London School of Economics and Political Science

'SACRIFICE SCRIPTS'

The role of context in the transmission of counter-cultural religious representations of sacrifice and commitment

Israeli-Jewish culture

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Abstract

This thesis explores transmission of religious representations of sacrifice and commitment within modern Jewish-Israeli culture. The thesis begins with a focus on the domain of religious representations and then explores the empirical plausibility of a context-based approach for studying their transmission patterns using recently emerging perspectives within cognitive science of religion. On that basis, the thesis turns the attention to religious representations that violate shared cultural assumptions (counter-cultural), through a review of the possible differences between these and religious representations that violate innate intuitions (counterintuitive). It is argued that without further expanding of the context-based view to include violations of cultural kind, new advances in this approach will not be convincing. A theoretical model of the effect of context on the spread of counter-cultural religious representations is therefore developed through a conceptual integration of aspects of script theory. The socio-cognitive model presented here is based on the potential connection between emerging accounts for cultural transmission and script theory.

The first study involves an empirical investigation of media representations of sacrifice and commitment scripts within Jewish - Israeli culture. A second study, involving 1,005 participants, seeks to operationalize the investigation of religious representations, and does so by an online research tool that allows structured insight into mental representations of sacrifice and commitment scripts, based on representation elicited from the previous media analysis. This dynamic technology facilitates the investigation of the different qualities of recurrent representations over time and under different contextual conditions.

In conclusion, this thesis attempts to explore the potential connections between the context in which counter-cultural representations are spread and the degree to which they spread by suggesting that under some conditions representations that maximally deviate from cultural assumptions can turn minimal, becoming optimal for transmission, as long as they can be justified in that context.

To my beloved Gaja

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

> *"For years we have talked about self-sacrifice," he added. "The time has come to act. The doomsday weapon is needed here. This is the time to load the missiles ... At Masada 969 Jews gave their lives. In Gush Katif we will be 970. I believe that many of those who are with me on the path will join in the act ... In the halakha [Jewish law] there are things that one must die for, and uprooting settlements from the Land of Israel is one such situation. Only one thing is important to me – the word of God ... and if God says, 'for this you too shall sacrifice your life,' I am ready ... This struggle requires self-sacrifice in practice." (Interview with Hagai Ben Artzi, 'Haaretz' 30/04/2004).*

At the heart of religion and religious life lie notions of sacrifice and commitment for the sake of a particular way of community life, governed by a belief in supernatural beings or gods (Atran, 2002; Atran & Ginges, 2012). In actual fact, the majority of religious societies specify certain expectations for appropriate beliefs and conduct regarding display of religious sacrifice and commitment, without consideration of the material benefits or short-term utility to the believers (Atran, 2002). These expectations which may represented in shared cultural scripts, involve adhering to counterintuitive and emotionally intense beliefs aside convincing displays of commitment and sacrifice (Atran, 2002). Once these expectations are internalized and turn into conventional knowledge, they govern believers' understanding and response to everyday questions regarding their religious beliefs, roles and duties and thus shape their behaviour. In some cases, when expectations are put to the test, extreme rhetoric and even extreme actions may be involved, including a will to sacrifice one's own life, or that of a close relative. Both historic and modern manifestations of these beliefs range from everyday beliefs and ritualized daily prayers through offerings and religious deeds, to radical ideologies, conflicts and religious fundamentalism.

Given these aspects, religious beliefs and religious ritual practices involving representations of sacrifice and commitment appear to be expensive cognitively, emotionally and materially (Atran, 2002). Attempts to explain the success of those representations regarding costly commitments have taken different forms. One approach is commitment theories of religion, which focus on the success of specific contents of religious beliefs concerning sacrifice and commitment that are seen to be irrational. These theories suggest that adherence to irrational and 'hard to fake' beliefs and actions aid long-term cultural survival and increase group fitness as they indicate a degree of sincerity and cooperation between members (Atran, 2002; Atran & Norenzayan, 2004). However, these theories tend to offer a limited explanation of widespread sacrifice and commitment beliefs and actions, and fail to account for the human mind's cognitive architecture in constructing these contents and the emotive experience involved in religious contents and other distinct motivations for holding religious beliefs and actions. Consequently, what has been missing is a broad conceptual framework that would allow an integration of these aspects and thoroughly address the question of how and why beliefs and representations regarding sacrifice and commitment have become widespread.

Cognitive science of religion

Cognitive science of religion was chosen as the main theoretical framework in this thesis for explaining the mechanisms behind the transmission of religious representations relative to sacrifice and commitment. The decision to use the cognitive science of religion framework lies in the quest for a perspective that can offer an insight into the cognitive and evolutionary underpinning of religious beliefs including how humans acquire, generate, and disseminate religious beliefs through cognitive capacities. From this perspective, religious beliefs, representations and practices, including those concerning sacrifice and commitment, are understood to be a consequence of human cognitive mechanisms and operate comparably to non-religious beliefs (Atran, 2002).

Moreover, cognitive science of religion draws upon theories and research from other disciplines, such as anthropology, social psychology, cognitive science and evolutionary psychology, enabling a comprehensive understanding of these

interconnections to emerge. Specifically, the integration of these theories suggests that in the course of evolution, human minds were equipped with domain-specific cognitive capacities (mental modules) adapted to support reasoning and solve problems in an ancestral environment. These modules predisposed minds to certain types of cultural representations in key life domains such as biology, sociology, and physics as they hold universal expectations regarding ontological categories. As such, ideas that fit these mental modules are better recalled and transmitted making them more 'infectious' (Sperber, 1996). In this view, cultures can be seen as the outcome of representations which infected a large population of minds. In turn, representations widely distributed and stable, when shared and practised among in-group members, may turn into internalized knowledge structures (narratives) in the format of schemas and scripts that eventually govern understanding and behaviour in different life domains. This is to suggest that cultures may also be seen as the accumulation of narrative structures shared and maintained by in-group members (Sperber, 1996).

Theoretical framework

This thesis explores the possible use of the cognitive science of religion framework to the study of widespread religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment and specifically those which violate shared cultural knowledge. It has investigated the transmission of religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment, which appear to run counter to culturally acquired conventions, seen to involve Western and individualistic values as well as democratic norms. The main argument was that script representation involving mild counter-cultural violations better transmitted than other script representations and this is highly reflective of conditions where context impact these representations from being maximal counter-cultural to minimal counter-cultural. As such, the central research question behind this thesis was: 'What is the role of context in the transmission of minimal counter - cultural religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment?'

To this end, this thesis investigated the distribution of religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment over time, using two studies: the first was a media analysis and the second a quasi-experimental web research. The objective of the media analysis was to uncover media representations of sacrifice and commitment

scripts, i.e. shared meaning organized in event hierarchical structures, in the context of the national religious movement (Gush Emunim) and the settlers' community in Israel. The analysis was conducted using two daily newspapers and a religious Zionist bulletin, along a 13-year period, i.e. between the 1993 Oslo accords and the disengagement plan of 2005, covering 180 articles. The objective of the quasi-experimental web research, involving an online serial interpretation test, was to uncover the mental representation of sacrifice and commitment scripts around three meta-themes found in the media analysis, over time. The specific goal of the web study was to account for the prevalence of certain religious representations via their transmission advantage, i.e. cognitive and emotional explanations that focus on violations of cultural assumptions (counter-cultural). The study involved 1,005 adult participants including 622 secular, 191 traditional and 192 national religious individuals, and took place over two weeks in Israel in 2006, a few months after the 'disengagement' from the Gaza strip.

The findings of the media analysis indicate that the content of religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment, relative to religious Zionism, can be clustered around three overarching meta-scripts including: sacrifice and commitment to God, the state and the community, and these involve script-relevant information, relative to the biblical and messianic sacrifice and commitment, with varying degrees of violation of modern and secular cultural assumptions. The analysis shows that while these scripts co-exist within the realm of the 'ideal' and the 'envisioned', a realistic and pragmatic stance suggests that real tension exists between them. The 'ideal' stance is dialectical and allows contradictions to emerge. The pragmatic stance is decisive and highlights the differences between secular and religious voices and that sacrifice and commitment to God and the community override sacrifice and commitment to the state, especially when the biblical and the messianic script is challenged by everyday realities.

The primary findings of the quasi-experimental web research is that context played a role in determining the distribution of counter-cultural representations concerning sacrifice and commitment to God / the state / the community, and that under changing contexts the representations involving minimal counter-cultural violations were better transmitted. This was reflected in changing from massively to minimally violating

cultural assumptions (relative to Western, modern and democratic standards) under different conditions. Other results indicate a significantly similar distribution of representations across the study sub groups (with religious, secular and traditional affiliations) in regards to sacrifice and commitment to the community and some differences in regards to God and the state. A similar pattern was found for gender affiliation with minor differences relative to sacrifice and commitment to God. A different analysis has suggested significant consistency of representations across script hierarchies mostly in regard to representations of 'fanaticism and blind faith' and of 'settling the land'.

The thesis suggests implications for religious representations and cultural transmission research as well as social policy implications. Specifically, it provides additional empirical evidence for how context can affect representations so that those which deviate greatly, or massively, from cultural conventions can turn minimal (to the point where they are integrated into cultural narratives) as long as they can be justified. It also provides proof for the practicality of using scripts to studying religious 'epidotic' repertoires. It suggests also that real-life examples may involve both violations of innate intuitions as well as cultural assumptions and that these can be complementary. In terms of social policy implications, the thesis may suggest further explanations for the ease in which fundamental and radical ideologies may become mainstream under certain conditions (losing their unusualness) because of their attractive cognitive and emotional qualities, and it may offer suggestions as to how these issues could be addressed.

Thesis outline

Chapter 1 introduces the domain of religious representations, focusing on the three aspects: the descriptive quality, the cognitive quality and psychological modality of religious representations, with the aim of setting the ground for the gap that drives this research. The central argument is that religious representations are an interesting psychological phenomenon as their minimal counterintuitive characteristics and special emotional qualities render them as 'relevant mysteries'. The second part of the chapter focuses on the special case of religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment and how they may demonstrate the concept of 'relevant mysteries'.

This is followed, in Chapter 2, by an introduction to cognitive science of religion, and a detailed articulation of the transmission advantage of counterintuitive representations with new perspectives regarding the impact of context. This is then used to further explain widespread counter-cultural representations, the cultural analogy of counterintuitive representations, thus filling a gap in the study of religious representations literature.

In chapter 3 and chapter 4 an account is provided for what characterizes widespread culturally shared scripts of sacrifice and commitment within Israeli-Jewish culture. Chapter 3 introduces the historical underpinnings of modern sacrifice scripts while focusing on its biblical and messianic roots. The central concern here is the connection between the ancient Jewish sacrifice script and the beliefs and representations concerning religious sacrifice and commitment distributed in Israeli society nowadays –being modern, democratic and having a secular majority. Special attention is given to the influential national religious movement Gush Emunim its sacrifice and commitment scripts and their impact on the thinking and behaviour of other subgroup populations In Israel. The chapter gives concrete examples to scripts involving counter-cultural beliefs and representations and their associated actions in modern Israel during recent decades, as well as their transformation from being unusual religious ideas to common ideas accepted by secular communities.

Chapter 4 presents the method and results of the first study designed to reveal media representations of religious sacrifice and commitment scripts. The results provide evidence of three overarching conceptual structures or broad-thinking patterns that are fundamental to today's Israeli-Jewish culture in the context of religious Zionism: sacrifice and commitment to God, sacrifice and commitment to the state and sacrifice and commitment to the community. The first part of the chapter presents each of these meta-scripts in overall terms. The second section includes a more general discussion and suggests that they co-exist harmoniously in a 'utopian' realm while involving a more complex interaction within a more 'realistic' realm, reflecting on the possible tension between secular and religious belief sets surrounding the notion of sacrifice and commitment within the observed society.

Chapter 5 introduces the quasi-experimental web study, designed to uncover the distribution of mental representations concerning religious sacrifice and commitment scripts in Israel over time. The study's goal was to answer the question of what ideas of sacrifice and commitment mean to members of different groups, and why some religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment are more likely to be transmitted than other religious representations using ideas regarding the cognitive optimality of counter-cultural concepts, the cultural analogy for counterintuitive concepts and script theory. The study is based on Bartlett's (1932) serial reproduction method and was specifically designed as an online serial interpretation test (SIT) where respondents were asked to generate chains of interpretations around the concepts of sacrifice and commitment relative to God, the community and the State,– the main themes (meta-scripts) found in the previous media analysis.

Chapter 6 provides the results from the quasi-experimental web study. The first section describes the way in which qualitative data collected from 1,005 participants was turned into quantitative data by clustering respondents' interpretations into main categories. This is followed by a demographic variables analysis that shows no substantial effect of gender or religious affiliation on frequency of participants' interpretations during the experiment. The findings of this study provide support for a context effect on the distribution of counter-cultural representations as well as the impact of context on the preponderance of minimal counter-cultural representations. The final analysis shows that certain interpretations were kept consistent across the script's interpretation levels, and this may be due to them being especially psychologically attractive.

The final chapter presents a critical assessment of the different studies and the overall success of the present research in achieving its aims. The chapter begins with a summary of the thesis and its different studies and analyses as well as overall research limitations. This is followed by a consideration of the potential ramifications of the theoretical framework and empirical findings for the study of script-led transmission of religious representations and the context-based approach in the cognitive science of religion literature. Finally, the chapter ends by reflecting upon the potential social policy implications of this research in Israel and abroad.

1 The domain of religious representations

The following chapter introduces the domain of religious representations while focusing on their distinct characteristics. This will be done by examining their descriptive quality, cognitive quality, and psychological modality[1]. Each of these aspects will be presented using different theoretical underpinnings from both the cognitive science of religion and evolutionary psychology. The second section will focus on the specific case of religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment and will highlight the motivation for researching them in light of their apparent distribution in the observed culture. The section will also discuss why additional explanations that go beyond current concepts and empirical scopes should be examined. The summary of the chapter will prepare the grounds for using the cognitive science of religion approach and script theory for that purpose.

1.1 Religious representations' special characteristics

1.1.1 The descriptive contents of religious representations and beliefs

Since the 19th century, different scholars of religion (mainly anthropologists) have demonstrated that religious beliefs, despite cultural differences, emerge around recurrent themes: a) the existence of an unseen world of supernatural gods, spirits, or ancestors with knowledge about and control over human affairs; b) narratives of the creation of the world by these supernatural beings; c) people harmed by disease or misfortune controlled by evil spirits; d) the power of a religious authority to manage both kind and evil superhuman agents; e) explicit types of actions, such as sacrifice, concerning superhuman agents; and f) spirit-possession or representations that the human soul lives on after the body is dead. Other common cross-cultural typologies include: a) a belief in supernatural agents and counterintuitive concepts; b) a common sharing of ritual; c) a division between the spirit and the non-religious; and d) recognition of the adolescent phase for conveying religious beliefs and values (Alcorta & Sosis, 2005).

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[1] 'Cognitive' here refers to the way these characteristics are represented in human minds; 'descriptive' refers to aspects of the external world to which the representations might be connected.

More recently, anthropologist Pascal Boyer (1994) suggested that religious representations can be seen as ranging over four interrelated content repertoires. The first one is an ontological repertoire, which consists of a set of representations about non-observable entities and their being in the world (e.g. non-observable gods who have minds (to observe) but not bodies). The second one is a causal repertoire, which consists of representations of causal connections between the ontological repertoire and various events and observable affairs in everyday life (e.g. gods or ancestors who are satisfied if a religious sacrifice is offered or who believe that certain groups should be punished if they do not fear the gods). The third is an episodic repertoire: this catalogue of representations consists of situations and actions (especially rituals) that are linked to the beliefs and representations involved in the causal repertoire and the ontological repertoire. These include representations of scripted actions and ritualized performances that must take place in the appropriate way and in the appropriate order by appropriate figures. This repertoire will be the centre of this thesis, as it is not concerned with sacrifice actions themselves but with the representation of those actions and the way those representations relate to broader cultural assumptions.

Lastly, the fourth one is the social categories repertoire, which includes representations about differences between people in regard to religious beliefs and practices (e.g. whether certain people have or do not have unobservable qualities and invisible organs). An example of the interrelation between these repertoires is a deceased ancestor (ontological) who may, when distressed, inflict disease (causal) on future generations (social), which could lead to a sacrifice (event).

1.1.2 The cognitive qualities of religious representations and beliefs

Scholarly work within the cognitive science of religion suggests that religious representations are both natural (and intuitive) and unnatural (or counterintuitive). They are natural or intuitive as non-religious representations because they are acquired, represented, and processed by the same underlying cognitive mechanisms (Pyysiäinen, 2001; Boyer, 2001). Nonetheless, they are unnatural or counterintuitive (Boyer; 1994; 2000; 2001) because they violate universal intuitive expectations or reasoning based on innate predispositions, and associated with ontological categories in the realms of physics, sociology, biology, psychology, etc., which govern non-

religious concepts[2]. This will be further explained in the following chapter. Despite the fact that they may conflict with fact-based knowledge, religious representations are still considered relevant (Atran & Norenzayan, 2004). Ontological expectations usually involve both 'surface' representations of a domain's category members (e.g. shape, size, colour, and movement) and 'essence-based' representations of the categories within a domain (i.e. the underlying properties required for inclusion as a category, which could be either implicit or ideal) (Franks, 2004).

One of the most detailed accounts of this violation of intuitive concepts in the realm of religious representations is offered by Boyer (1994; 1996; 1998; 2001); this account has been further developed by Barrett and Keil (1996) and Atran (2002), among others. This work suggests that there are three fundamental cognitive features of religious representations. Firstly, religious representations trigger more than one ontological category (the representation of spirit activates the ontological category of 'PERSON'). Secondly, the representation contravenes some of the intuitive expectations of that ontological category (the representation of spirit is of a 'PERSON' whose values do not correlate with the intuitive ontological expectations concerning the physics of that person). Spirits go through physical obstacles and move instantaneously – people do not. Thirdly, such representations also activate (or 'transfer') the remaining assumptions of that ontological category (despite spirits being construed as physically counterintuitive, people routinely produce a large number of inferences about what ghosts or spirits know or want, based on the extension of theory-of-mind expectations to the spirits). Indeed, most of the inferences people produce about religious entities are consequences of activating the very intuitive principles that are not components of the representations of those supernatural entities.

More specifically, a counterintuitive representation or a violation of intuitive ontology is formed when either a representation does not hold a feature that it intuitively should hold or does hold a feature that it intuitively should not. Therefore, counterintuitiveness does not suggest that a representation is 'false', 'ridiculous', or 'odd' but means violating implicit, intuitive ontological expectations. Common

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[2]Intuitive ontology refers to common-sense knowledge regarding ontological categories.

examples of counterintuitive representations are a 'NATURAL KIND' having psychological characteristics (e.g. a burning bush) or a 'PERSON' missing biological and physical qualities (e.g. 'spirits'). Sperber (1996) gives two other illustrations of the 'provocative' nature of religious representations. The first illustrates that it is part of our accepted knowledge of the physical world that an entity cannot be present in two places at the same time, but being all-present is distinctive to supernatural beings. Another common-sense principle, used in day-to-day communication, is that visual perceptions are determined by what a person actually visualizes. Supernatural beings are not only able to see the past, present, and future but can also see across vast areas of the earth.

Boyer (1994) demonstrates that in order to constitute religious representations, ordinary expectations about what the world is like (i.e. common-sense expectations concerning ordinary things, beings, and processes) have to be violated – and, as will be explained in the following chapter – in minimal ways. This can involve violating only one of the assumptions of the ontological category involved or can involve transferring one of these assumptions from one category to another. A concept that only constitutes intuitive ontologies is by that very fact non-religious, although counterintuitiveness as such is not a satisfactory condition for religion (see Boyer, 1994; see also Atran, 1996; 1998; 2002).

Complementing these principles, both Atran (1996) and Boyer (1994; 1996) stress the importance of differentiating between the unnatural and the real. For instance, while it is highly unnatural that a tree would talk, for a believer such exceptional biological beings can be considered to be definitely real (and relevant). Moreover, although some beliefs and representations can be counterintuitive in respect to implicit human intuitions, believers' recognition of such beliefs and representations may have an intuitive fascination (see Sperber, 1994). As such, religious portrayals involve sequences of images in the mind that satisfy two conditions. First, religious concepts contravene certain expectations regarding the nature of the world. Second, they conserve other expectations.

Finally, the notion of counterintuitiveness holds some limitations. Since cognitive theories of religion suggest that not all counterintuitive ideas can be regarded as religious, the inevitable question of what makes some counterintuitive ideas religious

is brought up. The reality is that these theories provide a limited answer (Atran, 1998; 2002). That is, they interpret religious beliefs and practices as using the regular inferential capacity of human minds (Andersen, 2001; Atran & Sperber, 1991; Barrett, 2000; Boyer, 1994; Lawson & McCauley, 1990; Atran & Norenzayan, 2004), inferring that they are not formed by specialist 'religious' cognitive structures (see, for example, Boyer, 1998). The cognitive theories also claim that religious concepts violate intuitive expectations, making them counterintuitive or 'counterfactual'. Another possible question then is whether these theories can distinguish other counterintuitive concepts from religious beliefs and representations, for example Disney figures from Biblical prophets (Atran, 1998; 2002; Atran & Norenzayan, 2004).

1.1.3 The psychological modality of religious representations

Durkheimian theories suggest that religious beliefs are set apart by virtue of their modality (see Boyer, 1994): they entail a special mode of thought or special kinds of beliefs that exert a special fascination, making them seem to belong to the 'otherness' or 'the sacred'. In actual fact, Durkheim defines religion as a "system of beliefs and practices relative to the sacred ones that united their followers into a moral community" (Durkheim, 1915, p.47) and maintains that religious beliefs have certain symbolic or evocative qualities that render a sense of awe or mystery attached to what is considered as sacred. In his view, unified beliefs and practices represent a system of symbols that give meaning to individual and social life. 'Sacred' refers to a quality of an unknown force that is present within objects, people, and places. The realm of the sacred refers to that which a group of believers sets apart as holy and believes protects them from the profane by special rites and rules. Therefore, the sacred is regarded as especially powerful and thought-provoking, but what do these 'symbolic' or 'evocative' qualities entail?

Some explanations show that the psychological modality of religious representations is highly intertwined with cognitive aspects. For example, Boyer (1994) suggests that the sense of the 'sacred' arises from inferential indeterminacy. That is, religious representation holds a 'symbolic mode', which involves complexity, inferential gaps, and attention-demanding qualities. The 'complexity' of religious representations refers to religious concepts as often being conceptually ambiguous or hard to

elucidate, for example the Holy Trinity, in which three entities are simultaneously one concept. 'Attention demanding' refers to the implications of religious representations being of a counterintuitive character, which makes religious representations more interesting and salient in people's minds than other concepts.

Sperber (1996), in another cognitively oriented explanation, argues for an evocative mode of religious representations. He suggests that religious representations are both paradoxical because they systematically deviate from ordinary expectations but are still relevant because they are closely related to other mental representations from which they depart. These two contradictory elements, which are preserved within the representation, result in the formation of 'relevant mysteries' – holding the promise yet not admitting to a final resolution or final interpretation. In fact, indeterminacy over accurate interpretation implies that they may not be fully understood, despite believers' temporary sense that they have been or could be (Franks, 2004). Moreover, even when a trustworthy authority figure provides a true or accurate interpretation, it does not resolve this cognitive contradiction, as they remain not entirely understood (Sperber, 1996). As a result, they are attention demanding and inference biased. These qualities promote further cognitive processing and the production of indefinite and multiple interpretations over time, which in turn make the cognitive stabilization of narratives easier. Supernatural narratives can only be communicated on the condition that any resulting unresolved mysteries remain associated with the physical world (Atran & Sperber, 1991; Sperber, 1975).

Other accounts on the psychological modality of religious representations centre on a more emotionally oriented explanation. Whitehouse (2000; 2002) suggests that a sense of awe, specific sensory contents, and emotional sense are important characteristics of religious representations and arise in part from the psychological nature of religious activities and rituals. He presents two different modes of religiosity with distinct cognitive and emotional implications: imagistic and doctrinal. The doctrinal mode follows semantic memory and is implicated in religious practices, which are frequently repeated and structured by a rigid and controlled hierarchy. The function of the repetitive apparatus is to build (and thus retransmit) an accurate memory construct of the ritual schematic frame or 'script' (Schank & Abelson, 1977) and to preserve orthodoxy within practices and principles. The outcome is a system

that involves very little, if any, emotional investment. The imagistic mode, in turn, typifies small communities of people, with minimum hierarchy, experiencing emotionally laden religious experiences that are low in frequency and that bond them together. The imagistic mode is based on so-called episodic memories, which are created in an atmosphere of complex and intense 'sensory pageantry' (extra-normal smells, tastes, sights, and sounds) that encourages group solidarity (e.g. because of shared heightened experiences). These experiences result in distinctive 'flashbulb memories' that are vividly recalled for the rest of the individual's life.

Atran and Norenzayan (2004) argue that religious representations frequently involve emotions because these representations are in part motivated by emotionally intrusive and eruptive existential anxieties (e.g. death and illness), which rituals serve to remove. These existential anxieties are addressed by means of 'rehearsals' or recreation of the same existential threat within the ritual while permitting its removal via the communal and emotional sharing of the ritual experience. However, this process is argued to be temporal and is therefore repeated, as the emotional content of the ritual is insufficient to make permanent changes in representations. Furthermore, the more important the anxieties or doubts that the contents of representations evoke, the more intense the emotional experience of the ritual needs to be in order to remove those anxieties or doubts, even temporarily (Franks, 2004).

1.2 Religion and representations of commitment and sacrifice

The concept of religious commitment/sacrifice is one of the most important building blocks of every religion. It involves representations of the potential for relevant actions and of sacrificing self-interest for the sake of a particular way of community life whose reality and truth are governed by supernatural beings or gods (Atran, 2002). Most anthropological accounts show that the majority of religious societies transmit prescriptions that translate into the ways in which religious sacrifice must be performed, without any redress to economic consequences, ignoring utilitarian constraints in return for future spiritual rewards.

Beliefs and representations regarding religious sacrifice and commitment may involve representations of sacrificing one's own or a family member's life that could, but not necessarily, be manifested in real actions. Atran (2002) suggests this is evidence of

altruistic thinking – individuals are willing to compromise their own survival for the benefit of the larger group. A dominant example is the contemporary and religiously inspired concept of suicide terrorism (Atran, 2003). Atran (2003)notes the following: using the indoctrination of believers in closed and emotionally intense cells that value 'brotherhoods', terror groups promote beliefs and representations regarding sacrifice for one another and for a greater cause and constantly act to secure these beliefs. In these cases, individual cognitions and emotions are deliberately manipulated by elite figures such as spiritual, political, and organizational leaders, as well as more closely connected figures such as recruiters and trainers.

More specifically, altruism is a type of selfless, helping behaviour motivated by the desire to give to and care for others without any expectation of something in return (Wilson, 1992; Batson, 1991; 2011). While evolutionary definitions of altruism focus on the effects of altruistic thinking and behaviours on promoting the survival of the fittest, social psychology definitions focus on the motivations for adopting these behaviours. Specifically, the evolutionary perspective posits that there is evidence to suggest that caring behaviour has evolved to maintain, in the face of danger, the survival of those who are in close relationships with the helper (Barrett, Dunbar, & Lycett, 2002; Pinker, 1997). Studies within the psychological (and anthropological) perspective differentiate between short-term, heroic, detectible altruism (which may be directed at strangers) and long-term altruism (which involves nurturing and enduring commitment directed at close kin or in-group members) (e.g. Bloch, 1973).

Moreover, studies stemming from the social psychology stance have suggested that empathy plays a key role in altruistic motivation (Batson, 1991; 2011). In particular, extensive research has shown that the assumption that people are motivated solely by self-interest is wrong: discomfort is felt when others are in distress, while comfort is felt when others' pain is relieved. This is what motivates altruistic behaviour, despite other egoistic alternatives (Batson, Ahmad, Lishner, & Tsang, 2002). In other words, though altruism may seem counter-rational, as people are known to seek to maximize rewards over costs and are motivated by egoism, the evidence shows the opposite. In addition, scholars have suggested there may be two other motivational factors behind altruism. The first is collectivism, which involves caring for the welfare of a whole group as an implication of social identity (Tajfel, 1970).The second is principlism,

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which has the goal of endorsing moral principles. The latter has been adopted by religious figures and religious teaching, as will be suggested later in the thesis in regard to fundamentalism.

Finally, the social psychology stance also suggests that societal and cultural expectations influence the motivation for caring behaviour via socialization and cultural teaching. This may involve norms regarding social responsibility (i.e. expectations regarding helping people in need despite apparent costs) and reciprocity (i.e. expectations regarding aiding those who have aided us) (Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Consequently, the study of religious commitment and sacrifice may be seen through the lenses of two fields: commitment theories of religion and cognitive theories of religion. Specifically, commitment theories have thus far attempted to see beliefs and representations regarding self-sacrifice and emotional sacrifice in terms of longer-term conceptualizations about the individual's or group's rewards, which allegedly aid cultural survival (Atran & Norenzayan, 2004).

One commitment theory of religion, developed by the economist Robert Frank (1988) and the anthropologists William Irons (2001) and Richard Sosis (2004), demonstrates the paradoxical nature of religion in being both rational and irrational. It is rational as it promotes beliefs and representations regarding maintaining successful group cooperation, but it is irrational as it centres on beliefs in unverifiable superhuman entities and forces. By adhering to (or even conducting) an irrational commitment to non- factual truth, people demonstrate to other in- group members that they are trustworthy. This is a hard to fake belief relevant to commitment that may suggest that the signaller can be trusted (Irons, 2001). Therefore, when an individual abandons all self-interested logic and holds beliefs about committing himself or herself to irrational beliefs, this makes people trust him or her.

Economic sociologist Lawrence Iannaccone (1992) developed a parallel theory to commitment theory. He explores commitment from the point of view of utility. In this view, a religious group has to reject casually committed members and demand irrational beliefs (and potentially actions) of commitment from dedicated members to prevent the dilution of ideological intensity and to preserve group solidarity. Religion here is used to facilitate the advantages of group cooperation by means of an unselfish attachment to certain set beliefs. Iannaccone points out that 'irrational' demands for

beliefs and actions are considered to be rational when seen as protecting group benefits, as they hold the promise of leading to behaviour that optimizes group cooperation. One has to evaluate rationality in this case from the perspective of the believer, not from perspective of the outsider (Atran & Norenzayan, 2004).

While commitment theories of religion do attempt to account for the dynamics of distributed religious thought and behaviour, they fail to account for the cognitive architecture of the human mind and its causal function in distributing religious beliefs and representations in general (Atran, 2002) and those regarding sacrifice and commitment in particular. These theories do not provide an analytical account of the cognitive selection factors accountable for the ease with which commitment and sacrifice beliefs and representations are acquired, remembered, and transmitted, and they do not provide much insight into the relevant emotional selection factors. In terms of cognition, they offer little insight into which beliefs and representations regarding sacrifice and commitment are most likely to survive within a culture, which are most likely to recur in different cultures, and which are most likely to be subjected to cultural variation. These issues are the primary interest of this thesis. Other critiques suggest that commitment theories of religion do not predict the unique cognitive aspects of religion; why agents' concepts prevail; why supernatural beings are ubiquitous; why some supernatural agent concepts show better transmission patterns than others; and why it is significant (and how it is possible) to verify beliefs in supernatural agent concepts that are logically and factually ambiguous.

Finally, the cognitive science of religion will be a key tenet in this thesis, focusing on the cognitive and evolutionary underpinning of religious beliefs (and practices). The cognitive science of religion seeks to explain religious beliefs and practices in terms of how human minds acquire, generate, and spread them by means of cognitive capacities. From this perspective, religious beliefs and practices are understood as a by-product of human cognitive mechanisms, operating in a similar way to non-religious beliefs (Atran, 2002). Some of the critiques on this approach have given little attention to emotional explanations for the transmission of these contents and other distinct contextual and motivational factors that influence their transmission. In fact, as noted above (Upal, Gonce, Tweney, & Slone, 2007; Upal, 2010; 2011a), new perspectives within this field suggest broadening our understanding of the cognitive

optimality of religious representations to more contextual explanations. Consequently, this thesis contributes to this gap by investigating contextual, historical, and emotional factors while addressing the following question: why are religious beliefs regarding sacrifice and commitment widespread in modern Israeli society?

1.3 Summary and conclusions

This chapter has introduced the domain of religious representations, which is characterized by its distinct descriptive and cognitive qualities, as well as a special psychological modality. The descriptive quality of religious representations is characterized by four repertoires, of which the episodic one is of special interest in this thesis. The cognitive quality of religious representations suggests that they are seen as both natural (and intuitive) and unnatural (or counterintuitive). Lastly, the psychological modality of religious representations is reflected in the symbolic and evocative mode of thought these representations exert. This chapter has explained the specific interest in the beliefs and representations of religious sacrifice and commitment while suggesting that commitment theories of religion fail to account for the mind's innate architecture and causal function in distributing these representations and practices. It has also discussed how cognitive theories of religion may gain more depth from other important aspects, such as emotional and contextual factors.

The following chapter will start with common views in the cognitive science of religion regarding the cognitive optimality of minimal counterintuitive concepts. It will then move on to recent work that has called for other contextual and cultural explanations that may also be implicated in the spread of representations concerning sacrifice and commitment. However, the focus will move from the counterintuitive to the countercultural and claims regarding advantageous cognitive optimality. As will be detailed shortly, this theoretical and empirical approach combines both classic cognitive theories of religion and other recent attempts that emphasize the role of culturally practised contents (i.e. scripts) in the extent to which beliefs and representations are distributed, transmitted, and stabilized. This framework aims to provide a fuller understanding of the observed phenomenon and of religiously inspired culture, where beliefs and representations regarding religious sacrifice and commitment have both strong traditions and modern implications.

2 The cultural transmission of religious representations

The following chapter aims to elaborate on why religious representations are disseminated and spread. The first part of the chapter focuses on explaining the recurrent cultural contents that include religious representations through 1) the cognitive science of religion view, which explains the transmission of religious beliefs and representations in terms of the effect of universal cognitive tendencies, and through 2) schemas and script theory. This chapter continues to provide an empirical account of the effects of cognitive violations on concept memorability and the minimally counterintuitive hypothesis, as well as recent context-based perspectives that suggest that cultural and contextual factors play a role in determining the cognitive optimality of minimally counterintuitive religious beliefs and representations. This final section focuses on the role of memory in counter-cultural representations, the cultural analogy of counterintuitiveness (to account for ideas that violate culturally acquired information), and on the identification of some of the key differences between the different types of widespread beliefs and religious representations. The chapter finishes with the theoretical and empirical gap addressed in this thesis and prepares the ground for subsequent chapters.

2.1 Why religious beliefs and representations are contagious

2.1.1 Theories of widespread religious representations

2.1.1.1 Folk theories

The cognitive approach to cultural transmission starts from the premise that recurrent features of cultural phenomena are not trivial and that faculties of the human mind serve to bias which kinds of representations are capable of achieving cultural levels of distribution. This growing field of study focus mainly on the human mind's cognitive dispositions, or domain-specific mental modules, which have developed in the course of evolution to support reasoning in ancestral environments and to solve problems in particular sets of circumstances (e.g. Tooby & Cosmides, 1992; Hirschfeld & Gelman, 1994; Sperber, 1996) . One of the leading assumptions here is that innate cognitive dispositions affect the contents of culture, which are acquired, sustained, and transmitted and lead people to entertain the thoughts they actually entertain.

As briefly presented in chapter 1, an increasing amount of evidence points to the existence of a universal intuitive ontology (Keil, 1989) – common sense knowledge about different aspects of life held early in life and found cross-culturally, despite the absence of overt teaching. Namely, even without the ability to verbalize ontological categories, young children make clear distinctions between such categories and notice when the categories are violated. Furthermore, studies have revealed that these intuitive ontologies are in essence 'theory-like' explanations or folk theories that fall into several life domains, such as theory of biology (Atran,1998; Berlin, 1992), theory of sociology (Hirschfeld, 1988; 1994; 1996), theory of physics (Carey & Spelke, 1994), and theory of mind (Nisbett & Norenzayan, 2002).

For instance, studies on folk biology (e.g. Atran, 1998; Berlin, 1992) have demonstrated that children from different cultures (e.g. Mid-Western US students and non-literate Mayan Indians) have a similar pattern of theorizing about biological categories. Namely, biological categories are essence based: they have typical surface features and unique underlying hidden properties of species in respect to genera, families, life forms, etc. (Atran et al., 1999; 2001). As such, this work suggests that biology has played an important role in the historical development of the species concept, as well as in directing scientific explanations of the organic world (Atran, 1998). Similarly, research on folk sociology (Hirschfield, 1988; 1994; 1996) has provided evidence that the development of gender and racial concepts shares features across cultural groups, independent of any overt teaching. For instance, children in different cultures establish similar ideas concerning core aspects of human behaviour, social categories, and the ordering of humankind. Studies on folk physics (e.g. Carey & Spelke, 1994) have suggested that children learn instinctively that living things are different from physical substances and that the behaviour of objects is shaped by certain principles. Children also hold an innate theory of mind, which states that intentions can only be attributed to humans and animals and that biological functions can only be attributed to living things; they also preserve physical motives only for natural objects and artefacts (Pyysiäinen, Lindeman, & Honkela, 2003).

Finally, and most relevant to this thesis, Boyer (1994; 2001) extended the study of how the evolved cognitive system places constraints on the diversity of human thought and applied a similar approach to the study of religious beliefs and concepts

(Boyer, 1994; 2001; see also Nisbett & Norenzayan, 2002). This scholarly work essentially suggests that widespread religious beliefs and concepts do not occur in a cognitive vacuum but are the by-product of the same, universal, early developed, innate mental modules that evolved in our ancestral history for other purposes (e.g. Atran,2002; Atran & Norenzayan, 2004; Barrett, 2004; Bloom, 2007; Boyer, 2001; Guthrie,1993; McCauley, 2000; Pyysiäinen, 2001). In this cognitive by-product view, humans do not have a dedicated module for religion; rather, religion has evolved culturally according to existing cognitive dispositions. As such, religious ideas and concepts use existing properties of the mind by activating a cognitive mental module of a category. However, they are fundamentally distinguishable from other cultural ideas, as they systematically involve violations of these domain-specific theories and expectations for ontological categories. As such, religious ideas and concepts are counterintuitive and counter factual, as they create something that goes against the categories from which they depart (Boyer, 1994; 2001; Atran, 2002).

2.1.1.2 Schema theory

Other approaches that are concerned with explaining the recurrent features of cultural phenomena suggest that culture plays an integral role in human cognition, both in terms of content and in thought processes. Regarding content, it has been argued that culturally derived knowledge structures facilitate comprehension, inferences, and behaviour (e.g. Hutchins, 1980; Keller, 1992). Regarding thought processes, it has been claimed that culture facilitates different characteristic styles of cognition that promote different styles of thinking and consequently behaviour (e.g. Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001). The first approach, which will be examined in what follows, is highly associated with the work of anthropologists D'Andrade and Strauss (1992), Holland and Quinn (1987), and Strauss and Quinn (1997) on cultural schemas and cultural models and the work of Schank and Abelson (1977) on scripts. Cultural models are "presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared by the members of a society and that play an important role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it" (Holland & Quinn, 1987, p. 4). More specifically, these models are cultural meaning systems that govern the ways in which people interpret their experiences; these systems also guide people's actions in

a wide range of life domains (Nisbett & Norenzayan, 2002). Put differently, these models involve assumptions or expectations that people absorb, within their cultural surroundings. They guide attention, assist in drawing inferences, and direct the evaluation of experiences. They also supply interpretations of present situations that often embed goals, which motivate action.

Schemas are often deemed to constitute the basic building blocks of cognition (Leigh & Rethans, 1983), as they contain general frameworks for representing knowledge in a meaningful structure (Brown, 1992; Bozinoff & Roth, 1983; Bozinoff, 1982). More specifically, any information that an individual is exposed to, whether it is familiar, new, or unique, is organized within the memory through schemas to give meaning to stimuli and to enable interpretation and comprehension. This notion of schemas as used in psychology originated from the work of Piaget (1926) and Bartlett (1932), who suggested that people interpret the world in terms of perceptions, which are organized into large conceptual structures within our memory. It was Bartlett who first described schemas as abstract knowledge structures that constrain attention and the reconstruction of memory that facilitate recognition and recall of things one has acquired before (Abelson, 1981).The development of schemas occurs in early childhood, particularly as children act upon mental representational systems to help them identify and remember things to which they have already been exposed. In this way, they use these concepts to cope with real-life events (Hoy, 1991).

More recently, several cognitive anthropologists have argued that schemas are not dull, lifeless cognitive 'maps' but complex knowledge structures, as they direct the experience of the present, inform expectations of the future, and play an important role in the (re)construction of past memories (D'Andrade, 1992). Specifically, schemas act as a means by which humans deal with the extensive amount of knowledge in the environment, by stimulating selective attention (i.e. directing our attention to a limited and manageable segment of stored knowledge) (Schurr, 1986). In this way, individuals deal effectively with complex tasks (Fayol & Monteil, 1988; Taylor, Cronn, & Hansen, 1991) when they face problems, set goals, or look for the information required to decide upon a course of action (Leigh & Rethans, 1983; Whitney & John, 1983).

Schemas are hosted within semantic memory (Brown, 1992) as abstract, generalized frameworks of knowledge related to a stimulus domain. They contain units of information that are interdependent (Alba & Hasher, 1983; Bartlett 1932; Taylor, Cronn, & Hansen, 1991) and serve as initial frames of reference for actions and perceptions of similar experiences (Schurr, 1986). Their abstract form helps to guide individuals' interpretations of events, as the frameworks are flexible enough to permit attributing different experiences as belonging to the same prototype instance (D'Andrade, 1992; 1995). For example, a 'bird' schema serves as a general 'template' that can be activated by many different instances of a bird (i.e. canary, ostrich, parrot etc.). This template, which would be recovered from long-term to short-term memory, would then help to interpret, identify, and understand the stimuli (Brown, 1992; Hoy, 1991) and even aid in choosing appropriate subsequent behaviour, when needed (Schurr, 1986).

Schemas are not rigid data structures but rather flexible states that facilitate interpretation and integration of past experiences with present circumstances (D'Andrade, 1995). As such, they mirror the regularities of experience, provide automatic completion of missing components (automatically generalized from the past), and also allow continual alteration to adapt to changes in the environment (Whitney & John, 1983). The modification process involves the activation of several mental procedures, which constantly shape our memory. These procedures include: the selection of incoming stimuli, the presentation of stimuli, the interpretation of stimuli using previous experiences, and, lastly, the incorporation of this information into memory (Schurr, 1986). The interpretation of stimuli involves retrieving particular relevant schemas along with certain general schemas (e.g. relevant ontological intuitions and background knowledge) and reconstructing the stimuli while using rationalization, elaboration, and alteration (Bartlett, 1932; Matlin, 1998). This may point to the fact that schema theory suggests insight into experience as interpreted rather than experience as precisely represented (Thagard, 1998; Shute, 1996).

Another property of schemas that is relevant to this discussion is that they tend to be hierarchically organized, so certain schemas are 'rooted' in other schemas. The hierarchical relationships among schemas may also function as 'means–ends goal

connections', whereby one schema may function as a means relative to a more general schema that acts as an end, but which in turn acts as a means relative to an even more general schema that acts as an end, and so on (D'Andrade, 1992). The following example illustrates this idea: one recognizes a book as part of the 'reading' schema, which is part of the 'attending the library' schema, which is part of the 'postgraduate studies' schema, which may be for some people part of the 'studying psychology' schema or perhaps the 'getting together with friends' schema, and so on (D'Andrade, 1992). That is, the most general interpretation of events is likely to correspond to the 'end' in terms of which actions can be understood as means.

Taylor, Cronn, and Hansen (1991) suggest that schemas can be divided into four conceptual sub-groups:(1) self-schemas, which include knowledge about one's own personality, self -presentation, and behaviour; (2) person schemas, which include knowledge on the traits and behaviour characteristics of certain types of people; (3) role schemas/person-in-situation schemas, which include knowledge about people and the way they behave in specific social settings; and, finally (4) event schemas/scripts, which include knowledge about the expected series of events in a given situation.

2.1.1.3 Script theory

In line with this classification, Schank and Abelson (1977) and Eysenck (1994) further studied schemas in terms of scripts and attempted to explain how knowledge of a more compound event series is represented in human memory. Scripts research has developed further and is generally acknowledged today across many fields of study, with a wide application in cognitive, social, developmental, and clinical psychology, as well as in cognitive anthropology (for a detailed review, see Bartlett, 1932; Rummelhart, 1980; Leigh & Rethans, 1983; Bransford & Franks, 1971; Rumelhart & Ortony, 1977; Schank & Abelson, 1977; Whitney & John, 1983; Taylor, Cronn,& Hansen, 1991).

Event schemas, or scripts, are the main concern in this thesis. Interestingly, there are a wide range of definitions for scripts, each highlighting a different dimension of the same phenomenon.

Table 1.0: Some Classic definitions and examples of scripts

Script is an event schema that specifies the location of an event, the actors who take part, the social roles they play, the objects they use, the conditions for entering, and the sequence of scenes and actions in which they engage (Schank & Abelson, 1977).
Minds organize experiences within the construct of a script according to the following: 1) background information, 2) role relationships, 3) script trigger mechanisms, 4) rules for interaction, and 5) a narrative database of human action. Schank and Abelson (1977).
Script is a mental picture with a 'title', representing chains of actions, actors, and physical objects found in a situation (Abelson, 1981).
Script is a coherent sequence of events expected from an individual in a particular context, involving the individual either as participant or as observer (Puto, 1985).
Script is a form of knowledge construct that is structured in a serial order in long-term memory and contains series of actions that are arranged in hierarchical structure (Whitney and John, 1983).
A restaurant script is a classic example where there are four main scenes: entering, ordering, eating, and exiting – each of which can be seen as containing a series of actions and clear expectations from the actors (Puto,1985).

A central tenet in these definitions (and numerous others)is that a script not only consists of series of actions that are organized in memory in a casual order and involve actors, objects, actions, and locations (see also Sutherland, 1995; Bower, Black, & Turner, 1979), but also acts as a prototype event template consisting of expectations about an event or situation. They shape and facilitate the ways information is remembered and how people make inferences regarding complex situations (Puto, 1985; Whitney & John, 1983) as well as the way in which they act in those instances (Abelson, 1981; Bower, Black, & Turner, 1979; Bozinoff & Roth, 1983). In reality, by retrieving actions from previous experiences, scripts direct and guide behaviour towards an expected series of actions in a specific context (Puto, 1985; Whitney & John, 1983).

Scripts have an inference-making capacity: they aid individuals in understanding events (see Gibbs & Tenney, 1980; Nottenberg & Shoben, 1980). They provide a framework for how things operate in the world from personal experiences by directing processing of information (Leigh & Rethans, 1983; Abelson, 1980; Whitney & John 1983). Specifically, the signified stereotypical conception is that the script facilitates the ordering of incoming information, and helps to plan, direct, and interpret situations and actions (Bower, Black, & Turner, 1979). Moreover, this capacity of scripts to direct behaviour (Sutherland, 1995; Stratton & Hayes, 1993; Whitney & John, 1983; Bozinoff, 1982) means that whenever behaviour needs to be directed, the script provides an automatic response (Speck, Schumann & Thompson, 1988; Bozinoff & Roth, 1983; Whitney & John, 1983). The situation or event evokes an appropriate script or part of a script (subscript), which provides behavioural guidance because it indicates the events that can normally be expected to occur (Stoltman, Tapp, & Lapidus 1989; Taylor, Cronn, & Hansen, 199l; Puto, 1985).

Although scripts are initially developed under conscious learning circumstances, some views hold that an activated script usually results in automatic or routine responses that involve little conscious effort: what McCauley (2000) calls 'practised naturalness'. This suggests that scripts can feel as intuitive as other innate assumptions, even though their origins differ. This is due to the fact that familiar, repeatedly learned activities ultimately become automatic (Speck, Schumann, &

Thompson, 1988; Bozinoff & Roth, 1983; Whitney & John, 1983). Alternatively, other views stress that script processing in any case requires a degree of conscious effort (seen in Whitney & John, 1983), for example what to order in a restaurant and when to pay. Both views agree that whenever one is confronted with variations to familiar situations, that is, when what is preserved in the script in memory is interrupted (e.g. no menu is provided), one needs to adapt and choose alternatives to normal procedures while maintaining the same script paths. For instance, the customer asks the waiter for the menu so that a meal may be ordered, and the script's series of actions proceeds. In other words, in those instances, although conscious thinking takes over, the script dominates so that the individual will continue to act in terms of the script.

Similarly to a schema, a script is also characterized by a hierarchical structure that shapes the relationships among its interconnected components (i.e. nodes) to constitute an event (Smith & Houston, 1986). Smith and Houston (1986) report that this hierarchy comprises three levels: the script header, scene headers, and scene actions. The script header is at the macro level of the hierarchy and encapsulates the entire event (e.g. dining in a restaurant). Scene headers (e.g. entering the restaurant) apply to the intermediate level of the hierarchy and consist of more detailed information in terms of general scenes or events. The scene actions are at the lowest level of the hierarchy and consist of the individual actions relevant to a specific scene. For example, the ordering scene in the restaurant script may consist of reading the menu, discussing the selection, placing an order, etc. (Smith & Houston, 1986). Finally, researchers have provided the notion of overarching scripts (Abelson, 1981) to describe a family of knowledge structures that are based on different personal experiences that are subjectively similar enough to be portrayed as coherent, despite variations in detail. The overarching script concept allows one to adapt a script to portray other, similar experiences (Forrest-Presley, MacKinnon, & Waller, 1985).

