PEACE EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF OCCUPATION

By

MELISSA SAMPSON SAUL

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
Department of Teaching and Learning

December 2009

To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the dissertation of Melissa Sampson Saul find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

                                                _____

Dawn Shinew, Ph.D., Chair

_____

Paula Groves Price, Ph.D.

_____

Robert Rinehart, Ph.D.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It is with deep gratitude and appreciation that I thank the many people who have supported my development and growth during my doctoral program and provided me guidance through the completion of the dissertation. I am grateful to my many teachers of peace that are represented in this study and to the many people who helped me throughout my travels in Palestine and Israel. In solidarity for social justice the continued work for peace in this region will continue until the Occupation ends.

As a single mother of three children, going through doctoral courses, obtaining my first academic position, and completing my dissertation brought challenges to our family, so first I must acknowledge my children, Nathanial, Malea, and Miles for their patience, understanding and unending love. Our lives have been transformed by this process and peace will always be present in our conversations.

My heartfelt thanks are extended to my loving friend and partner, Michael Hayes, for his encouragement, support, and unwavering faith that I could complete this work. He supported me with fruitful conversations and lively discussions that kept the work alive and moving forward. I thank him also for becoming my partner and sharing in the quest for peace for Palestinians.

I am also grateful for the people on my committee who stayed with me throughout the process. I am indebted to them for patience, critique, feedback, and encouragement. My sincere appreciation is for Dawn Shinew, who mentored me through the process, encouraged me when times were tough, and saw me through to the end. I acknowledge the

tremendous amount of work Dawn put in to push me through to the very end. In addition, I thank Paula Groves Price and Bob Rinehart for their feedback and support.

I wish to thank Francene Watson-McBeath and Corinna Nicolaou for their excellent assistance and feedback during the writing process. They both managed to be the best support right until the end. I also thank my good friends: Debbie Dougan for meeting me for coffee to discuss theoretical frameworks and methodology; Mea Moore for her emotional steadfastness and true friendship; Ann Saberi for her friendship and support; and Jeanne Larkin for her daily encouragement and guidance. I realized how necessary it is to have supportive friends and peers.

I would also like to thank my parents, Linda and Russell Keizer for their support, generosity, and love.

PEACE EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF OCCUPATION

Abstract

by Melissa Sampson Saul, Ph.D.
Washington State University
December 2009

Chair: Dawn Shinew

      The purpose of this research was to examine how internationals, Palestinians, and Israelis interested in developing and articulating a culture of peace understand their work within the broader context of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. This study employed critical qualitative methods including advocacy research and elements of critical ethnography. Participants in this study were 12 peace educators working in the context of Palestine and Israel. Four of the participants were Israelis, four were Palestinians and four were internationals. Data collection included interviews, collection of artifacts (conference papers, and PowerPoint), peace education materials and websites of the peace education websites the participants worked with. Data was analyzed through a lens of global feminism. Findings of this research indicate that peace education focused on Israel and Palestine must be considered as peace education under Occupation. The Occupation of Palestine frames the processes and outcomes of peace education work in this area. Consequently, barriers to peace were a constant theme running through the data. While the participants engaged in peace education activities focused primarily on dialogue, sharing, and developing common goals, the persistent presence of physical, ideological, and political barriers constrained these activities.

LIST OF TABLES

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to two peace workers in Palestine: Ibrahim Abu El-Hawa, my good friend and mentor, who shared with me the true spirit of peace--to be of service to others and to "welcome" all; and Rachel Corrie, who stood with Palestinians against human rights injustices in Gaza and continues to be a shining light for Palestinians working for peace, justice and liberation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

After 60 years, the world continues to confront what is coined "the Arab-Israeli conflict" between Palestinians and Jews in the area of Israel and the West Bank and Gaza. In 2006, an international conference was held to provide space for dialogue between educators, activists, and organizers involved in peace and democracy education about the Palestine and Israel conflict. Through rigorous dialogue and discussions people from all sides of the conflict shared their visions of viable solutions and commitments toward education that have the potential to bring about a just peace for all people of the region. To reach deep into the varied points of view of these individuals, I conducted a study that examined the perspectives of 12 participants from the group of approximately 200 who attended the International Conference on Peace and Democracy Education. Using a critical, qualitative methodology this dissertation project explores the commonalities and differences between educators' visions of a "culture of peace." I examine how Internationals, Palestinians, and Israelis interested in developing and articulating a "culture of peace" understand their work within the broader context of the conflict and how their work provides an alternative to a "culture of war" paradigm. Through analysis of the data, I constructed a narrative of the participants' perspectives on a "culture of peace" within the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The participants' stories and experiences work as a counter-narrative to the "culture of war" ideology that dominates the public's understanding of the conflict.

This "culture of peace" paradigm operates in opposition to the broader parameters of a global "culture of war". It resists a "culture of war" and works to establish alternative peaceful visions, networks, and practices with people on the ground that are deeply affected by the ongoing conflict. It is therefore important to start with a description and analysis of a dominating "culture of war", how it works on a global scale and how it influences the particular aspects of the continuing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I will then discuss the nature of a "culture of peace."

The "Culture of War"

The idea of a "culture of war" is important for understanding the context of my dissertation research. Global feminists such as Reardon (2001) argue that a "culture of peace" will be impossible to construct and implement if we do not clearly understand the dominant ideology against which it must be articulated. The dominant or "master narrative" of globalization and global economic development is the "culture of war" (Hardt & Negri, 2005). The "culture of war" consists of concrete practices that are supported and validated by a system of ideologies and discourses. Galtung (1973) first theorized about this form of structural violence. According to Galtung, the construct of structural violence illuminates society's inequalities and injustices that are built into the institutionalized functioning of society.

The most obvious concrete practice is war itself. War is a constant and persistent feature of the modern global system. In 2009, there were dozens of conflicts worldwide. However, this does not include the more amorphous "war on terror" or the decade's long "war on drugs" waged by the government of the United States. War keeps the global system

in a constant state of conflict and tension (Hardt & Negri, 1999). Supporting and bolstering the actual wars is the global arms trade. The global arms trade is a multi-billion dollar business that fuels conflicts around the world. Combine this with the general manufacture of arms conducted by most countries and the economic results rise to the trillions. It is a massive globally structured economic system in which many countries, especially the United States, take in huge profits.

Such a system requires constant justification. As a global system, the culture of war is validated by a network of ideologies and discourses that construct it as "natural" and "necessary," and even moral. It is a patriarchal and hegemonic system that makes it possible to readily construct others as dangerous and as the enemy. The culture of war, in a very real sense, makes global inequality and economic exploitation possible.

The culture of war, in both its concrete practices and ideological formulations, fuels the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The United States provides billions of dollars of aid to Israel each year (McArthur, 2008). Much of this aid is either in the form of direct military supplies or money to purchase military goods and services from the United States. This aid allows for Israel to maintain military control of the West Bank and a blockade of Gaza, which I refer to as the "Occupation of Palestine." The Occupation is only possible because of this aid and represents one of the major stumbling blocks to achieving peace.

The "Culture of Peace"

In contrast to a culture of war, a "culture of peace" is fundamentally a grassroots movement that resists the structural domination of a culture of war. Galtung (1973) distinguished between positive and negative peace, with the former denoting collaboration,

integration, and cooperation, and the latter denoting the absence of physical and direct

violence between groups (Galtung, 1973). From this perspective we can see that peace,

therefore, encompasses more than the lack of war, aggression and violence and entails the

end of all oppression and inequality. Brock-Utne (1985) offers a further definition of peace.

She states the following:

> By *peace* we mean the absence of violence in any given society; both internal and
>
> external, direct and indirect. We further mean the nonviolent results of equality of
>
> rights, by which every member of that society, through nonviolent means,
>
> participates equally in decisional power, which regulates it, and the distribution of
>
> the resources, which sustain it. (p. 2)

The United Nations also contributes a definition of peace which adds to the understanding

of a culture of peace. This definition is inclusive of a global community and emphasizes the

sharing of resources. The UN states:

> Peace cannot consist solely on the absence of armed conflict but implies principally
>
> a process of progress, justice and mutual respect among the peoples designed to
>
> secure the building of an international society in which everyone can find his true
>
> place and enjoy his share of the world's intellectual and material resources.
>
> (UNESCO, 1977, Resolution 11.1)

Peace Education

Educators play a central role in transforming society from a culture of war to a

culture of peace. Education is the optimal place for the seeds of this transformation to take

root. Through education, society imparts values, attitudes, and dispositions for civic

society. In addition, education allows critical questions to be discussed and debated; students can gain democratic and participatory skills to take social action against injustice. This dissertation project focuses on one specific area of the world that has seen decades of on-going death and destruction and examines the framework of transformation that educators and activists view as necessary for a "culture of peace" to prevail.

Many educators are working in this conflicted arena to bring about awareness and education for peace and reconciliation. Local efforts by Palestinians and Israelis have focused on trying to bring members of the two groups together to discuss options for peaceful resolutions and reconciliation (e.g. programs such as the Compassionate Listening Project, Middle East Diplomacy, and Building Bridges). International groups have focused on educating the global population about the daily experiences of both Palestinians and Israelis living in conflict and in a constant state of fear. Some educators (for example, those from Windows-Channel for Communication) in Israel have combined efforts with Arab teachers to help students generate written and oral narratives to legitimize the histories of both groups who have differing opinions on the history of the conflict and the continued resistance to Occupation. These educators, who have taken on the commitment to establish dialogue between opposing groups, are steadfast in their desire to create a world where people understand the injustices suffered on all sides. They are creating action at the grassroots level to work beyond the scope of the culture of war and empower new possibilities of cooperation, reconciliation, dialogue and listening.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study is informed by global feminism which I discuss in more depth in Chapter 3. In addition, I incorporate ideas from postcolonial and postmodern studies to provide a lens through which the global feminist theoretical framework can be used to analyze the cultural predominance of ideology, power, and hegemony across the globe. Each of these philosophical movements— feminism, postcolonialism, and postmodernism—inform the global feminist framework as it relates to relationships of economy and ideology.

The global feminist framework critiques global capitalism, militarism and human rights abuses around the world. From this perspective, oppressive relationships and structures are challenged. This framework offers a powerful platform in the process of trying to articulate what is being witnessed in the transformation from a culture of war to a culture of peace. It is within this framework that a culture of peace can be envisioned, articulated, and actualized.

