Driven by fear? Commuting and Fear of Terrorism in the West Bank

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This study examines perceived safety of individuals driving through politically contested territories. Using on-line surveys, residents of Israeli settlements in the West-Bank were asked to report on their perceived safety from terrorism while commuting. The research identified and controlled for three sets of variables, namely, personal, environmental and situational. The results show that while level of perceived safety from terrorism among driving settlers is high, it is affected by gender, by the situational setting as well as by environmental factors such as proximity to Jewish localities and road openness and curvedness.

Keywords: *Perceived Safety, Fear of Terrorism, Commuting, West Bank, Settlers*

INTRODUCTION

Recent years have witnessed a great deal of research on perceived fear of crime. Studies have shown that personal characteristics (e.g., gender, age and ethnicity), social factors (e.g., the presence of others, cultural heterogeneity), and environmental features (e.g., lighting, time of day, openness, curvatures, and street widths) significantly impact the extent to which individuals feel safe, or endangered (Andrews & Gatersleben, 2010; Bjornstrom & Ralston, 2014; Blobaum & Hunecke, 2005; Boomsma & Steg, 2014; Herzog & Chernick, 2000; L. J. Jorgensen, Ellis, & Ruddell, 2013; Toet & van Schaik, 2012).

Despite offering a greater understanding of how fear is shaped, studies have been limited in two ways. Thematically, perceived fear has been examined primarily with respect to crime, thereby ignoring other fear-invoking phenomena, notably terrorism (see Nellis, 2009; Nellis & Savage, 2012; Wilcox et al., 2009). Methodologically, studies often examined the experience of persons walking individually through unsafe settings, largely ignoring other travel means and situations (e.g., group travel). Given the ubiquity of car travel (Urry, 2004), it is important to understand behaviors, reactions and feelings that occur in vehicular space (Merriman, 2009).

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Driving, for example, may evoke a lower sense of fear from external threats, terrorism included, due to the vehicle's tenability and potential for speedy escapes from some unsafe environments. However, the size and ungainliness of most cars, which make them extremely vulnerable targets, could possibly enhance drivers' fear, especially when accompanied by minors. This may be particularly true in conflict-ridden areas, where cars are often targeted by perpetrators. Either way, it is important to attend to the determinants of fear while driving.

This article examines perceived fear of terrorism among drivers in contested spaces. Two hundred and forty-nine Israeli settlers living in the West Bank[1] were asked to report on their perceived safety while commuting. Perceived safety was analyzed against: (I) socio-demographic factors, including gender, age, marital status, education, political orientation and level of religiosity; and (II) environmental factors, including road curvature, and proximity to Israeli or Palestinian localities. These factors were tested against three driving situations, namely alone, accompanied by adult (18 years of age) passengers, and accompanied by minor passengers. Findings suggest that while the overall level of perceived safety among driving settlers is high, it is variably impacted by all three factors.

The paper begins by surveying the literature on fear of crime and terrorism. It then contextualizes the West Bank, the field of study, elaborating on the pervasiveness of terrorism in it. The third section presents findings and interprets the effects of different factors on the perceived safety of driving settlers. The conclusion discusses the broader implications of the study.

DETERMINANTS OF FEAR OF CRIME

Fear of crime is an emotional response of anxiety associated with victimization (Ferraro, 1995). Appleton's (1975) prospect-refuge model was probably the first to theorize links between fear and space, positing that humans prefer landscapes that provide an open view (prospect) together with protection (refuge). The ability to see without being exposed to or seen by others enhances perceived safety and increases the aesthetic pleasure offered by the physical landscape. Prospect and refuge do not necessarily have to be experienced first-hand since people are capable of indirectly judging the qualities specific places offer them. Fisher and Nasar (1992) introduced the term 'escape' as a third dimension in the analysis of safety. Taking into consideration both the victim's prospect and the potential offender's refuge, they suggest that individuals feel safest at sites that both enable them open prospect and allow offenders low refuge, and least safe in those that afford them limited prospects and provide offenders with multiple hiding places (high refuge).

Subsequent studies examined features of the landscape that feed into fear of crime, linking lighting (Blobaum & Hunecke, 2005; Boomsma & Steg, 2014), cues of setting care (Herzog & Chernick, 2000), and non-curved streets (Herzog &

Flynn-Smith, 2001; Herzog & Miller, 1998), to lower fear levels. Wang & Taylor (2006) argue that in addition to landscape features, three fear-enhancing physical factors dominate the literature, namely physical incivilities like litter, vacant lots and sprayed graffiti (LaGrange et al.1992; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Taylor, 2001; Toet & van Schaik, 2012), signs of social cohesion and residential involvement (Hunter, 1978; Hunter & Baumer, 1982; Taylor & Hale, 1986; Wilson & Kelling, 1982), and neighborhood design and planning attributes (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1993; Brown, 1982).