Schemas and scripts are considered to be instances of declarative knowledge (i.e. about facts and things); they are stored in long-term memory, with their defining characteristics maintained by interconnected levels and organized according to specific rules (Shute, 1996; Vosniadou, 1996; Brown, 1992; Bozinoff, 1982).As instances of declarative knowledge, they contain networks of interconnected sets of

propositions, which can be studied by using interpretive processes and inductive reasoning (Erasmus, Boshoff, & Rousseau, 2002). I shall return to this point in chapter 5, where I describe the quasi-experimental investigation, which was conducted In Israel, on the basis of combining relevance theory and schema (script) theory.
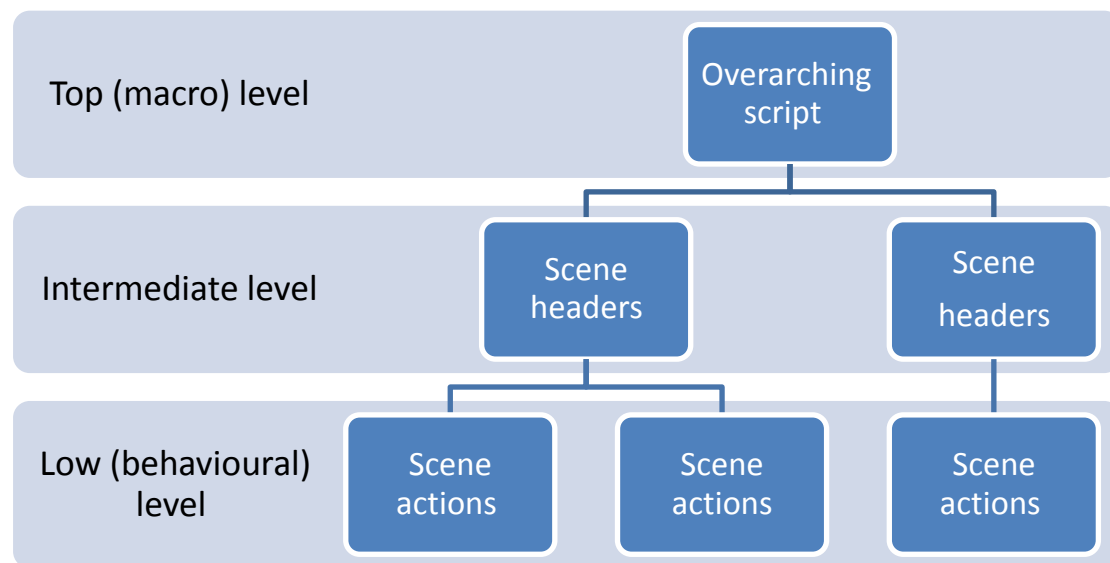
Figure 1.0: Script construct

Empirical investigations of schemas and scripts in the last few decades have focused on the role of schemas and scripts in memory procedures (Vosniadou, 1996; Eysenck, 1994; Searleman & Herrmann, 1994). As mentioned previously, Bartlett (1932) found that when British students were asked to memorize Native American folk stories, they tended to modify these stories so that they would comply with their own scripts. Bartlett reasoned that items inconsistent (i.e. irrelevant or unfamiliar) with their cultural schemas were harder to represent, harder to recall, and therefore were less likely to be transmitted than schema-consistent (i.e. relevant and familiar) items (see also Kintsch & Greene, 1978). Bozinoff and Roth (1983) also show that subjects store schema-consistent experiences in memory in the form of scripts, which they later use to complete stories. Bozinoff and Roth (1983) also cite two earlier studies: the first was conducted by Brandsford, Barclay, and Franks (1972) and found that when questioned, subjects tend to construct semantic explanations of situations rather than

remember the details of information that was presented to them. This finding highlights the generic feature of schemas and scripts in memory. The second cited experiment was conducted by Baggett (1975), who found that during a recall task, subjects filled in missing details based on their own experiences to complete a story. This implies that the scripted information stored in memory is often used to fill in content where information is missing.

Other work on scripts has explored the formation of script-related knowledge in early childhood (Searleman & Herrmann, 1994; Hoy, 1991). For instance, in the world of consumer behaviour, research has explored the emergence of script-related knowledge at a very early age through parental descriptions of toddlers' shopping behaviour (Hoy, 1991). Child development literature in fact suggests that children at the age of 24 months already hold sufficient cognitive and social skills to acquire elementary consumer knowledge. The script framework has also been used to describe children's socialization as consumers (Schank & Abelson, 1977; Forrest-Presley, Mackinnon, & Waller, 1985).

An important aspect that should be noted in relation to the study of scripts in experimental settings is that it is rather difficult to recall scripts, as subjects are typically unconscious of scripted activities (due to them being of an automatic nature and stored in long-term memory). Moreover, results indicate that subjects remember unusual actions rather than scripted ones (Bozinoff & Roth, 1983). This raises an important question: is it possible to draw upon scripts and successfully elicit scripted activities? One answer suggests that scripted activities have to be triggered very explicitly within a specific context (Erasmus, Boshoff, & Rousseau, 2002).

Although script theory provides an important account of culturally familiar interpretations of experiences, it does not account for what happens in terms of reasoning and behaviour in ambiguous, unfamiliar situations where scripts are messy. In addition, schema theory is important for helping us understand how people bring cultural knowledge to mind in creating possible interpretations of a given situation, but it does not tell us how people negotiate these varied interpretations and put them together into action. Moreover, the theory centres on the idea of a single interpretation, while in reality people often face situations that yield more than one interpretation.

Another limitation has to do with the issue of censorship. Schemas and scripts are described as providing interpretations of situations through filling in, fleshing out, and guiding action. The classic example of the restaurant script, as presented earlier, is used to demonstrate that because of shared scripts about restaurants and what they entail, many details can simply go unregistered. However, it does not account for content that is edited out of the story or censored. Schema theory explains that what is not included in the story either is irrelevant or is taken for granted, so it does not have to be included. As such, what is not included has not been examined. Finally, script/schema theory has almost entirely neglected its affective components. The literature reveals very few examples of researchers (e.g. Leventhal, 1982; Greenberg & Safran, 1984) who offer schema models that attempt to synthesize affect and cognition. Leventhal (1982), for example, writes that emotions can be regarded as a form of meaning. Emotions have significance for the person experiencing and expressing them. Their meaning encompasses two aspects: emotions give us information about our mental state and about the environment. Namely, schemas have both an ideational and an affective component.

2.1.2 Effects of cognitive violations on concept memorability and the minimal counterintuitive hypothesis

Attempts to investigate empirically the culturally recurrent beliefs and concepts within the cognitive science of religion have focused on memorability (i.e. what gives some concepts advantageous recall qualities over others, which in turn affect their transmissibility)(e.g. Sperber, 1975; Atran, 1990; Whitehouse, 2000; Boyer & Ramble, 2001; Norenzayan et al., 2006). Specifically, scholars have been concerned with whether holding violations of intuitive expectations regarding what exists in the world makes some ideas cognitively more optimal for transmission than others. Accordingly, various experiments have focused on the mnemonic advantage of counterintuitive concepts.

One of the first studies on the memorability of natural and non-natural beliefs embedded in stories was Frederic Bartlett's ground-breaking empirical study in the 1930s. Specifically, focusing on successive chain of telling and retelling, Bartlett

(1932) asked British university students to memorize and then retell a Native American folk story. He found that culturally unfamiliar (i.e. irrelevant to the student) cultural items were omitted or modified to more relevant and familiar items. Bartlett hypothesized that schema-irrelevant information that did not fit the students' cultural expectations was less likely to be transmitted due to the greater difficultly in representing and recalling that information compared with information that was relevant and stereotypical of existing cultural expectations.

On the basis of Bartlett's work, and in congruence with psychological literature on the mnemonic advantage of unexpected and bizarre information over mundane, intuitive information (e.g. Hunt, 1995; Jacoby & Craik, 1979; Schmidt, 1991; Waddill & McDaniel, 1998), recent studies have explored the role of memorability in the recall of natural and non-natural concepts from narrative materials, finding that these two concept types hold different levels of counterintuitiveness. For example, Barrett and Nyhof (2001) and Boyer and Ramble (2001) compared levels of delayed recall between1) intuitive (INT) concepts (i.e. a person who can be seen in regular daylight), 2) counterintuitive (CI) concepts (i.e. a spirit that can be in different places at the same time), 3) bizarre (BIZ) concepts i.e. a person who weighs more than a bull), 4)minimally counterintuitive (MCI) concepts (i.e. a statue of the Virgin Mary that can hear things in proximity), and 5) maximally counterintuitive (MXCI) concepts (i.e. a statue of the Virgin Mary that can hear distant sounds). The findings indicate a transmission advantage for minimally counterintuitive items over intuitive and bizarre concepts, which were better recalled than maximally counterintuitive ones.

This work led to Pascal Boyer's cognitive optimum theory concerning the transmission of counterintuitive concepts, often framed as the MCI hypothesis (Boyer, 1994; 2001; Boyer & Ramble, 2001). In essence, this theory suggests that the majority of robust religious concepts across cultures are minimally counterintuitive (i.e. possess mild violation of the intuitive expectations rooted in ontological categories).Moreover, as mentioned earlier, counterintuitiveness is seen as responsible for their transmission success: this effect makes concepts attention-demanding, as they deny aspects of intuitive knowledge but are still plausible because they rely on a common sense understanding of the world (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995; Atran, 2002). Put differently, mixing the common sense and the counterintuitive together

makes concepts more intuitively convincing yet mysterious – familiar but also surprising. In contrast, concepts that contain too many ontological violations are too counterintuitive to be memorable, as excessive violations act as barriers to the inferential potential and usefulness of the concepts. In layman's terms, a moderately spicy dish has an advantage over a bland or very spicy dish (Boyer & Ramble, 2001; Norenzayan & Atran, 2003).

Interest in the MCI hypothesis has flourished in recent years and has yielded extensive work, which has tended to focus either on the impact on memorability of MCI content (i.e. the content-based view) or on the impact on memorability of MCI concepts' interaction with contextual and local cultural factors (i.e. the context-based view). Specifically, studies coming from the content-based view have focused their observations on the properties inherent to counterintuitive concepts, both in terms of single concepts and in terms of sets of concepts such as lists (e.g. Gonce, Upal, Slone, & Tweney, 2006; Tweney, Upal, Gonce, Slone, & Edwards, 2006) and narrative forms (e.g. Barrett & Nyhof, 2001; Boyer & Ramble, 2001). The latter generated a mixed pattern of results. For example, Norenzayan and Atran (2003) and Norenzayan et al. (2006) examined whether MCI concept lists hold a recall advantage over concept lists holding equal proportions of intuitive and MCI concepts and over those with only intuitive concepts or mostly MCI concepts. The results fail to indicate a clear advantage for MCI lists and show a recall advantage for intuitive items like 'a closing door' over MCI items such as 'a blinking newspaper' being embedded in extended lists. Finally, Tweney et al. (2006) indicate that when asked to create a story using a list of concepts, participants prefer using MCI items over intuitive or maximally counterintuitive ones.

2.1.3 MCI concepts and context effects

Alternative perspectives under the context-based view draw on Bartlett's (1932) work regarding the reconstructive role of memory and especially of the integration of new information into schematic knowledge, suggesting that counterintuitiveness is a dynamic quality that can be affected by timing, background knowledge, and the expectations of people who are recalling stories or lists (e.g. Norenzayan et al., 2006; Gonce et al., 2006; Upal et al., 2007; Upal, 2010; 2011a; 2011b). Researchers differentiate between expectations formulated while reading a story (predictability)

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and expectations made after finishing the story and while mentally organizing the story into a coherent structure (postdictability), suggesting that MCI representations are attractive because they have low predictability and high postdictability (Upal et al., 2007).

Atran and Norenzayan (2004) demonstrate increased recall rates for counterintuitive concepts when embedded in a wider number of intuitive concepts. In addition, Norenzayan et al. (2006) found that some narratives, acting as the immediate context for an idea, can make MCI concepts lose their counterintuitive qualities. Gonce et al. (2006), examining recall in both short narratives and lists, found poor recall rates for maximally counterintuitive items in both immediate and delayed recall tests. This finding is consistent with Bartlett's (1932) conclusion that recall and transmissibility increase when concepts are consistent with prior expectations. They also found contradictory contexts could change minimally counterintuitive items into the functional equivalents of intuitive items (and vice versa). Finally, they found that in short narratives (relevant contexts), minimally counterintuitive concepts have better delayed recall rates than intuitive concepts, consistent with the findings of Barrett and Nyhof (2001). However, INT items present the same advantage in a contradictory context. For items presented as lists, they found that intuitive items are better recalled, which is consistent with Norenzayan and Atran's (2003) results. Lastly, Tweney et al. (2006) found that MCI and INT were frequently selected to construct a short story and that the participants transformed the CI concepts by assimilating them into the narrative.

Upal et al. (2007) and Upal (2010; 2011a) also argue for the important role of context in the memorability of MCI concepts. Specifically, he suggests that counterintuitiveness is a context-dependent violation of people's prior expectations (based on shared conventions) and that CI concepts show a transmission advantage when serving a purpose in the narrative. Similar to Bartlett, Upal proposes that when a counterintuitive concept becomes a convention (i.e. integrated in existing cultural conventions),it loses its memorability advantage. In order to regain this advantage, the counterintuitive features that people now expect to find in relation to this concept need to be removed or unexpected features need to be added. He gives the example of Abrahamic God, which may have been maximally counterintuitive in the original

form (see also Bloch, 2004) but gradually became minimally counterintuitive for groups that were able to embed it in their shared belief systems and make it more coherent to them. In other words, in some cases, whether the memorability of a concept may also be context dependent is mediated by the distance between the degree of expectation violation and the degree to which a new concept is becoming coherent (Upal, 2011a; 2011b). Upal (2011a; 2011b) recently argued that this perspective may also explain why counterintuitive concepts are attention-demanding and thus better recalled, making people spend more time making sense of the story in which the concepts are embedded and making the concepts more coherent to them.

The work of Upal et al. (2007) and Upal (2011b) also contributed new definitions. For example, concepts that involve violations of the expectations rooted in culturally shared conventions but can be justified in a given context are minimally culturally counterintuitive[3] (MCC). In turn, maximally culturally counterintuitive (MXCC) concepts involve violations of many of a group's shared cultural conventions for a member of that category, whereby people are not motivated enough to explain the incongruence and the concepts cannot be recognized[4]. This happens when an individual abandons a justification and searches for alternatives as more and more evidence accumulates against the justification.

Another observation that supports the context-based view has been offered by Sheehy-Skeffington (2008), who argues for extending our understanding of the cognitive optimality of MCI concepts beyond innate folk theories to folk social psychology (i.e. to the intuitive theories about the world that are acquired early through socialization and cultural institutions, including cultural stories and narratives defined by implicit social knowledge). These could be followed or violated. In her view, adopting this perception may explain the widespread of concepts that are not rooted in the (unconscious) violations of folk theories of the world but are based on direct or indirect violations of implied cultural knowledge or cultural expectations.

The context-based approach could ally with a broader social psychological conceptualization of culture as a meaning system learned and shared among its members and involving widely held beliefs, cultural values, and scripts, subsequently

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[3]They will be termed here minimal counter-cultural representations (MCC).
[4] They will be termed here maximal counter -cultural representations (MXCC).

inviting cross-cultural variations (Chiu & Hong, 2006; D'Andrade, 1987). In fact, extensive cross-cultural psychological research has found differences between cultures in the domains of cognition, emotions, personality, and social behaviour, explored through studies comparing American (or Western European) and East Asian university students (e.g. Triandis, 1972; Nisbett, 2003; Nisbett et al., 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). These differences were associated with variations in Western and Eastern cultural orientations, including social structures and social practices (internalized in ecological, economic, and historical terms).These differing structures and practices lead to cultural differences in overarching folk epistemologies and self-construal, which are then implicated in cognitive processes (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998; Nisbett, 2003).

One possible way to account for cultural conventions and their violations is through investigating value differences, specifically those of individualism/collectivism (Hofstede, 1980; Markus & Katayama, 1991; Triandis, 1972; 1995). This dimension reflects the relationship that individuals have with their social surroundings (Gabrieldis, Stephan, Ybarra, Person, & Villareal, 1997) or how a society treats individuals regarding basic preferences and priorities for "some goals rather than others" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 140). Individualist societies have relatively loosely connected individuals who value their own attributes, desires, and self-fulfilment. A collectivist society implies interconnectedness between individuals and an emphasis on collective goals, needs, and in-group conformity. In accordance, the self in individualist societies is constructed as independent, manifested in self-representations of the individual's desires and attributes. In collectivist societies, the self is more interconnected and manifested in self-representation, which is relational and contextual (i.e. determined by the situation or others' thoughts, feelings, and actions and concerned with maintaining bonds with group members).

The content-based and context-based approaches have yielded two main tendencies within the study of MCI concepts: the first ties intuitiveness to deeply held beliefs, which can be innate or culturally acquired (e.g. Barrett, 2008; Upal, 2010). This approach is seen to be integrative or 'loose' because it subsumes both 'maturationally natural cognition' (McCauley, 2011) (i.e. cognition that does not require great

conscious resources and comes to action automatically) (see also Sperber, 1996[5]) and 'practised naturalness' (i.e. naturalness that can be achieved with practice through schemas and scripts) (Barret, 2008). The second approach reserve intuitiveness solely for the unconscious innate categories localized within specific mental modules (Hirschfeld & Gelman, 1994).This thesis explores the utility of distinguishingbetween violations of innate expectations and violations of cultural expectations (i.e. between counter-schematic and counter-script violations). This thesis has chosen to follow the second approach and defines violations of cultural conventions (involving cultural assumptions and expectations) as distinguished from violations of intuitive assumptions, although these categories may interweave. The following key presents all abbreviations used in this thesis:

Key: CI = Counterintuitive
       CC = Counter-cultural
       MCI = Minimal counterintuitive
       MCC= Minimal counter-cultural
       MXCI =Maximal counterintuitive
       MXCC = Maximal counter-cultural
       BIZ = Bizarre

2.2 From minimally counterintuitive concepts to minimally counter-cultural concepts

One implication of the context-based approach is that the minimal violation of cultural conventions (internalized in schemas and scripts) should also enjoy memorability advantages (Barret, 2008; Upal, 2010; 2011a; 2011b). Specifically, the transmission advantage of MCI concepts could be implicated in the diffusion of MCC concepts; one possible way of doing this is via the exploring salient script representations. The usage of scripts aims to connect the cognitive and cultural aspects of transmission. From a cognitive stance, scripts facilitate the ease with which certain religious beliefs and representations are retained and recalled. From a

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[5]There are interesting parallels between McCauley's (2000) notions of the 'maturationally natural' and 'practised naturalness' and Sperber's (1997) intuitive and reflective beliefs. According to Sperber, intuitive beliefs are acquired though perceptions and spontaneous inferences, while non-intuitive beliefs (reflective ones) are acquired by conscious inferences and cultural communication.

contextual perceptive, scripts aid in internalizing cultural knowledge (which evolves under different conditions) in memory and act as selective-attention devices.

Before investigating this claim, it is important to differentiate between these two types of representations with possible transmission advantages. Ontological categories (folk theories) contain the properties(see McRae, 2004) or features of entities (e.g. a bird that can sing),while cultural expectations involve folk social psychology – theory-like ideas regarding social conventions, specific moral codes, social rituals, and so on – where the content of the resulting representations is unlikely to be heavily innately predisposed e.g. 'people are motivated to maximize their rewards and to minimize their costs' (Sheehy-Skeffington, 2008; Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981).

Violations of ontological categories can be categorized using terms such as 'breach' and 'transfer' (Boyer & Ramble, 2001), and different degrees of counterintuitiveness can be assessed (Barrett, 2008).In contrast, violations of cultural conventions are less clear and could involve direct or indirect violations of the cultural assumptions and cultural expectations from which they depart (Sheehy-Skeffington, 2008).For example, 'not all people are aroused by the distress of others' (direct contradiction) or 'a culture that relies on people putting the benefit of the collective before their own will survive' (indirect contradiction).Even then, it is still ambiguous whether a rule has been broken.

Recent work on rituals by Watson-Jones, Legare, Whitehouse, and Clegg (2014, in press) provided some insights regarding violations of cultural assumptions and expectations. Specifically, they distinguish between a ritual stance and a causal or instrumental stance. The ritual stance is concerned with learning conventionalized, ritualized behaviours (and, presumably, associated ways of thinking): going against them risks social sanction, punishment, and so on. Because conventions are socially motivated, there is no better way to reproduce them than in exactly the same way in which they were demonstrated (Watson-Jones et al., 2014, in press). This stance thus motivates rigid compliance with socially prescribed rules, without seeking physical-causal rationales or more effective ways of acting. Violations of these conventions are therefore sanctioned, thus the conventions are socially memorable because of the risks involved in their violation. The instrumental stance looks for cause–effect relations;

violations (as in MCI) are more individually memorable because of the ontological contradictions involved.

Because of the range and variety of deeply held cultural beliefs associated with cultural conventions, it is difficult to assess the extent of contradiction in counter-cultural concepts and to draw a clear line between minimal violations of cultural conventions and maximally counter-cultural or culturally bizarre violations. MCI relates to well-defined, often essentialist concepts of categories, which, by definition and by hypothesis, form a limited set because of the limited set of innate modules. In contrast, MCC relates to more open-ended social relations and actions that are not so closely tied to innate modules. In fact, studies on memory for expectancy-congruent and expectancy-incongruent information suggest that behavioural information(e.g. 'the group behaved purely altruistically all of the time') can be interpreted differently from trait information (e.g. 'the people were purely altruistic'), with social schemas themselves mediating the extent to which these are seen as merely odd or otherwise (Stangor & McMillan, 1992).This may suggest that counter-cultural assumptions and expectations should not be reduced to mere disagreement with culturally mainstream views but may also be related to violations of more basic social behaviour. However, as suggested by Norenzayan and Atran (2003), using the narrative level rather than the concept level should aid in empirical comparisons (Sheehy-Skeffington, 2008).

One way of accounting for the possible memorability advantage of MCC concepts is through studies concerning memory for expectancy-congruent and expectancy-incongruent information and studies on memory for schemas and scripts. One set of observations suggests that schema-incongruent information is better recalled under certain circumstances (Norenzayan et al., 2006; Stangor & McMillan, 1992). In contrast, previous observations on the memorability of schema-consistent information predicts that it will be higher than for schema-inconsistent information, suggesting the gradual disappearance of schema-inconsistent information, similar to Bartlett's findings on the retelling of Native American stories (Bartlett, 1932; Stangor & McMillan, 1992).

The apparent contradiction in past findings will be explored in this thesis in relation to religious scripts concerning sacrifice and commitment. The main prediction is that script-relevant information that is easily remembered will involve attention-

demanding and novel script-inconsistent information. A similar pattern has been proposed recently in relation to the ritual stance (Watson-Jones et al., 2014, in press), suggesting that the contradiction of norms is memorable and salient and thus attention-demanding. Combining these together may suggest that the most memorable information will reside between being entirely consistent and being entirely inconsistent with existing expectations from cultural contexts– resembling the idea of mild violations in the case of minimally counterintuitive beliefs being memorable, as discussed earlier (Atran, 2002; Norenzayan & Atran, 2003).

In purely cognitive terms, it is suggested that the ability to capture initial attention to a narrative that is found in MCI concepts would also be found in minimally counter-cultural beliefs, even if their recall advantage does not endure (Norenzayan & Atran, 2003).Other cognitive aspects, such as relevance (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995) and vagueness (Sperber, 1975), may also play a part as mnemonic devices for counter-cultural concepts and thus aid their proliferation. Finally, an alternative way to explain the possible psychological attractiveness of minimally counter-cultural concepts may be less cognitive based and more context based. Specifically, Sheehy-Skeffington (2008) gives the example of radical political ideologies that, although apparently proliferating only to a small section of the population, are an interesting cultural phenomenon because they continue to survive over time. These contextual factors may include political and economic contexts, social and emotional factors (such as benefits of membership of a radical group), and the psychological appeal that belonging to a counter-cultural movement may provide (see Atran, 2002; Barrett, 2004; Whitehouse, 2002).

2.2.1 Empirical and theoretical gaps to be addressed by this thesis

The previous sections presented recent work within the cognitive science of religion. They differentiated between counterintuitive and counter-cultural representations and defined the possible connection of these representations to the advantageous transmission of religious scripts concerning sacrifice and commitment. The review also provided some empirical evidence of the transmission of religious representations, focusing on their mnemonic features. Specifically, it showed that studies have suggested that the transmission advantage of religious beliefs is due to them being MCI: they are not bizarre, MXCI, or mundane but rather involve the

negation of a fragment of the intuitive beliefs upon which they draw. In addition, the review also presented emerging perspectives in the study of religious representations, which suggest that a more context-based approach is needed to account for the mnemonic effect of MCI religious representations.

On the basis of the above, and on the basis of recent claims that cognitive explanations based on modularity are important but insufficient in explaining the transmission of religious beliefs and representations (Gervais, Willard, Norenzayan, & Henrich, 2011; Russell & Gobet, 2013), this thesis attempts to further expand the context-based view while exploring the specifics of the violation of cultural conventions (including assumptions and expectations) internalized by scripts. The focus on counter-cultural violations does not imply that the role of unconscious innate intuitions is discarded: on the contrary. Innate intuitions are seen here as interweaving with rooted cultural assumptions in explaining the spread and stability of religious beliefs and representations.

In view of the above, it is expected that the religious representations that survive over time will display cognitive features that make them easy to remember and that they will be grounded in a combination of ontological intuitions and culturally acquired assumptions (embedded in schemas and scripts), together with minor violations of those intuitions and assumptions, keeping them relevant. That is, they are expected to involve both MCI and MCC concepts.

2.3 Summary and conclusions

This chapter sets the grounds for operationalizing religious representations research by building upon the foundational cognitive science of religion and adding the notion of MCC concepts, which consider the cultural learning processes embedded in schemas and scripts and act to constrain and sustain religious representations (Gervais et al., 2011). This view involves both cognitive tendencies and their influence on the cultural transmission of the concepts (including supernatural religious concepts) and cultural biases that influence individuals to retain concepts and a degree of commitment to the beliefs they see others holding. The combination of these processes may provide an additional account of the proliferation of certain kinds of religious representations.

As mentioned in chapter 1, what makes religious ideas cognitively attractive seems to be related to the attentional resources dedicated to those ideas and consequently to their increased memorability (Boyer, 1994; 2001). It has been argued that one aspect of religious concepts that makes them more memorable is that they are CI(more specifically, MCI and MCC): they involve mild violations of intuitive ontological expectations in the domains of folk physics, folk psychology, or folk biology (Barrett, 2008; Boyer, 2001; Gervais et al., 2011; Norenzayean & Atran, 2003), as well as violations of culturally acquired knowledge in the domain of folk social psychology (Upal, 2010; Sheehy-Skeffington, 2008). Such concepts are suggested to be more attention-grabbing and memorable than other ideas (i.e. MXCC or culturally bizarre ideas), and they can be innate or culturally practised (Barrett, 2008).

Finally, the chapter suggested a way to fill a theoretical and practical gap. This thesis adds to the context-based view by empirically studying religious cognition concerning notions of sacrifice and commitment. As such, the next chapter locates this background in a specific context. It introduces the biblical notion of religious sacrifice and commitment scripts and explores the modern manifestations of these within Israeli culture. It also illustrates the notion of cultural schemas in general and of script-driven activities in particular.

3 Characterising religious sacrifice scripts in Israeli–Jewish culture

This chapter introduces the notion of religious sacrifice and commitment scripts within the context of Israeli-Jewish culture. The focus of this theoretical account is on the connection between the ancient representations of sacrifice and commitment embedded in scripts and the modern ones in Israeli society. These are referred to as 'sacrifice scripts'. The chapter begins with an historical underpinning of sacrifice scripts that serves to provide a framework for modern widespread beliefs and representations. This exploration is motivated by the view that the evolution of cultural beliefs is a cumulative process. Therefore, knowing which beliefs and practices are historically rooted and what may be considered CC, MCC, or MXCC requires an examination of which cultural options (alternatives) are available to people. As is presented shortly, some violations of current cultural conventions may not seem CC at all to those who hold such beliefs, as they are reincarnations of past violations; others will be seen to non-religious observers as MXCC, as they are extreme reincarnations of past ones.

Following on from this, the first section introduces the historical underpinnings of sacrifice scripts while focusing on biblical roots, particularly the ancient covenant made between Abraham and God. The following sections focus on modern manifestations of sacrifice scripts relevant to the ideology and actions of Gush Emunim ('Bloc of the faithful'), the national religious movement that was established after the 1973 war. As such, the second section presents a review of the establishment of Gush Emunim and a background of its spiritual roots, especially the influence of the writing of Rabbi H. Kook. The final part of the chapter presents examples of sacrifice scripts and their impacts on wider Israeli society. Careful attention is given here to the emergence of modern scripts involving counter-cultural representations as a response to threats against a group or an original messianic script.

3.1 Introduction

Modern Israel is considered to be at the core of the intrinsic struggle between traditional Judaism and modern, secular Judaism. This is often seen as a clash over meaning and identity, in particular over the power to set the limits of discourse in

regard to notions of history, identity, and sociocultural political reality (Silberstein, 1993). In more concrete terms, it is seen as a struggle over the definition of the state and over Judaism. One view sees Israel as the 'state of the Jews', while the other sees Israel as a 'Jewish state' (Wald & Shye, 1994). The first view (essentially secular Zionism) presents Israel as a safe haven for a persecuted people with a shared religious identity. In that stance, the state is responsive to universal, humanistic, modern norms and pluralism as opposed to religious orthodoxy (Wald & Shye, 1994). The second, a religious Zionist view, derives from visions of Israel as a symbol of messianic aspirations (Wald & Shye, 1994). To be a Jewish state, according to religious Zionists' beliefs and representations, Israel as a nation needs to follow Jewish values and Jewish laws.

The tension between these conflicting views can be seen as a trigger for the rise of fundamentalist groups committed to the distribution and transmission of views inspired by traditional Judaism, Jewish history, and Jewish identity (Silberstein, 1993). These views often stand in contrast to the modern views of liberal Zionism (i.e. counter mainstream culture – the type of representations most relevant to this thesis). Of major interest to scholars in recent decades have been the Haredim (God-fearing) non-violent ultra-orthodox Jews who oppose the secular, modern Jewish state (not explored in this thesis) and Gush Emunim, an innovative, radical, national religious movement that embraced the state of Israel on its perceived path to redemption (Friedman, 1993; New, 2002). Other scholars consider the Kach[6] ('This way') movement, also known as the Jewish underground, to have been another distinctive activist group, although ideologically they were connected to Gush Emunim (Lustick, 1988). This chapter focuses mainly on Gush Emunim and the religious Zionist movement.

Scholars who study fundamentalist groups tend to agree that they all appear as a response to a perceived threat put by 'others' to the group's internal identity; members of the group therefore see it as their mission to 'go into battle' with these others. These others may include secularizers, modernists, nationalists, and their own

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[6]The Kach movement was known to follow a racist, anti-Arab, Jewish, nationalist ideology and was led by the late Rabbi Meir Kahane.

established religious communities, whom the groups perceive as having been contaminated by modernism and secularism. The groups display total and unquestioning loyalty to selected aspects of sacred scripture, through which they can understand the present and foresee the future, while using a practical terminology for communication, such as the Jewish halakha (religious law) or the Islamic sharia. These texts are delivered by authoritative, charismatic figures (usually males), who provide interpretations of and meaning to the holy texts. Fundamentalist groups conceive historical episodes as part of a cosmic, fatalistic pattern and therefore reject historical awareness or self-critique. They create clear sociocultural boundaries to protect themselves from secularism (for a detailed review, see Silberstein, 1993). This suggests that Jewish notions of sacrifice and commitment incorporate an internalized cultural script for understanding and responding to (perceived) threats against Judaism, Jewish people, and the original biblical land of Israel.

Hood, Hill, and Williamson (2005) studied extensively religious fundamentalist thinking and suggest that it should not be seen as naïve, narrow, or characteristic of people with unusual personality traits but as a belief system that involves a coherent set of logical elements, similar to other kinds of religious thought. As such, fundamentalist rationales should be considered in the same way as any other rationale. Moreover, they argue that religious fundamentalist thinking, like other non-religious thinking, can be best understood as a shared meaning system that not only helps believers make sense of an unresolved and often mysterious world but also provides believers with a value system, an existential purpose, and a feeling of self-righteousness, which drive their commitment to their worthy cause. While using sacred and flawless writings, believed to be divine and involving absolute and unconditional truths, religious fundamentalist groups often hold disagreements about the actual interpretations of such texts. However, Hood, Hill, and Williamson (2005) stress that these key texts dictate how they should be read, including engaging in a close dialogue with certain aspects and their imperatives, giving any other uncertain beliefs secondary importance. This is why these privileged texts are regarded as having authority over any other texts.

Similarly, Marty and Appleby (1995), who studied fundamentalism across faiths and traditions, suggest that fundamentalist thinking is a family-resembling phenomenon

that can be seen as a responsive, authoritative, and inclusive mode of anti-secular thinking that sets ways to interpret the world and act upon it. Comparing fundamentalism across cultures, they suggest that this family-resembling phenomenon includes both differences and commonalities across cultures. In terms of commonalities, all types of fundamentalism face the challenge of keeping their boundaries clear and pursuing their goals. In terms of differences, they involve movements, whereby some see politics as a mean and others see it as an end. In addition, they also differ in terms of what they define as the appropriate way to behave towards the 'others'.

3.2 Historical underpinnings of modern sacrifice scripts – the sacred covenant

To understand current conceptualizations of sacrifice and commitment, especially which beliefs and representations may be seen as counter-cultural, it is important to reveal their origin and historical background. The Jewish bible (Torah) is the most sacred text in Judaism. Hence, looking at this text, which most 'fundamental truths' are considered to originate from, may be a good starting point. One of the most-celebrated and earliest examples of religious sacrifice and commitment is Isaac's binding (in Hebrew: Akeda)[7]. This is the scene where the patriarch Abraham is directed by God to prepare his only son, Isaac, for sacrifice: a ritual that was commonly accepted among different communities in the ancient world (Firth, 1963). This was actually a test of Abraham's faith and willingness to obey. At the last moment, God intervenes and instructs that a ram be slaughtered in Isaac's place. However, more relevant to this thesis, Akeda is regarded by many Jews as a cornerstone of Jewish theology. Assured of Abraham's loyalty and uncompromised commitment, God reconfirms his everlasting covenant with the patriarch and his descendants and thus rewards him.

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[7]In contemporary Jewish texts, Akeda is usually used as a metaphor for the suffering of the Jews throughout history, including in the Holocaust and Israel's wars.

> *I will bless thee, and in multiplying, I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven and as the sand, which is upon the seashore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice (Genesis 22, 17-18).*

The covenant has further implications. It not only specifies that Jews are a separate and exclusive people chosen by God to fulfil a destiny but also specifically defines ownership of the land of Canaan (Palestine) for the Israelites and their descendants forever (Hadad, 1974).As such, as discussed later, settling in Palestine is one of the most important religious duties placed collectively on the Jews as an inheritance of that covenant and of the divine election and historical destiny from the Hebrew tribes of more than 3000 years ago. Israel of the twenty-first century is seen as the 3000-year-old biblical Israel reborn; accordingly, modern Jews are the direct descendants of the ancient Israelites and should therefore constantly be committed to that ancient agreement.

> *On that day, God made a covenant with Abram, saying: 'To your descendants I have given this land, from the river of Egypt as far as the great river the Euphrates. The land of the Kenites, Kenizites, Kadmonites; the Chitties, Perizites, Refaim; the Emorites, Canaanites, Gigashites and Yevusites' (Genesis 15:18-21).*

Newman (1991), in an analysis of the covenant between God and Israel, believes it is universally recognized that Jews have understood their religious obligations in terms of the communal religious and moral/ethical responsibilities within the context of this covenant. Israel's theology is covenant centred, and the covenant functions as a metaphor for the relationship between the community (including future descendants of the Israelites) and God. This covenant can be regarded as a contract in which one makes a promise in exchange for the other doing or giving up something. In actual fact, Newman quotes several descriptive accounts from the Torah that explicitly specify the terms of the relationship – what God expects of Israel and what Israel may expect in return from God. In evolutionary terms, these costly commitments are considered 'worthwhile' as they offer future benefits.

The following are two examples:

> *You have affirmed this day that the Lord is your God, that you will walk in His ways, that you will observe His laws and commandments and rules, and will obey Him. And the Lord has affirmed this day that you are, as He has promised you, His treasured people which shall observe all His commandments, and that He will set you in fame and renown and glory, high above all nations that He has made: and that you shall be, as He promised, a holy people to the Lord your God (Deuteronomy 26, 17-19).*

The covenant demands that the Israelites and individuals follow God's rules. In Newman's (1991) view, the text sets up Israel's duties as potentially infinite. The specific laws that God enjoins, while crucial, might be suggestive rather than exclusive. That is, they arise not from the text of the Torah, or even from interpretations of that text, but from living in relationship with God. Specifically, Newman suggests that when we read about keeping God's laws, commandments, and rules, we are in the realm of the covenant as a contract. However, when we read about 'walking in God's ways' and 'being a people holy to the Lord', we are in the realm of the covenant as an interpersonal relationship.

> *And now, O Israel, what does the Lord your God demand of you? Only this: to revere the Lord your God, to walk only in His paths, to love Him, and to serve the Lord your God with all your heart and soul, keeping the Lord's commandments and laws, which I enjoin upon you today, for your good (Deuteronomy 10, 12-13).*

The possibility of terminating the covenant is ambivalent in the bible. Newman (1991) suggests that understanding the covenant as either reversible or irreversible has important implications for the way in which one understands the significance of Israel's ethical life, especially its connection to eschatology. If the covenant with Israel is subject to termination, then it can be said that Israel is in control of its destiny and has the power to undo what God has done. Israel's moral behaviour has cosmic reverberations; each contravention of moral law pushes it closer to the edge, while each moral deed brings Israel closer to the ultimate messianic redemption. Israel's

ultimate fate in history, and in a sense in God's fate in this world, depends upon its deeds alone. On the other hand, if the covenant is irreversible, then Israel's responsibility and the power of its moral deeds are reduced. Just as Israel could not commence the covenant, it is not able to break it. Here, no moral act can destroy Israel but neither can it bring messianic redemption. While people can still expect to be blessed by God for their compliance and disciplined for their non-compliance, this drama is played out in a context where the finale has already been determined.

The same dichotomy is relevant to the question of whether Israel's holiness as a nation is intrinsic and permanent or obtained and provisional. In the first view, the Israelites' very status as God's chosen people is conditional (it could be rejected if another people had been chosen in their place). It must be continually reaffirmed and realized through Israel's obedience to God's law. The contrasting view represents the Israelites' status as God's chosen people as fixed and secure. The people are holy by virtue of their unique history: their sole task is to live out the meaning of that mandate.

Finally, Newman (1991) suggests that the extent to which the scope of the covenant is understood (as a legal or holistic document) also has a strong effect on Jewish ethical reasoning. Those who conform to a more contractual or legal model of the covenant will tend to adopt a formal approach (applying legal reasoning to the covenant and emphasizing its rules and principles while striving for consistency, predictability, and logical coherence). Those who conform to a more holistic and less formal model of the covenant place less emphasis on interpreting the words of the text (whether biblical or rabbinical) and more on intuition and appropriating the spirit of divine instruction. It is in the context of this covenant and the ways in which many modern Jews, especially early Jewish nationalists and Zionists (both religious and secular), perceive their religious and national obligations that the following section should be understood.

This diagram suggests a visual representation of the forces behind the sacrifice scripts as derived from the covenant:
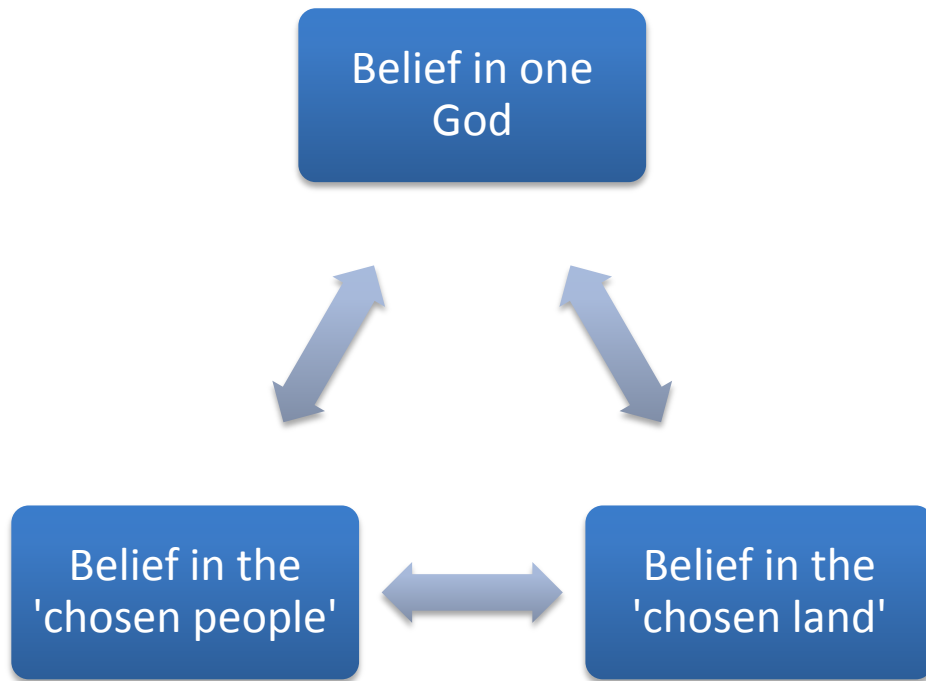
Figure 2.0: Covenant based sacrifice scripts

3.3 The emergence of modern sacrifice scripts

This section begins by describing the establishment of Gush Emunim (*'Bloc of the faithful'*) and the background of its spiritual roots. Specifically, Gush Emunim was an umbrella religious Zionist movement holding the following slogan: the people of Israel, for the land and the Lord of Israel (Sprinzak, 1988). Established in 1974 following the 1973 Yom Kippur War, its spiritual yearning came from the aftermath of the Six-Day War of 1967, in particular due to the unification of East Jerusalem (held until then by Jordan) and West Jerusalem, the new sovereignty of Israel over biblical Judea and Samaria (the West Bank), the annexation of Sinai from Egypt, and the annexation of the Golan Heights from Syria. These events signified the beginning of a messianic age where Eretz Yisrael (the biblical land of Israel, including the West Bank) was to be redeemed. While Arabs experienced defeat and frustration and grieved for the loss of their holy sites, Jews experienced euphoria, celebrating the conquest of the holy biblical sites of the Temple Mount, Western Wall, and Hebron (Piscaroti, 1993).

Israel's victory and control over Judea and Samaria transformed the status of the covenant into a living reality. It made religious (and some secular) Zionists believe it

was part of a predetermined divine plan to reconvene in the biblical land and a signal of the beginning of a new era of redemption, as a preface for the 'coming of the Messiah' (Sprinzak, 1986; 1988). Silberstein (1993) offered that, in contrast to Israeli voices that justified the occupation of the land in the Six-Day War on the basis of security, economy, and demography, Gush Emunim viewed it as a fundamental step in the redemptive process of history, which they, as the authentic representation of 'true' and 'proper' Judaism and Zionism, should bring to fruition. The holy aspect of the ancient Jewish land (as promised to Abraham thousands of years ago) being liberated could only be attained by the massive civilian presence of Jewish inhabitants, even if it violated government decisions (Possick, 2004). The unwillingness of the government and the secular public to accelerate redemption was one of the main reasons why Gush Emunim devoted itself to the Jewish settlement of the entire biblical land (Sprinzak, 1986; 1991). Extensive settlement and political action in the West Bank and Gaza Strip challenged the legitimacy of possible withdrawal from parts of the land of Israel (Lustick, 1988).

The spiritual roots of Gush Emunim can be traced to what is known as the innovative theology of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Hakohen Kook (1864–1935), the first Chief Rabbi of Palestine, and his son and follower, Rabbi Tzvi Yehuda Kook (1891–1981), both important rabbinical supporters of Zionism. In their view, Zionism and Zionists, in ending their exile and establishing the state of Israel (even a secular one), are at the centre of the messianic vision of the final redemption of Israel. The theology of Rabbi H. Kook is theology based and messianic in that it envisions that at the end of all time, the Messiah will appear and the Jews, enlightened by God, will defeat their enemies and govern them (Shahak, 1995). Consequently, all social and political changes are seen in light of the destined role of bringing this vision nearer and either making it happen or, in a worst case scenario, postponing it. True redemption depends on Teshuva (repentance), building the strength of a new religious imperative based on historic loyalty in the land of Israel.

This entails a complete devotion to beliefs[8] concerning the connection between Jews and the historical land of Israel: full inheritance of the land, along with the resurrection of the Jewish people (i.e. shaping a public life that is thoroughly infused with Jewish faith and tradition) (Lustick, 1988; Ravitsky, 1996). Consequently, Jewish sins and lack of faith, suggest some rabbis, are delaying and complicating the coming of the Messiah. However, this is only temporal, as the destined force of redemption of this Messiah now revealed in reality is stronger than any deed. What lack of faith can cause is increase Jewish suffering and restorative punishment, such as WW1 and WW2, the Holocaust, and other modern events (Shahak, 1995; Ravitsky, 1996). The figure below demonstrates the building blocks of repentance:

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            ┌─────────────────────┐
            │  Devotion to beliefs│
            │ regarding connection│
            │  between Jews and the│
            │ historical land of Israel│
            └─────────────────────┘
             ↙                  ↘
┌──────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────┐
│                      │   │                      │
│ Full inheritance of  │←→ │  Resurrection of the │
│      the land        │   │    Jewish people     │
│                      │   │                      │
└──────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────┘
```
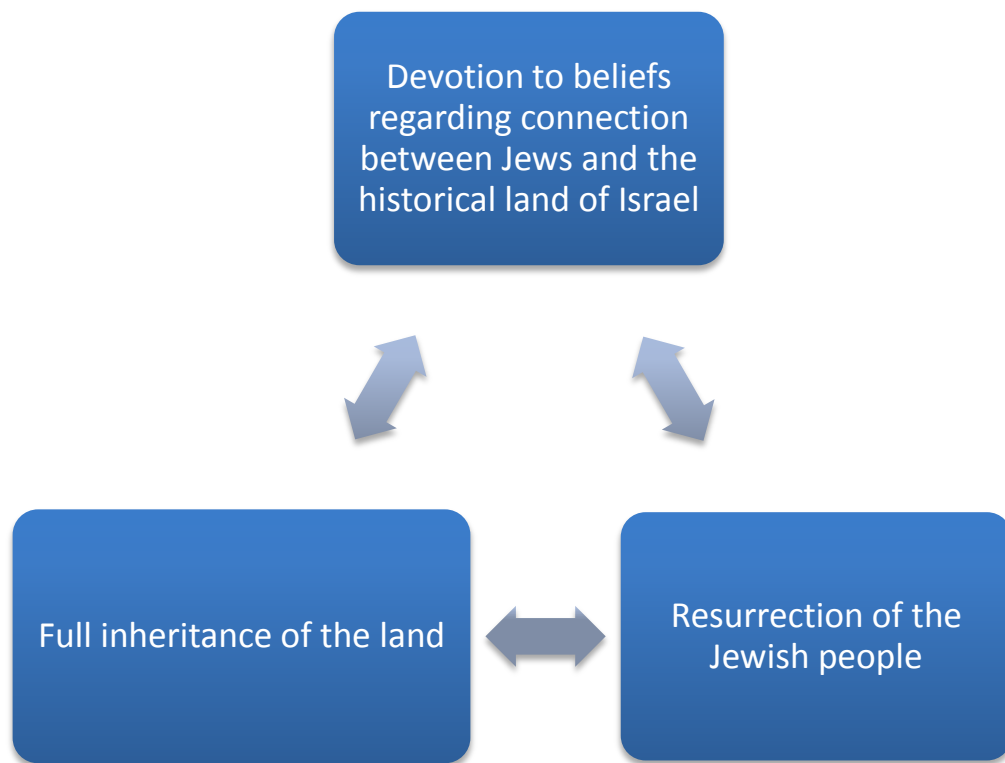
Figure 3.0: The building blocks of repentance in Rabbi H. Kook's theology

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[8] Devotion here refers to Rabbi Kook's notion of 'mesirat nefesh' –"sacrifice of the self", or "self-sacrifice", which is different from the classic biblical word for religious offering – 'korban' .

An important aspect of Rabbi H. Kook's theology is the embracement of the Jewish state and the people of Israel (Ravitsky, 1996). The state is seen as an integral theological and political whole that fulfils the idea of God's city on earth. Rabbi H. Kook defined the state of Israel as the halachic (Jewish law) throne of Israel and thus as the throne of heaven on earth (Sprinzak, 1986). More specifically, the Jewish state is seen as a physical holy arena –God's kingdom in this world – like that of temple's time. It leaves the state's religious citizens with the duty of narrowing the gap between the ideal and the real. Again, all other citizens' actions, however non-religious, cannot change the innate character of this state. In Ravitsky's (1996) view, this is a case where the concept of religious faith approves and sanctifies the socio political structure, so religious faith is converted into an absolute and inevitable space where it is validated and assured.

Consequently, devoutness and service of God in the temple are directed to the state as a whole in practical and spiritual terms (Ravitsky, 1996). The actions of the Jewish state, especially Israel's wars, are portrayed in theological terms as acts of national survival and reclaiming the historically Promised Land. Those who threaten the state are by definition those who threaten the God of Israel; military victory is equal to spiritual victory, and Israel wars represent the steps of the Messiah, marching toward the destined end (Ravitsky, 1996). Israel is not only a collection of individual men and women but is also an overarching notion attached to a higher physical realm of being. Redemptionist Zionism fully draws upon this notion, adding a modern European element of the national spirit as applied directly to the state of Israel.

However, as Ravitsky (1996) suggests, it is important to realize that these messianic views shape uncompromised visions in the form of radical fundamentalism, especially on the actual implementation of the anticipated perfection process. In actual fact, religious Zionism refuses any partial fulfilment of the vision of redemption. The earthly state risks the fulfilment of the 'true' and divine state of Israel. The wider the distance between what is seen as ideal and reality (e.g. when it comes to withdrawal from parts of the land), the more vulnerable the state becomes. Messianic groups reject secular groups' right to 'ownership' of the state of Israel. A true Jewish state holds the important obligation of bringing Jews from exile and settling the Promised

Land. Such ideas have gained momentum since the 1993 Oslo agreement between Israel and Palestine (Ravitsky, 1996).

Between the ancient covenant and modern manifestations of sacrifice and commitment, there are additional cultural aspects that may shape cultural conventions and strongly rooted beliefs, such as stories and myths circulating in a culture for decades and taking a leading part in its educational content. Specifically, there are numerous stories and myths embedded in Jewish tradition and Jewish teaching whereby Jews make costly sacrifices for the sake of the land, God, and the bible. One dominant example, which acts as a model for ultimate courage and self-sacrifice (Carrera, 2000) and has been widely used within Zionist discourse in the last 70 years, is the story of Masada (Ben-Yehuda, 1995). This story, as described by the Jewish historian Josephus Ben Matthias in *The Wars of the Jews* (Zerubavel, 1995), tells us how three years after the Romans had conquered the Judea region and destroyed the Temple in Jerusalem (70 AD), a group of around a thousand Jewish zealots (men, women, and children) had found refuge in an isolated fortress. They continued to hold out against the Romans, becoming the last stand of resistance. The zealots fought back against their attackers; however, when it became clear that invasion of the fortress was imminent, the leader of the Jewish rebels, Elazar ben Yair, convinced the rebels that it was more honourable to die by their own hands than to fall captive to the Romans. There followed a mass suicide where nearly a thousand people took their own lives, with only a few survivors who had hidden in the cisterns to tell the Romans what had happened to the defenders of Masada (Zerubavel, 1995). As we shall see, the ultimate devotion of the Jewish zealots of Roman times, "caught the imagination" (Lustick, 1988, p. 2) of many young religious Israeli Jews, as well as secular Zionists.

3.4 Gush Emunim's fundamentalism and the transmission of counter–cultural sacrifice scripts

Though Gush Emunim modernized and nationalized religion and even made modern nationalism into a key issue, it did not separate religion from its old symbols and traditional norms (Aran, 1991). On the basis of Rabbi H. Kook's theology, the messianic overarching (or meta-) script was underlined by a motivation to translate the fundamental truth of the bible into the messianic imperative, whereby redemption is imminent and the duty (which one needs to commit to and sacrifice for) of a Jew is to

work with God to actualize this task (Paine, 1994). This means that the script's aim was seen as the return of the chosen to the chosen land (Paine, 1994), consequently entailing expectations and assumptions that govern the way in which members interpret their experiences, as well as guiding their behaviour.

Moreover, following the ideas mentioned in chapter 2, the messianic meta-script can be seen as involving several interconnected sub-scripts, which specify events and their related actors, sequences of scenes, and the appropriate actions. Within these scripts, central events act as the most significant aspects. The following diagram presents a possible representation of a meta-script for religious sacrifice and commitment on the basis of the previous review:

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │   Sacrifice and     │
                    │ commitment meta-    │
                    │      script         │
                    └─────────────────────┘
              ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
    ┌──────────────────┐         ┌──────────────────┐
    │    Actualizing   │         │   Settling and   │
    │    redemption    │         │ defending the land│
    │                  │         │    of Israel     │
    └──────────────────┘         └──────────────────┘
      ┌──────┴──────┐              ┌──────┴──────┐
┌───────────┐ ┌───────────┐  ┌───────────┐ ┌───────────┐
│Refuse for │ │  Living   │  │  Refuse   │ │ Attaining │
│  partial  │ │ according │  │concessions│ │  control  │
│realization│ │    to     │  │ regarding │ │over Judea │
│of the     │ │Jewish law │  │ control   │ │and Samaria│
│vision of  │ │           │  │over the   │ │           │
│redemption │ │           │  │   land    │ │           │
└───────────┘ └───────────┘  └───────────┘ └───────────┘
```
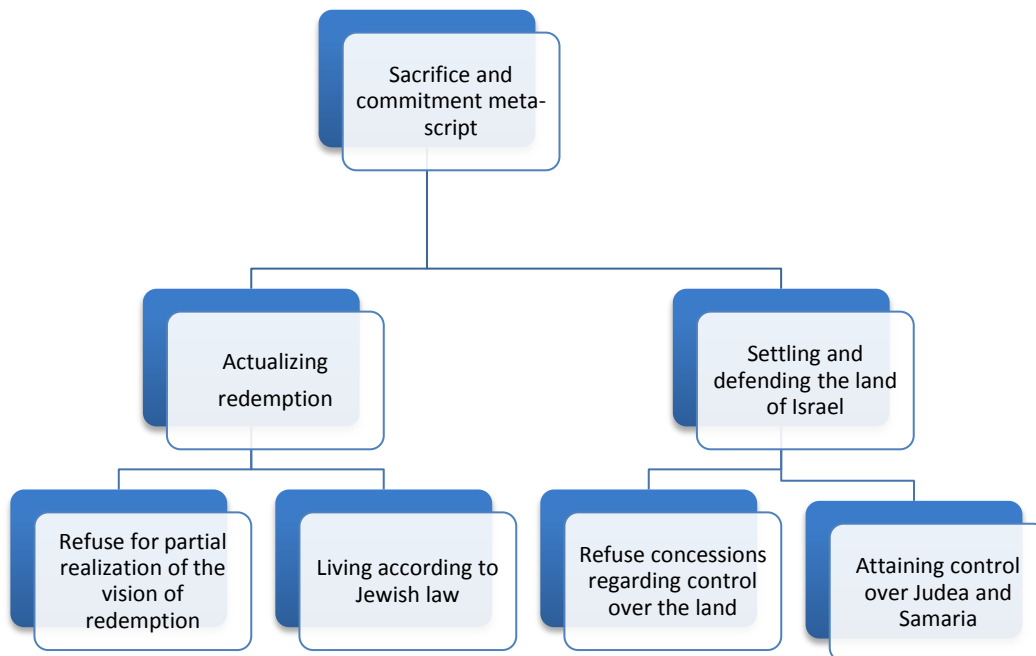
Figure 4.0: A meta-script for religious sacrifice and commitment

However, when reality challenges this theologically based script and interrupts the sequence of religious procedures, there is a potential for other beliefs and actions to emerge, ranging from moderate to extreme. These hold the potential of being counter-cultural to non-members (e.g. secular and liberal others). Specifically, this interruption is usually perceived as a threat to national Zionist group identity and/or a threat to the ultimate aims of the sacrifice and commitment script. Interestingly, under threatening conditions, beliefs and representations that were originally MXCC (in the

eyes of non-members), such as violent resistance and breaking the law, may become MCC (more acceptable and thus more transmissible among others) because they are seen as a clear means to an end (i.e. addressing the perceived threats). Namely, they offer an explanation, therefore justifying why religious members react in the way they do.