My intention for this project is to explore the issues of social justice, human rights, peace and a culture of peace. Currently, the discourse regarding the conflict between Israel and Palestine does not accurately reflect the truth as it is experienced on the ground and has focused primarily on specific acts of terrorism in the area. The conceptual framework constructed for this study brings forth narratives to counteract the current media representations of people within the conflicted area. I believe that the voices of those working on peaceful resolutions to the conflict have been marginalized and disenfranchised so as to maintain a culture of war. Giroux (1991) discusses the possibilities

of critical postmodernism that argues for a plurality of voices and narratives. He argues "for narratives of difference that recognize their own partiality and present the unrepresentable; those submerged and dangerous memories that provide a challenge to the white supremacist logics and recover the legacies of historically specific struggles against racism" (p. 464).

For my research, I tried to enmesh my participants' stories within the particular configurations of space, place, time, and power (Giroux, 1991). This allows me to locate the discourse within history, ideology, and the social constructions that influence the current situation. It also provides "the referents for both interrogating the notion of history as tradition and for redrawing and rewriting how individual and collective experience might be struggled over, understood, felt, and shaped" (Giroux, 1991, p. 464). A key component explored within my research is how the experience of marginality at the level of everyday life lends itself to forms of oppositional and transformative consciousness (Giroux, 1991). Although I represented all the participants from their varied perspectives and positions, I was particularly interested in the power differential between Israelis and Palestinians, and between Internationals and Palestinians. Within the geopolitical and historical boundaries of the Occupied Palestinian Territories there exists a huge discrepancy as to whose knowledge is represented and whose ideology governs the structures that affect everyday experience. This research focuses on how those designated as "others" reclaim and remake their histories, voices, and visions to become part of a democratic political community.

Purpose of the Study

     As an educator who advocates for social justice, my purpose for this dissertation is to examine how a "culture of peace" in the Middle East is understood from the perspective of peace advocates. I was also interested in how advocates envisioned an end to the conflict and how they believed a culture of peace must be developed. To understand how to transform a culture of war to a culture of peace, I focus this research project on Palestinian, Israeli, and International peace educators and activists who work within the conflict between Palestine and Israel.

     I researched participants' understanding of a peace culture and how peace educators and activists define and implement their work. I was particularly interested in the varying positionalities of the participants, defined broadly as Palestinian, Israeli or International, and how their positionality frames their constructions of a culture of peace. This dissertation is intended to provide a vision for peace based on the experiences and narratives of peace educators and activists working to end the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians.

     For this study, I interviewed four Palestinians, four Israelis, and four Internationals who have been working on peace education efforts in Israel or Palestine. I examined their organizations' websites and publications and observed their presentations at an international conference. By exploring various local and international perspectives, I analyzed the cultural differences and similarities among the groups and how they construct their vision and concept of peace. Each individual has different political and educational projects, as well as varying visions for peace and coexistence within Israel and the

Occupied Palestinian Territories. Particularly important to this study was the ways in which the participants envision the possibilities of peace to manifest within a zone of ongoing conflict. This research is particularly important for the development of peace education research that focuses on how educators work with local populations on conflict resolution, nonviolent activism, and reconciliation. The research provides insights into the organization and development of grassroots movements and how they contribute to local action and empowerment for marginalized voices. These local actions are developed through the common understandings of how educators influence a movement towards a global culture of peace.

The specific questions this research intends to answer are:

- What would a "culture of peace" look like to educators working in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories?

- How do educators working in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories define peace and construct peace as a concept?

- How do their various positionalities affect these constructions?

- How do the educators/participants believe peace education makes a difference?

Within the interviews with the Israeli, Palestinian and international educators, I explored the participants' perceptions regarding the role of education in the process of peace building, their understandings of the relationship between peace and democracy, their visions for how their work impacts the peace process, and how they construct their identities and the identities of others engaged in the process of building peace in the

region. I also sought to understand how the participants view themselves as actors within an area of conflict.

Chapter Organization

In Chapter 2, I will discuss the historical and current context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and provide an overview of the Occupation of Palestine. The frameworks presented in this chapter are important to my data collection methods and the discussion of the research data. Of particular importance is the focus on how dominating narratives are constructed and how they influence peace workers.

In Chapter 3, I define and discuss my conceptual framework. My conceptual framework is global feminism as it is informed by earlier incarnations of feminist thought, postcolonialism, and postmodernism. I chose these theoretical perspectives as the basis of my research because they helped frame a compassionate and critical examination of how relationships of power, especially the Occupation of Palestine, create oppressive experiences for the Palestinians and limit their self-determination. This critical framework also allows me to examine some of the taken-for-granted notions of the conflict and what it means on a global scale.

In Chapter 4, I describe my research methodology. The research was conducted using qualitative research methods that employ two conceptual frameworks, an advocacy approach (Lather, 1992) and critical ethnography (Madison, 2005; Thomas, 1993). These conceptual frameworks are consistent with my theoretical framework and allow me to explore the conflict and efforts to achieve peaceful solutions as cultural, political and ideological formations.

In Chapter 5, I present the descriptions of the participants and give an overview of their work. Within the descriptions, I discuss the primary mission of each organization the peace educator works for or with and give details about the work that is implemented. Several of the participants are the founders of non-profit organizations that conduct peace education and peace-building activities. Others work for organizations that conduct peace education activities.

In Chapter 6, I discuss the barriers that impede the peace education efforts of the participants in the study. I discuss several of the obstacles as they relate to the Palestinian and Israeli participants because their narratives revealed the daily experience of physical, ideological and political barriers. Each of the barriers is discussed in detail and is supported by evidence from the data. In addition to exploring the barriers to peace, I discuss the components of peace education as enacted by the participants. I introduce the overarching pillars of peace education activities and goals that participants see as central to the construction of peace and a culture of peace.

CHAPTER TWO: SETTING THE CONTEXT

The historical, geopolitical and ideological context of the Israeli Palestinian conflict is vital to understanding the genesis, conduct and ultimate meaning of my research. While my dissertation examines notions of peace, it is the nature of this particular conflict that makes a certain notion of peace possible and desirable. The historical, geopolitical and ideological character of the conflict can be written in many ways. In fact, the narratives of the conflict as constructed by Israelis, Palestinians and the international community are quite different, and it is important to name the location from which the narrative is constructed. In my discussion I take a particular position that is defined by my commitment to peace, and the historic fact of Palestine's prior existence are often omitted from the discourse on Palestinian independence and the establishment of a Palestinian statehood.

To understand the geopolitical landscape of the area of Palestine and Israel, it is important to know the history of the region and the peoples who lay claim to the area. The Palestinian narrative has been relatively unacknowledged and unknown in the Western discourse (Said, 1989). Instead we often hear about how the Jewish people made the desert bloom, or how the region was a "land without a people and a people without a land." The making of the Jewish state of Israel is, for the Jewish people, the story of gaining independence: a narrative of progress, expansion, and growth. But for the Palestinians, it is a story of dispossession from their land and unacknowledged human rights violations.

Scientist, writer and historian Qumsiyeh (2004) explains, "Myths prevent what many now know is the fitting solution to this man-made catastrophe that is sometimes referred to as the 'Middle East situation'" (p. 3). The evolution of these civilizations and

their relationships to each other and to outside forces reveal that many perspectives currently expressed for political purposes have no basis in fact (Qumsiyeh, 2004). One can critically analyze the historical perspectives of the conflicting sides by exploring the narrative that acknowledges each side's perspectives. It is important to acknowledge these oppositional narratives as constructing the conflict and perpetuating the on-going struggle for the same land.

Oppositional Historical Narratives

The claim to the land of Israel and Palestine goes back many centuries and has been traced through religious texts and archeological evidence. The three monotheistic religions all claim spiritual connections and religious significance to the region. Many important religious sites are enmeshed within the conflicts of the area. Primary prophets, messiahs, and stories link the area to each religion's significant philosophies, beliefs and values.

Qumsiyeh (2004) demonstrates in his book that the land of Canaan, which today is the region of Israel, Gaza and West Bank, was and is inhabited by Canaanitic people: A loose collection of peoples who lived in the region as long ago as 3000 BCE, founding the cities of Jericho and Jerusalem.   Jericho is the oldest continuously inhabited city in the world (Said, 1989, p. 235), with some intermingling with other groups. He states, "These Semitic-speaking people continued to live, collaborate and prosper in this area as pluralistic multiethnic and multi-religious communities with much less violence than many books and publications suggest" (p. 16). He clearly illustrates how many groups of people lay claim to the region and each has a legitimate claim to the historical importance of the region according to their religion and culture.

In the land of Canaan, the Philistines lived around Gaza and Ashkelon, the Jebusites around Jerusalem, the Hebrews around Hebron and Nablus, the Nabateans in northern Saudi Arabia, southern Jordan and southern Palestine, and the Phoenicians in the north around Galilee, Mount Carmel, and into Lebanon. These groups mostly traded and collaborated, and as a result their histories are intertwined (Rust, 1992). Many people lived in or ruled Palestine from 2500-711 BCE. The predominantly Aramaic- and Hebrew-speaking Canaanitic population of Palestine had become predominantly Christian by the fifth century and predominately Muslim by the eighth century, but remained ethnically largely western Canaanitic (Qumsiyeh, 2004, p. 14).

Palestinian historical perspectives. The history of the Palestinians originated in the southern part of the land of Canaan, and present day Palestinians claim descent from the Canaanites. For 2,000 years the southern part of Canaan was called Palestine (Qumsiyeh, 2004). The West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Israel are all part of what was once called Palestine, where Palestinians have lived for thousands of years. The people in the area adapted to new rulers, new political structures and new or modified religious beliefs. Qumsiyeh explains that these people, known to the world as Palestinians, "absorbed various religions and philosophies and periodically switched their allegiances to survive an ever-changing world" (p. 15). Said (1992) explains the history in this way:

Palestine became a predominately Arab and Islamic country by the end of the seventh century. Almost immediately thereafter its boundaries and its characteristics – including its name in Arabic, Filastin – became known to the entire Islamic world, as much for its fertility and beauty as for its religious significance. . .In

1516, Palestine became a province of the Ottoman Empire, but this made it no less

fertile, no less Arab or Islamic. (p. 10-11)

This area, referred to as the Fertile Crest, had an abundance of food resources and a

good climate that helped reduce tensions and inter-tribal conflicts. Archeological studies of

the area provide evidence that the Canaanite civilization was prosperous and relatively

peaceful while coexisting with neighboring civilizations (Rast, 1992).

