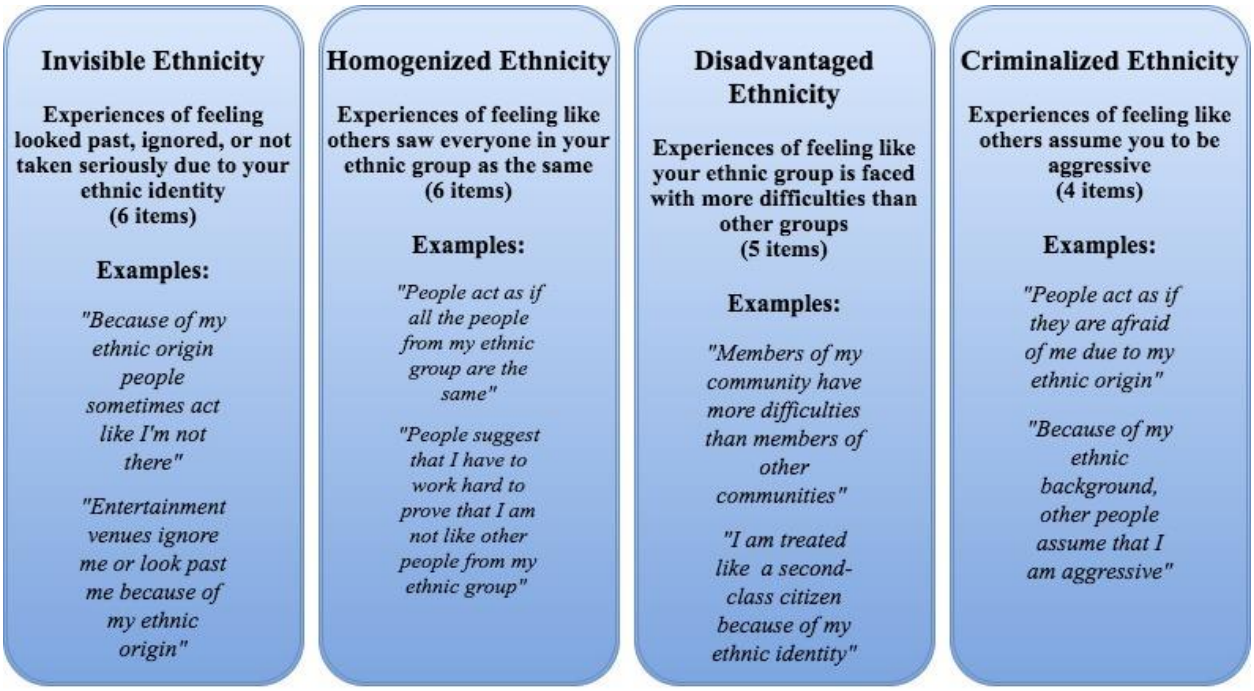
| Item # | Item Label | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | $h^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **5** | Because of my ethnic origin, people sometimes act like I'm not there | **.781** | .121 | .264 | .235 | .749 |
| **6** | Entertainment venues ignore me because of my ethnic origin | **.721** | .112 | .239 | .279 | .667 |
| **4** | Sometimes I feel as if people look past me or don't see me as a real person because of my ethnicity | **.689** | .156 | .283 | .290 | .663 |
| **8** | Because of my ethnic origin, people assume that I am less competent and less capable | **.606** | .299 | | .260 | .534 |
| **3** | I receive poorer services at restaurants and shops because of my ethnic origin | **.568** | .101 | .348 | .275 | .530 |
| **7** | Because of my ethnic origin my contributions in school are ignored | **.566** | .213 | | | .534 |
| **14** | People act as if all the people from my ethnic group are the same | | **.583** | .198 | .152 | .394 |
| **15** | People suggest that members of my community are not entitled to preferential treatment | .225 | **.554** | .155 | .124 | .397 |
| **16** | Others suggest that people of my ethnic origin would be more successful in life if they only worked harder | .226 | **.532** | .374 | | .475 |
| **13** | People act as if they understand my cultural identity in spite of the fact that they are from a different culture | | **.506** | .139 | .167 | .309 |
| **19** | When I am successful, people think it is due to preferential treatment and not due to my accomplishments | .291 | **.499** | .163 | .270 | .433 |
| **20** | People suggest that I have to work hard to prove that I am not like other people from my ethnic group | .255 | **.496** | .317 | .212 | .457 |
| **17** | Members of my community have more difficulties than members of other communities | .131 | .381 | **.774** | .123 | .778 |
| **18** | People ignore the fact that members of my community have more difficulties than members of other communities | .205 | .373 | **.726** | .134 | .726 |
| **22** | People focus only on the negative aspects of my ethnic origin | .186 | .428 | **.522** | .384 | .372 |
| **2** | I am treated like a second-class citizen because of my ethnicity | .356 | .154 | **.514** | .260 | .483 |
| **21** | People say that my ethnic origin is problematic | .274 | .376 | **.456** | .346 | .544 |
| **10** | People act as if they are afraid of me due to my ethnic origin | .339 | .260 | .188 | **.737** | .761 |
| **9** | People treat me like I am a criminal because of my ethnic background | .394 | .210 | .145 | **.647** | .636 |
| **11** | Because of my ethnic background, other people assume that I am aggressive | .362 | .359 | .193 | **.591** | .646 |
| **12** | Because of my ethnic background police and security officials treat me differently | .343 | .277 | .305 | **.447** | .487 |
| | Eigenvalues | 9.37 | 1.88 | 1.14 | 1.01 | |
| | Percentage of Total Variance | 44.62 | 8.93 | 5.41 | 4.82 | |

*Notes.*
Factor 1: Invisible Ethnicity; Factor 2: Homogenized Ethnicity; Factor 3: Disadvantaged Ethnicity; Factor 4: Criminalized Ethnicity

**Summary of Research Question 1**

Final results of the MAS scale identified a 21-item, four-factor solution that explained 63.78% of the total variance. Four sub-scales were calculated based on this solution, yielding four MAS dimensions applicable to further analysis. These dimensions are summarized in Figure 7. Cronbach's alpha calculations for all MAS dimensions and the MAS scale overall ranged from .79 to .93, indicating alphas that were acceptable to excellent. The adapted MAS construct and each of the four dimensions were found to be reliable and conceptually and psychometrically multidimensional.

**Figure 7. Final Four MAS Dimensions**




**Precursors to Research Questions 2 through 4**

Univariate Distributions of Dependent and Independent Variables

**Exposure to Discrimination.** A one-way ANOVA with a post-hoc Bonferroni comparison and an alpha of .05 revealed that PCI respondents reported more frequent exposure to general discrimination (15%) than Ashkenazi (3%, $p < .001$), Mizrahi (2%, $p < .001$), and Arab (4%, $p < .01$) students; Ethiopian respondents reported more frequent exposure to discrimination (37%) than Ashkenazi (3%, $p < .001$), Mizrahi 2%, ($p < .001$), Arab (4%, $p < .001$), PCI (15%, $p < .05$), and Other-identified (10%, $p < .001$) students. No other significant differences in frequent discrimination exposure by ethnic group were detected (Figure 8).

**Psychological Distress.** Table 5 shows the distribution of the K-6 scores. Across all six items of the measure, skewness statistics ranged from .27 to 1.57 and kurtosis statistics ranged from -.66 to 1.59, indicating no problematic skewness or kurtosis by item, and no problematic skewness or kurtosis for the measure overall. Its approximately normal distribution was therefore left as is. On average, respondents received a score of 14.17 (SD = 5.39), indicating a moderate amount of psychological distress amongst the sample. Arab ($p < .05$), PCI ($p < .001$),

and Other-identified students ($p < .001$) reported more psychological distress than Ashkenazi students.

**Microaggressions**. The univariate distributions for the MAS scores overall (Table 5), and elucidated by dimension (Table 6) are also displayed here. On average, respondents reported a mean total MAS score of 34.90 (SD = 12.72). Of the four subscales identified via factor analysis, the mean Invisible Ethnicity score was 8.37 (out of 24, SD = 3.58), the mean Homogenized Ethnicity score was 10.96 out of 24, SD = 4.17), the mean Disadvantaged Ethnicity score was 9.77 (out of 20, SD = 4.50), and the mean Criminalized Ethnicity score was 8.35 (out of 16, SD = 4.50). With the absolute value of skewness ranging from 0.59 to 1.74, and the absolute value for kurtosis ranging from 0.32 to 2.63, no dimensions appeared problematically skewed or kurtotic and thus no transformations were applied.

Arab ($p < .001$), PCI ($p < .001$), Ethiopian ($p < .001$), Bedouin ($p <. 01$) and Other-identified students ($p < .001$) reported higher overall MAS scores than Ashkenazi students. When examined by dimensions, the higher scores remained for the Arab, PCI, and Ethiopian across all four. Bedouin and Other-identified students did not significantly differ from the Ashkenazi students on the Homogenized Ethnicity dimension, though they differed on all others. Russian- and Mizrahi-identified students' reports of microaggressions did not significantly differ from the Ashkenazi students'.

**Figure 8. Frequency of Discrimination by Ethnic Group**

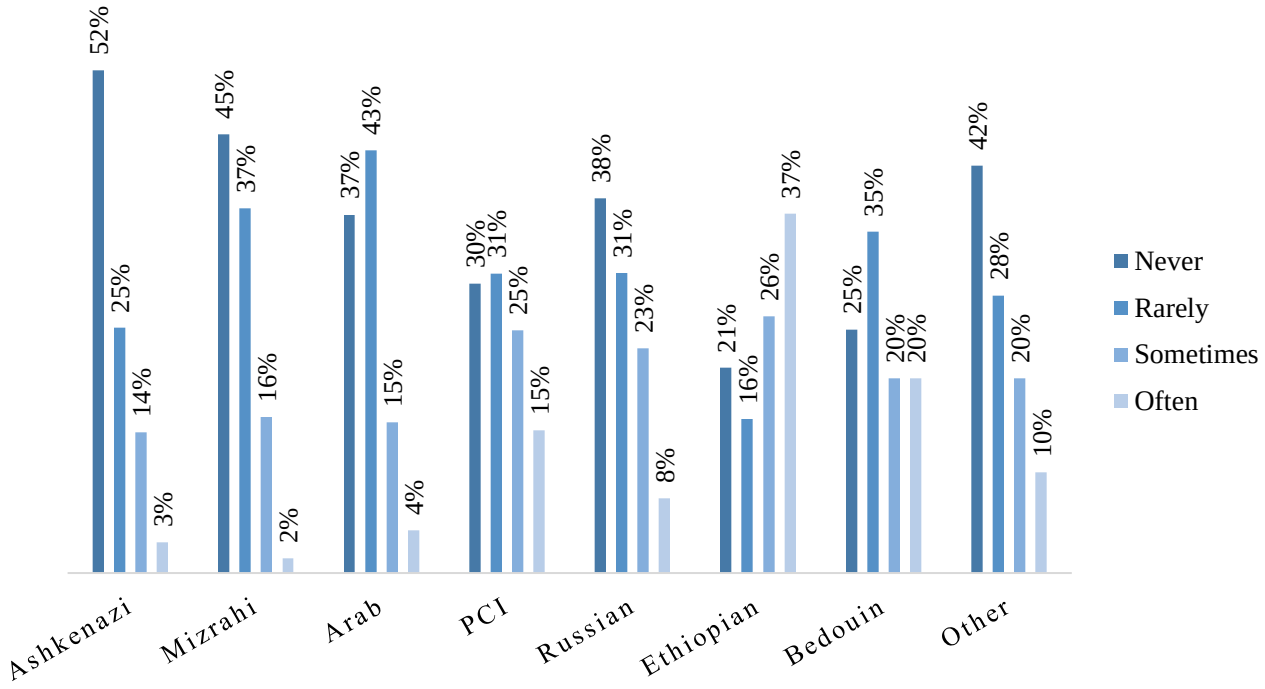


**Table 5. Descriptive statistics for Total MAS and K-6 scores, By Ethnic Group and Overall**

| Ethnic Origin | MAS ($_{range}$21-84) | | | | | K-6 ($_{range}$6-30) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | Mean | S.D. | Kurtosis | Skew-ness | N | Mean | S.D. | Kurtosis | Skew-ness |
| Total | 1018 | 34.90 | 12.72 | 0.21 | 0.91 | 1044 | 14.17 | 5.39 | 0.13 | 0.76 |
| Ashkenazi[a] | 155 | 27.31 | 8.35 | | | 152 | 11.79 | 5.14 | | |
| Mizrahi | 135 | 28.32 | 9.59 | | | 133 | 13.63 | 5.18 | | |
| Arab | 145 | 38.60*** | 12.47 | | | 144 | 14.18* | 4.97 | | |
| PCI | 328 | 39.11*** | 12.43 | | | 324 | 15.45*** | 6.02 | | |
| Russian | 13 | 29.31 | 9.34 | | | 13 | 14.23 | 5.91 | | |
| Ethiopian | 38 | 42.68*** | 15.07 | | | 38 | 14.20 | 4.91 | | |
| Bedouin | 20 | 38.15** | 15.48 | | | 20 | 13.23 | 4.65 | | |
| Other | 184 | 34.15*** | 12.61 | | | 178 | 14.37*** | 5.14 | | |

[a]reference group, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

**Table 6. Descriptive Statistics for Each MAS Dimension, By Ethnic Group and Overall**

| Ethnic Origin | Criminalized Ethnicity ($_{range}$4-16) | | | | | Invisible Ethnicity ($_{range}$6-24) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | Mean | S.D. | Kurtosis | Skew-ness | N | Mean | S.D. | Kurtosis | Skew-ness |
| Total | 1018 | 5.94 | 2.85 | 2.27 | 1.66 | 1018 | 8.32 | 3.54 | 2.80 | 1.78 |
| Ashkenazi[a] | 155 | 4.74 | 1.95 | | | 155 | 6.92 | 1.82 | | |
| Mizrahi | 135 | 4.86 | 1.93 | | | 135 | 7.03 | 2.24 | | |
| Arab | 145 | 6.55*** | 2.92 | | | 145 | 9.00*** | 3.89 | | |
| PCI | 328 | 6.54*** | 3.01 | | | 328 | 9.17*** | 3.79 | | |
| Russian | 13 | 4.85 | 1.57 | | | 13 | 6.54 | 1.39 | | |
| Ethiopian | 38 | 7.31*** | 3.78 | | | 38 | 10.50*** | 4.54 | | |
| Bedouin | 20 | 6.75 | 3.80 | | | 20 | 9.90** | 4.41 | | |
| Other | 184 | 5.90* | 2.86 | | | 184 | 8.25*** | 3.47 | | |
| | Homogenized Ethnicity ($_{range}$6-24) | | | | | Disadvantaged Ethnicity ($_{range}$5-20) | | | | |
| Total | 1018 | 10.92 | 4.13 | -.36 | .62 | 1018 | 9.72 | 4.48 | -.83 | .61 |
| Ashkenazi[a] | 155 | 9.43 | 3.50 | | | 155 | 6.53 | 2.80 | | |
| Mizrahi | 135 | 9.39 | 3.70 | | | 135 | 7.14 | 3.28 | | |
| Arab | 145 | 11.67*** | 4.08 | | | 145 | 11.38*** | 4.22 | | |
| PCI | 328 | 11.87*** | 4.08 | | | 328 | 11.53*** | 4.39 | | |
| Russian | 13 | 10.46 | 4.63 | | | 13 | 7.46 | 3.55 | | |
| Ethiopian | 38 | 13.44*** | 4.60 | | | 38 | 11.43*** | 4.35 | | |
| Bedouin | 20 | 11.25 | 4.44 | | | 20 | 10.25** | 4.82 | | |
| Other | 184 | 10.48 | 4.07 | | | 184 | 9.52*** | 4.35 | | |

[a]reference group, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Bivariate Correlations

Bivariate correlations were run to help evaluate the utility of all proposed covariates for this study's questions 2 through 4. All Pearson's product correlations between anticipated covariates and dependent/independent variables were thus reviewed (Table 7). For all research questions covariates were identified if significant associations were found between the potential control variables and the dependent and independent variables.

For research question 2, which examines what MAS dimensions associate with perceptions of discrimination, covariates were identified if they significantly correlated with the outcome variable (discrimination exposure) and independent variables (MAS dimensions). For research question 3, which examines what microaggression dimensions associate with psychological distress, covariates were identified if any significant associations were found between potential control variables and the outcome variable (K-6 score) and independent variables (MAS dimensions). For research question 4, individual-level covariates were identified if they correlated with the outcome variable (total MAS score) and independent variables (ethnic identity).

For all three questions the Bedouin and Russian identities were removed from analysis due to their lack of association with all independent and dependent variables in this study and their small respective sample sizes. Given the viable correlations with perceptions of discrimination and at least one other MAS dimension, all other proposed covariates were determined valuable to retain in the full model for research question 2.

For research questions 3 and 4, the variable of age was also determined unwarranted to the model given its negligent correlations with the outcome variables in question. For research question 4 only, SES and gender were determined to be insignificant to the main variables in question and thus identified for removal from the model in the pursuit of parsimony.