Links between urban planning and design features, including proximity to commercial and mixed land uses, and higher rates of property crime are well-established. Explanations underscore the breakdown of socio-territorial controls within non-residential environments by virtue of undermining social guardianship (e.g., absence of designated individuals who maintain and control the specific territory) and the attraction of strangers who are indistinguishable from local residents (Kurtz, Koons, & Taylor, 1998). However, studies examining the impact of similar features on fear of crime have not always yielded conclusive results (McCrea, et al. 2005; Schweitzer et al. 1999). Similarly, though some studies associated well-kept vegetation and reduced fear of crime among urban residents (Jorgensen & Anthopoulou, 2007; Shaffer & Anderson, 1985), others found vegetation to increase fear as it offers potential perpetrator concealment (Nasar & Jones, 1997). As Foster, Giles-Corti & Knuiman (2014) concluded in a recent study, it 'is not simply one or two characteristics that contribute to feeling safe, but the cumulative effect of several planning and land-use elements' (p. 1160).

Fear of crime is also correlated with socio-demographic characteristics, primarily gender (Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Jorgensen et al., 2013; Stanko, 1995). Several explanations have been offered to explain women's heightened fear of crime. Ferraro (1995) famously revealed that rather than a generalized fear of crime, women experience a heightened fear of sexual assault. A significant proportion of women's fear is therefore tied to a range of potential harmful incidents that may not apply to men (Warr, 1984). Vulnerability may also explain fear among the elderly, poor and ethnic minorities (Liska et al. 1988), since they typically feel unable to protect themselves – physically or economically - from crime. Fear is elevated when members of vulnerable groups sense that their neighborhood is declining or changing, leaving them with no local social network to draw on (Warr, 1984).

Unlike crime, scholarship on responses to terrorism is embryonic. However, responses to crime and terrorism share key characteristics; both may invoke cognitive (risk), emotional (fear) and behavioral (avoidance) reactions. Fear of terrorism is affected by individuals' exposure to relevant information (Rubin et al. 2003; Slone, 2000) as well as the extent to which they could accumulate 'skills' necessary to control it. As Becker & Rubinstein (2004) argue in their work about the effect of fear on economic behavior, people who face similar probabilities to be harmed may

differ in the ways they react to fear in accordance with their subjective incentives. Using the case of suicide bomber attacks on Israeli buses, they show that while they have a negative effect on bus rides (and positive effects on the use of taxis), reactions vary according to the likelihood of using buses, such that the effect is greatest for those who were at the margins of using them in the first place and non-existing for 'heavy' users. Drawing on the rational choice model, they conclude that fear does not pay back the same to everyone, hence 'those who are more likely to benefit from the risky activity will invest and overcome their fears, while others will substitute the risky activity by other…plans' (p. 45). This shall be returned to in the discussion of settlers' fear (or lack thereof) of driving in the West Bank.

Fear of terrorism also correlates with socio-demographic attributes and previous exposure to incidents. Studies show that fear of terrorism is higher among women (Huddy et al. 2002; Sjöberg, 2005) and ethnic minorities (Boscarino et al., 2003). It also correlates with class, as wealthier individuals were less likely to report fear of terrorism compared with those with lower incomes (Boscarino et al., 2003).

Like crime, scholarship about terrorism has typically followed a stationary logic, based on individuals' reports of fear at particular sites. From dimly-lit alleys to densely-planted areas of urban parks, most attempted to capture the immobile sense of fear among pedestrians. This 'sedentary bias' (Ghorashi, 2017) has long been critiqued by social scientists (Malkki, 1992; Tölölyan, 2000) who called for a more mobile theorization of people's everyday lives. As Elliot and Urry (2010,3) noted, 'the rise of an intensively mobile society reshapes the self – its everyday activities, interpersonal relations with others, as well as connections with the wider world'.