This area of Palestine was referred to as the most fertile of the Syrian provinces

(Said, p. 236). In 1615, the English poet Sandys spoke of it as a land that "flowed with milk

and honey. . . and no part empty of delight or profit" (Said, p. 236). During this time, the

Ottoman Empire controlled the area with the majority of residents claiming Arab identity

and Muslim or Christian religious affiliations. The population of Jews in the Palestinian area

was very small. It was not until the early 1900's that large numbers of Jewish people began

immigrating to the area of Palestine.

Jewish historical perspectives. Although many people believe that the Arab-Israeli

conflict has been going on for centuries, this is not the case. Goldschmidt (2002) writes in *A*

Concise History of the Middle East that, "such arguments as these have come up so often

during our own times that we naturally think they always did. This is not true. Although

Jews and Arabs have claims to Palestine going back hundreds of years, the real contest was

just starting when World War I broke out" (p. 258). The conflict was due to the rise of

nationalism in modern times (Goldschmidt, 2002). Political Zionism was a contributing

factor to the rise of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Goldschmidt explains,

Zionism is the belief that the Jews constitute a nation (or to use a less loaded term, a

people) and that they deserve the liberties of other such groups, including the right

to return to what they consider their ancestral homeland, the land of Israel (or

Palestine). Political Zionism is the belief that the Jews should establish and maintain

a state for themselves there. (p. 259)

In the 19th century, with the rise of nationalism, Alkalai, a native of Sarajevo, wrote

a book in which he advanced the idea that the Jews should return to the "Holy Land" and

rebuild it by their own efforts (Lewis, 1995). During this time period, the majority of Jews

lived in Eastern Europe. Nationalist desires were gaining prominence in Eastern European

areas and the Jewish people were viewed as enemies. Rumors circulated that Jews had

been responsible for the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in Russia and anti-Jewish

violence ensued (Klier & Lamroza, 2004). The more disturbing outcome of this nationalist

anger and scapegoating were pogroms (organized attacks) committed against Jewish

communities (Weinburg, 1993). Some rulers also tried to deflect nationalist anger directed

at them by using the Jews as scapegoats stirring up pogroms against Jewish ghettos and

villages (Goldschmidt, p. 261). These persecutions encouraged Jews to look for ways to

immigrate to Palestine to live and seek refuge. In the late 1800's, Russian Jews were

inspired to form Zionist clubs and eventually sent the first Jewish immigrants to Palestine

for "Aliyah," the term used for going to Jerusalem. These earliest Jewish settlers did not

exceed 20,000 and the vast majority spoke Arabic (Goldschmidt, 2002).

In 1896, Theodor Herzl, a Jewish journalist living in Vienna, wrote *Der Jedenstaat*

(The Jews' State), which was a plea for political Zionism (Goldschmidt, 2002). This book

spread to thousands of Jews and led some to convert to Zionism. One political outcome

was the first International Zionist Congress in Switzerland in 1897. The conference

concluded with resolutions that initiated the goal of establishing a home in Palestine for the

Jewish people. Peretz (1996) explains that the "Jews in the Diaspora were largely unaware

of the situation in Palestine. Like Herzl, many perceived it as 'a land without a people

awaiting a people without a land' (p. 10). Ahad Ha'am, an early Zionist writer, observed in

1891 that

> we abroad have a way of thinking that Palestine today is almost desert, uncultivated
>
> wilderness, and that anyone who wishes to buy land there can do so to his heart's
>
> content. But that is not in fact the case. It is difficult to find any uncultivated land
>
> anywhere in the country. . . We abroad have a way of thinking that the Arabs are all
>
> savages, on a level with the animals. The Arabs, especially the townsmen, see
>
> through our activities in their country, and our aims, but they keep silence and make
>
> no sign, because for the present they anticipate no danger to their own future from
>
> what we are about. But if the time should ever come when our people have so far
>
> developed their life in Palestine that the indigenous population should feel more or
>
> less cramped, then they will not readily make way for us. (Peretz, 1996, p. 10)

Although the area always maintained an Arab majority, the influx of Jewish colonists

eventually disrupted the way of life for the Palestinians living on the land. By the early

1900s, Zionism had become a reality and thousands of Jews were immigrating to Palestine.

Colonial British powers saw their interest reflected in the early Zionist vision of

establishing a Jewish colonial settler state in the area of Palestine (Rodinson, 1973). For

Britain, the establishment of a Jewish homeland in the area provided an ally to deter

obstacles coming out of Egypt and the Ottoman Empire. Britain wanted secure passageway

for trade routes through the Levant. For Zionists, who conceived of a national liberation

movement, they pursued their plan by allying themselves with the colonial occupying

powers. "Zionists were essentially asking to take over the occupation from the Turks and

then the British" (Nakba, 2008). These economic and political relationships fostered a

conflict of interest in the area and created opposition from the Arabs who made up the

majority of the population during this time. After World War I, the British took over control

of the Palestinian region from the Ottoman Empire. In reaction to this, a Palestinian

identity was created that opposed the British rule and Jewish colonization (Said, 1989).

In 1917, when the British occupied the area of Palestine, England's Lord Balfour

wrote a letter stating , "His Majesty's Government viewed with favor the establishment in

Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people" (Lewis, 1995, p. 348). Balfour himself

said,

> We deliberately and rightly decline to accept the principal of self-determination for
>
> the present inhabitants of Palestine, because the question of Jews outside Palestine
>
> is one of world importance and Zionism was rooted in age-long traditions, in
>
> present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and
>
> prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land. (Finkelstein,
>
> 2005, p. 9)

After Balfour's declaration, large numbers of Jewish people fled Europe and other

countries where they faced discrimination and persecution. This influx of immigrants led

to tensions between the cultural factions of Arab Palestinians and recent Jewish immigrants.

Increasing Tensions between Jews and Arabs

During the British rule (1917-1948) the influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine expanded even though Palestinian organizations called for limiting the quota of Jewish immigrants (La Guardia, 2003, p. 16). Tensions continued to build between the new Eastern European Jewish immigrants and the Palestinian residents. The persecution of Jews by the Nazis in Germany was the driving force of Jewish migration to Palestine and the subsequent strengthening of the Jewish community (Lewis, 1995). The massive influx of Jewish people into the Palestinian area put a huge strain on land claims, which began to force Palestinians off their land. According to statistics, in 1931 the Jewish population was 174,606 and the Arab population was 1,033,314. By 1946 the Jewish numbers had gone up to 608,225 compared to a total of 1,913,112 Arabs (Said, 1989). These numbers represent a 250 percent increase of Jewish people over a 15 year time period.

The massive changes in population distribution increased the tensions between Jews and Arabs in the region and, as Jewish organizations with nationalist desires planned for and actively worked towards the formation of statehood, the Palestinians vied for governance and self-determination (Said, 1989). The Jewish and Palestinian populations clashed over their desires for statehood. Violence erupted between the two conflicting parties. Britain could not maintain control of either population as the violent clashes increased. Both groups had aspirations for an independent and autonomous state. One compromise that came from the Palestinians included a proposal for a Palestinian state

where Jews would have equality. In opposition to this plan, Jewish officials wanted a Jewish-only state, which was the original intention of political Zionism.

The Zionist plan to transform Palestine into Eretz Yisrael (the Whole Land of Israel) required the destruction of Palestine and the removal of Arabs from the area. Said (1989) refers to R. Weitz, the head of the Jewish Agency's colonization department for many years, who said:

> Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this county…there is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to neighboring countries, to transfer all of them: Not one village, not one tribe, should be left. (p. 239)

Further, Said acknowledges similar ideas presented by Abu-Lughod as he writes of the dismantlement of Palestinian society:

> Except for the extermination of the Tasmanians, modern history knows no cases in which the virtually complete supplanting of the indigenous population of a country by an alien stock has been achieved in as little as two generations. Yet this, in fact, is what has been attempted in Palestine since the beginning of the twentieth century. (p. 237, in Said 1989)

Abu-Lughod warns against the danger of forgetting the relatively recent destruction of Palestine:

> "Our natural tendency to assume that what exists today has always been may afford us psychic peace but only at the terrible cost of denying reality. And once historical

reality has been denied, our capacity to understand and react meaningfully to the

present is similarly destroyed. (p. 238, quoted in Said, 1989)

Palestinian Arabs resisted the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine

by non-violent civil disobedience and with armed revolt. They were forcibly suppressed by

the British military and by increasingly well-armed Jewish militias (Nakba, 2008).

United Nations Partition Plan 1947

On November 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly, under heavy pressure

from the United States government, adopted Resolution 181. The Resolution recommended

dividing Palestine into two states: one Palestinian and one Jewish. This plan was intended

to help resolve the major dilemma of persecutions of Jews in Europe and provide relief for

the Jews who survived the Holocaust. The partition plan also intended to end the conflict

between those with a Zionist agenda who clearly wanted to establish a Jewish homeland in

Palestine and the competing ambitions of the existing Arab majority. The UN Partition Plan

established a framework to divide the land between Arabs and Jews and set boundaries for

each. Although Jews constituted only 33 percent of the total population, and owned 6.59

percent of the land, the U.N. Resolution allocated 54 percent of the territory to the Jewish

state (Nakba, 2008).

Palestinians did not accept the partition of their homeland and continued to demand

independence. Britain had a difficult time enforcing peace within the area as tensions grew.

As British government officials lost control of the situation, they made plans to pull out of

the region and eventually did so late in 1947. With the absence of a controlling power, well-

armed and trained Jewish paramilitary groups began forcing their way into many

Palestinian towns and villages; killing occupants, and taking over the governing bodies.

Many Palestinians fled from their homes to escape the violence and maintain safety for

their families. After being forced off their land, many Palestinians took refuge in towns in

neighboring countries waiting for a safe return to their homes, businesses, and

communities.