The other factors operating in the short term that may have enhanced the transmission of Gush Emunim's counter-cultural representations within the wider public involved the ability to capture initial attention to their narrative, which was different from the secular one yet relevant to all Jews. Specifically, their narrative regarding the road to the 'destined end', which was both relevant yet vague, may also have acted as a mnemonic device that aided the proliferation of CC representations. Other contextual factors that influenced transmission may have included political and economic contexts that made their ideas more justifiable or suitable, such as wars, conflicts, and social and emotional factors (such as perceived benefits of membership of fundamentalist groups, e.g. strong bonding with others and being part of a worthy cause). Finally, charismatic and influential leaders (some of whom were not from Gush Emunim) that adopted and advocated their ideas may have contributed to the successful transmission of these representations.

The following examples explain the ways in which MXCC religious representations, part of the messianic script, gradually became MCC, as a result of interactions between short-term factors (such as those mentioned previously) and long-term factors (such as the constant repetition of messages and familiarity with the settlers' ideas and activities). Specifically, scripted counter-cultural beliefs and actions, such as the call for new illegal settlements and their establishment, gradually gained support from the public and the state even under Labour governments, pointing to the fact that that these representations lost their unusualness and became acceptable and hence more justifiable. This aspect draws on ideas presented previously regarding the effect of context on the cognitive optimality of religious representations, especially in terms of changing from MXCC to MCC under certain conditions and thus becoming more transmissible.

Before looking at concrete examples, it is useful to examine Gush Emunim through the lens of Jewish fundamentalist thinking. Specifically, Lustick (1988) argues that it

included ideas regarding: (1) the Jewish people being chosen by God to spread his word among the nations; 2) Arab opposition representing resistance to Israel's enduring struggle to overcome the forces of evil and to transmit the word of God. However, the Arabs would be overcome, like the Canaanites or Ishmaelites (non-Jewish residents of the land in ancient times); 3) Israel's international isolation reinforcing the fact that it was the chosen nation; 4) the level and frequency of non-Jewish aggression towards Israel and the Jews negating any possibility of achieving a negotiated peace. The only alternatives were either a temporary peace or the 'true peace' that would come with the Messiah and the reunification of the people of Israel; 5) the land of Israel being of fundamental importance because without Jewish rule, God's will cannot be realized. Consequently, the concept of exchanging territory for peace was irrelevant; 6) current history and all its manifestations being milestones of the redemption process leading to the return of the Messiah and Israel's fulfilment; and 7) the Jews being God's chosen assistants in the process which will end in the establishment of the messianic kingdom therefore, their faith and dedication were significant. In alignment with these principles, especially those concerning disapproval of any peace agreement and the fundamental religious importance of the land being under Jewish sovereignty, the idea that nothing lies outside the boundaries of religion can be understood. Specifically, politics was seen as a mode of religious expression (Paine, 1994); therefore, democracy was considered a reasonable system that Gush Emunim would adhere to as long as it did not collide with the Zionist system (Sprinzak, 1988). If the two collided, Zionism should not govern; the government's decisions and actions, while legal, were not seen as legitimate to Gush Emunim.

A first example of the transmission success of MXCC religious representations in relation to peace is Gush Emunim's response to the 1979 peace treaty with Egypt, where the government committed to giving up land in the Rafiah area of Sinai. Specifically, in clear contrast to the state's 1948 declaration of independence, concerning peace with its neighbours[9], Gush Emunim's members held and transmitted

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[9]The 1948 deceleration of independence – the closest document to a constitution in Israel – includes the following statements regarding peace: the Jewish state "will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel… We extend our hand to all

the view that such a peace agreement had no legitimacy (i.e. giving away any of the land of Israel was prohibited, and claims given by the other side (Arabs) in peace negotiations were irrelevant). For Gush Emunim, peace was exclusively a Jewish matter between the nation and its God: between Israel, the Torah, and faith (Aran, 1991: p.315). Some members even believed that God would intervene to prevent this 'crime'.

These beliefs and representations were motivated by the theological concept suggested by Rabbi H. Kook that the arrival of the Messiah would happen when the Jews, aided by God's might, defeat all of Israel's enemies and rule over them forever (Shahak, 1995). Moreover, they provided the leaders of Gush Emunim with the complete certainty that Israel should not fear wars. According to Rabbi Shlomo Aviner, one of Gush Emunim's leaders, "We must live in this land even at the price of war. Moreover, even if there is peace, we must instigate wars of liberation in order to conquer it" (Harkabi, 1988, pp.145-146).In addition, Harkabi (1988) notes that Gush Emunim taught that the reasons for Arab hostility towards the Jews were theological in nature and inherent in the character of the Gentiles, so the Arab–Jewish conflict was politically unresolvable.

The scripted actions associated with these ideas involved both moderate and extreme instantiations. Specifically, in the months prior to April 1982 – the date set for the final Israeli withdrawal from Sinai – Rafiah settlers, along with Gush Emunim zealots, organized protests to stymie government policy. Fully committed to this 'heavenly mission', hundreds of Gush Emunim settlers from Judea and Samaria decamped to Yamit (the main town of the Rafiah region) and the surrounding settlements to prevent the retreat. Some of these settlers proposed resistance by force; 12 followers of Rabbi Meir Kahane occupied an underground shelter and armed themselves with gas tanks and explosives, with a threat of mass suicide. This extreme gesture forced Prime Minister Begin to intervene (Sprinzak, 1986; 1989).

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neighbouring states and their peoples in an offer of peace and good neighbourliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help with the sovereign Jewish people settled in its own land" (Armitage, 2007).

In spite of growing frustration among the settlers due to the peace accord's threat, the aim of the script (i.e. Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel) was being achieved. In fact, the number of Jewish-occupied territories in Judea and Samaria increased during the Likud administration of 1977–1981, which suggests that the MXCC religious and representations and actions had gradually become acceptable and justifiable (MCC) and therefore likely to be continued and transmitted. Specifically, Ariel Sharon, who served as Minister of Agriculture and later as Prime Minister, championed the settlement expansion and pushed his own settlement plan, whereby Israel would extend its control over dominant roads in the West Bank (Sprinzak, 1986). Gush Emunim had no problem in attracting religiously and politically motivated settlers to move to the occupied territories, but Sharon's aim was to encourage the mainstream Israeli population to move to the areas. By 1981, the settler population had increased nearly fourfold to more than 16,000 (Tenenbaum & Eiran, 2005).

Another instance showing the transmission success of MXCC religious representations is reflected in the impact of Gush Emunim's operative ideology during Yitzhak Rabin's (Labour) government of 1974–1977. Specifically, Gush Emunim's fundamental script followed three operational plans, some of which involved ideas and actions within the boundaries of democracy and some that did not (and this combination may have kept the group's ideology still relevant and not bizarre). These were: 1) protesting against interim agreements with Egypt and Syria and any diplomatic activity related to these agreements; 2) conducting demonstrations in Judea and Samaria to draw attention to the Jewish attachment to those parts of the land of Israel; and 3) carrying out settlement operations in the occupied territories. Specifically, participation in demonstrations within the Green Line,[10] which continued infrequently until autumn 1975, included blocking major roads in Jerusalem, protestors 'settling' opposite the Knesset or Prime Minister's office to remind politicians of their attachment to Judea and Samaria, and mass rallies in Jerusalem's Zion Square that entailed clashes with police. This resistance reached its peak in October 1974, when a mass demonstration was held in Tel Aviv's Malkhei Yisrael

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[10]Green Line is the name popularly given to the 1949 Armistice Demarcation lines, which had served as the de facto borders between Israel and the Jordanian-annexed West Bank and between Israel and the Egyptian-administered Gaza Strip and Sinai from the 1948 War of Independence to the 1967 Six-Day War.

Square. This demonstration advocated the principle of Judea and Samaria as inseparable parts of the country (Sprinzak, 1988).

Demonstrations within Judea and Samaria included Operation Go-Around in October 1974, when an estimated 2,000 participants bypassed army road blocks and spread out across Judea and Samaria, where they maintained that settlements should be established. Other operations were conducted in the context of Jewish high holidays. In December 1975, Gush Emunim members congregated on hills in Judea and Samaria for a Hanukkah candle-lighting service; during Passover 1976, around 30,000 people took part in a mass hike (the EretzYisrael Walk) across Samaria. Participants in this march included politicians from the right, including Menachem Begin, who later became Prime Minister (Sprinzak, 1986; 1988).

An important milestone in the settling operations beyond the Green Line was the settling at the very heart of densely populated Palestinian areas of Samaria. For instance, in 1975, an activist group (Elon Moreh) attempted to settle in the Nablus-Sebastia region. These attempts, which attracted wide media attention, were forcibly stopped by the army. After two days of tense confrontation between settlers and the army, ElonMoreh members agreed to compromise and move temporarily to a military base nearby and stay there until a decision was reached about their future location. This arrangement eventually became Kedumim: the first settlement in the northern West Bank (Sprinzak, 1986).

Interestingly, the Elon Moreh incident and other covert pressure from Gush Emunim on the government to establish new settlements and to support existing ones were proving to be successful. The result of their campaigns was the Ein Vered Conference, at which prominent figures within the Labour movement publicly backed Gush Emunim's ideas and actions. The newly elected right-wing Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who later championed the peace agreement with Egypt, said in 1977: "We will have many more Elon Morehs" – a statement that gave Gush Emunim's ideas a strong legitimization, making their ideas even more acceptable. Despite these expectations, the government did not come up with a systematic settlement programme because of policy-making constraints and pressure from the American government. It was becoming clear that, even under a Likud administration, a more rigorous approach should be used (Sprinzak, 1986).

Over the years, Gush Emunim repeated their ideas and actions (with very little modifications), which in turn made their ideology increasingly familiar. Similar to their reaction to the peace treaty with Egypt, they opposed the 1993 Oslo Accord, which was set to recognize the PLO[11]and start the Autonomy Plan towards Palestinian self-rule. Gush Emunim assumed that such a plan would inevitably bring territorial compromise and sow the seeds for a future Palestinian state. In addition, the Labour Party, which was committed to concessions for peace in the West Bank, ordered a freeze on settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This provoked an immediate response among settlers and Yesha[12], who responded with a huge public relations campaign (Sprinzak, 1999). As in previous situations, campaigns and activities included large demonstrations involving 200,000 people in front of the Knesset and adverts in media outlets. The message constantly portrayed was that Judea and Samaria, rarely visited by Israel's citizens since the Intifada,[13]were necessary for the protection of Israel– yet again a response that was justified due to serious threats against the land and its people. They also appealed to the nation's brotherly sentiments, asking the Israelis not to 'forsake' the settlers. A strong response from the Palestinian side in the form of Islamic terrorism led to a raft of killings on both sides, which further radicalized the settlers and brought about a 'Jewish Intifada'[14] (Sprinzak, 1999).

The Yesha heads made a statement blaming the government for Palestinian attacks on settlers, also warning that such attacks warranted a reaction, with or without government approval. Adding to the already tense situation, the Yesha Council renewed its campaign of delegitimizing the government and approving the murder of Palestinian assailants. Radicals from Kach and other groups called for insurgency and civil disobedience. This violent Jewish resistance was not confined to radicals; it also

[11]PLO – Palestinian Liberation Organization

[12]Hebrew acronym for Judea, Samaria, and Gaza

[13]'Intifada' is an Arabic term meaning 'uprising'. The first Intifada began in 1988.

[14]Sprinzak (1999) does not refer to a specific organization but to the overall radicalization of the Yesha Council.

involved a series of attacks on Arab transport and logistics, with the destruction of hundreds of cars, stoning, tire burning, roadblocks, property damage, and even killing. The groups also organized intensive protests involving personal attacks against Prime Minister Rabin (Sprinzak, 1999). On November 15, Prime Minster Rabin was assassinated by a religious Jew, an anonymous member of the national religious community.

Gush Emunim's response to the 2003 unilateral Disengagement Plan[15] from the Gaza Strip continued the same ideological and operative line. Namely, the group argued that the contextual conditions that threatened their scripts or their group members who were committed to the scripts should be rejected; they also said that events should follow the sacred, biblical, and messianic texts. Specifically, Sprinzak (1989) suggests that while Gush Emunim never publicly endorsed violence, their leaders advocated for a biblical-based Jewish sovereignty over Judea and Samaria without deportation of the Palestinian population. Instead, they encouraged the view that peaceful and fruitful coexistence under a compassionate Israeli regime could be made possible with the Arabs. However, as Paine (1994) explains, the philosophy of Arab–Jew coexistence became an argument to justify settlement in the West Bank. As 'settlement alongside' was not the Palestinians' choice, these ideas and practices gave rise to Arab–Jew counter-killings. At times, the settlers' counter-action to a murder was the building of a new settlement.

Gush Emunim's and the Yesha Council's response to the Disengagement Plan[16] involved several scripted paths. Specifically, the democratic process of approval (endorsement by the Knesset and a vote over the Disengagement Law[17]) involved

[15] The 2003 unilateral Disengagement Plan consisted of the withdrawal of Israel's military and civilian presence from the Gaza Strip and the northern West Bank (Samaria)[15].

[16] The disengagement plan was initiated by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. The aim of the plan was to examine the potential of peaceful accords with the Palestinian Authority under the new Palestinian leadership of Mahmoud Abbas.

[17] The Disengagement Law was to provide Jewish residents of the Gaza Strip with alternative residential solutions and to compensate them for the loss of their homes and livelihoods.

extensive opposition and public protest by the settlers, who resisted the notion of disengagement. As before, the response from some settlers and their lobbying partners involved different forms of resistance, including different MXCC ideas (such as military and civil disobedience) and active forms of protest (such as violence towards soldiers, politicians, and Palestinians). Other moderate settlers, still resisting the idea of the plan, argued that public support was required to stop this dangerous withdrawal and possible withdrawals in the future. Hence, the settlers began a battle for the hearts and minds of the Israeli public. They targeted mainstream Israelis, encouraging them to show solidarity with fellow Jews living outside the Green Line to ally against disengagement (Middle East Report, 2005).

Protests began as early as 2004, with a mass demonstration attended by over 100,000 people in Tel Aviv's Rabin Square. This was followed by prayer rallies, a campaign inviting personal visits to Israelis inside the Green Line, and a second large demonstration opposite the Knesset. In May and June 2005, a few months before the disengagement date, thousands of protestors blocked major highways, burning vehicles and causing traffic chaos. Mainstream settler leaders demonstrated ambivalence towards such conduct. On 28 June, the Yesha Council initiated its 'Stop for a Moment to Re-evaluate' project, calling on the Israeli public to reconsider the ramifications of disengagement. The Yesha Council also arranged a march to Gaza following the government's decision to close the roads to the settlements that were to be evacuated later (Middle East Report, 2005).

At the core of the hard-line settlers' CC response was a complete refusal to implement military evacuation orders, with the goal of promoting resistance by religious soldiers, which resulted in the initiation of a counter-refusal movement by some religious soldiers. The moderate settlers' leaders saw this as inconceivable, as the settlers typically saw themselves as connected to the state and the military as an integral and respected element. Prominent rabbis who opposed the disengagement also rejected the refusal option (Middle East Report, 2005). At the heart of the extremist position were MXCC ideas regarding fighting to the death, self-sacrifice, and barricading families into settlement buildings. In actual fact, the security forces feared settler families would barricade themselves into their homes or, worse, threaten to commit suicide. Another concern was around the thousands of hard-line and extreme opponents from

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the West Bank and Israel who had unified with the Gaza communities and supported physical resistance on the evacuation day. In fact, in June 2005, this was actualized when a group took over Hof Dekalim Hotel in Gush Katif before being forcibly evacuated by security forces. There was also proof of additional takeovers of key buildings by hard-line resistance groups affiliated with Kach members. Preparation of generators and water storage created the impression of a period of protracted resistance (Middle East Report, 2005).

The vast majority of settlers and their leaders opposed violence – in particular against soldiers – but the evacuation was seen as a trigger that could provoke chaos and violence against Palestinians that could lead to reprisals and ultimately stop the withdrawal. The security forces were afraid of radical settler activity involving action against Palestinians and their religious sites. Another problem for the security forces was the possible assassination of Ariel Sharon, the architect of the withdrawal. The murder of Yitzhak Rabin in 1995 was seen as a dangerous precedent[18] (Middle East Report, 2005). However, Jewish extremists linked to Kach made threats on the lives of Sharon and Israeli government officials. The severe threat posed by Jewish terrorists became a reality when a Kach member from the extreme Tapuach Settlement murdered four Israeli Arabs and wounded many more. Around 8,000 Jewish settlers were evacuated from 21 settlements in the Gaza Strip during a three-week period beginning in August 2005. Some settlers offered violent resistance and threatened mass suicide; others barricaded themselves into synagogues and engaged in prayer.

3.5 Summary and conclusions

This chapter traced the origin of modern sacrifice scripts in the ancient covenant and Jewish messianic theology. It suggested that the original biblical (overarching) script may be seen as a template for collectively understanding threats put against the

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[18]In 1995, Prime Minister Rabin, who was willing to evacuate settlements, was assassinated by a religious Jew who thought Rabin's death was necessary for the survival of the land of Israel (New, 2002).

ancient relationship between God and his chosen people. Specifically, the biblical and messianic script involves the idea that God's redemption of selected people depends on the people's devotion to unquestioned beliefs concerning Jewish sovereignty over the entire biblical land of Israel. In modern terms, paving the way for the coming of the Messiah depends on ensuring that the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip are permanently incorporated in the state of Israel. Consequently, any government that intends to withdraw from the land of Israel and give any concessions would be delegitimized. This implies that embracing the 'earthly' state of Israel is possible only when the state does not challenge the perceived path to salvation.

The chapter also demonstrated that although culture and history set the grounds for the core contents of this overarching script, actors and institutions operating in different contexts produce different instantiations that draw upon those contents in different ways, resulting in different views and reactions. Specifically, under threat against the meta-script or members of the national Gush Emunim group, counter-cultural beliefs were evoked. Some of these were MXCC, as they involved overt support for violence and illegal resistance and a willingness to sacrifice their lives or to take the lives of others. These ideas called for undermining the authority of the state and democratic law. In other words, they violated cultural conventions concerning fundamental norms of a democratic, liberal, and humanistic society that saw modern Israel as the state of the Jews. They also ran counter to the dominant secular Israeli culture and identity as an individualistic nation (Hofstede, 1980; Yadgar, 2011), where individual interests are more important than those of the collective. Other beliefs (and actions) regarding complete sovereignty and disapproval (involving normative opposition) of peace agreements were suggested to be counter-cultural as well but in minimal ways (MCC). They were usually incarnations of more extreme beliefs that became more acceptable under threat conditions due to the repetition of ideology and the adoption of these beliefs by charismatic leaders.

It is within the scope of this thesis to explore whether and to what extent counter-cultural conventional knowledge holds memorability advantages. As such, this chapter provided two important implications for the following empirical investigation. Firstly, it operationalized the construct of scripts to embed both conventional knowledge and counter-cultural knowledge. Secondly, defining these alternatives was

important, especially regarding how successful these concepts (represented in scripts) are in determining the content of cultural transmission. Finally, the chapter also suggested that these scripts are reinforced and internalized not only in sacred texts but also in the execution of script-inspired activities and in the support for counter-cultural beliefs (as well as practices), even among the secular public and centre-left governments. When secular thinking becomes affected by these counter-cultural beliefs, this may suggest that they have become more culturally INT and that the magnitude of other factual or normative thinking has been undermined.

4 Sacrifice scripts in media representations

4.1 Episodic repertoire and representations of sacrifice and commitment within Israeli media

4.1.1 Strategy for the empirical investigation

The following chapter explains the first step in the two-step research design. The first study involved using media analysis to reveal the episodic repertoire of religious sacrifice and commitment scripts within modern Israeli-Jewish culture by mapping a variety of representations concerning religious sacrifice and commitment as portrayed in key newspapers that include secular, traditional, and religious viewpoints. The second step, which is presented in the following chapter, involved quasi-experimental web research, which used the media analysis results as a basis to elicit mental representations of sacrifice scripts. The aim of the web research was to explore which representations are widespread and to explain their salience in terms of the degree to which they may be regarded as counter-cultural.

4.1.2 Objective

The main objective of the first analytical study was to uncover media representations of sacrifice scripts and their internal hierarchies within the context of the national religious movement in Israel and the settlers' community. The term 'settlers' in this context refers to the (usually religious) people who choose to live beyond the Green Line (As described in chapter 3, settlers are often associated with Gush Emunim's ideology. Specifically, the study attempted to map a variety of religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment using a script construct that included high-level script conceptualizations (script and scene headers) followed by more low-level script instantiations (i.e. action headers and actions, as presented see chapter 2)[19]. It sought to explore the different modern scripted instantiations of the original overarching script as repeatedly portrayed in the media. On the basis of the previous chapter, it was expected that the religious sacrifice script would involve various instantiations that draw upon the original overarching script in different ways.

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[19]As presented in chapter 2, a script is characterised by a hierarchical structure that shapes the relationships amongst its interconnected components (i.e. nodes) to constitute a representation of an event (Smith & Houston, 1986).

It was also expected that media representations of sacrifice scripts would differ in the degree to which the salient representations preserve or contradict modern cultural conventions, as seen from the point of view of the wider non-religious public.

Given that the overall aim of this thesis is to explore the effect of context and other cultural factors on the cognitive optimality of counter-cultural religious representations, media analysis was considered most relevant. Media is seen here as, on the one hand, a medium of expression that can mirror the temper of the populace regarding notions of religious sacrifice and commitment. On the other hand, it is seen as playing an active role in mediating the proliferation of different types of representations regarding sacrifice and commitment.

4.1.3 Materials

As the objective of this study was to uncover script representations (and not a representative sampling of themes), a corpus construction rationale was used (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). For this purpose, three opinion-leading Israeli newspapers representing religious, traditional, and secular viewpoints were chosen to cover a sufficient range of texts within Israeli media. It is important to mention that, at the time of conducting the study (2006), there were only three main daily newspapers in Israel (two of which were used for the analysis); the third one was the most common settlers' newspaper.

The first newspaper was Haaretz ('land/earth' in Hebrew). Haaretz is a daily newspaper that is published in Hebrew and English and is generally characterized by long articles, small print, science and literature features, and few images. Haaretz was chosen as it is the main newspaper that represents left-wing views on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The position of the newspaper within Israel's religious spectrum is decidedly secular. Despite its clear leftish position, the paper features a range of columnists, some of whom are well known for their association with the right and centre of Israeli politics (rabbis, Yesha leaders, etc.). This fact makes the corpus construction even more relevant, as the reflection of variety is also maintained within the newspaper.

The second newspaper was Yediot Achronot ('latest news' in Hebrew). Published in Hebrew, Yediot Achronot is the most widely circulated newspaper in Israel and is characterized by relatively short articles (the weekend edition excepted), many news pages, large print, numerous pictures, and few science and literature pages. This paper was chosen as it characterizes the centre view of Israeli politics. The position of the newspaper in Israel's religious spectrum is decidedly secular/ traditional. As in the case of Haaretz, the paper publishes a range of political views.

The third newspaper used was Nekudah ('full stop' and 'point' in Hebrew). This publication is a monthly bulletin of the Yesha Council of West Bank settlers, is published only in Hebrew, and contains mainly editorial content with some regular columns. It was chosen as it characterizes the right-wing belief set within Israeli politics. Its position and its writers are religious; in many cases, the writers are leaders associated with national religious movements.

The principle of covering a variety of possible representations in terms of the observed phenomenon was maintained within this study on two levels:

1. Between newspapers: using three different publications with three different core political orientations.

2. Within newspapers: using different articles representing a characteristic author within the paper's core orientations and a non-characteristic author in relation to the overall orientation. In addition, (where possible) different types of articles, including news reports, editorials, and correspondents' articles, were used to maximize representational variety.

The topical corpus (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000) was defined as all written articles (excluding images) that allow insights into religious sacrifice scripts in the context of the national religious movement and Gush Emunim between the years 1993 and 2005. The relevant articles were collected using combined searches of several keywords, such as sacrifice & commitment & settlers / national religious / religious Zionism / Gush Emunim. All other media representations of the national religious movement that excluded themes of sacrifice and commitment scripts, as well as those

representations that included sacrifice and commitment scripts but were not related to the national religious movement (settlers), were not included in the study.

A random sample of 15 articles was then selected from the list of all relevant articles for each year from each newspaper. The possibility of reducing or extending the corpus along the coding process was in accordance with the principle of saturated variety: no new codes were added once the analysis had reached a saturation point (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). The choice of covering 13 years of historical media materials (spanning the period from the 1993 Oslo Accord to the 2005 Disengagement Plan) was motivated by several reasons. The first was to maximize the internal dialect variety (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000) and thus create a balanced corpus. This was considered possible by involving different external variations (in this case, political milestones), with the aim of keeping awareness for internal variations (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). The second reason was to reflect on cycles of stability and change (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000) from the initiation of the Autonomy Plan (i.e. the Oslo Accord) to the final disengagement from the Gaza Strip. Due to the volatility of media and culture in Israel, studying a shorter time period may have given a distorted impression of which beliefs are deeply embedded.

There were some obstacles in collating the topical corpus. Foremost, as the LSE's library (or any other library in the UK) does not subscribe to the selected newspapers, most of the materials were sourced in Israel. Secondly, even in Israel, Haaretz was the only newspaper of the three that was available in an electronic archive, so hard copies of the two other newspapers needed to be collected, copied, and scanned. The following table presents a summary of the decision-making processes for the choices made regarding data elicitations and the rationale behind each step undertaken.

Table 2.0: Decision making process in research design

Step	Procedure	Rationale
1	Decision over the topical corpus.	Themes were to remain relevant (i.e. focused on the researched topic: religious sacrifice and commitment in the context of the national religious movement / Gush Emunim).
2	Selection of sources: two newspapers and a bulletin reflecting three different political orientations (with some internal crossovers).	To maximize the variety of representations.
3	Decision over the material substance of data: only textual materials.	Images were not prevalent in two out of the three newspapers; therefore, images were not considered. Corpus materials need to be kept as homogeneous as possible.
4	Decision over where to collect the data.	Due to access difficulties in the UK, materials were sourced in Israel.
5	Selection of articles: a sample of 15 articles was selected from the overall list of articles for each year.	A large corpus was not manageable; therefore, the sample size had to be reduced. Nonetheless, the corpus was kept open until the point of saturation.
6	Decision over the natural cycle of change and stability between 1993 and 2005.	The time period selected was from the Oslo Accord (1993) to the disengagement day from the Gaza Strip (2005). Several small cycles were considered within this cycle.

4.1.4 Method

Theme elicitation was undertaken using qualitative thematic analysis (Berelson, 1952), with the aim of producing a coding frame. The decision to use thematic network analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001) was mainly because it is an established technique that is useful both in terms of uncovering the salient themes in a text at different levels and in creating a network of themes that facilitates the structuring and depiction of these themes. In fact, the main advantage of thematic networks is that they provide a graphical presentation of themes, giving fluidity to themes and emphasizing the interconnectivity between them. In practice, the analysis combined both an inductive approach, which was generated from the patterns in the data, and an a priori approach, which was generated from prior theoretical conceptualizations of scripts in general and Jewish sacrifice and commitment scripts in particular (as presented in chapters 2 and 3).

Specifically, a priori categories involved key aspects of script theory (i.e. the hierarchical structure of scripts). These aspects were integrated into the analysis with the emergence of results from a concrete and textual level to a more abstract (conceptual) and interpretative level (scene headers and scripts). As such, the importance of maintaining a good balance between importing prior theory and theme elicitation was key to this qualitative process. In practice, the theoretical script categories were introduced into the analysis only at an advanced phase; thus (in retrospect), they did not inhibit or narrow the formation of new depictions and new connections. The script framework was seen as merely a tool for organizing the content. Furthermore, the script model was useful for observing and focusing on a more theoretical point of view, allowing stronger connections to be made between the data and the research objectives.

To conduct the analysis, a computer-based approach was chosen because this approach is useful in enhancing the transparency of the analytical process. Specifically, Atlas.ti was selected as the data analysis tool due to its appropriateness in tackling the process that this analysis aimed to review (i.e. associating codes with relevant pieces of text), as well as due to the results that this study aimed to produce (i.e. classifications of codes that underline the data and that reflect testable models of the conceptual structure). The advantages of Atlas.ti are clear: it is flexible, user

friendly, and useful in managing large data sets, coding procedures, and network building. The disadvantages encountered during the course of the work included difficulties using Hebrew within the software (e.g. the software could not read or produce an output of Hebrew quotations) and coding scanned articles that were layered horizontally and contained many images. In practice, using Atlas.ti involved creating three hermeneutic units (HUs) dedicated to each newspaper. This enabled a systematic process of developing codes to be used to compare the content within and across the newspapers. Each HU contained primary documents, which, where possible, were set according to chronological years (e.g. in the case of Haaretz, each year's articles were gathered in one primary document).

After uploading the data and as a basis for the coding, the first step was to decide which underlying observational techniques (i.e. things to look for in the texts) and which principles should be kept in the process of identifying the basic units of analysis (i.e. codes and then basic themes). The first guiding principle was looking for co-occurrences of themes within and across articles in words and expressions by examining how similar or different the words or expressions were from those in the previous or following sentences. This seemed plausible, as long as one kept in mind that, in a corpus construction, even a single appearance of a theme is regarded as sufficient to signify something of substantive importance.

The second guiding principle was that each sentence would be scrutinized in terms of its major concern following key script-related questions including: what does the text tell us about the object of modern' sacrifice and commitment? What does the text tell us about the general context of sacrifice and commitment? What does the text tell us about what is sacrificed or what represents commitment? What does the text tell us about those who sacrifice and what they do to actualize the drive for sacrifice and commitment? In alignment with the overall aim of the study, these questions were set to allow multiple representations of sacrifice and commitment, including a variety of instantiations that did not necessarily align with one another.

In terms of using the a priori script construct (as described in chapter 2), the basic code level of the thematic network was set to uncover the basic units of scripts (i.e. the actions). The basic theme level of the thematic network was set to uncover the action headers (several actions grouped by family resemblance). The organizing

theme level was set to uncover the scene headers (i.e. general scenes/events and belief systems), while the global theme level was set to uncover script headers (the macro level of the hierarchy). The process underlying this new coding frame was utilized to answer the four leading questions presented in the previous paragraph.

In practice, several rounds of thematic network analysis were initiated, with several cycles of coding and recoding the texts. The theme identification method involved looking for repetition, similarities, and differences within small units of texts, such as sentences and short paragraphs. In addition, the method required a decision regarding each theme in terms of whether it reflected a scripted action, an action header, or a scene header. Once again, the leading principle was to maximize variety. It was not that all the themes were equally salient but that the question of salience was not leading this observation. Eventually, the most salient themes were used.

The following table demonstrates the way that the a priori aspects guided the coding:

Table 3.0: a priori aspects guiding coding process

	Level of thematic network	*Hierarchical structure of scripts*	*Question to be answered in this level*
Top	*Global themes*	*Script header*	*What is the object of modern sacrifice and commitment?*
	Organizing themes	*Scene headers*	*What is the general context of sacrifice and commitment?*
	Basic themes	*Action headers*	*What is sacrificed? What represents commitment?*
Bottom	*Codes*	*Scripted actions*	*What motivations and which actions actualize sacrifice and commitment?*

To increase validity, the analysis was done simultaneously by two other, psychology graduates, coders experienced in qualitative methods. The coders were introduced to the study and its aims and were presented with the guiding principles and leading questions prior to commencing the coding process. Once the basic themes had been derived by the coders and the researcher, an inter-coder reliability of .95 was established. The next step for each coder was to group the codes together into family-resembling categories according to the underlying narratives they were telling. These became the basic themes and, later, the organizing themes. As before, only after an inter-coder reliability of .93 had been established did the analysis continue. The process was repeated for the organizing themes until the coders reached the level of global themes. At this point, the top-level themes were reinterpreted in light of their basic themes and codes, and some basic themes were moved to other high-level themes.

In this analytical process, the Atlas.ti data analysis tool aided in relating the themes to one another, and in displaying the themes' connections in a hierarchical (network) structure. More specifically, the tool was useful in creating a detailed hierarchy of the themes, which at this point were intended to be used for the quasi-experimental web research study. Keeping this intention in mind induced the formation of a wide net of themes, which was first constructed using Atlas.ti. As this net became more detailed, Atlas.ti was replaced by an Excel spreadsheet. Furthermore, memoranda were used to support this gradual conceptual and interpretative phase of analysis.

Along with the process of uncovering the media representations of sacrifice scripts, and while trying to answer the general question of 'What are the main themes portrayed in media representations within the realm of religious sacrifice and commitment scripts?', the differentiation between different meta- (i.e. overarching) scripts was becoming apparent. This differentiation seemed to centre around three different core contents or objects of sacrifice, going back to earlier points presented in the theoretical background provided in chapter 3. It was in the last analytical stage that the different instantiations of scripts, and their internal hierarchy, became more transparent. This process ended with a large thematic network (i.e. coding frame) appendix), which was seen not only as a tool to suggest top-level findings but as the findings themselves. This was of major importance, as each script and its complete

internal hierarchy (i.e. scripted actions, action headers, scene headers, and script headers) were used within the quasi-experimental web research (see appendix).

With more rounds of analysis undertaken, confidence and a sense of relevance were achieved through triangulation of theoretical perspectives, such as exposure to multiple sources and using different methods of engaging with the subject matter. This exposure provided a varied approach to the subject matter and from a range of different angles; it involved constant reflection on the original observations and interpretations. The first method referred to script theory and modern manifestations of sacrifice. This was further extended by reading about Jewish theology in general and Rabbi H. Kook's theology in particular, including his original writings. In addition, varied materials were collected from settlers' websites, chat rooms, and so on.

The second method of engagement was meetings with scholars who have studied the national religious movement. The rationale behind these meetings was to establish validity and accountability by exposing my work to the scrutiny of the research community. The first meeting was with Prof. Aviezer Ravitsky of the Hebrew University; his specialization is Jewish messianic theology. Further meetings were held with Prof. Shlomo Kaniel of Bar-Ilan University; he has focused on the Hill Top youth[20]. Their observations and assessments of my study were significant in highlighting possible general observer errors and specific mistakes regarding religious terminology.

The third method of engaging with the subject matter data was through attending conferences and special discussions held at Tel Aviv University prior to the implementation of the Disengagement Plan. In addition, I accepted the opportunity to present my work to the military crisis negotiation team: a group of psychologists, sociologists, and negotiation experts who were tasked with preparing the security forces for the disengagement. This presentation led to a fruitful discussion that gave important new insights into my research. I was later invited by the team to assist in

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[20]'Hill Top youth' is a term commonly used for several right-wing dissident religious youth groups in Israel. The groups seek to protect and encourage Jewish settlements while resisting evacuation from their strongholds in the West Bank.

interviewing settlers who had been jailed prior to the disengagement in an attempt to reveal possible extreme scripts planned for the day of the disengagement. The personal contact with those settlers and the exposure to the way they communicate their ideas were significant in enhancing my understanding of the topic.

4.1.5 Findings

The analytical process revealed a network of representations of sacrifice and commitment, reflected in three conceptual structures or meta-script constructs (see appendix A). These were as follows: sacrifice and commitment to God, sacrifice and commitment to the state, and sacrifice and commitment to the community. The analysis revealed that these meta-scripts are complex knowledge structures that, in terms of their internal hierarchy, are generic and fixed at their top levels (script headers and scene headers) yet consist of divergent experiences at lower levels (action headers and actions).

Specifically, the object of sacrifice and commitment appears rather exclusive and definite (e.g. God, state, and community), while the dipper one travels within each meta-script, revealing more possible variations and instantiations. The scene level appears to involve few anticipated broad scenarios or spheres of events, with each consisting of several possible instances that specify what is sacrificed and what represents commitment. The action headers reveal characteristic motivations or scripted actions. The following diagram demonstrates a sample of a script path for sacrifice and commitment to the state:
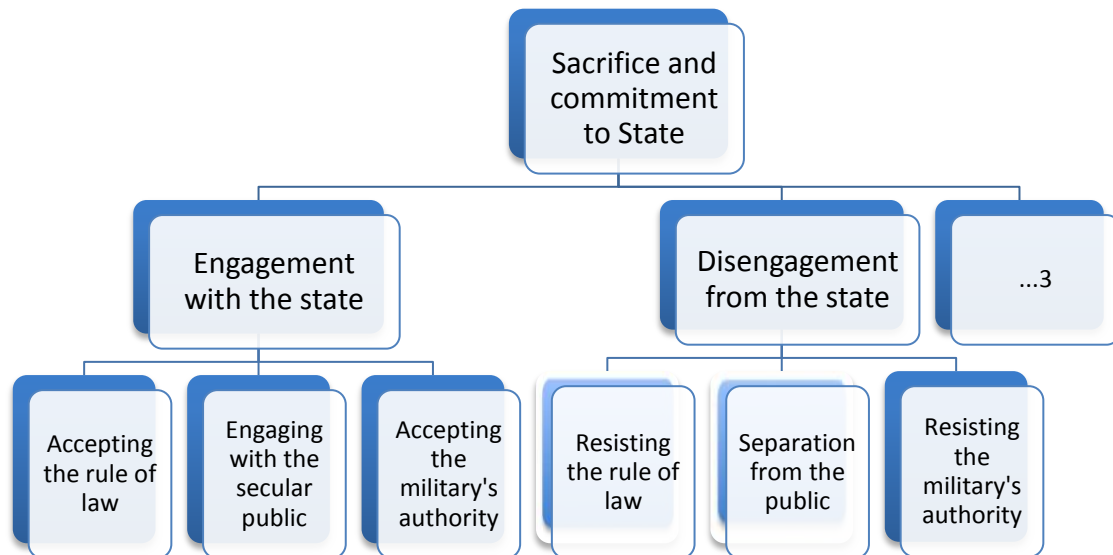
Note: The abbreviated third path is to indicate a similar pattern, including scripted actions (not appearing here), within the script construct.

Figure 5.0: A script path for sacrifice and commitment to the state

The lower levels of the hierarchy mirror regularities of experience within the explored time frame, reflecting continuous modifications or adaptations to different contexts and states of affairs. When a context threatens the top-level script, the script path (which includes counter-cultural representations) evolves. The script path may reflect a continuum of CC representations, from MXCC to more MCC. The product of these modifications (i.e. the different instantiations) always reflects different script paths to the original religious or biblical script. This suggests that within the time frame of this study, other possible activities could have been incorporated into people's experiences, always functioning as a means relative to the end.

The three script representations contain information about the situations or events that might lead to patterns of action, the experiences of individuals, and the possible actions to be taken. The following example within one of the suggested scripts illustrates this idea: taking part in an underground activity (scripted action) may be, for some people and in some contexts, part of an illegal struggle (action header), which is part of the fight over the land of Israel scene (scene header), which is part of the sacrifice and commitment to God script, which is part of the religious duty script presented in chapter 3. As such, different individuals and different subgroups might adopt different means to actualize this end (i.e. one or more paths of the scripts). This

hierarchy does not provide insights into which action needs to be taken in order for another to happen; however, it does allow access to the entire group of actions comprising an event and the apparent interconnections between them by characterizing them under a specific action header, scene header, and script header. This is important, as script theory maintains that individuals automatically respond to a situation while taking into account the entire event sequence (Smith & Houston, 1986). The main findings for the three scripts are discussed separately below.

Figure 6.0: Media representations of scripts

4.1.5.1 Sacrifice and commitment to God

This script is seen to be actualized in terms of 1) unquestioned beliefs regarding the connection between the Jewish people and the land of Israel, 2) beliefs and representations regarding living life according to Jewish identity and values, and 3) beliefs and representations regarding taking part in a constant daily fight for the land. The unquestioned beliefs appear to involve both messianic (determinist) notions (such as 'a historical right', 'Zionism is the beginning of redemption', and 'all is foreseen but freedom of choice is granted') and religious axioms (such as 'reward or

punishment' and a belief in reality as a constant trial set by God). Living a Jewish life and maintaining Jewish identity are marked by worshipping and loving God, being loyal and devoted to the commandments, loving mankind (i.e. showing respect towards others, appreciating the value of life, and appreciating the value of peace), and working the land (i.e. love for nature). Fighting over the land, which is often seen as an existential struggle whereby daily sacrifices are made, is buttressed by education and involves both active and passive, illegal and legal, anti-withdrawal fighting and settling efforts and is infused with the vision of the whole land of Israel.
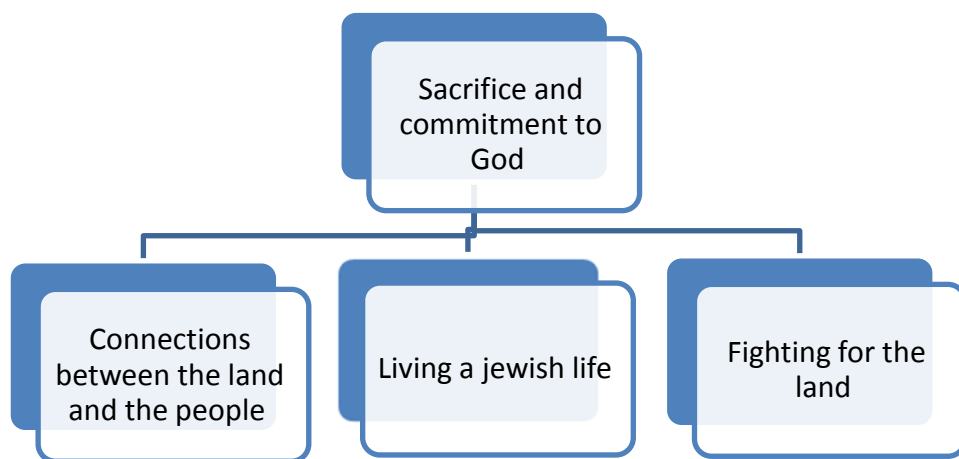
Figure 6.1: Media representations of sacrifice and commitment to God script

4.1.5.2 Sacrifice and commitment to the state

This script is marked by 1) beliefs and representations concerning national responsibility, 2) a strong theological motivation to engage with the state, and 3) ideas regarding conditional adherence to the state (as long as it accepts the religious path to salvation). The sense of national responsibility is composed of both broad spiritual aspirations (e.g. responsibility for redemption, responsibility for the faith of the state, responsibility for the Zionist vision, etc.) and specific daily concerns (e.g. maintaining the Jewish identity, leadership, serving within the army, and concern with taking action). Engaging with the state and the service of the state, as a result of seeing the

state as God's pedestal on earth, involves engaging with state institutions, accepting the authority of the state (government, military, leaders, democracy, etc.), and a constant attempt to engage with the people. Disengaging from the state involves both a tendency to separate from the state (i.e. to alienate oneself from the secular public and to oppose the state's institutions and laws) and paradoxically also a tendency to reunite with the state. This reflects a belief that sacrifice is another important milestone on the way to salvation: a characteristic of Rabbi H. Kook's dialectical theology.
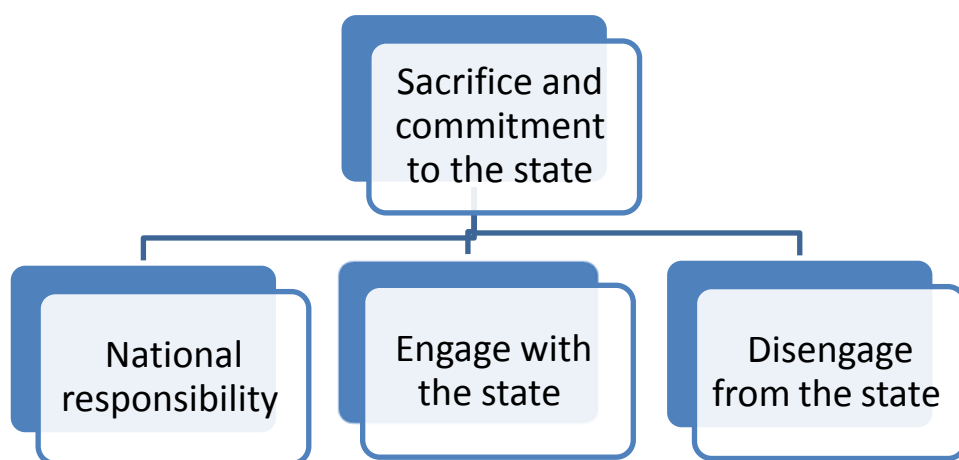
Figure 6.2: Media representations of sacrifice and commitment to state script

4.1.5.3 Sacrifice and commitment to the community

This script appears to mirror collectivistic and collaborative beliefs and representations regarding 1) the importance of help and sharing/caring among community members, 2) internal unity as a fundamental component in their struggle and activity, and 3) securing the lives of their members, which are perceived to be in constant threat. Specifically, helping and sharing are reflected by developing a spiritually rich and containing community. Internal unity is seen to function to secure the community's bonding in the face of unwanted influences (e.g. the government and the secular public), to strengthen the spirit, and to uphold team work and strong friendship. This also includes giving up material benefits for the sake of communal goals. Securing the life of the inhabitants is marked by concrete measures, such as

using offence as a form of defence, safety measures, driving arrangements, routine management, guarding settlements, and psychological copying.
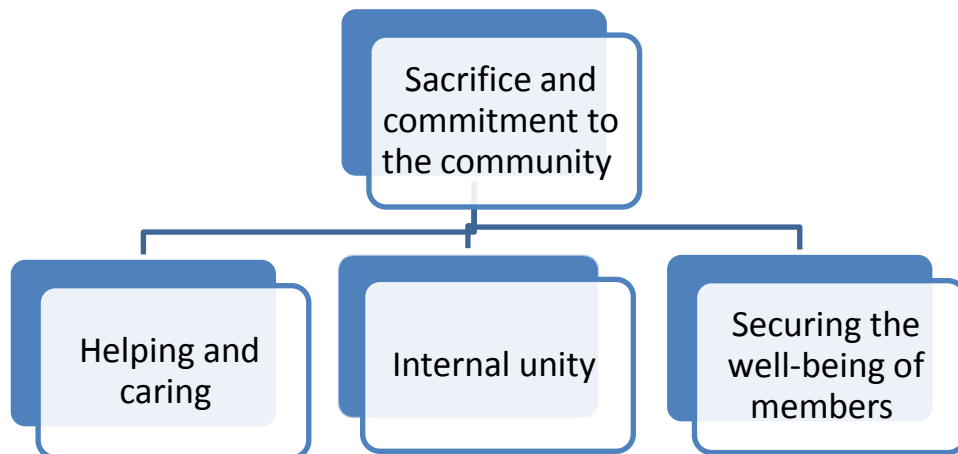
Figure 6.3: Media representations of sacrifice and commitment to community script

4.2 Discussion of results

4.2.1 The relationships between the different scripts

Media representations of the three scripts show that they do not appear in isolation: they interconnect. Specifically, the data reveals that these scripts are usually congruent within the ideal and utopian sphere. However, more complex connections are evident within a more realistic sphere, usually when the scripts compete. These complex relationships are reflected by an apparent tension between at least two of the three scripts as depicted in the media. The most evident tensions are between sacrifice and commitment to God and sacrifice and commitment to the state, as well as between sacrifice and commitment to the community and sacrifice and commitment to the state (in line with the ideas presented in chapter 3). Moreover, even within media representations of scripts, there is evidence of competing beliefs and representations. For instance, the sacrifice and commitment to the state script involves both a path of engaging with the state and a path of disengaging from the state.