**Table 7. Results of Correlations between Independent Variables, Dependent Variables, and Individual-Level Covariates**

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **2** | **-.16** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **3** | **-.11** | **.51** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **4** | **.16** | **-.12** | **-.12** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **5** | .02 | **-.10** | **-.19** | -.02 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **6** | -.05 | -.03 | -.05 | .00 | .00 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **7** | **-.10** | **.12** | .04 | .06 | **-.08** | -.04 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **8** | **.10** | **-.08** | **-.13** | -.01 | **.27** | **-.18** | -.03 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **9** | -.04 | .04 | .05 | -.05 | **-.16** | **.07** | .01 | **-.25** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **10** | .00 | -.05 | **-.08** | .01 | .06 | .01 | -.01 | -.01 | **-.15** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **11** | **.16** | **-.12** | **-.10** | -.03 | **.25** | **-.15** | -.04 | **.50** | **.26** | **-.27** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | | |
| **12** | -.02 | -.02 | -.05 | .02 | .04 | .01 | .03 | -.04 | -.05 | -.06 | **-.10** | 1.00 | | | | | | | | | |
| **13** | .00 | **-.10** | **-.11** | **.16** | **-.08** | **.07** | **.10** | **-.12** | **-.07** | **-.08** | **-.13** | -.03 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | |
| **14** | .00 | .05 | .05 | .00 | **-.07** | .05 | -.01 | **-.08** | -.04 | -.05 | **-.08** | -.02 | -.02 | 1.00 | | | | | | | |
| **15** | .02 | .02 | -.04 | .03 | .05 | .04 | -.02 | -.01 | **-.17** | **-.30** | **-.30** | **-.06** | **-.09** | -.05 | 1.00 | | | | | | |
| **16** | **.11** | **-.08** | **-.13** | .03 | **.18** | -.01 | -.04 | **.19** | **-.14** | **.09** | **.13** | .04 | **.09** | -.04 | -.01 | 1.00 | | | | | |
| **17** | **.10** | **-.08** | **-.14** | .05 | **.11** | .00 | -.05 | **.16** | **-.13** | **.08** | **.15** | .02 | **.17** | -.01 | -.03 | **.60** | 1.00 | | | | |
| **18** | **.08** | **-.10** | **-.12** | **.07** | **.19** | -.03 | -.01 | **.21** | **-.14** | **.08** | **.15** | .06 | **.12** | -.06 | -.01 | **.70** | **.52** | 1.00 | | | |
| **19** | **.12** | **-.14** | **-.17** | .04 | **.23** | -.02 | **-.07** | **.29** | **-.21** | **.15** | **.26** | .03 | **.07** | -.06 | -.01 | **.67** | **.69** | **.61** | 1.00 | | |
| **20** | **.13** | **-.12** | **-.17** | .06 | **.22** | -.02 | -.06 | **.26** | **-.20** | **.13** | **.22** | .04 | **.12** | -.05 | -.02 | **.84** | **.84** | **.82** | **.89** | 1.00 | |
| **21** | **.26** | **-.15** | **-.07** | **.11** | **.10** | **-.11** | **.09** | **.17** | **-.11** | .05 | **.16** | .04 | **.16** | .00 | -.00 | **.09** | **.14** | **.11** | **.16** | **.15** | 1.00 |

*Notes.*
1 = K-6 score; 2 = Father's Education; 3 = Mother's Education; 4 = SES; 5 = Religiosity; 6 = Age; 7 = Gender; 8 = Israeli Identity; 9 = Mizrahi; 10 = Arab; 11= PCI; 12 = Bedouin; 13 = Ethiopian; 14 = Russian; 15= Other-Identified; 16 = Criminalized Identity; 17 = Homogenized Identity; 18 = Invisible Identity; 19 = Disadvantaged Identity; 20 = Total MAS score; 21 = Exposure to Discrimination
*Bolded and shaded correlations are significant at $p < .05$

**Research Question 2: Ordinal Logistic Regression**

A cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds was run to determine which MAS dimensions significantly influence the frequency with which Israeli adolescents report exposure to discrimination and how this varies by ethnic identity when controlling for age, gender, Israeli identity, parents' education level, SES, and religiosity (Table 8). Given the lack of relationships identified in initial bivariate analyses, Russian and Bedouin identities were left out of the model. All other identities were included.

Because six independent variables in this model were continuous, a high number of cells (2,357 or 74.5% of the entire cell pattern) held zero frequencies in this regression—indicating that overall goodness-of-fit tests should be interpreted with caution. That said, both the deviance goodness-of-fit test, $\chi^2(2355) = 1888.54$, $p = 1.00$, and the Pearson goodness-of-fit test, $\chi^2(2355) = 2336.48$, $p = .603$, suggested the model was a good fit to the observed data. Although the available measures of a model's explained variance in ordinal regressions are not as interpretable as they are in ordinary linear regressions, the Pseudo-$R^2$ calculations of the Cox and Snell and Nagelkerke suggested the model explained approximately 14% to 15% of the variance in reports of frequent discrimination exposure. While this is not a strong amount of explained variance, the likelihood-ratio test, which assesses the change in the model fit when the full model is compared to the intercept-only model, further supported the utility of the final model. Its estimates revealed that the final model significantly predicted the dependent variable over and above the intercept-only model, $\chi^2(17) = 118.89$, $p < .001$, denoting that the included independent variables significantly added to the prediction of the dependent variable.

Regression results revealed that Disadvantaged Ethnicity was the only MAS dimension to significantly associate with reporting more frequent discrimination exposure. For every one-unit increase on the Disadvantaged Ethnicity scale, the odds of reporting more frequent discrimination exposure increased by 1.08, 95% CI [1.02, 1.14], $\chi^2(1) = 7.78$, $p < .01$. Reports of psychological distress also significantly associated with reports of discrimination exposure. For every unit increase on the K-6 (indicating more psychological distress), the odds of reporting more frequent discrimination exposure were also 1.08, 95% CI [1.05, 1.12], $\chi^2(1) = 27.40$, $p < .001$.

Among demographic factors, gender, religiosity, Ethiopian identity, and age all significantly associated with reporting discrimination exposure. The odds of reporting more frequent discrimination increased 1.70 for identifying as male versus female, 95% CI [1.23, 2.36], $\chi^2(1) = 10.26$, $p = .001$; increased by 1.72 when coming from a religious versus a traditional or secular home, 95% CI [1.21, 2.45], $\chi^2(1) = 9.13$, $p < .01$; and increased by 4.12 when identifying as Ethiopian versus Ashkenazi, 95% CI [1.02, 16.59], $\chi^2(1) = 2.81$, $p < .05$. However, for every one-year increase in age, the odds of reporting frequent discrimination decreased 0.83, 95% CI [.70, .98], $\chi^2(1) = 4.88$, $p < .05$. In this sample, older age was therefore a protective factor against reporting more frequent discrimination exposure.

**Table 8. Summary of an Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting the Frequency of Israeli Adolescents' Exposure to Discrimination**

| Variable | *B* | *SE B* | $e^B$ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | | | |
| Age | -.19* | .09 | .83 |
| Male | .53** | .17 | 1.70 |
| Does Not Identify as Israeli | .30 | .20 | 1.35 |
| Father Post-High School Ed | -.29 | .18 | .75 |
| Mother Post-High School Ed | .24 | .19 | 1.27 |
| Religiosity | .55** | .18 | 1.72 |
| Difficult Family Finances | .16 | .34 | 1.17 |
| Mizrahi | .12 | .27 | 1.13 |
| Arab | -.19 | .31 | .83 |
| PCI | -.04 | .28 | .96 |
| Ethiopian | 1.42* | .72 | 4.12 |
| Other | .10 | .26 | 1.11 |
| Microaggression Subscales | | | |
| Criminalized Ethnicity | -.07 | .04 | .93 |
| Homogenized Ethnicity | .03 | .03 | 1.03 |
| Invisible Ethnicity | .03 | .03 | 1.03 |
| Disadvantaged Ethnicity | .08** | .03 | 1.08 |
| Mental Illness Symptomology | | | |
| K-6 Score | .08*** | .02 | 1.08 |
| Threshold (Never Exposed) | -1.06 | 1.43 | |
| Threshold (Infrequently Exposed) | .50 | 1.43 | |
| Threshold (Sometimes Exposed) | 2.10 | 1.44 | |
| Test Statistics | $\chi^2$ | | *df* |
| Pearson Goodness-of-Fit | 2336.48 | | 2355 |
| Deviance Goodness-of-Fit | 1888.54 | | 2355 |
| Likelihood Ratio Test | 118.89*** | | 17 |
| Test of Parallel Lines | 36.71 | | 30 |
| Cox & Snell $R^2$ | .14 | | |
| Nagelkerke $R^2$ | .15 | | |

*$p$ < .05. **$p$ < .01. ***$p$ < .001

As assessed by the Test of Parallel Lines, which compared the fit of the proportional odds location model to a model with varying location parameters, the assumption of proportional odds was met [$\chi^2(30) = 36.71$, $p = .186$]. This provided confidence that the independent variables in this model can be expected to have the same effect on each cumulative logit of the outcome variable. For the sake of extra caution, however, this assumption was further checked by running binomial logistic regressions with dichotomized versions of the outcome variable's cumulative categories. The resulting parameter estimates and odds ratios from these regressions were

examined closely, especially for the variables found to be significant in the ordinal logistic regression. A summary of these findings is presented in Table 9.

**Table 9. Summary of Parameter Estimates and Odds Ratios for the Dichotomized Cumulative Categories of Discrimination Exposure**

| | $B$ | | | $e^B$ | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Infrequent Exposure | Sometimes Exposed | Frequently Exposed | Infrequent Exposure | Sometimes Exposed | Frequently Exposed |
| Age | .04 | -.13 | -.39 | 1.04 | .88 | .68 |
| Gender | -.04 | -.28 | -.69 | .96 | .76 | .50 |
| Religiosity | .11 | -.11 | -.90 | 1.11 | .90 | .41 |
| Ethiopian Identity | 1.14 | -.06 | -1.87 | 3.13 | .95 | .15 |
| Disadvantaged Ethnicity | .05 | .04 | .09 | 1.06 | 1.04 | 1.09 |
| K-6 | -.02 | .05 | .10 | .98 | 1.05 | 1.10 |
| Intercept | -1.96 | -.44 | 1.71 | | | |

Because the assumption of proportional odds necessitates that the estimated slope coefficients are equal for each binomial logistic regression run on each dichotomized cumulative outcome variable, little variation should occur across each independent variable's coefficients at each logit level. For Disadvantaged Ethnicity and K-6 scores, this holds true. Across each level, odds ratios do not vary more than .05 for Disadvantaged Ethnicity and more than 0.12 for K-6 scores. This finding further increases confidence in the predictive power of these independent variables in the ordinal logistic regression model. For the other four independent variables however, dissimilarity is observed across levels. This is especially noticeable for Ethiopian Identity, wherein the odds ratio for Infrequent Discrimination Exposure is effectively 20 times the odds ratio for Frequent Discrimination Exposure. Therefore, even though the assumption of proportional odds is not violated for the overall model as evidenced by the Tests of Parallel Lines (as well as the wide confidence interval), findings from these binomial logistic regressions suggest that the association between Ethiopian Identity and frequency of discrimination exposure should be treated with caution.

**Summary of Research Question 2**

Question 2 sought to understand which MAS dimensions correlate with Israeli adolescent reports of discrimination exposure. When controlling for age, gender, Israeli identity, religiosity, parents' education level, SES, ethnic identity, and psychological distress, Disadvantaged Ethnicity was the only dimension found to significantly correlate with more frequent discrimination. Ethiopian was the only identity to report significantly more discrimination exposure than Ashkenazi-identified respondents. Additionally, more psychological distress, coming from a religious family, identifying as male, and being younger were all associated with reporting more frequent exposure to discrimination.

**Research Question 3: Multiple Regression**

For research question 3, a multiple regression analysis was performed to understand which MAS dimensions significantly associate with psychological distress and how this varies by ethnic identity when controlling for gender, Israeli identity, parents' education level, SES, and religiosity. As in research question 2, Russian and Bedouin identities were left out of the model. Age was also excluded as a covariate due to the lack of relationship it had with the independent and dependent variables in previous bivariate analyses.

Assumption Checking

Upon running an initial regression, several critical assumptions were checked via a series of tests and plots. First, a Durbin-Watson statistic of 1.97 provided confidence there were nearly no correlations between individual residuals, ensuring independence of observations within the data. Full and partial regression plots were then examined to ensure linear relationships existed between the independent variables and the dependent variable. Partial regression plots examining the relationships between each independent variable and K-6 scores, and a composite scatter plot examining the regression's studentized residuals versus unstandardized predicted values were all reviewed for an optimal scatter. Here concerns arose. Further explorations into normality, including examining histograms and reviewing the Shapiro-Wilk test for each MAS dimension and for the K-6 variable, suggested non-normal distributions with strong positive skews for each variable. Therefore, logarithmic transformations were performed on all MAS dimensions and the K-6 variable.

After re-running the regression with transformed variables, scatter plots were again reviewed. Though some imperfections to the plots remained, the scatter appeared improved and the assumption of linear relationships was met. Inspecting the plot of studentized residuals versus unstandardized predicted values also suggested adequate homoscedasticity of residuals. Further, inspections of Pearson correlations amongst the independent variables, and the variance inflation factor estimates revealed no alarming multicollinearity issues amongst the data—a fourth requisite for valid regression results. The last steps were to review the histogram and P-P plot of the regression's standardized residuals to confirm the assumption of normality and ensure there were no unusual points necessitating removal in the dataset (e.g. outliers, leverage, or influential points) so the analysis could proceed.

Interpreting Results

The full model with transformed variables significantly predicted endorsement of psychological distress amongst Israeli adolescents $F(15, 1015) = 11.695$, $p < .001$ (Table 10). That is, the addition of the independent variables in this model led to a model that better predicted endorsed psychological distress than the mean model would alone. However, the coefficient of determination, known as $R^2$, which is an estimate of the proportion of variance of the dependent variable accounted for by the model was .147, which is a small effect size according to Cohen (1988).

Eight variables significantly correlated with psychological distress. When controlling for all other variables, reporting difficult family finances was associated with an approximate 18% increase in K-6 score ($p < .001$), identifying as PCI was associated with a 14% increase in K-6 score ($p < .01$), and being Other-Identified was associated with an 11% increase in K-6 score ($p < .01$). Alternatively, male gender was associated with a 10% decrease in K-6 score ($p < .001$), coming from a religious family was associated with a 6% decrease in K-6 score ($p < .001$), and

reporting that your father had attended any form of higher education was associated with a 7% decrease in K-6 score ($p < .01$)—indicating that having a father with more education, coming from a religious home, and male gender all served as protective factors against psychological distress.

Invisible Ethnicity and Criminalized Ethnicity both significantly correlated with psychological distress. Given that both variables were log transformed, the Invisible Ethnicity coefficient can be interpreted to mean that for any 10% increase on the Invisible dimension (approximately 2 points), we can expect an approximate 12% increase in the K-6 score ($p < .001$); for any 10% increase on the Criminalized dimension (approximately 1 point), we can expect a 13% increase in the K-6 score ($p < .01$).

**Table 10. Results of a Multiple Regression Identifying Variables that Significantly Correlate with Psychological Distress**

| | *B* | $e^B$ | $SE_B$ | *t* | *β* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | 1.94 | 6.96 | .10 | 19.61*** | |
| Male | -.11 | .90 | .02 | -4.37*** | -.13 |
| Difficult Family Finances | .16 | 1.18 | .04 | 3.87*** | .12 |
| Religiosity | -.06 | .94 | .03 | -2.27* | -.07 |
| Father Higher Education | -.08 | .93 | .03 | -2.86** | -.10 |
| Mother Higher Education | -.01 | .99 | .03 | -.53 | -.02 |
| Israeli Identity | -.05 | .95 | .03 | -1.66 | -.06 |
| Mizrahi Identity | .07 | 1.07 | .04 | 1.80 | .07 |
| Arab Identity | .06 | 1.06 | .04 | 1.38 | .06 |
| PCI Identity | .13 | 1.14 | .04 | 3.39** | .16 |
| Ethiopian Identity | -.11 | .90 | .07 | -1.59 | -.05 |
| Other Identity | .10 | 1.11 | .04 | 2.67** | .10 |
| Invisible Ethnicity_Log | .11 | 1.12 | .05 | 2.34* | .10 |
| Disadvantaged Ethnicity_Log | .07 | 1.07 | .04 | 1.75 | .08 |
| Criminalized Ethnicity_Log | .12 | 1.13 | .04 | 2.81** | .13 |
| Homogenized Ethnicity_Log | .05 | 1.05 | .03 | 1.44 | .04 |
| $R^2$ | | | | .147 | |
| F | | | | 11.695*** (df = 15, 1015) | |
| Root MSE | | | | .353 | |

**Summary of Research Question 3**

Question 3 sought to understand which MAS dimensions correlated with Israeli adolescent reports of psychological distress. When controlling for gender, SES, religiosity, parents' education level, and Israeli identity, Invisible Ethnicity and Criminalized Ethnicity were significantly correlated with psychological distress. Identifying as PCI and as Other-Identity and reporting more difficult family finances were as well. Identifying as male, coming from a religious home, and having a father with more education were associated with decrease in psychological distress, indicating that these factors could protect against negative mental health outcomes.

**Research Question 4: Multilevel Modeling**

Question four of this study uses a multilevel model to understand how reports of total MAS scores differ by ethnic identity. Respondents were clustered by the sub-districts in which their hometown was located. Religiosity, parents' education level, Israeli identity, and psychological distress were controlled for at the student level and municipality size was controlled for at the sub-district-level.

In total, 18 sub-districts were identified based on the student's reported hometowns. Due to a software compatibility issue, hometowns that were reported in Arabic were unreadable and were removed. This left 918 participants for analysis. The districts ranged in size from 1 to 185 students, with a mean size of 51. Table 11 describes the mean MAS scores and standard deviations of the sample, broken down by both ethnic identity and geographic location. Table 12 reports the means and standard deviations for the individual-level variables. To check how much the individual-level variables vary between and within sub-districts, three different standard deviations are given: the overall standard deviation and the between-sub-district and within-sub-district standard deviation. Standard deviations show that across all individual-level variables, more variance exists within the sub-district clusters than between them.

Investigations into assumptions of normality for the MAS variable provided some cause for caution. Though initial examination of total MAS scores revealed a positive skew, examination of the residuals revealed the skew to be minor. Review of the scatterplot between ethnicity and MAS scores, though imperfect, suggested a potentially linear relationship. Thus, even though an examination of boxplots of MAS scores by ethnic origin and geographic location suggested that a logarithmic transformation of the MAS variable could be beneficial to analysis, it was ultimately deemed unnecessary. With the logarithmic transformation, visible outliers on the box plots decreased and the symmetry of whisker lines across ethnic identities improved moderately, yet the improvement appeared marginal. Given the effect a transformed dependent variable would have on model interpretability, it was decided to leave the MAS variable in its original form. However, the K-6 variable was left in its transformed form due to the normality concerns that arose with research question 3's multiple regression.

Table 13 presents estimates for the multilevel model of MAS reports. Models 1 through 4 are each random intercept models where individual- and locality-level variables were added into the null model in a step-by-step manner. All models differed significantly from previous ones, suggesting improved predictive ability.

Model 1 (the null model) indicates that the estimate of the overall population mean of MAS scores is 33.23. There was significant variation in MAS scores between districts ($\hat{\psi}$ = 3.93, SE = .92). Yet the intra-class correlation was small (.09) and can be interpreted in two ways. In one, the correlation between two randomly drawn students within a sub-district is .09. Alternatively, 9% of the total variability in MAS reports is explained by characteristics of the sub-district where a student lives. This result did not strongly indicate that sub-district variable explained differing MAS reports for Israeli adolescents or that there was much statistical dependency within this data.

Model 2 added in solely the student-level characteristic of ethnic origin, given that this was the main variable of exploration for this study. The hypothesized association between minority-ethnic identification and higher MAS scores was supported for all groups except those who identified as Mizrahi and as Russian. The most significant mean difference between ethnic group scores in Model 2 was between Ashkenazi and Ethiopian students, where the estimated

regression coefficient indicated that Ethiopian students scored an average of 15.28 more points on the MAS ($p < .001$).