By May 1948, Zionist forces had captured substantial portions of Palestine outside

the U.N. defined Jewish state, and at least 200,000 Palestinians had been expelled from

their homes, located in what became Israel (Pappe, 2007). On May 14, 1948, Britain

officially declared the end of the British Mandate rule in Palestine and, that same day,

Zionist leaders declared the State of Israel. The U.S. government recognized the new state

within hours. Fighting continued until armistice agreements were signed in January 1949.

The new state of Israel was comprised of 75 percent of Palestine, with Jordan taking

control of the West Bank and Egypt taking control of Gaza (Peretz, 1996, p. 43). This was an

increase from the U.N. Partition Plan that had originally allocated 54 percent of Palestine to

the Jews (Hiro, 1999).

Establishing the Jewish state of Israel required the removal or transfer of

Palestinians from the land to maintain a false consciousness that the region naturally and

only belonged to Jews. Said (1989) suggests that the Zionists in Israel followed the pattern

of earlier colonizers. He explains that the terrible struggle was over the same territory, in

which one group, bent beneath a horrific past of systematic persecution and extermination,

was in the position as oppressor of the other group. For many Jewish Israelis, their

takeover of the land has been celebrated and exalted. In general, Jewish people found that

the land of Israel gave them a sense of belonging and connection to the place and significant religious sites, which had been lacking in their previous places of residence. For many Jewish people immigrating to the land of Israel represented "the return to their homeland" (Chomsky, 1983, p. 89). In contrast, the Arab population of Palestine objected to both the British occupiers and the immigrant Jews, and did not understand why they should have to pay the price for the barbarism in Europe that peaked with the horrors of the Nazis and sealed the fate of Palestine (Grange, 2002, p. 2).

The Nakba

Although the establishment of Israel as an independent sovereign state in 1948 is viewed as a day of independence by Israelis and Jews around the world, it remains an on-going tragedy for the millions of Palestinians who were exiled off their land and await the day for the "Right of Return." The Right of Return is a political position that asserts Palestinian refugees have the right to return to the property they were forced to leave in 1948 when Israel declared statehood.

1948 marks the beginning of the Palestinian Diaspora. For Palestinians, this time period is called the "Nakba," which means "catastrophe." The Nakba remains a bone of contention for Palestinians living in the refugee camps and in the occupied territories. The stories of the Nakba are of horrible tragedies and devastation to the Palestinian population, which are clearly supported by the Israeli Defense Forces. During the Nakba, 530 towns and villages were depopulated by expulsion and massacres (Qumsiyeh, 2004, Said, 2001). The expelled inhabitants constituted 85 percent of the Palestinians in the land that became Israel. Between February and December of 1948, the Israeli army systematically occupied

the Palestinian villages and towns, forcefully expelled the population and, in most cases, also destroyed houses, looted residents' belongings and took their material and cultural possessions. Pappe (2006) asserts that a few thousand Palestinians in more than 30 villages were massacred by the Israeli forces during this period. More than 750,000 Palestinians became overnight refugees in neighboring Arab countries and in the geographic area of the West Bank and Gaza (Sabella, 1999; Qumsiyeh, 2004; Peretz, 1996).

Pappe (2006) argues that the international community was aware of the ethnic cleansing but chose not to confront the Jewish community in Palestine after the Holocaust. The result was a kind of conspiracy of silence, particularly by Western Countries. The international community's lack of a response ultimately signaled to the Israelis that they could adopt ethnic cleansing and ethnic purity as a state ideology (Pappe, 2006).

Ethnic cleansing was accomplished by erasing signs of the area's Palestinian past. Pappe explains, "A necessary part of any ethnic cleansing operation is not just wiping out the population but also wiping people out of history" (p. 27). Pappe continues, "For ethnic cleansing to be an effective and successful operation you also have to wipe people out of memory" (p. 27). Israelis tried to accomplish this in two ways. First, they built Jewish settlements over the Palestinian villages and renamed those places with Hebrew names which caused the current population to have no trace of a previous Palestinian presence. The second way they erased the memory of Palestinian residents was by planting trees over the ruins of the Palestinian villages. Pappe (2008) explains that these two operations are "very powerful tools for 'memorycide' for Israelis."

Today, some Israelis are working to expose this painful past. A group of Israeli citizens called Zochrot ["Remembering"] works to raise awareness of the Nakba. They believe that the heavy price paid by the Palestinians — in lives, in the destruction of hundreds of villages, and in the continuing plight of the Palestinian refugees — receives too little public recognition (http://www.nakbainhebrew.org/index.php?lang=english, retrieved July 22. 2009). Primary source documentations compiled by Zochrot indicate that Palestinian villages were completely destroyed within a week of the expulsions with no evidence of previous habitation. The villages were then planted over with pine trees and became recreational spaces and forests for Israelis. Zochrot works to make the history of the Nakba accessible to the Israeli public so as to engage Jews and Palestinians in an open recounting of the painful common history. According to Zochrot, "Acknowledging the past is the first step in taking responsibility for its consequences. This must include equal rights for all the peoples of this land, including the right of Palestinians to return to their homes." (http://www.nakbainhebrew.org/index.php?lang=english? Retrieved July 22, 2009).

The erasure from the memory of the Zionist narrative also plays out within the school and court system. Rarely do Israeli textbooks mention the Nakba when they recount the Independence of Israel. Current new rulings in Israel indicate that any commemoration of the Nakba by Palestinians living in Israel or the West Bank is illegal and violations are punishable with time in prison.

Dominant Zionist Narrative

In *Blaming the Victims,* Said (1989) discusses the ways that the story of the Zionists achievements in Israel is accepted by the rest of the world. He explains,

The people who speak the narrative represent a world the average Westerner

knows. Zionist history as incarnated in the narrative of modern Jewish

achievements in short is official, or semi official. Only a native or an alien terrorist

and trouble maker will feel uncomfortable with it. (p. 6)

This dominant Jewish narrative plays out within the current political discourse in

Israel and the United States. As Said (1989) explains, the Zionist narrative elicits an

empathetic response and the Palestinian narrative has been relatively unknown. The

Western media frames the conflict in particular ways that slant the knowledge about the

conflict. Often Palestinians are depicted as violent and the Israelis are represented as the

victims (Halper, 2009, Deadly Distortions, 2004). The dominant Zionist narrative

contributes to the continuation of oppression for Palestinians living in Israel, those in the

West Bank and Gaza, and for those living in the Palestinian Diaspora who are unable to

return to their land.

Adding fuel to the fire, Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni suggested that the

Palestinians in Israel should be transferred out of Israel because the state of Israel does not

provide for the needs of Palestinians. She stated in a public radio interview, "There is no

question of carrying out a transfer or forcing them [Israeli Arabs] to leave"

(http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7779087.stm). This type of discourse provides

a privilege to those who are Jewish and living in a nation that grants an exclusive right to

the Jewish people anywhere in the world. The "Law of Return" in Israel is a right that

allows any Jewish person to move to Israel and to be granted citizenship immediately. On

the other hand, Palestinians living in the Diaspora may not enter Israel and are rarely allowed back into the West Bank or Gaza.

Within Israel, many laws grant privilege to Jewish Israelis over Arab Israelis. Nathan (2005) and Carter (2006) compare these laws and the systems that support them to an apartheid system. This discourse of privilege and rights for Jews only is rarely criticized in Western media; many scholars have identified it as an apartheid system (Carter, 2006; Nathan, 2005; Halper, 2009).

The discussion of the importance of ending the Occupation of Palestine is rarely recognized in the United States and is highly criticized if it is discussed in the media. Carter's book *Peace Not Apartheid* (2006) discusses the political system and governmental policies toward Palestine, including the oppressive structures that dominate the Occupation of Palestine. Carter's book received severe criticism by many supporters of Israel for exposing this system of apartheid.

This lack of knowledge and understanding allows the United States citizens to continue supporting Israel and funding the government at a rate of $3 billion per year (http://www.wrmea.com/html/usaidtoisrael0001.htm). In addition, *The Washington Report of Middle Eastern Affairs* explains,

> Israel is allowed to place U.S. aid into its general fund, effectively eliminating any distinctions between types of aid. Therefore, U.S. tax-payers are helping to fund an illegal occupation, the expansion of colonial-settlement projects, and gross human rights violations against the Palestinian civilian population.
>
> (http://www.wrmea.com/html/usaidtoisrael0001.htm)

This historic and contemporary reality and the current narrative of Occupation are rarely acknowledged by the global media, which allows for the continuation of an oppressive Occupation of the Palestinian people. Chomsky (2003) explains: "The conqueror is a major armed power, acting with massive military, economic and diplomatic support from the global superpower. Its subjects are alone and defenseless, many barely surviving in miserable camps" (p. 32).

The Occupation of Palestine

The Occupation of Palestine has expanded since 1948. In 1967, Israel invaded the West Bank during the Six Day War and occupied Palestinian land for the stated purpose of security. The Occupation has now imposed a siege on Gaza, limiting all access for residents and placing restrictions on the importing of necessary resources and supplies for the Gaza citizens. In addition, the creation of Bantustans, which are isolated enclaves within the West Bank perpetuates human rights violations for Palestinians in the area. Israel is the target of at least 65 U.N. resolutions (Palestinians are the target of none) (ifamericansknew.org). Heff (2009) explains,

> The major themes reflected in the U.N resolutions against Israel are its unlawful attacks on its neighbors; it violations of the human rights of the Palestinians, including deportations, demolitions of homes and other collective punishments; its confiscation of Palestinian land; its establishment of illegal settlements; and its refusal to abide by the U.N. Charter and the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. (Deadly Distortions, 2004)

The U.S. government helps to fund this further expansion of Occupation. Said (1989) states:

> When the U.S Congress stipulates that because Israel is our ally and the only stable democracy in the Middle East, it goes on to fund Israel at increasing levels year after year; this in turn tightens the grip of the occupation, allows the Israeli government to create more illegal and deeply provocative settlements to be established on the Occupied Territories of the West Bank and Gaza, allows more Palestinian houses to be destroyed, more Palestinians to be jailed, killed or deported, allows more Palestinian land to be expropriated, and allows Israel to make Palestinian life more difficult, more unlivable. (Said, E & Hitchens, C, 1989, p. 3)

The Palestinians have been affected by years of war, violence, conflict, and discrimination within their country and other bordering Middle Eastern countries. Dominant political and military forces have tried to maintain control over Palestine by occupying the country, by enforcing political infrastructure and control, and by maintaining a separate and inferior educational system for Arab children.