More specifically, the belief in the connection between the Jewish people and the land of Israel (sacrifice and commitment to God), along with its underlying messianic roots

(as described in chapter 3), is interconnected with beliefs regarding the community's sense of national responsibility (sacrifice and commitment to the state). That is, ideas regarding the believers who know the divine truth yield a view of a perceived leading role that involves a strong sense of responsibility for redemption, for the faith of the state, for the Zionist vision, for maintaining the Jewish identity, for leading God's army on earth, and for keeping the people of Israel united. This is perceived as possible when the leading camp (the believers) are united, feel secure, 'keep the flame burning', and manage within the group without any spiritual, emotional, or physical difficulty (sacrifice and commitment to the community).

Similarly, unquestioned beliefs regarding the connection between the people and the land (as a pre-condition for redemption) are strongly validated by perceiving the state and its institutions as the kingdom of Israel and thus potentially engaging with it (sacrifice and commitment to the state).

> *This matter [settling] is great and holy for us… and never in isolation, what is also holy for me is keeping the livelihood of society as a whole.*
> *01/11/1999*
>
> *There is the great ideal of the wholeness of the land and next to it lives and breathes an ideal which is as great as the previous: keeping the unity of the people.*
> *02/12/2001*

Identifying Jewish values (sacrifice and commitment to God) can also be seen as strongly tied with script representations of engagement with the state and its people (sacrifice and commitment to the state). That is, as part of the resurrection of the Jewish people in the Promised Land and as part of the purification of the entire nation while returning to God's ways, public life should be infused with Jewish faith, Jewish morals, and Jewish tradition. This is seen as possible by bridging the gap between the believers and the rest of society, as well as by involving themselves in the latter (e.g. involvement in institutions).

Within the realm of the real and the pragmatic, the tensions between these scripted representations become apparent. This is most often portrayed when reality contradicts the heavenly vision (i.e. when there is a wide gap between the anticipated perfection of the state and the actual implementation of that perfection) (see also chapter 3). Namely, this occurs when the utopian religious visions face daily socio political realities, such as when threats are made against the vision of the whole land of Israel; when governments are willing to engage in peace agreements, withdrawals, and territorial concessions; and when settler groups fail to influence non-believers to engage in religious repentance.

This tension, as found in different media representations of the subject matter, usually involves a call for a choice between different sets of beliefs. The first set reflects determinist messianic thinking, which engages with the state only when the physical state does not weaken the authority of the divine state. If this happens, the authority of the imperfect state is questioned, institutions are no longer objects of authority (nor objects of commitment or sacrifice), and their decisions, which are essentially invalid, should be ignored and dismissed. The only apparent law becomes religious law (the law of the Torah) and the only real institutions are rabbinical ones.

> *Rabbi Shlomo Aviner…explained…that there is no doubt about the fact that Eretz Yisrael is above any referendum and that everything that is written in the Torah is above a referendum…indeed our land belongs to the people of Israel for all generations to come.*
> *09/11/2004*
> *The chairman of the Yesha Rabbinical Council, Dov Lior, said yesterday in a conference that the Knesset cannot decide on evacuating settlements… religious Zionism educates its sons to serve the military and obey orders but, said Lior, when orders that contradict the ways of the Torah are given (like uprooting settlements in the land of Israel and handing them over to strangers), even the 'king' will not agree with this… Both the Knesset and the government do not agree with this, and even the supreme court, that became the holy of holies.*
> *30/06/2004*

In line with Ravitsky's (1996) discussion, this belief set further reflects a sharp distinction between the true state, which is evaluated according to its religious meaning, and the false state, where its decisions and law are seen as merely temporary. Within the true state of Israel, Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel is determined by divine command, which undermines decisions of the state and its institutions and highlights the sinful and even 'criminal' running of the state. Choices made by different governments are seen as temporary, incidental deviations that do not interfere with the goals of redemption and the coming of the Messiah.

A second set of beliefs, relative to tension between scripts, involves a slightly more dialectical mode that consists of mainly operational contradictions. On the one hand, the 'criminal' laws of the state should be opposed; on the other hand, this opposition, as active as it may be, should not include bloodshed or violence. This representation holds two contrasting commitments. The first is to liberate the land as a fundamental component of redemption. The second is to liberate the people.

> *Uprooting of settlements and deportation of their residents for the purpose of peace are crimes…the order of uprooting and deportation is illegal and should not, in any case, be obeyed…settlers who are destined to be uprooted are allowed to actively resist…but should avoid any act that may cause bloodshed.*
> *29/06/1995*
>
> *I condemn the violence the settlers used during the evacuation…in my view it is unconceivable that our people call our soldiers 'Nazis'.*
> *24/10/2002*
>
> *When asked about the possibility of evacuation, Lior says that we should go until the end to prevent it…what is the end? "I do not believe in violence", explains Lior, and obviously not against the IDF. I served the army, my sons served in the army.*
> *24/05/2002*

Another apparent tension of scripted media representations is between sacrifice and commitment to the state (and its people) and sacrifice and commitment to the

community. This tension lies in the gap between beliefs and representations regarding the expected role of the state (i.e. to protect the settlers' community) and those of experienced feelings of neglect, abandonment, and persecution. Specifically, the ongoing concern for the safety and security of the settlers, in the present and the future, is in strong contrast to the apparent withdrawals, concessions, and perceived maltreatment. This renders a notion of separation and alienation of the state from the wider public.

> *How can a person go on living after he has been uprooted from the land of his ancestors and his world has collapsed…I feel I have a problem with my people…it's time to finish the mutual guarantee for one another….unfortunately I cannot see that in Tel Aviv people are worried about what is going to happen to the land of EretzYisrael. 03/06/2000*

4.2.2 Tension between scripts and psychological modality

Drawing on Sperber's (1996) discussion of the psychological modality of religious representations and beliefs, and the special mode of thought these representations and beliefs exercise (specifically, the assertion that the representations hold evocative and symbolic qualities), the apparent tension between the scripts may be better understood. This tension can be explained via claims that religious representations often involve paradoxical notions that systematically deviate from ordinary expectations (in this thesis, cultural expectations) yet remain relevant, as they closely relate to the beliefs from which they depart.

More specifically, the contradictory elements preserved within media representations of the different scripts result in the formation of relevant mysteries: belief sets that are half understood as they hold a promise yet do not commit to a final resolution (Sperber, 1996). Transmission wise, as they are attention grabbing (i.e. require continuous processing and the production of indefinite interpretations over time), they gradually stabilize as a narrative to become winning mysteries. In other words, contrasting elements within and across scripts seem to be represented, rehearsed, and transmitted because they are unresolved but remain largely connected to everyday matters.

> *We feel in this family that this is God's will, and none of us are responsible for what happened. This is a move from heaven showing its hidden intent, which is all for the best, which we humans are utterly not able to grasp.*
> *27/11/1998*

4.2.3 The counter-cultural, contagious qualities of Gush Emunim's scripts

The previous section presented different patterns of media representations that relate to different sacrifice scripts. These representations potentially influence when, and by whom, these scripts are used or invoked. This section continues the previous argument regarding the transmission advantage of CC religious representations by 1) formulating different backgrounds and different viewpoints on those scripts as depicted in the media and 2) exploring the special qualities of counter-cultural script representations (moving beyond relevant mysteries) in media representations.

Specifically, one's positioning and perspective, as an actor or observer, influence the way one experiences and frames one's beliefs and representations concerning sacrifice and commitment. Namely, the same experience could be conveyed differently by an internal view holder (e.g. a settler) and an external view holder (e.g. a liberal and secular individual). Specifically, while settlers convey their direct experiences *of* sacrifice and commitment scripts, secular observers usually present intellectualized representations *about* those experiences based on modern, liberal, and democratic conventions (with assumptions and expectations including values, norms, etc.). As presented earlier, counter-cultural representations in this thesis are defined as those representations that run counter to the aforementioned conventions.

The transmission of the settlers' viewpoints is reflected in their portrayed values as expressed in the rhetoric of both laypeople and leaders. Whether using public campaigns, slogans, mission statements, or mere assertions, they most often use a

collectivistic or communal appeal that reflects characteristics of collectivistic cultures, which value interdependency. This is found in their usage a collective appeal rather whenever interpreting the meaning of events. It may imply a sense of shared faith not only with members of the subgroup but with the wider people of Israel. This aligns with the idea (as presented in chapter 3) that the wider secular public is not aware of an inevitable force of reality, one that is heading towards redemption.

> *The Lord has put us through a difficult trial, the most difficult he could have chosen... From above we are being tested to see how connected we are to this land. The terrible murder of Doron and all this talk about an agreement and withdrawal and everything that we go through these days are all trials that the Lord is putting us through. 24/05/2002*

Moreover, the usage of a messianic appeal is prevalent when relating to earthly political realities. This is marked by Kookian dialectics (i.e. a tendency to understand occurrences beyond the perceived reality and the ability to accept apparent contradictions). In parallel to Sperber's idea of relevant mysteries, Kookian dialectics on the meaning of events involve contrasting notions of crisis and reversal, and of construction and deconstruction, which are not explained by classical causality but in theological terms, regarding heading towards redemption (Ravitsky, 1996). Consequently, individuals draw upon these notions and use them to reflect on the unknown and the unresolved.

> *We live in a remarkable period... I pray every day so I can understand what the Lord plans for us. I think that in the last few months, significant things have happened, and with all the great sorrow for all the victims, there is a great joy that we live in this holy land. 20/07/2001*
> *Today we need to ask ourselves why the Lord has done what he did, why after two decades we are standing, again, in front of a crisis of this type. Why houses of the Gush Katif saints are being threatened: a place of kindness, work, bravery, and commandment. 31/12/2004*

> *When there is a weakness in the Temple Mount, it is reflected in the organs that are distant from the source of life...in the margins...for example in Gush Katif and in the Gaza Strip.*
> *31/12/2004*

The settlers' messages also quite frequently reflect prevalent cultural narratives of victimization and persecution (see chapter 3). That is, the settlers identify themselves as true patriots fighting alone and leading the national struggle while at the same time being abandoned by the state and wider secular society; the settlers view themselves as paying a costly price for the loss of their homes, livelihoods, and dreams. Moreover, the embodiment of the Holocaust narrative is also prevalent within the victimized belief set. Specifically, within the context of the Disengagement Plan, the settlers equate the very idea of evacuating Jews from their home with the Holocaust.

In addition, the settlers also often use the narrative of Masada (see chapter 3) as a myth that embodies the spirit of active heroism, national dignity, commitment, courage, and strength as the last defender of the land. This often yields notions of a patriotic death, which avoids the label of 'suicide' (forbidden in Judaism) and suggests an act of martyrdom ('Kiddush Hashem'), which is both acceptable and glorified (in certain conditions) in Judaism. Like the defenders of Masada, the settlers portray a willingness to choose a death worthy of sacrifice while defending their home and land.

> *Since the high holidays, our friends have been murdered and are still being murdered, and the government does not do anything...we feel abandoned.*
> *08/06/2001*
>
> *I accuse the government of not caring that we die here like flies...I am angry that they sold Josef for the empty vision of peace...no one knows what is going on here...no one understand what we go through.*
> *29/03/2002*

> *This land is my flesh and bones: it is the essence of my existence…*
> *will I sacrifice my life for this place? Yes, definitely yes. I will*
> *sacrifice my life for this place and even be willing to sacrifice the life*
> *of those who are dear to me in this place…yes, definitely… because*
> *this place demands sacrifices.*
> *11/04/2003*

In contrast, the secular public appeal, whether through academics, intellectuals, or laypeople, conveys a pluralist, Western, modern belief set with the ability to draw on the perspectives of other actors within the overall frame (such as Palestinians). Their messages are usually critical and reflect an individualistic, modern, and liberal value stance. In their accounts *about* notions of (religious) sacrifice and commitment scripts, they harshly criticize beliefs and manifestations that run counter to their values. They tend to draw more on external interpretations and observations about the settlers' experiences, most often rendering a tone that is isolated, distant, and alienated.

> *The national religious camp is bankrupt from an educational*
> *perspective, despite the fact that it manages to produce many combat*
> *soldiers... there is nothing more dangerous than weapon-carrying*
> *people who have motivations that are wrong and exaggerated.*
> *Religious Zionism needs to become more modest and re-educate itself*
> *instead of puffing up after every event and taking the role of*
> *educating all people.*
> *03/01/1997*
> *When rabbis call for soldiers' disobedience, they loosen the glue that*
> *unites soldiers…this erosion would not only be manifested in the*
> *question of withdrawal from Hebron but also in times of war with*
> *Syria, if it breaks out.*
> *24/01/1997*
> *It is difficult to see a rationalist and reasonable approach in the*
> *Hebron settlers' decision not to shield the cars which their children*
> *are driven in to school.*

22/04/2001

These parents see their children as their extension. This is an attitude that contradicts the liberal approach that sees the children as an independent entity. They do not share an understanding of the child autonomy…in Western society, which has absorbed the principles of liberalism, the risk of life comes to defend only life itself. The settlers are willing to sacrifice themselves and their children for the significance of life.22/04/2001

Interestingly, the critical tone implies that non-conventional notions of sacrifice and commitment, which circulate in different forms within the settlers' culture, are not only private beliefs but are socially available and therefore can spread to any mind and gain any form or shape. Specifically, this critique often maintains that there is a lack of recognition within the settlers' subgroup that these ideas (often transmitted by charismatic authority figures) may have a transmission advantage, whereby they linger for longer and render different manifestations, some with severe implications.

We cannot ignore the fact that ideas of assassinating Rabin were born within terrorist circles in the Jewish underground. The Arab murderers, while still a minority within Gush Emunim, are still an integral part of the atmosphere and political culture that this movement created.
31/12/1997

We must not dismiss the Yesha Council from their responsibility from the criminality of these young people…these youngsters who last week ran amok at the Gilad Farm are not only a group of individuals whose personal mental distresses made them beat strangers and vandalize their property and humiliate representatives of the state's institutions – they are also a product of a culture that has put aggression at the centre of their existence by this forced will on the entire state. From its foundation, the settlement movement in the occupied territories has lent itself to a

> *small minority who force their will on the majority.*
> *20/10/2002*

These ideas are portrayed as counter-cultural and counter-conventional in different ways. The communication of the observers (non-settlers) involves notions regarding the desire to isolate and separate themselves from the settlers' scripts. This communication tends to portray the settlers' sacrifice and commitment scripts as merely instrumental manifestations of religious axioms that are out of date and not shared by the rest of the public. The settlers' desire to return to the fundamentals of religion and to a religiously orientated way of life is portrayed as a threat to modernity, universalism, democracy, peace and pluralism. Moreover, in this view, messianic Zionism is seen as a misunderstanding of classical Zionism. Consequently, this leads to discussions about the wider public's inability to associate with their ideas and manifestations. This results in debates regarding the public's willingness to separate both physically and mentally from the settlers' sub-culture.

> *The settlers' distress is hard and painful; from the perspective of the individual, it is sad and touching. And, despite this, many Israelis alienate themselves from it… a collective that went to settle the occupied territories while creating a national dispute, while using public funds in violation of international law and often in violation of Israeli law, at the expense of another people and on their land, while being hostile to this people – cannot expect sympathy or identification in its time of grief and sadness.*
> *01/07/2001*

4.3 Summary and conclusions

This chapter presented the results of the media analysis of three main opinion-leading Israeli newspapers. The results reveal that media representation of sacrifice and commitment in the context of the Israeli national religious movement (i.e. Gush Emunim) is reflected in the interconnectedness between three conceptual structures or 'meta-scripts'. These scripts are as follows: sacrifice and commitment to God, sacrifice and commitment to the state, and sacrifice and commitment the community. While these scripts interconnect within the realm of the ideal and envisioned, realistic

and pragmatic belief sets cause tension to exist between the scripts. This tension was further discussed with reference to the scripts' connections to different belief systems or sets. One belief set draws on determinist messianic ideas and representations, maintaining that commitment and sacrifice to God and to the community override commitment and sacrifice to the state. The other belief set involves a dialectical tone that does not consist of clear choices and therefore remains vague and unresolved. This tension was further discussed in relation to relevant mysteries: religious representations with attention-grabbing qualities that render the stabilization of their narrative within cultural communication.

The chapter then presented a general discussion of the different cultural and ideological backgrounds for scripts, as reflected in secular and religious viewpoints. On that basis, a discussion of the possible contagious qualities of counter-cultural scripts was presented. This included the settlers' collectivistic rhetoric and messages (which run counter to secular ones) involving a messianic and dialectical appeal that is most often connected to historical narratives of victimization and persecution (including Masada and the Holocaust). The secular messages further reflect a critical view of counter-cultural scripts and the secular individuals' will to disassociate themselves from the settlers' group. This part of the chapter further aided in defining counter-cultural representations. By integrating the present results with a further analysis of the quasi-experimental web research, which aimed to reveal real-life transmissions, I will be able to draw further connections between the qualities of different representations and beliefs and their transmission patterns.

5 Sacrifice script elicitations – The SIT

This chapter presents the second study within the two-step research design, involving quasi-experimental web research conducted within Israeli–Jewish culture in 2006. The study was conducted only a few months after the disengagement from the Gaza Strip. The study's main methodology was a serial interpretation test (SIT), which was specially designed to uncover the mental representations of sacrifice scripts concerning God/ the state/ the community over a period of more than two weeks. The study built on the previous chapters by using the three meta-scripts found in the media analysis as the building blocks of the task, as well as the entire script hierarchy (using these contents to drive first interpretations) in successive chains of interpretation tasks. The study was also connected to earlier theory chapters, as it sought to explore the transmission patterns of religious representations in the specific context of modern Israeli society, with special interest in the effects of context and the memorability of (M)CC contents.

Moreover, nine days after the study began, a landmark event occurred in Israel: the Amona evacuation. This event included a severe clash between security forces and the young settlers who resisted being evacuated from their illegal stronghold situated beyond the Green Line. This event motivated a more specific exploration into the role of context under these circumstances, especially as the context here involved conditions that threatened the settlers' messianic script (and their group identity) and affected the process of the selection, retention, and transmission of counter-cultural contents within wider Israeli society. As such, the chapter begins with a detailed account of the study's method and the anticipated results. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the SIT, including the software design. The chapter finishes with a summary of the study and the implications for the subsequent analysis.

5.1 Method

5.1.1 Objective

The main objective of using the SIT was to elicit the participants' mental representations of sacrifice scripts relative to the three meta-scripts (sacrifice and commitment to God/ the state / the community) found in the media analysis. The more specific goal was to account for the prevalence of certain representations via

ideas regarding the cognitively optimality of religious representations under certain conditions. In operational terms, the aim was to use explanations regarding the mnemonic effect of MCC (as discussed in previous chapters) to explain the recurrence of themes under certain contextual conditions (i.e. before and after the Amona event). In doing that so, this empirical investigation sought to broaden the dynamic approach to cultural transmission (Bartlett, 1932), specifically the context-based stance (Upal et al., 2007; Upal, 2010).

5.1.2 Predictions

5.1.2.1 Context predictions

Recent context-based studies within cognitive science of religion have highlighted the role of context in the memorability of MCC representations (Upal et al., 2007; Upal, 2010). Specifically, they have suggested that the transmission advantage of MCI representations can be implicated in the transmission of MCC representations. They have also specified that these representations involve violations (of shared cultural conventions) that can be justified in a given context. In turn, representations that cannot be justified by contextual factors are considered MXCC or bizarre (Upal et al., 2007). Work by Upal et al. (2007) and Upal (2010; 2011a) also suggests that the transmission success of MCC representations in the long run is because such representations were initially MXCC or bizarre but, under certain conditions (when people can make them more coherent and justifiable to them), they became MCC. It follows then that, under the Amona context (i.e. a threat to the settlers' script), MXCC representations could become MCC if they could be justified. Combining the above notions led to the following predictions:

H_0: No relationship between time of participation and interpretations concerning sacrifice and commitment to God/state/community so that so that distribution of interpretations previous to the Amona does not differ significantly from the distribution of interpretation following the Amona event .

H_1: A significant relationship between time of participation and interpretation concerning sacrifice and commitment to God/State/community so that distribution of

interpretations previous to the Amona event differs significantly from distribution of interpretations following the Amona event .

H_0: No relationship between time of participation and selection of MCC interpretations across meta scripts so that the frequency of MCC interpretations previous to the event does not differ significantly from the frequency of MCC interpretations following the Amona event.

H_2: A significant relation between time of participation and selection of (M)CC interpretations across the three meta scripts, so that frequency of (M)CC prior the event differs significantly from the frequency of (M)CC interpretations following the event, ((M)CC categories after the event >(M)CC categories prior to the event).

Accounting for conventional knowledge in modern Israel can be done through exploring what is cultural (and, subsequently, what is not). Specifically, previous studies that have defined Israeli cultural conventions from a value perspective have suggested that Israel is a modern, democratic society that has been inspired and shaped by Western individualistic values (Oyserman, 1993; Beit Halahami, 1972).For example, Hofstede's (1980)[21] well-known study on values indicated that Israel scored slightly above the average mean on individualism. Studies on democracy in Israel have suggested that the state's laws are equivalent to the US Constitution and are the main authority people adhere to, despite their religious affiliations (Armitage, 2007). Other studies, concerned with norms in Israel, have further suggested that Israelis in general are more concerned with personal interests and those of their families and are less interested in sacrifices for the national interest; they are less ideologically driven and value personal achievement, self-actualization, and independence (Gee, 1998).

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[21]As suggested earlier, this study and a large body of cross-cultural work have suggested that individualistic values emphasize self-reliance and personal goal attainment, while collectivistic values emphasize interconnectedness between members of a society and putting the benefit of the collective before personal benefit (Hofstede, 1980; Markus & Katayama, 1991; Triandis, 1972; 1995).

It follows then that if the responses from the SIT involve beliefs and representations regarding violations of either 1) modern and Western values 2) individualistic values 3) democratic laws and norms of obeying the state's laws, but these violations are justified by the majority of the secular public on grounds of familiarity, under the Amona context, then these responses qualify as MCC. In turn, if the responses from the SIT involve beliefs and representations regarding extreme violations of the aspects stated above but these violations cannot be justified by the majority of the secular public under the Amona context, then these responses qualify as MXCC. The Amona event is helpful in understanding how some conditions can change a representation from being MXCC to MCC due to a perceived threat which evokes scripted responses. Non-threatening conditions cannot activate this transformation.

Table 4.0: Criteria for coding counter –cultural

Code	Criteria
Counter modern and Western View/values	*Refers to fundamentalist ideas regarding sacred orthodoxy, and absolute ancient truths.*
Counter individualistic values	*Refers to collectivistic ideas regarding the authority of the group and its sacred cause over individual cause.*
Counter democratic laws and democratic norms	*Refers to ideas concerning the inferiority of the state's laws (including 1948 deceleration of independence) and majority decisions and the superiority of religion when the two collide.*

Note: In similar to Barrett coding (2008) of MCI representations, one or two violations are seen as MCC while more than two are MXCC.

5.1.2.2 Script consistency predictions

Script and schema theory (as presented in chapter 2) suggest that schemas are not dull maps of our cognitive system but complex knowledge structures. The theory also suggests that scripts hold an interconnected hierarchy, where top-level concepts are unpacked by lower-level concepts. However, as has been shown in chapter 3 and 4 top level script conceptualizations may involve different kinds of low level interpretations.

On the basis of this, the following predictions were formulated:

H_0: There is no relation between level of interpretation and the interpretation selected by the participants, so that in each level of interpretation the distribution of the interpretations will be different and not consistent with the prior level.

H_3 There is a relation between level of interpretation and the interpretation selected by the participants, so that distribution of Interpretations for sacrifice and commitment on the scene header level will be the same as the distribution of interpretations on the action header level and the action level.

5.1.3 Participants

The study was conducted in Israel between 23/01/2006 and 08/02/2006. Overall, there were 637 female participants (63.4%) and 368 male participants (36.6%). The study involved 622 secular participants (61.9%), 191 traditional participants (19%), and 192 participants who identified as national religious (19%). No Ultra-Orthodox[22]

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[22]The use of an internet- based tool has influenced the demographics of the sample
as implicated in the absence of Ultra- Orthodox participants (restricted from
using the Internet). However, this absence, which holds a potential impact on findings, was
accepted here in light of the research focus : the national religious movement and its impact
on secular and traditional subcultures.

participants took part in the study. In terms of age distribution, there were 120 participants between the ages of 18 and 21 (12.7%), 774 participants between the ages of 22 and 29 (77 %), and 103 participants over 30 (10.2%). A small number of Arab participants were excluded as they did not fit the criteria of Jewish-Israelis. The total number of participants was 1,005.

Participants were recruited from the main Israeli universities and academic colleges. The process of recruitment involved several steps, including obtaining initial approval for conducting the study via the university or college followed by contacting key administrative figures and chairs of student unions in order to find out ways to access the required number of respondents. The final step included visits to the institutions and presenting the study in classes while collecting email addresses so that a link to the study's webpage could be forwarded to the students as soon as the study began. A banner with a web link to the study was put on each student union's website. During the presentations, a snowball sampling approach was implemented, as the students were encouraged to recruit more subjects into the sample. The students were offered the incentive of entry into a prize draw for an iPod (awarded to three participants).

In practice, over ten days, more than 30 classes within these institutions were visited. The presentations lasted approximately seven minutes and supplied students with a summary of the aims and objectives of the research, the structure and process of the study, and the incentive offered to participants. Finally, the presentations covered some ethical principles, including confidentiality, students' rights during the study, and what would be done with the results (the students were told that the data analysis would be conducted by myself and would be used for my PhD thesis only, which, once finished, would be available at the British Library). A research assistant then helped in collecting the students' email addresses on lists that were spread around the classes at the beginning of the presentations. To access the test, the students used a hyperlink, which was either sent to them via email or by using the respective student union's website banner.

Finally, there was time for questions and clarifications. Some of the most repeated questions included my political affiliation and the intention behind the study. Some students, mostly religious students, examined my presentation to see whether there was any hidden agenda behind this study (e.g. presenting the settlers and religious

Zionism in a negative manner). In all instances, I reassured the students that there was no political affiliation or hidden agenda and that the survey was dynamic and would therefore evolve according to the participants' input, not the researchers.

5.2 Materials

The SIT is a dynamic online tool for interpretation elicitation and transmission. It was developed from a previous version (Marsden, 2000) into a new Hebrew-based tool and was changed, in terms of its software, to better fit the theoretical stance that underlined the study (i.e. providing a dynamic account of cultural transmission).The new design was inspired by Bartlett's (1932) original transmission chain design (as described in chapter 2). However, instead of recalling a story and transmitting it to consecutive members, the respondents were invited to generate chains of interpretations (new or previously generated by former participants) and to transmit them to subsequent participants[23]. To provide a better understanding of the difference between Bartlett's design and the SIT method, and to account for the motivation behind using the SIT design, it may be useful to use Eriksson and Coultas's (2014) account of cultural transmission. Specifically, they describe three phases of transmission in the following order: 1) choose-to- receive phase, 2) encode-and-retrieve phase, and 3) choose-to-transmit phase. Bartlett's serial reproductive method was used to give insights into the transmission phases of encoding and retrieving the information received from previous participants and choosing to transmit that information. The SIT was designed to allow insights into the choose-to- receive phase by giving respondents the option to either keep previous interpretations in the SIT or initiate new narratives. This was assumed to allow a fuller and closer view of the real-world situation and to account for the role of specific kinds of belief contents at more stages of the transmission process than given by Bartlett's method alone.

In terms of the interpretation chains, the respondents were asked to produce three levels of successive interpretations for each meta-script (God/ the state/ the community). In other words, they were not only required to generate immediate interpretations around religious sacrifice and commitment but also interpretations around their own responses. In practice, those three layers were set to mirror a

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[23] Participants could take part in the SIT only once since their IP address was documented.

cognitive script hierarchy suggested in chapter 2, starting from the high-level conceptualizations of an event script (scene header), through the intermediate level of the script (action header), and down to the constituent actions (action level). As before, this was assumed to allow a fuller view of people's episodic repertoire concerning religious representations. Finally, while Bartlett's method is mainly cognitive, without reference to emotion, the SIT tasked the participants with providing emotional scores for each of their interpretations, using a scale from -3 to +3. This was intended to allow further insights into the possible connections between cognition, emotion, and transmitted content.

The decision to use a web-based tool was primarily because the SIT was meant to be interactive and reproductive (i.e. give participants the choice to either reproduce interpretations or generate new ones). This required a way of recording data and reconfiguring the stimuli for subsequent participants on the basis of the data recorded from previous participants. One way of doing this was by using the functionality of the web and its navigation system, which hyperlinks documents by association. When a participant entered a new input or chose from the option buttons (previous participants' inputs), the system was designed to produce a new webpage connected with a hyperlink command to the previous page where the input was entered. In addition, it was clear that the use of an online tool would facilitate the integration and processing of a vast number of responses while. In what follows, I gradually introduce the SIT by firstly presenting the key methodological choices in designing the SIT, details about the software, and some concrete walkthrough examples.

Table 5.0: Methodological choices for SIT design

Strategic choices for SIT design	Rationale behind choice
Designing an interactive and reproductive tool	Allowing real-life examples of cultural transmission
Eliciting interpretations on three meta-scripts: God / the state / the community	Providing insights into the general themes found earlier in the media analysis

Tasking the participants with giving chains of interpretations (i.e. first-level, second-level, and third-level interpretations) for each meta-script	*Drilling down into people's representations of sacrifice and commitment using a script hierarchy (scene header, action header, and action level)*
Tasking the participants with reporting on the emotional valence of each interpretation they gave	*Gaining further insights into the possible advantageous qualities of widespread representations*

5.2.1 The SIT pages

The front page of the SIT was an introduction page that provided a short brief about the general nature of the study and the tasks involved. In addition, the reproductive nature of the test was highlighted. That is, it was explained that what they would view on the screen would be the output of previous interpretations generated by numerous other participants. In accordance with this, the respondents were then asked to avoid using any inappropriate language, as the responses would immediately appear on the next respondent's screen without censorship. Finally, some ethical principles (including confidentiality and the right to exit the test at any point) were stressed. The researcher's contact details were added in case of any questions or comments.

The following pages were divided into three main blocks of interpretation tasks, mirroring the three meta-scripts of God/ the state/ the community. On the first screen of each block, the participants were asked to indicate "What first comes to mind when thinking about sacrifice and commitment to [one of the meta-scripts] put in the context of religious Zionism / Jewish settlers?" The notion of the 'Jewish settlers' was added here to further frame the topic under discussion and to avoid an input that was loosely connected. The rationale behind asking for "what first comes to mind" was to allow a fairly large degree of choice and to encourage the respondents to provide a wide range of interpretations.

On the second screen of each block, the respondents were asked "In the context of sacrifice and commitment to [one of the meta-scripts], what first comes to mind when

thinking about [the input choice previously selected]?" On the third screen, the respondents were asked "In the context of [the previous choice], which three actions come to mind?" As such, on the third layer of the interpretation chain, the task was more directive and definite. The intention here was to extract a more subtle account of low-level constituent action – the notion at the core of the script construct. Lastly, on the fourth page of each block, all five responses made by the individual participant were listed. The task was to indicate whether the idea evoked positive, negative, or neutral feelings on a scale from -3 to +3.

The media analysis results (see appendix A, p. 225) played an important role in the initial phases of the SIT design, as the first option buttons available on the pages were the analysis results. Their integration into the study was intended to prime the respondents with notions related to the meta-scripts, thus increasing the salience of some of the possible related meanings (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Goffman, 1974; Iyengar, 1991; Entman, 1993). However, as new responses were added to the SIT, some of the media representations were gradually replaced. This means that the usage of media representations was seen merely as a method of framing the rather abstract and possibly loose notion of sacrifice and commitment by reference to dominant public representations provided by the media.

Furthermore, the option buttons that were available on the screen (as possible interpretations) changed during the experiment not only in terms of content (i.e. from the media analysis results to possible new interpretations) but also in terms of the number of option buttons. Specifically, the first respondents viewed three option buttons on the first screen (increasing to six for all other respondents), nine option buttons on the second screen (increasing to 18 for all other respondents), and nine option buttons on the third screen (increasing to 18 for all other respondents). This allowed enough breadth for the interpretations to evolve beyond the initial media analysis content. Once the maximum number of option buttons had been reached, they started to be replaced according to the most frequently selected interpretations; the interpretations that were not selected moved to a waiting list (a history list)that was hidden from the respondents' view.

Taking the sacrifice and commitment to God meta-script as an example, the following figure demonstrates the reproductive nature of the SIT. On the first screen appears the

question "In the context of religious Zionism/settlers, what first comes to mind when thinking about sacrifice and commitment to God?" on the first webpage (indicated in the figure 10 below). If the participant responded, for example, by entering "the fight for the land of Israel" in the textbox on that same page (using one of the option buttons), a new "the fight for the land of Israel" webpage (page 2 in the figure 10 below) would be automatically produced and hyperlinked to the "sacrifice and commitment to God" webpage.

| Participant enters a first interpretation on page 1. | p.1 | New "a fight for the land of Israel" webpage is created and hyperlinked to the "sacrifice & commitment to God" webpage | p.2 |

| In the context of Jewish settlers, what first comes to mind when thinking about sacrifice and commitment to God? | → | In the context of Jewish settlers, what first comes to mind when thinking about sacrifice and commitment to God?

 A fight over the land of Israel | → | In the context of sacrifice and commitment to God, what first comes to mind when thinking about a fight over the land of Israel? |

Option buttons

Figure 7.0: Reproductive nature of the SIT page 1 and 2

In the same way, entering the example response "resistance to concessions" in a textbox on that same page (see page 2 in the following diagram) would generate a new "resistance to concessions" webpage (see page 3 in the following diagram), which would be hyperlinked to the "fight over the land" webpage:

| Participant enters a second interpretation on page 2 | p.2 | New "resistance to concessions" webpage is created hyperlinked to 'fight over the land of Israel' page | p.3 |

In the context of Jewish settlers, what first comes to mind when thinking about a fight over the land of Israel?

Resistance to concessions

→

In the context of a fight over the land of Israel, which actions first come to mind when thinking about resistance to concessions?

Option buttons

Figure 7.1: Reproductive nature of the SIT page 2 and 3

5.2.2 The SIT software

The SIT computer program was designed in such a way that each time a new response was submitted, a new webpage was generated. As more participants engaged in the SIT, a hypertext network of web pages emerged. This automated application was designed to generate models of meaning through repeated loops of data integration, making as few assumptions about the nature of transmission as possible. As individuals fed their chains of responses into a database (which had been pre-programmed to create or reinforce links between responses automatically), the software 'learnt' and built a blueprint (iteratively and from the ground up) of the

dominant and representative interpretations and inference chains made by the sample. In this way, an integrated meaning network gradually evolved through the progressive addition, interlinking and re-sorting of interpretations and inferences.

Once a first participant had completed his/her chains of interpretations and inferences, these could become options in the selections offered to subsequent participants, who then either select existing hyperlinks to the interpretations and inferences they would make or create new pages by entering new interpretations. As such, choosing a response not only initiated the generation of a second screen that automatically adopted the respondent's choice but also led to a sorting process. This sorting was done according to a system of ranked interpretations, in a ranking scale unseen by the respondents.

In practice, the responses at each level of the script were stored by the software in the form of a single, long list. If the chosen response was already displayed on the screen as an option button, then the software reinforced that link and 'bubbled up' that response in the unseen ranking scale. In the same way, unchosen responses would be 'bubbled down' in the unseen scale to a history list (waiting list). The interpretations appearing on the screen were given the role of ideas that were currently being transmitted among people from a certain culture, while those that left the screen and moved to the history list had the role of being partly non-salient ideas.

The consequence of this sorting process was that the screens were responsive to the respondents' choices. Frequent responses could be easily displaced (moving down a ranking list by not being chosen), while responses at the bottom of the list could be easily promoted (moving up the ranking scale if chosen). In order for any item to move to the top, the number of times it would have to be chosen was at least equal to the number of positions it was distanced from the top. However, once at the top, it would then stay there until displaced by a more frequent response.

This action gave a degree of advantage to the more frequent responses and vulnerability to the less frequent. If a response was completely new to the system (not included on the screen or in the history list), then the software gave that choice the benefit of instantly being presented on the screen for the next respondents to see. The logic behind this rule was to keep the transmission dynamic by giving any response

the chance to attract the attention of other respondents. The new response was consequently allocated in a random position on the screen to prevent any response bias and was ranked within the lower two-thirds of the ranking list. As mentioned, this internal ranking was not visible to the respondents.

In the case where the system found a response in the history list (mirroring representations that were once part of transmitted content), the predefined rule was that the response was given the benefit of instantly being presented on the screen for further respondents to see. However, the response was allocated a position within the upper two-thirds of the ranking list, based on how far down the history list the item was found. As stated previously, this process was not apparent to the respondents. The logic behind this rule was to give responses that were part of previous transmitted content some degree of survival advantage in comparison to those that were entirely new; this survival advantage was greater for items in recent memory. When a new response was entered, the bottom (weakest or least frequent) response existing in the ranking list was displaced onto the history list.

5.2.2.1 Walkthrough examples

The following examples provide a walkthrough of the first four screens within the first script (sacrifice and commitment to God) for the first respondent. In the first example, the respondent chooses from the existing options (as determined by the media analysis) at each level of the script. In the second example, the respondent adds a new response at each level of the script, thereby creating new screens.

Figure 8.0: First participant- screen one

In this first example, the participant chooses to select an existing option, provided in the option buttons, and the following screen automatically adopts (into the heading) the respondent's choice and invites the participant to provide subsequent responses on the basis of that response. The same process occurs on the following screens. On screen four all choices for the script are presented and participants are tasked to give an emotional score to each choice separately. The same process occurs for script 2 (sacrifice and commitment to state) and script 3 (sacrifice and commitment to the community).

In the context of sacrifice and commitment to God, what first comes to mind when thinking about <u>a fight over the land of Israel</u>?

Active and illegal resistance

Please choose from the options below or type a new idea into the above textbox.

Settling operations

Resistance to concessions

Existential struggle

Education about loving the land

Passive resistance

Belief in the vision of greater Israel

Active and illegal struggle

The Hill Top youth settlements

Active and legal struggle

Next

Figure 8.1: First participant - screen two

In the context of <u>a fight over the land of Israel,</u> which *actions* first come to mind when thinking about <u>active and illegal resistance</u>?

Acts of vengeance

Blocking roads

Violating court orders

Please choose from the options below or type a new idea into the above textbox.

Violating court orders

Verbal violence

Blocking roads

Underground activity

Incitement

Injuring soldiers/ policemen

Extreme actions

Acts of vengeance

Determining the facts on the ground

Figure 8.2: First participant- screen three

The following list includes all your selections. Please indicate the emotional valence for each idea: namely, to what extent an idea is positive, negative, or neutral.

	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
Sacrifice and commitment to God	◻	◻	◻	◻	◻	◻	◻
A fight over the land of Israel							
Active and illegal resistance							
Acts of vengeance							
Blocking roads							
Violating court orders							

Figure 8.3: First participant - screen four

The second example, as seen in the following screens, demonstrates a first respondent who chooses to enter a new response without selecting from the option buttons. In the first screen, the respondent enters the response 'fundamentalism' when asked to indicate what first comes to mind when thinking about sacrifice and commitment to God. The second screen integrates the response 'fundamentalism' into the heading and invites the respondent to further indicate what comes to mind when thinking about 'sacrifice and commitment to God' and 'fundamentalism'. As the respondent enters his/her own response ('suicide bombers'), the following screen integrates that choice. The final heading invites the respondent to indicate three associated actions in relation to 'fundamentalism' and 'suicide bombers' The respondent enters 'diminishing the value of life', 'preaching for religion', and 'hatred of the West'. As before, on the fourth and fifth screens, the respondent is invited to indicate the emotional intensity and valence associated with each of his/her responses.

In the context of the Jewish settlers, what first comes to mind when thinking about sacrifice and commitment to God?

Fundamentalism

Please choose from the options below or type a new idea into the above textbox.

A fight over the land of Israel

A belief in the connection between the Jewish people and the land of Israel

Identity and Jewish values

Next

Figure 8.4: First participant- screen one with adding new response

In the context of sacrifice and commitment to God, what first comes to mind when thinking about fundamentalism?

Suicide bombers

Please type your response in the above textbox.

Next

Figure 8.5: First participant- screen two with adding new response

In the context of <u>fundamentalism</u>, which actions first come to mind when thinking about <u>suicide bombers</u>?

> Destroying

> Killing

> Preaching for religion

Please type your responses in the above textboxes.

> Next
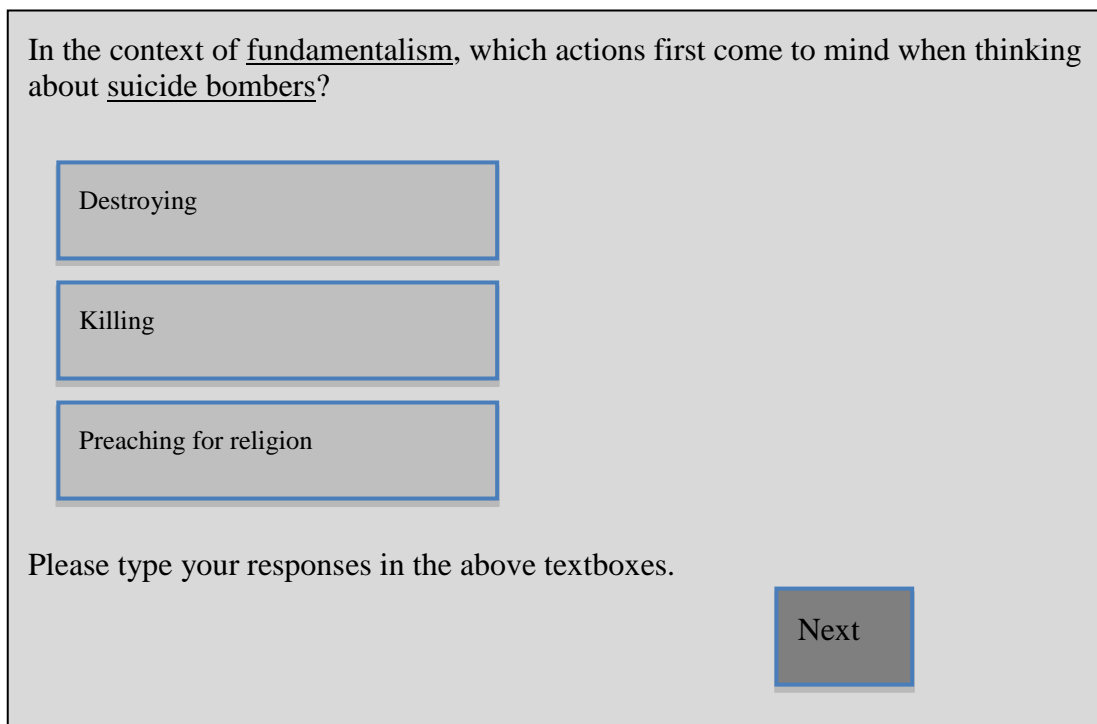
Figure 8.6: First participant- screen three with adding three responses

The following image provides an example of the first screen a subsequent respondent viewed. As can be seen, the notion of 'fundamentalism' (added by the first respondent in the first example) was integrated into the screen as a new option button, along with three original scene headers from the media analysis. As more respondents entered new responses, the number of options on the screen increased until the predefined limit was reached.

In the context of the Jewish settlers, what first comes to mind when thinking about sacrifice and commitment to God?

Please choose from the options below or type a new idea into the above textbox.

A fight over the land of Israel

A belief in the connection between the Jewish people and the land of Israel

Identity and Jewish values

Fundamentalism

Next
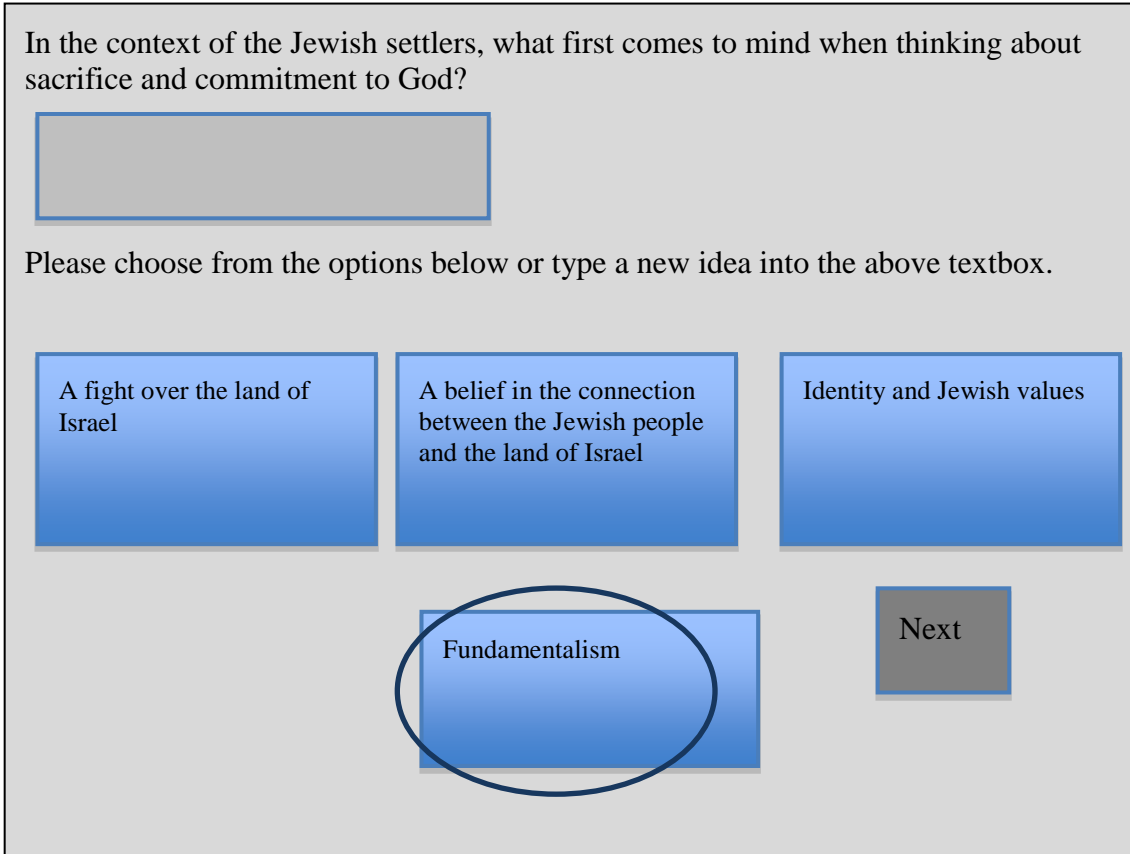
Figure 8.7: Second participant- screen one – previous response in option buttons

The following screen demonstrates the path of the subsequent respondent. On this screen, the respondent chooses to follow the previous respondent by selecting the notion of 'fundamentalism' as a first response. As in the other examples, this would immediately generate a new webpage hyperlinked to this webpage, integrating 'fundamentalism' in the header. As such, the only option button available for selection on the screen would be the one that the first respondent had entered: 'suicide bombers' (see figure 8.5).

In the context of the Jewish settlers, what first comes to mind when thinking about sacrifice and commitment to God?