Model 3 incorporated the rest of the student level-characteristics. When controlling for other variables, students who came from religious families scored an average of 3.19 more points on the MAS than students who did not ($p < .01$) and students who reported that they did not at all feel Israeli scored an average of 4.34 points on the MAS compared to students who at least sometimes felt they were Israeli ($p < .001$). Students whose mother completed some higher education scored, on average, 2.44 fewer points on the MAS than students whose mother had at most graduated from high school ($p < .01$). The same ethnic identity variables that held in Model 2 held for Model 3 as well, though the difference in scores between Ashkenazi and ethnic-minority students shrunk across all groups.

In the final model, Model 4, the sub-district level characteristic of municipality size was added. Other-Identified ethnicity lost significance, but all other associations identified in Model 3 remained. Only one municipality size was found to significantly associate with MAS scores. Students who reported living in small cities within their sub-districts scored an average of 4.36 points higher than students living in large cities within their sub-districts.

Across each model the coefficient of determination ($R^2$) grew, which is to be expected given the increase in variables. While the final model appeared to explain about one-fifth of the variance in MAS scores (21.2%), the intra-class correlation remained small throughout, even decreasing from .027 in Model 3 to .024 in Model 4. Thus, in final model, the sub-district level variable only appeared to explain 2.4% of the total variability in MAS scores. Because the intra-class correlation decreased from Models 3 to 4, and the within-level variation increased from Models 3 to 4, there is reason to see Model 3 as a better predictor of MAS scores than the final Model 4.

**Table 11. Means and Standard Deviations of MAS Scores by Ethnic Identity and Geographic Location**

| | Ashkenazi | Mizrahi | Arab | PCI | Russian | Ethiopian | Bedouin | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sharon | 25.31 (6.28) | 27.61 (8.75) | 38.16 (13.69) | 43.94 (9.31) | 25 | 48 (10.80) | | 37.12 (13.07) |
| Rehovot | 26.33 (4.32) | 26.69 (9.87) | | | 37 | 72 | | 21 (0) |
| Akko | 36 | 40.33 (21.20) | | | | | | 45 |
| Ramla | 23.67 (5.07) | 24.4 (4.67) | | 21 | 21 | 50 (18.19) | | 22 (0) |
| Tel Aviv | 26.30 (6.10) | 26.52 (8.21) | 44.83 (13.79) | 47.4 (14.07) | | 42.71 (13.62) | | 30.5 (13.97) |
| Petah Tikva | 24.23 (3.52) | 24.2 (6.61) | | | | 46 (29.70) | | 24.8 (3.49) |
| Jezreel | 25.42 (5.63) | 32.13 (9.17) | 35.67 (9.38) | 37.33 (12.15) | 21.5 (.71) | 33 | 37.25 (17.54) | 26.76 (5.47) |
| Jerusalem | 25 | 31 (9.55) | | | 21 | | | |
| Be'er Sheva | 33 | 28.67 (4.51) | 36.82 (11.72) | 39.01 (12.14) | | 28.5 (10.61) | 39 (15.50) | 39.78 (14.07) |
| Hadera | 30 (9.90) | 38 (8) | 31.67 (15.95) | 39.67 (13.58) | 37.33 (10.02) | 35 | | 35.46 (10.93) |
| Ashkelon | 27.83 (8.79) | 22.57 (1.23) | | | 23.5 (.71) | 28 | | 31 (10.83) |
| Haifa | 36.79 (14.96) | 27.8 (6.87) | | | 30 | 24 | | 21 (0) |
| Kinneret | | 30 | | | | | | 25 |
| Judea & Samaria | 35 (13.29) | 31.5 (21) | | | | | | 29 (11.31) |
| Golan | 50 | | | | | | | |
| Tzfat | | 21 | | | | | | |
| Gallilee | | 57 (3.61) | 38.46 (9.49) | 42.42 (11.77) | | | | 37.06 (10.08) |
| Western Gallilee | 35 | | 35.19 (9.63) | 36.46 (12.52) | 45 | | | 36.3 (10.53) |

**Table 12. Means and Standard Deviations for Individual-Level Variables, Within- and Between-Levels**

| Variable | | Mean | SD |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mas21 | Overall | 34.98 | 12.90 |
| | Between | | 6.73 |
| | Within | | 12.33 |
| Mizrahi | Overall | .133 | .34 |
| | Between | | .27 |
| | Within | | .31 |
| Arab | Overall | .11 | .31 |
| | Between | | .07 |
| | Within | | .21 |
| PCI | Overall | .21 | .46 |
| | Between | | .22 |
| | Within | | .41 |
| Russian | Overall | .01 | .12 |
| | Between | | .03 |
| | Within | | .12 |
| Ethiopian | Overall | .04 | .19 |
| | Between | | .04 |
| | Within | | .18 |
| Bedouin | Overall | .02 | .14 |
| | Between | | .02 |
| | Within | | .13 |
| Other-Identity | Overall | .18 | .39 |
| | Between | | .09 |
| | Within | | .38 |
| Religiosity | Overall | .35 | .48 |
| | Between | | .21 |
| | Within | | .42 |
| Father Higher Ed | Overall | .50 | .50 |
| | Between | | .25 |
| | Within | | .48 |
| Mother Higher Ed | Overall | .56 | .50 |
| | Between | | .20 |
| | Within | | .47 |
| Israeli Identity | Overall | .35 | .48 |
| | Between | | .25 |
| | Within | | .42 |
| K6_Log | Overall | 2.58 | .38 |
| | Between | | .12 |
| | Within | | .37 |

**Table 13. Results of Multilevel Models Identifying Variables that Significantly Correlate with Overall Microaggression Reports**

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fixed Part | | | | |
| Intercept | 33.23 (1.15)*** | 27.27 (1.11)*** | 24.88 (3.06)*** | 25.41 (3.20)*** |
| Within Level[a] | | | | |
| Mizrahi | | .65 | -.26 | -.19 |
| Arab | | 10.18*** | 6.09*** | 4.89** |
| PCI | | 11.95*** | 6.47*** | 5.62** |
| Russian | | 1.97 | 1.54 | .93 |
| Ethiopian | | 15.28*** | 12.59*** | 11.92*** |
| Bedouin | | 10.49** | 7.56* | 7.01* |
| Other | | 6.54*** | 3.15* | 2.49 |
| Religiosity | | | 3.19** | 3.01** |
| Father's Higher Ed | | | -.03 | -.06 |
| Mother's Higher Ed | | | -2.44* | -2.49* |
| Israeli Identity | | | 4.34*** | 4.39*** |
| K6_Log | | | 1.93 | 1.75 |
| Between Level[b] | | | | |
| Medium City | | | | .00 |
| Small City | | | | 4.36** |
| Local Council/Town | | | | -1.18 |
| Regional Council | | | | .48 |
| Random Part | | | | |
| Between-Level ($\psi$) | 3.91 (.92) | 1.75 (.70) | 1.85(.77) | 1.75 (.77) |
| Within-Level ($\theta$) | 12.44 (.29) | 11.60(.28) | 11.09 (.29) | 11.13 (.29) |
| $R^2$ | | .184 | .209 | .212 |
| Interclass correlation ($\boldsymbol{\rho}$) | .090 | .022 | .027 | .024 |

*$p$ < .05. **$p$ < .01. ***$p$ < .001
[a]Ashkenazi Reference Category
[b]Large City Reference Category

**Summary of Research Question 4**

Question 4 sought to understand if reports of microaggressions among Israeli adolescents vary by ethnic identity. This study's hypothesis that microaggression reports would vary by ethnic identity in Israel and that minority groups would report significantly more microaggressions than the dominant group was supported. Compared to Ashkenazi students and when controlling for the individual-level covariates of religiosity, parents' education level, Israeli identity, and psychological distress, mean MAS scores were significantly higher for Arab, PCI, Ethiopian, Bedouin, and Other-Identified students. When controlling for both individual-level and cluster-level covariates in the final model, the significant difference in mean MAS scores remained for all groups except Other-Identified students. Not at all feeling Israeli and identifying as religious both correlated to higher MAS scores. Having a mother who had completed some form of higher education was a protective factor against higher MAS scores. However, this study's hypothesis that a relationship would be found between overall reports of microaggressions and overall reports of psychological distress was not supported. This study's hypothesis that overall MAS reports would be more pronounced in larger localities, was also not

supported. In general, the results of this analysis indicate that little variance was explained at the locality-level. In the final model, the intra-class correlation dropped to 2.4% suggesting the sub-districts had little explanatory power in predicting overall MAS scores.

# Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter presents my dissertation's key findings, contributions to the discrimination literature, and research, practice, and policy implications. It acknowledges the limitations present in this study, and provides a final summary of the research.

## MAS Dimensions among Israeli Adolescents

### Identified MAS Dimensions

An EFA was conducted to test the validity of an adapted version of the RMAS with this study's population. Final results identified a 21-item, four-factor solution that explained 63.78% of the total variance. After examining the factor loadings for each item, the four MAS dimensions identified were: Invisible Ethnicity, which captured experiences of feeling looked past, ignored, or not taken seriously due to your ethnic identity; Homogenized Ethnicity, which captured experiences of feeling that all members of your ethnic group are clumped together so as to invalidate individual differences; Disadvantaged Ethnicity, which captured experiences of feeling as if your ethnic group faces more difficulties than other groups in society; and Criminalized Ethnicity, which captured experiences of feeling as if your ethnicity leads others to characterize you as aggressive or criminal. Cronbach's alpha calculations for all MAS dimensions and the MAS scale overall ranged from .79 to .93. These calculations indicated alphas that were acceptable to excellent. The adapted MAS construct and each of the four dimensions were found to be reliable, conceptually multidimensional, and psychometrically multidimensional.

The MAS dimensions this study identifies overlap those identified by Torres-Harding et al. in their U.S.-based, adult-tested development of the RMAS (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Specifically, the dimensions *Invisibility* and *Criminality* in the RMAS correspond closely to the Invisible and Criminalized dimensions identified in the MAS. These findings suggest those dimensions may be valid cross-nationally and applicable to adolescent as well as adult populations. Overlap also occurred with the RMAS dimension of *Low Achieving/Undesirable Culture*. However, this study found that microaggressions related to feeling like all people from your ethnic background are the same, viewed as uniformly incompetent/low achieving, or only successful in life due to preferential treatment was better captured with two distinct dimensions—Disadvantaged and Homogenized Ethnicity.

The three other dimensions identified by Torres-Harding et al. translated less well to this study. These included the dimensions of: *Sexualization*, which related to sexual stereotypes or being oversexed due to your ethnic background; *Environmental Invalidations*, which related to feeling that people from your ethnic group do not occupy positions of power in your school or community, and *Foreigner/Not Belonging*, which related to feeling you were not a true national. These dimensions were excluded from this study due to the age of and translatability to its respondents. Nevertheless, future research examining if these dimensions translate to Israeli adults is warranted.

### Univariate and Bivariate Analyses of MAS and MAS Dimensions

On average, students did not report high exposure to microaggressions. The mean MAS score was 34.90 (S.D. = 12.72), indicating infrequent encounters. Arab, PCI, Ethiopian, Bedouin, and Other-Identified students all scored significantly higher on the MAS compared to Ashkenazi students. Ethiopian students had the highest mean MAS score of 42.68 (S.D. =

15.07), though this still indicated infrequent encounters on average. Across dimensions, experiences related to Disadvantaged Ethnicity were reported the most. Arab, PCI, Ethiopian, Bedouin, and Other-Identified students had mean scores significantly higher than Ashkenazi students for the Invisible and Disadvantaged Ethnicity dimensions. While no significant difference in MAS scores for Criminalized Ethnicity was found between Ashkenazi and Bedouin groups, significant differences exist when comparing the scores of Ashkenazi with those of Arab, PCI, Ethiopian, and Other-Identified groups. MAS scores for Homogenized Ethnicity revealed only showed a significant difference when comparing Ashkenazi with Arab, PCI, and Ethiopian groups.

Taken at face value, the lower MAS scores here could indicate that Israeli adolescents are not encountering frequent microaggressions. Understanding this finding with more nuance however requires accounting for the segregation mandated in Israel, wherein schools are religiously separate and only ten percent of the Arab population live in ethnically mixed localities (Mizrachi & Herzog, 2012). Thus, even if reports are on average infrequent, it is requesite to consider that adolescents are encountering ethnically-driven microaggressions even in-spite of the societal-imposed segregations in their everyday life. Longitudinal research would be required to understand the impact said segregation has on the lower MAS scores as these adolescents move into more mixed university or professional settings.

**Reports of Frequent Discrimination Exposure among Israeli Adolescents**

Frequency of Discrimination Exposure, Overall and by Ethnic Identity

**Univariate and Bivariate Analyses.** Overall, 61.1% of the sample reported ever feeling exposed to discrimination, though only 9.5% reported feeling frequently exposed. This is important given that no previously identified literature has measured perceived discrimination reports with such a diverse sample of Israeli adolescents, and these findings therefore begin to fill a gap in the Israeli discrimination literature.

The highest percentage of Ethiopian (37%) and Bedouin (20%) students reported frequent discrimination exposure. After running a one-way ANOVA, post-hoc tests revealed that PCI and Ethiopian students were significantly more likely to report frequent discrimination exposure than Ashkenazi students. This was not the case for Mizrahi, Arab, Russian, Bedouin, or Other-Identified students. That Mizrahi and Arab students reported discrimination exposure that did not differ significantly from Ashkenazi students is in line with some previous literature. Research shows these groups can reject identifying with discrimination narratives (Arieli et al., 2012; Mizrachi & Herzog, 2012; Shoshana, 2016a). However, socioeconomic and health disparities still exist in the aggregate between these groups and native-born Ashkenazi Jews (Lewin et al., 2006; Lewin-Epstein et al., 2003; Moore & Aweiss, 2003) and at least one study has found that Arab professionals encounter regular microaggressions in the workplace (Shoshana, 2016b). It is thus likely that despite low reports of perceived discrimination amongst Mizrahi and Arab adolescents, segregation and discrimination may be occurring at institutional levels that adolescents in this study have not yet been exposed to.

That Ethiopian students report frequent discrimination exposure is a deviation from some prior literature. When interviewed, Ethiopian adults have been unwilling to discuss discrimination or racism in the first person, or have expressed feeling personally responsible for encountering it (Mizrachi & Herzog, 2012; Walsh et al., 2015).

That Russian and Bedouin students were not more likely to report frequent discrimination exposure than Ashkenazi students was also not expected. However, caution is warranted in

interpreting these findings as these groups comprised only 1.3% and 2.0% of the sample respectively. This caution is further warranted given a previous study wherein nearly two-thirds of FSU migrant adults in Israel reported discrimination exposure compared to one-fifth of native-born Jews (Epel et al., 2010), and given the high proportion of Bedouin students who endorsed frequent discrimination exposure in this research.

Also notable is that PCI students differed significantly from Arab students in reporting frequent exposure to discrimination (15% versus 4%). This difference further underscores how the lived experiences of these two identities vary and why it is critical for research to study them separately.

**Regression Analysis.** When controlling for age, gender, Israeli identity, religiosity, parents' education level, SES, MAS dimensions, and psychological distress, Ethiopian was the only identity group to report significantly more discrimination exposure than Ashkenazi respondents, with 4.12 odds of reporting more discrimination exposure 95% CI [1.02, 16.59], $\chi^2(1) = 2.81$, $p < .05$. However, the wide confidence interval and the variation in parameter estimates across logit levels identified in post-analysis diagnostic testing gives reason to interpret these results with caution. Ethiopian students only comprised 3.8% of the total sample size, which weakened capacity to obtain a less tenuous parameter and produce a smaller confidence interval.

Still, this finding provides insight into the experience of Ethiopian-Israeli adolescents. Because prior research has found less willingness from Ethiopian-Israeli adults to acknowledge discrimination, this finding could indicate evolving attitudes, potentially suggesting that younger generations have more comfort acknowledging discrimination experiences than do older generations. Also, since this finding was obtained via self-report, it may suggest that certain qualitative-specific biases such as social-desirability bias, influenced earlier understanding of the Ethiopian discrimination experience. It is plausible that discrimination is something Ethiopian-Israelis would rather report on privately than express openly to others.

The lack of significant differences in reports of discrimination exposure across all other ethnic identities compared to Ashkenazi respondents is notable. However, only 16.1% of the sample reported that they lived in hometowns that had religious diversity. Therefore, the majority of respondents were likely not exposed to out-group members in their everyday lives. The lack of significant differences found here could be representative of the complexity of identity politics in Israel. Previous research has identified that perceived discrimination in the country is reported by members of society thought to be part of the dominant group (Epel et al., 2010; Gelkopf et al., 2008). Given Bar-Tal's (2000) societal belief in one's own victimization, which he sees as fundamental to the sustainment of political conflict, the lack of differences in discrimination reports here may be more indicative of Ashkenazi Jews' heightened perceptions of discrimination than it is of other groups' lowered perceptions.

Relationship with MAS Dimensions

Question 2 sought to understand which MAS dimensions correlate with Israeli adolescent reports of frequent discrimination exposure. While microaggressions are forms of discrimination, experiencing an act that researchers in the U.S. have identified as discriminatory does not ensure it will be interpreted as such by adolescents in Israel. Hence, the MAS dimensions identified via this study's factor analysis were treated as individual independent variables in the model predicting reports of discrimination exposure.

Disadvantaged Ethnicity was the only dimension found to significantly correlate with more frequent discrimination. For every one-point increase on the scale, which ranged from 5-20, the odds of reporting more frequent discrimination exposure increased by 1.08, 95% CI [1.02, 1.14], $\chi^2(1) = 7.78$, $p < .01$. Thus, amongst this sample and when controlling for all other covariates, only microaggressions related to feeling like your ethnic group faces more difficulties than others, or that your ethnic group is less privileged, correlated with reporting more frequent discrimination exposure.

None of the other three MAS dimensions were significantly associated with the reporting of more frequent discrimination exposure. Although microaggression experiences related to Invisible Ethnicity, Homogenized Ethnicity, and Criminalized Ethnicity were reported by Israeli adolescents, this study could not find evidence these experiences were related to whether an adolescent actually felt discriminated against.