Bennis (2007), a long time analyst of the region, explains that the occupation is "carried out primarily by Israeli military forces and Israeli settlers in the occupied territories, who are themselves armed by the Israeli military, and its victims include some Palestinian militants and a large majority of Palestinian civilians, including children" (p. 3). Because military occupation is itself illegal, all Israeli violence in the occupied territories stands in violation of international law—specifically the Geneva Conventions that identify

the obligation of an occupying power to protect the occupied population (Bennis, 2007). Bennis further explains,

> Palestinians in the territories live under Israeli military occupation. They are not citizens of Israel or any state, and have no rights of protest or redress. The occupation is a violent daily reality, in which Israeli soldiers, checkpoints, tanks, helicopter gunships, and F16 fighter jets control every aspect of Palestinian lives, and have recently brought social, family, and economic life to a virtual halt. (p. 3)

Occupation is a violent method of stripping any sense of human or civil rights for Palestinians. They do not control any of the important institutions or aspects of their daily lives. These are all controlled by the Israeli military.

Intifadas

Palestinians have had few means to resist the occupation of their lands and chose to leave for safety instead. It wasn't until the late 1980's that resistance to oppression began in larger numbers. The First Intifada started in 1987 as a popular uprising among Palestinian youth. In Arabic, the word intifada literally means to "throw off" or "shake off," but is also translated into English as "rebellion" or "uprising." It is often used as a term for popular resistance to oppression (Shulman, 2007). Intifadas have been popular uprisings of Palestinians against the Israeli occupying forces. Israelis describe these as terrorist attacks while Palestinians view them as popular resistance and freedom movements. It is clear, however, that the intifadas are responses to ongoing human rights abuses carried out in Palestine by Israeli forces.

The second Intifada began in September 2000 when Ariel Sharon and his military entourage entered the Al-Aqsa compound followed by a dispatch of massive and intimidating police and military presence (Chomsky, 2001). This lead to clashes of thousands of people and resulted in several Palestinian deaths and approximately 200 wounded (Usher, 2000). Following this uprising, the Israeli military, using superior weaponry, killed hundreds of Palestinians and imposed harsh collective punishment with a further entrenched Occupation (Chomsky, 2001). Chomsky asserts that because the United States did not condemn these atrocities and continues to support Israel through large military funding that it is misleading to use the phrase "Israel-Palestine conflict." He asserts, "It should be termed the "US/Israel-Palestine" conflict because of the ongoing direct U. S. support, tolerance, and evasion (p. 6).

Matrix of Control

Within this last section I discuss the current situation in the Occupied Territories as it relates to a culture of war that is maintained through a "Matrix of Control" that creates obstructions to peace. Halper (2009) refers to the "Matrix of Control" as:

> A maze of laws, military orders, planning procedures, limitations on movement, Kafkaesque bureaucracy, settlements and infrastructure (plus prolonged low-intensity warfare) that serves a critical function: it conceals the Occupation—necessary, since, again, Israel denies having one—and Israeli control behind a bland façade of "proper administration." (p. 48)

Halper compares this to the East Asian game of Go where "you win not by defeating but by immobilizing your opponent, by controlling key points on the matrix" (p. 48). The Matrix

operates on three inter locking levels. The first is by military control and military strikes, which includes overt military action such perpetrated in Gaza from December 2008 to January 2009 during which over 1300 Palestinians were killed, hundreds of thousands of people went without food, water, or medical care, over 4,000 homes were destroyed and 17,000 homes were left uninhabitable (OCHA, Jan 29, 2009; BBC, Jan. 19, 2009). This military control also includes mass arrests and administrative detention (Halper, 2009).

The second way the Matrix of Control operates is by "bureaucracy, planning and law as tools of occupation and control" (Halper, 2009, p. 54). This is carried out through orders issued by the military commanders of the West Bank and Gaza, by administrative measures which severely restrict Palestinian freedom of movement, and which induce emigration, by forced relocation, by discriminatory zoning and planning policies and by administrative restrictions that intrude into every corner of Palestinian life (Halper, 2009).

The third way that the Matrix of Control operates is by creating characteristics that make the overall situation more entrenched, or as Halper calls them "facts on the ground" that render the Israeli Occupation irreversible (Halper, 2009). This third function is most disturbing, because as Halper points out:

> No matter what changes occurred in the political situation—new geo-political
> constellations, new American administrations, even an Israeli government willing to
> relinquish land for peace—the settlement blocs had to be made so massive, the
> West Bank so completely incorporated into the fabric of Israel proper, that the
> Occupation would be immune to outside forces. (p. 49)

Below I will discuss each of these mechanisms as they relate to facts on the ground and I will illustrate these facts with visuals that document and explain with more detail the actual physical geo-political barriers.

Expropriation of Palestinian land. The first central fact on the ground is the massive expropriation of Palestinian land. The series of pictures below document the loss of Palestinian land from 1946 to 2007.
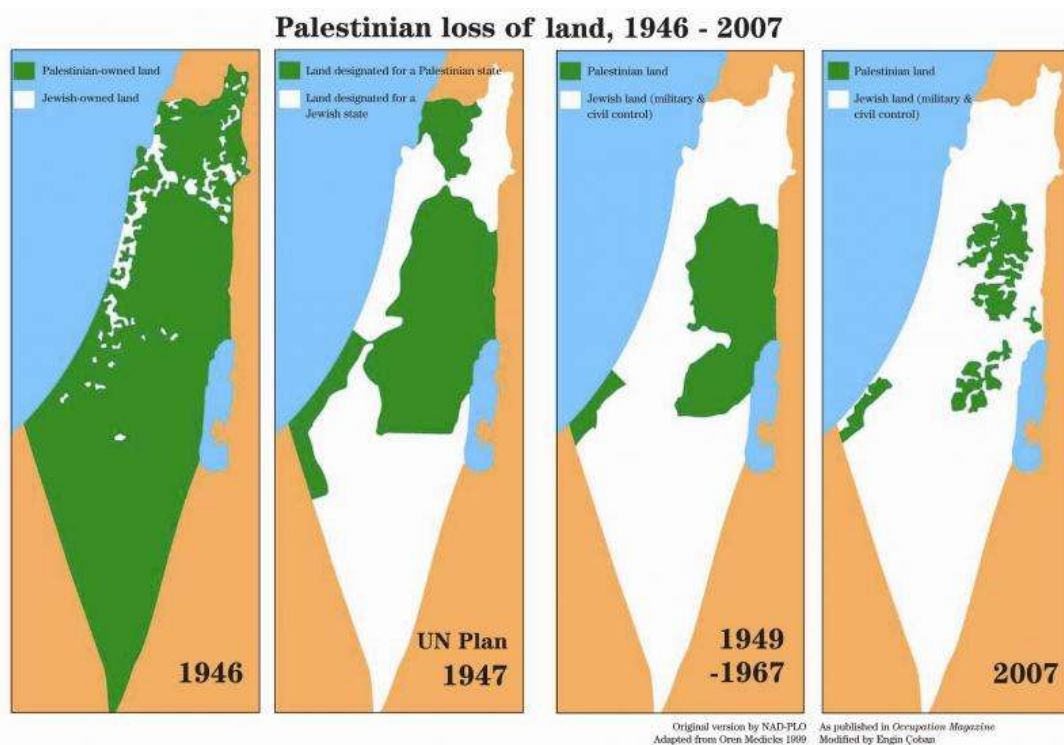
The map below illustrates how the Occupied Territories are carved into small, disconnected enclaves surrounded by Israeli military control. In 1993 the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) signed the Oslo Agreement that conceded 78 percent of historic Palestine and recognized Israel within the 1967 borders. By 1995 with the signing

of Oslo II, "the Occupied Territories, which had been coherent geographical areas and whose integrity Israel was bound to respect, were atomized into more than 70 enclaves" (Halper, 2009, p. 50). This map demonstrates how the continued Occupation controls most of the West Bank. Area A is under Palestinian control and administered by the Palestinian National Authority; area B is under joint Palestinian and Israeli control. The grey area is under full Israeli control (Passia, 1995)

Oslo II, 1995

0   20 km

PASSIA

Jenin
GANIM

Tulkarem

SHAVEI
SHOMRON

Nablus
ELON MOREH

Qalqilya

ALFEI
MENASHE

ARIEL

MA'ALE
EPHRAIM

RIMONIM

PSAGOT

Ramallah

GIV'AT
ZE'EV

Jericho

ISRAEL

MA'ALE
ADUMIM

Jerusalem

KALYA

Bethlehem

ETZION
BLOC

Green Line

KIRYAT ARBA

Hebron

Dead Sea

Area A - Palestinian cities

Area B - Palestinian villages

Area C - Israeli settlement,
military areas and state lands

▲ Main Israeli settlements

**Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs
(PASSIA)**

Illegal Jewish-Israeli settlements. A second fact is the building of illegal Jewish-Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Halper (2009) explains that more than 200 settlements have been constructed in the Occupied Territories. "According to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistices, about 470,000 Israelis have moved across the 1967 boundaries" (p. 50). The construction of the illegal settlements is one of the main contentions in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In addition to the large number of illegal settlements, there are also smaller outposts, which are smaller settlements that are occupied by radical Zionists and protected by the Israeli military. According to international humanitarian law, these are illegal.

All of the illegal settlements restrict Palestinians from entering. B'tselem (2005) indicates,

> There are an additional 100 or so unrecognized settlements, referred to in the media as "outposts." In most of the settlement land Israel forbids Palestinians to enter and use these lands and uses the settlements to justify numerous violations of Palestinian rights, such as the right to housing, to earn a living, and freedom of movement. (p. 9)

The map below illustrates the number of Jewish-Only settlements in the West Bank. The settlements are scattered throughout the West Bank and are often in close proximity to Palestinian areas. The friction between the two groups is exacerbated by the restrictions they place on Palestinian movement near these areas. Baltzer (2009) states, "The establishment of settlements in the West Bank violates international humanitarian law

which establishes principles that apply during war and occupation"

(annainthemiddleeast.com).