> Fundamentalism

Please choose from the options below or type a new idea into the above textbox.

| A fight over the land of Israel | A belief in the connection between the Jewish people and the land of Israel | Identity and Jewish values |

Fundamentalism

Next

Figure 8.8: Second participant- screen one

The following screen provides an example of the first screen a subsequent respondent viewed. As can be seen, the notion of 'fundamentalism' (added by the first respondent) was integrated into the screen as a new option button, along with the three original scene headers. However, in this example, the respondent selects one of the original scene headers: 'a fight over the land of Israel'. Once again, the subsequent page integrates that response and provides the full nine action headers that were set up in the system originally. This would continue to be transformed as more participants added their responses.

In the context of the Jewish settlers, what first comes to mind when thinking about sacrifice and commitment to God?

A fight over the land of Israel

Please choose from the options below or type a new idea into the above textbox.

Fundamentalism

A belief in the connection between the Jewish people and the land of Israel

Identity and Jewish values

A fight over the land of Israel

Next

In the context of sacrifice and commitment to God, what first comes to mind when thinking about <u>a fight over the land of Israel</u>?

Please choose from the options below or type a new idea into the above textbox.

Settling operations

Resistance to concessions

Existential struggle

Education about loving the land

Passive resistance

Belief in the vision of greater Israel

Resistance to concessions

The Hill Top youth settlements

Active and legal struggle

Figure 8.9: Second participant- screens one and two –selecting previously added option

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5.3 Summary and conclusions

This chapter presented the methodology of the quasi-experimental web research, which involved the SIT.A unique and dynamic research tool was used that made use of the web as a medium of communication by which shared meanings of religious representations of sacrifice and commitment could be captured. The SIT group exercise was presented, highlighting the way in which it captures different aspects of cultural transmission. Specifically, the choose-to-receive phase was captured by allowing the respondents to choose between existing interpretations (drawn from media analysis and later shaped by respondents) or new ones, whereas the choose-to-transmit aspect was captured by analysing the responses that were generated. The phase of retrieving and recoding was integrated into the transmission design of the SIT but not directly explored.

As such, the following chapter presents the analysis of the data gathered from the SIT in the course of over two weeks. This discussion begins with an explanation of the steps taken to prepare the data for analysis and accounts for the effect of the Amona event on certain religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment. In line with the present chapter, the analysis also reflects on the special mnemonic qualities of recurrent post Amona event themes.

6 Empirical investigation of the role of context in the transmission of MCC religious representations

The following chapter presents results from a second study aimed at uncovering mental representation of sacrifice scripts within Israeli Jewish culture over more than two weeks. The study draws back on the previous chapters as it seeks to further operationalize religious representations research. Specifically, in chapter 1, I have presented the special characteristics of religious representations and the interest of this research in religious representations of sacrifice and commitment. In Chapter 2, I chose to use the cognitive science of religion framework, especially the emerging context-based approach, to further explore the role of context in the memorability of counter-cultural representation, the cultural analogy of minimal counterintuitive concepts, embedded in scripts. In chapters 3 and 4 I located this research in the Israeli-Jewish context and have uncovered media representations of sacrifice and commitment scripts. In chapter 5 I presented the SIT, a specially designed interpretation test which offers insight into the distribution of sacrifice scripts of people's mental representations.

Following on this background, this chapter includes three sections. The first details the process of preparing the data for analysis and presents preliminary demographic variables analyses aimed at controlling for possible bias on interpretations by demographic aspects. The second part of the chapter presents the main analysis following predictions made in chapter 5 regarding the role of context on interpretation selection:in this section each script (God/ the state/ the community) is explored chronologically using two different analyses. The first explores the relationship between interpretation selection and time of selection i.e., pre and post the Amona event, while the second analysis explores the relationship between interpretation selection and script level i.e., scene header, action header and actions). The last section of the chapter discusses the results and prepares the ground for the concluding chapter.

6.1 Data preparation phases

6.1.1 Clustering the data – from qualitative data to categorical variables

Since the data from 1,005 participants was generated as open interpretations (ranging from one word to a sentence), a preparation phase was needed to reduce it and transform it into categories. This included a thematic grouping of the content into several key categories of meaning across all interpretation layers, e.g. higher (first) level, intermediate (second) level, and low (third) level for each of the meta-scripts: God/ the state/ the community. This process was carried out by the researcher and two psychology graduates, and an inter-coder reliability of .96 was established. The first principle for clustering was grouping together family-resembling words and phrases based on descriptive similarities as well as having similar emotional scores (positive vs negative). The second principle was clustering content regardless of assumed demographic affiliation, therefore keeping them general and not based on a specific perspective. Having said that, some were clearly secular based since they involved criticism of the settler's wrong doings. The last principle was that words or phrases that had fewer than three counts, i.e. fewer than three people selected them, were not included in the clustering process.

The clustering process involved several rounds until clear and consistent categories were established for all scripts. This was especially challenging since many responses included compound phrases, some with relatively loose components. As such, most of the categories included several connected themes. For example, the category *Fanaticism, blind faith & illegal acts of violence* was established in this way since many respondents generated words that formed connections between these notions, such as *fanaticism and extremism*, *fanaticism and physical violence* and so on. The following table indicates the main categories that were established across meta-scripts and their comprising interpretations i.e. the actual words or terms as used by participants.

Table 6.0: Categories established following preparation phase

	Categories	Words/ terms used by respondents
1	*Fanaticism, blind faith & illegal acts of violence*	*Fanaticism, blind faith and related terms. All types of extreme illegal behaviour conducted by religious Zionist groups/settlers/community and related terms.*
2	*Faith & ideology*	*Faith, aspiration for Jewish life and Jewish values for all Jews and all related terms. Practices of Jewish faith and related terms.*
3	*Detachment & intolerance*	*Ethnocentric thinking, detachment from the larger Israeli community, detachment from modernity, intolerant behaviour towards anyone different from their community and all related terms.*
4	*Costly sacrifice & love for land*	*Material and emotional sacrifice and related terms, self-sacrifice and love for the land and related terms, risk of lives of the settlers' community and others' lives and related terms.*
5	*Settle the land*	*Holding and settling the entire land of Israel and related terms; Zionism and settling and related terms; belief in the connection between the people and the land and related terms. 'Greater Israel' vision and all related terms.*
6	*Not at any cost*	*Critical terms of the settler community such as 'should be done differently' and 'unnecessary sacrifice' phrases and related terms; not in the current costs' and related terms.*
7	*Legal resistance*	*Legal resistance and related terms; riots, hatred and related terms.*
8	*Parasites*	*Parasites and related terms, misuse and abuse of the larger society/the state and related terms.*
9	*Openness & tolerant behaviour*	*Openness to others and related terms; contributing to the benefit of others and related terms; giving to others, tolerance.*
10	*Army service*	*Life-risking military service and leading key army roles and related terms.*

With the aid of the two coders, each of the above categories was then coded for violations of cultural assumptions (on the basis of the criteria developed in chapter 5), and an inter-coder reliability of .91 was established. Earlier it was noted that in some instances it can be difficult to draw a clear line between minimal and maximal cultural violations. As a result, the analysis used Barrett's (2008) coding criteria where a total of more than two violations is regarded as maximal while less than two violations is regarded as minimal. This resulted in two types of CC categories reflecting changes in CC quality from MXCC to MCC before and after the Amona event, and one INT[24] type which overall remained the same before and after the event. Specifically, categories of *fanaticism & blind faith*, *costly sacrifice*, *detachment & intolerance, not at any cost* and *parasites* were MXCC before the event and MCC after the event since post-event interpretations involved fewer violations of individualistic values or more focus justifications of collectivistic values and thinking (including seeing occurrences as part of a greater picture, thinking about Israel's identity as united, and relating the settlers' conduct as true commitment to the greater good etc.).

Examples of changes in quality of *fanaticism & blind faith* related interpretations include "*blindness and misinterpretation of texts*", "*fanatics that use violence*" and "extremists that break the law" before the event and "true devotion to God, but not for me", and *"brave people that will fight for the cause"* after the event. Similarly, changes in quality of *costly sacrifice* interpretations include *"fanatics that risk the life of their children", "giving up the sake of living in the (illegal) settlements"* before the Amona event and *"everyone should give for the sake of others", "unconditional love for the land"* etc. after the event. A similar pattern was evident for *detachment & intolerance, not at any cost* and *parasites.*

The categories *settle the land*, *openness & intolerance* and *legal resistance* involved INT representations (with no direct violations ideas regarding modern and democratic life) both prior and post the event. Examples for *settle the land* are: *"concern with the doing", "developing the country", "developing education"* etc., while examples for *openness & intolerance* are: *"social involvement", "charitable missions", "being*

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[24] INT refers to culturally intuitive

open to others' opinions" etc. Examples for *legal resistance* are: *"democratic protest", "legal demonstrations"* and *"promoting ideas through dialogue"*. Lastly, the categories *faith & ideology* and *army service* involved MCC violations (with minor violations of modern-secular individualistic thinking) both prior and following the Amona event. *Faith & ideology* involved throughout the study interpretations about religious beliefs and religious life such as *"complete belief in one God", "God will aid in times of trouble"* and *"everything is predetermined"*. Army service included, throughout the study, interpretations about high-risk military service such as *"leading army roles in difficult times", "to volunteer to special combat units"* etc.

Table 6.1: Coding categories by type and time of selection

Violation class		Violations of Western values/views	Violations of individualistic values	Violations of democratic laws and norms	Type
Fanaticism & blind faith	*Before*	✓	✓	✓	*MXCC*
	After	✓	☒	✓	*MCC*
Faith & ideology	*Before*	✓	✓	☒	*MCC*
	After	✓	✓	☒	*MCC*
Detachment & intolerance	*Before*	✓	✓	✓	*MXCC*
	After	✓	☒	✓	*MCC*
Costly sacrifice	*Before*	✓	✓	✓	*MXCC*
	After	✓	☒	✓	*MCC*
Settle the land	*Before*	☒	☒	☒	*INT*
	After	☒	☒	☒	*INT*

Not at any cost	Before	✓	✓	✓	MXCC
	After	✓	☒	✓	MCC
Legal resistance	Before	☒	☒	☒	INT
	After	☒	☒	☒	INT
Parasites	Before	✓	✓	✓	MXCC
	After	✓	☒	✓	MCC
Openness & Tolerance	Before	☒	☒	☒	INT
	After	☒	☒	☒	INT
Army service	Before	✓	✓	☒	MCC
	After	✓	✓	☒	MCC

The final step involved replacing the qualitative data file with the categories' numbers using an Excel formula. The new data was then imported into SPSS software creating three variables for each meta-script (e.g., scene header God, action header God, Action God etc.), three emotional mean score variables for each meta-script (e.g., emotional valence scene header _God, emotional valence action header God, emotional valence_actions_God and so on). Demographic variables were then created including age, gender and religious affiliation as well as a variable for pre and post the Amona event i.e., time of participation.

6.1.2 Demographic variables analysis

6.1.2.1 Testing the relationship between demographic variables and time of participation

The number of participants before the Amona event was 409 (40.7%) whereas the number of participants post event was 596 (59.3%). [25]The demographic analysis

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[25]The study was conducted along 16 days, while the Amona event occurred on the study's 9th day.

crossed the demographic variables of age, gender, and religious affiliation with the variable of before and after the Amona event. A chi-square test for independence was then conducted to determine whether there is a significant relationship between time of participation (i.e. before and after the Amona event) and age/gender/religious affiliation. Results were insignificant for age, gender and religious affiliation suggesting that these variables are not related to time of participation. Specifically, age showed no significant relationship with time of participation in the SIT: X^2(2, N = 1005) = 4.64, *ns*, gender showed no significant relationship with time of participation in the SIT: X^2(1, N = 1005) = .32, *ns*, and religious affiliation showed no significant relationship with time of participation in the SIT: X^2(2, N = 1005) = .94, *ns*.

6.1.2.2 Testing the relationship between religious affiliation and interpretations for S&C to God / the state / the community

To examine the relationship between religious affiliation and interpretation[26] selection, a series of chi-square tests of independence were computed. These examined the relationship between subgroups (secular, traditional and national religious) and distribution of interpretations related to God, state and community across interpretation layers e.g. scene header, action header and action. For sacrifice and commitment to God, the results indicate that there was no significant relationship between the religiously affiliated subgroups and distribution of interpretations related to God, in two out of three layers of interpretation: scene header level, X^2(10, N = 842) = 8.38, ns , and action level, X^2(12, N = 748) = 17.30, *ns*. However, there was a significant relationship between these variables in the action header level, X^2(10, N = 755) = 21.58, *p* <.05. The effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was weak, .12. (see appendix C :Table 7.0)

As for sacrifice and commitment to the state, the results indicate that there was no significant relationship between these variables in the action header level, X^2(18, N = 738) = 16.58, *ns*, and in the Action level, X^2(18, N = 621) = 16.94, *ns*. However, in

The demographic variable age was not included in this analysis.

the scene header level a significant relationship was found, X^2(16, N = 701) = 34.59, p <.01 – effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was weak, .16 (see appendix C : table 8.0). Interestingly, the results for sacrifice and commitment to the community indicate that across all three interpretation layers there was no significant relationship between religious affiliation and distribution of interpretations: scene header, X^2(14, N = 835) = 13.38, *ns*, action header, X^2(14, N = 804) = 14.07, *ns*, and action, X^2(18, N = 674) = 16.33 *ns*. The overall results were not statistically significant, *ns*. Overall, the results for sacrifice and commitment to God and the state indicate that in two out of the three script layers no significant relationship was found between religious affiliation and interpretation selection. For sacrifice and commitment to the community, the results indicate that no significant relationship between these variables was found across all three layers.

The following figure shows the interpretation distribution related to God (action header level) among secular, traditional and national religious participants. Participants significantly *differ* in selecting interpretations on this level of the SIT. The most recurrent interpretation was *fanaticism & blind faith* with 55 selections by traditional participants (39. 3% out of their overall selections), 172 selections by secular participants (36.4% out of selections made by secular participants) and 35 selections by national religious participants (24.5 % out of their overall selections).The least recurrent interpretation was *detachment & intolerance* with 6 selections by traditional participants (4.3% out of their overall selections), 33 selections by secular participants (7% out of their overall selections), and 10 selections by national religious participants (7% of their overall selections).
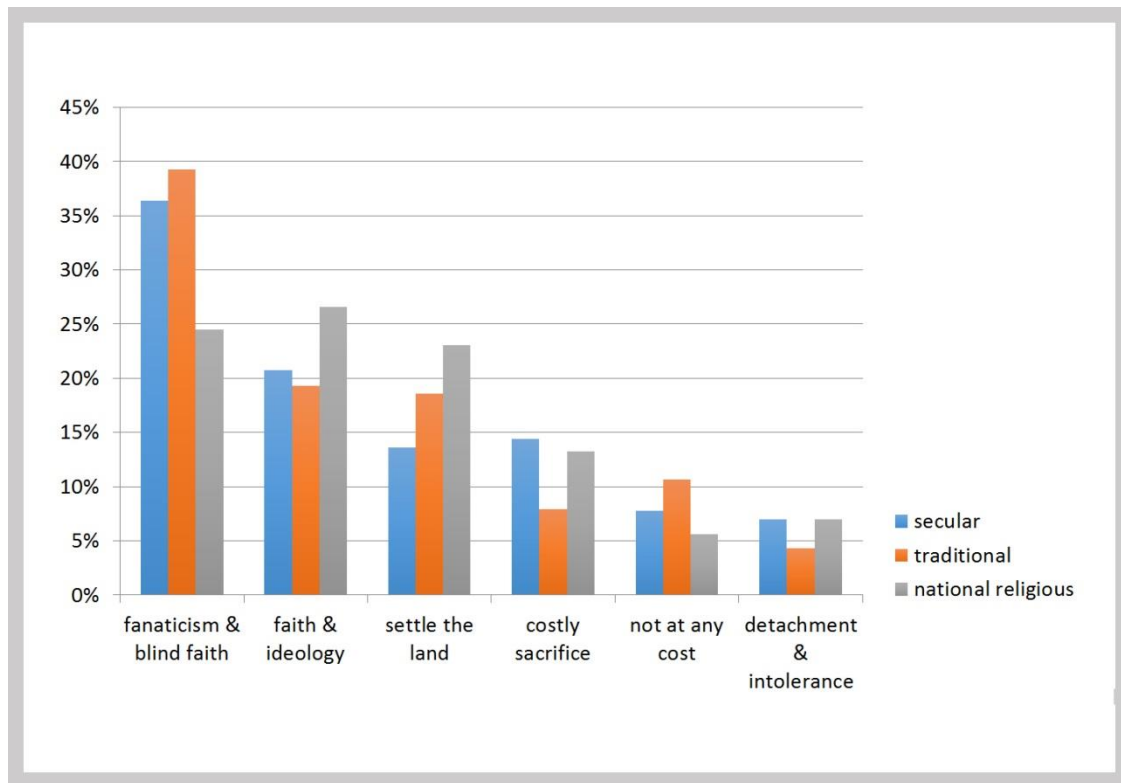
Figure 9.0: Interpretation distribution across religious affiliation – action header level (God)

Similarly, the data in the following figure shows the interpretation distribution related to sacrifice and commitment to the state (scene header level) across secular, traditional and national religious participants. Participants significantly *differ* in selecting interpretation in this level of the SIT. Overall, the most recurrent interpretation was *detachment & intolerance* with 25 selections by national religious participants (19.1 % out their overall selections), 24 selections by traditional participants (18.3 % out of their overall selections) and 74 selections by secular participants (16.9 % out of their overall selections). The least recurrent category was parasites with 8 selections by seculars (1.8% out of their overall selections), 4 selections by traditional participants (3.1% out of their overall selections), and 8 selections by national religious participants (6.1% out of their overall selections).
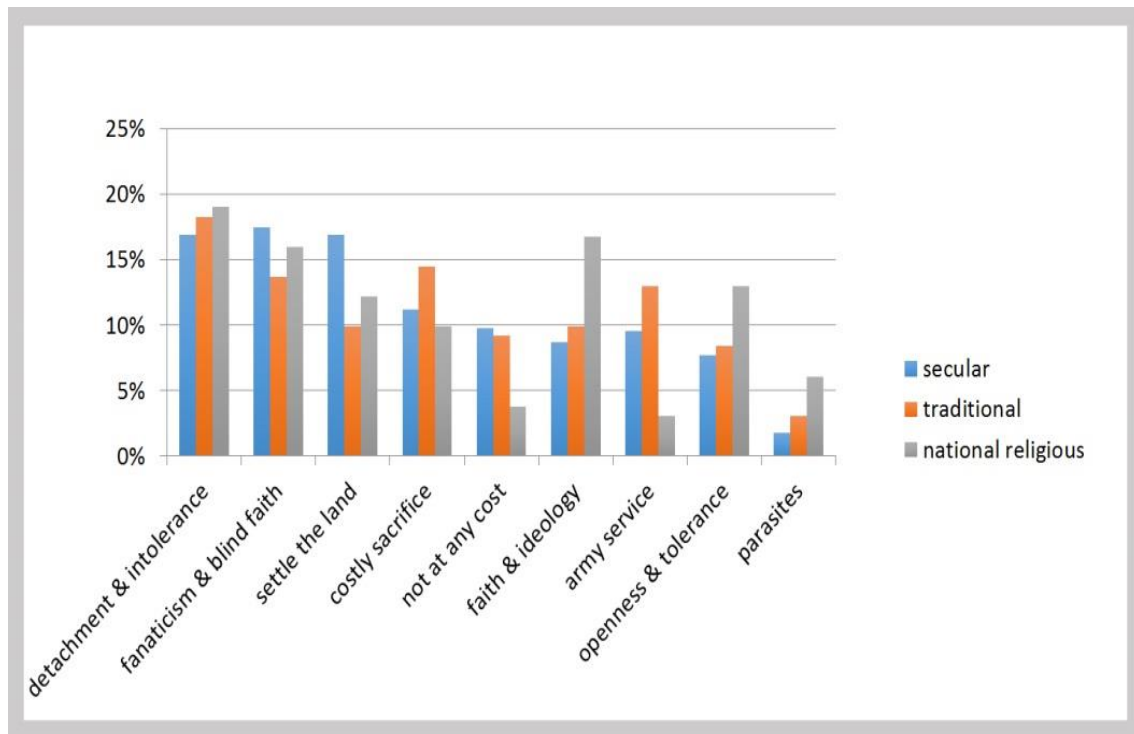
Figure 9.1: Interpretation distribution across subgroups – scene header level (state)

Finally, to examine relation between religious affiliation and interpretation[27] selection before and after the Amona event, a series of chi-square tests of independence were computed (see appendix C: Table 9.0 and 10.0). The results indicate a significant relationship between religious affiliation and interpretations selection, on first-level interpretation (scene header) for sacrifice and commitment to the state. Before the event $X^2(16, N = 353) = 29.10$, p <.05, the effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was moderate, .20. And after $X^2(16, N = 348) = 32.90$, p <. 01, the effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was moderate, .22.

Specifically, on scene header level (sacrifice and commitment to the state) the most recurrent interpretation prior to the event was *fanaticism & blind faith* with 66 selections by secular participants (30% out of their overall secular selections), 20 selections by national religious participants (29% out of their overall selections), and 17 selections by traditional participants (26.6% out of their overall selections). In turn,

the least recurrent category prior to the event was *not at any cost* with only 1 selection by a religious national respondent.
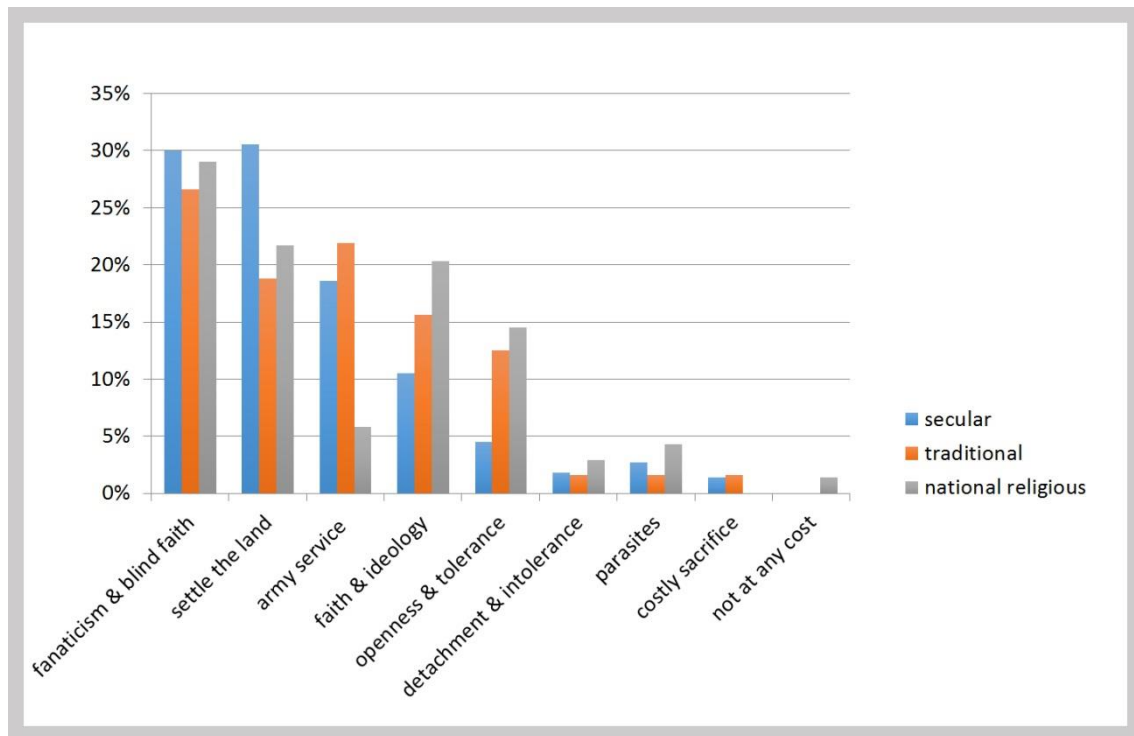
Figure 9.2: Interpretation distribution across subgroups – scene header level (state) – before the Amona event

In addition, overall the most recurrent interpretation post event was *detachment & intolerance* with 23 selections by national religious respondents (37.1 % out of their overall selections), 23 selections by traditional participants (34.3% out of their overall selections) and 70 selections by secular participants (32% out of their overall selections). In turn, the least recurrent category prior to the event was *army service* with only 3 traditional and 1 secular respondent choosing this category on that level.
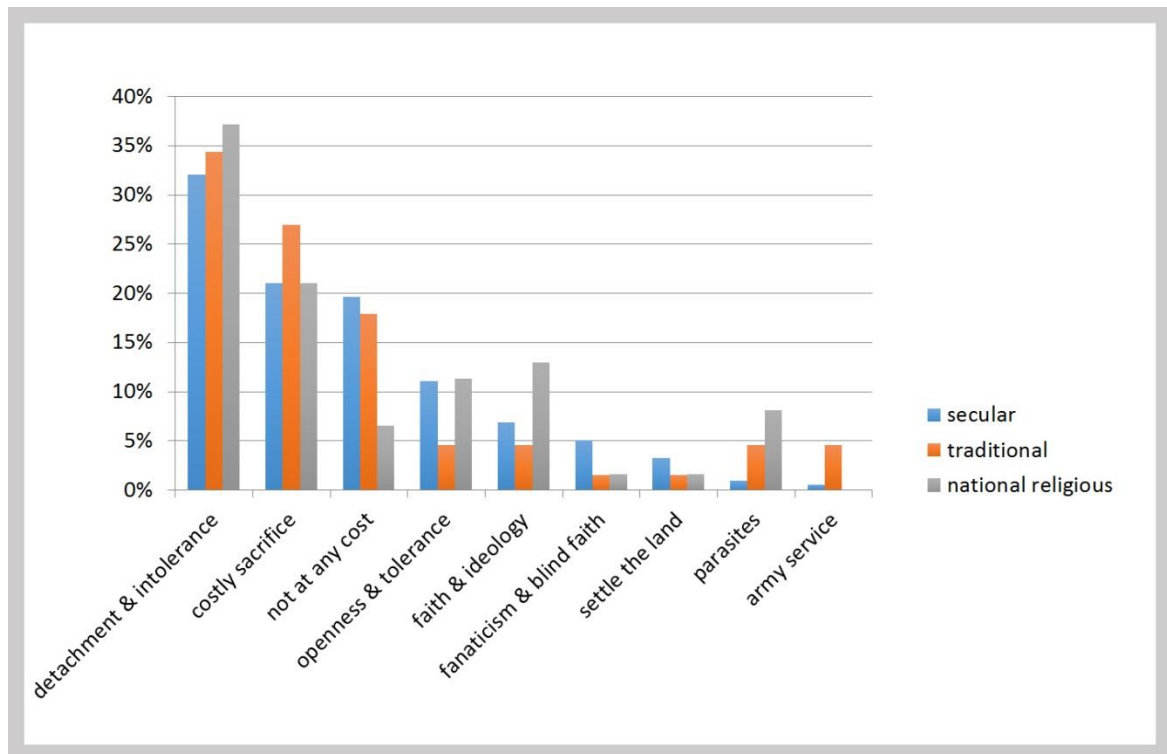
Figure 9.3: Interpretation distribution across subgroups – scene header level (state) – after the Amona event

In sum, the results of the previous analysis suggest that all religiously affiliated respondents agree on interpretations to sacrifice and commitment to the community, but disagree on how that is interpreted regarding the state (at the highest level) and regarding God (at the intermediate level). Further findings suggest that religiously affiliated respondents disagree on how sacrifice and commitment to the state is interpreted (at the highest level) pre and post the event. This pattern of results draws back to what was described in chapters 3 and 4 as tension between sacrifice and commitments scripts; specifically sacrifice and commitment to God and that of the state. This idea has been studied previously in terms of the complex duality of religion and state in Israel. Specifically, Cohen (2010) has suggested that on the one hand religion and the state in Israel are hardly separable (most non-religious Jews define religion as part of their national identity including adherence to a 'civic religion' and its symbols and ceremonies). However, there is a deep divide between various religious-affiliated groups, as was suggested in chapters 3 and 4, on the question of adherence to authority of state or religion, which is translated to everyday matters like laws of marriage and divorce, the Sabbath, abortion and dietary laws. The military, as will be discussed in the following chapter, is a possible interface where religion and

state unite and notions of costly sacrifice are agreed upon. The agreement upon what sacrifice and commitment to the community across all subgroups may be explained by the overall recognition among Israelis of the important role the community plays in religious Zionist members' lives including intense bonding and a vibrant community life (Stern, 2014).

6.1.2.3 Testing the relationship between gender and interpretations for S&C to God / the state / the community

To explore the relationship between gender and interpretation selection, a series of chi-square tests of independence were conducted across interpretation layers e.g. scene header, action header and action (see appendix C: table 11.0). For sacrifice and commitment to God, the results indicate that there was no significant relationship between gender and distribution of interpretations related to God, in two out of three levels of interpretation: scene header level, $X^2(5, N = 842) = 1.58$, *ns*, and action header level, $X^2(5, N = 755) = 5.47$, *ns*. However, there was a significant relationship between these variables in the action level, $X^2(6, N = 748) = 30.17$, $p < .001$. The effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was moderate, .20.

As for sacrifice and commitment to the state, the results indicate that there was no significant relationship between these variables in any of the three levels of interpretation: scene header level, $X^2(8, N = 701) = 10.83$, *ns,* action header level, $X^2(9, N = 738) = 5.88$, *ns*, and action level, $X^2(9, N = 621) = 8.39$, *ns*. Similarly, the results for sacrifice and commitment to the community indicate that in all three interpretation layers, there was no significant relationship between gender and distribution of interpretations: scene header, $X^2(7, N = 835) = 3.15$, *ns*, action header, $X^2(7, N = 804) = 5.08$, *ns*, and action, $X^2(9, N = 674) = 4.85$, *ns*. Overall, for sacrifice and commitment to the state and the community, no significant relationship was found between gender affiliation and interpretation selections. Only for sacrifice and commitment to the God did the results indicate a significant relationship between these variables on the scene header level.

Specifically, as presented below, participants significantly *differ* in selecting interpretation in the action level (God). The most recurrent interpretation was of *fanaticism & blind faith* with 96 selections by male participants (35.7 % out of their overall selections) and 168 selections by female participants (35.1 % out their overall selections). The least recurrent category was *not at any* cost with 3 selections made by male participants (1.1% of their overall selections) and 8 selections made by female participants (1.7% of their overall selections).
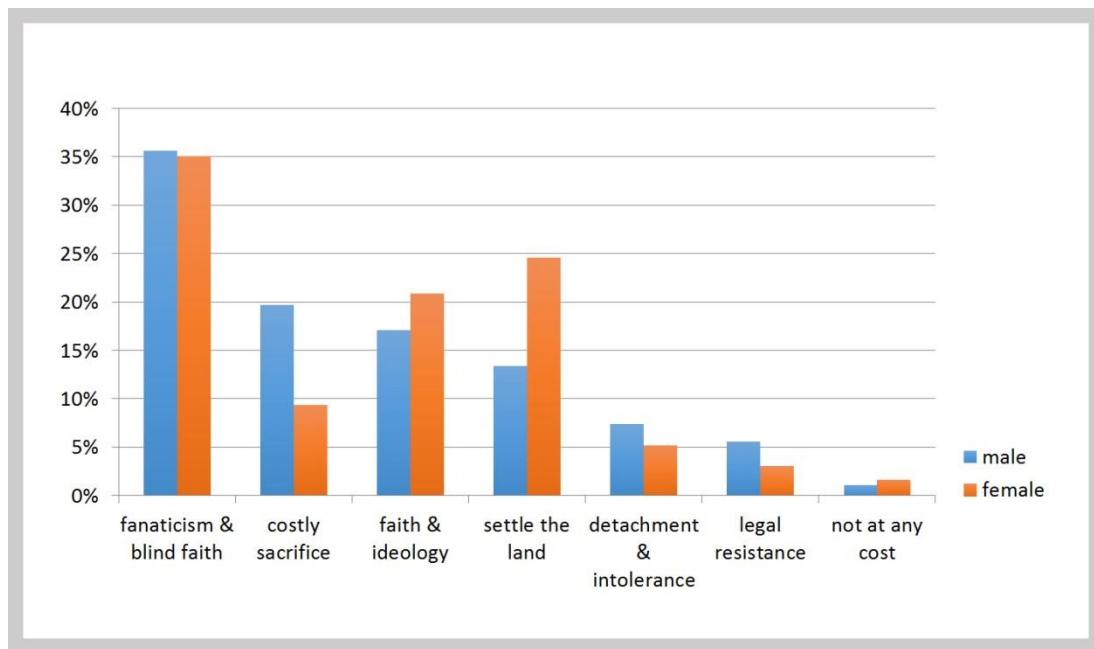
Figure 9.4: Interpretation distribution by gender on action level (God)

Finally, to examine the relationship between gender affiliation and interpretation selections before and after the Amona event, a series of chi-square tests of independence were computed (see appendix C tables 12.0 and table 13.0). As before, the results indicate a significant relationship between gender affiliation and interpretation selection, on third level interpretation (action level) for sacrifice and commitment to God. Before the event $X^2(6, N=312) =.03$, $p <.05$ effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was moderate, .21. And after $X^2(6, N=436) =.00$, $p <. .001$ effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was moderate, .24. The overall results of the gender analysis suggest that male and female respondents agree on interpretations of sacrifice and commitment to the state and the community, but disagree on how that is interpreted regarding God at the lowest level i.e. action level. These results may be

explained by the rise of liberal religious women's groups in Israel in recent years (Ariel, 2010) which have created an intense discussion over the rights of religious women to engage in religious duties restricted only to men.

As such, following the overall patterns of the demographic variable analyses, which were found to be broadly consistent across subgroups (though with the above significant difference in mind), the results were collapsed for the following tests.

6.2 Main Analyses:

6.2.1 Script 1 – Sacrifice and commitment to God

6.2.1.1 Testing for relationships between time of participation and interpretation selection

Based on the H_1 hypothesis: a significant relationship between time of participation and interpretation selections for sacrifice and commitment to God, so that distribution of interpretations previous to the Amona event differs significantly from distribution of interpretations following the Amona event, a series of chi-square tests of independence were conducted. The results indicate that across all three levels of the interpretation chains there was a significant relation between distribution of interpretations and time of selection before and after the Amona event: scene header level, $X^2(5, N = 842) = 167.10$, p <.001. The effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was strong, .44. Action header level, $X^2(5, N = 755) = 55.37$, p <.001. The effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was moderate, .27 and action level, $X^2(6, N = 748) = 27.21$, p <.001. The effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was weak, .19.

Specifically, on the scene header level (highest level), interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith* and *costly sacrifice* as well as *not at any cost* increased significantly following the Amona event, whereas interpretations concerning *faith & ideology* and *settle the land* decreased significantly following the Amona event. Only interpretations of *detachment & intolerance* did not show a significant difference before and after the event. The most frequent interpretations prior to the event were of

settle the land with 122 selections (34.9% out of the overall category selections[28]). The least frequent interpretations prior to the event were of *detachment & intolerance* with3 selections (0.9% out of the overall category selections) before the event. In turn, the most frequent interpretations post the event were of *fanaticism & blind faith* with 231 selections (47% out of the overall category selections), followed by *costly sacrifice* with 124 selections (25.2% out of the overall category selections).
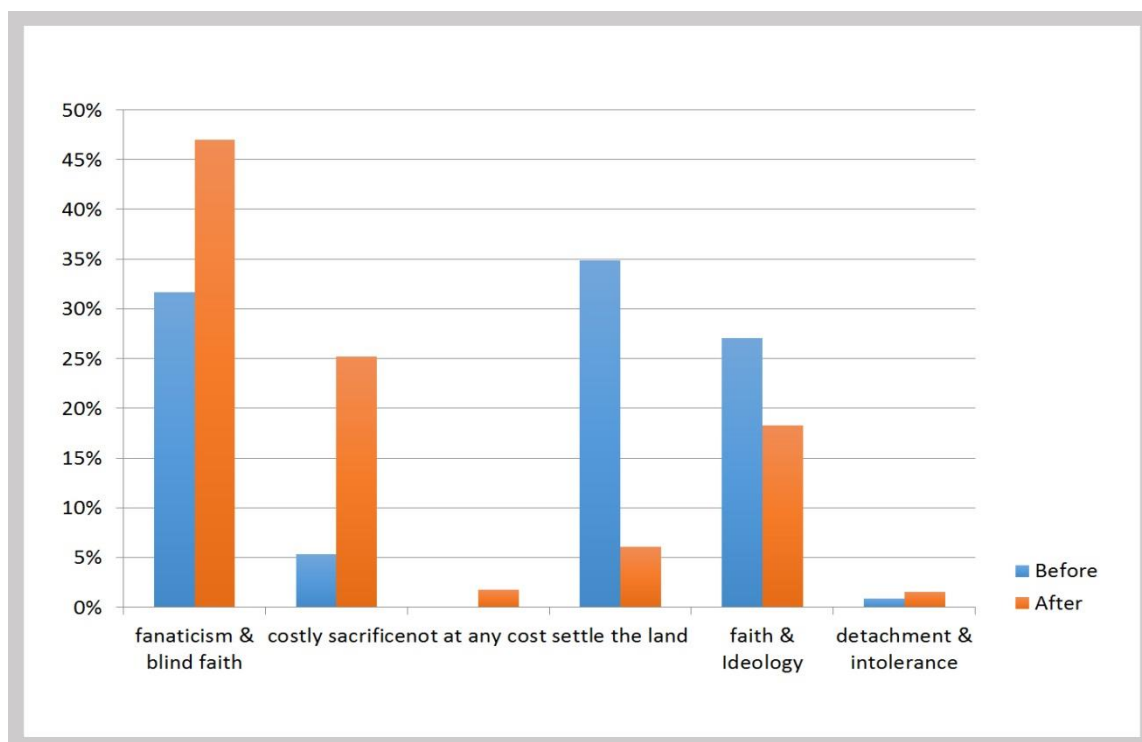
Figure 10.0: Interpretation distribution before and after the event – scene header (God)

On the basis of the H2 hypothesis: a significant relationship between time of participation and selection of (M)CC interpretations, so that the distribution of (M)CC categories after the event > distribution of (M)CC categories prior to the event, a second analysis of the results was conducted. It involved re-coding the categories on the scene header level using the counter-cultural criteria established in chapter 5 and table 6.1, so that a new variable for type of category was created on SPSS. This variable was divided into two levels: CC categories (*fanaticism & blind faith*, *costly sacrifice*, *not at any cost* and *faith & ideology*) and INT categories (*settle the land)*. A

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[28]Category selection throughout this chapter refers to category-related interpretations/notions which were generated by respondents (either by selecting from option buttons or producing new ones) on each layer of the script (scene header, action header, action).

chi-square test was then conducted in order to examine the relationship between type of category (i.e. CC or INT) and time of selection. The result was significant: X^2(1, N = 842) = 114.35, p <.001. Φ= .37, moderate effect. The analysis supports the H2 prediction of an increased level of (M)CC categories following the Amona event with 65.1% CC selections before and 93.9% MCC selections after the event.

The three categories that increased significantly involved representations that were MXCC prior the event and turned MCC following the event, as reflected in these increments. This aligns with Upal et al. (2007) and Upal (2010; 2011a) claims regarding unusual ideas that due to certain contexts become more justifiable and hence MCC. Specifically, both *fanaticism & blind faith* (a category for extreme illegal ideas and behaviours), *costly sacrifice* (a category for material and emotional sacrifice including risking lives) as well as *not at any cost* (a category for the settlers' wrongdoings) are MXCC as they involve ideas regarding violations of Western, modern and individualist norms as well as violations of democratic laws and norms. Interestingly, faith and ideology which was MCC beforehand decreased following the event. This decrease could be explained by the fact that some of the notions that comprised the category became more INT in light of the event, though overall the notions were MCC. For example, notions of 'divine command' prior to the event changed to notions of 'a faith that people live in accordance with, but not for me'.

Table 7.0: Interpretation distribution before and after the event by type – scene header (God)

		fanaticism & blind faith	costly sacrifice	not at any cost	settle the land	faith & Ideology	detachment & intolerance	total
Before	CC	111	19	0		95	3	228
		(31.7%)	(5.4%)			(27.1%)	(.9%)	(65.1%)
	INT				122			122
					(34.9%)			(34.9%)
After	CC	231	124	9		90	8	462
		(47.0%)	(25.2%)	(1.8%)		(18.3%)	(1.6%)	(93.9%)
	INT				30			30
					(6.1%)			(6.1%)
Total		342	143	9	152	185	11	842
		(40.6%)	(17%)	(1.1%)	(18.1%)	(22.0%)	(1.3%)	

On the action header level, significant differences between the distribution of interpretations previous and post the event were also found supporting the H1 hypothesis. Specifically, interpretations concerning *costly sacrifice*, *detachment & intolerance,* as well as *not at any cost,* increased significantly following the Amona event, while interpretations concerning *faith & ideology* and *settle the land* decreased significantly following the Amona event. Interpretations concerning *fanaticism & blind faith* did not show a significant change. The most frequent interpretations before the event were of *fanaticism & blind faith* with 110 selections (34% out of the overall category selections), while the least frequent interpretations were of *not at any cost* with 12 selections (3.7% out of the overall category selections). The most frequent interpretations after the event were also of *fanaticism & blind faith* with 152 selections (35.3% out of the overall category selections), while the least frequent interpretations after the event were of *detachment & intolerance* with 36 selections (8.4% out of category selections).
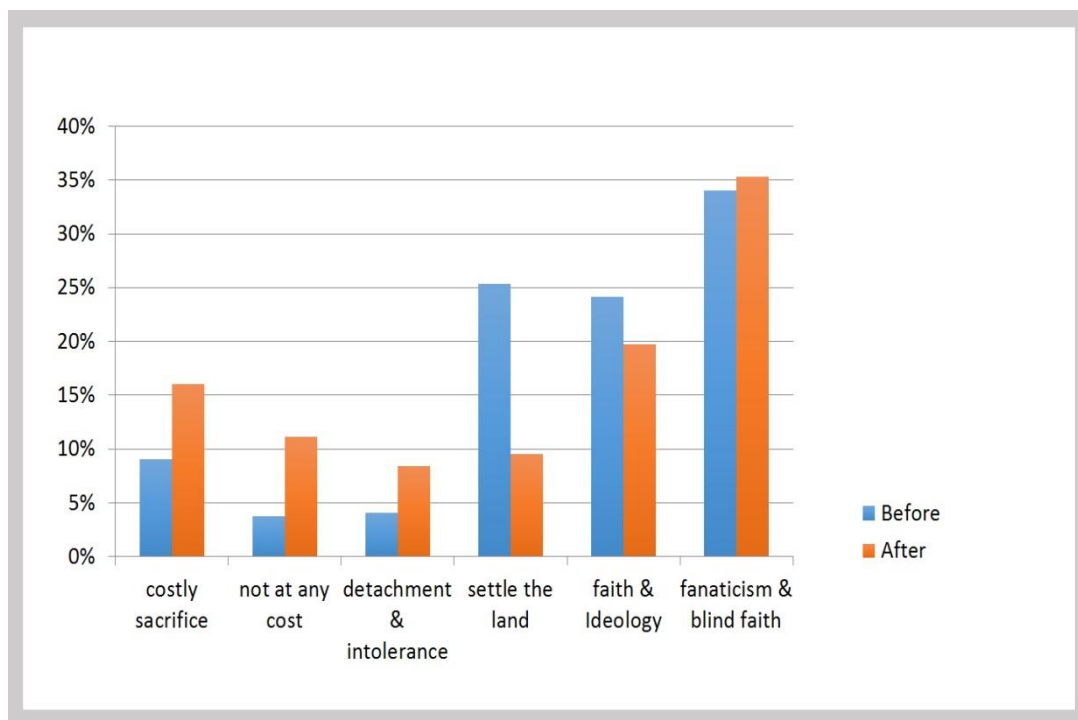
Figure 10.1: Interpretation distribution before and after the event – action header (God)

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The same re-coding as in the scene header level was conducted for this level in order to examine a relation between type of category (i.e. CC or INT) and time of selection on the action header level. The result was significant: $X^2(1, N = 755) = 33.84$, p <.001. Φ= .21, moderate effect. The analysis supports the H2 prediction of an increased level of (M)CC categories following the Amona event with 74.7% CC selections before and 90.5% MCC selections after the event.

The three categories that increased significantly involved representations that were MXCC prior to the event and turned MCC following the event, as reflected in this increment. Specifically, these categories involve interpretations of costly *sacrifice* and *not at any cost* as well as *detachment & intolerance* (including ideas regarding settlers' detachment from society and modernity and their intolerant behaviour). They run counter to modern individualistic values and norms of self-interest as well as democratic norms of tolerance, peace and equality. Decreased levels of MCC *faith & ideology* selections may be explained by the same reasons as before. However, no significant change for MXCC *fanaticism & blind faith* may suggest that some interpretations comprising this category remained MXCC on this action header level the more people reflected on the task or evoked other MXCC representations (e.g. *detachment and intolerance*) that increased on this expense of this category, grabbing respondents' attention. Namely, other MXCC turned MCC were more attention grabbing.

Table 7.1: Interpretation distribution by before and after the event by type – Action header (God)

		fanaticism & blind faith	costly sacrifice	not at any cost	detachment & intolerance	settle the land	faith & Ideology	total
Before	CC	110 (34%)	29 (9%)	12 (3.70%)	13 (4.00%)		78 (24.10%)	242 (74.70%)
	INT					82 (25.30%)		82 (25.30%)
After	CC	152 (35.30%)	69 (16%)	48 (11.10%)	36 (8.40%)		85 (19.70%)	390 90.50%
	INT					41 (9.50%)		41 (9.50%)
Total		262 (34.7%)	98 (13%)	60 (7.9%)	49 (6.5%)	123 (16.3%)	163 (21.6%)	755

On the action level, the results indicate a significant difference between the distributions of interpretations previous and post the event, thus supporting the H1 prediction. Specifically, a significant increase was seen in distribution of interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith*, *not at any cost* and *legal resistance* following the Amona event, while there was a decrease of interpretations of *faith & ideology* and *settle the land*. No significant changes were found for interpretations of *costly sacrifice* and *detachment & intolerance*. The most frequent interpretations before the event were of *fanaticism & blind faith* with 88 selections (28.2% out of the overall selections), and the least frequent interpretations were of *not at any cost* with only one selection. The most frequent interpretations following the event were also of *fanaticism & blind faith* with over 176 selections (40.4% out of the overall selections). In turn, the least frequent interpretation was *not at any cost* with 10 selections (2.3% out of overall selections
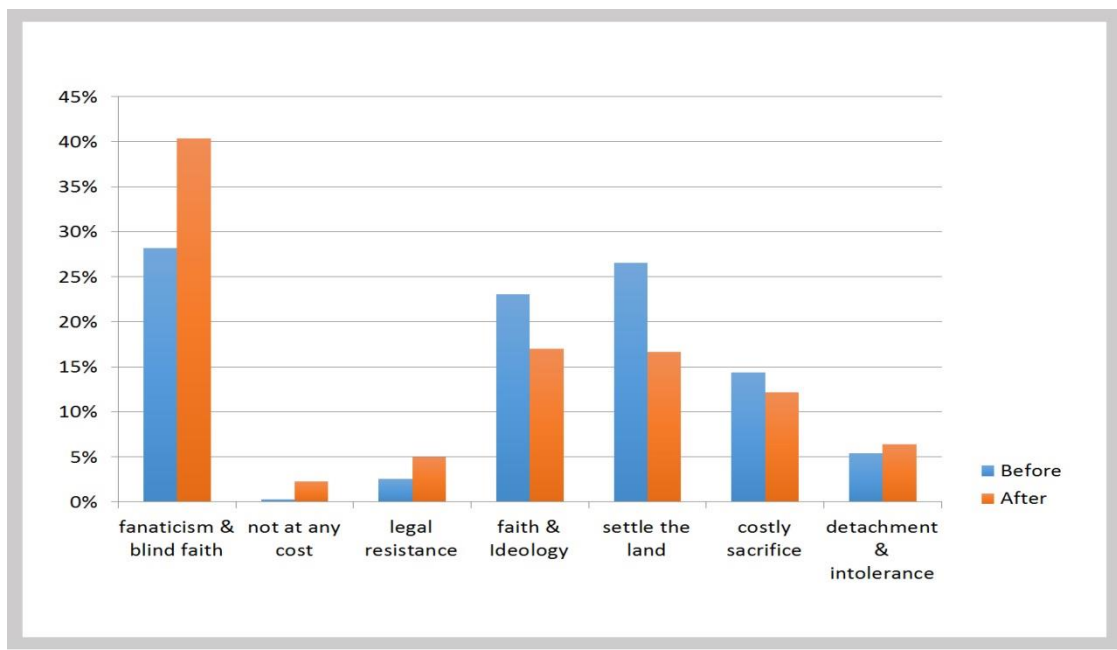
Figure 10.2: Interpretation distribution before and after the event – action level (God)

The same re-coding as before was conducted for this level. A chi-square test was then conducted in order to examine the relationship between type of category (i.e. CC or INT) and time of selection on the action header level. The result was significant: $X^2(1, N = 748) = 4.45$, $p < .05$. $\Phi = .08$, weak effect. The analysis supports the H2

prediction of an increased level of (M)CC categories following the Amona event with 71.5% CC selections before and 78.5% MCC selections after the event.

The increased levels of *fanaticism& blind faith* and *not at any cost* (to the expense of other MXCC such *as costly sacrifice*) following the event may suggest that they involve some representations that were MXCC prior to the event and turned MCC post the event, as reflected in this increment. It may also suggest that on the action level, where participants were tasked to elaborate on three instantiations of sacrifice and commitment, further MCC representations were evoked while holding the Amona background in mind. The increase levels of *legal resistance*, though reflected in a small number of selections, may suggest that it became more MCC in light of the Amona illegal resistance.