The implications of this finding are nebulous. On one hand, they could mean that Israeli adolescents experience all types of microaggressions but do not perceive all as discriminatory—potentially indicating that microaggressions are not a valid indicator of perceived discrimination in this population. On the other hand, they could suggest that adolescents may need more support understanding microaggressions when they occur. That is, if students are experiencing discrimination but are not recognizing it as such they likely will not be able to adequately respond or process, which can make people vulnerable to the sort of internalized discrimination or self-doubt identified in the literature as harmful to development. Because of the uncertainty around the interpretability of this finding, additional research in the form of observational or qualitative studies would likely be helpful for clarifying how microaggressions are perceived and processed among this population.

Nevertheless, this finding underscores that microaggressions which send messages that an Israeli adolescent is part of disadvantaged or second-class group impacts the likelihood that that adolescent is going to feel discriminated against. Because the litany of research identified in Chapter 3 correlates perceived discrimination with negative wellbeing outcomes and because discrimination experienced in adolescence can disrupt healthy ethnic-identity development, microaggressions related to Disadvantaged Ethnicity should garner attention from educators and policymakers.

Psychological Distress

Psychological distress increased the likelihood of reporting frequent discrimination exposure. This relationship is not surprising given *a priori* knowledge on the relationship between negative mental health outcomes and perceived discrimination. Yet while much of the literature reported upon in Chapter 3 discusses how perceptions of discrimination can predict more psychological distress, less has discussed how psychological distress predicts more perceived discrimination. Due to the cross-sectional nature of this study, obtaining a temporal or causal relationship between these two variables is impossible. That said, this finding insinuates that buffering against psychological distress by potentially bolstering mental health services for adolescents in schools would decrease the likelihood that an adolescent perceives themselves to be discriminated against, and would decrease their vulnerability to the negative associated wellbeing outcomes.

Other Demographic Factors

Coming from a religious or orthodox family, identifying as male, and being younger were all associated with reporting more frequent exposure to discrimination. These findings fall in line with previous research to an extent. For example, approximately one-fifth of Jewish and one-fifth of Arab adults in Israel believe there is "a lot" of discrimination against religious Jews (Pew Research Center, 2016). The literature, however, is mixed on whether adolescent females or males tend to perceive more freuqent discrimination (Benner & Graham, 2011; Umaña-Taylor, Wong, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2012). However, reports of racial-ethnic discrimination are typically found to increase with age (Benner & Graham, 2011). The association between decreasing reports and age in this sample could therefore be a byproduct of the lack of specificity embedded in the original question. Because the wording was not limited to ethnic-specific discrimination it is plausible that the exposure felt from younger respondents were indicative of a separate type of discrimination altogether. Further research would be necessary to unpack why a negative association between older age and frequent exposure to discrimination emerged in this study.

**Reports of Psychological Distress among Israeli Adolescents**

Prevalence of Psychological Distress, Overall and by Ethnic Identity

**Univariate and Bivariate Analyses.** On average, adolescents had a K-6 score of 14.17 (S.D. = 5.39), which indicated a moderate mean amount of psychological distress.[9] Arab, PCI, and Other-Identified students averaged K-6 scores that were approximately 2.4 to 3.7 points higher than Ashkenazi students. Post-hoc analyses following a One-Way ANOVA identified these differences as significant. By ethnic group, PCI students reported the highest mean K-6 scores ($\bar{x}$ = 15.45, S.D. = 6.02) while Arab students averaged mean K-6 scores of 14.18 (S.D. = 4.97). This is not a surprising finding given previous research that identifies higher psychological distress for PCIs/Arab-Israelis (Gelkopf et al., 2008; Hobfoll et al., 2006; Johnson et al., 2009; Klodnick et al., 2014; Sachs et al., 2007; Somer et al., 2009). However, the majority of research has typically not teased apart Arab-Israelis who identify as PCI and Arab-Israelis who do not, so this finding offers even more helpful insight into how the experiences of these two groups can differ.

No identified previous research, however, has examined levels of psychological distress among Israelis who do not fall into a prominent ethnic identity category, who identify with multiple ethnic identities, who feel unsure about which ethnicity they identify with, or who opt out of identifying with an ethnicity altogether. That students who identified as Other-Identity in this sample reported K-6 scores that were significantly higher than Ashkenazi students ($\bar{x}$ = 14.37, S.D. = 5.14) is thus notable. Unpacking the identities and experiences of these students in more depth should be prioritized in future research.

**Regression Analysis.** When controlling for gender, SES, religiosity, parents' education levels, Israeli identity, and the four MAS dimensions, identifying as PCI was associated with a 14% increase in K-6 scores, and as Other-Identity with an 11% increase in K-6 scores. While these are not large effects, given the relatively small range of possible scores within the K-6 scale overall, they are meaningful. They highlight that students in these identity categories may be privy to unique vulnerabilities and stressors that are not being effectively addressed by policymakers, educators, and/or mental health professionals.

[9] A score of 17 has been suggested as an optimal cutoff point for discriminating the presence of SMI among adolescents (Chan & Fung, 2014).

Considering the political climate and the literature that has regularly identified the negative messages PCIs receive about their identity in Israel (Arieli et al., 2012; Shoshana, 2016b), it is not surprising that psychological distress reports are higher amongst this group. This study looks to minority stress theory (Meyer, 1995) to help explain how negative messages about one's identity, especially over time, can lead to an accumulation of stress and then to negative mental and physical health outcomes. While many have ways to buffer themselves from minority-induced stress, this finding suggests that PCI adolescents in Israel are not accessing or granted opportunity to build these buffers to the extent that they need. As these buffers can include a higher positive regard for one's own ethnicity and a higher a sense of ethno-racial centrality (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008), the higher psychological distress reports of Other-Identified students could suggest that these adolescents are adolescents unsure of where they fit. They may be left unable to build up their sense of centrality and positive regard for their ethnicity because they are unclear on what their ethnicity is. Directing more attention to understanding students who feel they are "Other" in Israel should be a goal of future mental health and identity development research.

Relationship with MAS Dimensions

Question 3 sought to understand which MAS dimensions are associated with Israeli adolescent reports of psychological distress. While a bevy of literature supports the relationship between microaggressions and psychological distress, research also supports the notion that different forms of microaggressions impact different groups differently (Hollingsworth et al., 2017; Nadal et al., 2014). Similar to Question 2, each MAS dimension identified via this study's factor analysis was thus treated as an independent variable in the model. This provided insight into how MAS dimensions varied when it came to their association with Israeli adolescent mental health.

Invisible Ethnicity and Criminalized Ethnicity were both associated with psychological distress, while Disadvantaged Ethnicity and Homogenized Ethnicity were not. Every approximate two-point increase on the Invisible Ethnicity sub-scale (which ranged from 6-24) correlated to a 12% increase in K-6 score ($p < .05$). Every approximate one-point increase on the Criminalized Ethnicity sub-scale (which ranged from 4-16) correlated to a 13% increase in K-6 score ($p < .01$). Therefore, experiencing microaggressions related to being looked past or ignored because of your ethnic identity or microaggressions related to feeling like you were treated as aggressive or criminal because of your ethnic identity correlated with more mental health concerns.

However, neither Invisible Ethnicity nor Criminalized Ethnicity were significant in the earlier regression model that examined perceived discrimination. Given that microaggressions are, by definition, forms of discrimination (Sue et al., 2007), these findings indicate that Israeli adolescents are encountering ethnically-driven discrimination experiences harmful to their psychological wellbeing, but are either not perceiving these encounters as discriminatory or are not wanting to acknowledge them as discriminatory.

Not acknowledging the Invisible or Criminalized Ethnicity dimensions as discriminatory could be thought as a form of disengagement, which is a type of coping response to stress. Disengagement coping strategies involve a person attempting to avoid the stressor or attempting to avoid thinking about the stressor. Conversely, engagement coping strategies involve a person attempting to change the stressor or their reaction to it. While only weak evidence exists to suggest that engagement coping strategies buffer the effects of perceived discrimination on

psychological wellbeing, stronger evidence shows that disengagement strategies exacerbate effects (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). Thus, not providing Israeli adolescents with the proper support or resources to engage with Invisible or Criminalized microaggressions could be exacerbating psychological distress by facilitating disengagement, perhaps harming those already grappling with unrelated mental health concerns in particular.

Further, that Disadvantaged Ethnicity was not associated with psychological distress but was associated with perceived discrimination is notable. Taken together this finding suggests that microaggressions perceived by adolescents to be discriminatory are associated with less psychological distress than microaggressions not perceived by adolescents to be discriminatory. While more research is needed to understand this outcome, it provides preliminary evidence that helping students appropriately perceive, engage with, and cope with microaggressions may correlate with diminished psychological distress.

Other Demographic Factors

When controlling for all other variables, reporting more difficult family finances was a risk factor for psychological distress while identifying as male, coming from a religious home, and having a father with more education were protective factors. More difficult family finances were associated with an approximate 18% increase in K-6 score ($p$ <.001). Male gender was associated with a 10% decrease in K-6 score ($p$ < .001), coming from a religious family was associated with a 6% decrease in K-6 score ($p$ < .001), and reporting that your father had graduated from some form of higher education was associated with a 7% decrease in K-6 score ($p$ < .01). These findings all fall in line with previous literature (Bleich et al., 2003).

**Reports of Microaggressions among Israeli Adolescents**

Ethnicity

Question 4 sought to understand if reports of microaggressions among Israeli adolescents vary by ethnic identity. This study's initial hypothesis that microaggression reports would vary by ethnic identity in Israel and that minority groups would report significantly more microaggressions than the dominant group was supported. Compared to Ashkenazi students and when only controlling for the individual-level covariates of religiosity, parents' education level, Israeli identity, and psychological distress, mean MAS scores were significantly higher for Arab ($p$ < .001), PCI ($p$ < .001), Ethiopian ($p$ < .001), Bedouin ($p$ < .05), and Other-Identified students ($p$ < .05). When controlling for both individual-level and locality-level covariates in the final model, the significant difference in mean MAS scores remained for all groups except Other-Identified students.

No significant differences in total MAS scores were found between Ashkenazi respondents and Russian or Mizrahi respondents. These groups are predominantly Jewish. While the lack of difference could suggest that Jewish adolescents in Israel are not experiencing microaggressions in ways that differ by ethnicity, Ethiopian adolescents break this pattern. On average Ethiopian respondents reported 11.70 more points on the MAS scale compared to Ashkenazi adolescents. This is compatible with this study's previous finding that Ethiopian students are the only ethnic group more likely than Ashkenazi students to perceive frequent exposure to discrimination.

Findings from this study are consistent in highlighting the higher levels of perceived discrimination experienced by Ethiopian students. Though PCI, Arab, and Bedouin students also averaged significantly higher MAS scores compared to Ashkenazi students (5.90, 5.28, and 6.63,

respectively), the higher reports by Ethiopians may speak to the fact that Arab students are predominantly segregated from Jewish students, may be experiencing less out-group exposure, and therefore may have fewer opportunities to perceive discrimination from others. As Jews, Ethiopian students are not segregated so their experience may offer a more reliable capture of what the microaggression experience looks like when out-group exposure for minority groups increase.

Psychological Distress

This study's hypothesis that a relationship would be found between overall reports of microaggressions and overall reports of psychological distress was not supported. K-6 scores were not associated with total MAS scores. This finding is noteworthy given that the MAS dimensions of Invisible Ethnicity and Criminalized Ethnicity did correlate with more psychological distress. This study is cross-sectional and unable to establish causal relationships. However, these findings suggest that microaggression exposure is more of a contributing factor to psychological distress than psychological distress is a contributing factor to perceptions of microaggressions. Such a notion is supported by Minority Stress Theory (Meyer, 1995).

Other Demographic Factors

Father's education level was the only demographic variable in the model that did not significantly correlate with overall MAS scores. Not at all feeling Israeli and identifying as religious both corresponded to significantly higher MAS scores compared to adolescents who at least sometimes felt Israeli and students who reported coming from traditional or secular homes. Having a mother who had completed some form of higher education was a protective factor against higher MAS scores. On average students who reported a mother with a post-high school education had a MAS score that was 2.49 points less than students who reported a mother whose education ended at high school. That Israeli identity and religiosity were significant contributors to overall MAS scores suggests that microaggression research in Israel may benefit from studying microaggressions aimed at religious and national identities in addition to ethnic identities.

Sub-Districts and Municipality Size

This study's hypothesis that overall MAS reports will be more pronounced in larger localities where adolescents may have more exposure to out-group members was not supported. The only municipality size that significantly associated with MAS reports was Small City. Students who reported that their hometowns qualified as small cities reported an average of 4.36 more points on the MAS scale than students whose hometowns qualified as large.

Understanding this finding requires further research and in general, the correlation between small city and MAS reports should be interpreted with caution. The results of this analysis indicated that very little overall variance was explained at the locality-level. In the null model, the intra-class correlation indicated that only 9% of the variance was explained by the locality level. This dropped to 2.4% in the final model. The within-cluster variance was consistently larger than the between-cluster variance across variables and models. This suggests that students shared more commonalities with students in other sub-districts than they did with students within their own. In this sample clustering students by their sub-district offered little explanatory power. While this does not necessarily mean that geographic locality in Israel is irrelevant to microaggression experiences, future research should potentially seek to capture the

contribution of regional or geographic variation differently—perhaps through more objective measures such as postal codes or more purposive sampling to ensure more balanced or robust representation across localities.

**Limitations of the Present Study**

This study contributes to the literature by exploring the presence and correlates of microaggression reports among Israeli adolescents, which has been largely unexplored to date. However, it has several limitations related to sampling, study design, and measurement.

Because this study utilized a convenience sample and was not designed to be nationally representative, its findings cannot be generalized to the entire Israeli adolescent population. Data were not collected on students or schools that declined participation, and it was thus not possible to account for selection bias. Also, given this study's interest in understanding the experiences of ethnic minority students in Israel, over-sampling members of particular groups (e.g. Ethiopian, Russian, Bedouin, and Druze), and obtaining more concrete information on Other-Identified students would have provided more power and precision to this study's results. Over-sampling students with more out-group exposure in their daily life could have also benefited the findings. The majority of respondents lived in hometowns that were religiously homogeneous (83.9%). This likely limited many students' exposure to out-group members and risks for certain exposures to discrimination. Utilizing longitudinal research to understand how discrimination reports change for adolescents who move from homogeneous to more heterogeneous settings as they age could be therefore an important complement to this study. Alternatively, replicating this study with more intentional samples of adolescents from homogenous versus heterogeneous communities could also be worthwhile.

A limitation to the study's design was its reliance on cross-sectional survey data. Survey research is useful for obtaining large numbers of respondents and understanding the distribution of an outcome in a population, and was therefore appropriate for the purposes of this study. However, it also prevents the time ordering of factors essential to the establishment of causal relationships. Identifying causality and/or directionality to findings was hence impossible. Its reliance on structured, subjective, and quantitative responses also negated capacity to understand some of the nuance in the findings. Had a qualitative component been added to this data, the subtle distinctions of the microaggression experiences likely would have been illuminated in a way that may have improved the validity of the findings.

This study also utilized self-report data. Self-report data is helpful for defining a wide array of constructs in a relatively straightforward manner. It minimizes risks of interviewer bias. It also increases respondents' feelings of anonymity which may increase honesty in answers, though the merits of this claim are debated (Hoyle, Harris, & Judd, 2002). However, issues around accuracy and completeness of responses tend to arise with self-report data. Respondents can be less motivated to engage with the questions because the rapport cultivated via face-to-face or even telephone-surveys is not there. Memory recall bias can also limit how accurately people remember their lived experiences. Had more objective measures been collected in this study (e.g., postal codes for geographic locality or numerical estimates of family income), confidence in the strength of some of the subjective variables incorporated here may have improved.

Another measurement limitation corresponded to research Question 2. A one-item measure capturing frequent exposure to discrimination was utilized as the dependent variable in the model. While some are critical of the validity of one-item Likert questions (e.g., Rossiter, 2008), others have argued that positively-worded Likert items are capable of having acceptable

predictive ability (Alexandrov, 2010); single-item measures can be useful in capturing broad summary ratings (e.g., general exposure to discrimination, Bowling, 2005). Still questions arose during analysis as to whether the content validity of the discrimination variable in this study was as sound as it could have been.

Lastly, though this study led to a number of significant and illuminating findings and evidence suggests its models were acceptable, the coefficients of determination ($R^2$) across analyses remained small. The coefficients ranged from around 15% to 21%, indicating that up to 85% of the proportion of variance in each model's dependent variable remained unexplained by the independent variables. As such, much of what contributes to the phenomena examined in this study (i.e., perceptions of discrimination, psychological distress, and overall reports of microaggressions) is unaccounted for by this research. More work would need to be done to understand what important factors were left out of this study, potentially via qualitative or observational research.

**Summary and Conclusion**

Despite these limitations, this research has key strengths. This study is the first to examine reports of microaggressions among Israeli adolescents and to establish the relationship between microaggression reports, perceptions of discrimination, and psychological distress. By building on social, political, and developmental psychology theories, it employs a unique approach to understanding how minority adolescents in Israel experience discrimination in their daily lives. It revealed that although only 9.5% of respondents reported frequent exposure to discrimination, 61.1% reported ever feeling discriminated against.

The results of this study support the notion that incorporating microaggressions into the literature on adolescent wellbeing in Israel is worthy of further study. While all microaggression dimensions were endorsed to some degree by Israeli adolescents, only Disadvantaged Ethnicity was associated with more perceived discrimination. Only the Invisible Ethnicity and Criminalized Ethnicity dimensions were associated with increased psychological distress. This suggests that students are being exposed to discriminatory experiences harmful to their wellbeing, but are not necessarily recognizing them as discriminatory. It is therefore likely that these students are less able to process and respond to discrimination in healthy ways (Sue et al., 2008). Parsing out these microaggression dimensions and understanding the different ways they impact adolescents may help educators, policymakers, and mental health workers minimize discrimination exposure and mitigate psychological distress in Israel.

The results of this study also shed light on the perceived discrimination experience of Ethiopian adolescents. Arab, PCI, Bedouin, and Ethiopian students all reported higher MAS scores compared to Ashkenazi students in this study's final multilevel model. Yet Ethiopian students were the only group to also report significantly more frequent exposure to discrimination after controlling for covariates. Though reason exists to interpret the strength of that association with caution, these findings underscore the need to direct dedicated resources to the plight of Ethiopian adolescents. Because Ethiopian adolescents did not have significantly higher levels of psychological distress in this study, future research should expand operationalization of wellbeing to identify if there are other negative consequences from perceived discrimination not captured here.

Dedicated resources should also be supplied to PCI adolescents and Other-Identified adolescents, who both reported significantly higher mean levels of psychological distress even after controlling for covariates. While higher levels of psychological distress among PCIs in

Israel is well documented, research seeking to separate out the experiences of PCI-identified adolescents and Arab-identified adolescents is rare. This study finds the mean experiences of these groups to differ significantly and stresses the importance of not combining them in future social science research or intervention.

