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The Downside of Patriarchal Benevolence: Ambivalence in Addressing Domestic Violence and Socio-
Economic Considerations for Women of Tamil Nadu, India

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Abstract

Social values and status cause diverse obstacles for escaping abuse (e.g., belief in the sanctity of marriage vs. financial necessity to stay for survival). India provides a unique opportunity to explore the interplay of status and corresponding patriarchal values in relation to the incidence of domestic violence and how it is viewed, coped with, and psychologically impacting native women. Sixty-four women of Tamil Nadu, India were surveyed. Women of higher status were found to be less likely to acknowledge abuse as a societal problem, accurately identify abuse events, and seek help or report abuse. Women who had more realistic conceptions of abuse were more likely to seek help but also likely to experience more severe psychological distress. All of the women surveyed had symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder; however, it was exacerbated by unsuspected variables. The implications of these findings are discussed in light of public health strategies.

The Downside of Patriarchal Benevolence: Ambivalence in Addressing Domestic Violence and Socio-Economic Considerations for Women of Tamil Nadu, India

Despite the fact that domestic violence has been recorded in history for over 1,000 years (Palermo, 2004), the world has not yet come to consensus about its definition, acceptability, or treatment. National policies regarding this matter vary greatly; some nations sanction the husband's right to murder his wife for certain immoral behaviors, such as infidelity (e.g., sub-Saharan Africa), while other nations have waged a legal and social battle against *any* form of physical or emotional harming of male or female intimate partners despite the cause (e.g., the United States). India falls somewhere in the midst of this spectrum; it legally bans the physical and emotional harming of an intimate partner in most instances while providing virtually no social mechanisms to support this ban. Thus, India provides a unique opportunity to study the ambivalence shared globally about defining and addressing domestic violence. This ambivalence seems to be directly linked to the larger matter of contradictory societal values, namely in the roles of gender, class, and legal domain. These issues are discussed in the following sections in regards to role expectations, personal rights, and domestic violence.

Gender Inequality in Roles, Rights, and Domestic Violence

India exemplifies the patriarchal system in which women and men are expected to fulfill distinctly different roles from birth. Women are trained, from a young age, to submit and acquiesce to the desires of their valued male counterparts while men are trained to dominate and guide their female counterparts who are often viewed as childlike, vulnerable, and easily led astray (Mitra & Singh, 2007). Throughout the lifetime, an Indian woman is guided and supervised by the male head of the family, whether it is her father, guardian, or husband. This moray is based on a common perception that women are ruled by emotions and irrational thoughts and, thus, in need of guidance by a more rational being in order to thrive. Thus, a woman's worth is often based on her function in regards to these relationships; her ability to serve her male counterpart in the

home, through the church, and through portraying an appropriate feminine image in public to pride him. The more that Indian men embrace these stereotypical meanings of the woman's role, the more likely the men are to accept violence against women and experience less remorse or anxiety in its presence (Mahalingam, Haritatos, & Jackson, 2007). Unfortunately, in India, stereotypical gender expectations are reinforced in many aspects of social and religious customs.

Social Customs. Norms enforced in public forums, also called social customs, reinforce a woman's subjugated position. Examples of these social customs can be seen in merchant interactions where a woman, when accompanied by a man, may be expected to allow the man to speak on her behalf. For instance, the following excerpt was used to describe the woman's role in India:

Familial ideology naturalizes and universalizes the construction of women as wives and mothers, as economically dependent, as passive, dutiful and self-sacrificing, across a broad range of personal laws. It is an example of the often-homogenizing nature of legal discourse, which obscures the multiplicity of differences between and among women, and the very different ways in which women live in and experience their families (Kapur & Cossman, 1996, p 239).

It seems that the more publicly visible a woman is, indicated by her higher social status and ensuing communal obligations, the more rigid these rules become (Ahmed-Gosh, 2004). For example, despite the fact that many higher class women have been educated and "westernized" (Omvedt, 1975), they are expected to be well versed in westernized values as well as traditional Indian values. When these traditional norms are not abided by, women and their families may be subjected to severe ramifications such as family alienation and domestic violence (Mitra et al., 2007).

Religion. The social norms regarding gender previously discussed are often based on and buttressed by core religious values. Each of the major religions of India share an underlying message of the importance of the wife's submission to the husband in order to attain his benevolent guidance and supervision. India's religious breakdown is as follows: 80.5% Hindu, 13.4% Muslim 13.4%, 2.3% Christian, and 3.8% other according to the 2001 census (CIA, 2008). Hinduism originated in India and is thus the most common and seemingly most representative of Indian culture. The entirety of Hinduism focuses on the balance between the masculine and feminine; gods and goddesses are designed to counterbalance each other. So important is the interplay between the power of men and women that the gods are unable to exist without the existence of their female counterparts, or Shaktis (Morales, 1998). With this balance comes the concept of the masculine responsibility of overseeing and providing guidance to the feminine entities. For instance, in the Gurugita, the divine story of creation, the goddess Pavarti looks to her husband, the god Shiva, for guidance about fulfillment and wellbeing. In this 182 verse story, the goddess is content in her interdependent role with Shiva and expresses great love for him and this balance.

In Christianity, the story of Adam and Eve sets forth the basic premise for the interplay of marriage; woman was created from man, specifically to serve and complete man (Genesis 2:18). Another verse in the Christian bible explicitly states that the wife's role is to submit to her husband (Ephesians 5:22). The Muslim faith seems to be the most extreme of the three religions in terms of man's rights in regards to his wife. The Muslim religious text, the Koran stems from the same Old Testament scrolls as the Christian bible; however, it hosts additional controversial verses that explicitly permit the husband to physically discipline the wife. For instance, Sura 4:34 states "Men have authority over women because God has made the one superior to the other, and because they spend their wealth to maintain them. Good women are obedient. They guard their unseen parts because God has guarded them. As for those from whom you fear disobedience, admonish them and forsake them in beds apart, and beat them. Then if they obey you, take no further action against them..."

(Dawood, 1997). It must be noted that controversy exists regarding the exact meaning of the original term 'dasaba' which has been translated as 'beat', 'tap', 'scourage', 'beat lightly', or 'spank'. Although these three religions do not condone marital abuse, they do encourage the necessity of the husband to oversee and guide the wife. Although well meaning, beliefs that reinforce inequality in gender roles have been found to enhance the likelihood of domestic violence in any culture (Marmion, 2006).

Domestic Violence. As illustrated above, a husband's well intentioned dominion over the wife is supported by social and religious values and viewed as a necessary party of the balance between man and wife.

However, "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power tends to corrupt, absolutely" (Lord Acton, 1887). Thus, it seems difficult for some husbands to decipher the line between benevolent guidance and the infliction of fear or discomfort out of anger or for control. In Indian society, the benevolence that is perceived to characterize the 'guidance' of women often overshadows the identification of abusive application of these roles when they do occur, not only for the perpetrator but also for the victim. It seems that this paradoxical concept of benevolent support through subjugation may make it difficult for women to correctly distinguish what is acceptable from what would be deemed as an abuse of power. The first step to getting help and exiting such abusive situations is undoubtedly identifying that a problem exists and knowing that help is available. Many women in India know that when it comes to reporting domestic violence they have two choices: to report the violence to a justice system that is not in her favor and hope for justice or to divorce her abuser and hope for child support to survive (Amhed-Gosh, 2004). While these options are far less than ideal, the deleterious effects of staying in an abusive relationship may be more detrimental. This study hopes to explore a women's help seeking behaviors as a function of her perception of abusive relationships. It is thus hypothesized that *Indian women may be unlikely to label abusive experiences as such and that women who have a more accurate perception of domestic violence are more likely to seek help.*

Socio-Economic Inequality in Power, Rights, and Domestic Violence

The relationship between socio-economic class, gender inequality, and domestic violence share two common factors: (1) *perceived inherent differences in capability*- both women and lower socio-economic classes are viewed as more likely to make poor decisions and to act irrationally, and (2) *perceived benevolence in subjugation*- both women and the working class are perceived to depend on appropriate supervision and guidance from a more capable source, whether it be men or the higher socio-economic classes.

Although the caste system was discontinued in India, it has been a staple of the culture for thousands of years as described by the sacred texts of Rig Veda. Thus, the remnants of its ideology, namely the concepts of inherently difference levels of quality per class and a predestined and unchangeable station in life, still influence the culture especially among citizens over the age of 35, (Budhwar, Woldu, & Ogbanna, 2008). By definition, the caste system hierarchically divides classes of people according to their perceived level of quality. It is assumed that individuals from lower classes thrive most when being ruled over and directed as they are viewed as unable to create an ordered and productive way of life independently because they are viewed as less rational and capable than members of higher status citizens. Tamil Nadu, population 62 million, has a large, affluent urban area surrounded by impoverished rural areas (CIA, 2008). There are a large number of wealthy, citizens, henceforth referred to as *high status*, who are served by a larger number of impoverished citizens, henceforth referred to as *working class*. Due to the inordinate number of wealthy citizens and the resulting large number of service-oriented job opportunities, middle class is nearly nonexistent in this culture, though poverty is prevalent among the slums adjacent to the outskirts of the city. Thus, the city can be characterized as a dichotomy of the rich and the poor.

Due to the residual influences of the caste ideology, the working class is commonly falsely thought to be characterized by inherently poorer qualities making them more susceptible to irrational behaviors including domestic violence. In addition, “upscale violence” is often not recognized publicly; thus, there is a resulting lack of information about and resources for such victims (Weitzman, 2000). Some high-status victims reported

that law enforcement authorities were unwilling to assist when abuse was reported due to disbelief or the ramifications that could result from angering the high-status husband. This increased social disenfranchisement of domestic violence may pose greater obstacles for higher status women. Many working class women may have difficulties escaping due to financial reliance on the abusive partner, fear, and lack of safety resources. While higher status women may also be vulnerable to financial manipulation at the hands of an abusive spouse, fear, and lack of resources, they may also face the added public barriers that accompany the public influence of powerful, community-connected spouses. These forces may encourage higher status women to discount their experiences and overlook abusive experiences. It is thus hypothesized that *high status women are less likely to have an accurate perception of domestic violence*. In addition, it is hypothesized that *high status are less likely to report domestic violence as a problem affecting women within their socioeconomic status*.

Ambivalence in Defining Domestic Violence

Although the society and church are the main areas that impact the daily lives of women, the law plays a major role in defining what is publicly allowable. However, by its nature, the legal system represents the ideals of a people and thus hosts a similar ambivalence in addressing domestic violence as social and religious customs do. Internationally, domestic violence is defined as behaviors that are used by one person in a relationship to control the other through: (1) real or threatened physical harm, (2) emotional pain infliction or manipulation, (3) real or threatened sexual harm, or (4) economic control (Straus, 1996). In 2002, the India Parliament enacted the Protection from Domestic Violence Bill that states,

“Any conduct of the respondent shall constitute domestic violence if he, (a) habitually assaults or makes the life of the aggrieved person miserable by cruelty of conduct even if such conduct does not amount to physical ill-treatment; or (b) forces the aggrieved person to lead an immoral life; or (c) otherwise injures or

harms the aggrieved person. Nothing contained in clause (c) of sub-section (1) shall amount to domestic violence if the pursuit of course of conduct by the respondent was reasonable for his own protection or for the protection of his or another's property.”