In the context of the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller & Urry, 2006), greater attention was paid to emotions, sensations and feelings which unfold en route. Cars received particular attention, as their essential role in 'the privatization, individualization and emotionalization of consumer society' (Gilroy, 2001, 89) made them a salient object of inquiry. Cars were re-problematized as hybrid spaces in which automated materiality and human subjects create new forms of emotional agency (Michael, 1998) and driving was shown to elicit a range of feelings, from happiness and excitement to fear and anxiety. These automotive emotions, Sheller (2004) suggests, 'occur as a circulation of affects between (different) persons, (different) cars, and historically situated car cultures and geographies of automobility' (p. 227). From the thrill of driving through open-ended highways to the rampant rage directed towards fellow drivers, 'we not only feel the car, but we feel through the car and with the car' (Ibid).

The main concern in this paper is feelings of fear among Israeli settlers who drive through the West Bank (WB). Drivers face a unique challenge as they move through the area. On the one hand, since commuting is a routine practice, it re-orients the body such that 'the rest of the material world ceases to be remarkable…in itself' (Dant, 2004, 73). On the other hand, given the unpredictability of terrorism, drivers need to be alert in these areas. Additionally, driving involves passengers whose

experience could be quite different (see Katz, 2000). As Laurier et al. (2008, 20) argue, 'against the conceptualization of the driver as a lone Cartesian self, contemplating an external road, driving can also be understood as a socially ordered activity with passengers as legitimate and illegitimate participants in particular tasks'. How fear is impacted by the driver's own identity, the presence of others, and exogenous environmental cues must be understood.

Contextualizing Terrorism in the West Bank

The Middle East remains a hotspot of terrorism, being home to over one fifth (22.12%) of global terrorist activity (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), 2013). Over 80% of terrorist activities took place in war-torn Iraq, Yemen and Syria, yet attacks were perpetrated in nearly every Middle Eastern country, including Israel and the West Bank, where militant Palestinian groups continue to target Israeli civilians and soldiers alike. Between 2010 and 2013, roughly 3% of regional terrorism occurred in Israel and the occupied territories (West Bank and Gaza Strip), and of the 27,664 terrorist acts by the region between 1970 and 2013, a total of 12% took place in these locations. While some of these attacks were carried out by Jewish extremists, settlers and others, the majority have been perpetrated by militant Palestinian groups (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), 2013).

Since the first Intifada (1987-1991), Israeli settlers increasingly have been the target of terrorism. In 2013 alone, more than 1200 attacks occurred in the area, including firearm shooting, bombing, stabbing, and grenade throwing, leaving two dead settlers and dozens wounded.[2] Beyond causing physical harm, terrorism adversely affects Israel's economy. The second Intifada, for example, was responsible for a 10% reduction in the country's per capita production output (Eckstein & Tsiddon (2004) and a real income loss of 12% (Persitz 2007).

These findings suggest that terrorism in Israel (and WB) is a pervasive phenomenon with far-reaching, costly and disruptive societal effects (Spilerman & Stecklov, 2009). Terrorism in Israel, we contend, like crime in the US and Europe, is a key fear-producing phenomenon, and constitutes a major social, economic and political problem. Despite recent assertions that 'Israelis have come to accept some level of terrorism as a fact of life, much as they do road accidents' (Spilerman & Stecklov, 2009:183), fear of terrorism clearly plays a role in changing cognitive and behavioral practices (Stecklov & Goldstein, 2004). Yet, save some notable exceptions, which examined its effects on behavior in the housing market (Arbel et al., 2010; Hazam & Felsenstein, 2007), fear of terrorism in Israel and settlements of the WB remains largely unexplored. The latter, demographically diverse and exposed daily to multiple forms of terrorism make an ideal case for studying the subject.

METHODOLOGY

Study Area and Population

The West Bank, measuring approximately 5800 square kilometers, is a largely mountainous area stretching from the Jordan River to the Green Line (the 1949 armistice line between Israel and Jordan). The area was occupied by Israel in 1967 and has since remained the subject of political dispute. The second Oslo Accord (1995) between Israel and the Palestinian Authority (PA) divided the WB into three subareas; Areas A and B, and C. Areas A and B, together constitute 40% of the West Bank (18% and 22%, respectively). These areas are made up of 165 loosely-connected enclaves and are home to some 2.8 million Palestinians. Area A, controlled fully by the PA, includes the cities of Nablus, Bethlehem, Jericho, Qalqilya, Jenin, Ramallah, Tulkarm, and (80% of) Hebron. Area B, under PA civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian security control, includes over 400 Palestinians villages. Area C, in which *all* Jewish settlements are located, comprises 60% of the WB and is under full Israeli control. In 2013, Area C was also populated by 300,000 Palestinians living in over 500 locations (Figure 1).