Likewise, Other-Identified students are another group that should be better understood. While it is unknown why these students do not identify with one of the provided ethnic categories, this study's findings reveal that, in Israel, not identifying with an ethnic group is a risk factor for more psychological distress. Research suggests that building up a higher positive regard for one's own ethnicity and holding a higher sense of ethno-racial centrality can buffer against psychological distress (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008). It is thus possible that these students report more psychological distress because uncertainty around their ethnic identities or a sense of exclusion has prevented them from building up such buffers. Further, when accounting for Phinney's Theory of Ethnic-Identity Formation, the greater psychological distress could be indicative of students in a moratorium phase where their attempt to discover their ethnic identity is yielding more duress.

Regardless, these results intimate that having a defined sense of ethnic identity and a defined sense of belonging is beneficial to Israeli adolescents' wellbeing. The importance of belonging is underscored by the finding that not at all feeling like an Israeli associated with reports of microaggressions and coming from a religious or orthodox household associated with both higher reports of microaggressions and more frequent exposure to discrimination. Thus, perceptions of discrimination in Israel are influenced by ethnic, national, and religious identities and the ways in which these identities intersect and compound one another is worthy of being unpacked further. This is especially because the microaggression literature is clear in concluding that regular exposure to microaggressions on both interpersonal and institutional levels is detrimental to everyday lives, especially when it comes to mental health (Nadal et al., 2014). The more that educators, mental health workers, and policymakers can be knowledgeable about the experiences of minority and marginalized adolescents in Israel, the more they will be able to abate attitudes, biases, and beliefs that impact wellbeing. Potentially, this could help contribute to healthier ethnic identity formation, less psychological distress, and decreased willingness to delegitimize others—a fundamental societal belief identified by Bar-Tal (2000) as a key contributor to the continuation and maintenance of intractable conflict.

## References


Abell, N., Springer, D. W., & Kamata, A. (2009). *Developing and validating rapid assessment instruments*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Adelman, J. (2015). The Druze of Israel: Hope for Arab-Jewish collaboration. *Huffington Post* Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jonathan-adelman/the-druze-of-israel-hope-_b_8265050.html

African Refugee Development Center. (2015). Refugees in Israel. Retrieved from http://ardc-israel.org/en/content/refugees-israel

Ahren, R. (2014, October 30). Sweden officially regocnizes State of Palestine. *Times of Israel*. Retrieved from http://www.timesofisrael.com/sweden-officially-recognizes-state-of-palestine/

Akbaba, Y. (2006). *Understanding ethnoreligious conflict: The state, discrimination and international politics.* (Doctor of Philosophy), University of Missouri--Columbia.

Alexandrov, A. (2010). Characteristics of single-item measures in Likert scale format. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods, 8*(1), 1-12.

Arendt, H. (1976). *The origins of totalitarianism*. Orlando, FL: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Arieli, D., Friedman, V. J., & Hirschfeld, M. J. (2012). Challenges on the path to cultural safety in nursing education. *International Nursing Review, 59*(2), 187-193. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1466-7657.2012.00982.x

Ashkenazi, E. (2005). Herzl and Hatkivah at the 30th Druze celebrations. *Ha'aretz*. Retrieved from http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1054873

Avishai, B., Dayan, D., Hussein, F., Illouz, E., Khoury, B., Margalit, E., . . . Shikaki, K. (2014). Israel and Palestine: Where to go from here. *Harper's Magazine,* 29-43.

Balint, J. L. (2017). The Bedouin in Israel. Retrieved from http://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/the-bedouin-in-israel/

Bar-Tal, D. (2000). From intractable conflict through conflict resolution to reconciliation: Psychological analysis. *Political Psychology, 21*(2), 351-365. doi:10.1111/0162-895X.00192

Baron-Epel, O., & Kaplan, G. (2009). Can subjective and objective socioeconomic status explain minority health disparities in Israel? *Social Science & Medicine, 69*(10), 1460-1467.

Baron-Epel, O., Kaplan, G., Haviv-Messika, A., Tarabeia, J., Green, M. S., & Nitzan Kaluski, D. (2005). Self-reported health as a cultural health determinant in Arab and Jewish Israelis: MABAT—National Health and Nutrition Survey 1999–2001. *Social Science & Medicine, 61*(6), 1256-1266. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.01.022

Basáñez, T., Unger, J. B., Soto, D., Crano, W., & Baezconde-Garbanati, L. (2013). Perceived discrimination as a risk factor for depressive symptoms and substance use among Hispanic adolescents in Los Angeles. *Ethnicity & Health, 18*(3), 244-261.

Beckerleg, S. E., Lewando-Hundt, G. A., Borkan, J. M., Abu Saad, K. J., & Belmaker, I. (1997). Eliciting local voices using natural group interviews. *Anthropology & Medicine, 4*(3), 273-288.

Ben-Rabi, D., Amiel, S., Nijim, F., & Dolev, T. (2009). *Bedouin children in the Negev: Characteristics, needs and patterns of service use*. Retrieved from Myers-JDC-Brookdale Institute: http://brookdale.jdc.org.il/_Uploads/PublicationsFiles/532-09-BedouinChildren-ES-ENG.pdf

Benner, A. D., & Graham, S. (2009). The transition to high school as a developmental process among multiethnic urban youth. *Child Development, 80*(2), 356-376.

Benner, A. D., & Graham, S. (2011). Latino adolescents' experiences of discrimination across the first 2 years of high school: Correlates and influences on educational outcomes. *Child development, 82*(2), 508-519.

Bleich, A., Gelkopf, M., Melamed, Y., & Solomon, Z. (2006). Mental health and resiliency following 44 months of terrorism: A survey of an Israeli national representative sample. *BMC medicine, 4*(21).

Bleich, A., Gelkopf, M., & Solomon, Z. (2003). Exposure to terrorism, stress-related mental health symptoms, and coping behaviors among a nationally representative sample in Israel. *Journal of the Americam Medical Association, 290*(5), 612-620.

Canetti-Nisim, D., Ariely, G., & Halperin, E. (2007). Life, pocketbook, or culture: The role of perceived security threats in promoting exclusionist political attitudes toward minorities in Israel. *Political Research Quarterly, 60*(1), 90-103.

Canetti-Nisim, D., Halperin, E., Sharvit, K., & Hobfoll, S. E. (2009). A new stress-based model of political extremism: Personal exposure to terrorism, psychological distress, and exclusionist political attitudes. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 53*(3), 363-389. doi:10.1177/0022002709333296

Canetti-Nisim, D., & Pedahzur, A. (2003). Contributory factors to political xenophobia in a multi-cultural society: The case of Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 27*(3), 307-333. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(03)00014-2

Carter Andrews, D. J. (2012). Black achievers' experiences with racial spotlighting and ignoring in a predominantly White high school. *Teachers College Record, 114*(10), 1-46.

Carter, J. (2006). *Palestine: Peace not apartheid*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Central Bureau of Statistics. (2017). Statistical abstract of Israel 2016. Retrieved from http://www.cbs.gov.il/reader/shnatonenew_site.htm

Chae, D. H., Clouston, S., Hatzenbuehler, M. L., Kramer, M. R., Cooper, H. L., Wilson, S. M., . . . Link, B. G. (2015). Association between an internet-based measure of area racism and black mortality. *PloS One, 10*(4), e0122963.

Chan, S. M., & Fung, T. C. T. (2014). Reliability and validity of K10 and K6 in screening depressive symptoms in Hong Kong adolescents. *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies, 9*(1), 75-85.

Chernichovsky, D., & Anson, J. (2005). The Jewish–Arab divide in life expectancy in Israel. *Economics & Human Biology, 3*(1), 123-137.

Chitty, A. (2011). Hegel and Marx. In S. Houlgate & M. Baur (Eds.), *A Companion to Hegel* (pp. 475-500). West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Clark, R., Anderson, N. B., Clark, V. R., & Williams, D. R. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans: A biopsychosocial model. *American Psychologist, 54*(10), 805-816.

Cohen, J. (1992). A power primer. *Psychological Bulletin, 112*(1), 155-159.

Collins, P. H. (1991). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Comrey, A., & Lee, H. (1992). *A first course in factor analysis*. New York, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Cornelius, B. (2013). *A view beyond the horizon: A prospective cohort study on mental health and long-term disability.* Dissertation. Groningen, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

Cox, N., Dewaele, A., Van Houtte, M., & Vincke, J. (2010). Stress-related growth, coming out, and internalized homonegativity in lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth: An examination of stress-related growth within the minority stress model. *Journal of Homosexuality, 58*(1), 117-137.

Cross Jr., W. E. (1995). The psychology of nigrescence: Revising the Cross model. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 93-122). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Dahl, R. E. (2004). Adolescent brain development: A period of vulnerabilities and opportunities. Keynote address. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1021*(1), 1-22. doi:10.1196/annals.1308.001

De Winter, J. C., & Dodou, D. (2012). Factor recovery by principal axis factoring and maximum likelihood factor analysis as a function of factor pattern and sample size. *Journal of Applied Statistics, 39*(4), 695-710.

DeVellis, R. F. (2017). *Scale development: Theory and applications* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA SAGE Publications, Inc.

Epel, O., Kaplan, G., & Moran, M. (2010). Perceived discrimination and health-related quality of life among Arabs and Jews in Israel: A population-based survey. *BMC Public Health, 10*(1), 282.

Eriksen, T. H. (2001). Ethnic identity, national identity, and intergroup conflict: The significance of personal experiences. In R. D. Ashmore, L. Jussim, & D. Wilder (Eds.), *Social identity, intergroup conflict, and conflict reduction* (pp. 42-68). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity youth and crisis*. New York, NY:W. W. Norton & Company

Faircloth, B. S., & Hamm, J. V. (2005). Sense of belonging among high school students representing 4 ethnic groups. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 34*(4), 293-309.

Finley, S. A. (2010). An identity-based understanding of intergroup conflict. *Contemporary Justice Review, 13*(4), 425-441.

Forrest-Bank, S., & Jenson, J. M. (2015). Differences in experiences of racial and ethnic microaggression among Asian, Latino/Hispanic, black, and white young adults. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 42*(1), 141-161.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. C. Gordon (Ed.). New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

Fox, J. (1999). The influence of religious legitimacy on grievance formation by ethno-religious minorities. *Journal of Peace Research, 36*(3), 289-307.

Fredrickson, G. M. (2002). *Racism: A short history*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Galvanis, P. (2002). The salience of ethnoreligious identities in the Middle East: An interpretation. In D. T. Goldberg & J. Solomos (Eds.), *A companion to racial and ethnic studies*: Blackwell Publishing.

Garcia-Coll, C., Crnic, K., Lamberty, G., Wasik, B. H., Jenkins, R., Garcia, H. V., & McAdoo, H. P. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. *Child Development, 67*(5), 1891-1914.

Gelkopf, M., Solomon, Z., Berger, R., & Bleich, A. (2008). The mental health impact of terrorism in Israel: A repeat cross-sectional study of Arabs and Jews. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica, 117*(5), 369-380. doi:10.1111/j.1600-0447.2008.01164.x

Glaser, J., & Knowles, E. D. (2008). Implicit motivation to control prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 44*(1), 164-172.

Glaser, J. M., & Gilens, M. (1997). Interregional migration and political resocialization: A study of racial attitudes under pressure. *The Public Opinion Quarterly, 61*(1), 72-86.

Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., & Solomon, S. (1986). The causes and consequences of a need for self-esteem: A terror management theory. In R. F. Baumeister (Ed.), *Public self and private self* (pp. 189-212). New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.

Gurr, T. R. (1993). Why minorities rebel: A global analysis of communal mobilization and conflict since 1945. *International Political Science Review, 14*(2), 161-201.

Gurr, T. R. (Ed.) (2000). *Peoples versus states: Minorities at risk in the new century*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Guthrie, B. J., Young, A. M., Williams, D. R., Boyd, C. J., & Kintner, E. K. (2002). African American girls' smoking habits and day-to-day experiences with racial discrimination. *Nursing Research, 51*(3), 183-190.

Haberfeld, Y., Cohen, Y., Kalter, F., & Kogan, I. (2011). Differences in earnings assimilation of immigrants from the former Soviet Union to Germany and Israel during 1994-2005: The interplay between context of reception, observed, and unobserved immigrants' attributes. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 52*(1-2), 6-24.

Haj-Yahia, M. M. (2000). Wife abuse and battering in the sociocultural context of Arab society. *Family Process, 39*(2), 237-255.

Hammack, P. L., Pilecki, A., Caspi, N., & Strauss, A. A. (2011). Prevalence and correlates of delegitimization among Jewish Israeli adolescents. *Peace and Conflict, 17*(2), 151-178.

Hammen, C. (2005). Stress and depression. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology, 1*, 293-319.

Hasenclever, A., & Rittberger, V. (2000). Does religion make a difference? Theoretical approaches to the impact of faith on political conflict. *Millennium, 29*(3), 641-674.

Henson, R. K., & Roberts, J. K. (2006). Use of exploratory factor analysis in published research: Common errors and some comment on improved practice. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 66*(3), 393-416.

Hobfoll, S. E., Canetti-Nisim, D., & Johnson, R. J. (2006). Exposure to terrorism, stress-related mental health symptoms, and defensive coping among Jews and Arabs in Israel. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 74*(2), 207-218.

Hollingsworth, D. W., Cole, A. B., O'Keefe, V. M., Tucker, R. P., Story, C. R., & Wingate, L. R. (2017). Experiencing racial microaggressions influences suicide ideation through perceived burdensomeness in African Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 64*(1), 104-111.

Horowitz, D. L. (1993). Democracy in divided societies. *Journal of Democracy, 4*(4), 18-38.

Hoyle, R. H., Harris, M. J., & Judd, C. M. (2002). *Research methods in social relations* (7th ed.).: Wadsworth Thomson Learning.

Hutcheson, G. D., & Sofroniou, N. (1999). *The multivariate social scientist: Introductory statistics using generalized linear models*. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.

Huynh, V. W. (2012). Ethnic microaggressions and the depressive and somatic symptoms of Latino and Asian American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 41*(7), 831-846.

IBM Corp. (2014). IBM SPSS Statistics for Macintosh (Version 24.0). Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.

Isom, D. (2016). Microaggressions, injustices, and racial identity: An empirical assessment of the theory of African American offending. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 32*(1), 27-59.

Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2016). The Israeli People. Retrieved from http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/AboutIsrael/People/Pages/default.aspx

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., Horenczyk, G., & Schmitz, P. (2003). The interactive nature of acculturation: Perceived discrimination, acculturation attitudes and stress among young ethnic repatriates in Finland, Israel and Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 27*(1), 79-97. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(02)00061-5

Jewish Virtual Library. (2015). Vital statistics: Total casulaties, Arab-Israeli conflict (1860-Present). Retrieved from http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/casualtiestotal.html

Johnson, R. J., Canetti, D., Palmieri, P. A., Galea, S., Varley, J., & Hobfoll, S. E. (2009). A prospective study of risk and resilience factors associated with posttraumatic stress symptoms and depression symptoms among Jews and Arabs exposed to repeated acts of terrorism in Israel. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy, 1*(4), 291-311. doi:10.1037/a0017586

Kabacoff, R. (2015). *R in action: Data analysis and graphics with R*. Shelter Island, NY: Manning Publications Co.

Kaiser, H. F. (1974). An index of factorial simplicity. *Psychometrika, 39*(1), 31-36.

Kennedy, R. L. (1989). Racial critiques of legal academia. *Harvard Law Review, 102*(8), 1745-1819.

Kessler, R. C., Andrews, G., Colpe, L. J., Hiripi, E., Mroczek, D. K., Normand, S.-L., . . . Zaslavsky, A. M. (2002). Short screening scales to monitor population prevalences and trends in non-specific psychological distress. *Psychological Medicine, 32*(06), 959-976.

Kessler, R. C., Barker, P. R., Colpe, L. J., Epstein, J. F., Gfroerer, J. C., Hiripi, E., . . . Walters, E. E. (2003). Screening for serious mental illness in the general population. *Archives of General Psychiatry, 60*(2), 184-189.

Kessler, R. C., Green, J. G., Gruber, M. J., Sampson, N. A., Bromet, E., Cuitan, M., . . . Hu, C.-Y. (2010). Screening for serious mental illness in the general population with the K6 screening scale: Results from the WHO World Mental Health (WMH) survey initiative. *International Journal of Methods in Psychiatric Research, 19*(1), 4-22.

Klodnick, V. V., Guterman, N., Haj-Yahia, M. M., & Leshem, B. (2014). Exploring adolescent community violence exposure and posttraumatic stress cross-culturally in Israel. *Journal of Community Psychology, 42*(1), 47-60. doi:10.1002/jcop.21593

Kurth, J. (2001). Religion and ethnic conflict—in theory. *Orbis, 45*(2), 281-294.

Laerd Statistics. (2015). Statistical tutorials and software guides. Retrieved from https://statistics.laerd.com/

Lewin, A. C., Stier, H., & Caspi-Dror, D. (2006). The place of opportunity: Community and individual determinants of poverty among Jews and Arabs in Israel. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility, 24*(2), 177-191. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2006.04.002

Lewin-Epstein, N., Kaplan, A., & Levanon, A. (2003). Distributive justice and attitudes toward the welfare state. *Social Justice Research, 16*(1), 1-27. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1022909726114

Lorenzo-Blanco, E. I., Unger, J. B., Ritt-Olson, A., Soto, D., & Baezconde-Garbanati, L. (2013). A longitudinal analysis of Hispanic youth acculturation and cigarette smoking: The roles of gender, culture, family, and discrimination. *Nicotine & Tobacco Research, 15*(5), 957-968.

Lugones, M. (2008). The coloniality of gender. *Worlds & Knowledges Otherwise,* (Spring), 1-16. Retrieved from https://globalstudies.trinity.duke.edu/wp-content/themes/cgsh/materials/WKO/v2d2_Lugones.pdf

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego-identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3*(5), 551.

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2010). Cultures and selves: A cycle of mutual constitution. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 5*(4), 420-430.

Mbembe, A. (2003). Necropolitics. *Public culture, 15*(1), 11-40.

McHoul, A., & Grace, W. (1993). *A Foucault primer: Discourse, power, and the subject*. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press.

Merriam-Webster. (2014). Dictionary. Retrieved from http://www.merriam-webster.com/

Mesch, G. S., Turjeman, H., & Fishman, G. (2008). Perceived discrimination and the well-being of immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 37*(5), 592-604. doi:10.1007/s10964-007-9210-6

Meyer, I. H. (1995). Minority stress and mental health in gay men. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 36*(1), 38-56.