Although the first statement of the act corresponds to the internationally accepted definition, with exception to the omitted economic control clause, the second statement provides a loophole which may undermine the act's effectiveness. This law allows for physical and/or emotional force to be exacted on a wife if the husband feels that her decisions may endanger his property. This contradicts the generally accepted definition and it reflects the ambiguity of India's public stance on the acceptability of violence in relationships. It also leaves much room for misinterpretation. For instance, traditionally, wives have been viewed as the property of the husband. In addition, the law does not define what 'danger to property' technically encompasses nor how much force can be employed. There are some specific forms of abuse found in India that seem to embody the problematic nature of this ambiguity. For instance, extreme forms of such violence include "burnt wife syndrome" in which a husband throws acid at the face and neck of the wife for perceived undesirable acts maiming her for life (Dasgupta & Tripathi, 1984) and "dowry deaths" in which the husband abuses a wife to death due to his dissatisfaction with the wife's dowry (Rastogy & Therly, 2007). In addition, although the act publicly admonishes domestic violence, it fails to mandate the necessary support mechanisms for victims to safely seek help, shelter, and treatment. The act also does not specify policies of mandatory reporting, mandatory investigation, or victim sensitive case processing. Despite these concerns, it must be noted that this act is a step in the right direction.

Help Seeking Behavior & Mental Outcome

Although the 2002 act is an important start, the experiences of Indian women must be considered when determining how best to provide appropriate and safe avenues of change. The mental health ramifications and

beneficial effects of treatment have been documented in other cultures (Straus, 2003; Ahmed-Gosh, 2004; Marmion, 2006; Weitzman, 2000); however, these areas have not been explored among Indian women. Straus (2003) stated that psychological abuse was found to cause more longstanding and substantial damage than physical abuse. This concept has not yet been explored among Indian women. It is thus hypothesized that *the experience of psychological abuse is more strongly associated with Post-Traumatic Stress than physical abuse.*

There is also a lack of research regarding changes that ensue, if any, as a result of intervention among Indian domestic violence survivors. In a society where 'burnt wife syndrome' is common, precious things are at stake when considering reporting one's victimization including the victim's physical safety in the face of retaliation by the spouse, the safety of the family, financial and social health, the safety of children, and possibly the actual life of the victim, especially in instances where the victim is not afforded a safe, new environment that is inaccessible to the perpetrator. Ahmed-Gosh (2004) illustrates the unfortunate difficulties women face when reporting marital violence. Many times the police system is not supportive and may even be adversative towards women wishing to report violence. However, a women is much more likely to improve both physical and mental health when exiting an abusive relationship, a result that may even be life saving (Weitzman, 2000). It is unclear whether the resources needed to safely remove oneself from a violent relationship are in place currently in India. Thus, the Indian domestic violence victim may suffer substantially more if they *do* report their abuse due to their unsupportive circumstances and/or lack of safe and immediate escape. It may be conjectured that *women who do not report such incidents are more likely to suffer adverse Post-Traumatic Stress effects as a result since the abuse often continues.* However, it must be noted that this is a loose hypothesis as no other information is available regarding this situation.

Method

Participants

Interestingly, the parent's age at marriage, perceived pressure to marry, and the cause of the marriage (arranged vs. love match) did not correlate significantly with the experiences of the participants ($r=0.12$, 0.10 , and 0.02 , NS, respectively). Sixty-four women were recruited from both urban and rural areas of Tamil Nadu. All participants were at least 18 years of age (mean 30, ranging from 18 to 56), native to Tamil Nadu, and presently married (97%) or widowed (3%); all marriages were the 1st for both husband and wife. No divorcees responded to the advertisements. The mean age at marriage was 21 (ranging from 14 to 29); 24% of the marriages were arranged while the remainder were based on personal preference; 72% of the unions resulted in children, the average age of first child was 22.5 ranging from 14 to 28. The majority of participants were Hindu (81%), Muslim (11%), and Christians (8%) and 86% of women felt a significant obligation to their marriages based on their religion. The average participant had some college experience ranging from none at all to graduate study experience. The average participant's husband, on average, had some college experience ranging from none at all to graduate studies. The education level of the wife and husband corresponded significantly ($r=0.94$, $p<0.0001$); 67% of women worked outside of the home. Only one of the 64 women reported never having experienced abuse, however, only 48% of the women had previously participated in therapy or treatment.

Procedure

Flyers were posted in public locations in both urban and rural areas of Tamil Nadu including Chennai Metro, Mahaballipuram, Nungambakkam, Adyar, and Mylapore. Women were given the option to respond to the flyers via email or telephone. During the initial contact, participants were given an overview of the project and were screened to ensure that they were over the age of 18, native to Tamil Nadu, and currently or previously married. Interested women who met these criteria then scheduled an appointment to meet with the interviewer in a private office. Names and identifying information were not recorded or connected to their responses rendered during their visit. In all meetings and contacts, participants were given the option of communicating

in English or Tamil. During the one-hour meeting, the women were again provided information about the content, purpose, and possible risks or benefits to the study. It must be noted that monetary compensation was not available for the participants. If the women consented to the terms outlined, they answered a series of questionnaires. Upon completion, the participants were given the opportunity to discuss any thoughts or feelings that arose as a result of their participation. Participants were then thanked for their time and provided with a list of local resources available in regards to domestic violence. It must be noted that this project was approved by the University of Arizona's Institutional Review Board.

Assessment Measures

Demographic Scale: The demographic scale was designed by the authors specifically for the current study. It consisted of both short answer and multiple choice questions that assessed four main areas: (1) demographic qualities, such as age, length of time married, and family structure, (2) socio-economic status based on education, living style, and earning potential, (3) religious background, and (4) marital pressures based on religion and status. Familial education status (which will be used as the proxy for SES since there was an error in the financial income) was significantly related to having children at an older age ($r=0.81$), and later age of marriage ($r=0.80$).

Relationship Values Misperceptions Survey (RMS): The perceptions survey was created by the authors to specifically address the perceptual distortions common among traditional Indian women since no other culturally relevant scale exists. It asked the participants to indicate whether they would agree or disagree that 11 acts would be considered relationship violence. The acts included: (a) a husband grabs his wife, calls his wife stupid, has financial control in the relationship and often refuses his wife's requests for money, pushes his wife up against the wall in an argument when she is being disobedient, burns or scalds his wife, makes his wife have sexual intercourse with him even though she does not want to, (b) a wife must see a doctor as a result of a fight with her husband, refuses to be affectionate with her husband, goes behind her husband's back to get

information on relationship violence, and (c) a married couple gets into a *mutual* physical fight. In addition, four True/False items surveyed whether the participant would consider relationship violence a problem present in their social class or if it was merely a “working class” problem, whether she would be likely to report relationship violence, if the participant were currently or had been in an abusive relationship, and the likelihood that the participant would seek help if in a domestically abusive relationship. During statistical analyses, items 1 – 9 were used to determine recognition of example of abuse, they had an inter-item reliability of $\alpha=0.77$.

The Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS2): This survey contains 39 Likert-scaled questions assessing five different aspects of relationship: (1) negotiation- healthy conflict resolution communication skills, (2) psychological aggression- verbal and symbolic acts within a relationship that are used as a tool to cause psychological pain or discomfort, (3) physical assault- acts that are committed in effort to cause physical harm to another person, (4) injuries- injuries incurred during a violent act committed within a relationship, and (5) sexual coercion- imposed, nonconsensual sexual acts. Questions provide the five response choices ranging from “this has never happened to me” to “this has happened more than 20 times in the past year”. Scores are summed for each subscale to determine the overall severity of the person’s experiences during the past year ranging from mild or infrequent, to severe and chronic. The internal consistency of these scales range from .79 to .94 in preliminary scale testing (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996). The internal consistency of the current scale fell within this range at $\alpha=0.80$ (see Table 1).

INSERT TABLE 1 NEAR HERE

Post-Traumatic Stress Diagnostic Scale (PSTD): This survey is a self-report questionnaire that screens for indications of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) consisting of: (1) items 1-3; intense emotional reactions to a traumatic event, (2) items 4-8; persistently re-experiencing the trauma, (3) items 9-15; avoidance of

stimuli associated with the event, and (4) items 16-23; persistent symptoms of increased arousal (note: 2 types of symptoms must be present to meet diagnostic criteria) (Kubany, 2004). The symptoms must be present for more than one month (items 24-25) and considered to clinically significant as specified by the DSM-IV for making a diagnosis of PTSD (items 28-38) (Kubany, 2004). It must be noted that a diagnosis of PTSD cannot be rendered from this scale alone; these questions are merely indications of the likely presence of the disorder for the purposes of research.

Statistical Analyses

The data was entered into an excel database and analyzed using SPSS software. Descriptive statistics such as basic correlations, means, standard deviations, and frequencies were calculated to examine the respondents and the quality of their responses. After checking for skew, bivariate correlation and Multiple Analysis of Variance Assessment were run to determine the relationship between the independent variables (specific type of abuse and social class) and the dependent variables (accurate perception of domestic violence, help-seeking behavior, reporting of such events to police) to test the hypotheses proposed above.

Results

Labeling Abuse and Seeking Help

H1: Indian women may be unlikely to label abusive experiences as such; women who have a more accurate perception of domestic violence are more likely to seek help.

Only 1 of 64 women reported the absence of all forms of abuse, the remainder had experienced abuse of some kind (see Figure 1); 58% of these women failed to recognize their experiences as ‘abuse,’ 50% indicated that they would seek help for abuse, and 78% agreed to some extent that domestic abuse is a societal problem that spans all classes.

INSERT FIGURE 1 & 2 NEAR HERE

Willingness to identify one's own experiences of trauma as 'abuse' was directly related to the woman's perception that domestic abuse is a societal problem spanning all classes ($r=0.62$, $p<0.0001$) and her accuracy on identifying the abusive experiences of other women correctly as 'abuse' ($r=0.37$, $p=0.003$) (see Table 2). Also, the more abuse a woman experienced, the more likely she was to label her experiences as abuse, $r=0.76$, $p<0.0001$. Those women who experienced more frequent abuse and more chronic and distressing post trauma syndromes were also more likely to seek help $r=0.54, 0.57, 0.49$, $p<0.0001$ (see Table 2).

INSERT TABLE 2 NEAR HERE

H2: Women of higher socioeconomic status are less likely to have an accurate perception of domestic violence and less likely to report domestic violence as a problem affecting women within their socioeconomic status.

Status was negatively related to the willingness to identify one's own traumatic experiences as domestic abuse and help seeking, $r=-0.87$ and -0.48 , $p<0.0001$, respectively (see Table 2). Women of high status, $X(27)=2.78$, were less likely to identify domestic abuse as a problem that crosses all societal classes and needs to be addressed in the entire community than working class women, $X(37)=1.05$, $F(1, 63)=8.89$, $p=0.004$ (see Table 3; they were equally as willing as working class women to label traumatic examples as 'abuse' when related variables were taken into account (see Figure 3).

INSERT TABLE 3 AND FIGURE 3 NEAR HERE

Previous Participation in Treatment

Women who had participated in treatment or counseling previously, $X(24)=2.63$, were more likely to be capable of identifying theoretical examples of abuse that other women have faced as 'abuse' than women who had not taken part in treatment, $X(40)=1.28$; $F(1, 63)=10.06$, $p=0.003$. Interestingly, working women who had gone through treatment had a significantly greater ability of identifying traumatic experiences as 'abuse'

and acknowledging that is a societal problem; $F(1, 63)=3.14$, $p=0.083$ and $F(1,63)=3.89$, $p=0.54$ respectively. Working women who had experienced greater chronicity of abuse were also more likely to identify 'abuse' as a societal problem, $F(1, 63)=6.02$, $p=0.018$ (see Table 3).