Table 7.2: Interpretation distribution before and after the event by type – action level (God)

		fanaticism & blind faith	legal resistance	not at any cost	settle the land	faith & Ideology	costly sacrifice	detachment & intolerance	Total
Before	CC	88		1		72	45	17	223
		(28.20%)		(0.30%)		(23.10%)	(14.40%)	(5.40%)	(71.5%)
	INT		8		81				89
			(2.60%)		(26.0%)				(28.5%)
After	CC	176		10		74	53	28	341
		40.40%		2%		17.00%	12.20%	6.40%	(78.5%)
	INT		22		73				95
			(5.00%)		(16.70%)				(21.5%)
Total		264	30	11	154	146	98	45	748
		(35.3%)	(4%)	(1.5%)	(20.6%)	(19.5%)	(13.1%)	(6%)	

6.2.1.2 Testing emotional valence for interpretations before and after the Amona event – script 1 (God)

To shed further light on the significant findings, an independent sample t-test was conducted to compare the mean emotional valence attached to interpretations before and after the Amona event (see appendix E –Tables 15.0-17.0). No predictions were formed regarding the emotional valence score. Results for the scene header level suggests that interpretations concerning *fanaticism & blind faith*, were less negative[29] after the Amona event (M = 1.88, SD = 1.36) than before (M = 1.55, SD = .72), t (336) = 2.95, p < .01. The effect size for this finding, Cohen's d, was weak, .30, whereas interpretations concerning *costly sacrifice,* while still positive overall, were significantly less positive after the Amona event (M = 5.31, SD = 1.63) than before (M = 6, SD = .88), t(40) = 2.78, p < .01. The effect size for this finding, Cohen's d, was moderate, .52. The t value for *not at any cost* was not computed since there were no interpretations before the Amona event.

On the action header level, two interpretations were significantly more positive after the Amona event than before: *faith & ideology* after (M = 6.08, SD = 1.36) before (M = 5.46, SD = 1.66) effect size Cohen's d was moderate - weak, .41 and t(149) = 2.60, p < .05. *Not at any cost* after (M = 5.31, SD = 1.97) before (and M = 1.92, SD = 1.24), effect size, Cohen's d was strong, 2.05 and t(26) = 7.43 <.001. In the case of *not at any cost* there was a significant shift from a negative mean score before the event to positive mean score after the event. No significant results were found for the action level.

6.2.1.3 Testing relationship between interpretation selection and level of interpretations – S&C to God

On the basis of the H3 hypothesis of the relationship between level of interpretation and interpretation selection, so that distribution of interpretations on scene header will be the same as the distribution of interpretations on the action header level and the action level, a series of chi-square tests were conducted. The results indicate a

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[29]Participants selected emotional valence between -3 to +3. This scale was recoded to a scale of 1-7 ascending. 1-3 represent a negative emotion mean score, 4 represents neutral and 5-7 represent a positive emotion mean score.

significant relationship between the distribution of interpretations generated in the scene header level and those of the action header level, X^2(25, $N = 669$) = 673.74, p <.001. The effect size for this finding was strong, .45. Another significant relationship was found between the distribution of the interpretations selected in the action header level and those selected in the action level, X^2(30, $N = 595$) = 635.21, p <.001. The effect size for this finding was strong, .46. As shown in figure 30, participants who selected interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith* and *settle the land* in the scene header level continued to show similar category selections in the action header level and in the action level. Participants who selected interpretations of *faith & ideology* on the action header level continued to select them on the action level.
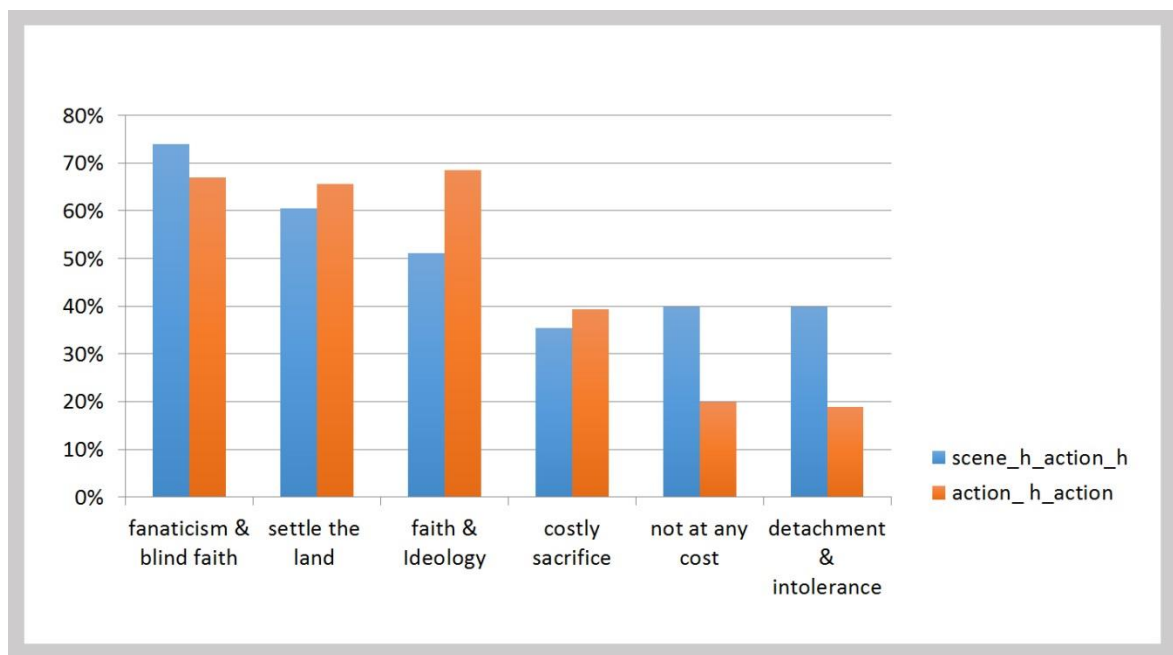
Figure 10.3: Interpretation distribution across script levels (God)

6.2.1.4 Summary results for script 1 – sacrifice and commitment to God

This analytical account shows that interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith* and *costly sacrifice* were significantly more frequent following the Amona event on two out of the three layers of the interpretations chains (e.g., script layers), whereas on one level there was no significant change before and after the Amona event. *Not at any*

cost showed a significant increase in all three layers (with a relatively small number of selections). In addition, interpretations of *faith & ideology* and *settle the land* were significantly less frequent following the Amona event across all three interpretation levels. The findings also support the prediction made in chapter 5 regarding increased levels of MXCC turned MCC interpretations for sacrifice and commitment to God post the event, such as *fanaticism & blind faith*, *costly sacrifice* and to a lesser degree *detachment & intolerance*. Finally the result showed that interpretations regarding *settle the land* and *faith & ideology* show a significant decrease following the event across interpretation layers, presumably because some of their aspects became more INT in light of the Amona struggle.

The emotional mean score results on the scene header level indicate that interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith* were more positive (less negative) following the Amona event, yet it was negative overall, while *costly sacrifice* were less positive following the event, yet were positive overall. On the action header level, interpretations of *faith & ideology* were significantly more positive following the event and *not at any cost* showed a significant shift from a negative to positive emotional score following the event. The following table summarizes the results:

Table 7.3: Summary of results – script 1

Scene header	H1: difference between distribution of interpretations prior to the event and post the event.	**Prediction supported.**
	H2: difference between distribution of MCC interpretation prior to the event and MCC distribution post the event (MCC post >MCC pre).	**Prediction supported.**
Action header	H1: difference between distribution of interpretations prior to the event and post the event.	**Prediction supported.**
	H2: difference between distribution of MCC interpretation prior to the event and MCC distribution post the event (MCC post >MCC pre).	**Prediction supported.**

Action	H1: difference between distribution of interpretations prior to the event and post the event.	**Prediction supported.**
	H2: difference between distribution of MCC interpretation prior to the event and MCC distribution post the event (MCC post >MCC pre).	**Prediction supported.**
Emotional valence	Difference in emotive mean score for MCC interpretations before and after the Amona event across script levels.	**Prediction supported.**
Consistency	H3: difference between distribution of interpretation between scene header and actions headers/actions across script levels,	**Prediction supported.**

6.2.2 Script 2 – sacrifice and commitment to the state

6.2.2.1 Testing for relationships between time of participation and interpretation selection

As in the previous script, a series of chi-square tests were computed to test the H1 hypothesis of a significant difference between distribution of interpretations concerning sacrifice and commitment to the state before and after the event. The findings indicate that across all interpretation layers the relationship between these variables was significant: scene header level, X^2(8, $N = 701$) = 413.05, $p <. 001$. The effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was strong, 77. Action header level, X^2(9, $N = 738$) = 122.17, $p <. 001$. The effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was strong, .41, and action level, X^2(9, $N = 621$) = 59.50, $p <. 001$. The effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was moderate, .31. These results suggest that predictions regarding no relationship between time of participation and interpretation selection are rejected.

Specifically, on the scene header level (highest level), the results support the H1 hypothesis with the distribution of interpretations of *detachment & intolerance, costly sacrifice,* and *not at any cost* having increased significantly following the Amona event, while interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith*, *faith & ideology ,settle the*

land and *army service* decreased significantly after the Amona event. Interpretations of *parasites* and *openness and tolerance* did not show a significant change before and after the Amona event. The most frequent interpretations before the event were of *fanaticism & blind faith* with 103 selections (29.2 % of the overall selections). The least frequent interpretations before the event were of *not at any cost* with only 1 selection. The most frequent interpretations following the event were of *detachment & intolerance* with 116 selections (33.3 % of the overall selections). The least frequent interpretations following the event were of *army service* with 4 selections (1.1 % of the overall selections).
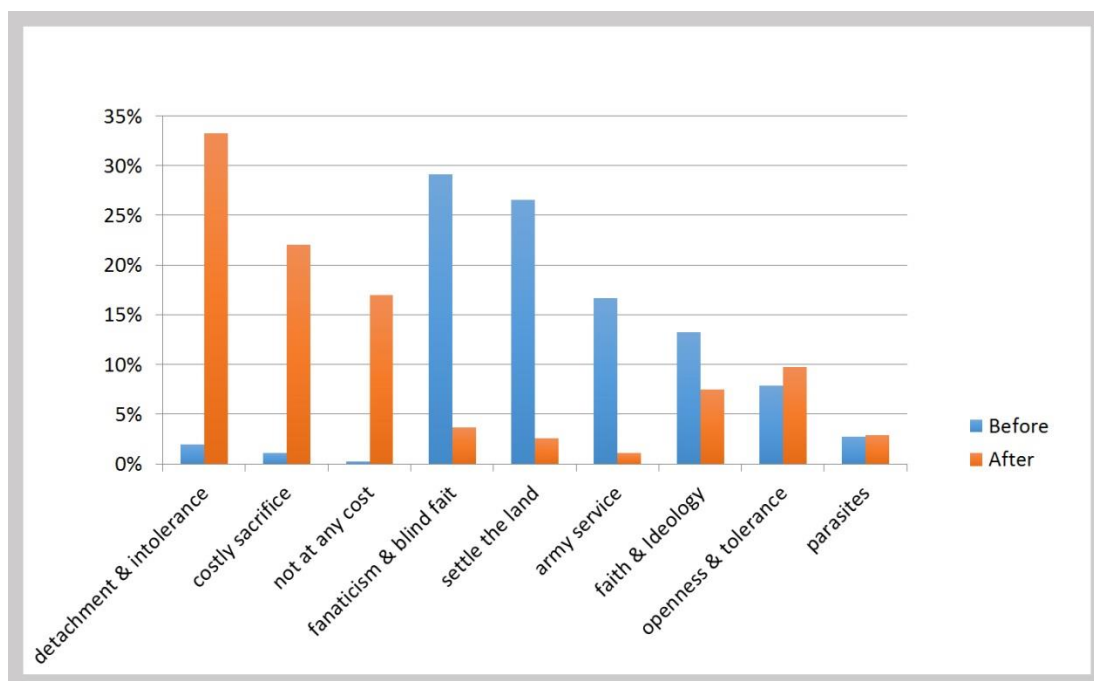
Figure 11.0: Interpretation distribution before and after the event – scene header (state)

Re-coding for this level involved adding two CC categories in addition to the ones used in the scene header level (*army service, parasites*) and an additional INT category (*openness and tolerance*). A chi-square test was then conducted in order to examine the relationship between type of category (i.e. CC or INT) and time of selection. The result was significant: $X^2(1, N = 701) = 48.01$, p <.001. Φ= .26, moderate effect. The analysis supports the H2 prediction of an increased level of (M)CC categories following the Amona event with 65.4% CC selections before and 87.6% MCC selections after the event.

The three categories that increased significantly involved representations that were MXCC prior the event and turned MCC following the event, as reflected in this increment. Specifically, representations of *detachment & intolerance* as well representations *of costly sacrifice* and *not at any cost* involve many violations of culturally shared conventions; however, due to the Amona event they have become more justifiable, hence MCC. The decrease of MCC *fanaticism & blind faith* (a category which mainly focuses on faith-driven ideas and actions) may be explained by their reduced relevance to matters of the state, hence they were replaced by representations that relate to subgroups' tensions.

Table 8.0: CC Interpretation distribution before and after the event by type – scene header (state)

		detachment & intolerance	costly sacrifice	not at any cost	fanaticism & blind faith	settle the land	army service	faith & Ideology	openness & tolerance	parasites	Total
Before	CC	7 (2.00%)	4 (1.10%)	1 (0.30%)	103 (29.20%)		59 (16.70%)	47 (13.30%)		10 (2.80%)	231 (65.40%)
	INT					94 (26.60%)			28 (7.90%)		305 (34.60%)
After	CC	116 (33.30%)	77 (22.10%)	59 (17%)	13 (3.70%)		4 (1.10%)	26 (7.50%)		10 (2.90%)	87.60% (122)
	INT					9 (2.60%)			34 (9.80%)		43 (12.40%)
Total		123 (17.5%)	81 (11.6%)	60 (8.6%)	116 (16.5%)	103 (14.7%)	63 (9.0%)	73 (10.4%)	62 (8.8%)	20 (2.9%)	701

On the action header level, a significant difference between the distribution of interpretations previous and post the event was also found supporting the H1 hypothesis. Specifically, interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith, faith & ideology, detachment & intolerance* and not at any cost increased following the Amona event while interpretations of *settle the land, openness & tolerance, army service* and parasites decreased following the Amona event. Interpretations of *costly sacrifice* and *legal resistance* showed no change before and after the Amona event. The most frequent interpretations before the event were of *settle the land* with 81 selections (26.2% of the overall selections) while the least frequent interpretations before the event were of legal resistance with no selections. The most frequent interpretations following the event were of *fanaticism & blind faith* with 108 selections (25.2 % of overall selections) and the least frequent selection post the event was *parasites* with no selections.
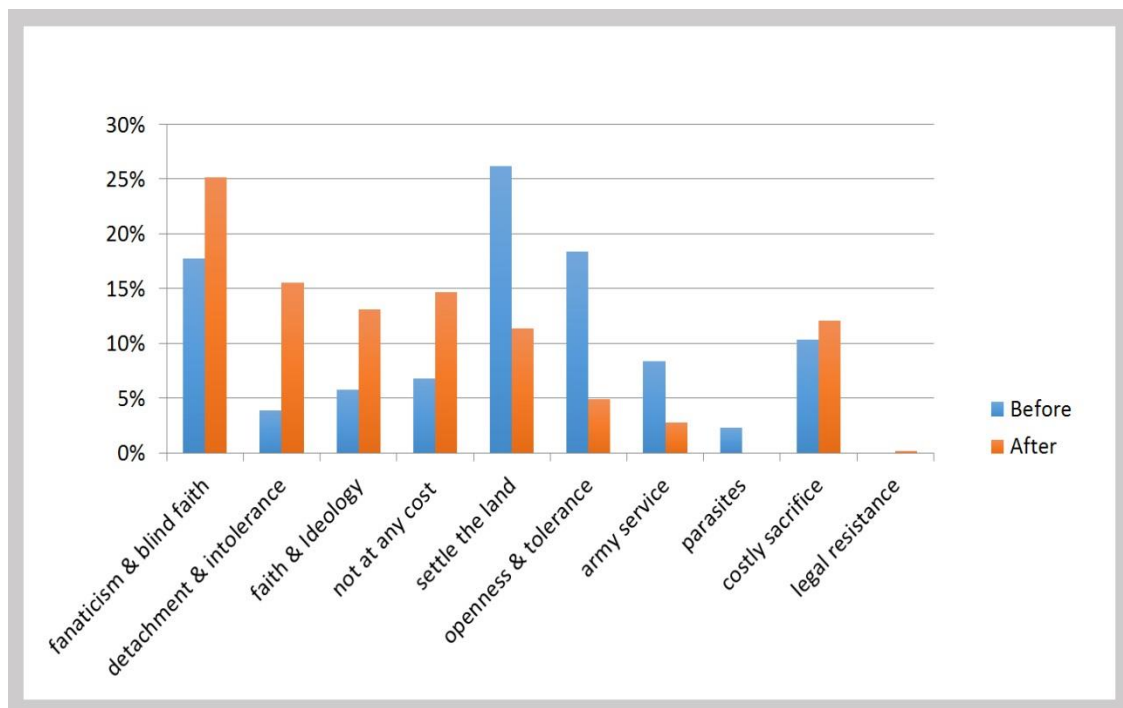
Figure 11.1: Interpretation distribution before and after the event – action header (state)

Re-coding for this level was the same as the previous one with an additional INT category (*legal resistance*) in addition to the ones used in the scene header. A chi-square test was then conducted in order to examine a relation between type of

category (i.e. CC or INT) and time of selection. The result was significant: $X^2(1, N = 738) = 69.92$, p <.001. Φ= .31, moderate effect. The analysis supports the (H2) prediction of an increased level of (M)CC categories following the Amona event with 55.3% CC selections before and 83.4% MCC selections after the event.

Three out of the four categories that increased significantly involved representations that were MXCC prior the event and turned MCC following the event, as reflected in this increment. No significant change for MXCC *costly sacrifice* may suggest that some of the notions that comprised this category remained MXCC (on this level of interpretation) or alternatively has evoked other MXCC turned MCC representations (e.g. *detachment & intolerance*) that grabbed respondents' attention being more relevant.

Table 8.1: CC Interpretation distribution before and after the event – action header (state)

		fanaticism & blind faith	detachment & intolerance	faith & Ideology	not at any cost	settle the land	openness & tolerance	army service	parasites	costly sacrifice	legal resistance	Total
Before	CC	55 (17.80%)	12 (3.90%)	18 (5.80%)	21 (6.80%)			26 (8.40%)	7 (2.30%)	32 (10.40%)		171 (55.30%)
	INT					81 (26.20%)	57 (18.40%)				0 (0.00%)	138 (44.60%)
After	CC	108 (25.20%)	67 (15.60%)	56 (13.10%)	63 (14.7%)			12 (2.80%)	0 (0.00%)	52 (12.10%)		358 (83.40%)
	INT					49 (11.40%)	21 (4.90%)				1 (0.20%)	71 (16.30%)
Total		163 (22.1%)	79 (10.7%)	74 (10.0%)	84 (11.4%)	130 (17.6%)	78 (10.6%)	38 (5.1%)	7 (0.9%)	84 (11.4)	1 (0.1%)	738

On the action level, the H$_1$ hypothesis of difference of distribution of interpretations before and after the event was supported. Specifically interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith* and *detachment & intolerance* increased significantly after the Amona event. Distribution of interpretations of *settle the land*, *openness and tolerance* and *army service* decreased significantly following the Amona event. Distribution of interpretations of *faith & ideology*, *costly sacrifice*, *not at any cost, parasites* and *legal resistance* showed no significant change before and after the event. The most frequent interpretations before the event were of *settle the land* with 67 selections (27.1% of the overall selections) while the least frequent interpretation was *legal resistance* with one selection. The most frequent interpretations after the event were of *fanaticism & blind faith* with 141 selections (37.7% of the overall selections) whilst the least frequent one was legal resistance with no selections.
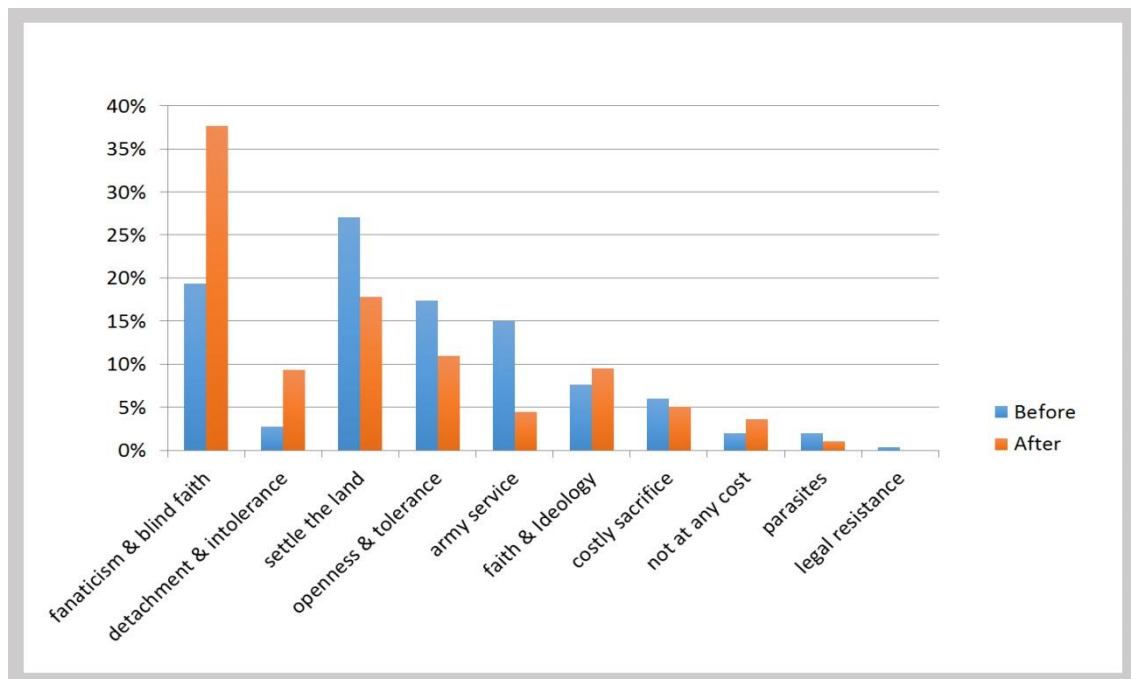
Figure 11.2: Interpretation distribution before and after the event – action level (state)

Re-coding for this level was the same as for the previous level. A chi-square test was then conducted in order to examine the relationship between type of category (i.e. CC or INT) and time of selection. The result was significant: $X^2(1, N = 621) = 16.81$, p <.001. Φ= .17, weak effect. The analysis supports the (H2) prediction of an

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increased level of (M)CC categories following the Amona event with 55.1% CC selections before and 71.1% MCC selections after the event. The increased levels of fanaticism & blind faith and detachment & intolerance after the event (at the expense of other MXCC such as faith & ideology and costly sacrifice) may suggest that they involve representations that were MXCC prior to the event and turned MCC post the event, as reflected in this increment. As in the previous script, the results also suggest that on the action level, where participants were tasked to elaborate on three instantiations of sacrifice and commitment, many (maybe similar in their mnemonic quality) MCC representations were evoked while keeping the Amona background in mind.

Table 8.2: CC Interpretation distribution before and after the event – action level (state)

		fanaticism & blind faith	detachment & intolerance	settle the land	openness & Tolerance	army service	faith & Ideology	costly sacrifice	not at any cost	parasites	legal resistance	Total
Before	CC	48	7			37	19	15	5	5		131
		(19.40%)	(2.80%)			(15.00%)	(7.70%)	6.10%	(2.00%)	(2.00%)		(55.10%)
	INT			67	43						1	111
				(27.10%)	(17.40%)						(0.40%)	(44.90%)
After	CC	141	35			17	36	19	14	4		266
		(37.70%)	(9.40%)			(4.50%)	(9.60%)	(5.10%)	(3.70%)	(1.10%)		(71.10%)
	INT			67	41						0	108
				(17.90%)	11.00%						(0.00%)	28.90%
Total		189	42				55	34	19	9	1	
		(30.4%)	(6.8%)				(8.9%)	(5.5%)	(3.1%)	(1.4%)		

6.2.2.2 Testing for emotional valence of interpretations before and after the Amona event – S&C to the state

As in the previous script, an independent sample t-test was conducted to compare the mean score of the emotional valence attached to interpretations before and after the Amona event across the three interpretation levels (scene header, action header and action (See appendix E: Tables 17.0,18.0). The results indicate that on the scene header level, while the overall mean score remained negative, interpretations were significantly more positive after the Amona event than before. For *detachment & intolerance*: after (M=3.02, SD =1.76) before (M=1.86, SD 1.07), t (121) =1.72, p $<.05$ effect size was moderate, .79. In addition, two interpretations were significantly more positive after the Amona event than befor*e : settle the entire land* after (M = 7.00, SD = .00) before (M = 6.56, SD = .77), t (93) = 5.24, p < .001, and effect size was strong, .80, overall positive, For *parasites*, the mean score shifted from negative to positive: after (M = 6.40, SD = 1.26) before (M = 2.10, SD = 1.37), t(18) = 7.29, p < .001. The effect size, Cohen's d, was strong, 3.20.

In the action header level, *Fanaticism & blind faith* was less negative after the event than before, though overall negative: after (M = 2.03, SD = 1.6) before (M = 1.30, SD = .57), t (148) = 4.28, p < .001, effect size, Cohen's d was moderate, *.60. Costly sacrifice* shifted from negative to positive: after (M = 5.00, SD = 1.96) before (M = 3.72, SD = 2.58), t (52) = 2.41, p < .05, effect size, Cohen's d was moderate, .55. *Not at any cost* became more positive after (M= 5.29, SD =1.9) than before (M= 4.19, SD=2.34), t (26) =1.94, p <. 05, The effect size, Cohen's d was moderate .51. *Settle the land* shifted from positive to negative: after (M = 2.80, SD = 1.93) before (M = 5.85, SD = 1.75), t (128) = 9.30, p < .001. The effect size, Cohen's d, was strong, 1.65. In the action level, a similar pattern for the category *fanaticism& blind faith* was found, as interpretations were significantly less negative after (M = 2.41, SD = 2.21) than before (M = 1.58, SD = 1.38), t (131) = 3.04, p < .01, effect size, Cohen's d was weak, .45. *Detachment & intolerance* was also less negative after (M = 2.60, SD = 2.21) than before (M = 1.43, SD = .29), t (27) = 2.45, p < .05, effect size, Cohen's d was moderate, .74.

6.2.2.3 Testing for relationships between interpretation selection and level of interpretation– S&C to the state

On the basis of the H3 hypothesis of the relationship between level of interpretation and the interpretation selected by the participants, so that distribution of interpretations for sacrifice and commitment on the scene header level will be the same as the distribution of interpretations on the action header level and the action level, a series of chi-square tests were conducted. Results indicate a significant relationship between the distribution of interpretations generated in the scene header level and those of the action header level, $X^2(64, N = 537) = 776.51$, p <.001. The effect size for this finding was strong, .43, and there was a significant relationship between the distribution of the interpretations generated in the action header level and those of the action level, $X^2(81, N = 474) = 431.90$, p <.001. The effect size for this finding was moderate, .32.

As shown in figure 33, participants who generated sacrifice and commitment to state interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith, settle the land, army service* and *openness &tolerance* in the scene header level continued to generate them in the action header level and in the action level. However, participants that have generated interpretations concerning *not at any cost* in the scene header level continued to generate them in the action header level but not in the action level.
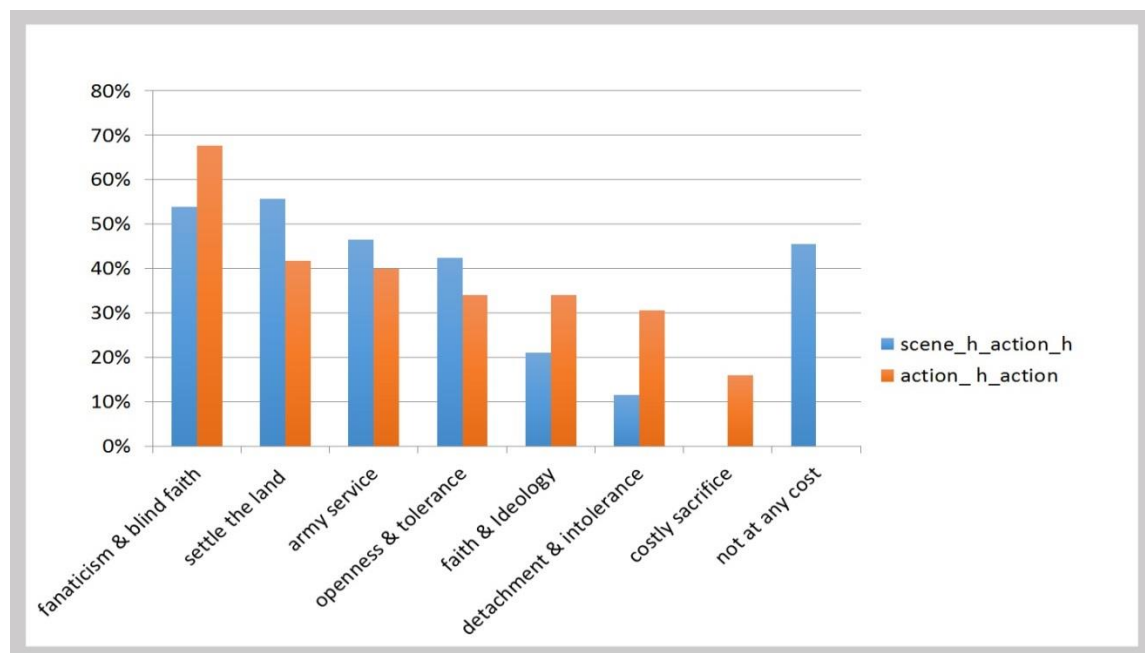
Figure 11.3: Interpretation distribution across interpretation levels (state)

6.2.2.4 Summary of results for script 2 –sacrifice and commitment to state

The results indicate that distribution of interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith*, *detachment & intolerance* and *not at any cost* were significantly more frequent following the event in at least two levels of the interpretation layers. Distribution of interpretations concerning *costly sacrifice* were significantly more frequent following the event in the scene header level yet showed no significant change in the other levels of the interpretation chains. Interpretations concerning *faith & ideology* were significantly less frequent in the scene header level while more frequent in the action header level, and there was no significant change on the action level before and after the Amona event. Interpretations concerning *settle the land* were significantly less frequent following the event across all levels of interpretation layers. These results support the prediction suggested in Chapter 5 that MCC interpretations of sacrifice and commitment to the state will show higher levels following the event and therefore may be argued to be context dependent. These include *fanaticism & blind faith*, *self-detachment & intolerance* and *costly sacrifice* (to a lesser degree), while INT interpretations to sacrifice and commitment to the state, such as *settle the land* and *faith & ideology* (to a lesser degree), decreased following the event across interpretation layers as predicted.

In addition, the emotional mean scores of *fanaticism & blind faith* and *detachment & intolerance* were significantly more positive after the event, yet remained negative overall in two out of the three interpretation layers. The emotional mean score of *costly sacrifice* showed a significant shift on one level from slightly negative to slightly positive; no significant results were found on the other interpretation levels.

Table 8.3: Summary of results – script 2

Scene header	H1: difference between distribution of interpretations prior to the event and post the event.	***Prediction supported.***
	H2: difference between distribution of MCC interpretation prior to the event and MCC distribution post the event (MCC post >MCC pre).	***Prediction supported.***
Action header	H1: difference between distribution of interpretations prior to the event and post the event.	***Prediction supported.***
	H2: difference between distribution of MCC interpretation prior to the event and MCC distribution post the event (MCC post >MCC pre).	***Prediction supported.***
Action	H1: difference between distribution of interpretations prior to the event and post the event.	***Prediction supported.***
	H2: difference between distribution of MCC interpretation prior to the event and MCC distribution post the event (MCC post >MCC pre).	***Prediction supported.***
Emotional valence	Difference in emotive mean score for MCC interpretations before and after the Amona event across script levels.	***Prediction supported.***
Consistency	H3: difference between distribution of interpretation between scene header and actions headers/actions across script levels,	***Prediction supported.***

6.2.3.1 Script 3 – sacrifice and commitment to the community

6.2.3.1 Testing for relationships between time of participation and interpretation selection

To test the H_1 hypothesis for script 3, a series of chi-square tests of independence were computed. The results indicate that across all three interpretation layers a

significant relationship was found: scene header level, X^2(7, N = 835) = 183.95, p <. 001. The effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was strong, .47; action header level, X^2(7, N = 804) = 30.18, p <. 001. The effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was weak, .19; and action level, X^2(9, N = 674) = 32.90, p <. 001. The effect size for this finding, Cramer's V, was moderate, .31.

Specifically, the results for the scene header level indicate that interpretations of *faith & ideology*, *not at any cost* and *parasites* increased significantly following the Amona event. Interpretations of *costly sacrifice*, *openness and tolerance* and *fanaticism & blind faith* decreased significantly after the Amona event. Interpretations of *detachment & intolerance* and *settle the land* did not show significant changes before and after the Amona event. The most frequent interpretations prior to the event were of *costly sacrifice* with 90 selections (26.3% out of the overall selections), while the least frequent interpretations were of *not at any cost* with one selection. The most frequent interpretations post the event were of *faith & ideology* with 140 selections (28.4% out of the overall selections). The least frequent interpretations were of *settle the land* with 7 selections (1.4 % of the overall selections).The following figure demonstrates these results:
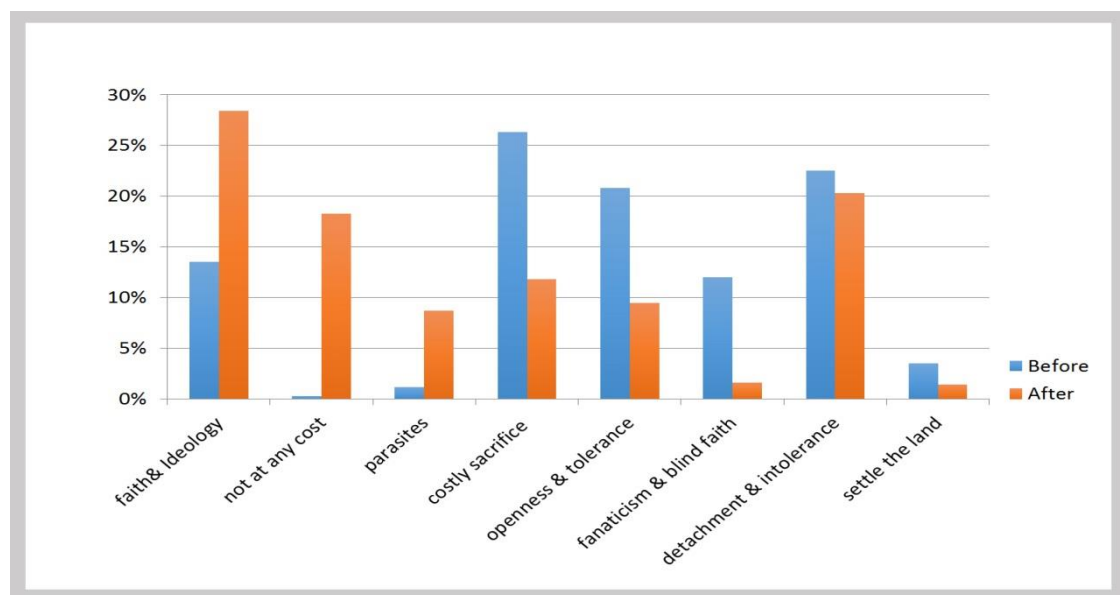
Figure 12.0: Interpretation distribution before and after the event – scene header (community)

As before, the data was re-coded into a new variable called type of selection. CC categories included *fanaticism & blind faith*, *costly sacrifice*, *not at any cost*, *detachment and intolerance*, *parasites* and *faith and ideology* and INT categories included *settle the land* and *openness and tolerance*. A chi-square test was then conducted in order to examine the relationship between type of category (i.e. CC or INT) and time of selection. The result was significant: $X^2(1, N = 835) = 26.10$, p <.001. $\Phi= .18$, weak effect. The analysis supports the H2 prediction of an increased level of (M)CC categories following the Amona event with 75.7% CC selections before and 89% MCC selections after the event.

Specifically, among the three categories that increased following the event, two were MXCC turned MCC: *not at any cost* and *parasites* (a category regarding misuse and abuse of the public) which were thus responsible for some degree of this increment. The increase of *faith & ideology* (suggested earlier to MCC before and MCC after) may suggest that it also involved some representations that were MXCC prior to the event turned MCC post the event[30]. As before, the decrease of *costly sacrifice* and *fanaticism& blind faith* (MXCC categories) may be explained by the script context. Interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith* (which are essentially concerned with religious faith) may have been replaced on this first-level, immediate, interpretative response, by ideas more relevant to different ideologies deriving different subgroups and their communities. No change for MXCC *detachment & intolerance* may suggest that some of the notions which comprised this category remained MXCC (on this level of interpretation) the more people reflected on the task, or rather evoked other MXCC, turned MMCC, representations (e.g. *not at any cost* and *parasites*) that grabbed respondents' attention i.e. they were more relevant to this script concerning community.

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[30]This aligns with claims established in chapter 2 regarding the difficulty of drawing a clear line between MXCC and MCC representations.

Table 9.0: Interpretation distribution before and after the event by type – scene header (community)

		Faith & Ideology	not at any cost	parasites	costly sacrifice	openness & tolerances	fanaticism & blind faith	detachment & intolerance	settle the land	Total
Before	CC	46 (13.50%)	1 (0.30%)	4 (1.20%)	90 (26.30%)		41 (12%)	77 (22.50%)		259 (75.70%)
	INT					71 (20.80%)			12 (3.50%)	83 (24.30%)
After	CC	140 (28.40%)	90 (18.30%)	43 (8.70%)	58 (11.80%)		8 (1.60%)	100 (20.30%)		439 (89.00%)
	INT					47 (9.50%)			7 (1.40%)	54 (11.00%)
Total		186 (22.3%)	91 (10.9%)	47 (5.6%)	148 (17.7%)	118 (14.1%)	49 (5.9%)	177 (21.2%)	19 (2.3%)	835

On the action header level, the results indicate a similar pattern with a significant difference in the distribution of interpretations before and after the Amona event (supporting the H₁ hypothesis). Specifically, Interpretations of *faith & ideology* and *parasites* and *settle the land* increased significantly following the Amona event. Interpretations of *openness & tolerance* and *costly sacrifice* decreased significantly after the Amona event. Interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith, detachment & intolerance* and *not at any cost* did not show a significant change before and after the event. The most frequent interpretations before the event were of *faith & ideology* with 60 selections (19% of the overall selections), while the least frequent interpretations were of *settle the land* and *parasites* with 6 selections (1.9% of the overall selections). The most frequent interpretations following the event were of *faith & ideology* with143 selections (29.2 % of selections), while the least frequent interpretations were of*settle* the land with 22 selections (4.5% of the overall selections).
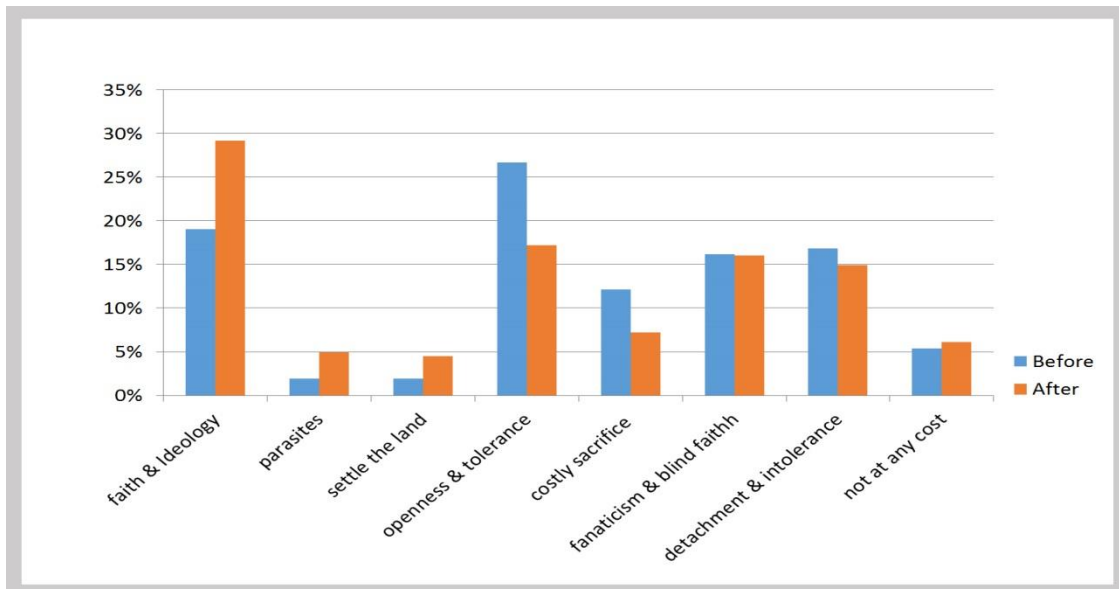
Figure 12.1: Interpretation distribution before and after the event – action header (community)

Re-coding for this level was the same as for the previous level. A chi-square test was then conducted in order to examine the relationship between type of category (i.e. CC or INT) and time of selection. The result was significant: $X^2(1, N = 804) = 4.94$, p

<.05. Φ= .78, strong effect. The analysis supports the H2 prediction of an increased level of (M)CC categories following the Amona event with 71.4% CC selections before and 78.3% MCC selections after the event. Two out of the three categories that increased significantly involved representations that were MXCC prior to the event and turned MCC following the event, as reflected in this increment. As before, no significant change for MXCC *fanaticism& blind faith*, *detachment & intolerance* and *not at any cost* may suggest that some notions this category remained MXCC (on this level of interpretation) the more people reflected on the task.

Table 9.1: CC Interpretation distribution before and after the event by type – action header (community)

		faith & Ideology	parasites	settle the land	openness & tolerance	costly sacrifice	fanaticism & blind faith	detachment & intolerance	not at any cost	Total
Before	CC	60	6			38	51	53	17	225
		(19%)	(1.90%)			(12.10%)	(16.20%)	(16.80%)	(5.40%)	(71.4%)
	INT			6	84					90
				(1.90%)	(26.70%)					(28.60%)
After	CC	143	24			35	78	73	30	383
		(29.2%)	(4.90%)			(7.20%)	(16.00%)	(14.90%)	(6.10%)	(78.3%)
	INT			22	84					106
				(4.50%)	(17.20%)					(21.70%)
Total		203 (25.2%)	30 (3.70%)	28 (3.5%)	168 (20.9%)	73 (9.1%)	129 (16 %)	126 (15.7%)	47 (5.8%)	804

On the action level, the results indicate that distribution of interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith*, *faith & ideology* and *not at any cost* increased significantly after the Amona event, whereas *openness & tolerance, detachment & intolerance, costly sacrifice* and decreased significantly after the Amona event. There were no significant changes for interpretations of *settle the land, legal resistance* and *parasites*. The most frequent interpretations before the event were of *openness and tolerance* with 93 selections (34.7% of the overall selections) while the least frequent interpretations were of *not at any cost* with no selections at all. The most frequent interpretation after the event was *openness and tolerance* with 114 selections (28.1% of overall selections) whiles the least frequent interpretations were of *army service* with 3 selections (0.7% of overall selections).
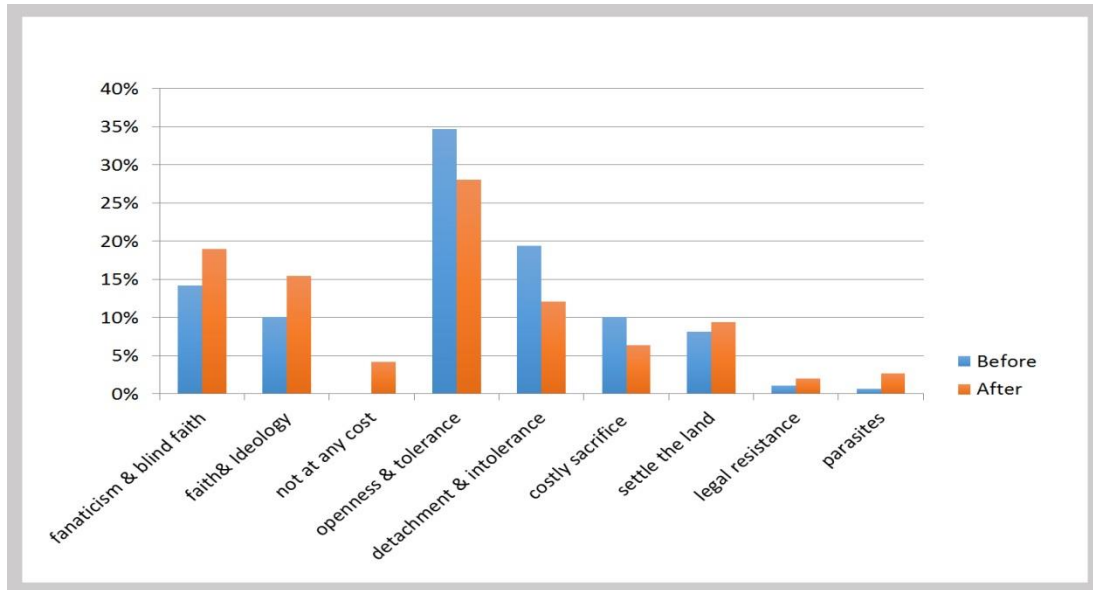
Figure 12.2: Interpretation distribution before and after the event – action (community)

Re-coding for this level was the same as the previous one with an additional INT category (*legal resistance*) in addition to the ones used in the scene header. A chi-square test was then conducted in order to examine the relationship between type of category (i.e. CC or INT) and time of selection. The result was not significant: $X^2(1, N = 674) = 1.42$, *ns*.

6.2.3.2 Emotional valence of interpretations before and after the Amona event – S&C to the community

As in the previous script, an independent sample t-test was conducted to compare the mean score of the emotional valence attached to interpretations before and after the Amona event across the three interpretation layers (scene header, action header and action). As in previous scripts in the scene header level, a significant difference was found for the category *costly sacrifice* as interpretations were more positive after the event (M = 5.88, SD = 1.40) than before (M = 4.91, SD = 2.31), t (145) = 3.17, p < .01. The effect size, Cohen's d, was moderate, .50. The mean emotional score for the category *not at any cost* changed from a neutral to positive: after (M = 6.23, SD = 1.09) before (M = 4.00), t(89) = 2.03, p<.05 effect size, Cohen's d, was strong, 2.89.

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On the action header level, there were other significant differences in the emotional score. The category *fanaticism & blind faith* was less negative after (M = 3.12, SD = 2.41) than before (M= 1.88, SD = 1.10), t (115) = 4.19, p < .001 effect size, was moderate, .70, *detachment & intolerance* was also less negative after (M = 3.05, SD = 2.32) than before (M = 1.96, SD = 1.09), t (108) = 3.55, p < .01 effect size was moderate, .60, *costly sacrifice* was more positive after (M = 6.46, SD = .82) than before *(*M = 5.47, SD = 2.11), t (48) = 2.66, p < .05 effect size was moderate, .61, n*ot at any cost* was also more positive after (M = 5.43, SD = 1.96) than before (M = 4.12, SD = 1.96), t(45) = 2.21, p < .05 effect size was strong - moderate, .66 and *parasites* changed to from negative to neutral : after (M = 4.04, SD = 1.97) before (M = 2.00, SD = 1.26), t(28) = 2.40, p < .05 effect size was strong, 1.23. In turn *faith and ideology* was less *positive* after (M = 5.68, SD = 1.37) than before (M = 6.28, SD = 1.01), t(148) = 3.48, p < .01. The effect size was weak, .49. *Settle the land* shifted from positive to negative*:* after (M = 2.82, SD = 2.11 after) before (M = 5.33, SD = 1.96), t (26) = 2.62, p < .05. The effect size was strong, 1.23.

In the action level, the direction of *fanaticism & blind faith* was consistent with the action header level, less negative mean score after (M = 2.74, SD = 2.52) than before (M = 1.79, SD = 1.23), t(113) = 2.72, p < .01. The effect size was weak, .47. *Settle the land* was more positive after (M = 5.74, SD = 1.77) than before (M = 4.27, SD = 2.55), t(32) = 2.38, p < .05. The effect size was moderate, .66. This positive trend is inconsistent with the results of the action header level.

6.2.3.3 Testing for relationships between interpretation selection and level of interpretation– S&C to the community

On the basis of the H3 hypothesis of the relationship between level of interpretation and the interpretation selected by the participants, so that distribution of interpretations for sacrifice and commitment on the scene header level will be the same as the distribution of interpretations on the action header level and the action level, a series of chi-square tests were conducted. The results indicate a significant relationship between the distribution of interpretations generated in the scene header level and those of the action header level, X^2(49, N = 708) = 1191.00, p <.001. The effect size for this finding was strong, .49, and there was a significant relationship

between the distribution of the interpretations generated in the action header level and those of the action level, $X^2(63, N = 599) = 567.60$, p <.001. The effect size for this finding was moderate, .37.

As shown in the figure below, participants that have generated interpretations for sacrifice and commitment to the community of mainly *fanaticism & blind faith* and *detachment & intolerance* in the scene header level continued to generate them in the action header level and action level. However, participants that generated interpretations of *faith & ideology* in the scene header level continued to generate them in the action header level but not in the action level. Interestingly, participants that generated interpretations of *openness & tolerance* in the scene header level did not continue to generate them in the action header level, but those who generated them in the action header level continued to generate them in the action level.
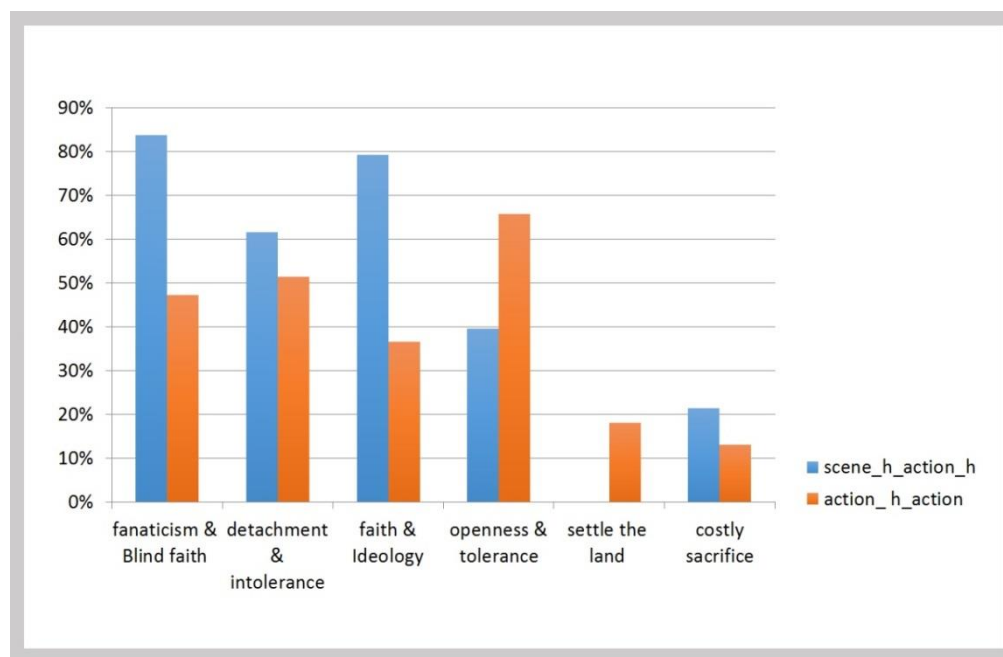
Figure 12.3: Interpretation distribution across interpretation levels (community)

6.2.3.4 Summary of results for script 3 –sacrifice and commitment to community

The results indicate that interpretations of *faith & ideology*, *not at any cost* and *parasites* were significantly more frequent following the Amona event in at least two of the three interpretations layers. Interpretations of *fanaticism & blind faith* were significantly less frequent following the Amona event in the scene header level while

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there was no significant change following the Amona event in the other two interpretation levels. Interpretations of *openness a& intolerance* and *costly sacrifice* were significantly less frequent in all three interpretation layers following the Amona event.