Mizrachi, N., & Herzog, H. (2012). Participatory destigmatization strategies among Palestinian citizens, Ethiopian Jews and Mizrahi Jews in Israel. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 35*(3), 418-435.

Monroe, S. M., Slavich, G. M., Torres, L. D., & Gotlib, I. H. (2007). Major life events and major chronic difficulties are differentially associated with history of major depressive episodes. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 116*(1), 116-124.

Moore, D., & Aweiss, S. (2003). Outcome expectations in prolonged conflicts: Perceptions of sense of control and relative deprivation. *Sociological Inquiry, 73*(2), 190-211. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1475-682X.00052

Mora, G. C. (2014). *Making Hispanics: How activists, bureaucrats, and media constructed a new American*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Nadal, K. L. (2011). The Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS): Construction, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 58*(4), 470-480.

Nadal, K. L., Griffin, K. E., Wong, Y., Hamit, S., & Rasmus, M. (2014). The impact of racial microaggressions on mental health: Counseling implications for clients of color. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 92*(1), 57-66.

Nakash, O., Levav, I., & Gal, G. (2013). Common mental disorders in immigrant and second-generation respondents: Results from the Israel-based World Mental Health Survey. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 59*(5), 508-515. doi:10.1177/0020764012443754

Nakash, O., Nagar, M., Shoshani, A., Zubida, H., & Harper, R. A. (2012). The effect of acculturation and discrimination on mental health symptoms and risk behaviors among adolescent migrants in Israel. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 18*(3), 228-238. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0027659

O'Keefe, V. M., Wingate, L. R., Cole, A. B., Hollingsworth, D. W., & Tucker, R. P. (2015). Seemingly harmless racial communications are not so harmless: Racial microaggressions lead to suicidal ideation by way of depression symptoms. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 45*(5), 567-576.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Ong, A. D., Fuller-Rowell, T., & Burrow, A. L. (2009). Racial discrimination and the stress process. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 96*(6), 1259-1271.

Osman, A., & Walsemann, K. M. (2013). Ethnic disparities in disability among middle-aged and older Israeli adults. *Journal of Aging and Health, 25*(3), 510-531. doi:10.1177/0898264313478653

Panter-Brick, C. (2010). Conflict, violence, and health: Setting a new interdisciplinary agenda. *Social Science & Medicine, 70*(1), 1-6. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.10.022

Paradies, Y. (2006). A systematic review of empirical research on self-reported racism and health. *International Journal of Epidemiology, 35*(4), 888-901.

Pascoe, E. A., & Richman, L. S. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin, 135*(4), 531-554.

Pew Research Center. (2016). *Israel's religiously divided society*. Retrieved from http://www.pewforum.org/2016/03/08/israels-religiously-divided-society/

Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence, 9*(1-2), 34-49.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin, 108*(3), 499.

Phinney, J. S., & Ong, A. D. (2007). Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*(3), 271.

Pierce, C. (1970). Offensive mechanisms. In F. Barbour (Ed.), *The Black Seventies* (pp. 265-282). Boston, MA: Porter Sargent.

Post, R. M. (1992). Transduction of psychosocial stress into the neurobiology of recurrent affective disorder. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 149*(8), 999-1010. doi:10.1176/ajp.149.8.999

Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., & Levin, S. (2006). Social dominance theory and the dynamics of intergroup relations: Taking stock and looking forward. *European review of social psychology, 17*(1), 271-320.

Quintana, S. M. (2007). Racial and ethnic identity: Developmental perspectives and research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*(3), 259-270.

Rabe-Hesketh, S., & Skrondal, A. (2012). *Mulitlevel and longitudinal modeling using Stata* (3rd Ed. Vol. I: Continuous Responses). College Station, TX: Stata Press.

Reicher, S., & Hopkins, N. (2001). Psychology and the end of history: A critique and a proposal for the psychology of social categorization. *Political Psychology, 22*(2), 383-407.

Reisner, S. L., Greytak, E. A., Parsons, J. T., & Ybarra, M. L. (2015). Gender minority social stress in adolescence: Disparities in adolescent bullying and substance use by gender identity. *The Journal of Sex Research, 52*(3), 243-256.

Reynal-Querol, M. (2002). Ethnicity, political systems, and civil wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 46*(1), 29-54.

Ringel, S., Ronell, N., & Getahune, S. (2005). Factors in the integration process of adolescent immigrants: The case of Ethiopian Jews in Israel. *International Social Work, 48*(1), 63-76. doi:10.1177/0020872805048709

Rivas-Drake, D., Hughes, D., & Way, N. (2008). A closer look at peer discrimination, ethnic identity, and psychological well-being among urban Chinese American sixth graders. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 37*(1), 12-21.

Romero, A. J., Edwards, L. M., Fryberg, S. A., & Orduña, M. (2014). Resilience to discrimination stress across ethnic identity stages of development. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 44*(1), 1-11.

Rossiter, J. R. (2008). Content validity of measures of abstract constructs in management and organizational research. *British Journal of Management, 19*(4), 380-388.

Sachs, D., Sa'ar, A., & Aharoni, S. (2007). 'How can I feel for others when I myself am beaten?' The impact of the armed conflict on women in Israel. *Sex Roles, 57*(7-8), 593-606. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9222-4

Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Random House.

Scrimin, S., Moscardino, U., & Natour, M. (2014). Socio-ecological correlates of mental health among ethnic minorities in areas of political conflict: A study of Druze adolescents in Israel. *Transcultural Psychiatry, 51*(2), 209-227. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1363461513520342

Seaton, E. K., & Yip, T. (2009). School and neighborhood contexts, perceptions of racial discrimination, and psychological well-being among African American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*(2), 153-163.

Seaton, E. K., Yip, T., & Sellers, R. M. (2009). A longitudinal examination of racial identity and racial discrimination among African American adolescents. *Child Development, 80*(2), 406-417.

Segal, S. P., Khoury V., Saleh R., & Gahnam J. (2017). Contributors to screening positive for mental illness in the Shatila Palestinian Refugee Camp. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease.* In Press.

Sellers, R. M., Copeland-Linder, N., Martin, P. P., & Lewis, R. H. (2006). Racial identity matters: The relationship between racial discrimination and psychological functioning in African American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 16*(2), 187-216.

Semyonov, M., & Lewin-Epstein, N. (2011). Wealth inequality: Ethnic disparities in Israeli society. *Social Forces, 89*(3), 935-959.

Seul, J. R. (1999). Ours is the way of god': Religion, identity, and intergroup conflict. *Journal of Peace Research, 36*(5), 553-569.

Shamir, M., & Sagiv-Schifter, T. (2006). Conflict, identity, and tolerance: Israel in the Al-Aqsa Intifada. *Political Psychology, 27*(4), 569-595. doi:10.2307/3792396

Sharabi, M. (2010). The meaning of work among Jews and Arabs in Israel: The influence of ethnicity, ethnic conflict, and socio-economic variables. *International Social Science Journal, 61*(202), 501-510. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2451.2011.01784.x

Sherer, M. (2009). Delinquent activity among Jewish and Arab junior and senior high school students in Israel. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 53*(5), 535-555. doi:doi:10.1177/0306624X08321869

Sherer, M., & Karnieli-Miller, O. (2004). Aggression and violence among Jewish and Arab youth in Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 28*(2), 93-109.

Shoshana, A. (2016a). Ethnicity without ethnicity:'I'm beyond that story'state arrangements, re-education and (new) ethnicity in Israel. *Social Identities, 22*(5), 487-501.

Shoshana, A. (2016b). The language of everyday racism and microaggression in the workplace: Palestinian professionals in Israel. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 39*(6), 1052-1069.

Slonim-Nevo, V., Mirsky, J., Rubinstein, L., & Nauck, B. (2009). The impact of familial and environmental factors on the adjustment of immigrants. *Journal of Family Issues, 30*(1), 92-123. doi:doi:10.1177/0192513X08324575

Smith, W. A., Allen, W. R., & Danley, L. L. (2007). "Assume the position... you fit the description": Psychosocial experiences and Racial Battle Fatigue among African American male college students. *American Behavioral Scientist, 51*(4), 551-578.

Smooha, S. (2013). *Still Playing by the Rules: Index of Arab–Jewish Relations in Israel 2012, Findings and Conclusions*. Retrieved from The Jeiwsh-Arab Center, University of Haifa, Israel http://en.idi.org.il/analysis/idi-press/publications/english-books/still-playing-by-the-rules-the-index-of-arab-jewish-relations-in-israel-2012-english/

Sollors, W. (2002). Ethnicity and race. In D. T. Goldberg & J. Solomos (Eds.), *A companion to racial and ethnic studies* (pp. 97-104). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Solomon, Z., & Lavi, T. (2005). Israeli youth in the second Intifada: PTSD and future orientation. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 44*(11), 1167-1175.

Solorzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro Education, 69*(1/2), 60-73.

Somer, E., Maguen, S., Or-Chen, K., & Litz, B. T. (2009). Managing terror: Differences between Jews and Arabs in Israel. *International Journal of Psychology, 44*(2), 138-146.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 23-45). Mahwah, JF: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Stewart, F. (2002). *Horizontal inequalities: A neglected dimension of development*. Paper presented at the WIDER 2001 Annual Development Lecture, Oxford, UK. http://www3.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/qehwp/qehwps81.pdf

Strauss, S. D. (2002). The Middle East mess. In S. D. Strauss (Ed.), *World conflicts* (pp. 27-40). Indianapolis, IN: Alpha, A Pearson Education Company.

Sue, D. W., Bucceri, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2009). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*(1), 72-81.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., & Holder, A. (2008). Racial microaggressions in the life experience of Black Americans. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 39*(3), 329.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist, 62*(4), 271-286.

Swirski, B., Adut, R., Avni, S., Ayecheh, S., Davidovitz, N., Filc, D., . . . Yaffe, A. (2010). *Working today to narrow the gaps of tomorrow: Goals for decreasing health disparities*. Retrieved from Tel Aviv http://adva.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/briut-full-report-english-final.pdf

Swirski, S., & Konor-Atias, E. (2017). *Social report 2016: Wages are rising but fail to match the increase in economic growth* Retrieved from Tel Aviv: http://adva.org/en/social-report2016/

Szalacha, L. A., Erkut, S., Coll, C. G., Alarcón, O., Fields, J. P., & Ceder, I. (2003). Discrimination and Puerto Rican children's and adolescents' mental health. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 9*(2), 141.

Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology, 33*(1), 1-39.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations, 33*(47), 74.

Tartakovsky, E. (2009). The psychological well-being of unaccompanied minors: A longitudinal study of adolescents immigrating from Russia and Ukraine to Israel without parents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 19*(2), 177-204.

Themnér, L., & Uppsala Conflict Data Program. (2014). *UCDP/PRIO armed conflict dataset* Retrieved from: http://www.pcr.uu.se/digitalAssets/124/124920_1codebook_ucdp_prio-armed-conflict-dataset-v4_2014.pdf

Tibon, S., & Blumberg, H. H. (1999). Authoritarianism and Political Socialization in the Context of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. *Political Psychology, 20*(3), 581-591.

Titzmann, P. F., Silbereisen, R. K., & Mesch, G. S. (2012). Change in friendship homophily. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 43*(3), 410-428. doi:doi:10.1177/0022022111399648

Titzmann, P. F., Silbereisen, R. K., Mesch, G. S., & Schmitt-Rodermund, E. (2011). Migration-specific hassles among adolescent immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Germany and Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 42*(5), 777-794. doi:doi:10.1177/0022022110362756

Titzmann, P. F., Silbereisen, R. K., & Schmitt-Rodermund, E. (2007). Friendship homophily among diaspora migrant adolescents in Germany and Israel. *European Psychologist, 12*(3), 181-195.

Tobler, A. L., Maldonado-Molina, M. M., Staras, S. A., O'Mara, R. J., Livingston, M. D., & Komro, K. A. (2013). Perceived racial/ethnic discrimination, problem behaviors, and mental health among minority urban youth. *Ethnicity & Health, 18*(4), 337-349.

Torres, L., Driscoll, M. W., & Burrow, A. L. (2010). Racial microaggressions and psychological functioning among highly achieving African-Americans: A mixed-methods approach. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 29*(10), 1074-1099.

Torres-Harding, S. R., Andrade Jr, A. L., & Romero Diaz, C. E. (2012). The Racial Microaggressions Scale (RMAS): A new scale to measure experiences of racial microaggressions in people of color. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 18*(2), 153.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Wong, J. J., Gonzales, N. A., & Dumka, L. E. (2012). Ethnic identity and gender as moderators of the association between discrimination and academic adjustment among Mexican-origin adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence, 35*(4), 773-786.

Vaughn, A. A., Roesch, S. C., & Aldridge, A. A. (2009). Stress-related growth in racial/ethnic minority adolescents: Measurement structure and validity. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 69*(1), 131-145.

Volkan, V. D. (2001). Transgenerational transmissions and chosen traumas: An aspect of large-group identity. *Group Analysis, 34*(1), 79-97. doi:10.1177/05333160122077730

Walsh, S. D., Fogel-Grinvald, H., & Shneider, S. (2015). Discrimination and ethnic identity as predictors of substance use and delinquency among immigrant adolescents from the FSU and Ethiopia in Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 46*(7), 942-963. doi:doi:10.1177/0022022115588951

Walsh, S. D., & Tuval-Mashiach, R. (2012). Ethiopian emerging adult immigrants in Israel: Coping with discrimination and racism. *Youth & Society, 44*(1), 49-75.

Weiss, A. (2016). *A picture of the nation: Israel's society and economy in figures 2016*. Retrieved from Jerusalem:

Williams, D. R., & Mohammed, S. A. (2009). Discrimination and racial disparities in health: Evidence and needed research. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 32*(1), 20-47.

Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2003). Racial/ethnic discrimination and health: Findings from community studies. *American Journal of Public Health, 93*(2), 200-208.

Wimmer, A. (2008). The making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries: A multilevel process theory. *American Journal of Sociology, 113*(4), 970-1022.

Yiftachel, O. (2006). *Ethnocracy: Land and identity politics in Israel/Palestine*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Yildiz, A. A., & Verkuyten, M. (2011). Inclusive victimhood: Social identity and the politicization of collective trauma among Turkey's Alevis in Western Europe. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 17*(3), 243-269.

Yonay, Y., & Shor, E. (2014). Ethnic coexistence in deeply divided societies: The case of Arab athletes in the Hebrew media. *The Sociological Quarterly, 55*(2), 396-420. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/tsq.12056

Yong, A. G., & Pearce, S. (2013). A beginner's guide to factor analysis: Focusing on exploratory factor analysis. *Tutorials in Quantitative Methods for Psychology, 9*(2), 79-94.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education, 8*(1), 69-91.

Zaidise, E., Canetti-Nisim, D., & Pedahzur, A. (2007). Politics of god or politics of man? The role of religion and deprivation in predicting support for political violence in Israel. *Political Studies, 55*(3), 499-521. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00673.x

# APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL QUESTIONNAIRE (HEBREW VERSION)

**שאלון: גרסה 2014/10/6**

**מצבם של בני נוער בישראל**

**תאריך:**

תלמידה יקרה, תלמיד יקר,

בני נוער בארץ ובעולם נחשפים בחיי יום יום לחוויות ולהתנסויות שונות. חלקן טובות ומיטיבות וחלקן פחות. במחקר זה, לו שותפים חוקרים מאוניברסיטאות שונות בעולם, אנחנו מבקשים ללמוד על חוויות אלה ועל הרגשות וההתנהגויות הנלוות להם. המידע שייאסף עשוי לעזור לנו להבין את מצבם של בני נוער בארץ, בהשוואה למצבם של בני נוער בעולם; ולהמליץ על פיתוח של רשתות תמיכה, לבני נוער שזקוקים להן.

כדי שנוכל ללמוד על מצבם של בני נוער בישראל, אנו זקוקים לעזרתך ופונים אליך בבקשה למלא שאלון זה. בשאלון זה, אין תשובות נכונות ולא נכונות, חשוב לנו לדעת על החוויות שלך, ההתנסויות שלך ועל הרגשות שלך. אנחנו לא מבקשים ממך להזדהות ולכן אינך מתבקש/ת לרשום פרטים אישיים מזהים (כמו שם או כתובת מגורים מדויקת). המידע ישמש אותנו לצרכי מחקר בלבד, הוא לא יימסר לשום גורם מתוך המשפחה שלך, בית הספר או מחוץ לבית הספר; ובשום מקרה לא ניתן יהיה לזהות אותך לפי התשובות שנתת. מה שחשוב לנו זה שהתשובות שלך יהיו כנות וישקפו את ההתנסויות שלך ואת הרגשות שלך.

אם בשלב מסוים תרגיש/י אי נוחות ממילוי השאלון את/ה יכול/ה להפסיק למלא אותו. אנו מתחייבים שלא יגרם לך שום נזק אם תבחר/י להפסיק למלא את השאלון. אם תרצה/תרצי לדבר על החוויות שלך או על כל דבר אחר שעולה בעקבות מילוי השאלון, את/ה יכול/ה ליצור קשר עם המחנכת, המורה היועצת של בית הספר או עם אחד הגורמים המפורטים בדף המידע שיחולק לך מיד בתום מילוי השאלון

| פרופ' ריקי סויה | פרופ' גיורא רהב | פרופ' תמי רונן |
|---|---|---|
| savaya@post.tau.ac.il | grrhv@post.tau.ac.il | tamie@post.tau.ac.il |

**אנו מודים לך מאוד על מילוי השאלון ועל עזרתך בהבנת מצבם של בני נוער בישראל.**

**אנו מאחלים לך הצלחה רבה בלימודים ובחיים בכלל.**

שנת הלמודים תשע"ד

פרופ' ריקי סויה, פרופ תמי רונן ופרופ' גיורא רהב, אוניברסיטת תל-אביב

---

שנת הלימודים תשע"ד

**כתב הסכמה מדעת**

אל: פרופ' ריקי סויה, פרופ' תמי רונן פרופ' גיורא רהב

שלום רב,

הנדון: הסכמה להשתתף במחקר

הואיל ואתם עורכים מחקר (להלן "המחקר") בנושא "התנהגות מתבגרים בבתי ספר תיכוניים" והואיל וביקשתם את הסכמתי למלא שאלון במסגרת המחקר, הריני מצהיר בזאת כדלקמן:

א. ידוע לי שנערך מחקר ברחבי הארץ בקרב תלמידי בתי ספר תיכוניים, בגילאי 16-18.
ב. ידוע לי כי המחקר בוחן כיצד מתבגרים חושבים, מרגישים ומתנהגים במצבים שונים.
ג. ידוע לי כי השאלונים ימולאו ללא פרטי זיהוי אישיים.
ד. ידוע לי שלא ניתן יהיה לזהות את התשובות שינתנו לשאלונים עם זהות ממלאי השאלונים.
ה. ידוע לי כי ינקטו כל האמצעים כדי להבטיח את סודיות הנתונים.
ו. ידוע לי כי אינני חייב/ת למלא את השאלונים ואם אבחר לא למלא את השאלונים, לא אפגע בשום דרך שהיא.
ז. ידוע לי שטופס זה, עם חתימתי, ישמר בנפרד מהשאלון שמלאתי.