Working Class Women

Status was negatively related with the chronicity of abuse, PTSD, and severity of distress in relation to such abuse, $r=-0.83$, -0.50 , and -0.56 , $p<0.0001$, respectively (see Table 2). Working class women were significantly more likely to work outside of the home and more likely to have participated in treatment or counseling, $r=-0.41$ and -0.50 with status, $p\leq 0.01$, respectively (see Table 2). Women who work outside of the home, had sought treatment previously and those who were capable of correctly identifying their own traumatic experiences and the experiences of other women as relationship abuse were significantly more likely to seek help for abuse, $r=0.57$, 0.71 , 0.54 , 0.48 , $p<0.001$ (see Table 2).

Psychological Sequelae of Abuse

H3: The experience of psychological abuse is more strongly associated with Post-Traumatic Stress than physical abuse.

Women who experienced one form of abuse during the last year were highly likely to have experienced others as well. The four subscales depicting abuse (physical abuse, injury, psychological abuse, and sexual abuse) were inter-correlated at $\alpha=0.80$ (see Table 1). There was no difference in the prediction of PTSD between forms of abuse.

H4: Women who do not report such incidents are more likely to suffer adverse Post-Traumatic Stress effects as a result since the abuse often continues.

As indicated in Figure 4, 84% had indications of clinically significant PTSD or Acute Stress Disorder.

INSERT TABLE 4, FIGURE 4, AND FIGURE 5 NEAR HERE

When each variable was tested independently, the amount of abuse and ability to identify one's own traumatic experiences as trauma were significantly correlated with the chronicity of PTSD and severity of related distress (see Figure 5).

When the variables were categorized and tested with consideration of covariance, the duration of PTSD symptomology was solely predicted by a belief that domestic violence was a societal problem, $F(1, 63)=2.56, p=0.088$ (see Table 4). Post Hoc Tukey's testing revealed that each group was significantly different from the next. The distress that one faces due to such a problem was directly predicted by: correctly recognizing one's own experiences as abuse, the chronicity of abuse one has experienced, the view that abuse is a problem that affects all levels of society, $F(1, 63)=2.17, p=0.147$, $F(1, 63)=5.67, p=0.021$, $F(2, 63)=3.19, p=0.05$, respectively (see Table 4). For individuals who believe abuse to be common in all levels of society, women who ask for help are more likely to suffer more severe and chronic PTSD while women who have experienced more abuse and believe that it is a universal problem are more likely to experience the highest distress due to PTSD symptomology, $F(1, 63)=5.72, p=0.021$, $F(2, 63)=3.22, p=0.049$ (see Table 4).

Discussion

As hypothesized, the present study found that women of higher socioeconomic status were both less likely to have an accurate perception of domestic violence as well as less likely to report domestic violence as a problem affecting their own class. Status was negatively related to the chronicity of abuse, PTSD symptomology and severity of related distress, help-seeking behavior, ability to recognize one's own traumatic experiences as abuse, and recognizing domestic abuse as a problem that impacts all of society across status. It seems that this finding may be a result of the stronger pull of the pressure to appear socially desirably for higher status women.

Alarmingly, all but one woman experienced abuse in the past year; and the experience of one form of abuse was indicative of experiences of other forms of abuse. Only half of these women

reported that they would pursue help if abuse occurred; however, 58% of abused women did not identify their experience as 'abuse.' A woman's ability to recognize her own experience as abuse was directly related to her ability to accurately see domestic abuse as a societal problem and to accurately identify examples of abuse. Thus, it seems cultural awareness may be a helpful mechanism in increasing a woman's likelihood of understanding the nature of her own experiences. This seems to be supported by the fact that women who were more in touch with the outside world (e.g., those who worked outside of the home and those who took part in treatment previously) were more successful at recognizing signs of abuse.

Although a straightforward approach to increasing awareness among women may seem to be the most direct and effective avenue to effect change, nothing could be farther from the truth. The distress that one faces due to abuse was directly predicted by: correctly recognizing one's own experiences as abuse, the chronicity of abuse one has experienced, and the view that abuse is a problem that affects all levels of society. The duration of PTSD symptomology was solely predicted by a belief that domestic violence was a societal problem (see Table 4). Thus, the more aptly a woman was at understanding her own experiences in a context of wider spread trauma, the more distress she experienced.

There are several underlying concerns that must be considered when developing gender empowerment strategies for Indian women. Trying to simply change the culture is like trying to charge into a door instead of through it. To open the passage to the personal safety of Indian women, one must first understand and address the issues of cultural ambivalence, the dangers of shifting social roles, cultural and class differences in means of intervening in domestically violent relationships, the conception of the perpetrating victim, and the implications of education and awareness:

Cultural Ambivalence

Although the advent of newly found women's personal rights to education, love interest, and employment has arrived, traditional patriarchal societal standards have not weakened. Although the working classes are thought to be in greater need of ruling over and guidance to thrive due to their perceived greater propensity to act irrationally, the higher status citizens have more stringent social codes by which they are to abide (Ahmed-Gosh, 2004). Although the law provides a framework to protect citizens from wrongdoing, it does not provide support mechanisms for citizens who have been harmed (Ahmed-Gosh, 2004). These opposing expectations have created a turbulent system of smoke and mirrors that provide illusions in place of the realities of the experiences of vulnerable populations including women, the working class, and those who are likely to be abused, exploited, or neglected. For instance, since the working class is viewed as inferior, they are viewed as the natural hosts of domestic violence, however, high-status women who have stricter social roles and more opportunities for educational empowerment are experiencing ever increasing rates of domestic abuse and self-harm due the strain of their diametrically opposing expectations (Mitra et al., 2007). To create a fitting system of empowerment and protection for the vulnerable, research is needed to understand the pressures of social expectations as well as the actual experiences of citizens from various walks of life.

The Dangers of Shifting Social Roles

Tamil Nadu has grown dramatically in the past two decades in the way of technology and social advancements; women wear westernized clothing, travel on their own (without an escort), pursue educational and professional opportunities, and enter relationships based on love as opposed to arranged marriages (Morales, 1998). One would conjecture that with these advancements came social change and a shift toward gender equality and fair treatment of women. However, the National Crime Research Bureau of India (2008) reported that during the span between 1989 and 1999, crimes against women increased of 102%. Interestingly, the women's parent's age at marriage, perceived pressure to marry, and the cause of the marriage (arranged vs. love match) did not correlate significantly with the experiences of the participants ($t=0.12$, 0.10 , and 0.02 , NS,

respectively). Thus, it seems that the foundation of the relationships being examined in the current exploration is substantially different from those a generation past.

It is unclear whether these social shifts have had the beneficial effect of the increased reporting of incidents of domestic violence that would have previously gone undetected, the harmful effect of increasing the strain within marital settings increasing the likelihood that violence will ensue, or some combination of the two. In neighboring Kerala, unprecedented high levels of gender equality in professions and education have been reached in conjunction with record breaking suicide and domestic victimization rates among women. It has been concluded that the Kerala paradox is the result of a disturbing tug-of-war being waged on women between traditional subservient values and newly available gender empowerment (Mitra et al., 2007). These findings must be taken into consideration when designing an awareness plan for such cultures.

Cultural & Class Differences in Intervening in Situations of Domestic Violence

Although the culturally specific nuances listed above are necessary in the formation of intervention systems, the goal of research is to understand the generalizable theories that may be shared among many cultures. It is equally important to understand that which differentiates cultures and that which is shared. In western cultures, the Investment Model is used to predict whether a woman will leave an abusive relationship or not is termed (Rusbult, 1980). The Investment Model posits that a woman bases her decision to stay or leave an abusive relationship on rewards and costs as what they see as a fair balance between them and their partner, comparison with an alternative partner, and how much the women has already invested in the relationship (Rhatigan, Street, & Lowe, 2003). It is unclear whether this system would be effective for Indian women. In India, decisions are often made for the good of the family as opposed to the desires of the individual. This consideration is sometimes a deterrent to escaping situations of domestic violence. The victim's family may encourage her to stay with an abusive partner in order to maintain an image of normalcy (Ghadially & Kumar, 1988), to sustain the pact agreed upon in an arranged marriage, or to protect the financial

assets which may embody a lifetime of savings that were given to the husband as a dowry in exchange for the marital agreement. Women of different socio-economic classes also face substantially different obstacles to seeking help as discussed previously. In addition, although progress has been made in the direction of the protection of women's rights, the legal system in India has been argued to embody the patriarchal system which has allowed the abuse to continue for centuries thus being somewhat unapproachable and antagonistic to domestic violence victims (Ahmed-Gosh, 2004). More research is needed to determine if there is a universal set of factors which women use to decide the fate of an abusive marriage.

Unexpected Findings of Female Perpetrated Domestic Violence

The current findings suggest that, like many other cultures, such as Asian and Vietnamese (Kim-Goh & Baello, 2008), Australian and Mongolian (Oke, 2008), and Zambian and Kenyan (Lawoko, 2008), women are perpetrating acts of domestic abuse against their husbands. It is unclear whether these acts embody means of self-defense, whether they result in the amount of destruction and injury that women face, and whether they happen in the context of a mutually abusive session. More information is needed to better understand the interplay of mutual domestic abuse.

Implications for Education & Awareness

The current findings indicate that those women, who are more in touch with the outside world through work or therapy, have a better ability to acknowledge domestic abuse as such. Despite the theoretical benefit of such knowledge, women who are willing to recognize the nature of their trauma experience greater amount of distress than women who do not.

When considering the launch of direct awareness projects, one must keep these results in mind. There seem to be two main issues that complicate the concept of help through basic awareness training: (1) the fact that increasing gender empowerment has been found to correspond with increasing domestic violence and self-harm in India and thus distress, and (2) the lack of safety mechanisms that may be necessary for women to act

on their newly found knowledge. As illustrated above, westernized styles, freedom of choice, and educational and professional opportunities alone cannot provide true gender empowerment and safety for women in India. Instead, the evolution of these new-found freedoms often clash with traditional expectations and thus may intensify the frequency and chronicity of harm to women in the forms of husband- and self-inflicted violence (Mitra et al., 2007). In the event that women come forth with concerns of domestic violence, the Indian authority figures do not always honor their rights designated by the Domestic Violence Act of 2002. In addition, women who are discovered by assailants coming forth may be subjected to physical and emotional retaliation which may compromise not only the safety of the abused wife, but also her family, children, friends, and loved ones (Ahmed-Gosh, 2004). As relief agencies become more prevalent in the area, the possibility for women to rise above their struggles become more possible. More research is needed to determine how best these resources can prevent further threat and provide relief to domestic violence survivors.

Limitations

The purpose of this study was more so to study nuances of the Indian experience as opposed to providing prevalence data, thus the sampling was conservative and the qualitative data was great. Caution should be taken when generalizing these findings to other populations. In addition, it is unclear whether answering patterns have been confounded by social desirability; high status women reported the least of all seemingly negative traits, thus it is unclear whether they responded in the way that they felt was appropriate or in response to their own experiences. Since the research related to this population is largely undeveloped, the instruments utilized were not previously normed on this population. It is unclear whether unique distinctions of domestic violence of this population that exist outside the parameters of the current assessments. Finally, as with all studies of violent victimization, a portion of victims were not able to voice their experiences, these

victims are those who have lost their lives in the face of domestic abuse. The escalation, attempts at escape, and experiences of such victims must be explored through the proxy of their loved ones in future studies.