Throughout the West Bank Israeli settlers and Palestinians lead separate lives; not only do they typically work, shop and socialize in discrete locations, but they also reside in strictly segregated communities, often accessed by separated road systems. These communities, sometimes only several hundred yards apart, are overseen and managed by different authorities. Palestinian localities in all areas are administered by eleven regional governorates (Arabic Muhafazat) that report to the PA's Interior Ministry and are responsible for the provision of public services (e.g., policing, health and education) within their jurisdiction. The Israeli-controlled Area C is overseen by the Judea and Samaria District whose total Jewish population of 377,900 resides in more than 150 localities (CBS Israel, 2016). While all localities are considered settlements, they vary significantly, both administratively and sociodemographically.

Administratively, there exist three forms of local administrations, which vary by population size. Municipalities administer urban centers exceeding 20,000. Their total population is estimated at 170,000. Local councils oversee urban centers whose population ranges from 1,000 to 20,000 people. Their total population is currently 80,000. The remainder (130,000 people) lives in 120 predominantly rural settlements whose population rarely exceeds 1,000. Settlements are generally self-administered through secretariats or similar administrative bodies. However, due to their small size they are also clustered into the six regional councils, which provide settlements with communal services (Figure 2).[3]

Figure 1: Israeli Settlements of the West Bank

Figure 2: Administrative Divisions of the West Bank

Settlements are also socially heterogeneous. It is estimated that 100,000 settlers live in national-religious communities, 164,000 in mixed (religious-traditional-secular) communities, and the remainder (roughly 120,000) in strictly Ultra-Orthodox

(Haredi) communities.[4] These social distinctions have two important implications for this study. First, while the majority of secular and national-religious settlers (both men and women) are wage-earners and therefore required to commute to workplaces located primarily outside the region, most Haredi men study at local religious institutions (Yeshivot) and therefore do not commute. Their women too do not commute much. Second, national religious and ultra-orthodox Jews – who are the majority among the settler population – often perceive of their WB residence in theological terms of settling the biblical Land of Israel. Following the argument of Becker & Rubinstein (2004) noted above, they may have greater incentives for taking measures to overcome fear and engage in the risky activity of driving through the West Bank than either non-religious settlers, or non-settler Israeli Jews more generally.

Survey and Measures

This research is based on a cross-sectional survey conducted in 2013 and administered as an online questionnaire. The target population was adult (>18 years) Israeli settlers who commute daily to destinations west of the Green Line. A link to the questionnaire was sent to secretariats of all 149 settlements who were asked to forward it, along with an introductory text, to e-mail accounts registered in their respective databases. To increase the response rate, a follow-up message was sent to secretariats a month later. Messages were also posted on social networks to elicit greater response from the research population. The survey resulted in 249 returned questionnaires (from 51 settlements), of which 50 were omitted, either because respondents failed to meet the selection criteria,[5] or they were incomplete. The study resulted in 199 complete questionnaires filled out by individuals from 36 settlements.[6] Though relatively small, the sample size is sufficient to illuminate key perceptions of fear among the settler population. Future studies will undoubtedly draw on larger samples.

The questionnaire uses stated preferences rather than revealed behavior, since terror attacks are spatio-temporally sporadic. The resulted stated travel behavior expresses the general tendency of the individual and is not a direct consequence of a specific attack. Respondents were first asked to answer questions concerning their commuting pattern, including means of transportation used, time and duration of travel. They were then asked to report on their sense of safety in each of the situations studied (unaccompanied driver, driver accompanied by adult passengers and driver accompanied by minor passengers). Perceived safety was measured on a five point Likert-type scale: 1 - lowest; 5 - highest. Subsequently, they were asked to rate the effect of various physical and environmental attributes on their perceived safety in the same three situations. Environmental factors tested for included road curvature and openness (Figure 3), lighting, areas of slow(ing) traffic (Figure 4), proximity to border crossings and sites of previous terrorist attacks (Figure 5). Also included was proximity to IDF military bases, Jewish/Palestinian localities (Figure 6) and

the separation wall. Respondents were requested to rate the effect of these factors on their safety in each situation. Their ratings were coded into a binary variable (0: does not effect my perceived safety; 1: effects my perceived safety). Respondents were asked about their religious beliefs, political views and other personal factors, which were previously found to be correlated with fear of terrorism (e.g., gender, education). Finally, GIS and Google maps were used to calculate distance and travel time from the Green Line by measuring the minimum driving distance from each settlement to the nearest border crossing along it.