לאחר שהבנתי את כל האמור לעיל, הריני נותן בזה את הסכמתי למילוי השאלון.

**ולראיה באתי על החתום:**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| תאריך | שם פרטי ומשפחה | חתימה |

**אנחנו מודים לך על שיתוף הפעולה**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| פרופ' ריקי סויה | פרופ' תמי רונן | פרופ' גיורא רהב |

**נא לציין באיזו שפה את/ה מבקש/ת למלא את השאלון: 1. עברית 2. ערבית**

שם בית הספר: _____

שם הישוב בו את/ה גר/ה: _____

האוכלוסייה **<u>בישוב בה את/ה גר/ה</u>** ... 1. מעורבת – יהודים, מוסלמים, נוצרים ואחרים 2. מעורבת – נוצרים, מוסלמים, דרוזים ובדואים 3. לא מעורבת, כמעט כל האוכלוסייה בדואית 4. לא מעורבת, כמעט כל האוכלוסייה מוסלמית 5. לא מעורבת, כמעט כל האוכלוסייה נוצרית 6. לא מעורבת, כמעט כל האוכלוסייה דרוזית 7. לא מעורבת, כמעט כל האוכלוסייה יהודית 8. אחר, נא לפרט: _____

**<u>בבית הספר בו את/ה לומד/ת</u>** לומדים ... 1. תלמידים יהודים, מוסלמים, נוצרים ואחרים 2. תלמידים נוצרים, מוסלמים, דרוזים ובדואים 3. כמעט כל התלמידים בדואים 4. כמעט כל התלמידים מוסלמים 5. כמעט כל התלמידים נוצרים 6. כמעט כל התלמידים דרוזים 7. כמעט כל התלמידים יהודים 8. אחר, נא לפרט: _____

**<u>בבית הספר בו את/ה לומד/ת</u>** לומדים ... 1. תלמידים דתיים וחילונים 2. רק תלמידים דתיים 3. רק תלמידים חילונים

**ראשית אנחנו מבקשים לקבל ממך מידע על פרטי הרקע שלך. נא לענות על כל השאלות.**

**א. <u>מאפייני רקע</u>**

1. בן כמה היית ביום ההולדת האחרון? _____
2. מה המין שלך? 1. בת 2. בן
3. האם יש בבית חדר שהוא רק שלך? 1. כן 0. לא
4. מה ההשכלה של אביך? 1. בוגר בי"ס יסודי או חטיבת ביניים 2. בוגר תיכון 3. בוגר לימודים על תיכוניים, לא אוניברסיטה 4. בוגר אוניברסיטה 5. אחר, נא לציין: _____
5. מה ההשכלה של אמך? 1. בוגרת בי"ס יסודי או חטיבת ביניים 2. בוגרת תיכון 3. בוגר לימודים על תיכוניים, לא אוניברסיטה 4. בוגרת אוניברסיטה 5. אחר, נא לציין: _____
6. האם במהלך 12 החודשים האחרונים נסעתם עם משפחתכם לחופשה של יותר מיום אחד? 0. אף פעם 1. פעם אחת, 2. פעמיים, 3. יותר מפעמיים
7. כמה מכוניות עומדות לרשות המשפחה? 0 1 2 3 4 _____
8. כמה מחשבים יש לבני המשפחה (כולל מחשבים ניידים וטאבלט)? 0 1 2 3 4 5+
9. היכן נולדת? 1. ישראל 2. אתיופיה 3. רוסיה, אוקראינה, בלארוס 4. אירופה 5. אמריקה 6. אחר, איפה: __
10. אם לא נולדת בארץ, בן כמה היית/ה כשעלית לארץ? _____
11. היכן אביך נולד? 1. ישראל 2. אתיופיה 3. רוסיה, אוקראינה, בלארוס 4. אירופה 5. אמריקה 6. אחר, איפה:
12. אם אביך לא נולד בארץ, בן כמה הוא היה כשעלה לארץ? _____
13. היכן אמך נולדה? 1. ישראל 2. אתיופיה 3. רוסיה, אוקראינה, בלארוס 4. אירופה 5. אמריקה 6. אחר, איפה:

14. אם אמך לא נולדה בארץ, בת כמה היא היית כשעלתה לארץ? _____

15. לאיזה מהקבוצות הבאות את/ה רואה את עצמך שייך בעיקר? 1. מזרחים 2. אשכנזים 3. ערבים נוצרים 4. ערבים מוסלמים 5. דרוזים 6. אתיופים 7. רוסים 9. אחר, איזה?: _

16. מה הדת של המשפחה שלך? 1. יהודית 2. מוסלמית 3. נוצרית 4. אחר, איזה?: _____

17. האם בביתך נוהגים לשמור על מסורת דתית?

1. כן, שומרים על כל כללי המסורת
2. שומרים על רבים מכללי המסורת
3. שומרים רק על כללים בודדים
4. לא שומרים כלל, חילוניים

18. כיצד תגדיר /י את עצמך מבחינת היחס לדת?

1. דתי/ה מאוד / חרדי/ת
2. דתי/ה
3. מסורתי/ת
4. לא דתי/ה
5. חילוני/ת

19. כיצד היית מגדיר/ה את המצב הכלכלי של המשפחה שלך?

1. קשה מאוד 2. קשה 3. בינוני 4. טוב 5. טוב מאוד

20. באופן כללי, כיצד היית מגדיר/ה את מצב בריאותך כיום?

1. מעולה
2. טוב מאוד
3. טוב
4. בינוני
5. רע
6. רע מאוד

| 21. האם <u>בשלושה החודשים האחרונים</u> הייתה תקופה של שבועיים או יותר שבה... | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | היה לך קשה להירדם (כלומר, כמעט בכל לילה עברו שעתיים או יותר עד שנרדמת)? | לא | כן |
| 2. | התעוררת כמעט בכל לילה ולא הצלחת להירדם שוב? | לא | כן |
| 3. | התעוררת בכל בוקר לפחות שעתיים לפני השעה שרצית להתעורר? | לא | כן |
| 4. | הרגשת ישנוני/ת במשך היום? | לא | כן |
| 5. | היו לך כאבי ראש? | לא | כן |
| 6. | היו לך פחדים וחרדות? | לא | כן |

22. נא לסמן את מידת ההסכמה שלך עם כל אחד מהמשפטים הבאים

| | מתנגד מאוד | מתנגד | מתנגד במקצת | לא מתנגד ולא מסכים | מסכים במקצת | מסכים | מסכים מאוד |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. בדרך כלל חיי קרובים לאידיאל שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 2. תנאי החיים שלי מצוינים | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 3. אני שבע רצון מחיי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 4. עד עכשיו השגתי את הדברים החשובים שאני רוצה בהם | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 5. אם הייתי יכול לחיות שוב את חיי, לא הייתי משנה כמעט דבר | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

23. האם לדעתך אתה שייך לקבוצה, או עדה, שסובלת מאפליה? 1. לא 2. כן

אם כן, רשום כאן לאיזו עדה או קבוצה: _____

א. האם את/ה מרגיש ישראלי/ת? 1. כן, מאוד 2. לפעמים כן ולפעמים לא 3. בכלל לא 24.
ב. **לעבור לשאלה 41.** 4

. בטבלה הבאה מוצגת רשימה של התנהגויות ורגשות, שבני נוער אומרים שלפעמים הם חווים בגלל המוצא העדתי 25 שלהם. נא לציין באיזו תדירות נחשפת לכל אחד מהם, על גבי סולם בן 4 דרגות: 1= "אף פעם", 2= 'לעיתים רחוקות', 3= 'לפעמים', 4= "לעיתים קרובות"

| | באיזו תדירות חווית כל אחד מהדברים הבאים? | אף פעם | לעיתים רחוקות | לפעמים | לעיתים קרובות |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | אנשים מעדות או קבוצות אחרות מצפים ממני שאתנהג באופן שאינו מתאים לתרבות שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2 | מתנהגים אלי כאל אזרח מדרגה שנייה בגלל המוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3 | אני מקבל שירות פחות טוב במסעדות ובחנויות בגלל המוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4 | לפעמים אני מרגיש שאנשים מסתכלים דרכי, כאילו לא רואים אותי, בגלל המוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5 | בגלל המוצא שלי, אנשים מתנהגים לפעמים כאילו אני לא נמצא שם | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6 | במקומות בילוי מתעלמים ממני בגלל המוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7 | בגלל המוצא העדתי שלי מתעלמים בבית הספר מהתרומה שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8 | אנשים מניחים שאני פחות מוכשר ושיש לי פחות יכולות בגלל המוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 9 | אנשים מתנהגים אלי כאילו הייתי פושע בגלל המוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | אנשים מתנהגים כאילו הם פוחדים ממני בגלל המוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 11 | בגלל המוצא העדתי שלי, אנשים אחרים חושבים שאני תוקפני | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 12 | בגלל המוצא העדתי שלי, שוטרים ואנשי ביטחון מתנהגים אלי אחרת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 13 | אנשים מתנהגים כאילו הם יכולים להבין את הזהות התרבותית שלי, למרות שהם מתרבות אחרת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 14 | אנשים מתנהגים כאילו כל האנשים מהעדה שלי הם אותו דבר | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 15 | אנשים רומזים שבני העדה שלי זוכים להעדפה שלא מגיעה להם | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 16 | אנשים חושבים שאנשים מהמוצא העדתי שלי היו מצליחים בחיים יותר אם רק היו עובדים יותר קשה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 17 | לבני העדה שלי יש קשיים רבים יותר מאשר לבני עדות אחרות | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 18 | אנשים מתעלמים מכך שלבני העדה שלי יש יותר קשיים מאשר לבני עדות אחרות | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 19 | כשאני מצליח, יש אנשים שחושבים שזה בגלל אפליה חיובית (העדפה) ולא בגלל ההישגים שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 20 | אנשים רומזים לי שאני צריך לעבוד קשה כדי להוכיח שאני לא כמו אנשים אחרים מהעדה שלי שלא עובדים קשה כמוני | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 21 | אנשים אומרים שהמוצא העדתי שלי בעייתי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 22 | אנשים מתמקדים רק בהיבטים השליליים של המוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

לפי מה שאת/ה רואה סביבך, האם מה שמתואר במשפטים הבאים נכון או לא נכון?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 23 | בתחומי התעסוקה שמעניינים אותי יש מעט אנשים בכירים מהעדה / מוצא שלי | 1. לא נכון | 2. נכון |
| 24 | בבית הספר שלי יש מעט תלמידים מהעדה שלי | 1. לא נכון | 2. נכון |
| 25 | בבית הספר שלי יש מעט מורים מהעדה שלי | 1. לא נכון | 2. נכון |

26. באופן כללי, באיזו תדירות נחשפת לאפליה?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. אף פעם | 2. לעיתים רחוקות | 3. לפעמים | 4. לעיתים קרובות |

27. באופן כללי, באיזו תדירות נחשפת להערות או התנהגות גזענית?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. אף פעם | 2. לעיתים רחוקות | 3. לפעמים | 4. לעיתים קרובות |

28. אם ציינת שלפעמים או לעיתים קרובות נחשפת לאפליה ו/או לערות או התנהגות גזענית, האם זה קורה בגלל אחת או יותר מהסיבות הבאות?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. הדת שלך? | 1. לא | 2. כן |
| 2. המין שלך (בת, בן)? | 1. לא | 2. כן |
| 3. המוצא העדתי שלך? | 1. לא | 2. כן |
| 4. הגזע שלך? | 1. לא | 2. כן |
| 5. הנטייה המינית שלך? | 1. לא | 2. כן |
| 6. המשקל שלך? | 1. לא | 2. כן |
| 7. הגובה שלך? | 1. לא | 2. כן |
| 8. המראה שלך? | 1. לא | 2. כן |
| 9. אחר, מאיזו סיבה? _____ | 1. לא | 2. כן |

29. כיצד את/ה מגדיר את המוצא שלך? 1. אשכנזי 2. מזרחי 3. ערבי 4. פלשתיני 5. דרוזי 6. רוסי 7. אתיופי 8. בדואי 9. אחר, נא לציין: _____

30. המשפטים את המספר להקיף בעיגול האחרונים. נא הימים 30 ב- שלך הכללית ההרגשה על שואלים הבאים . שמופיעה בכל אחת מהשאלות. ההרגשה את הרגשת זמן כמה ביותר הטובה בצורה המתאר

| בחודש האחרון, כמה זמן... | בכלל לא | חלק קטן מהזמן | מחצית מהזמן | רוב הזמן | כל הזמן |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. הרגשת עצבני/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. הרגשת חוסר תקווה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. הרגשת חסר מנוחה וחסר שקט | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. הרגשת כל כך מדוכא/ית ששום דבר לא יכול היה לשמח אותך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. הרגשת שכל דבר מחייב מאמץ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. הרגשת חסר/ת ערך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

31. בלוח הבא מופיעה רשימה של רגשות, עמדות ומחשבות. נא לציין באיזו תדירות חווית כל אחד מהם בחודש האחרון.

| **בחודש האחרון, באיזו תדירות הרגשת....** | אף פעם | פעם או פעמיים בחודש | בערך פעם בשבוע | 3-2 פעמים בשבוע | כמעט כל יום | כל יום |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. שמח | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 2. מתעניין בחיים | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 3. מרוצה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 4. שיש לך משהו חשוב לתרום לחברה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. שאתה שייך לקהילה (לדוגמא: בבית הספר או בשכונה) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 6. שהחברה שלנו נהיית מקום יותר טוב לאנשים כמוך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 7. שהאנשים הם בדרך כלל טובים | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 8. שהדרך בה החברה מתנהלת נראית לך הגיונית | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 9. שאתה אוהב את רוב הצדדים של אישיותך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 10. שאתה מצליח לנהל היטב את חובותיך היום-יומיות | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 11. שיש לך יחסי של חום ואמון עם בני משפחתך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 18. שעברת חוויות שאתגרו אותך והפכו אותך לאדם טוב יותר | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 13. שאתה מספיק בטוח כדי לבטא את רעיונותיך ודעותיך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 14. שלחיים שלך יש משמעות וכיוון | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

32. בלוח הבא מופיעה רשימה נוספת של רגשות, נא להקיף בעיגול את התשובה המתאימה לך.

| **<u>בחודש האחרון</u>, עד כמה הרגשת כל אחד מהדברים הבאים ...** | מעט מאוד | מעט | במידה בינונית | די הרבה | הרבה מאד |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. מגלה עניין | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. עצוב/ה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. מבוהל/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. ערני/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. מתרגש/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. מבויש/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. מדוכדך/ת, מבואס/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. מאושר/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. חזק/ה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. עצבני/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. אשם/ה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. אנרגטי/ת, מלא/ת אנרגיה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. חושש/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. רגוע/ה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. אומלל/ה, מסכן/ה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. לחוץ/ה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. מלא חיים | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. פעיל/ה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. גאה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. מפחד/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. עליז/ה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. בודד/ה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. משוגע/ת , מטורף/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. נרגש/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25. חסר/ת פחד | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| **בחודש האחרון, עד כמה הרגשת כל אחד מהדברים הבאים ...** | מעט מאוד | מעט | במידה בינונית | די הרבה | הרבה מאד |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26. נגעל/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27. נפעם/ת, מתפעל/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. מדוכא/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29 .נועז/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 30. קודר/ת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

33 . בשאלות הבאות מוצגות התנהגויות שונות שבני נוער מדווחים עליהם. אנחנו מבקשים לדעת עד כמה התנסית בכל אחת מהן. אין תשובות נכונות או לא נכונות, נא להקיף בעיגול את התשובה המתאימה לך ביותר.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. האם את/ה שותה אלכוהול? 1. כן 2. לא, **נא לעבור לשאל** | | | | |
| 2. כמה מנות אלכוהול שתית **בשבוע האחרון** (מנה אלכוהול היא כוס יין, או פחית בירה, או כוסית משקה חריף – וויסקי, עראק, וודקה)? | 1. 1-3 | 2. 4-6 | 3. 7-9 | 4. 10 ויותר |
| 3. מהי הכמות הגדולה ביותר של מנות אלכוהול ששתית ביום אחד? | 1. 1-3 | 2. 4-6 | 3. 7-9 | 4. 10 ויותר |
| **4.** האם את/ה מעשן/ת סיגריות? 1. כן 2. לא, **נא לעבור לשאל** | | | | |
| 5. **בשבוע האחרון**, כמה סיגריות עישנת בממוצע ביום? | 1. 2-1 | 2. 5-3 | 3. 10-6 | 4. 11 + |
| ~~8.~~ 6. האם בשנה האחרונה, השתמשת או את/ה משתמש/ת בסמים (כולל מריחואנה, גראס או חשיש או סמי פיצוציות)? 1. כן 2. לא, **נא לעבור לשאל**. | | | | |
| . אם את/ה מעשן/ת מריחואנה, גראס או חשיש, באיזו 7 שכיחות עישנת **בשנה האחרונה**? | 1. לא עישנתי | 2. לעיתים רחוקות | 3. לפעמים | 4. באופן קבוע |
| 8. אם את/ה משתמש בסמי פיצוציות, באיזו שכיחות עשית זאת **בשנה האחרונה**? | 1. לא השתמשתי | 2. לעיתים רחוקות | 3. לפעמים | 4. באופן קבוע |
| 9. אם את/ה משתמש בסמים אחרים, באיזו שכיחות עשית זאת **בשנה האחרונה**? | 1. לא השתמשתי | 2. לעיתים רחוקות | 3. לפעמים | 4. באופן קבוע |
| **10**. אם **בשנה האחרונה** הימרת על כסף (כולל פיס, לוטו, טוטו, וכד'), באיזו שכיחות עשית זאת? | 1. לא הימרתי | 2. לעיתים רחוקות | 3. לפעמים | 4. באופן קבוע |
| 14. **בחודש האחרון**, כמה פעמים היית מעורב/ת בקטטה (מכות)? | 1. לא הייתי מעורב/ת | | | 2. הייתי מעורב ___ פעמים |
| 15. **בשנה האחרונה** כמה פעמים הכית מישהו שלא הכה אותך קודם? | 1. לא הכיתי אף אחד | | | 2. הכיתי ___ פעמים |
| 16. **בשנה האחרונה** כמה פעמים קבלת מכות? | 1. לא קבלתי מכות | | | 2. קבלתי מכות ___ פעמים |