Acknowledgments

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Figure 1: Ratio of Women Who Negotiated to Avoid and Experienced Abuse in the Past Year

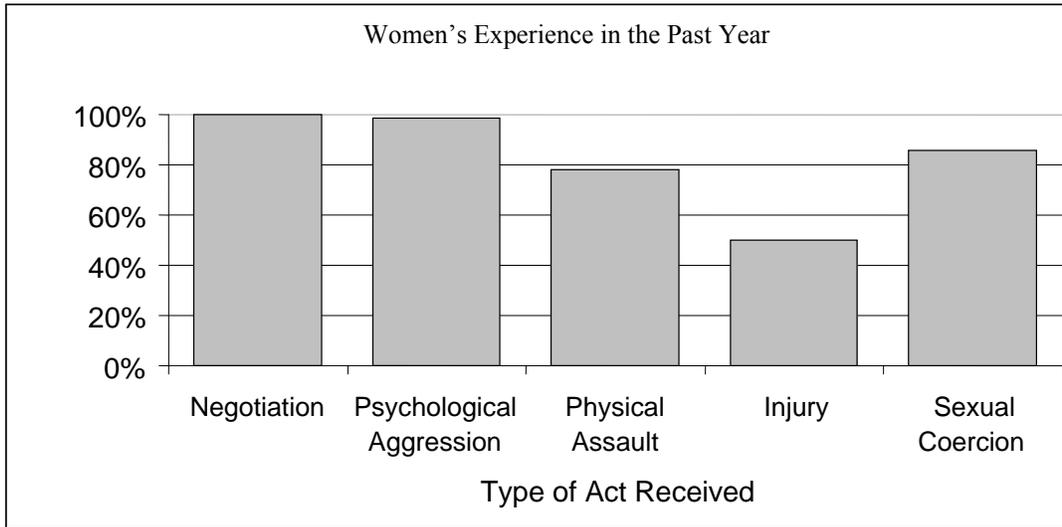
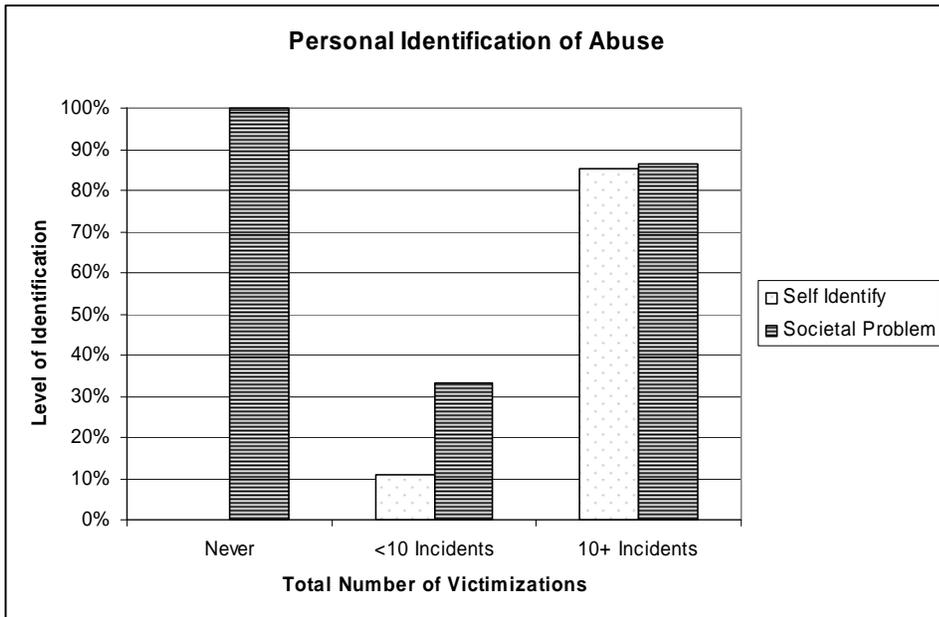


Figure 2



*Note: Only one woman had never experienced abuse; thus, the first columns of the graph represent the reports of one woman.

Figure 3

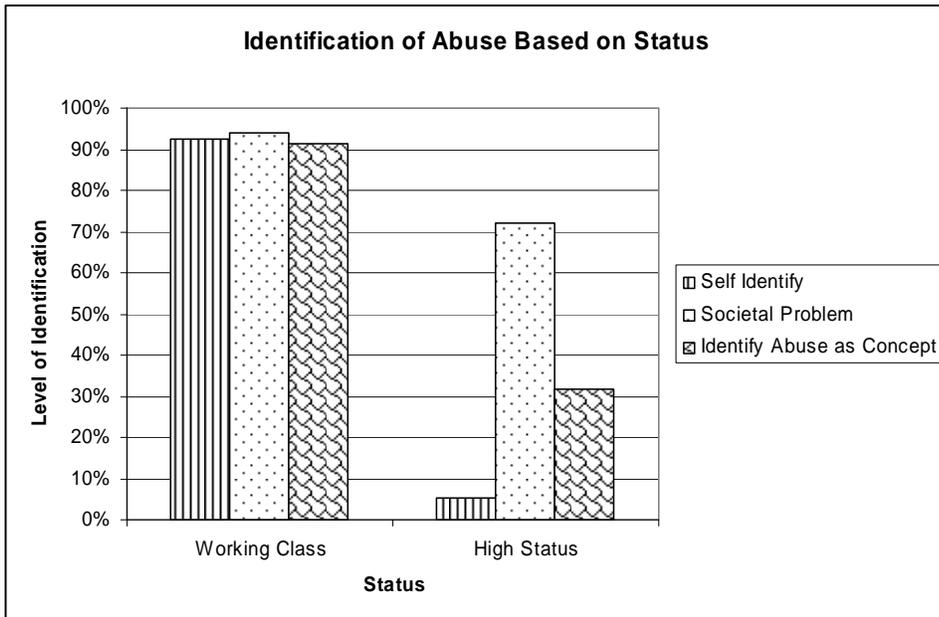


Figure 4

Indications of PTSD

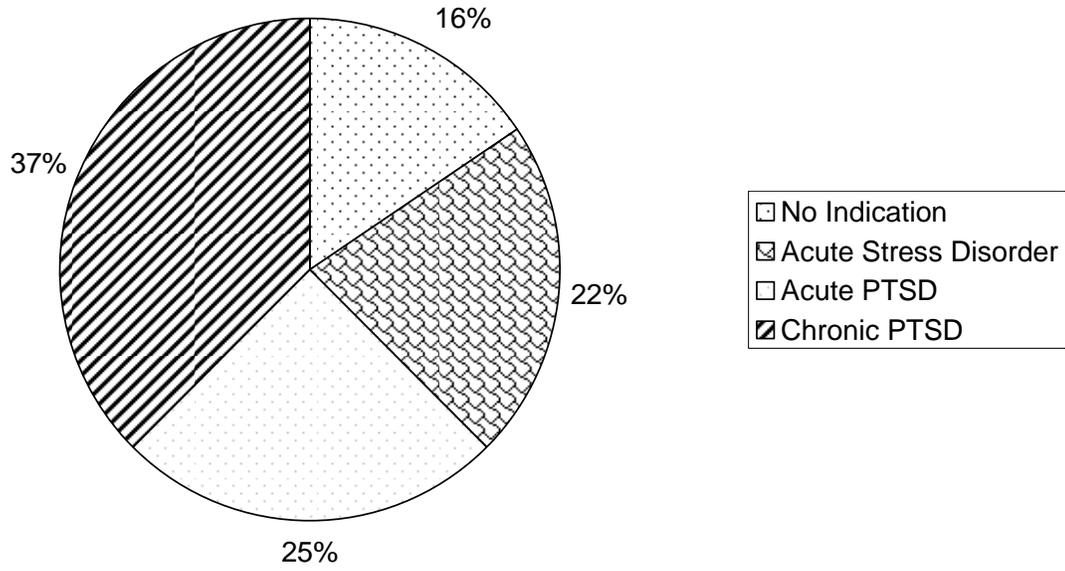


Figure 5

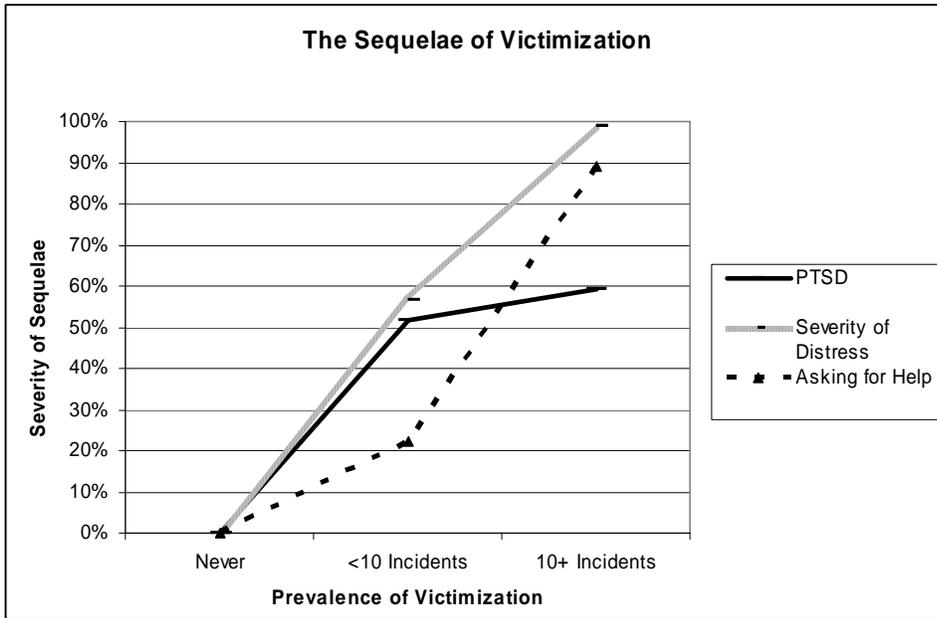


Table 1: Inter-Correlation of the CTS-2 Abuse Subscales

	Negotiation	Emotional Abuse	Physical Abuse	Injury	Sexual Abuse
Negotiation	1				
Emotional Abuse	-.359** .004	1			
Physical Abuse	-.488** .000	.783** .000	1		
Injury	-.616** .000	.747** .000	.781** .000	1	
Sexual Abuse	-.323** .009	.684** .000	.667** .000	.640** .000	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 2: Correlational of Status, Help Seeking Behaviors, Proper Identification of Abuse, and Post Stress Problems (2-Tail)

	Status	Wife Works	Treatment	Identify Own Trauma	Identify Examples of Trauma	Seeking Help	Abuse as Societal Problem	PTSD	Severity of Distress
Wife Works	-.411** .001	1							
Treatment	-.501** .000	.404** .001	1						
Identify Own Trauma	-.870** .000	.462** .000	.449** .000	1					
Identify Examples of Trauma	-.398** .001	.004 .977	.419** .001	.371** .003	1				
Seeking Help	-.481** .000	.566** .000	.710** .000	.538** .000	.475** .000	1			
Societal Problem	-.706** .000	.457** .000	.532** .000	.622** .000	.479** .000	.576** .000	1		
PTSD	-.497** .000	.418** .001	.436** .000	.556** .000	.137 .279	.486** .000	.434** .000	1	
Severity of Distress	-.563** .000	.551** .000	.459** .000	.664** .000	.133 .296	.568** .000	.494** .000	.890** .000	1
Amount of Abuse Present	-.827** .000	.450** .000	.474** .000	.759** .000	.271* .030	.535** .000	.618** .000	.567** .000	.661** .000

Not listed: Religious obligation to marriage, pressure to have children, age at first child, having children did not influence any of these factors.