Figure 3: Junction in the West Bank, near the settlements of P'duel and Aley Zahav (Photo: Maor Rozenberg)

Figure 4: Military checkpoint near the settlement of Tapuach (Photo: Israel Goldreich)

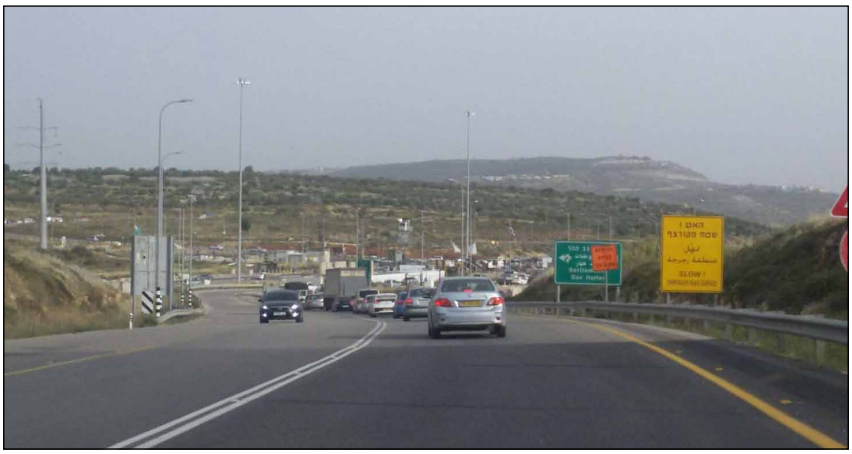

Figure 5: IDF-secured bus stop on Highway #5, near the settlement of Revava (Photo: Israel Goldreich)

Figure 6: A two-lane road near the Palestinian villages of Mardam, Zeita and Ja'main (Photo: Israel Goldreich)

Data analysis methods

Data were analyzed using SPSS version 20. Testing was first completed for univariate correlations between two categories of independent variables and a dependent variable (perceived safety from terrorism). The first category included personal factors, namely age, gender, education and religious beliefs. The second category included environmental factors, including lighting, road curvedness/limited openness and proximity to Palestinian/Jewish localities. Three situational factors were tested for perceived safety against: (I) Unaccompanied driver; (II) Accompanied driver - adult passengers, and (III) Accompanied driver – minor passengers. Each situational factor was examined separately as it was assumed that unaccompanied drivers may perceive their own safety differently compared with accompanied drivers (Keane, 1998). Only significant personal factors as well as significant environmental factors were selected for subsequent multivariate analysis. Multiple linear regression models tested drivers' perceived safety at all situations. Model 1 examined variables affecting perceived safety of an unaccompanied driver whereas models 2 and 3 examined drivers accompanied by adult and minor passengers, respectively. In what follows descriptive data is provided about the sample population and compare it to 2008 census data about Israelis in general. The results of the univariate correlations are then elaborated with perceived safety and, finally, interpret the multiple linear regression models.

RESULTS

As per Table 1, the majority of our sample population were female (56.8%), married (88.9%) and academically educated (69.8%). It was also characterized by an average household size of 5.35 persons, which is somewhat higher than the national average (4.58). Most respondents self-identified as national religious holding right-wing political views (66.8% and 83.9%, respectively). These figures correspond to Israel's social survey in which 57.6 % of adults in the settlements were identified as national religious (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015) as well as to the results in the 2015 national elections in which 88.9% of voters in this district supported right-wing political parties. More than 70% of the respondents commuted to work by private cars, a higher rate than that reported by district residents (52.4%) in the most recent census (CBS Israel, 2009). It should be noted, however, that census data is based upon individuals over the age of 15, while the sample was limited to those who are 18 years or older. Participants reported commuting five times a week on average to destinations located west of the Green Line. Their mean travel distance to the Green Line was approximately 27 kilometers and lasted an average of 28 minutes.

Table 1: Personal factors and travel variables - Descriptive information

Variable (n=199)	Categories	Percentage
H-W*[1] Mode of transportation	Bus	1.5
	Taxi/Share taxi	0.5
	Driver private car	73.9
	Passenger / known driver	8.5
	Combination	8.5
	Passenger / unknown driver	7.0
W-H*[2] Mode of transportation	Bus	3.5
	Driver private car	72.4
	Passenger / know driver	8.5
	Combination	6.0
	Passenger / unknown driver	9.5
H-W Travel time of day	19:00-06:00	6
	06:00-19:00	94
W-H Travel time of day	19:00-06:00	22.6
	06:00-19:00	77.4
Gender	Male	43.2
	Female	56.8
Marital status	Single	9
	Divorced/Widow	2
	Married	88.9
Number of cars in HH	None	4
	1	47.7
	2	46.7
	3 or more	1.5
Education	Partial high school	0.5
	Complete high school	12.6
	Vocational Education	8.5
	Students	8.5
	Academic	69.8
Religious belief	Secular	15.1
	Traditional[1]	12.1
	National Religious	66.8
	National Haredi	6
Political Affiliation (n=197)	Right	83.9
	Center	14.1
	Left	1