**השאלות הבאות קשורות לבית הספר ולעמדות שלך כלפי לימודים.** [מדדים הקשורים לתפקוד לימודי, מתוך דו"ח המחקר על 'מתבגרים בישראל', עמוד 95]

34. עד כמה חשוב לך להצליח בלימודים?
    1. חשוב מאוד
    2. חשוב
    3. לא חשוב כל כך
    4. לא חשוב כלל

35. האם את/ה חושב/ת שרמת הלימודים בבית הספר שאת/ה לומד/ת בו היא:
    1. גבוהה מדיי
    2. מתאימה לך
    3. נמוכה מדיי

36. עד כמה את/ה מרגיש/ה לחץ בלימודים?
    1. במידה מעטה מאוד
    2. במידה מעטה
    3. במידה בינונית
    4. במידה רבה
    5. במידה רבה מאוד

37. לפי דעתך, בהשוואה לתלמידים אחרים בכיתה, המחנך/ת שלך חושב/ת:
    1. שאת/ה תלמיד/ה הרבה פחות טוב/ה מהם
    2. שאת/ה תלמיד/ה פחות טוב/ה מהם
    3. שאת/ה תלמיד/ה טוב כמוהם
    4. שאת/ה תלמיד/ה טוב/ה מהם
    5. שאת/ה תלמיד/ה הרבה יותר טוב/ה מהם

| 38. ב- 30 הימים האחרונים... | אף פעם | פעם אחת | פעמיים | 3 פעמים או יותר |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. כמה פעמים הסתלקת מבית הספר או שלא הגעת לבית הספר, **שלא מסיבת מחלה**? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. כמה פעמים הסתלקת מבית הספר או שלא הגעת לבית הספר, **בגלל שפחדת שתלמידים אחרים יפגעו בך או יעליבו אותך**? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. כמה פעמים איחרת לבית הספר, או נכנסת לשיעור באיחור של חצי שעה או יותר? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. כמה פעמים לא הכנת שיעורים? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. מה היה ממוצע הציונים שלך בתעודה האחרונה? _____ | | | | |

39. בלוח הבא מופיעה רשימה של היגדים, שמבטאים תחושות, אמונות, עמדות והעדפות, שמתבגרים לפעמים מבטאים. נא לציין עד כמה הם מייצגים את התפישה שלך או נכונים עבורך.

| | בכלל לא נכון | לא נכון | לפעמים נכון ולפעמים לא | נכון | נכון מאוד |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. המשטרה ובתי המשפט מתנהגים כלפי כולם באותו אופן | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. העונש שבתי המשפט מטילים בדרך כלל מתאים לפשע | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. אנשים כמוני מקבלים יחס הוגן בבית המשפט | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. אנשים כמוני מקבלים יחס הוגן מהמשטרה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. ההחלטות של בתי המשפט הן בדרך כלל החלטות הוגנות | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. אין צורך לציית לחוקים שנראים לי בלתי הגיוניים | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. זה בסדר לעבור על החוק כל עוד אף אחד אינו נפגע מכך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. לפעמים זה מוצדק להתעלם מחוקים בלתי חשובים | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. אם החוק אינו צודק אינני חייב לציית לו | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. אני מעדיף להיות רוב הזמן בחברת אנשים מאותה עדה, או אותה דת כמוני | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. בדרך כלל אני מנסה להתנהג כמו אנשים אחרים בני אותה עדה או דת כמוני | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. אני לא אוהב להתנהג כמו בני עדות או דתות אחרות | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. חלק מחברי אינם מקבלים אנשים מעדות או דתות אחרות | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. לעתים קרובות אני מוצא את עצמי מתנגד לסמלים של המדינה (כמו הדגל, ההמנון, יום העצמאות) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. זה בסדר אם אנשים במצבים קשים לפעמים אינם מצייתים לחוק | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. לפעמים אני מרגיש כל כך מתוסכל עד שבא לי להרוס רכוש ציבורי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. העשירים נהיים יותר עשירים והעניים יותר עניים | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. מה שאני חושב ממילא לא נחשב | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. מרבית האנשים שיש להם כוח מנסים לנצל אנשים כמוני | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

40. המשפטים הבאים מתייחסים לרגשות והתנסויות שקיימים לפעמים ביחסים עם המשפחה. נא להקיף בעיגול את המספר שמייצג את התשובה המתאימה לך ביותר, **<u>בשנה האחרונה</u>**.

| | בכלל לא | במידה מעטה | לפעמים | במידה רבה | במידה רבה מאוד |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. משפחתי מראה דאגה ואכפתיות כלפי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. משפחתי מתנהגת כלפי בצורה שמראה חוסר חיבה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. משפחתי נותנת לי מידע או עצות מועילות כשאני זקוק לכך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. כשאני מוטרד, עצבני או מדוכא ממשהו, אני משוחח עם מישהו מהמשפחה שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. משפחתי מקשיבה לי כשאני מדבר על דברים שחשובים לי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. משפחתי גורמת לי להרגיש לא רצוי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. משפחתי נותנת לי עזרה ישירה, כלומר עושה או נותנת לי דברים כשאני צריך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. משפחתי מתנהגת בצורה לא נעימה או כועסת כלפי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. משפחתי מקשה על החיים שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. משפחתי מעבירה עלי ביקורת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. משפחתי רגישה לצרכי האישיים | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. משפחתי מעודדת ומחזקת אותי כשאני זקוק לכך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. משפחתי אומרת דברים שמעלים את הביטחון העצמי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

41. המשפטים הבאים מתייחסים לרגשות והתנסויות שקיימים לפעמים ביחסים עם החברים. נא להקיף בעיגול את המספר שמייצג את התשובה המתאימה לך ביותר, **<u>בשנה האחרונה</u>**.

| | בכלל לא | במידה מעטה | לפעמים | במידה רבה | במידה רבה מאוד |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. החברים שלי מראים דאגה ואכפתיות כלפי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. החברים שלי מתנהגים כלפי בצורה שמראה חוסר חיבה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. החברים שלי נותנים לי מידע או עצות מועילות כשאני זקוק לכך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. כשאני מוטרד, עצבני או מדוכא ממשהו, אני משוחח עם החברים שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. החברים שלי מקשיבים לי כשאני מדבר על דברים שחשובים לי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. החברים שלי גורמים לי להרגיש לא רצוי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. החברים שלי נותנים לי עזרה ישירה, כלומר הם עושים או נותנים לי דברים כשאני צריך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. החברים שלי מתנהגים בצורה לא נעימה או כועסת כלפי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. החברים שלי מקשים על החיים שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. החברים שלי מעבירים עלי ביקורת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. החברים שלי רגישים לצרכי האישיים | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. החברים שלי מעודדים ומחזקים אותי כשאני זקוק לכך | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. החברים שלי אומרים דברים שמעלים את הביטחון העצמי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

42 ... כאשר את/ה נחשף/ת להתנהגות מפלה או גזענית כלפיך, באיזו מידה את/ה מרגיש .

| | במידה מעטה מאוד | במידה מעטה | במידה בינונית | במידה רבה | במידה רבה מאוד | לא נחשפתי לאפליה או לביטויי גזענות |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. כעס | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| 2. תסכול | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| 3. עצב | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| 4. חוסר אונים | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| 5. בושה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| 6. חוזק / עצמה | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 9 |

43. לפעמים בני נוער אומרים את המשפטים הבאים, נא לציין עד כמה הם מייצגים אותך .

| | בכלל לא | במידה מעטה | במידה בינונית | במידה רבה | במידה רבה מאוד |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. אני אוהב/ת את המוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. אני שונא/ת את המוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. הלוואי שהייתי נולד/ת למשפחה מעדה אחרת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. אני שמח/ה שנולדתי לעדה שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. אני גאה במוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. אני מתבייש/ת במוצא העדתי שלי | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. אני מנסה להתלבש, להתנהג ולדבר כמו שנהוג בעדה אחרת | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

1. העולם מסוכן מאוד
2. העולם מסוכן
3. העולם די מסוכן
4. העולם לא כל כך מסוכן
5. העולם לא מסוכן בכלל

**44.** בשאלות הבאות את/ה מתבקש/ת לענות על שאלות הנוגעות לאופן שבו את/ה תופש/ת את עצמך. נא להקיף בעיגול את התשובה שהכי נכונה עבורך.

1) אנשים שונים במידת היכולת שהם מייחסים לעצמם. מה בדרך כלל את/ה חושב/ת על עצמך?
   1. בעל/ת יכולת גבוהה מאוד
   2. בעל/ת יכולת גבוהה
   3. בעל/ת יכולת בינונית
   4. בעל/ת יכולת נמוכה
   5. בעל/ת יכולת נמוכה מאוד

2) כשאנשים משווים את עצמם לאחרים, יש כאלה שמניחים בכל מצב חדש שהיכולת שלהם גבוהה משל אחרים, ויש כאלה שמניחים שלאחרים יש יכולת גבוהה יותר. מה אתה מניח?
   1. אני בעל/ת יכולת גבוהה בהרבה משל אחרים
   2. אני בעל/ת יכולת גבוהה יותר משל אחרים
   3. אני בעל/ת יכולת דומה לזו של האחרים
   4. לאחרים יכולת גבוהה משלי
   5. לאחרים יכולת גבוהה בהרבה משלי

3) אנשים שונים מאוד זה מזה בדימוי העצמי שלהם. באופן כללי, כיצד את/ה רואה את עצמך?
   1. בעל/ת דימוי עצמי גבוה מאוד
   2. בעל/ת דימוי עצמי גבוה
   3. בעל/ת דימוי עצמי בינוני
   4. בעל/ת דימוי עצמי נמוך
   5. בעל/ת דימוי עצמי נמוך מאוד

4) יש אנשים שמעריכים אחרים יותר מאשר את עצמם, ויש כאלה שמעריכים את עצמם יותר מאשר אחרים. באופן כללי, מהי דעתך על עצמך?
   1. מעריך/ה אחרים הרבה יותר ממני
   2. מעריך/ה אחרים קצת יותר ממני
   3. מעריך/ה אחרים באותה מידה שבה אני מעריך את עצמי
   4. מעריך/ה את עצמי קצת יותר מאחרים

5. מעריך/ה את עצמי הרבה יותר מאחרים

5) לפי הרגשתך, באיזו מידה יש לך שליטה על החיים שלך?
1. יש לי שליטה גבוהה מאוד
2. יש לי שליטה גבוהה
3. יש לי שליטה בינונית
4. יש לי שליטה נמוכה
5. יש לי שליטה נמוכה מאוד

6) האם לדעתך את/ה שולט/ת בחייך יותר או פחות מאחרים?
1. יש לי הרבה יותר שליטה מאשר לאחרים
2. יש לי יותר שליטה מאשר לאחרים
3. יש לי שליטה דומה לזו שיש לאחרים
4. יש לי פחות שליטה מאשר לאחרים
5. יש לי הרבה פחות שליטה מאשר לאחרים

7) יש כאלה שמרגישים שהם זקוקים לאחרים פחות מאשר אחרים זקוקים להם. אחרים מרגישים את ההיפך, שהם זקוקים לאחרים יותר משאחרים זקוקים להם. כיצד את/ה מרגיש/ה בעניין זה?
1. אני זקוק לאחרים הרבה פחות משהם זקוקים לי
2. אני זקוק לאחרים קצת פחות משהם זקוקים לי
3. אני זקוק לאחרים באותה מידה שבה הם זקוקים לי
4. אני זקוק לאחרים קצת יותר משהם זקוקים לי
5. אני זקוק לאחרים הרבה יותר משהם זקוקים לי

8) בקבלת החלטות חשובות, האם את/ה מסתמך/ת יותר על השיפוט האישי שלך, או יותר על שיפוטם של אנשים שחשובים לך?
1. אני מסתמך/ת הרבה יותר על השיפוט שלי
2. אני מסתמך/ת יותר על השיפוט שלי
3. אני מסתמך/ת במידה שווה על השיפוט שלי ועל השיפוט של אחרים
4. אני מסתמך/ת יותר על שיפוטם של אחרים
5. אני מסתמך/ת הרבה יותר על שיפוטם של אחרים

9) אנשים נבדלים במידת העצמאות שלהם בתוך מערכות יחסים. כיצד את/ה רואה את עצמך?
1. עצמאי/ת במיוחד
2. עצמאי/ת מאוד
3. עצמאי/ת במידת מה
4. לא מאוד עצמאי/ת
5. לא עצמאי/ת כלל

10) באופן כללי יותר, האם את/ה נוהג/ת לפעול בהתאם לרצונותיך, או בהתאם לרצונות של אחרים שחשובים לך?
1. כמעט תמיד לפי מה שאני רוצה
2. לעיתים קרובות יותר לפי מה שאני רוצה
3. לפי מה שאני רוצה ומה שרוצים אחרים באותה מידה
4. לעיתים קרובות יותר לפי מה שרוצים אנשים שחשובים לי
5. כמעט תמיד לפי מה שרוצים אלה שחשובים לי

11) יש כאלה שנוטים להעדיף את האינטרסים של אחרים יותר מאשר את האינטרסים שלהם, בעוד שאחרים נוטים להעדיף את האינטרסים של עצמם יותר מאשר את אלה של האחרים. מה הנטייה שלך, כאשר את/ה צריך/ה לקבל החלטה?
1. כמעט תמיד אני מעדיף/ה את האינטרסים של אחרים
2. לעיתים קרובות יותר אני מעדיף/ה את האינטרסים של אחרים על שלי
3. אני נוטה לתת אותה עדיפות לאינטרסים שלי ושל אחרים
4. לעיתים קרובות יותר אני מעדיף/ה את האינטרסים שלי
5. כמעט תמיד אני מעדיף/ה את האינטרסים שלי

12) יש אנשים שהם יותר דומיננטיים במערכות יחסים, ויש כאלה שהם יותר פסיביים, בעיקר ביחסי אהבה. מה הנטייה שלך?
1. אני דומיננטי/ת מאד
2. אני דומיננטי/ת במקצת
3. אני דומיננטי/ת ופסיבי/ת במידה שווה
4. אני קצת פסיבי/ת
5. אני פסיבי/ת מאד

13) כאשר יש חילוקי דעות במערכת יחסים, יש כאלה שנוטים להתפשר יותר מאשר האחר. כיצד את/ה רואה את עצמך בעניין זה?
1. אני מתפשר/ת הרבה יותר
2. אני מתפשר/ת יותר
3. אני מתפשר/ת באותה מידה כמו האחר
4. האדם האחר מתפשר/ת יותר
5. האדם האחר מתפשר/ת הרבה יותר

14) במערכות יחסים, האחד נוטה להשפיע יותר מאשר האחר. כיצד היית מתאר/ת את עצמך?
1. אני משפיע/ה הרבה פחות
2. אני משפיע/ה פחות
3. אני משפיע/ה באותה מידה כמו האחר
4. אני משפיע/ה יותר
5. אני משפיע/ה הרבה יותר

15) יש כאלה שחושבים שעליך להעדיף אחרים, ויש שחושבים שעליך לשים את עצמך בראש. אם יש קונפליקט או כשצריכים להחליט, מהי הנטייה שלך?
1. אני שם את עצמי בראש לעתים הרבה יותר קרובות
2. אני שם את עצמי בראש לעתים קרובות
3. אני שם את עצמי ואת האחרים באותה מידה בסדר העדיפות
4. אני שם את האחרים בראש סדר העדיפות לעתים קרובות
5. אני שם את האחרים בראש סדר העדיפויות לעתים הרבה יותר קרובות

## APPENDIX B

RACIAL MICROAGGRESSIONS SCALE[10]

1. *Because of my race, other people assume that I am a foreigner. **(FOR)**
2. *Because of my race, people suggest that I am not a "true" American. **(FOR)**
3. *Other people often ask me where I am from, suggesting that I don't belong. **(FOR)**
4. Other people treat me like a criminal because of my race. **(CRIM)**
5. People act like they are scared of me because of my race. **(CRIM)**
6. Others assume that I will behave aggressively because of my race. **(CRIM)**
7. I am singled out by police of security people because of my race. **(CRIM)**
8. *People suggest that I am "exotic" in a sexual way because of my race. **(SEXU)**
9. *Other people view me in an overly sexual way because of my race. **(SEXU)**
10. *Other people hold sexual stereotypes about me because of my racial background. **(SEXU)**
11. Other people act as if they can fully understand my racial identity, even though they are not of my racial background. **(LOW)**
12. Other people act as if all of the people of my race are alike. **(LOW)**
13. Others suggest that people of my racial background get unfair benefits. **(LOW)**
14. Others assume that people of my background would succeed in life if they simply worked harder. **(LOW)**
15. Other people deny that people of my race face extra obstacles when compared to Whites. **(LOW)**
16. Other people assume that I am successful because of affirmative action, not because I earned my accomplishments. **(LOW)**
17. Others hint that I should work hard to prove that I am not like other people of my race. **(LOW)**
18. Others suggest that my racial heritage is dysfunctional or undesirable. **(LOW)**
19. Others focus only on the negative aspects of my racial background. **(LOW)**
20. Others prefer that I assimilate to the White culture and downplay my racial background. **(INV)**
21. *I am mistaken for being a service worker or lower-status worker simply because of my race. **(INV)**
22. I am treated like a second-class citizen because of my race. **(INV)**
23. I receive poorer treatment in restaurants and stores because of my race. **(INV)**
24. Sometimes I feel as if people look past me or don't see me as a real person because of my race. **(INV)**
25. I feel invisible because of my race. **(INV)**
26. I am ignored in school or work environments because of my race. **(INV)**
27. My contributions are dismissed or devalued because of my racial background. **(ENV)**
28. *When I interact with authority figures, they are usually of a different racial background. **(ENV)**
29. *I notice that there are few role models of my racial background in my chosen career. **(ENV)**

[10] INV = Invisibility factor; CRIM = Criminality factor; LOW = Low-Achieving/Undesirable Culture factor; SEXU = Sexualization factor; FOR = Foreigner/Not Belonging factor; ENV = Environmental Invalidations factor; * = Item was not included in this study's adapted MAS instrument.

30. *Sometimes I am the only person of my racial background in my class or workplace. **(ENV)**
31. *Where I work or go to school, I see few people of my racial background. **(ENV)**
32. *I notice that there are few people of my racial background on the TV, in books, and in magazines. **(ENV)**