Table 3: MANOVA Between Subject Effects- Status, trauma, and perception of abuse

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Identifying DV in home	Correct DV definition	3.108	1	3.108	.872	.355
	Seeing DV as societal problem	.132	1	.132	.226	.636
Working outside of the home	Correct DV definition	.142	1	.142	.040	.843
	Seeing DV as societal problem	.097	1	.097	.167	.685
Status	Correct DV definition	.207	1	.207	.058	.811
	Seeing DV as societal problem	5.172	1	5.172	8.889	.004
Total abuse	Correct DV definition	7.330	2	3.665	1.028	.365
	Seeing DV as societal problem	1.738	2	.869	1.493	.235
Participating in Treatment Previously	Correct DV definition	35.863	1	35.863	10.062	.003
	Seeing DV as societal problem	1.424	1	1.424	2.446	.124
Working outside of the home*Total Abuse	Correct DV definition	2.571	1	2.571	.721	.400
	Seeing DV as societal problem	3.500	1	3.500	6.015	.018
Working outside of the home* Participating in Treatment Previously	Correct DV definition	11.172	1	11.172	3.135	.083
	Seeing DV as societal problem	2.261	1	2.261	3.886	.054

a. Acknowledging DV: R Squared = .465 (Adjusted R Squared = .298)

b. Acknowledging DV as societal problem: R Squared = .707 (Adjusted R Squared = .616)

*Note: Only significant interactions are listed.

Table 4: MANOVA Between Subject Effects- Status, trauma, and PTSD

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Identifying DV in home	PTSD	.250	1	.250	.443	.509
	IMPACT	64.000	1	64.000	2.168	.147
Status	PTSD	.030	1	.030	.054	.817
	IMPACT	6.678	1	6.678	.226	.636
Total Abuse	PTSD	.075	1	.075	.132	.718
	IMPACT	167.448	1	167.448	5.671	.021
Seeking Help	PTSD	.003	1	.003	.006	.941
	IMPACT	18.801	1	18.801	.637	.429
Identification of DV as a societal problem	PTSD	2.890	2	1.445	2.560	.088
	IMPACT	188.621	2	94.311	3.194	.050
Identification of DV as societal problem* Total Abuse	PTSD	1.333	1	1.333	2.362	.131
	IMPACT	168.750	1	168.750	5.715	.021
Identification of DV as a societal problem* Help	PTSD	3.631	2	1.815	3.215	.049
	IMPACT	48.385	2	24.192	.819	.447

a. PTSD R Squared = .638 (Adjusted R Squared = .535)

b. IMPACT R Squared = .792 (Adjusted R Squared = .732)

*Note: Only significant interactions are listed.

Running head: Teaching Israel Teaching Peace

Formulating a New Model of Israel Education for the 21st Century
Based on Concepts of Peace Education

by
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Faculty advisors: Prof. Z. Zakharia & Prof. R. Cortina

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
Master of Arts
in
International Educational Development

Abstract

This research project focuses on how Israel is taught in American Jewish institutions. We propose that a new model is needed to meet the needs of the current generation. The new curriculum is based on various concepts within the field of peace education, such as global citizenship, multiculturalism, human rights, identity development and conflict resolution. The overall idea of the new model is that if the Jewish commitment to social justice is incorporated into Israel education, American Jews will through an increased association between Israel and social justice, create a more relevant connection to Israel and stand up to act for peace and justice in Israel and worldwide.

Introduction

Education plays a powerful role in shaping the values and beliefs of an individual. It has the ability to inspire the ideals of justice, equality, and respect for human life; and yet it can also play a role in instilling hatred and fueling tensions between people of different backgrounds, as we see occurring all too often across the world today. In shaping the minds of young people, educators must be especially careful to take these opposing effects of education into consideration. As educators, we have a responsibility to be conscious of how we teach, what we teach and do not teach, and the messages we send about our values. In Jewish or any religious education for that matter, this teaching of values takes on a particularly crucial role. Jewish educational institutions must take this responsibility seriously, especially when it comes to the potentially controversial area of Israel education. What values, beliefs, and sense of identity do we consciously, or subconsciously, impart to young people through the current model of Israel education in United States Jewish educational institutions and how can we ensure that these are our intended messages?

This study explores this issue in depth, providing an overview of the current model of Israel education in the United States and suggesting a new model based on the concepts of peace

education and the underlying theme of social justice. The overall framework proposed suggests a combination of elements of Zionism and cosmopolitanism, as will be defined in detail later. In this way, the model allows young Jews in America to explore their connection to Judaism and to Israel in a particularistic way, while also providing them with a universal lens through which to investigate their identity. A necessary change given globalization and an emphasis on multiculturalism in today's world and particularly in American society, the curriculum allows Jewish youth to find connection and relevance in their study of Israel. At the same time, it provides them with the opportunity to understand the complexities of the country in a way that encourages them to work for peace and justice. The proposed curriculum makes use of a number of concepts from the field of peace education, including global citizenship and cosmopolitanism, human rights, conflict resolution, multiculturalism, and identity development. Pedagogically, it also emphasizes critical thinking, reflection, action, and creativity. Through the combination of these elements, this curriculum has the potential to change the way young Jews relate to Israel, to the world at large and hopefully will take action towards a more just and peaceful place to live for all.

Background and Context

A. Overview of Israel Education in the United States

American Jewish education is seen as an essential part of the community in order to continue the traditions of Judaism. According to the Partnership for Excellence in Jewish Education (www.peje.org, 2009), there are 700 full-time Jewish day schools in North America, which educate nearly 200,000 students. Young Jewish Americans receive education about Israel not only through school. Among the many agents that possibly play a role in their learning about Israel are their parents, the media, youth movements, camps, and schools. Although not much

has been formally written about Israel education in the United States, certain trends can be observed. Eisen and Rosenak (1997) point out that Israel education and the place Israel holds has entered a new stage “in the lives of contemporary Jews” (p. iii). The historic times where Jewish institutions taught about the struggles for a place to belong, a homeland, and the importance of the creation of a state have ended (Eisen et al., 1997). Israel today is a dynamic and vibrant place with many struggles, complexities, and successes that have evolved and changed tremendously. A new area of Israel education therefore also needs to develop.

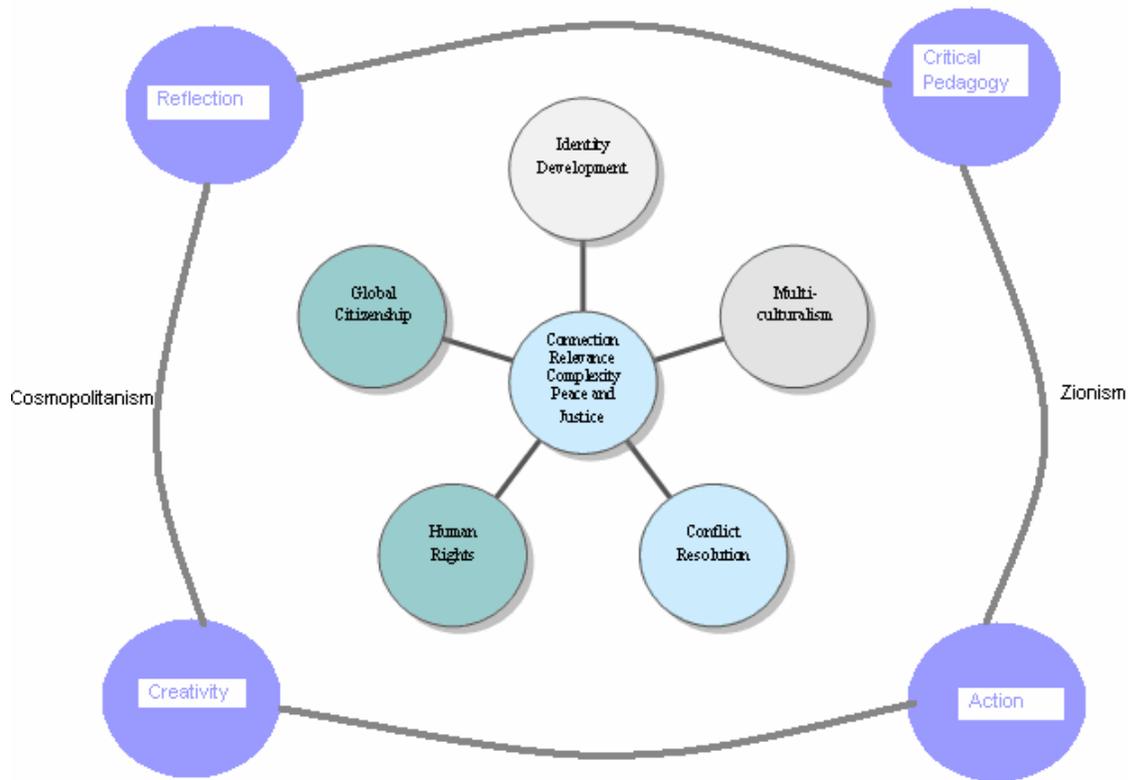
Conceptual Framework

A. A New Model of Israel Education

How can we engage young American Jews in Israel in such a way that allows them to simultaneously foster a connection to Israel, a deep and comprehensive understanding of the country and allow space to take action for a socially just world? In the following analysis, we propose that combining Israel education with peace education will allow young American Jews to foster this deep and comprehensive connection to Israel while also be empowered to work for social justice in the region and the world at large.

Our new model for Israel education, described in Figure 1, includes various themes of peace education and serves as a tool to help incorporate the different concepts which we believe are crucial in order to achieve the deep and comprehensive connection to Israel. The model is dynamic; there is no one direction or perspective for which this model should be viewed. Rather, there are multiple ways to look at it and use it as a tool in organizing educational activities about Israel.

Figure 1: New model of Israel education with a peace education orientation



The center circle represents the goals which we aim to achieve in our model of Israel education. These are connection, complexity, relevance, and peace and justice. The reason it is important for young Jews in America to have such a relationship with Israel is because, as outlined above, Israel and Zionism are important parts of Jewish identity. Therefore, in order to meet the needs of Jewish education, establishing a sense of connection and relevance is important. Moreover, we believe that in order to have a true cosmopolitan identity, a focus on the particular threads of identity need to be established. A connection to Israel therefore does not need to exclude a connection to humanity as a whole, and in fact is an important part of a holistic sense of identity development (more on this in the Zionism and Cosmopolitan section below).

The middle set of circles contains different themes of peace education which are necessary to succeed at the stated objectives. These themes include multiculturalism, human

rights, global citizenship, conflict resolution, and identity development. These are fields which will not only help foster the aims of most Israel education, to have a meaningful connection to Israel, but will also serve the students in their daily life in America by encouraging them to become active citizens and to be aware of who they are and where they stand in relation to other people around them.

The outermost circles represent the different pedagogies which are part of our Israel education model. These include creativity and experimental learning, action, reflection, and critical thinking. At least one if not all the suggested subjects and pedagogies will be an underlying part of each lesson. These pedagogies are important part of the peace education field and will also help students to make Israel more relevant to their lives. The lens through which the entire curriculum will be viewed is Zionism and cosmopolitanism, as discussed in detail below.