Variable	N	Mean	Mode	Std. Deviation
Age	199	39.28	31	13.1
Number of children	174	3.94	4	2.0
Number of children under 18	133	2.95	3	2.0
Years in settlement	198	15.56	2	11.2
Travel frequency to destination(times per week)	197	4.02	5	1.6
Travel time to Green Line (minutes)	199	27.70	8	17.4
Travel distance from Green Line	199	26.97	22	6.0
Perceived safety as a single driver	191	3.80	4	1.01
Perceived safety as driver accompanied by adults	155	3.90	4	1.01
Perceived safety as driver accompanied by minors	160	3.43	4	1.23

*1 H-W: Home-Work, *2 W-H: Work-Home

After testing for perceived safety against the three situations the significant factors (gender, age, education and number of cars) were included in the multiple linear regression. Interestingly, while distance from the Green Line was not significantly correlated with perceived safety, travel time had a positive correlation. Physical variables that were significantly correlated with perceived safety in all three situations included Road-Curvature/Limited-Openness (RCLO), lighting, proximity to sites where terrorist attacks previously occurred and areas of slow(ing) traffic. Driving in proximity to the separation wall was significantly correlated with perceived safety only for unaccompanied drivers. Driving in proximity to Palestinian localities was significantly correlated with perceived safety for all three situations.

Table 2 presents the regression results for estimated perceived safety of drivers in the three situations studied. For each, a multiple linear regression model was performed to predict perceived safety based on the variables found to have a significant univariate correlation. These were modeled for unaccompanied drivers, and drivers accompanied by adults as well as minors.

As can be seen in Table 2, respondents' overall level of perceived safety is relatively high. It is exceptionally high when the driver is accompanied by adults (4.39) and slightly lower when accompanied by minors or as a single driver (3.99 and 3.89 respectively). In line with previous research, gender was negatively correlated with perceived safety in all three situations. Specifically, perceived safety among unaccompanied female drivers as well as those accompanied by other adults or minors was lower than males'. However, the magnitude of the effect was somewhat different. Gender had the greatest effect on perceived safety among unaccompanied drivers as well as those accompanied by minors, but was less pronounced among those accompanied by adults. Age similarly had minor effects on perceived safety in models 1 and 3 (B=0.01 and 0.03, respectively) and no effect in Model 2. Education

was negatively correlated with perceived safety in model 3, meaning that the level of perceived safety decreased with rising levels of education, but only among drivers accompanied by minors. Other personal factors were found across models.

Table 2: Multiple linear regression models examining perceived safety of drivers in different situational settings

Situational Setting	Variable	B	Std. Error	t	ρ
Model 1: A single driver	Constant	3.89	.26	15.00	.00
	In proximity to Palestinian locality (people are in sight)	-.73	.15	-4.85	.00
	Gender (female)	-.58	.15	-4.04	.00
	Age	.01	.01	2.25	.03
Sample N=191; R square 0.231; F 18.752; ρ value <0.01					
Model 2: A driver accompanied by adults	Constant	4.34	.12	35.59	.000
	Driving through a Palestinian locality	-.74	.16	-4.71	.000
	Gender (female)	-.30	.15	-1.99	.049
Sample N=155 R square 0.164; F 14.923; ρ value <0.01					
Model 3: A driver accompanied by minors	Constant	3.99	.451	8.858	.000
	Age	.03	.007	3.468	.001
	Gender (female)	-.55	.176	-3.126	.002
	Education	-.19	.079	-2.435	.016
	In proximity to a Palestinian locality (people are in sight)	-.33	.198	-1.665	.098
	Proximity to a Jewish settlement	.98	.362	2.714	.007
	Road curvature/limited openness	-.52	.194	-2.669	.008
Sample N=160; R square 0.312; F 11.552; ρ value <0.01					