Table 9.2: Summary of results – script 3

Scene header	H1: difference between distribution of interpretations prior to the event and post the event.	**Prediction supported.**
	H2: difference between distribution of MCC interpretation prior to the event and MCC distribution post the event (MCC post >MCC pre).	**Prediction supported.**
Action header	H1: difference between distribution of interpretations prior to the event and post the event.	**Prediction supported.**
	H2: difference between distribution of MCC interpretation prior to the event and MCC distribution post the event (MCC post >MCC pre).	**Prediction supported.**
Action	H1: difference between distribution of interpretations prior to the event and post the event.	**Prediction supported.**
	H2: difference between distribution of MCC interpretation prior to the event and MCC distribution post the event (MCC post >MCC pre).	**Prediction not supported.**
Emotional valence	Difference in emotive mean score for MCC interpretations before and after the Amona event across script levels.	**Prediction supported.**
Consistency	H3: difference between distribution of interpretation between scene header and actions headers/actions across script levels.	**Prediction supported.**

6.3 Discussion of results

The study of the distribution of religious representations entails claims regarding their special mnemonic qualities making them better candidates for cultural transmission. By integrating two theories (context-based approaches for transmission and script theory) used to account for their success over other cultural representations, this web experiment explored whether differences in context trigger the selection MCC interpretation concerning sacrifice and commitment to God/the state/ the community. More specifically, it explored whether there is a significant difference between the distribution of MCC representations concerning sacrifice and commitment before and after the Amona event – a contextual marker signalling a threat to the setters' script and group identity.

Overall, the results supported the prediction that distribution of interpretations following the event will significantly differ from distribution prior to the event, and that interpretation following the event will involve increased levels of MCC representation (except on the action level of sacrifice and commitment to the community). It is important to remember that the majority of participants in the study were secular and that they entered the experiment with pervious knowledge of the Amona settlers' (religious) sacrifice scripts, highlighted by the media on the days prior to the event, and certainly knowledge regarding the messianic script has driven the settlers' ideology and faith in recent decades. Although recent studies have explored the effect of context including prior knowledge on memorability of MCI representations, this is the first study, to my knowledge, to empirically demonstrate this relationship with MCC representation, and in the context of Israeli culture.

This experiment also sheds light upon the qualities of MCC religious representations, as in the case of MCI, they seem to hold an evocative quality: on the one hand they violate cultural expectations, while on the other hand they remain relevant. Their positive (or less negative) emotional valence may suggest that this is how people resolve this paradoxical nature (or their implausibility) (Franks, 2004). Specifically, a key finding was that widespread interpretations concerning sacrifice and commitment to God following the event involved notions of *fanaticism & blind faith*, *costly sacrifice* and *not at any cost* . These psychologically attractive representations of

scripts regarding giving up material and emotional benefits to actualize unconditional love for the land and the lord on the path to redemption, are on the one hand thought provoking and radical, but on the other hand highly relevant to notions of Jewish identity tied to aspects of Jewish teaching and tradition (see chapter 3) and the memory of the holocaust (Katz & Gurevitz, 1976).

The fact that context triggers increased levels of MCC representations may further support Upal et al. (2007) and Upal (2011a) claims regarding postdictability. Specifically, these representations, which were unusual or MXCC before the event (e.g., *fanaticism & blind faith*, *costly sacrifice*) as they maximally deviate from modern, Western and secular assumptions, did however turn MCC (with either less reference to violations of individualistic values or more reference to the importance of collectivistic identity and values) following the Amona event − becoming more justifiable in the context of young settlers fighting for their cause against security forces. Interestingly, this duality of individualism and collectivism in Israel has been previously documented by Sagy, Orr, and Bar-On (1999) and Oyserman (1993) who claimed that "neither Individualism nor Collectivism alone seems to fully capture the Israeli experience" (p. 993).

Previously, Katz and Gurevitz (1976) studied this blend by analyzing the notion of 'Jewish identity' or the Jewish cultural values that are shared by Israelis from different generations, social classes or levels of education and different commitments to religion while asking 'How salient is Jewishness in the National identity of Israelis?' Results from their large-scale study, including 2,000 Israeli respondents, suggest several themes which emerged repeatedly: an attachment to tradition, the collective memory of the holocaust, strong ties and feelings of interdependence with their fellow Jews abroad, and a connectedness to the land of Zion. When focusing on Jewish identity, they found other themes: the Jewish continuity (the struggle to stay alive and the desire to return to the Promised Land), and Jewish history and religion (although religious and secular Israelis differ). This large survey yielded a map of Jewish Israeli people's self-images that could be seen as consisting of a blend of both individualistic and collectivistic tendencies. The individualistic tendency is made up of self-altruism, positive self-confidence, independence of others outside, social justice, humanism etc. In comparison, the collectivist tendency is built on mutual

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dependence and the work of the Jewish mission as they promote their belief that Jewish people should set an example for others (typical to traditional and religious people).

Sacrifice and commitment to the state results indicate similar patterns to that of sacrifice and commitment to God. The results supported the prediction that distribution of interpretations following the event will significantly differ from distribution prior to the event, and that interpretation following the event will involve increased levels of MCC representations. For this script, highly transmitted CC representations centred on *detachment & intolerance*, *fanaticism & blind faith, not at any cost* and to a lesser degree *costly sacrifice*. *Detachment and intolerance* was central to the state script as it involved counter-cultural representations of the settlers' mere interest in what is important for their own community including intolerance towards whoever is perceived as different. Similar to the previous script, participants taking part in the SIT after the event resolved these paradoxical representations (blending collectivistic ideas about interdependence and individualistic ideas about independence from the outside) with a less negative (or more positive) emotional score.

It may also be argued that *costly sacrifice* – a category which on this script included interpretations regarding joining the army and risking life during military service – showing a significant shift from a slightly negative mean score to a slightly positive mean score on one of the interpretation layers following the event, reinforces the strong consensus among Israelis in general regarding the costs of military service. This has been previously suggested by Levy (1998), who argues that both secular and national religious people see military service and its associated risks (long duration of service, exposure to traumatic events and direct threat to life) as an important duty and as a marker of true commitment to the state.

The sacrifice and commitment to the community results also support differences between pre and post Amona distribution of interpretations; however, in regards to the H2 hypothesis, increased levels of MCC interpretations post event were found in the scene header and the action header (e.g. *not at any cost* and *parasites*) but not in the

action level – their transmissibility may be also explained by their residing between collectivistic and individualistic tendencies. Increased levels of interpretations concerning *faith & ideology* (MCC pre and post) may be explained by involving both MCI representations (about a supernatural god) as well as other MCC representations concerning religious Zionists and settlers' communal experience, hence its mnemonic advantage. The fact that these interpretations were less positive but still positive overall may also suggest, as before, that this is how people resolved their paradoxical nature.

The results of the script consistency analyses supports the H3 predictions for all scripts regarding a relationship between levels of interpretation and the interpretation selected by the participants. These were especially strong for interpretations of *fanaticism and blind faith* across the three meta-scripts of God/ the state/ the community. This may suggest that the notions comprising this category involve violation of modern and secular cultural conventions to the extent that they grab respondents' attention in consistent ways. This finding is also consistent with studies which suggest that radical ideologies prevail (e.g. Upal, 2011b).

The results also show similar patterns for the INT concept of *settle the land* being consistent across interpretation layers in the God and the state scripts. This may suggest, as argued in chapters 3 and 4, that this category represents deeply held beliefs that transcend both modern secular views and ancient and religious views in Israeli culture regarding the connection between Jews and the Promised Land (Katz & Gurevitz, 1976).

The overall results show that participants selected similar counter-cultural religious representations when primed with God, the state and the community. As such, the present study provides indirect evidence that extreme contexts may affect the content of representations in a similar way regardless of the specific object to interpret. This lends empirical support to the theoretical claim that studying counter-cultural representations might help to account for other religious representations that are not only relative to Gods and other spiritual beings. In order to provide stronger evidence

for this claim, a follow-up study is currently underway which explores whether people from other Western societies hold more MCC representations about the notion of religious sacrifice and commitment that are associated with different degrees of counter-cultural violations. I predict that similar results will be found where religion plays a fundamental role in the lives of people.

Finally, parallels between frequent post-event interpretations for S&C to God and S&C to the state may further suggest that in the context of high-intensity experiences such as settlers' evacuations from Amona – representations regarding loyalty and adherence (either to God and the religious community, or to the state and democratic law) are evoked because of their paradoxical nature. Consistent with the findings in chapter 4, they reside between a belief set that seeks sharp distinction between the true state, which is evaluated according to its religious meaning, and the false state, where its decisions and law are seen as merely temporary, and a belief set that is slightly more dialectical and consists of mainly operational contradictions between state and religion.

6.4 Summary and conclusions

The chapter has presented the results of the SIT while focusing on distribution of interpretations before and after the Amona event. It began with the process of preparing the qualitative data for quantitative examination and was followed by an analysis of the relationship between demographic variables and time of participation. This examination has highlighted no significant relationship for both gender and religious affiliation suggesting that these variables are not related. The next section focused on the main analysis and showed that each script involved minimal counter-cultural concepts at different levels of the script hierarchy and to different extents, but with an overall increased level of MCC following the event as expected. The subsequent discussion suggested these psychological qualities for post-Amona event representations in terms of their descriptive, emotional and psychological properties being paradoxical; on the one hand they involve violations of cultural expectations, but on the other hand they involve a positive (less negative) emotional mean score. The discussion also provided a comparison between meta-scripts in relation to their

overall counter-cultural qualities and suggested that representations concerning sacrifice and commitment to God and sacrifice and commitment to the state involve similar violations of common cultural conventions, while representations concerning sacrifice and commitment of the community involve other significant violations.

The following chapter concludes the thesis by presenting a critical assessment of the overall success of the present research in achieving its aims. The chapter begins with a summary of the thesis and its different studies and analyses. This is followed by a discussion of the limitations of the research presented in this thesis and areas for future investigation. The third section will consider the potential ramifications of the theoretical framework and empirical findings for the study of the transmission of religious representations and the study of cultural transmission. The chapter concludes by reflecting upon potential social policy implications of this research in Israel and abroad.

7 The influence of context on the memorability of MCC representations

7.1 Summary

Religious representations are often thought to be mysterious and divine. However, as has been shown in previous chapters, their content may be connected to real-life issues for individuals and communities. Interestingly, the questions of what religious representations are and why they are disseminated are relatively new to social and cultural psychology. In actual fact, traditional approaches within the social sciences have focused on aspects related to the functions of religious representations or individuals' motivations for holding them (Durkheim, 1915). This thesis aimed to explore theoretically and empirically why religious representations are disseminated and diffused by drawing on the special socio-cognitive qualities that make them more contagious than other non-religious representations.

The central focus of the thesis was religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment, as they are fundamental to any religious thinking and conduct. Recent work has suggested that they are especially attention demanding because they seem to involve beliefs regarding expectations for 'hard to fake' displays of communal bonds that are irrational, counterintuitive, and emotionally intense (Atran, 2002). However, they are highly prevalent and continue to have a profound impact on the lives of both believers and non-believers. Examples range from the beliefs and representations regarding ordinary religious commitments (such as prayers), ceremonies, and special offerings through to those regarding extreme religious fundamentalism in religious propaganda and warfare. As such, this thesis was concerned with 'why do religious beliefs and representations concerning sacrifice and commitment circulate within a society?'

This thesis focused on Israeli-Jewish culture, as beliefs regarding costly commitments seem to have played a key role in the history of Israel, as well as in the current realities for secular, traditional, and religious Israelis. Specifically, the Israeli case was the target of investigation because it serves as an example of how religious representations, originating from ancient and biblical thinking, disseminate into

modern, secular communities and become part of mainstream cultural knowledge. However, as presented in chapter 4, these biblical and theological concepts regarding sacrifice and commitment, when translated into real-life issues, raise significant tensions between different aspects of everyday living, including questions of deference e.g. to religious authority and the state's laws and majority decisions (Bloch, 2004).

The cognitive science of religion framework was chosen as the main theoretical perspective for explaining the mechanism behind the transmission of religious beliefs and representations. This was motivated by the fact that this framework offers a comprehensive account of the cognitive and evolutionary underpinnings of widespread cultural content. Specifically, it follows claims for a universal intuitive ontology wherein innate cognitive modules, developed in the course of evolution in different life domains, predispose minds to acquire, sustain, and transmit certain ideas over others. In this view, religion and religious beliefs and representations operate upon the same, universal, early developed, innate mental modules that are rooted in ontological categories. Moreover, a vast body of research suggests that religious representations hold advantageous recall qualities because they are counterintuitive – involving violations of intuitive categories. When delivered and used in small amounts (e.g. containing mild violations, as suggested in the MCI hypothesis), they are even more optimal for human memory, making some concepts more salient and more effectively distributed.

Another approach that was used to explore cultural transmission was script theory. Specifically, the idea that culture governs human cognition and the spread of certain ideas through culturally shaped knowledge structures was a central tenet of this thesis. The main focus was on cultural scripts; the mental constructs for storing representations of events and scenarios (in this case, those related to religious sacrifice and commitment) were presented as frameworks through which experience is interpreted and, most importantly, as selective cultural devices that drive the spread of specific types of representations.

Lastly, emerging perspectives within the cognitive science of religion framework were presented while highlighting their aim to broaden the scope of the MCI hypothesis to account for the effect of context on the memorability of MCI

representations and narratives. This view, especially the claim that contextual conditions can affect the unusualness of representations to make them more acceptable, was adopted in this thesis. In an attempt to fill the theoretical and empirical gap regarding the possible transmission advantage of religious representations that not only involve the violation of innate intuitions but also the violation of cultural conventions, this thesis applied the above claim to counter-cultural religious representations, especially MCC ones. Nonetheless, as mentioned in chapter 2, the focus on counter-cultural violations does not imply that the role of unconscious innate intuitions is discarded: on the contrary. Innate intuitions are seen here as interweaving with rooted cultural assumptions in explaining the spread and stability of religious beliefs and representations.

As such, this thesis adopted the view that current perspectives of cultural transmission, especially those studying the memorability of religious representations, can gain insights from a dynamic approach and that the transmission advantage of MCI beliefs and representations could also be implicated in the transmission of MCC ones. Script representations were used as a way to connect the cognitive and cultural aspects of transmission, as scripts both facilitate the ease with which certain religious beliefs and representations are practised, remembered, and recalled and aid in internalizing culturally shaped knowledge evolving under changing contexts. On this basis, the central question of the thesis that was noted above, was reframed to become, 'what is the role of context in the transmission of MCC religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment?' Special focus was placed on examining whether context can change MXCC representations to MCI representations in the observed culture.

The first step in addressing the research question was to provide a historical background for modern sacrifice scripts. This was motivated by the need to reflect on the specifics of the Jewish-Israeli historical context and to highlight the fact that beliefs and practices are culturally evolving, making some religious representations (under some historical contexts) more available and familiar to people than others. Familiarity with certain concepts holds the potential to make them less CC, thus promoting their transmission. At this point, Gush Emunim (the national religious movement) was introduced, and an account of their fundamental thinking as well as

the transmission patterns of their counter-cultural scripts was presented. The analysis of their belief sets and operative ideology (using ideas regarding the transmissibility of CC concepts) suggested that, under the overarching biblical and messianic script, actors and institutions operating in different contexts can produce different instantiations that draw upon the original script in different ways, resulting in different views and reactions. This review also highlighted possible threat conditions (i.e. operating against the original script or against members of the Gush Emunim movement) under which counter-cultural beliefs were evoked. Some of these involved beliefs and representations that were clearly MXCC, as they entailed overt support for violence and illegal resistance, a willingness to sacrifice their lives or to take the lives of others, and undermining the authority of the state and democratic law. This review aided in defining different degrees of counter-cultural representations.

On this basis, two large-scale studies were conducted using both existing and new measures. The first aimed at uncovering media representations of sacrifice scripts and their internal hierarchies within the context of the national religious movement in Israel and the settlers' community, by mapping a variety of representations within newspapers that included secular, traditional, and religious viewpoints. This exploratory endeavour revealed three main generic conceptualizations or meta-scripts: sacrifice and commitment to God, to the state, and to the community. Their internal hierarchy was organized under the script construct of scene headers, action headers, and actions. The analysis revealed complex connections between scripts, usually when they seem to compete or threaten one another. This tension was further discussed with reference to the scripts' connections to different belief sets. One belief set draws on determinist messianic ideas and representations, maintaining that commitment and sacrifice to God and to the community override commitment and sacrifice to the state. The other belief set involves a dialectical tone that does not consist of clear choices and therefore remains vague and unresolved. This tension was further discussed in relation to relevant mysteries, and other contagious qualities of counter-cultural scripts were presented. This included the settlers' collectivistic rhetoric and messages (which run counter to secular individualistic ones), which involve a messianic and dialectical appeal that is most often connected to historical narratives of victimization and persecution (including Masada and the Holocaust).

The second study used a quasi-experimental web design involving a dynamic serial interpretation test (SIT), which was specially designed to elicit the participants' mental representations concerning religious sacrifice and commitment around the three meta-scripts found in the media analysis. The goal of the study was to account for the psychological qualities of frequent representations, especially those that involve counter-cultural representations, and to examine whether certain contexts indeed affect their transmission patterns.

The Amona event, which occurred 9 days after the study began, was seen as an opportunity to explore immediate contextual effects. Specifically, the SIT resembled the classic reproductive method used by Bartlett (1932) in the 1930s; however, it was set to reflect on different phases of transmission, as the respondents could choose from existing interpretations or generate new ones and 'retell' them to other respondents. These other respondents could then either choose to select them or to produce new sets of interpretations, and so on.

The study involved several key predictions integrating the main aspects addressed in this thesis. This included a prediction regarding differences in the distribution of representations before and after the Amona event and a prediction regarding increased levels of MCC representations following the event. The last prediction was about the similarity in the distribution of interpretations for sacrifice and commitment at the levels of scene headers, action headers, and actions, as implied by script theory. The results from the main analysis and the emotional valence test support differences in the distributions of interpretations before and after the Amona event for all scripts across all script levels.

The second hypothesis of increased MCC representations following the event was generally supported (expect on the action level of the community script). Specifically, the findings indicate that each script involved an increased degree of MCC concepts following the event. Categories that were MXCC previous to the event became MCC after the event (becoming more cognitively optimal and emotionally exciting). These factors related to the increased transmissibility. Where MXCC representations did not show any change before and after the event, this may suggest that they either did not become more justifiable (remaining MXCC) or alternatively evoked other MXCC representations that had become justifiable following the event. In more general

terms, the findings provide evidence of the violations of cultural expectations on different levels of the script hierarchy and to different extents, as suggested by the different distribution of categories holding different degrees of CC concepts.

This study further highlighted the special qualities of post-Amona-event counter-cultural representations in terms of their descriptive (mainly about fanaticism and blind faith), emotional (somewhat more positive after the Amona even but overall still negative), and cognitive properties (attention demanding) and provided a comparison between scripts in relation to their overall counter-cultural qualities. The results also suggest that representations concerning sacrifice and commitment to God and to the state involved similar violations of cultural conventions, while representations concerning sacrifice and commitment the community involved other significant violations. These findings align with the context-based view, though they continue to raise questions regarding whether a clearer relationship exists between MXCC and MCC representations.

Finally, the analysis supported the third hypothesis of the similar distribution of interpretations across the script levels, but this was stronger for some representations than for others (i.e. for *fanaticism*, *blind faith*, and *costly sacrifice*).

Overall, the empirical research reported in this thesis provides some support for the role of context in the transmission of MCC religious representations, especially the potential of context to turn MXCC representations into MCC ones. The research findings also suggest that the script construct is useful in exploring highly transmitted cultural contents, as consistency between the layers was proven overall. The following section moves on to a discussion of the theoretical implications of this research.

7.2 Limitations and future research

Despite the interesting findings reported in this thesis and empirical support for the theoretical framework developed, this work was not without limitations. The following section considers some of the methodological limitations of the research.

Firstly, the use of an Internet-based method has proven to be efficient in recruiting participants and can facilitate large-scale endeavours, especially across cultures. In the case of this specific experiment, the participation rate was very high. Moreover, it was

found that an additional 1,000 participants (beyond the existing 1,005) had continued to take part in the experiment even after it had been officially terminated. The Secondly, this method also helped to minimize the impact of social desirability effects, typical of an interview setting, which could have caused the respondents to avoid providing authentic responses due to offering answers that are socially acceptable or overly polite (Berkman & Gilson, 1986; Sampson, 1986).

Nonetheless, it is acknowledged that Internet experiments have their disadvantages. For instance, they do not provide a controlled setting like a laboratory; as such, their internal validity is low. In addition, the use of an Internet experiment may have influenced the demographics of the sample, although this problem has, generally speaking, decreased over time as the age ranges and socioeconomic backgrounds of Internet users have become more balanced. In an attempt to increase the number of responses, I visited different academic institutions and offered an attractive prize (iPods). However, it is possible that some non-random self-selection bias remained. This would be particularly problematic if the motivations for participation were markedly different across the populations studied.

In addition, the SIT design may have had some limitations, especially in terms of the possibility that the design choices made in the SIT might have influenced the results obtained. Firstly, the decision to build the SIT in a script-like construct with three interpretation layers – one unfolding the other – may have constrained the production of other religious representations that are less reflective but more automatic. In addition, limiting the number of option buttons on the screen may have resulted in some ideas appearing only for a short period of time. Nonetheless, this was taken into consideration within the (hidden) ranking process, by allowing new representations some more 'screen time'. Secondly, changes in the task ' background' e.g., changes in number of choices at each level of the interpretation chain or entering new interpretations instead of choosing existing options may have led to changes in task difficulty and as a result influenced results. Despite these potential effects, the design choices were kept as seen important in allowing insight into important aspects of cultural transmission as well as preventing a bias of choosing already available options.

Other aspects of cultural transmission that are not included in the SIT (such as conformity-based transmission) are nonetheless consistent with the SIT and could plausibly be understood as adding additional weightings to specific ideas in the SIT or as influencing their positioning in the ranking scale (i.e. whether ideas enter or re-enter the active screen). In fact, other than the demographic data for each respondent, there was no way of indicating whether some respondents held expert knowledge and were thus more skilled or trained in directing people's attention to some ideas rather than to others.

The SIT attempted to mirror a script construct, starting from high-level concepts and proceeding to more concrete instantiations. This approach is not without fault. Specifically, future research may better control for this by tasking participants with specific script scenarios and then scripted activities. However, as people are usually not aware of all the elements of their scripts (as suggested in chapter 2), over-specification of the task may result in some socially desirable answers. Having said that, it seems that the present study's SIT task design was successful in eliciting scripts mainly because it was explicitly related to a specific context: the settlers and the national religious movement (see also Erasmus, Boshoff, & Rousseau, 2002).

The emerging context-based approach, a leading tenet in this thesis, involves some important limitations. Firstly, it subsumes intuitiveness to both innate intuition and cultural knowledge. In the context of religious representations, it sits somewhat uneasily with Boyer's (1994) original theory regarding the evolution-based universality of widespread religious representations. However, it proposes a role for related proximal psychological processes (i.e., those concerned with attending to, making inferences about, and transmitting cultural items that minimally contradict deeply-held beliefs). In addition, no systematic coding for violations of culturally learned contents has been established like that of Barrett (2008) regarding innate intuitions, so advances in this approach are rare. Finally, not enough convincing empirical evidence has been provided about the memorability advantage of violation of culturally acquired knowledge (Russell & Gobet, 2013). By focusing on counter-cultural violations, suggesting criteria for defining these, and overall viewing

violations of innate intuition as interweaving with rooted cultural assumptions, this thesis has attempted to overcome some of the limitations suggested above.

Bearing these limitations and shortcomings in mind, as with most experimental studies, the results of the present study must be treated with caution, and without attempting to generalize them beyond the observed culture, or even beyond the specific medium. Any inferences from the current research to the field of religious representations, or to the cognitive science of religion, must be modest, cautious, and probabilistic.

Finally, a cautionary note should be made about research with student samples. Students can be largely considered naïve subjects, and the fact that they tend to be targeted by social scientists may cause participants to suspect that they are being recruited due to their religions or ideologies. Even though I attempted to reduce this problem in my recruitment conversations with potential participants, a risk of bias can never be ruled out. Secondly, the participants who took part in the research were, arguably, a WEIRD sample (Henrich et al., 2005), mainly comprising Western, educated, democratic, and young people. Future research, that would broaden the diversity of participants within Israel and abroad, could be insightful.

Specifically, studying the sacrifice scripts of the Haredim (the ultra-orthodox religious group) could also add important aspects to the understanding of religious representations research. In addition, the experiments here could be easily adapted for use in other religiously infused cultures and in other languages. As mentioned earlier, I would predict that some core results, especially regarding the presence of counterintuitive concepts would, broadly speaking, be replicated in such research. However, I would also expect some differences across cultures, especially in terms of the extent to which concepts are violated and in terms of which concepts involve violations.

Scholars who study schemas and scripts have traditionally defined the content of scripts in terms of folktales, stories, and narratives. In this experiment, the respondents were asked to generate chains of interpretations around three overarching themes or generic concepts. However, the focus on interpretations rather than stories may be subject to the criticism of failing to capture meaning adequately. Holding this

in mind, the reasons that the present research focused on interpretations were twofold. The first was a need for a measure that could transcend communication barriers and potentially reveal subconscious thoughts and feelings (Berkman& Gilson, 1986; Haire, 1950). Secondly, the theoretical background has shown how different interpretations are embedded in media narratives and in traditions of Judaism. It is not just a set of ideas or interpretations that the experiments have attempted to tap into but the representations that encompass cultural and historical backgrounds.

The focus in this thesis was on the effect of context on the cognitive optimality of MCC religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment. Therefore, it gave little attention to the emotional aspects of this transmission. There is extensive work regarding the role of emotion in religious beliefs and rituals; the findings of this work suggest that religious rituals may recruit emotion to support the temporary reduction of doubt and uncertainty (Franks, 2004). More specifically, work on different modes of religiosity suggests that imagistic rituals – those that involve heightened emotional arousal – provide a stronger basis for the recall and transmission of religious ideas and shared group identity than rituals with lower arousal (Whitehouse, 2000, 2002). In addition, research also suggests that emotional arousal in sequential performances acts to synchronize affective states among group members and serves to enhance displays of cooperative commitment and convergence to public sentiment (Atran &Norenzayan, 2004). Future research may investigate the emotional components of script-based transmission, specifically the different types of emotions involved in scripted religious representations and their specific valence.

Moreover, there is a potential role for an evolutionary perspective in understanding the emotional aspects of religious representations. For example, Tomasello (2009) argues that emotions have specific adaptive functions. In relation to cooperation, he argues that emotions such as shame and guilt help to support ideas regarding altruistic behaviour. As such, it is highly plausible that humans may have evolved default emotional responses related to different modes of religiosity. This, again, could be investigated by an exploration of the emotional valence and different kinds of emotions that arise in the ritual activities associated with these different modes.

Future research may also seek to broaden the span of cultural groups and contexts under investigation, including other world religions like Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. Islam might be particularly timely because of recent major events and the rise of several Islamic fundamentalist groups (such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS), which are calling for a return to Islamic (ancient) rule and are encouraging believers to sacrifice themselves and commit to their causes. It would indeed be interesting to study the particulars of this religion in light of these changes. I speculate that results regarding increased transmissibility of minimal counter - cultural representations might be similar, with differing contents based on what counts culturally relevant, although it would be difficult to explore a specific cultural context as Islam is a worldwide religion. It would also be interesting to investigate other Jewish populations living outside of Israel and Islamic or Christian people living in Israel and see whether conceptualizations of sacrifice and commitment (and the implications for the connections between cognition, scripts, and culture) are particular to Judaism, particular to Israel, or both. I speculate that there is something specific about Israel and Judaism that creates a very close connection between informal religious beliefs and formal theology, contrasting with, for example, Christianity (Barrett &Keil, 1996) – at least in the dimensions investigated in this study.

7.3 Study implications

This thesis set out to explore the potential of using a context-based approach to account for the advantageous transmission of MCC concepts regarding religious sacrifice and commitment. The research demonstrated this potential by exploring both theoretically and empirically how context may influence the transmission patterns of MCC concepts. Theoretically, the thesis paid careful attention to religious representations and their special qualities, including cognitive, emotional, and psychological modality. It presented a thorough review of the existing research regarding the transmission of religious representations and highlighted counter-cultural religious representations – the cultural analogy for counterintuitive representations – as the main interest of this research. The thesis also contextualized these concepts within Israeli-Jewish culture, suggesting that ideas concerning sacrifice and commitment have been interwoven with the history of the Jewish nation since ancient times. This review attempted to draw connections between biblical and

messianic conceptualizations and beliefs and modern incarnations and to explain why these concepts are here to stay. Empirically, the thesis explored both media representations of sacrifice and commitment scripts and mental representations of these, finding some significant results regarding the context-dependent transmission of religious representations.

The next section includes a discussion of the possible theoretical implications of this thesis, both for the study of religious representations research and for the cognitive science of religion.

7.3.1 Implications for religious representations research

For social scientists who study the transmission of religious representations, the theoretical framework and the empirical findings of this thesis provide both affirmations and challenges. The media analysis results lend support to an episodic repertoire of religious representations. Specifically, this relates to the idea that religious representations hold a catalogue of situations and actions with the potential to become scripted beliefs and representations and potentially scripted rituals; this was linked to other ideas in the causal repertoire and ontological ones (Boyer, 1994).

Furthermore, the presence of representations that not only focus on the supernatural and divine supports recent research that suggested that religious representations are not just about gods and spirits but also relate to everyday social matters (Atran & Henrich, 2010). The examination of the data also illustrates that it is possible, and fruitful, to use the construct of a script (including its internal hierarchical structure, i.e. scene headers, action headers, and actions) to demonstrate the different instantiations of religious representations and their interconnectedness. More specifically, the SIT results show statistically significant thematic consistency in the respondents' interpretations across script layers for the central categories (e.g. fanaticism, blind faith, and fighting for and settling the entire land). This may tell us that these are culturally stable representations embodying deeply held beliefs that potentially involve both innate and culturally acquired information. It also may suggest that, as they are so clearly rooted, they have been internalized in scripts and achieved a high level of naturalness.

This thesis focused on the advantageous transmission of MCC religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment. The findings indeed show that each of the three meta-scripts involves MCC religious representations and that the degrees to which these violations occur differ according to the contextual cue – the Amona event. It was also shown that violations occurred to different extents before and after the Amona event and on different script levels. Nonetheless, there is a possibility for different kinds of violations to operate simultaneously within these everyday representations: one kind that is more about violations of intuitive assumptions and one kind that is more about violations of the cultural conventions internalized in scripts. For example, representations that connect faith and ideology such as "a fight in the name of God's will" connect MCI representations of a satisfied God spirits which expect humans to follow his special paths and will be rewarded for their actions and deeds (MCC).

In addition, the SIT findings have important implications for using script hierarchies to represent episodic cultural knowledge regarding religious contents (i.e. reflecting on large sceneries that are unpacked by more detailed action headers and actions). More specifically, it appears that a counter-cultural quality makes some ideas more cognitively optimal and hence gives them a transmission advantage. It would be reasonable to think, as suggested in chapters 3 and 4, that scripts vary in the degree to which they run counter to cultural conventions as they are presumably maintained by religious affiliation and political ideologies). Namely, some religious scripts cannot be seen in the absence of endorsing a specific religious stance or ideology that can justify and naturalize ideological differences between different religiously affiliated subgroups.

The demographic analysis showed some interesting results that point to more similarities than differences in the observed culture, despite involving different religiously affiliated groups. Specifically, the demographic variable analysis showed a rather surprising pattern of all subgroups agreeing upon interpretations relating to sacrifice and commitment to the community (in the context of religious Zionism) but slightly disagreeing about the meanings of sacrifice and commitment to the state (only at the highest level) and sacrifice and commitment to God (at the intermediate level). This raises the question of why three groups with such different background

ideologies should have an overall high degree of similar interpretations (i.e. demonstrating a high level of cohesiveness). A possible answer relates to the ways in which people 'quote' (Bloch, 2004) others' interpretations that they do not necessarily hold or believe in, as long as they could be justified in a given context (Upal et al., 2007). Indeed, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4, certain religious representations concerning sacrifice and commitment trigger similar representations in the minds of other religious respondents but most importantly in the minds of non-religious individuals (e.g. secular and traditional people). These findings not only support, Bartlett's(1932) idea that memory is socially constructed but may also suggest that religious representations hold a strategic function (i.e. they are used for rhetorical and persuasive reasons). This may be further explained by Bloch's (2004) idea of deference: while we constantly defer to others and repeat their speech and actions, we try not to lose sight of who those others are.

Furthermore, the complexity of deference and the fact that people will not usually be transparent to whomever they quote are further demonstrated in the analysis in chapter 6. Specifically, the high-frequency representations of fanaticism and blind faith among the secular and traditional respondents (on the action header of sacrifice and commitment to God) and the significantly high-frequency interpretations of (ethnocentric) self-focus and intolerance among the national religious movement respondents (on the scene header of sacrifice and commitment to the state) may suggest that the respondents do not necessarily believe in these beliefs and representation but are deferring to cultural conventions.

In more specific cultural terms, it may be argued that the participants' agreement on the meaning of sacrifice and commitment to the community in Israel – in the context of religious Zionism – is a blend of viewing traditional societies, such as the national religious one, as holding collectivistic values (Cohen, 2007) as well as a reflection of seculars' tendency to adopt collectivistic values when defining their own national identity (Katz & Gurevitz, 1976). Collectivistic values of strong and tight social environments, loyalty to the group (Wheeler, Reis, & Bond, 1989), and harmonious relationships among group members (Hui & Triandis, 1985; Leung & Iwawaki, 1988) are aspects that define even secular Israelis' Jewish identity when reflecting on their history and tradition (Yadgar, 2011). Similarly, collectivistic norms, sanctions and

pressures from several circles (such as the group, the family, and the community) to encourage adherence to supervisors and hierarchical power relations (Cohen, 2007) are also familiar to secular Israelis who join the obligatory military service. The disagreement on the meanings of sacrifice and commitment to the state and (to a lesser degree) to God may reflect the complex relationship between religion and the state in Israel or even religion and national identity.

In sum, the most important implications of the present work for the study of religious representations are that it provides additional empirical evidence for the context-based view of transmitted religious representations. The previous chapters demonstrated how context can affect representations: those that deviate greatly from cultural conventions can become MCC (to the point where they are integrated in cultural narratives), as long as they can be justified. Remaining counter-cultural but in minimal ways, as in the MCI hypothesis, makes them optimal for cultural transmission. Indeed, the empirical findings support the prediction that MCC representations show better transmission patterns under certain conditions (Upal et al., 2007).

The second main contribution of this research relates to the specifics of counterintuitiveness and counter-cultural representations. While existing scholarly work has analysed cognitive counterintuitiveness in relation to religious representations, this thesis has suggested that real-life examples may involve other forms of violations. This includes violations of cultural conventions in relation to shared views, values, and norms (see Sheehy-Skeffington, 2008); these violations can operate in parallel to cognitive violations. The context-based approach suggests that these approaches regarding counterintuitiveness are not mutually exclusive but can be complementary.

7.3.2 Implications for cultural transmission research

This thesis also has implications for scholars who study cultural transmission in more general terms. As mentioned above, it raises questions regarding the nature of the cognitive structures underlying distributed representations. Cognitive and cultural

factors act together in shaping both the content and the process of recurrent representation, and scripts can connect both kinds of violations.

In addition, it is conventional to see scripts (and cultural models in general) as memory constructs, which aid the organization of information, the interpretation of experience, and the making of decisions regarding appropriate behaviour (D'Andrade& Strauss, 1992). While not denying that scripts serve to do this, it may be the case that scripts themselves, especially the intrinsic expectations regarding the imitation or repetition of existing beliefs and behaviours, may be seen as having an evolved adaptive function (Atran & Henrich, 2010; Watson-Jones et al., 2014). This line of reasoning may further explain the recurrent MCC interpretations of fanaticism, blind faith, and costly sacrifice, which involve ideas regarding complete adherence to tradition and faith. While these interpretations may not be part of the repertoire of some people (like secular individuals), they may reflect the fit between expressed beliefs and the perceived sincerity of related actions.

The above also suggests that counter-cultural religious representations of costly commitments will spread in a population as long as actual displays are apparent – like in the Amona event. As such, when religious communities demonstrate their commitment to supernatural beliefs using costly rituals, observers who witness these commitments are more inclined to justify them, though not necessarily act upon them. Such powerful concepts of commitment may often extend to other beliefs, including beliefs regarding cooperation, charity, and even warfare (Atkinson & Whitehouse, 2011). The results of the SIT support this argument: specifically, interpretations concerning costly sacrifice and love for the land (involving ideas regarding giving up emotional and material benefits) were more frequent following the event and gained positive emotional responses. This may suggest that ideas regarding devotion involve rituals that deepen people's commitment to counterintuitive beliefs, therefore making these ideas exciting.

Finally, the transmission advantage of MCC concepts may also be explained in terms of the contradictions within the collective representations circulating in cultural discourse (Billig et al., 1988). Previous work has suggested that holding contradictory beliefs is possible only if they do not interfere with one another (Sperber, 1997). However, other research found that when the perceived dissonance between

cognitions is apparent, reconciliation invites choosing one state over another, mainly because of the unpleasant state of arousal caused by holding beliefs that are inconsistent (Festinger, 1957). This may suggest that mild violations of cultural expectations reside between a sense of cognitive dissonance and dissonance resolution; this tension makes the violations become relevant mysteries (Sperber, 1996). Moreover, similar to MCI concepts, indeterminacy over what is an accurate interpretation or correct belief implies that such violations cannot be fully understood or resolved (Franks, 2004).

7.3.3 Social policy implications

With respect to the possible implications for public policy, the cautious and rather modest findings of this research could be used to expand our understanding of the contents of religious representations and actions related to sacrifice and commitment, their functions, and their ability to reach the cultural level of distribution. Therefore, I argue that without knowledge of the 'architecture' of the human mind, which makes humans susceptible to certain religious representations, and without a deep understanding of the cultural contexts in which these representations are disseminated, the prevalence of counter-cultural ideas concerning costly religious beliefs and rituals cannot be fully understood. It is not possible to suggest social policy interventions without such knowledge and understanding. The following section examines some potential implications of the research presented in this thesis for social policies aimed at improving pro-social behaviour and reducing anti-social. This is done in reference to counter-cultural sacrifice scripts.

This thesis argued that religious representations emerge from the interplay among domain-specific competences (which predispose humans to particular counterfactual representations that are salient in diverse cultural populations and religiously infused cultures). It was also highlighted that contextual factors (such as social, political, and economic circumstances) may also determine the cognitive optimality of religious representations. Domain specificity and cultural schemas can aid in explaining how and why certain attention-demanding and emotionally exciting religious representations have the potential to be widely distributed. As such, it is rather naïve to think that counterintuitive and counter-cultural representations could be eliminated or less psychologically attractive. Nonetheless, I do believe that an understanding of

their socio-cognitive qualities can help to reduce their salience or can help to disseminate alternative (but equally powerful) concepts in human minds – hence making people ultimately less susceptible to such representations.

My own work with the IDF's crisis negotiation team in 2005 aimed at preventing radical ideologies from disseminating across religious Zionist groups, prior to the disengagement from the Gaza Strip. Specifically, I presented my media analysis results to the team and demonstrated that within the Jewish sacrifice and commitment scripts, there are different instantiations: some more psychologically appealing than others. I also suggested that by promoting alternative ideas that can still fit existing schemas, other more extreme counter-cultural ideas will be less infectious and regarded as unusual and bizarre, thus making the extreme ideas less salient. However, as has been proven in practice, this could not be successful without the help of prestigious opinion leaders or experts (from within the affected groups), who take a leading role in transmitting these alternatives. This point leads to the weakness of this model: the challenge of recruiting leaders who will be willing to stand out and encourage alternative directions.

In a similar way, my joint work with Dr Paul Marsden into the 'contagion' of suicide attacks in the UK further developed this model while focusing on a key contextual component: the media. Our work (Marsden & Attia, 2005) suggested that the role of the media in the contagion of suicide could be implicated in the spread of suicide attacks. Specifically, we postulated that mass media publicity may act as a vector of transmission, not the cause, of suicide attacks. Namely, positive media coverage of suicide bombing in areas of recruitment may act as an effective advertising campaign for volunteers. Nevertheless, negative publicity may still encourage suicide bombing because it gives the bombers precisely what they want: media attention. We also offered some specific media guidelines to help contain the contagion of suicide attacks. These included ways to reduce the emotional and cognitive optimality of these ideas, including avoiding extensive, repetitive, or simplistic reporting of suicide bombing; avoiding sensational headlines that focus on the event; and avoiding 'how to' explanations. In terms of the context-based view, using controlled coverage makes radical ideas less recognizable, less justified, and therefore more unusual.

In other consultancy work with UK security bodies and security-related research agencies, including the MOD and the Royal United Services Institute[31] (RUSI), we further stressed these points. We specifically pointed to the importance of 're-engineering' destructive ideas so that they become less psychologically appealing in combination with spreading alternatives that are just as appealing as the original ideas via influential opinion leaders. As a whole, this suggests that this thesis has practical implications but that their precise forms need further empirical work. In general, it can be argued that promoting ideas about adhering to cultural conventions and, most importantly, changing the contexts in which they are spread to be less anti-modern and anti-democratic might be an effective way to decrease the contagious quality of certain beliefs by making them too bizarre. As such, this will increase the value of imitating cooperative, peace-seeking, normative behaviour.

However, there are challenges to these ideas as well, which emphasise recent debates on religion. For example, recent work by Atran and Ginges (2012) suggested that the role of costly commitments to apparently non-rational beliefs in enhancing group solidarity and cooperation should be better acknowledged. In their view, secular societies have come to understand that only quasi-religious rituals and beliefs (from sacred songs and ceremonies to promoting the moral role of a supernatural being) can be powerful enough to inspire people to engage in non-rational sacrifices in both cooperation and conflict. Moreover, the authors claim that societies that have abandoned these concepts and rely only on reasoned social agreements that regulate processes of cooperation are more likely to collapse. They explain that awareness of future rewards, though risky in the short term, increases the likelihood of defection.

Given these ideas, I propose that the arguments posed in this thesis have contributed to this controversy by offering a glimpse into the complex and dialectical relationship in Israel between religion and the state. Specifically, the overall cohesiveness of the results (agreement upon sacrifice and commitment to the community, with some differences regarding sacrifice and commitment to the state and God) may suggest that Israel's secular subculture has come to justify (making them more recognizable) the contents of religious beliefs and rituals. The results indicate that costly sacrifice and love for the land, a category significantly more frequent following the event,

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[31] RUSI is the MOD's research branch.

involved beliefs and representations regarding giving up material and emotional benefits and also about military service and its importance for actualizing one's love for the land. This was further highlighted in representations regarding sacrifice and commitment to the state (a separate category clustered these ideas together because of their high frequency).

The above may be explained by recent discussions on the role of the military in the service of the state. In short, Ben-Ari, Maman, and Rosenhek (2000) note that attempts to define the role of the military in Israel on the basis of existing perspectives[32] have resulted in a complex enquiry into Israeli society. Ben- Ari et al., enquiry suggests that Israel is "an instance of how democracy normalizes militarism, and how its armed forces have figured in the way that the state has established its legitimacy and mobilized the population for collective aims" (Ben-Ari, Maman, & Rosenhek, 2000: p.3). They also claim that unquestioned beliefs regarding the centrality of the military to society and to definitions of 'Israeli-hood' are being revisited. This is part of a general decline in Zionist views among young middle-class secular Israelis, resulting in doubts concerning state security considerations as the only (or primary) decision-making criteria. This has had a profound effect on the motivation to join military service. In this context, I argue that the Israeli government and military elites may have come to adopt religious representations and rituals concerning sacrifice and commitment that are MXCC to a broader secular thinking, but MCC in the context of the military. Arguably, this has been done to fight the decline in the centrality of the military so that young people will still be inspired to engage in (apparently) non-rational sacrifices for the state, and facilitated by the context- dependent slippage between representations and beliefs being MXCC and MCC. The Indeterminacy of this distinction leaves boundary open to manipulation.

7.4 Summary and conclusions

This thesis set out to contribute to existing knowledge regarding religious representations by investigating their transmission via scripts, though there are likely

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[32]Ben-Ari, Maman, and Rosenhek (2000) present two broad perspectives are used to examine state–military relations: the 'armed forces and society' school of thought and the 'state-making' perspective. While the first explores the social and political functions of the military and its boundaries with civil society, the latter focuses on the ways in which armed forces mobilize people and other resources, serving to strengthen the state.

to be many other ways through which they are transmitted. I hope I have managed to do this by showing that context plays a role in explaining why people disseminate some ideas rather than others. With respect to theory, I do not claim to have fully captured the context-based approach, but I have offered a glimpse into an interesting case that could be used in further research. Such research might involve a systematic investigation of the emotive qualities of successful scripts, including which emotions arise in connection with to successful script representations. This is especially important, given the role of emotion in religious sacrifice and commitment.

Nonetheless, in respect to practice, this research has important implications for the psychology of religious representations and the cognitive science of religion. It has suggested that integrating cognitive and contextual explanations may be complementary. Moreover, t future applications of this work to real-life issues could be fruitful, for example in combating destructive counter-cultural radical ideologies on social media platforms. While it would be naïve to think that beliefs and actions related to costly sacrifices will ever be eliminated, non-normative and anti-social behaviour needs to be addressed; the insights from this thesis could help to design policies and pro-social 'epidemics' that offer psychologically appealing alternatives. As suggested, these need to be based on a comprehensive understanding of human minds, cultural contexts, and what connects them.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Media analysis results

Table 1.0: From scene header to action header – sacrifice and commitment to God

Script level		Scene header		Action header
Sacrifice and commitment to God	*1.1*	*A belief in the connection between the Jewish people and the land of Israel*	*1.1.1*	*everything is predetermined but there is freedom of choice*
			1.1.2	*historical right*
			1.1.3	*a religious trial*
			1.1.4	*reward or punishment*
			1.1.5	*Zionism as the beginning of redemption*
			1.1.6	*settling as an expression of Judaism*
			1.1.7	*Judaism as a doctrine of living*
			1.1.8	*existential paradox*
			1.1.9	*divine providence*
	1.2	*Identity and Jewish values*	*1.2.1*	*loyalty to the bible.*
			1.2.2	*love for the land*
			1.2.3	*mission and fulfilment*
			1.2.4	*being satisfied with little*
			1.2.5	*closeness to nature*
			1.2.6	*respect towards the other*
			1.2.7	*devotion of the soul*
			1.2.8	*the value of life*
			1.2.9	*the value of peace*
	1.3	*A fight over the land of Israel*	*1.3.1*	*education for loving the land*
			1.3.2	*active and legal struggle*
			1.3.3	*existential struggle*
			1.3.4	*the hill tops youth settlement*
			1.3.5	*belief in the vision of the whole land of Israel*
			1.3.6	*passive resistance*
			1.3.7	*active and illegal struggle*
			1.3.8	*settling operations*
			1.3.9	*resistance to concessions*

Note: The terms in all media analyses were translated from Hebrew. Some of these terms are language-specific and may seem unclear to a non-Hebrew speaker.