In the coming sections we will briefly delve into each part of the model, and explain the reasons why we chose those aspects of peace education, how they are relevant, and most importantly how those themes help achieve our objectives: a meaningful connection to Israel, an understanding of the complexities of Israel, the relevance of Israel, and how peace and justice can be achieved in the region and in our lives today.

Overall it is important to remember that every class, every school, and every teacher differs from one another. Therefore, we purposely constructed a model and not a set curriculum so that it is flexible enough to adjust to different circumstances. Eisner (2002) refers to this concept as intellectual flexibility; we sometimes need to alter the goal, and shift strategies according to who we teach.

B. Why Peace Education

Synott (2005) outlines the importance of peace education,

One of the clear strengths of peace education that makes it especially relevant for our times is its inclusive, global orientation. The futility of violent solutions to international conflicts...and the growing concerns over local violence in many places are other factors that have encouraged people to call for the introduction of peace education into schools. (p. 6)

Peace education is more than a set of topics or lessons but “must be seen as an educational orientation that provides the objectives and the instructional frame work for learning in schools” (Bar-Tal, 2001, p. 31). While composed of a variety of sub-fields and differing depending on context, peace education has as its primary goal to create “a more humane society, be that on a community, national or global basis... a society that derives from positive, mutually beneficial relationships among the members of the society, regarded both corporately and individually” (Reardon, 2000, p. 3).

From the variety of themes of peace education we will concentrate on the following interconnected topics: human rights, conflict resolution, global citizenship and cosmopolitanism, and identity development. Additionally, a number of pedagogies will be emphasized: critical and independent thought, reflection, action, and creativity and experiential learning.

Peace, according to the paradigm we set forth, includes both negative and positive peace, in other words, the absence of violence as well as the presence of justice (Reardon, 2000). This educational paradigm will be successful in reshaping Israel education so that it is relevant to the realities of young people living in America, allows space for critical thought necessary to create connection, will be creative, and has the ability to empower young people to take action. Bar-Tal (2001) explains that if you want to be successful with the “educational mission of peace

education” you have to take an innovative and creative approach (p. 31), which we aspire to carry out.

In today’s globalized world, young people are constantly surrounded by diversity, difference, and constant change. Multiculturalism is accepted as the norm and the value of global citizenship is taken for granted. Many young people in the United States see themselves not just as members of their own religious community or country, but as citizens of a larger interconnected world. Cultural difference is valued in its own right as a positive element of a society in that it provides richness and vitality to a community. As such, rather than portraying Israel as morally superior or ethnically different, Israel education under the rubric of peace education would emphasize the multiculturalism of the country and the place of Israel as a unique nation for Jews among the larger body of nations. Israel is multicultural in that it incorporates many different immigrants and cultural groups. These include but are not limited to, Ethiopian, Former Soviet Union, South American, Eastern and Western European, and American subgroups. Additionally there is a large Arab population, divided within itself, making up another of the cultural groups within Israel. While these Arab subgroups are, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish a tension arises for conceptualizing a Jewish state while respecting its diverse peoples. By placing Israel within this multicultural and Jewish context, young people will be able to relate to the country in a more meaningful manner.

Another essential component of peace education which will strengthen Israel education in America is the emphasis on critical thought. Instead of simply telling students how they should feel and think about Israel, under this new model of Israel education, students will be encouraged to raise questions and struggle with finding answers. Rather than simply accept everything that the Israeli government and parts of its society does as right, students will grapple with the issues,

such as the status of minority groups, poverty within society, and its relations with other countries.

The final element of peace education which makes it instrumental for the success of Israel education is its commitment to social justice and action. Peace education does not simply include the acquiring of knowledge, but also the development of skills for action. Under this model, students will not only learn information about Israel, but will become empowered to act on this information and learn the skills necessary to do so. In this way, students will become more engaged with Israel, thereby strengthening their connection to the country. They will feel that they play an important role in shaping the country's future, particularly in working towards peace and justice in the region. Rather than telling students exactly how they should become engaged, students will learn about the country in such a way so that they can choose how to be involved. Central to such a challenge is providing students with the "skills, knowledge and authority they need to inquire to act upon what it means to live in a substantive democracy...to fight deeply rooted injustices in a society and world founded on systematic economic, racial and gendered inequalities" (Giroux, 2004, as cited in, De Bie, 2007, p. 29). The same author continues to write how Horton and Freire remind us that such social change cannot be forced upon people. Peace education should therefore be student-centered, a process of mutual learning among students and educators (De Bie, 2007).

C. Zionism and Cosmopolitanism

The thematic framework and lens which we use to formulate our new model of Israel education combines two different theories. On the one hand is Zionism, the support of a Jewish state in the land of Israel. It identifies the needs of the Jewish people and asserts that a Jewish state should exist in order to provide a safe haven for Jews across the world, many of whose

communities have faced persecution and hatred throughout history (Hertzberg, 1972). We believe that Zionism is generally formulated as a particularistic mode of engagement in that it focuses on the primacy of Jewish identity. The second overarching concept used is that of cosmopolitanism. In contrast to Zionism's focus on the particular, cosmopolitanism focuses on the universal. It asserts that we are first and foremost citizens of the world and therefore have an obligation to those outside our particular identity group (Appiah, 2006). Zionism and cosmopolitanism, although seemingly on opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of their loyalties to particular versus universal measures of obligation, do in fact have several similar elements. Through exploring these concepts in greater depth and unpacking their similarities and differences, it is possible to arrive at a definition of each of these terms which allows them to co-exist as mutually reinforcing concepts.

Although the religious roots of the Zionism precede the late 19th century, it was not until this time that Zionism became the modern political movement that we understand it to be today. For generations since the destruction of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE, Jews have prayed for a return to the land of Israel. It was assumed that this would occur when God brought the Messiah and redeemed the Jewish people (Hertzberg, 1972). Modern Zionism, on the other hand, was founded as a reaction to the anti-Semitism¹ Jews faced in Europe (Sachar, 1958). Theodore Herzl, a young journalist in Paris, after witnessing the Dreyfus Affair in 1894 in which a Jewish officer was wrongly convicted of treason, decided that a Jewish homeland was needed. Anti-Semitism, he asserted, would not go away despite assimilation into the larger society and the only way to put an end to it would be to create a Jewish state so that Jews across the world could be a nation like any other nation (Hertzberg, 1972). According to Herzl's vision, the new

¹ Bias or discrimination against Jews as a group, also includes anti-Judaism (www.facinghistory.org, 2009).

Jewish state would be a secular, technologically advanced country which provided equality for all its citizens, including the Arab population (Sachar, 1958).

Zionism, at its outset, was not supported by the majority of the Jewish people, with religious Jews claiming that only God could return the Jewish people to the land of Israel the secular Jewish communities claiming that they were citizens of the countries of Europe in which they lived and therefore did not strive for a return to Israel (Hertzberg, 1972). However, following the events of the Holocaust and the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, the vast majority of Jewish communities came to support the country. While this connection to Israel has changed over time and differs according to community, it can be generally said that among Jewish communities around the globe there is support for the State of Israel as a Jewish country. The primary concern for many Jews in the United States is therefore with the security of Israel's Jewish citizens, for whom the country was established after the Holocaust.

In more recent years, however, particularly among Israeli academics, there has been a movement towards what is now known as post-Zionism. Post-Zionism developed following the opening of the Israeli historical archives detailing the events surrounding the establishment of the country, including the 1948 War (Hazony, 2001). These documents suggest a very different reality about the establishment of the State from what has been generally accepted as fact among the Israeli public. The archives reveal, for instance, that in some cases Palestinians were forcefully evacuated from their towns and villages during the war, suggesting that Israel's government actions were in part responsible for the Palestinian refugee problem² (Morris, 2001). Revelations such as this one caused hitherto ardent Zionists to begin to question their relationship to the State of Israel. Many

² According to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency there were an estimated 860,000 Palestinian refugees in May 1951 (www.un.org/unrwa, 2009).

remain loyal to the country, albeit with a criticism to some of the actions of their country's government (Hazony, 2001). These individuals show how one's universal concerns for human rights and ethical action can remain integrated into a person's identity without renouncing one's particularistic loyalties.

Cosmopolitanism, in contrast to Zionism, does not focus on the plight of a particular people but rather notes that in a globalized world, in which we come into contact with an ever-increasing number of people, we have a moral obligation to care for the well-being of every person (Appiah, 2006). In today's world, cosmopolitanism, according to Appiah (2006), is not merely something to aspire to as an ideal, but is a necessity and a reality in any community in order to live and coexist with others. Cosmopolitanism, as it is played out in the world today, began to arise after 1945 and can be seen in documents such as the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights (Levy & Sznajder, 2004, as cited in Sznajder, 2007). In the preamble of this document it says, "Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind...." To the framers of the document, this was a clear reference to the events of the Holocaust (Sznajder, 2007, p. 165). In other words, modern cosmopolitanism came about as a reaction to hatred and persecution in the world.

While some might claim that this sense of global responsibility in cosmopolitanism takes away from one's particular identity, Appiah (2006) suggests that this universal obligation is an "added soul" (p. xvii), whereby one can hold on to both one's particular as well as universal frame of reference. What Sznajder (2007) terms "realistic cosmopolitanism" allows one to remain loyal to one's own national group while also caring for and understanding the perspectives of others worldwide. In this sense, it is different from universalism which ignores one's particular identity.

Several connections can be made between Zionism and cosmopolitanism. First, are the roots of these two modern movements: both are a reaction to the existence of hatred and persecution in the world, particularly the events of the Holocaust. While Zionism responded to these events through the lens of particularity and maintained that a Jewish state was necessary in order to protect Jews, cosmopolitanism responded with a more universal notion of protection, claiming that all of humankind must be saved from such atrocities in the future. It is interesting to note these are parallel reactions to the same events and begs the question as to why this occurred. An answer may be found in the historical memory of the Jewish people as a persecuted minority, as discussed above. As a result of these historical experiences, the Jewish community had a communal identity of victimization. As a result, the genocidal campaign against them was understood to be an attack against them as Jews in particular, rather than attack against all of humanity. They therefore interpreted the events through a lens of particularity rather than universalism. Importantly, however, the European power brokers also viewed the events through a particularistic lens as seen in their decision to support the establishment of the State of Israel.

The second connection between these two theories is each one's recognition of both the universal as well as the particular. Looking at the roots of Zionism, it does not only claim the particularity of the Jewish people, but also settles on notions of universal equality as seen in the fact that Herzl envisioned a country which embodied equal protection for all. After all, Zionism was a secular movement, seen to address a political rather than a religious problem. The movement was established by secular Jewish leaders who had always seen themselves as members of the societies in which they lived. As such, elements of both particularity and universalism made their way into Zionist ideology. Nonetheless, there is still an inherent tension in the idea of a Jewish state that provides equality to all individuals. Despite this tension, however, the founders of the state tried to

create an ideal society which would provide safety to Jews and non-Jews alike.³ This support of both the particular and universal is also evidenced in the opinions and beliefs of post-Zionists today, who see both the universal obligation of humanity in addition to their concern for fellow Jews. At the same time, cosmopolitanism does not completely reject the notion of the particular. Rather, it aims to differentiate itself from universalism, claiming that only through particular identities can there be a sense of universal obligation. One need not give up one's particular identity in order to be a citizen of the world.