In contrast to previous research findings, some environmental variables did not impact drivers' perceived safety. Lighting, for example, had a direct relationship with safety, which weakened once we controlled for other variables in the regression equation, resulting in no significant effect in all three models. Driving near sites of previous terror attacks and areas of slow traffic as well as in proximity to the Separation Wall were also insignificant. Moreover, only Model 3, which represents

drivers accompanied by minors, was influenced by multiple environmental variables, namely proximity to a Palestinian locality, proximity to a Jewish settlement, and road curvature/limited openness. Proximity to a Jewish settlement had a large positive effect on perceived safety of drivers accompanied by minors, while proximity to a Palestinian locality and RCLO was negatively correlated to one's level of perceived safety. In Models 1 and 2, only driving through a Palestinian locality had a significant negative effect on the perceived safety of drivers.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Focusing on Israeli settlers in the West Bank, this article examined the effects of personal, environmental and situational factors upon fear of terrorism among Israeli drivers in the politically contested area. Results show that although the overall level of perceived safety was high, it was impacted by all sets of factors. It should be noted that although tested, distance – and travel time - to the Green Line were insignificant. However, gender, education and age were correlated with lower perceived safety. Road curvature/limited openness and proximity to Palestinian localities had a negative effect on drivers' safety whereas proximity to Jewish localities had a positive effect. Finally, driving situation was important, with drivers accompanied by minors showing lower safety levels compared with the other situations.

High level of safety from terrorism may seem surprising in light of the area's geopolitical volatility. Yet, it seems to be on par with previous findings concerning settlers' high levels of personal safety (CBS Israel, 2015). *Fear routinization* and *transportation as refuge* are proposed as plausible explanations for these seemingly counterintuitive findings. Routinization, 'the development [of something] into a regular procedure' (Webster Dictionary) was shown to reduce levels of fear because it allows 'people to live in a chronic state of fear with a façade of normalcy' (Green 1994: 131). In psychology, the process of adapting to sustained exposure to traumatic events is referred to as *habituation* (Bouton, 2007). A similar mechanism may be at play among our informants. Faced with a continuous threat of deadly attacks, settlers have routinized their fear, treating terrorism as an adverse phenomenon that comes, literally, with the (contested) territory. While routinization of fear does not preclude taking measures of precaution (e.g., carrying a handgun or avoiding certain roads after dark), it may involve a high degree of self-conviction that the propensity of terror is indeed low. This mechanism of self-conviction may be particularly pronounced among religious individuals -- the majority among the settler population. Their ideological zeal and extensive backing of the political right, which voices unyieldingly strong support for the expansion of settlements in general and as a response to terrorist attacks in particular,[7] could possibly intensify (reported) fear levels. This explanation is also in line with Becker & Rubinstein (2004) who found differential effects of fear of terrorism among persons facing the same ob-

jective probabilities (i.e., risk). Greater engagement with risky behaviors (e.g., bus riding at a time of suicide bomber attacks carried out in Israeli public buses) was found among those who could expect higher benefits from it. Therefore, in this case, low levels of fear among settlers is not the result of undervaluing objective risks but rather the outcome of a rational fear-reducing strategy intended to maximize subjective – material and ideological – gains. While deciphering this rational strategy is beyond the scope of this paper, future research could well determine its cognitive underpinnings, operational mechanisms and scope.

An alternative explanation is what could be termed transportation as refuge. Specifically, settlers' safety could be attributed to their driving – rather than walking – in contested areas. It is plausible that the car itself contributes to their safety. Thus, from the settlers' point of view as potential victims, the car may be considered both a 'refuge' and facilitator of 'escape'. Unlike the exposed pedestrian, the car may be considered by drivers a safer micro-environment, which could shield them from potential offence. Similarly, it is plausible that some settlers believe that cars are reliable facilitators of 'escape'. Confronted with potential aggressors, cars allow drivers a speedy flight, which could reduce their chances of being harmed.

With respect to personal factors, female drivers experienced lower levels of safety compared with men in all three situations. Their driving situation, however, was also significant, with women accompanied by adult passengers reporting higher levels of safety than those accompanied by minors or driving alone. While research has shown that co-travelling with a (adult) companion is a common fear-reducing strategy among women, the impact of children as co-travelers was rarely discussed. It is proposed that the presence of minors in cars that effects women's safety from terrorism could be explained through altruistic fear (Warr, 1992). Unlike fear for personal safety, altruistic fear is experienced in respect to others (e.g., parental fear for children). In this case, the vulnerability of women drivers, which elicits low levels of safety already, is compounded by the presence of minors, presumably their children, further decreasing safety levels.