Jewish-Only Settlements in the West Bank

© Özhan Önder
Adapted from THE WEST BANK
BUILT-UP AREAS AND
LAND RESERVES
B'tselem - The Israeli Information Center
for Human Rights in
the Occupied Territories, May, 2002
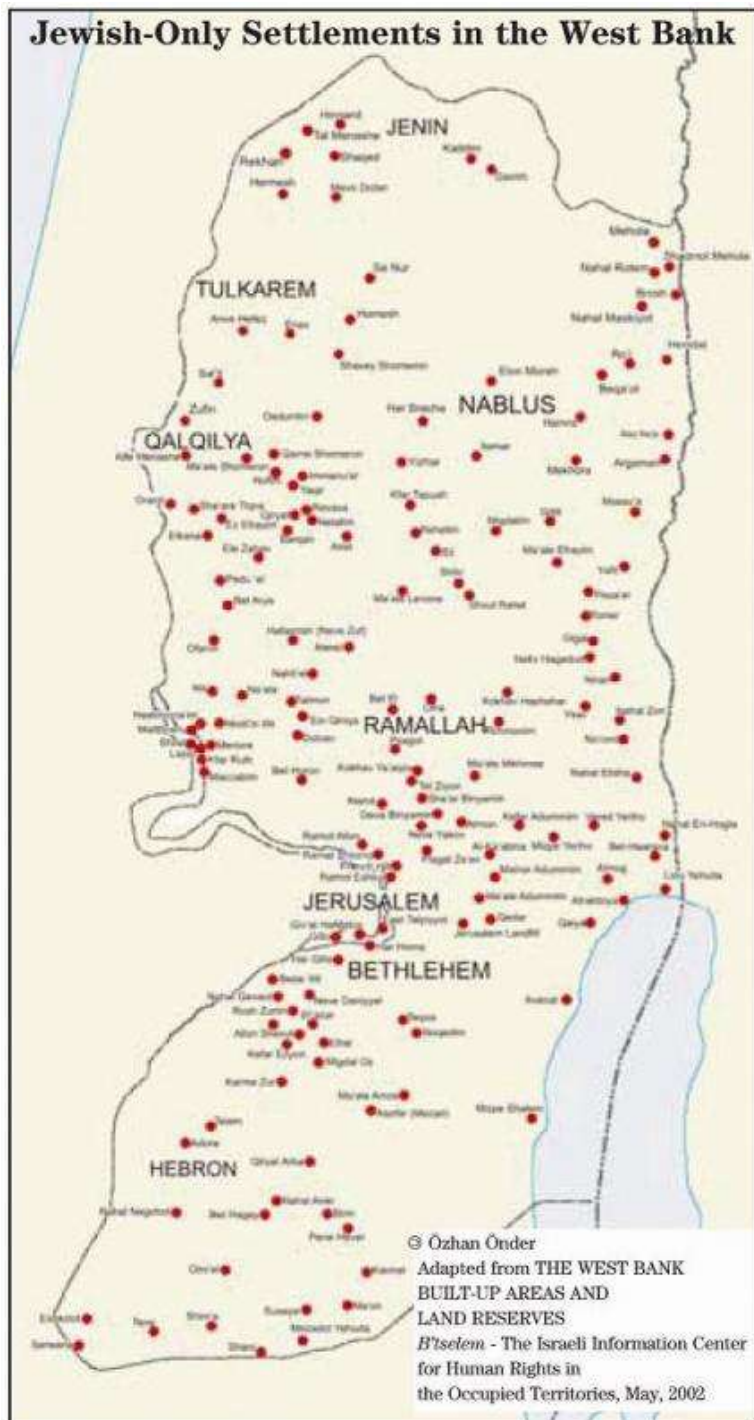
During the Oslo Process, Israel almost doubled the size and population of the settlements,

creating facts on the ground that may be irreversible. This land appropriation adds to the

difficult compromises during negotiations and the peace process because it establishes

major settlement blocks with hundreds of Jewish residents committed to staying in their

homes. Halper (2009) asserts that these illegal settlements do far more to damage the long-

term prospects for peace.

The second map (below) further illustrates Jewish settlement in the West Bank. This

map also illustrates how the large settlement blocks have surrounded Jerusalem and have

cut off Palestinians from entering these areas.
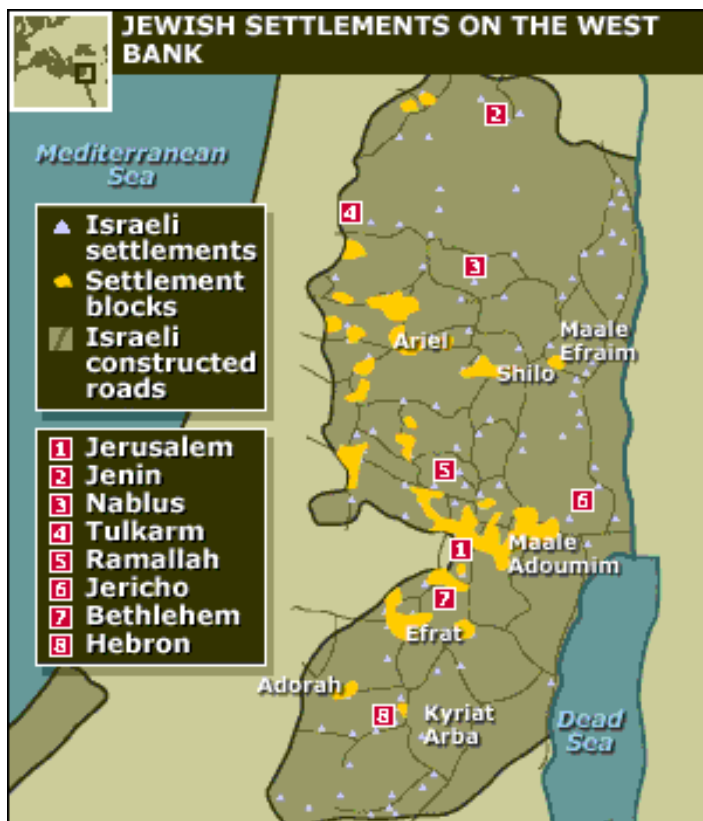
The photographs illustrate a typical Jewish-Only settlement in the West Bank. They are

usually surrounded by a wall and barbwire, and a gate at the entrance to the settlement (

http://www.map-uk.org/regions/opt/news/view/-/id/339/).

http://palestinethinktank.com/wp-
content/uploads/2008/07/forest-
settlement.jphttp://www.map-
uk.org/files/359_israeli_settlement.jpg

System of settler highways. A third factor on the ground is the massive system of

29 highways and bypass roads that have been constructed mostly during the Oslo peace

process (Halper, 2009). The map below serves as an illustration of the Israeli constructed

roads that link the illegal settlements together. The highways and by-pass roads create

movement for settlers in and out of Israel, but present barriers to Palestinian movement.

Palestinians and Jewish-Israelis have different colored license plates that distinguish their

identities. Palestinians may be pulled over if they are found driving on the Israeli roads. In

addition, the building of these roads has required the further confiscation of Palestinian

land, homes, and fields.

Projection of the West Bank Final Status Map presented
by Israel, Camp David, July 2000

Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs
(PASSIA)
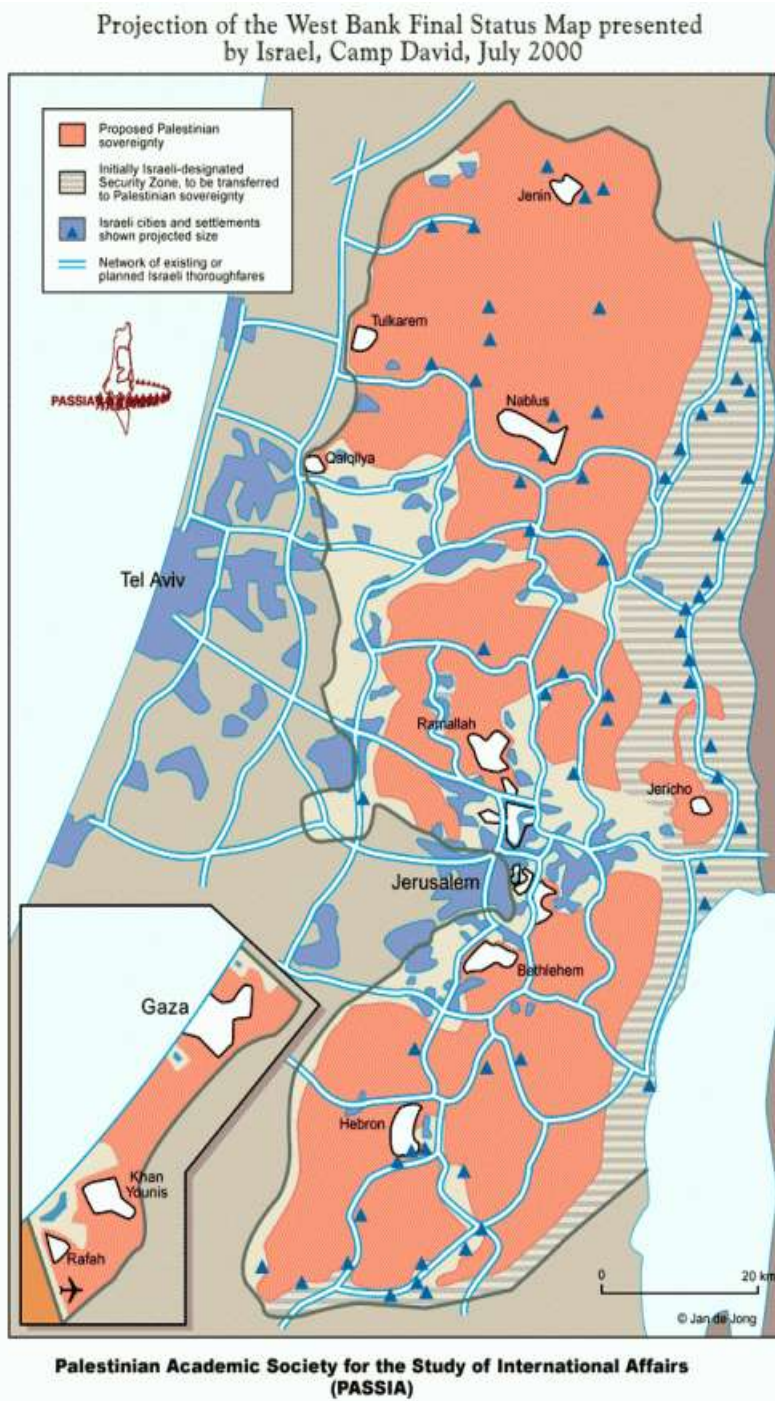
Checkpoints and closures. A fourth and significant factor affecting the everyday life of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories are the hundreds of checkpoints throughout the West Bank and Gaza. The closures restrict Palestinian workers from entering Israel and it impoverishes Palestinian society and infrastructure because people and goods cannot be moved through the checkpoints. Halper (2009) explains,

> The closure has many physical forms: permanent checkpoints and terminals, as well as hundreds of semi-permanent and spontaneous checkpoints—some 650 obstacles to movement both between Israel and the Occupied Territories and among and within the seventy enclaves. (p. 37)

Israeli checkpoints restrict the movement of Palestinians and delay any travel they attempt within the West Bank. Halper explains, "These closures prevent the development of a coherent Palestinian economy, wreaks havoc on family and community life, create constant points of friction and harassment, and precludes the rational planning of one's individual life" (p. 52).