By picking up on the particular and universal elements of each of these concepts, Zionism and cosmopolitanism can be seen to be mutually reinforcing rather than opposing. Furthermore, cosmopolitanism's acceptance of the reality of globalization in today's world can be applied to Zionism to suggest that it is in the best interest of Israel's leaders to take into account the universal nature of the world. Every individual, community, and nation is interconnected and it is therefore in everyone's best interest to ensure that the rights of all are maintained.

While there are some who may claim that religious ideals are the least likely way to bring about notions of universality or cosmopolitanism, there are others who suggest just the opposite. In his book, *In the Name of Identity*, Amin Maalouf (2000) talks about the need for both particular and universal identities, claiming that religion provides an ideal combination of these two seeming contradictions. He writes,

It seems to me that there is something more than mere reaction in the current rise of religious sentiment: perhaps an attempt at a synthesis between the need for identity and the need for universality. I see the religious communities as global tribes: tribes because of their stress on identity, global because of the way they blithely reach across frontiers. For some people, to subscribe to a faith that transcends national, regional and social affiliations is a way of proclaiming their universality. In a way, belonging to a faith community is the most global and

³ This ideal versus the reality is still a challenge of Israeli society today, and one which we aim to address.

universal kind of particularism... the sense of belonging to a common 'Church' is nowadays the most efficient factor for binding together varieties of nationalism, even those that call themselves secular. (p. 93)

In other words, religion can be a means of both holding onto a particular as well as a universal identity. In redefining Judaism and Zionism in light of this idea, we have the ability to meet the needs of both the cosmopolitan as well as the particularist.

In comparing Zionism and cosmopolitanism, we can better understand how these two seemingly opposing perspectives can be forged into a new understanding of what it means teach about Israel. As suggested above, by focusing on the roots of these movements and the elements of them that ensure both the particular and universal elements of one's identity, one can achieve a new understanding of Zionism which takes into account the realities of the modern world. These conceptualizations of Zionism and cosmopolitanism will carry themselves throughout the new curriculum, ensuring that Israel is taught in such a way as to ensure that young Jewish Americans will find Israel relevant to their lives, will feel connected to the country, will have a nuanced understanding of its complexities, and will be inspired to work for peace and justice in the region.

D. Limitations and Challenges

Israel education in America has much room to grow. We believe that peace education provides the most effective means of transforming Israel education in America. As in any field, however, there are many challenges and limitations that come with using the peace education orientation. The three main challenges and limitation we believe to encounter are (1), external factors, (2), teacher dependency, and (3) the evaluation process.

While there are not many people in the world who are opposed to peace as a general concept, there are differing views about what peace involves, the means to achieve it, and how to educate people about it. The approach we chose, Israel education with a peace education

orientation, therefore, with all the aforementioned challenges, will be difficult to implement. It will be a process that has undergone and will hopefully continue to undergo many hours, days, and weeks of dialogue and discussion in order to reach a stage where more people become aware of how to transform elements of today's Israel curriculum. The change we attempt to achieve is a change of outlook and orientation, and a change of many deeply embedded traditions of teaching that have not been questioned or challenged for many years. However, despite these challenges, we believe peace education will provide an invaluable tool to achieve these goals.

Literature Review: Peace Education Themes Used in the New Model

The following concepts are the peace education themes which will carry throughout the proposed model of Israel education.

A. Identity Development

One of the reasons why “a new concept of identity is needed, and needed urgently” is because of globalization (Maalouf, 2000, p. 35). Many people in the world today cannot identify with the concept of identity that represents one nationality, one language, or one country, yet the concept continues to be taught and discussed through a monolithic lens. As the options of relating and connecting to people in the world grow larger, and more and more possibilities are available to identify with different groups and people around the world, it is important to look at where the notion of Jewish identity finds its place.

One way to accomplish this is to look at the different “threads of affiliation” we all have (Maalouf, 2000, p. 129). Each thread of a person's identity represents a connection or a bridge to another person, such as a common language, a shared interest, or the same religion. Maalouf (2000) explains that each thread may be “thick or thin, strong or weak, but it is easily recognizable by all those who are sensitive in the subject of identity” (p. 20). As we teach about Israel within the

framework of peace education and social justice, we aim to pull and strengthen the different threads of affiliation within each student. These different threads are the bridge to connect with different people wherever they are in the globe.

If we focus on how our identity is made up of different parts, we find points of connection with all different kinds of people. Sen (2008) explains very clearly why it is vital to explore and discuss identity:

A sense of identity can be a source not merely of pride and joy, but also of strength and confidence... And yet identity can also kill – and kill with abandon. A strong – and exclusive – sense of belonging to one group can in many cases carry with it the perception of distance and divergence from others groups. Within group solidarity can help to feed between-group discord... Violence is fomented by the imposition of singular and belligerent identities on gullible people, championed by proficient artisans of terror... The cultivated violence associated with identity conflicts seems to repeat itself around the world with increasing persistence... It seems to crowd out, often enough, any consideration of other, less confrontational features of the people on the opposite side of the breach, including, among other things, their shared membership of the human race. (pp. 1-3)

In conclusion, identity is a complex and multi-layered subject. Identity differs from person to person, and even in one person identity can be viewed in multiple ways. Identity is culturally and situationally rooted and therefore, depending on the social context and situation, different parts of our identity might prevail. For the new Israel curriculum with a peace education and social justice orientation, it is important to explore those different ‘threads of identity’. Lastly, as language plays a crucial role in shaping identity, the new Israel curriculum will foster not only a sense of importance of the Hebrew and Arabic languages, but also teach them in order to create more bridges of connections.

B. Human Rights

Human rights education provides a useful paradigm through which to educate about Israel. Human rights are most closely associated with positive peace, or the creation and maintenance of

justice in society (Reardon, 1997) and can be defined as the right of every individual to his or her basic needs in order to live a life of dignity (Donnelly, 2007). All forms of violence are seen as an assault on human dignity, including physical and structural violence, structural violence, political violence, and cultural violence (Reardon, 1997). Different types of rights can therefore be discussed, including economic, social, cultural, civil, and political rights (Donnelly, 2007).

This wide range of rights would allow Israel education to go beyond talking solely about the political conflict between Israelis and Palestinians which involves overt physical violence. Instead, it would open up the conversation about Israel to include such issues as the cultural and civil rights of minorities (Jewish and non-Jewish) within Israel as well as the structural violence inherent in a society with a wide gap between the rich and the poor. Such educational measures would discuss the possibility for long range change in order to increase social justice and respect for human dignity (Reardon, 1997).

While the philosophical underpinnings of human rights are widely debated, one possible tradition that leads to the assumption of human rights is religion (Donnelly, 2007). Teaching human rights in a Jewish setting therefore provides a solid basis on which students can comprehend and internalize these human rights values. In the Jewish context, human rights can be understood as the concept of *b'tzelem elohim*, that all people are created in the image of God. As such, they are all entitled to living a life of dignity. However, even with the religious underpinning to human rights, it will be important to place human rights in a larger intercultural and international context. Students will therefore need to understand that each culture, including different religions, may define human rights in a different way (Sen, 1999) and that there are also different models of how human rights should be ensured (Donnelly, 2007).

Importantly, the curriculum will first introduce human rights as a universal religious value and only then move on to look at human rights in the context of international law. In this way, students will relate human rights first to their particularistic Jewish identity, and then also expand that identity to include other religious groups as well as international political bodies, thereby strengthening their universal identities. Combined, these two elements will provide students with an ideal standard of human rights as well as play a part in the process of identity development. Following this ideal, students will learn about the reality of human rights abuses in an international context. By presenting the issue of human rights in Israel within this international framework in which all nations are striving for human rights, students will be able to approach Israel's situation more critically. This is especially important because of the ongoing conflict between Israelis and Palestinians in which an issue such as human rights abuses could easily become highly politicized to the detriment of achieving the learning outcomes. Students will understand that Israel struggles with issues of human rights just as many other countries do, and they will be motivated to work for change. Understanding Israel within this context will allow Israel and its struggles to be more relevant to their lives and to their values, thus accomplishing the goals set forth for this curriculum.

C. Global Citizenship and Cosmopolitanism

1. Global citizenship

Young people today are faced with many urgent problems that previous young generations were much less aware of. We are faced with: an increasingly polluted planet, gross mal-distribution of wealth, which prevents the overwhelming majority of human beings from realizing their potential and ensures that vast numbers die prematurely; and regrettable patterns of social and political injustice, in which racism, sexism, militarism and other forms of unfairness and oppressions exist. This is only a partial list. Although it seems rather unlikely that human beings

will ever achieve anything that approaches a perfect world, it does seem reasonable to hope – and perhaps even to demand – that we will someday behave far more responsibly and establish a global civil society that is just and sustainable, and not characterized by major outbreaks of conflict and violence. What are the roles of schools and teachers to prepare young people to view themselves as part of a larger sum that stretches beyond their closest surrounding, such as their neighborhood and community (Carlsson-Paige & Lantieri, 2005)?

In order to educate students about world issues and transmit a sense of global awareness and consciousness, research has shown four processes that promote pro-social behavior, responsibility, and activism in young people (Carlsson-Paige et al, 2005). These are: (1) to be in a caring and nurturing environment; (2) provide opportunities for the students to be a part of decision making processes and pro-social actions; (3) have role models who model pro-social behavior; (4), develop skills for conflict resolution and perspective-taking (Carlsson-Paige et al, 2005). These processes will play a vital part in the training seminar we will hold for the Israel educators, who are interested and motivated to adapt to the new framework of Israel education with a peace education orientation.

Furthermore, Delanty (2000) describes the nature and characteristics of global citizens: “The Global Citizen; is one aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a global citizen; two respects and values diversity; three is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place; and four takes responsibility for their actions” (Delanty, 2000, p. 37).

Let us suppose that, for a variety of reasons, more and more people come to see themselves as global citizens. Will it make much difference? It seems that an important shift of perspective might take place and that the strength of this perspective will grow as solidarity increases and more people accept the concept of global citizenship.

One of the overarching goals the global citizen theme in the Israel curriculum with a peace education and social justice orientation is to instill in students a critical awareness of global issues, with an emphasis on Israel and the United States, the interdependence of the countries, the interdependence with the larger community of nations, and an understanding of rights and responsibilities of an American, as well as a global, citizen.

Cosmopolitanism

Who is a cosmopolitan and what are the cosmopolitan's views and thoughts about other citizens of the world? According to Appaiah (2006) there are two different notions of cosmopolitanism which are linked with each other. One refers to universal obligation. In other words we as citizens of the world have an obligation that goes beyond our families, or the people with whom we share citizenship (Appaiah, 2006). The other refers to the obligations to particular citizens and to be open and have an interest to learn about different cultures, practices and beliefs because the cosmopolitan knows that we can learn a great deal from our differences (Appaiah, 2006). Hansen (2008), who also extensively writes about cosmopolitanism, calls Appaiah's (2006) second definition of a cosmopolitan a "cosmopolitan sensibility." We believe that the cosmopolitan sensibility is one that can be related to the peace education Israel curriculum. In other words, a cosmopolitan sensibility does not only embody openness and tolerance to new ideas and observances, it also entails a strong desire to learn from other traditions (Hansen, 2008).