Education had a negative effect on safety only among drivers with minors. This implies that when accompanied by children, more educated individuals perceive lower safety than the less educated. This is rather counterintuitive, since education has often been positively correlated with safety from crime. While a lower degree of safety among those who travel with children is to be expected given their heightened sense of responsibility to vulnerable minors who often outnumber them, its existence among the better educated is less so. Educated individuals' compromised levels of perceived safety when travelling with children could be possibly attributed to their greater awareness of the multiple forms terrorist attacks may take. This explanation is congruent with studies showing that greater information about - and awareness of - crime may lead to higher levels of perceived fear (Rohe & Burby, 1988).

Concerning physical cues, all situations included environmental factors with high coefficients. RCLO was significant, showing high and negative correlation with safety among drivers accompanied by minors only. This is in line with previous studies in which fear was higher in or near areas with limited prospects and high refuge. Here, too, drivers accompanied by minors stood out, indicating that settlers' perceived safety is compromised primarily because of altruistic fear for children. Proximity to Jewish/Palestinian localities, which was significant in Model 3, is attributed to greater (or lesser) access to refuge and prospect, respectively.

Excluding proximity to localities (Palestinian or Jewish), which had high coefficients in all models, the meager effects of environmental factors solidify our initial finding concerning settlers' high level of safety. Despite living in contested territories, settlers display little concern over their physical qualities. In line with fear routinization, it is suggested that these environmental blind spots could be merely the cognitive and emotional responses to the tediousness of the everyday. When travelling through familiar spaces, settlers may not always pay attention to changes in their physical background. Preoccupied with nuisances of the ordinary and accustomed to their mundane routes, settlers are only marginally affected by the potential threats that surround them. This is not to suggest that they are oblivious to threats; indeed, they take precautionary measures to improve their safety (e.g., carry a handgun). Yet, these blind spots may also relate to the bifurcated environment of the West Bank. Since settlers show little concern with the environment, they also fail to see those with which they share it, namely Palestinians. While determining which mechanism better accounts for environmental blind spots is beyond this paper, future research should examine this matter to uncover the complexity of fear of terrorism in contested territories.

NOTES

1. Traditional (Hebrew Masorti) is a term describing Israeli Jews who self-identify as neither 'Religious' nor 'Secular'. Estimated at 40% of the total Jewish population in Israel, members of this group follow selected parts of Jewish Law (Halacha) only.
2. Naming the territory and its Jewish inhabitants is a politically contested issue. While Israeli authorities use the term Judea and Samaria, the generally accepted term outside Israel is The West Bank. Similarly, within Israel, Jews who live in the area are referred to as Residents (Mityashvim), whereas the internationally accepted term is Settlers (Mitnachalim). Our survey used the neutral term 'Israeli citizens residing east of the Green Line'. The Green line bounds the country's pre-1967 territory. In this paper we use the internationally accepted terms 'West Bank' and 'Settlers'/'Settlements'.
3. Between 2010 and March 2018 a total of 51 Israeli civilians (of whom 37

settlers) were murdered in terror attacks carried out in the WB and East Jerusalem (B'tselem, 2018). 2013 was a relatively quiet year; although the absolute number of incidents in these areas has risen significantly in comparison with the previous year (1271 and 678, respectively), a 40% drop in the number of casualties was recorded (General Security Services, 2014). Of the two settlers murdered by terrorists in 2013, one was killed in a travel-related attack.

4. Participants were drawn from all regional councils (Mateh Binyamin, 109; Gush Etzion, 22; Bikat-Ha'Yarden, 35; Har-Hevron, 2; Shomron, 27), except Megilot, which constitutes only 0.3% of the district's population,
5. National religious (Hebrew Dati Leumi) is a population segment whose members fully observe Jewish Law (Halacha) while being integrated into mainstream secular society, while Ultra-Orthodox (Hebrew Haredi) Jews reject modern secular culture and retain strictly segregated communal life.
6. The main reasons for omission were under age or out-of-district respondents and insufficient commuting frequency.
7. These settlements are marked by starred blue circles in Map 2.
8. An example of this can be found in the words of the Minister of Agriculture at the funeral of Adiel Kolman who was recently murdered in a terror attack. Minister Ariel, a settler and parliament member from the rightist Jewish Home (Ha-Bait Ha-Yehudi) party claimed, 'No one will move us from here [Judea and Samaria]. From this heroism we draw our strength to move forward…Our revenge is… settlement. I hope we are successful in promoting construction [of settlements] in Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria…This land is ours' (Berger & Hasson, 2018).

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We thank Pavel Belsky for his help in producing the maps

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