CHECKPOINTS
WEST BANK

Checkpoints manned by Israeli soldiers or border police to control Palestinian movement

Adapted from the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction
Modified by Myriam Dousse

(Source: MIFTAH)

The map illustrates the many checkpoints that impede movement for Palestinians within

the West Bank. Balzer (2009) states, "Contrary to popular belief, the majority of the

checkpoints in the West Bank are not between the West Bank and internationally

recognized Israeli borders, but rather within the Palestinian West Bank, most of them

between Palestinian towns and villages (retrieved: http://www.annainthemiddleeast.com).
The pictures below are typical scenes at checkpoints. The long corridors of blockades and
barbwire funnel Palestinians into turn styles where they must show identification or
permission papers for travel. Most Palestinian cars are not allowed to pass into Israel, so
most travelers pass the checkpoints by foot. Surveillance cameras, soldiers, and guns are
the ever present experience of Palestinian men, women, and children.

Photo by Maisa Abu Ghazalah – IMEM News

Photo from AP Photo by MAJDI MOHAMMED

Photo by Saed Bannoura

Photograph by Rami Swidan/MaanImages

Israeli soldiers control the movement of Palestinians attempting to cross Huwara checkpoint near the West Bank city of Nablus, 29 April 2007.

The Separation Barrier/Wall. The Separation Barrier is the fifth main factor on the ground and is "one of the most dramatic developments in Israel's Matrix of Control" (Halper 2009, p. 51). Construction of the 30 foot high Separation Barrier began in June 2002 and is intended to separate Jewish and Palestinian populations. It extends more than 450 miles and is fortified by watchtowers, sniper posts, mine fields, a four meters deep ditch, barbed wire, security perimeters, and surveillance cameras. B'tselem asserts that the construction of the Barrier inside the West Bank will bring about "additional human rights violations affecting hundreds of thousands of local residents" (p. 9). The Barrier impedes the movement of Palestinians and has often separated them from their land, which is a primary source of income in the Palestinian communities. According to B'tselem, "It is reasonable to assume that, as in the case of the settlements, the Separation Barrier will become a permanent fact to support Israel's future claim to annex additional land" (p. 11).

Under international human rights law, the Separation Barrier violates rights set forth in conventions to which Israel is party. B'tselem states, "In setting the Barrier's route, Israeli officials almost totally ignored the severe infringement of Palestinian human rights." The Barrier violates the rights to freedom of movement and the right against invasion of privacy of home and family, the right to work, and the right to an adequate standard of living, health, and education. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) stated that Israel must cease construction of the Barrier, dismantle the parts of the Barrier that were built inside the West Bank, revoke the orders issued relating to its construction, and compensate the Palestinians who suffered losses as a result of the Barrier. The court also called on the

international community to refrain from assisting in maintaining the unlawful construction

of the Barrier (B'tselem, OCHA, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs).

The physical barriers that are described above factor into the discontent of the

Palestinians and Israelis who want to establish peace and reconciliation within the area.

These barriers not only impede movement but they restrict integration between the two

societies. As Halper (2009) pointed out, even if the peace process takes place on the

political level there is the reality of the Matrix of Control manifested through physical and

ideological apparatuses that do not allow for the separated populations to interact. These

apparatuses maintain the Occupation of Palestine and culture of war and impede

possiblities for peace.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will first discuss the culture of war as a form of global economic, cultural and ideological dominance that is supported by an arms trade and war system that perpetuates violence around the world. My discussion of a culture of war is constructed with a global feminist critique in mind. I will then transition to a discussion of global feminism as it is influenced by postcolonialism, postmodernism, and third wave feminism. This global feminist framework will guide my interpretations and analysis of peace education efforts in the region of Palestine and Israel and will shape the understanding of a paradigm for a culture of peace. At the end of the chapter I will transition to a discussion of peace as a concept and some of the dimensions of peace education as they relate to a global feminist agenda.

Culture of War

The global feminist critique examines the culture of war as the global intersection between patriarchy, masculinity, gender inequality and militarism. A tremendous amount of human loss results from the violence perpetuated by groups of people around the world. The loss of human life through war has been greater in the last century than at any other time on the planet. The *World Report on Violence and Health* published in 2002 estimated that 191 million lives were lost to violence in the twentieth century. War and conflict have been one of the largest contributing factors toward human deaths on the planet.

As wars persist among nations and between people we see that societies are plagued by various forms of political, economic, social, cultural, ecological, and gender

violence. These systems of violence form a global culture of which the war system is the structural core (Reardon, 2001). Reardon (2001) refers to the war system:

> The various institutions and processes that maintain military means to defend nations and peoples and achieve goals by force, if deemed necessary, comprise a war system. Authoritarian and competitive in nature, privileging the military over the civil sector of society and resource allocation, it places military readiness high on the list of political priorities. It perpetuates militarist values, a belief in the inevitability of violence and in the efficacy of coercive force. It is the institutional core of the culture of war and violence. (p. 38-39)

This culture of war and the war system is buoyed economically and ideologically by a massive global arms trade.

The global arms trade. More so than at virtually any other time in history, war, violence, injustice and exploitation have taken on a global scale. The war in Iraq, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the crisis in Darfur, the global war on terror, just to name a few, are not just conflicts situated in one place; they have acquired a global character and have an impact on all societies (Hardt & Negri, 2000). The causes, the people, and the countries involved in these crises and conflicts, and the media that cover them, have been linked through global networks and political structures. These structures are dominated by forces that perpetuate a culture of war and instill insecurity and fear of societies and cultures different than our own. A culture of war maintains an interactive network of ideologies, practices, and economic realities across the globe. This network is held together by two primary elements: the economic and the ideological.

Economically, the global arms trade creates a powerful economic infrastructure that subsumes and holds together the ideological components of a culture of war. The economic structure of the global arms trade is justified through a global ideological apparatus that is supported, justified, and perpetuated by global media (Brauer & Dunne, 2004). This framework helps define what is normal, possible, and achievable. The possibility and threat of war becomes the overarching framework for decision-making on a global scale (Hardt & Negri, 2005). The threat is supported and reinforced by military and weapon superiority and dominance. Moreover, the United States' economy benefits from the buildup of military arms and opposes any regulations on the arms trade. Chomsky (2009) reports that the U.S. is by far the world's major arms supplier. He states, "The recent New America Foundation report concludes that U.S. arms and military training played a role in 20 of the world's 27 major wars in 2007, earning the U.S. $23 billion in receipts, increasing to $32 billion in 2008" (retrieved: http://www.chomsky.info/articles/20090119.htm).

Global conflicts often support large weapon industries and form the crux of the military-industrial complex (Keller & Hakuta, 1995). Large numbers of people around the globe are economically dependent on supporting a global war system. As Chopra (2005) points out, "Right now there are 21.3 million soldiers serving in armies around the world" (p. 29). In addition to supporting military personnel, the countries around the world also spend more on military aid and weaponry than any other time in recorded history. "World arms expenditure totaled $1.464 trillion last year, a rise of 45 per cent from a decade ago." Compared with 2007, the figure rose by 4 per cent in," according to a report by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

The introduction of the idea of "the war on terrorism" has encouraged several countries to see their problems from a very militarized perspective, and this is used to justify high military spending," states Sam Perlo-Freeman, the main author of SIPRI's report on military expenditure. The economic infrastructure of a culture of war has never been so stable, profitable, and powerful. Within this culture of war, global conflicts must be ideologically justified. This is the role of a global media.

Global media. The international media helps perpetuate the myth that military spending needs to increase in order to protect the West from extremists from the East. In our contemporary framework, the culture of war is dominated economically and ideologically through the "Clash of Civilizations" (Huntington, 1996) that is constructed through the various conflicts between Islam and the West and the ongoing "war on terror" (Afghanistan, Iraq). Media coverage has given the impression to the citizens of Western countries that Islam is a "menace to the West" (Said, 1997, p. ii). The Western hegemonic power that is defined by the U.S. and its allies, supported by the mass domination of weaponry, functions to maintain a global, economic and political order favorable to United States' interests.

This portrayal of Islam and the Muslim world as a threat stems not only from its challenge to Christianity, but also from the fear of its "unbowed opposition to United States hegemony in the Middle East" (Said, 1997, p. 7). Said explains,

> Ever since the end of World War II, the United States has been taking positions of dominance and hegemony once held in the Islamic world by Britain and France. The U.S. went to war in 1991 to safeguard its economic interests in the Persian Gulf, and

it coordinates research and intelligence with Israel against Islamic militancy on the

occupied West Bank and Gaza strip (p. 27).