A cosmopolitan sensibility is not a possession, not a badge, not a settled accomplishment or achievement. It is an orientation that depends fundamentally upon the ongoing quality of one's interactions with others, with the world, and with one's own self. Like education itself it is ever incomplete, ever emergent. (Hansen, 2008, p. 302).

The author gives a great example of the kind of cosmopolitan he refers to. If a classroom was to learn about Flamenco, the Spanish dance, the students should not only be exposed to the music

and the dance but also be asked relevant questions, in order to achieve a deeper understanding of the dance and the culture from which it comes. For example, what kinds of instruments are part of the music? What materials are the instruments made of? Who made the instruments and where were they made? What does the Flamenco represent to the Spanish culture? Through questions such as these, students learn what it means to be a critical thinker rather than a “traditionalistic custodian” (Hansen, 2008, p. 306).

To learn and to ask questions about our own culture, heritage, and traditions are, we believe, a crucial part of cosmopolitanism as well. When we talk about cosmopolitanism, we not only talk about learning about other cultures, but also encouraging a sense of obligation to a worldwide community. It is therefore important to ask the question about where our loyalties and obligations fall. Do we carry a universal obligation towards all human beings? Or are we first obliged towards our own closer circles and the people with whom we are familiar? Nussbaum (1997, as cited in Hansen, 2008) argues that people should conceive of themselves as citizens of the world first and not automatically regard fellow citizens (people they share citizenship with) as more important. However, at the same time, she does claim that people should attend to the local in spirit and in doing so are able to contribute to a more flourishing cosmos. In contrast, Appiah (2006) has criticized Nussbaum’s point of view. He argues for what he calls “rooted cosmopolitanism in which people should recognize the distinctive influence of local tradition and culture on their personhood and in which a higher duty is owed in an array of circumstances for family or community” (p. 292). This relates back to the notion of cosmopolitanism discussed earlier, in which it is important to hold on to both particular and universal identities.

Especially in regard to Israel education in the United States, questions as to where our first obligations lie are important questions to ask and discuss. We do not necessarily believe that one or

the other thread of identity should prevail. On the contrary, it is a topic where students, through provided resources, questions, and discussions, should be able to find answers for themselves. Even if no answer is found, educators are able to move the students' outlook on the topics discussed in Israel education from a "consumerist, spectator-like, or acquisitive sampling to a participatory inquiry in which meanings and outlooks are explicitly at play" (Hansen, 2008, p. 303). In other words, students should not simply take in knowledge without thinking about it, but rather, should find meaning, understanding, and relevance in what they learn so that they can relate their own lives to the world at large and engage in a process of exploration.

D. Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution falls into the skills-based aspect of peace education in that it teaches students practical skills that they can use to promote peace and justice (Jones, 2006). It emphasizes that while "peacemaking may involve distributive (win-lose) negotiations, peacebuilding requires the use of integrative negotiations, where disputants strive to find a resolution that maximizes the benefits for all parties rather than determining who wins and who loses" (Johnson & Johnson, 2005, p. 280). In other words, through using a curriculum which incorporates elements of conflict resolution, students will learn how to cooperate and resolve conflicts constructively so that the solution is mutually beneficial for all the parties involved. In order to be successful at conflict resolution, students must learn skills and abilities such as emotional awareness, empathy, perspective taking, and strategic expression (Jones, 2006).

Seeing conflict from multiple perspectives is an especially important skill in the process of conflict resolution in that it allows individuals to more fully understand the needs of all the parties involved so that a mutually beneficial agreement can be reached. In order to accomplish such perspective taking, students must learn how to explain their own views clearly, actively listen to

another's viewpoint, and acknowledge another's concerns (Smith & Fairman, 2005). This process allows the groups in disagreement to jointly brainstorm options that reflect both of their needs. Perspective taking also allows one to breakdown stereotypes and re-humanize someone otherwise seen as the enemy (Smith & Fairman, 2005). Rather than relying on stereotypes and misperceptions of the other, students, in understanding the perspective of another person, will learn to respect and treat that person as a fellow human being. Listening and communication skills are an important part of this process as well and involve active listening and acknowledgement of the other as mentioned above. Additionally, students must learn how to deal with emotion in an effective manner and not allow it to prevent the resolution of a disagreement. One way to do this is to focus on the needs one is trying to meet within the conflict situation rather than focus solely on one's positions (Smith & Fairman, 2005). For example, in a discussion on the Arab-Israeli conflict, where each side is focusing on their position of how they have true ownership of a piece of land, it will be important to focus instead on each groups' needs, and how they each aspire to live in their own national homeland. In this way, they will be able to have a deeper understanding of the other's perspective in such a way that does not negate their own claims.

International conflict also needs to be considered. In this way students will first learn to build a peaceful community in how they interact with others before they move on to create peace on a larger level. The skills of conflict resolution that they apply in their daily lives will also be beneficial in helping students to better understand international conflict situations. As Smith and Fairman (2005) note,

Traditionally, the conflicts presented in history and current events – between people, states, and social groups – are presented as facts and events, with little effort to examine the complex underlying dynamics. Without an opportunity for structured and critical thinking about intergroup conflict, students often draw their understanding from history's victors. The lessons they learn include: group identities are fixed, conflict is usually zero-sum, and violence and coercion are not

only common but often effective ways – maybe the only ways – to deal with intergroup conflict. (p. 42)

Such lessons, do not promote a culture of peace. In teaching about Israel, therefore, the Arab-Israeli conflict cannot be avoided. It is a reality of the historical founding of the State and current tensions within Israel and beyond, and needs to be taught in such a way to promote peace and justice within Israel and in the region. Rather than creating a separate course, conflict resolution skills are most effectively imparted to students by integrating them into the overall curriculum and into classroom management (Jones, 2006).

In summary, conflict resolution provides a useful paradigm by which to impart the skills of peacebuilding to students. It is an essential component of the overall peace education curriculum and will allow students learning about Israel to apply the skills of conflict resolution both to their personal lives as well as to their understanding of the Middle East conflict. This will be essential in order to make Israel relevant to their lives and understand the nuances and complexities of the country.

E. Multiculturalism

Banks and McGee (2001) have described multicultural education as,

a transformative movement in education that produces critically thinking, socially active members of society. It is not simply a change of curriculum or the addition of an activity. It is a movement that calls for new attitudes, new approaches, and a new dedication to laying the foundation for the transformation of society. (Banks & McGee, 2001, as cited in Meyers & Rhoades, 2006 p. 83)

According to Hernandez (1989, as cited in Sanchez, 1996) there are three steps involved in multicultural education: (1) to teach students the perspectives of the mainstream culture, (2) to teach students the perspectives of other cultures, and (3) to examine similarities and differences between these cultures. This final step, Sanchez (1996) notes, is particularly important so that students can recognize that these differences are equally valid to their own way of life and are

valuable in their own right. Through this process, students are able to turn their negative and stereotypic thinking into a sense of respect and cooperation with others (Cohen, 1986, as cited in Sanchez, 1996). This is particularly important in a world where knowledge and awareness of ethnic and cultural difference is a growing reality (Meyers & Rhoades, 2006).

Multicultural education is essential to Israel education because it allows individuals to understand their Jewish identity in relation to other cultural, ethnic, and religious groups. This will help them to more fully explore their relationship with Israel, understanding both its similarities and differences in relation to their own identities. Since diversity is a reality of young people's lives today, the lens of multiculturalism will also make Israel more relevant to the experiences of young Jews in the United States. Furthermore, by emphasizing the multicultural nature of Israel, students will be able to understand that in certain ways Israel is a microcosm of a larger multicultural world and as such it grapples with issues of diversity and pluralism as well.

In teaching multiculturalism, as with teaching global citizenship, it is important not to trivialize a culture by teaching only its holidays, foods, and costumes, but rather to impart to students the significant elements of a culture's traditions and values (Sanchez, 1996). While emphasizing these elements of a culture may be an attempt at multiculturalism, they tend to offer a simplified way of understanding another culture and therefore do not foster true understanding (Meyer & Rhoades, 2006). A more effective means to teach multiculturalism therefore includes elements such as, allowing students continuous opportunities to develop their own sense of self, imparting to students the skills necessary to maintain intercultural relationships, and exploring the conflicts between ideals and realities within a society (Meyer & Rhoades, 2006). Such measures go beyond mere description of difference and allow students to truly explore what it means to live in a multicultural society.

Multicultural education provides a useful paradigm for Israel education both to encourage students to learn about diverse cultures as well as expose them to the diversity within Israel. This will increase the complexity of their understanding about Israel, make it more relevant to their lives, and also encourage them to work towards justice in bringing equality to all marginal groups within Israel and around the world. Throughout the process of introducing students to multiculturalism, however, teachers must keep in mind that each student arrives with a different level of intercultural understanding. He or she must therefore be sensitive to the needs of each student and help them to move towards greater intercultural sensitivity through both knowledge and skills.

F. Pedagogies

In addition to the themes of peace education described above, the new curriculum on Israel education will incorporate several pedagogical tools which will further the goals of peace education and empowering students to work for social justice. Due to the scope of this paper, the pedagogies are only very briefly outlined here. Although in the original study we extensively write about them. The pedagogies firstly include Critical Pedagogy with a focus on (a) The importance of Dialogue (b) Awareness and Responsibility of the Teacher (c) Problem Posing Education. Secondly, Action will be a main pedagogical tool used while teaching about Israel. Thirdly, critical reflection will be incorporated in every lesson as well. Lastly creativity and experiential learning will be of great value and emphasis as well.

Conclusion

Jewish educational experiences, whether through full-time Jewish day schools, afternoon religious schools, or informal camp and youth group programs, play a strong role in shaping the next generation of Jewish youth in their attitudes towards Israel. As above research demonstrates, these educational opportunities primarily depict a mythic Israel, one where Israel is the victim,

mostly takes the moral high ground, and is an ideal society based on justice and equality. Israel's actions are not questioned and the country's opportunities, challenges, and dilemmas are only understood, if at all, on a surface level. Many youth who grow up on this understanding of Israel, however, upon learning a different reality as young adults, reject their earlier education in its entirety. Rather than integrating their traditional education with their new, more nuanced understandings of Israel and value of justice, as we were fortunate to be able to do, they simply leave behind any connection to Israel, and oftentimes with it Judaism as well. A new model of Israel education is therefore necessary, one which will take into consideration the realities of Jewish youth today and make Israel a real and relevant part of their identities.

Peace education provides an ideal means by which to accomplish this goal because of its ability to speak to the current generation about issues such as multiculturalism, global citizenship, and human rights. By teaching Israel through the lens of these and other peace education concepts, young Jews may be able to acquire a complex connection to Israel and through this begin to change the way that the American Jewish community as a whole relates to Israel.

The new model of Israel education we propose, will take into account the aforementioned concepts of peace education. In order to fit into the Jewish educational context, these themes will be placed within the framework of Jewish values. For instance, rather than simply talking about human rights within the context of international law, students will learn about the Jewish concept of *b'tzelem elohim*, that all people are created in the image of God. By expressing these themes within this Jewish framework, the concepts will seem less foreign to Jewish educators, who see themselves as first and foremost responsible for educating their students in a Jewish manner. Furthermore, this framework has the ability to connect students to their Jewish roots,

showing them that their Jewish heritage encompasses many of the values that they hold as 21st century citizens of the world. Lastly, if the Jewish commitment to social justice is incorporated throughout all the themes of peace education into Israel education, American Jews will be responsible and empowered to work for Israel and stand up to act for peace and justice in Israel and worldwide.

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