Table 2.0: From action header to action – sacrifice and commitment to God

	Action header level		Action level
1.1.1	Everything is predetermined but there is freedom of choice	1.1.1.1	the future is not in our hands
		1.1.1.2	shaping reality
		1.1.1.3	everything is choice
		1.1.1.4	the coming of the messiah
		1.1.1.5	effort alongside necessity
		1.1.1.6	everything is a necessity
		1.1.1.7	circularity of events
		1.1.1.8	determinism
		1.1.1.9	a promise by God
1.1.2	Historical right	1.1.2.1	ancestors land
		1.1.2.2	a promised land
		1.1.2.3	a connection that never desists
		1.1.2.4	the right to settle
		1.1.2.5	a natural right
		1.1.2.6	the right to return
		1.1.2.7	God's ruling
		1.1.2.8	a moral right
		1.1.2.9	an historical memory
1.1.3	A religious trial	1.1.3.1	a faith crisis
		1.1.3.2	deepening the faith
		1.1.3.3	spiritual progress
		1.1.3.4	comprehensive perspective
		1.1.3.5	spiritual weakness
		1.1.3.6	spiritual triumph
		1.1.3.7	difficulties in faith
		1.1.3.8	opposition to faith
		1.1.3.9	spiritual elevation
1.1.4	Reward or punishment	1.1.4.1	responsibility for actions
		1.1.4.2	measure for measure
		1.1.4.3	expectation for a return
		1.1.4.4	no expectation for a return
		1.1.4.5	escaping responsibility
		1.1.4.6	freedom of choice
		1.1.4.7	forgiveness for sins
		1.1.4.8	weakening of the mind and destruction
		1.1.4.9	personal and collective payback
1.1.5	Zionism as the beginning of redemption	1.1.5.1	realization of the vision
		1.1.5.2	return to the origins
		1.1.5.3	dwelling in the sacred places
		1.1.5.4	holding onto the Temple Mount

		1.1.5.5	*building the temple*
		1.1.5.6	*settling the land*
		1.1.5.7	*Jewish regime*
		1.1.5.8	*practical Zionism*
1.1.6	*Settling as an expression of Judaism*	1.1.6.1	*spiritual centre*
		1.1.6.2	*biblical meaning*
		1.1.6.3	*religious duty*
		1.1.6.4	*linkage to the land*
		1.1.6.5	*settling historical lands*
		1.1.6.6	*God's commandment*
		1.1.6.7	*mission*
		1.1.6.8	*the vision of the whole land of Israel*
1.1.7	*Judaism as a doctrine of living*	1.1.7.1	*Hebrew law*
		1.1.7.2	*religious state*
		1.1.7.3	*Hebrew education*
		1.1.7.4	*religious leadership*
		1.1.7.5	*Jewish culture*
		1.1.7.6	*Jewish sovereignty*
		1.1.7.7	*fulfilment of commandments*
		1.1.7.8	*settling in the land's wide open space*
		1.1.7.9	*the ingathering of the exiles*
1.1.8	*Existential paradox*	1.1.8.1	*Jewish law versus democracy*
		1.1.8.2	*Rabbi versus military commander*
		1.1.8.3	*reality versus vision*
		1.1.8.4	*"Israeliness" versus religiousness*
		1.1.8.5	*progress versus tradition*
		1.1.8.6	*anxiety versus security*
		1.1.8.7	*land versus state*
		1.1.8.8	*soldiering versus refusal to orders*
		1.1.8.9	*the holiness of the land versus the holiness of human life*
1.1.9	*Divine Providence*	1.1.9.1	*everything is from God*
		1.1.9.2	*God is merciful and compassionate*
		1.1.9.3	*God-fearing*
		1.1.9.4	*God's will*
		1.1.9.5	*development from God*
		1.1.9.6	*God's hand is guiding us*
		1.1.9.7	*God's ways are concealed*
		1.1.9.8	*God's compassion*
		1.1.9.9	*God knows everything*
1.2.1	*Loyalty to the Bible*	1.2.1.1	*studying the Bible*
		1.2.1.2	*prayer*
		1.2.1.3	*complete faith*
		1.2.1.4	*complete life*
		1.2.1.5	*integrity*
		1.2.1.6	*moral*

		1.2.1.7	*worshiping God*
		1.2.1.8	*to fulfil commandments*
		1.2.1.9	*justice*
1.2.2	*Love for the land*	*1.2.2.1*	*closeness to earth*
		1.2.2.2	*building the country*
		1.2.2.3	*salvation of the land*
		1.2.2.4	*holiness of the land*
		1.2.2.5	*connection to the land*
		1.2.2.6	*building a family*
		1.2.2.7	*holding onto the land*
		1.2.2.8	*responsibility for nature*
		1.2.2.9	*liberation of the land*
1.2.3	*Mission and fulfilment*	*1.2.3.1*	*self-realization*
		1.2.3.2	*involvement in the state*
		1.2.3.3	*involvement in the army*
		1.2.3.4	*creation*
		1.2.3.5	*pioneering*
		1.2.3.6	*leading*
		1.2.3.7	*initiative*
		1.2.3.8	*volunteering*
		1.2.3.9	*building the land*
1.2.4	*Being satisfied with little*	*1.2.4.1*	*spiritual life*
		1.2.4.2	*modesty*
		1.2.4.3	*against materialism*
		1.2.4.4	*against career*
		1.2.4.5	*against mannerism*
		1.2.4.6	*against fashion*
		1.2.4.7	*against technology*
		1.2.4.8	*keeping simplicity*
		1.2.4.9	*against hedonism*
1.2.6	*Closeness to nature*	*1.2.5.1*	*responsibility for the land*
		1.2.5.2	*responsibility for the living*
		1.2.5.3	*ownership over nature*
		1.2.5.4	*melding with nature*
		1.2.5.5	*responsibility for the growing*
		1.2.5.6	*commitment to the growing*
		1.2.5.7	*mastering nature*
		1.2.5.8	*reserving nature*
		1.2.5.9	*hostility towards the nature*
1.2.7	*Respect towards the other*	*1.2.6.1*	*against humiliating the other*
		1.2.6.2	*freedom of the individual*
		1.2.6.3	*against causing shame*
		1.2.6.4	*freedom of mankind*
		1.2.6.5	*respecting God's name*
		1.2.6.6	*courtesy*

		1.2.6.7	*love of humanity*
		1.2.6.8	*honouring the other*
		1.2.6.9	*true humbleness*
1.2.8	*Devotion of the soul*	*1.2.7.1*	*self-sacrifice*
		1.2.7.2	*sanctification of God's name through martyrdom*
		1.2.7.3	*suicide*
		1.2.7.4	*determination and devotion*
		1.2.7.5	*total war*
		1.2.7.6	*devotion to Jewish law*
		1.2.7.7	*saving others*
		1.2.7.8	*fighting in the front*
		1.2.7.9	*temporary order*
1.2.9	*The value of life*	*1.2.8.1*	*self-defence*
		1.2.8.2	*responsibility for life*
		1.2.8.3	*saving the lives of others*
		1.2.8.4	*saving one's life*
		1.2.8.5	*against killing*
		1.2.8.6	*against manslaughter*
		1.2.8.7	*giving meaning*
		1.2.8.8	*care*
		1.2.8.9	*personal health*
1.3.1	*Education for loving the land*	*1.2.9.1*	*striving for the love of Israel*
		1.2.9.2	*against violence*
		1.2.9.3	*against jealousy*
		1.2.9.4	*striving for unity*
		1.2.9.5	*striving for deep friendship*
		1.2.9.6	*condemnation of murder*
		1.2.9.7	*against revenge*
		1.2.9.8	*against evil inclination*
		1.2.9.9	*against hatred*
1.3.2	*Active and legal struggle*	*1.3.1.1*	*building the country*
		1.3.1.2	*knowing the country*
		1.3.1.3	*working the land*
		1.3.1.4	*building a house*
		1.3.1.5	*loving nature*
		1.3.1.6	*reserving nature*
		1.3.1.7	*loving the people*
		1.3.1.8	*loving the Bible*
		1.3.1.9	*holding onto the land*
1.3.3	*Existential struggle*	*1.3.2.1*	*demonstrations*
		1.3.2.2	*protest march*
		1.3.2.3	*no-confidence motion in the government*
		1.3.2.4	*assemblies*

		1.3.2.5	*media publicity*
		1.3.2.6	*social pressure*
		1.3.2.7	*lobby in the Knesset*
		1.3.2.8	*non-violent confrontation*
		1.3.2.9	*information*
1.3.4	*The hill tops youth settlement*	*1.3.3.1*	*life danger*
		1.3.3.2	*constant pressure*
		1.3.3.3	*dangerous roads*
		1.3.3.4	*social dissociation*
		1.3.3.5	*abandoned by security forces*
		1.3.3.6	*terror*
		1.3.3.7	*despair*
		1.3.3.8	*living in a siege*
		1.3.3.9	*economical ebb*
1.3.5	*Belief in the vision of the whole land of Israel*	*1.3.4.1*	*resistance to evacuation*
		1.3.4.2	*spirituality*
		1.3.4.3	*individualism*
		1.3.4.4	*hostility against the establishment*
		1.3.4.5	*rebellion towards the parents*
		1.3.4.6	*seclusion*
		1.3.4.7	*material simplicity*
		1.3.4.8	*gaining control over lands*
		1.3.4.9	*rebellion towards the rabbis*
1.3.6	*Passive resistance*	*1.3.5.1*	*strengthening control*
		1.3.5.2	*against partition*
		1.3.5.3	*against compromise*
		1.3.5.4	*settling the land*
		1.3.5.5	*prohibition of delivering land*
		1.3.5.6	*blooming the wilderness*
		1.3.5.7	*ownership over the land*
		1.3.5.8	*building the temple*
		1.3.5.9	*fighting for lands*
1.3.7	*Active and illegal struggle*	*1.3.6.1*	*signs in crossroads*
		1.3.6.2	*orange bands*
		1.3.6.3	*mass prayer*
		1.3.6.4	*conferences*
		1.3.6.5	*stickers*
		1.3.6.6	*hunger strike*
		1.3.6.7	*quiet evacuation*
		1.3.6.8	*orange patch*
		1.3.6.9	*Information to the public*
1.3.8	*Settling operations*	*1.3.7.1*	*determining facts on the land*
		1.3.7.2	*injuring soldiers/policemen*
		1.3.7.3	*blocking roads*

			1.3.7.4	extreme actions
			1.3.7.5	violating court orders
			1.3.7.6	incitement
			1.3.7.7	underground activity
			1.3.7.8	acts of vengeance
			1.3.7.9	verbal violence
1.3.9		Resistance to concessions	1.3.8.1	building outposts
			1.3.8.2	determining facts on the land
			1.3.8.3	creating a continuum of settlements
			1.3.8.4	thickening settlements
			1.3.8.5	continuing building
			1.3.8.6	breaking road
			1.3.8.7	defending the land
			1.3.8.8	blooming the wilderness
			1.3.8.9	building new settlements
			1.3.9.1	fighting for every piece of land
			1.3.9.2	guarding the sacred places
			1.3.9.3	against in advance concessions
			1.3.9.4	against partition plans
			1.3.9.5	against compromise
			1.3.9.6	against withdrawals
			1.3.9.7	against destruction of life work
			1.3.9.8	against handing over land
			1.3.9.9	against abandoning the land

Note 1: The terms in this table were translated from Hebrew. Some of these terms are language-specific and may seem unclear to a non-Hebrew speaker.

Note 2: The actions column involves both concrete scripted actions as well as more reflective beliefs relative to scripted actions.

Table 3.0: From scene header to action header – sacrifice and commitment to state

Script level		Scene header		Action header
Sacrifice and commitment state	2.1	National responsibility	2.1.1	leadership
			2.1.2	concern with the doing
			2.1.3	responsibility for the faith of the state
			2.1.4	responsibility for the Zionist vision
			2.1.5	responsibility for keeping the Jewish character
			2.1.6	serving the army
			2.1.7	education for leadership
			2.1.8	preventing a disaster
			2.1.9	responsibility for redemption
	3.2	Engagement with the state	2.2.1	engagement with the people
			2.2.2	accepting the government's authority

			2.2.3	accepting the military's authority
			2.2.4	cooperation with the prime minister
			2.2.5	accepting the law's authority
			2.2.6	support from religious leadership
			2.2.7	accepting the democratic authority
			2.2.8	settling in the hearts
	3.3	Disengagement from the state	2.3.1	separation from the public
			2.3.2	resistance towards the government
			2.3.3	resisting the military's authority
			2.3.4	resisting to the prime minister
			2.3.5	resisting the law's authority
			2.3.6	resistance from religious leadership
			2.3.7	resistance towards the disengagement plan
			2.3.8	becoming sober
			2.3.9	the joining after the disengagement

Note: The terms in this table were translated from Hebrew. Some of these terms are language-specific and may seem unclear to a non-Hebrew speaker.

Table 4.0: From action header to action – sacrifice and commitment to state

	Action header		action
2.1.1	Leadership	2.1.1.1	leading the nation
		2.1.1.2	involvement in institutions
		2.1.1.3	navigating the 'way'
		2.1.1.4	marking the 'way'
		2.1.1.5	setting a vision
		2.1.1.6	responsibility for mistakes
		2.1.1.7	setting strategies
		2.1.1.8	coping with challenges
		2.1.1.9	concerned about the people
2.1.2	Concern with the doing	2.1.2.1	volunteering in developing small cities
		2.1.2.2	activities in the cities
		2.1.2.3	national service
		2.1.2.4	living in a settlement
		2.1.2.5	building
		2.1.2.6	standing on guard
		2.1.2.7	breaking through roads
		2.1.2.8	contributing to the state
		2.1.2.9	settling the land
2.1.3	Responsibility for the faith of the state	2.1.3.1	creating a continuum of settlements
		2.1.3.2	not surrendering to impositions
		2.1.3.3	against giving up parts of the land
		2.1.3.4	against the government weakness
		2.1.3.5	being pioneers

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		2.1.3.6	contribution to society
		2.1.3.7	shaping the future of the state
		2.1.3.8	concern for demographic balance
		2.1.3.9	military service
2.1.4	Responsibility for the Zionist vision	2.1.4.1	building of a settlement
		2.1.4.2	waking up call
		2.1.4.3	opposing the idea of returning to 67 lines
		2.1.4.4	struggling against the enemy's demands
		2.1.4.5	struggle against assimilation
		2.1.4.6	striving for independence
		2.1.4.7	building a productive society
2.1.5	Responsibility for keeping the Jewish character	2.1.5.1	maintaining Jewish identity
		2.1.5.2	Jewish nationality
		2.1.5.3	keeping control over Jerusalem
		2.1.5.4	preparing for the Messiah
		2.1.5.5	creating a state governed by religious law
		2.1.5.6	concern for Jewish education
		2.1.5.7	concern for Jewish culture
		2.1.5.8	(living according to a) Jewish lifestyle
		2.1.5.9	religious coercion
2.1.6	Serving the army	2.1.6.1	studying in a Yeshiva
		2.1.6.2	serving within elite army units
		2.1.6.3	combat military service
		2.1.6.4	taking command
		2.1.6.5	being moral
		2.1.6.6	studying in a pre-military Yeshiva
		2.1.6.7	control over key jobs
		2.1.6.8	taking part in army reserve service
		2.1.6.9	concern for personal example
2.1.7	Education for leadership	2.1.7.1	educating for vision
		2.1.7.2	educating for contribution
		2.1.7.3	educating for involvement
		2.1.7.4	educating for responsibility
		2.1.7.5	educating for volunteering
		2.1.7.6	educating for role modeling
		2.1.7.7	educating for leading
		2.1.7.8	educating for serving the public
		2.1.7.9	educating for helping the other
2.1.8	Preventing a disaster	2.1.8.1	the destruction of the state
		3.1.8.2	bring abandoned in the hands of the enemy

		2.1.8.3	*the establishment of a Palestinian state*
		2.1.8.4	*isolating settlements as ghettos*
		2.1.8.5	*handing over parts of the homeland*
		2.1.8.6	*delaying the Messiah's arrival*
		2.1.8.7	*annihilation and destruction*
		2.1.8.8	*delaying the redemption*
		2.1.8.9	*the disengagement plan*
2.1.9	*Responsibility for redemption*	2.1.9.1	*preparation for salvation*
		2.1.9.2	*preventing delays of salvation*
		2.1.9.3	*laying the foundation for redemption*
		2.1.9.4	*responsibility for actions*
		2.1.9.5	*hope and expectation*
		2.1.9.6	*strengthening faith*
		2.1.9.7	*actively bringing the messiah*
		2.1.9.8	*revealing the messiah*
		2.1.9.9	*welcoming the messiah*
2.2.1	*Engagement with the people*	2.2.1.1	*viewing the 'other' as a brother*
		2.2.1.2	*maintaining Israeli identity*
		2.2.1.3	*dialogue*
		2.2.1.4	*openness*
		2.2.1.5	*closeness*
		2.2.1.6	*open-mindedness*
		2.2.1.7	*containing the other*
		2.2.1.8	*Jewish outreach*
		2.2.1.9	*explaining*
2.2.2	*Accepting the government's authority*	2.2.2.1	*consulting with politicians*
		2.2.2.2	*restraining*
		2.2.2.3	*discussing*
		2.2.2.4	*implementing policy*
		2.2.2.5	*trusting*
		2.2.2.6	*adhering*
		2.2.2.7	*cooperating with institutions*
		2.2.2.8	*cooperating with other parties*
		2.2.2.9	*involvement in governmental institutions*
2.2.3	*Accepting the military's authority*	2.2.3.1	*coordinating*
		2.2.3.2	*not confronting*
		2.2.3.3	*assisting in assignments*
		2.2.3.4	*praising the army*
		2.2.3.5	*implementing orders*
		2.2.3.6	*respecting soldiers*

		3.2.3.7	*cooperating*
		2.2.3.8	*allowing freedom of action*
		2.2.3.9	*restraining*
2.2.4	*Cooperation with the prime minister*	2.2.4.1	*trusting*
		2.2.4.2	*praising*
		2.2.4.3	*electoral support*
		2.2.4.4	*evaluating*
		2.2.4.5	*respecting*
		2.2.4.6	*agreeing*
		2.2.4.7	*staying patient*
		2.2.4.8	*expecting*
		2.2.4.9	*cooperating*
2.2.5	*Accepting the law's authority*	2.2.5.1	*strengthening the government*
		2.2.5.2	*obeying to laws*
		2.2.5.3	*opposing legally*
		2.2.5.4	*using the law*
		2.2.5.5	*enforcing the law*
		2.2.5.6	*trusting legal authorities*
		2.2.5.7	*supporting judges*
		2.2.5.8	*building legal settlements*
		2.2.5.9	*educating for keeping the law*
2.2.6	*Support from religious leadership*	2.2.6.1	*preventing acts of vengeance*
		2.2.6.2	*condemning acts which break the law*
		2.2.6.3	*Legal leading*
		2.2.6.4	*thwarting usage of weapons*
		2.2.6.5	*condemning violence towards the left*
		2.2.6.6	*condemning the idea of disobeying orders*
		2.2.6.7	*condemning violent opposition*
		2.2.6.8	*banishing extreme streams*
		2.2.6.9	*thwarting underground activity*
2.2.7	*Accepting the democratic authority*	2.2.7.1	*respecting majority decision*
		2.2.7.2	*accepting a framework*
		2.2.7.3	*agreeing for evacuation*
		2.2.7.4	*accepting democratic decisions*
		2.2.7.5	*accepting the kingdom of Israel command*
		2.2.7.6	*democratic struggle*
		2.2.7.7	*accepting court ruling*
		2.2.7.8	*democratic revolution*
2.2.8	*Settling in the hearts*	2.2.8.1	*setting personal example*
		2.2.8.2	*persuading*

		2.2.8.3	*creating identification*
		2.2.8.4	*shaping the identity*
		2.2.8.5	*creating myths*
		2.2.8.6	*shaping discourse*
		2.2.8.7	*psychological struggle*
		2.2.8.8	*propaganda*
		2.2.8.9	*doing*
2.3.1	*Separation from the public*	2.3.1.1	*fraternal war, brothers' war*
		2.3.1.2	*Israel hatred*
		2.3.1.3	*alienation*
		2.3.1.4	*closure*
		2.3.1.5	*distancing*
		2.3.1.6	*rejection*
		2.3.1.7	*being separated*
		2.3.1.8	*seclusion*
		2.3.1.9	*lack of trust*
2.3.2	*Resistance towards the government*	2.3.2.1	*confiscating the government*
		2.3.2.2	*objecting national solidarity*
		2.3.2.3	*objecting government decisions*
		2.3.2.4	*objecting supreme court decisions*
		2.3.2.5	*civil disobedience*
		2.3.2.6	*objecting government's legitimacy*
		2.3.2.7	*public protest*
		2.3.2.8	*downing the government*
		2.3.2.9	*leaving coalition*
2.3.3	*Resisting the military's authority*	2.3.3.1	*confronting the army*
		2.3.3.2	*insubordination*
		2.3.3.3	*violating governmental commands*
		2.3.3.4	*lack of communication*
		2.3.3.5	*criticism*
		2.3.3.6	*verbal violence*
		2.3.3.7	*harassing senior IDF officers*
		2.3.3.8	*lack of trust*
		2.3.3.9	*disturbing the army*
2.3.4	*Resisting to the prime minister*	2.3.4.1	*boycott*
		2.3.4.2	*din Rodef*
		2.3.4.3	*criticism*
		2.3.4.4	*inciting*
		2.3.4.5	*supporting substitute leaders*
		2.3.4.6	*reservation*
		2.3.4.7	*offence*
		2.3.4.8	*banishment*
		2.3.4.9	*breaking*

2.3.5	Resisting the law's authority	2.3.5.1	breaking the law
		2.3.5.2	vengeance
		2.3.5.3	disorderly conduct
		2.3.5.4	teasing the law
		2.3.5.5	assaulting policemen
		2.3.5.6	'Halacha' as a superior authority
		2.3.5.7	disrespecting the court
		2.3.5.8	disturbing the police
		2.3.5.9	selective acceptance of the law
2.3.6	Resistance from religious leadership	2.3.6.1	expropriation of state symbols
		2.3.6.2	supporting insubordination
		2.3.6.3	calling for insubordination
		2.3.6.4	calling for violent resistance
		2.3.6.5	organizing protest
		2.3.6.6	establishing anti-disengagement headquarters
		2.3.6.7	calling for splitting the army
		2.3.6.8	calling for fraternal war
		2.3.6.9	din Rodef for informers
2.3.7	Resistance towards the disengagement plan	2.3.7.1	breaking the rules
		2.3.7.2	violating governmental commands
		2.3.7.3	confronting the police
		2.3.7.4	protest marches and gatherings
		2.3.7.5	insubordination
		2.3.7.6	Immobilizing the state
		2.3.7.7	to speak to the one's emotions
		2.3.7.8	trying to bring down the government
		2.3.7.9	uprising
2.3.8	Becoming sober	2.3.8.1	disappointment from the religious leadership
		2.3.8.2	self-failure feelings
		2.3.8.3	guilt
		2.3.8.4	self-examination
		2.3.8.5	trust crisis
		2.3.8.6	internal dispute
		2.3.8.7	breaking the spirit
		2.3.8.8	disengagement
2.3.9	The joining after the disengagement	2.3.9.1	willing to compromise
		2.3.9.2	renewed motivation for rehabilitation
		2.3.9.3	motivation to lead the state
		2.3.9.4	feeling of spiritual elevation

			2.3.9.5		*channelling anger*
			2.3.9.6		*supporting the community*
			2.3.9.7		*faithful legitimacy for peace*
			2.3.9.8		*supporting unity of the people*
			2.3.9.9		*seeing the disengagement as a temporal stage*

Note 1: The terms in this table were translated from Hebrew. Some of these terms are language-specific and may seem unclear to a non-Hebrew speaker.

Note 2: The actions column involves both concrete scripted actions as well as more reflective beliefs relative to scripted actions.

Table 5.0: From scene header to action header – sacrifice and commitment to community

Script level		Scene header		Action header	
Sacrifice and commitment to the community	*3.1*	*Help and sharing*	*3.1.1*	*support*
			3.1.2	*mutuality*
			3.1.3	*social involvement*
			3.1.4	*contribution to the community*
			3.1.5	*personal example*
			3.1.6	*sharing bereavement*
			3.1.7	*sharing joy*
			3.1.8	*being recruited for the sake of others*
			3.1.9	*parental responsibility*
	3.2	*Internal unification*	*3.2.1*	*mental strength*
			3.2.2	*deep friendship*
			3.2.3	*team spirit*
			3.2.4	*unification against the government*
			3.2.5	*against the percolation of secularism*
			3.2.6	*preserving principles*
			3.2.7	*unified opinions*
			3.2.8	*self-examination*
	2.3	*Security for the inhabitants*	*3.3.1*	*offence as a form of defence*
			3.3.2	*guarding settlements*
			3.3.3	*psychological coping*
			3.3.4	*driving arrangements*
			3.3.5	*safety measures*
			3.3.6	*criticism on the security forces*
			3.3.7	*alertness*
			3.3.8	*routine management*

Note: The terms in this table were translated from Hebrew. Some of these terms are language-specific and may seem unclear to a non-Hebrew speaker.

Table 6.0: From scene header to action header – sacrifice and commitment to community

	Action header		Action
3.1.1	Support	3.1.1.1	aiding children
		3.1.1.2	aiding the needed
		3.1.1.3	aiding the old
		3.1.1.4	aiding parents
		3.1.1.5	aiding the old
		3.1.1.6	aiding the widows
		3.1.1.7	aiding the mourners
		3.1.1.8	aiding youth in distress
		3.1.1.9	aiding the wounded
3.1.2	Mutuality	3.1.2.1	kind neighbouring
		3.1.2.2	encouragement
		3.1.2.3	respecting the other
		3.1.2.4	concern about the public
		3.1.2.5	mutual attention
		3.1.2.6	mutual guarantee
3.1.3	Social involvement	3.1.3.1	activities for the youth
		3.1.3.2	developing community life
		3.1.3.3	worry for the needy person
		3.1.3.4	volunteering
		3.1.3.5	initiating
		3.1.3.6	personal tutoring
3.1.4	Contribution to the community	3.1.4.1	working in a charity
		3.1.4.2	bridging the gaps
		3.1.4.3	involvement in civil life
		3.1.4.4	promoting cultural life
		3.1.4.5	safeguarding rights
3.1.5	Personal example	3.1.5.1	doing
		3.1.5.2	giving meaning
		3.1.5.3	responsibility
		3.1.5.4	leading
		3.1.5.5	consistency
		3.1.5.6	decisiveness

3.1.6	*Sharing bereavement*	*3.1.6.1*	*remembering*
		3.1.6.2	*coping with pain*
		3.1.6.3	*memorialization*
		3.1.6.4	*condolences*
		3.1.6.5	*participation in mourning*
		3.1.6.6	*public discourse*
		3.1.6.7	*support groups*
		3.1.6.8	*partnership in a common destiny*
		3.1.6.9	*identification*
3.1.7	*Sharing joy*	*3.1.7.1*	*hosting*
		3.1.7.2	*Sabbath songs*
		3.1.7.3	*dancing in weddings*
		3.1.7.4	*singing songs*
		3.1.7.5	*blessings*
		3.1.7.6	*joyful events*
		3.1.7.7	*Jewish festivals*
		3.1.7.8	*rotation around Jerusalem's gates*
		3.1.7.9	*noting specific symbolic days*
3.1.8	*Being recruited for the sake of others*	*3.1.8.1*	*thickening settlements*
		3.1.8.2	*participating in assemblies*
		3.1.8.3	*building a struggle headquarters*
		3.1.8.4	*demonstrating power*
		3.1.8.5	*public activity*
		3.1.8.6	*transporting new immigrants*
		3.1.8.7	*persuading Likud voters*
		3.1.8.8	*protest march*
		3.1.8.9	*struggle*
3.1.9	*Parental responsibility*	*3.1.9.1*	*acquiring knowledge*
		3.1.9.2	*being attentive*
		3.1.9.3	*worry*
		3.1.9.4	*response to needs*
		3.1.9.5	*supervision*
		3.1.9.6	*alertness*
		3.1.9.7	*containing*
		3.1.9.8	*inclusion*
		3.1.9.9	*defence*
3.2.1	*Mental strength*	*3.2.1.1*	*worry over personal security*
		3.2.1.2	*fighting despair*
		3.2.1.3	*optimism*
		3.2.1.4	*adaptation*
		3.2.1.5	*strengthening faith*
		3.2.1.6	*positivism*
		3.2.1.7	*keeping utopia*
		3.2.1.8	*faith in salvation*
		3.2.1.9	*coping with distress*

3.2.2	*Deep friendship*	*3.2.2.1*	*friendship*
		3.2.2.2	*love*
		3.2.2.3	*acceptance*
		3.2.2.4	*respect*
		3.2.2.5	*brotherhood*
		3.2.2.6	*giving*
		3.2.2.7	*appreciation*
		3.2.2.8	*mutual guarantee*
		3.2.2.9	*closeness*
2.2.3	*Team spirit*	*3.2.3.1*	*arrogance*
		3.2.3.2	*superiority*
		3.2.3.3	*separating*
		3.2.3.4	*fighting spirit*
		3.2.3.5	*mission*
		3.2.3.6	*leading*
3.2.4	*Unification against the government*	*3.2.4.1*	*supervision*
		3.2.4.2	*embarkation for a fight*
		3.2.4.3	*fighting peace agreements*
		3.2.4.4	*putting facts on the ground*
		3.2.4.5	*violating governmental commands*
3.2.5	*Against the percolation of secularism*	*3.2.5.1*	*lack of trust in the media*
		3.2.5.2	*cutting off from television*
		3.2.5.3	*cutting off from technology*
		3.2.5.4	*strengthening faith*
		3.2.5.5	*social separation*
		3.2.5.6	*cutting off from Western culture*
		3.2.5.7	*being critical*
		3.2.5.8	*spiritual life*
		3.2.5.9	*religious nationalism*
3.2.6	*Preserving principles*	*3.2.6.1*	*coping with stress*
		3.2.6.2	*against dialogue*
		3.2.6.3	*not compromising*
		3.2.6.4	*uniqueness*
		3.2.6.5	*separating*
		3.2.6.6	*radicalization*
		3.2.6.7	*seclusion*
		3.2.6.8	*conservative*
		3.2.6.9	*sharpening viewpoints*
3.2.7	*Unified opinions*	*3.2.7.1*	*silencing contradictory opinions*
		3.2.7.2	*criticism on rebels*
		3.2.7.3	*shutting off others*
		3.2.7.4	*against external criticism*

		3.2.7.5	*removing extremists*
		3.2.7.6	*unity*
		3.2.7.7	*fighting internal criticism*
		3.2.7.8	*internal suspicion*
		3.2.7.9	*decisiveness*
3.2.8	*Self-examination*	*3.2.8.1*	*rethinking concepts*
		3.2.8.2	*learning lessons*
		3.2.8.3	*openness to criticism*
		3.2.8.4	*doing precept*
		3.2.8.5	*pluralism*
		3.2.8.6	*flexibility in thinking*
		3.2.8.7	*admission in mistakes*
		3.2.8.8	*to become sober*
		3.2.8.9	*casting doubt*
3.3.1	*Offence as a form of defence*	*3.3.1.1*	*attacking media personal*
		3.3.1.2	*damaging Palestinian property*
		3.3.1.3	*terrorist attack against the Arabs*
		3.3.1.4	*showing of force*
		3.3.1.5	*blocking roads*
		3.3.1.6	*prevention actions*
		3.3.1.7	*teasing the Palestinians*
		3.3.1.8	*uprooting olive trees*
		3.3.1.9	*killing*
3.3.2	*Guarding settlements*	*3.3.2.1*	*funding private guarding*
		3.3.2.2	*securing settlements*
		3.3.2.3	*patrols*
		3.3.2.4	*guarding duty*
		3.3.2.5	*alertness squads*
		3.3.2.6	*building a peripheral fence*
		3.3.2.7	*recruiting reinforcement*
		3.3.2.8	*paving by pass roads*
		3.3.2.9	*cooperation with the military*
3.3.3	*Psychological coping*	*3.3.3.1*	*struggling with fear*
		3.3.3.2	*personal therapy*
		3.3.3.3	*struggling with frustration*
		3.3.3.4	*humour*
		3.3.3.5	*responding to distress*
		3.3.3.6	*group therapy*
		3.3.3.7	*turning a blind eye*
		3.3.3.8	*living in a bubble*
		3.3.3.9	*repressing threatening feelings*
3.3.4	*Driving arrangements*	*3.3.4.1*	*civil escorting*

		3.3.4.2	*participating in patrols*
		3.3.4.3	*planning in advance*
		3.3.4.4	*calculating the costs*
		3.3.4.5	*using central routes*
		3.3.4.6	*military escort*
		3.3.4.7	*driving arrangement for the children*
		3.3.4.8	*moving in convoys*
3.3.5	*Safety measures*	*3.3.5.1*	*wearing bullet-proof vest*
		3.3.5.2	*housing protection*
		3.3.5.3	*car protection*
		3.3.5.4	*prayer*
		3.3.5.5	*reducing drives*
		3.3.5.6	*limiting*
		3.3.5.7	*using bypass roads*
		3.3.5.8	*carrying weapons*
		3.3.5.9	*declaring security norms*
3.3.6	*Criticism on the security forces*	*3.3.6.1*	*complaining about forbearance*
		3.3.6.2	*anger over abandoning*
		3.3.6.3	*complaints about lack of activity*
		3.3.6.4	*bitterness over absence of listening*
		3.3.6.5	*complaints about living in a siege*
		3.3.6.6	*complaints about violence*
		3.3.6.7	*complaints about tactlessness*
		3.3.6.8	*anger over limiting their movements*
		3.3.6.9	*complaints over harassment*
3.3.7	*Alertness*	*3.3.7.1*	*caution*
		3.3.7.2	*abstention*
		3.3.7.3	*drilling*
		3.3.7.4	*mental preparation*
		3.3.7.5	*forming guidelines*
		3.3.7.6	*carrying weapons*
		3.3.7.7	*alertness*
		3.3.7.8	*awareness*
		3.3.7.9	*updating*
3.3.8	*Routine management*	*3.3.8.1*	*not locking the houses*
		3.3.8.2	*continue travelling*
		3.3.8.3	*daily work outside the settlement*
		3.3.8.4	*lack of limitations*
		3.3.8.5	*cultural life*
		3.3.8.6	*hosting visitors in the settlements*
		3.3.8.7	*visiting others outside the settlements*

Note 1: The terms in this table were translated from Hebrew. Some of these terms are language-specific and may seem unclear to a non-Hebrew speaker.
Note 2: The actions column involves both concrete scripted actions as well as more reflective beliefs relative to scripted actions.

Appendix B: Example of Consent Form

The London School of Economics and Political Science

Institute of Social Psychology

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Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE

Tel: 020 7955 7712
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Research Consent Form

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

You are invited to participate in an experimental study about notions of sacrifice and commitment in Israeli society in the context of national religious movement. The study forms part of a doctoral project being undertaken at the Institute of Social Psychology at the LSE. You will be asked to complete an on-line test with several interpretation tasks. Please note that your answers will become available to following participants.

PROCEDURES

The study is expected to take approximately 15 minutes to complete. If you choose to participate in this study, please select continue at the bottom of this page and you will be given further instructions.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND BENEFITS

There are no risks associated with this research.

It is not expected that you will receive direct benefits by participating in this research. However, it is hoped that it will be an interesting experience and will allow you to learn more about how psychological research is conducted.

PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS

You should not feel obliged to agree to participate.

If you first agree to participate and then you change your mind, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue your participation at any time during the study.

Your identity will be kept as confidential as possible as required by law. The results of this research survey may be presented at social science conferences or published in social science journals.

This study has been approved by the London School of Economics Institutional Review Board.

CONTACT INFORMATION

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If you want to know more about your rights, you may contact the head of the Departmental Ethics Committee at the Institute of Social Psychology:

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Appendix C: Demographic analysis results

Table 7.0: Relationship between religious affiliation and interpretations for S&C to God (action header)

	Fanaticism & blind faith	Faith & Ideology	Detachment & intolerance	Costly sacrifice	Settle the land	Not at any cost	Total
Secular	172 (36.4%)	98 (20.8%)	33 (7.0%)	68 (14.4%)	64 (13.6%)	37 (7.8%)	472 (100%)
Traditional	55 (39.3%)	27 (19.3%)	6 (4.3%)	11 (7.9%)	26 (18.6%)	15 (10.7%)	140 (100%)
National religious	35 (24.5%)	38 (26.6%)	10 (7.0%)	19 (13.3%)	33 (23.1%)	8 (5.6%)	143 (100%)
Total	262 (34.7%)	163 (21.6%)	49 (6.5%)	98 (13.0%)	123 (16.3%)	60 (7.9%)	755 (100%)

Table 8.0: Relationship between religious affiliation and interpretations for S&C to State (scene header)

	Fanaticism & blind faith	*Faith & Ideology*	*Detachment & intolerance*	*Costly sacrifice*	*Settle the land*	*Not at any cost*	*Parasites*	*Openness & tolerance*	*Army service*	*Total*
Secular	77 (17.5%)	38 (8.7%)	74 (16.9%)	49 (11.2%)	74 (16.9%)	43 (9.8%)	8 (1.8%)	34 (7.7%)	42 (9.6%)	439 (100%)
Traditional	18 (13.7%)	13 (9.9%)	24 (18.3%)	19 (14.5%)	13 (9.9%)	12 (9.2%)	4 (3.1%)	11 (8.4%)	17 (13.0%)	131 (100%)
National religious	21 (16.0%)	22 (16.8%)	25 (19.1%)	13 (9.9%)	16 (12.2%)	5 (3.8%)	8 (6.1%)	17 (13.0%)	4 (3.1%)	131 (100%)
Total	116 (16.5%)	73 (10.4%)	123 (17.5%)	81 (11.6%)	103 (14.7%)	60 (8.6%)	20 (2.9%)	62 (8.8%)	63 (9.0%)	701 (100%)

Table 9.0: Relationship between religious affiliation and interpretation selection S&C to State before and after the event (scene header)

		Fanaticism & blind faith	Faith & Ideology	Detachment & intolerance	Costly sacrifice	Settle the land	Not at any cost	Parasites	Openness & tolerance	Army service	Total
Secular	Before	66	23	4	3	67	0	6	10	41	220
		(30.0%)	(10.5%)	(1.8%)	(1.4%)	(30.5%)	(0.0%)	(2.7%)	(4.5%)	(18.6%)	(100%)
	After	11	15	70	46	7	43	2	24	1	219
		(5.0%)	(6.8%)	(32.0%)	(21.0%)	(3.2%)	(19.6%)	(0.9%)	(11.0%)	(0.5%)	(100%)
Traditional	Before	17	10	1	1	12	0	1	8	14	64
		(26.6%)	(15.6%)	(1.6%)	(1.6%)	(18.8%)	(0.0%)	(1.6%)	(12.5%)	(21.9%)	(100%)
	After	1	3	23	18	1	12	3	3	3	67
		(1.5%)	(4.5%)	(34.3%)	(26.9%)	(1.5%)	(17.9%)	(4.5%)	(4.5%)	(4.5%)	(100%)
National religious	Before	20	14	2	0	15	1	3	10	4	69
		(29.0%)	(20.3%)	(2.9%)	(0.0%)	(21.7%)	(1.4%)	(4.3%)	(14.5%)	(5.8%)	(100%)
	After	1	8	23	13	1	4	5	7	0	62
		(1.6%)	(12.9%)	(37.1%)	(21.0%)	(1.6%)	(6.5%)	(8.1%)	(11.3%)	(0.0%)	(100%)
Total	Before	103	47	7	4	94	1	10	28	59	353
		(29.2%)	(13.3%)	(2.0%)	(1.1%)	(26.6%)	(0.3%)	(2.8%)	(7.9%)	(16.7%)	(100%)
	After	13	26	116	77	9	59	10	34	4	348
		(3.7%)	(7.5%)	(33.3%)	(22.1%)	(2.6%)	(17.0%)	(2.9%)	(9.8%)	(1.1%)	(100%)

Table 10.0: Relationship between gender and interpretations for S&C to God (action level)

	Fanaticism & blind faith	Faith & Ideology	Detachment & intolerance	Costly sacrifice	Settle the land	Not at any cost	Legal resistance	Total
Male	96 (35.7%)	46 (17.1%)	20 (7.4%)	53 (19.7%)	36 (13.4%)	3 (1.1%)	15 (5.6%)	269 (100%)
Female	168 (35.1%)	100 (20.9%)	25 (5.2%)	45 (9.4%)	118 (24.6%)	8 (1.7%)	15 (3.1%)	479 (100%)
Total	264 (35.3%)	146 (19.5%)	45 (6.0%)	98 (13.1%)	154 (20.6%)	11 (1.5%)	30 (4.0%)	748 (100%)

Table 11.0: Relationship between gender and interpretations for S&C to God before and after the event (action level)

		Fanaticism & blind faith	Faith & Ideology	Detachment & intolerance	Costly sacrifice	Settle the land	Not at any cost	Legal resistance	Total
Male	Before	38	22	6	25	22	0	2	115
		(33.0%)	(19.1%)	(5.2%)	(21.7%)	(19.1%)	(0.0%)	(1.7%)	(100%)
	After	58	24	14	28	14	3	13	154
		(37.7%)	(15.6%)	(5.0%)	(18.2%)	(9.1%)	(1.9%)	(8.4%)	(100%)
Female	Before	50	50	11	20	59	1	6	64
		(25.4%)	(25.4%)	(5.6%)	(10.2%)	(29.9%)	(0.5%)	(3.0%)	(100%)
	After	118	50	14	25	59	7	9	282
		(41.8%)	(17.7%)	(5.0%)	(8.9%)	(20.9%)	(2.5%)	(3.2%)	(100%)
Total	Before	88	72	17	45	81	1	8	312
		(28.2%)	(23.1%)	(5.4%)	(14.4%)	(26.0%)	(0.3%)	(2.6%)	(100%)
	After	176	74	28	53	73	10	22	436
		(40.4%)	(17.0%)	(6.4%)	(12.2%)	(16.7%)	(2.3%)	(5.0%)	(100%)

Appendix D: Relationship between interpretation selection and level of selection

Table 12.0: Relationship between interpretation selection and level of interpretations – S&C to God

	Fanaticism & blind faith	Faith & Ideology	Detachment & intolerance	Costly sacrifice	Settle the land	Not at any cost
Scene header to action header	199 (74.0%)	85 (51.2%)	2 (40.0%)	39 (35.5%)	69 (60.5%)	2 (40.0%)
Action header to action	168 (67.0%)	81 (68.6%)	7 (18.9%)	28 (39.4%)	71 (65.7%)	8 (20.0%)

Table 13.0: Relationship between interpretation selection and level of interpretations – S&C to State

	Fanaticism & blind faith	Faith & Ideology	Detachment & intolerance	Costly sacrifice	Settle the land	Not at any cost	Parasites	Openness & tolerance	Army service
Scene header to action header	55 (53.9%)	12 (21.1%)	11 (11.6%)	0 (0.0%)	43 (60.5%)	20 (45.5%)	0 (0.0%)	14 (42.4%)	13 (26.5%)
Action header to action	65 (67.7%)	17 (34.0%)	15 (30.6%)	9 (16.1%)	38 (41.8%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	17 (34.0%)	12 (40.0%)

Table 14.0: Relationship between interpretation selection and level of interpretations – S&C to Community

	Fanaticism & blind faith	Faith & Ideology	Detachment & intolerance	Costly sacrifice	Settle the land	Not at any cost	Parasites	Openness & tolerance
Scene header to action header	36 (83.7%)	142 (79.3%)	83 (61.5%)	27 (21.4%)	0 (0.0%)	12 (17.1%)	13 (27.7%)	38 (39.6%)
Action header to action	50 (47.2%)	58 (36.5%)	55 (51.4%)	7 (13.0%)	3 (18.8%)	5 (15.6%)	0 (0.0%)	73 (65.8%)

Appendix E: Emotional valence results

Table 15.0: Scene header script 1 (God)

		N	Mean	SD	T	Sig	Effect size
Fanaticism & bilnd faith	Before After	111 231	1.55 1.88	.72 1.36	2.95 Df 336	.003	.30 weak effect
Faith & ideology	Before After	95 90	6.00 5.90	.92 1.22	.63 Df 164	.532	
Detachment & intolerance	Before After	3 8	3.33 2.00	2.31 .93	.97 Df 2		
Costly sacrifice	Before After	19 124	6.00 5.31	.88 1.63	2.78 Df 40	.008	.52 Moderate effect
Settle the land	Before After	122 30	6.17 6.10	1.07 1.06	.33 Df 150	.742	

Table 16.0: Action header script 1 (God)

		N	Mean	SD	T	Sig	Effect size
Fanaticism & blind faith	Before After	110 152	1.87 1.85	1.49 1.48	.13 Df 260	.897	
Faith & ideology	Before After	78 85	5.46 6.08	1.66 1.36	2.60 Df 149	.012	.41 weak effect
Detachment & intolerance	Before After	13 36	3.23 2.25	2.24 1.59	1.45 Df 16	.165	
Costly sacrifice	Before After	29 69	5.52 5.25	1.45 1.12	.73 DF 75	.468	
Settle the land	Before After	82 41	5.89 5.61	1.64 1.63	.90 Df 121	.372	
Not at any cost	Before After	12 48	1.92 5.31	1.24 1.97	7.43 Df 26	.000	2.05 Strong effect

Table 17.0: Scene header script 2 (State)

		N	Mean	SD	t	Sig	Effect Size
Fanaticism & blind faith	Before	103	1.83	.82	.70	.494	
	After	13	2.23	2.00	Df 12.5		
Faith & ideology	Before	47	5.98	1.19	.68	.514	
	After	26	5.77	1.39	Df 71		
Detachment & intolerance	Before	7	1.86	1.07	1.72	.042	.79 Strong, Moderate effect
	After	116	3.02	1.76	Df 121		
Costly sacrifice	Before	4	5.25	1.71	1.05	.296	
	After	77	4.08	2.19	Df 79		
Settle the land	Before	94	6.56	.77	5.24	.000	.80 Strong effect
	After	9	7.00	.00	Df 93		
Not at any cost	Before	1	5.00		.36	.723	
	After	59	4.41	1.62	58 Df		
Parasites	Before	10	2.10	1.37	7.29	.000	3.20 Strong effect
	After	10	6.40	1.26	Df 18		
Openness & Tolerance	Before	28	6.32	.82	1.60	.257	
	After	34	6.56	.79	Df 60		
Army service	Before	59	6.27	1.27	.74	.459	
	After	4	6.75	.50	Df 61		

Note: Effect size is reported only to significant results

Table 18.0: Action header script 2 (state)

		N	Mean	SD	t	Sig	Effect Size
Fanaticism & blind faith	Before	55	1.30	.57	4.28	.000	.60 Moderate effect
	After	108	2.03	1.60	Df 148		
Faith & ideology	Before	18	6.39	.78	1.31	.193	
	After	56	5.96	1.29	Df 72		
Detachment & intolerance	Before	12	1.92	1.31	1.19	.237	
	After	67	2.57	1.80	Df 77		
Costly sacrifice	Before	32	3.72	2.58	2.41	.021	.55 Moderate effect
	After	52	5.00	1.96	Df 52		

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		N	Mean	SD	t	Sig	Effect size
Settle the land	Before	81	5.85	1.75	9.30	.000	1.65
	After	49	2.80	1.93	Df 128		Strong effect
Not at any cost	Before	21	4.19	2.34	1.94	.032	.51
	After	63	5.29	1.90	Df 26		Moderate effect
Openness & Tolerance	Before	57	6.58	.75	.88	.387	
	After	21	6.29	1.45	Df 24		
Army service	Before	26	6.54	.81	.14	.887	
	After	12	6.50	.67	Df 36		

Table 19.0: Action level script 2 (State)

		N	Mean	SD	t	Sig	Effect size
Fanaticism & blind faith	Before	48	1.58	1.38	3.04	.003	.45 weak, effect
	After	141	2.41	2.21	Df 131		
Faith & ideology	Before	19	5.32	2.14	1.06	.346	
	After	36	5.89	1.39	Df 26		
Detachment & intolerance	Before	7	1.43	.29	2.45	.022	.74 Moderate effect
	After	35	2.60	2.21	Df 27		
Costly sacrifice	Before	15	4.67	2.19	.25	.818	
	After	19	4.47	2.32	Df 32		
Settle the land	Before	67	5.37	2.23	1.88	.061	
	After	67	4.61	2.44	Df 132		
Not at any cost	Before	5	2.80	2.49	.11	.929	
	After	14	2.93	2.23	Df 17		
Parasites	Before	5	2.40	2.61	.35	.741	
	After	4	3.00	2.45	Df 7		
Openness & Tolerance	Before	43	6.72	.59	1.71	.09	
	After	41	6.39	1.09	DF 60		
Army service	Before	37	6.22	1.32	.40	.694	
	After	17	6.35	.79	Df 52		

Table 20.0: Scene header script 3 (Community)

		N	Mean	SD	t	Sig	Effect Size
Fanaticism	Before	41	2.35	1.35	1.90	.853	
	After	8	2.50	2.27	Df 8		
Faith & ideology	Before	46	5.67	1.16	.56	.576	
	After	140	5.56	1.25	Df 184		
Detachment & intolerance	Before	77	2.90	1.73	1.21	.229	
	After	100	2.60	1.52	Df 125		
Costly sacrifice & love for the land	Before	90	4.91	2.31	3.17	.002	.50 Moderate effect
	After	58	5.88	1.40	DF 145		
Settle the land	Before	12	6.67	.49	.33	.751	
	After	7	6.57	.79	Df 17		
Not at any cost	Before	1	4.00		2.03	.042	
	After	90	6.23	1.09	DF 89		
Parasites	Before	4	1.75	.96	.87	.394	
	After	43	1.30	.99	Df 45		
Openness & Tolerance	Before	71	6.59	.65	.97	.336	
	After	47	6.70	.55	Df 116		

Table 21.0: Action header script 3 (Community)

		N	Mean	SD	t	Sig	Effect size
Fanaticism & blind faith	Before	51	1.88	1.10	4.19	.000	.70 Moderate effect
	After	78	3.12	2.41	Df 115		
Faith & ideology	Before	60	6.28	1.01	3.48	.001	.49 weak, effect
	After	143	5.68	1.37	Df 148		
Detachment & intolerance	Before	53	1.96	1.09	3.55	.001	.60 Moderate effect
	After	73	3.05	2.32	Df 108		
Costly sacrifice	Before	38	5.47	2.11	2.66	.011	.61 Moderate effect
	After	35	6.46	.82	Df 48		
Settle the land	Before	6	5.33	1.96	2.62	.014	1.23 Strong, effect
	After	22	2.82	2.11	Df 26		
Not at any cost	Before	17	4.12	1.96	2.21	.032	.66 Strong, moderate effect
	After	30	5.43	1.96	Df 45		
Parasites	Before	6	2.00	1.26	2.40	.023	1.23 Strong, effect
	After	24	4.04	1.97	Df 28		
Openness &	Before	84	6.38	1.12	.55	.583	
	After	84	6.29	1.14	Df 166		

Table 22.0: Action script 3 (Community)

		N	Mean	SD	t	Sig	Effect size
Fanaticism & blind faith	Before After	38 77	1.79 2.74	1.23 2.52	2.72 Df 113	.008	.47 weak, effect
Faith & ideology	Before After	27 63	5.37 5.87	1.42 1.42	1.54 Df 88	.127	
Detachment & intolerance	Before After	52 49	2.27 2.43	1.81 1.81	.44 Df 99	.659	
Costly sacrifice	Before After	27 26	3.70 4.81	2.66 2.35	1.60 Df 50	.115	
Settle the land	Before After	22 38	4.27 5.74	2.55 1.77	2.38 Df 32	.023	.66 Moderate effect
Legal resistance	Before After	3 8	5.33 5.88	.58 2.10	.43 Df 9	.680	
Parasites	Before After	2 11	1.00 2.73	0 2.57	2.22 Df 10	.058	
Openness & Tolerance	Before After	93 114	6.44 6.63	.96 .82	1.54 Df 205	.126	