Because my research focuses on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it is important to

understand Israel's role in shaping the dominant narrative, since it is considered the

primary ally and partner of the U.S. in the region. Israel has had a role in mediating

Western views of the Islamic world and "Israel's security in American eyes has become

conveniently interchangeable with fending off Islam, perpetuating Western hegemony, and

demonstrating the virtues of modernization" (Said, 1997, p. 34). Said asserts, "Three sets of

illusions economically buttress and reproduce one another in the interests of shoring up

the Western self-image and promoting Western power over the Orient: the view of Islam,

the ideology of modernization, and the affirmations of Israel's general value to the West"

(p. 34). These geopolitical and economic factors influence the relationship the United States

has in supporting Israeli hegemony in the region and supporting the international media in

its coverage of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The lack of knowledge and power the general

public has in regards to the Middle East, Islam, or the Arab-Israeli conflict maintains the

continuation of a culture of war that goes on to support the "war on terror" and mass

military expenditures.

The articulation of knowledge within hegemonic systems of power defined by a

culture of war structures our knowledge of other societies, religions, and cultures and

allows us to make the "other" into our enemy. This encourages the dominant society to

justify the ongoing killing of people, occupation of land, and domination of one group over

another (Said, 1979). These mechanisms of destruction in the 21st Century have the

potential to cause lasting negative effects on cultures around the world or even obliterate life on the planet. Reardon (2001) explains,

> This system of vast military forces, ever-expanding supplies of weaponry, and constant readiness for combat is maintained by political and economic institutions and social attitudes that deem such a system necessary to national and international security. It perpetuates the use of violence for political and economic purposes, infecting our societies and distorting our cultures. (p. 20)

A culture of war and of violence perpetuates worldviews, ways of thinking, and problem solving that lead to the continuous use of violence and armed force.

Global Feminism's Critique of the Culture of War

These war systems and their economic, cultural and ideological basis are reinforced through nationalist agendas, which advocate for patriotic support. Additionally, nationalism is advocated for and, in some cases, mandated in public schools and by educational curriculum, and this emphasis on nationalism reinforces social attitudes, behaviors and relationships that perpetuate a system based on, and reinforced by, competition and force.

Over time the war system has changed. Historically, battles were fought between men of opposing sides on a designated battlefield. However, at the end of the twentieth century, the effects of war shifted to civilians and civil infrastructure. Reardon (2001) explains, "War was waged against civil populations and social infrastructures, and women and children formed the majority of those who became causalities of armed conflict more

within than between nations" (p. 32). As a result, women and children have emerged as the primary victims of contemporary conflicts.

Intersection of war and gender injustice. The global feminist perspective argues that the cultures of war and violence are ultimately forms of patriarchal power that intersect with and perpetuate severe gender inequality throughout the world. In fact, "gender injustice and war are so integral one to the other that a culture of peace depends as much on the achievement of gender justice and equity between women and men as it does on disarmament and demilitarization" (Reardon, 2001, p. 32). The collusion between patriarchy and capitalism sustains the expansion of a culture of war ideology that encourages the domination and control of people and nature. Moreover, the accumulation of a nuclear arsenal that is sufficient to wipe out the entire world many times over is in itself an indication of an insatiable hunger for power (Brock-Utne, 1985). Keoen and Swain (1980) see this hunger as an expression of the nuclear mentality, which they describe as a belief system, an ideology that will foster the use of destructive technology that can ultimately lead to the annihilation of life on the planet. This is the ultimate expression of patriarchy that views power as an end game that exists above and beyond any notion of humanity.

Noddings (2006) discusses the psychology and attraction of war, as well as the social construction of masculinity that supports this relationship. She states, "One element in the attraction to war is a long history of associating masculinity with the warrior and with courage (a word synonymous with manliness)" (p. 38). Entering into battle or into

war could be considered a virtuous act, and not necessarily associated with cruelty and destruction of life.

Militarism, warfare and connections to patriarchy. The ways in which capitalism and patriarchy shape the regional, national, and global contexts can be understood through a global feminist critique. Spretnak (1983) argues, "Militarism and warfare are continual features of a patriarchal society because they reflect and instill patriarchal values and fulfill needs of such a system (p. 54). Spretnak states, "Acknowledging the context of patriarchal conceptualizations that feed militarism is a first step toward reducing their impact and preserving life on Earth" (p. 54). Her connections between dominant patriarchal structures and oppression are key to understanding the culture of war and the economic, political and cultural systems that keep it in place.

Power is established and maintained by creating destructive forces of military domination through the suppression of resistance. Rich, a white Western feminist, disillusioned with the Western white rhetoric of defense and the race for global power, recognized the destructive forces of military domination and suppression of resistance. Rich (1984) explains,

> The growing urgency that an anti-nuclear, anti-militarist movement must be a feminist movement, must be a socialist movement, must be an anti-racist, anti-imperialist movement. That it's not enough to fear for the people we know, our own kind, ourselves. Nor is it empowering to give ourselves up to abstract terrors of pure annihilation. The anti-nuclear, anti-military movement cannot sweep away the missiles as a movement to save white civilization in the West. (1984, p. 37)

Recognizing the vast power of the dominant neocolonial powers, Rich argues for a new vision of social change that addresses the dominant patriarchal institutions and the resistance needed to produce social change that would benefit the whole world. Rich (1984) states,

> The movement for change is a changing movement, changing itself, demasculinizing itself, de-Westernizing itself, becoming a critical mass that is saying in so many different voices, languages, gestures, actions: It must change; we ourselves can change it. We who are not the same. We who are many and do not want to be the same. (p. 37)

By bringing forth global feminism and recognition of difference, she calls forth a movement to act against the ongoing militarization and global dominance model of oppression. Recognizing the integration of global economic and military power of Western countries, Rich understands that people everywhere must act in counter-hegemonic ways to change the nation-state discourse that supports the annihilation of the world in the name of defense.

Structural Violence

Not only do the direct consequences of war threaten developing countries with violence, but the economic imbalances between developed and developing countries create structural violence (Galtung, 1973). Structural violence describes a form of violence that corresponds with the systematic and institutionalized ways in which a given social structure or social institution deprives them of healthy and happy lives by preventing them from meeting their basic needs (Galtung, 1973). Galtung first theorized about this form of

structural violence and distinguished between positive and negative peace, with the former

denoting collaboration, integration, and cooperation, and the latter denoting the absence of

physical and direct violence between groups. Galtung coined the construct of structural

violence, denoting society's inequalities and injustices that are built into the

institutionalized functioning of society. These injustices operate within a global framework

and are directly connected to systems of power, domination, and oppression on a global

scale. Particularly in the case of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, structural violence is

manifested by creating blockades, sanctions, and limiting movement of Palestinians in the

West Bank and Gaza. These structures inhibit the freedom of Palestinians and are direct

violations of human rights. Halper (2009) has clearly illustrated this "Matrix of Control"

that operates with U.S. support, financial backing for Israel, and the huge military

expenditures that continue to keep the Occupation of Palestine in place.

Global Feminist Theoretical Framework

In this section, I discuss the synthesis of feminist, postcolonial and postmodern

thought as it informs the theoretical framework of global feminism, the lens I use to

examine current Palestinian and Israeli peace efforts. These three theoretical frameworks

have certain attributes in common: they examine the dichotomous ideology of modernism

and the modernist project; they recognize the inequitable relationships of power within the

global context; and they focus on the role of capitalism and patriarchy as they shape

oppression, marginalization, and exploitation of certain populations of people around the

world.

I begin by providing a broad overview of feminism and the historical roots of the feminist movement. This context is particularly important to this research project as it can be used to examine how specific hegemonic systems of power continue to dominate the culture of war and shape our understanding of peace and peace education. My use of hegemony in this circumstance refers to the situation in which "a provisional alliance of certain social groups can exert total social authority over other subordinate groups, not simply by coercion or by the direct imposition of ruling ideas, but by winning and shaping consent so that the power of the dominant classes appears both legitimate and natural" (Hall, p. 31, 1977).

Global feminism offers the conceptual tools for understanding and analyzing the specific patriarchal, masculinist and militarized global hegemonies that produce and maintain inequitable relationships of power on a global scale, and how they can be challenged by developing counter-hegemonic narratives in the context of education and political action. It is only at this junction, I argue, that a culture of peace can be adequately theorized about, practiced, and achieved. Moreover, global feminism serves as the conceptual framework for my study, guides the organization and analysis of data, and shapes the conclusions that I draw.

Feminist Theories. Feminism has traditionally been used to examine the many forms of patriarchy and domination within societies. In addition, feminists examine social relations and analyze gender inequality, discrimination, and oppression. In global feminism, the analysis extends beyond gender to include broader issues of exploitation, political oppression and cultural domination.

First and second-wave feminism. A consistent theme within early feminist theory and discourse has been to understand the nature of gender inequality. First-wave feminism is used to refer to the late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century women's movements that were concerned with gaining equal rights for women, particularly the right of suffrage (Freedman, 2001). The term "feminism" emerged much later after women started questioning their inferior status and demanding an amelioration in their social position (Freedman, 2001). The women's movement as originally envisioned by the late suffragettes in the 1800's worked for the right of woman to vote. In the 1840's, the women's movement emerged in the United States with the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, and the resulting "Declaration of Sentiments," which claimed for women the principles of liberty and equality expounded in the Declaration of Independence (Freedman, 2001). The early women's movement mostly included middle-class women focused on agenda items that benefited their own issues. Brenner (1993) asserts, "First-wave feminism was organized through middle-class women's world of educational, charitable, social and religious activities" (p. 31). Leadership came from well-educated women who had been excluded from the political and professional organization that secured middle-class men's interests (Brenner, 1993). One of the main contributors to the movement was the National Women's Party. Between 1921 and 1923 the National Women's Party proposed the Equal Rights Amendment with a focus on obtaining equal rights for women (Berkeley, 1993).

Second-wave feminism, also referred to as liberal feminism, focused the attention on politics and changing the existing unequal power relations between women and men in

society (Weedon, 1997). Second-wave feminism also refers to the resurgence of feminist activity in the late 1960's and 1970's, when protest again centered around women's lack of equal political rights but in the areas of family, sexuality, and work (Freedman, 2001).

The struggle and motivation of second wave feminist theory was to transform patriarchy and patriarchal structures within society. Early feminists defined the term "patriarchal" as referring to "power relations in which women's interests are subordinated to the interests of men" (Weedon, p. 2). Weedon explained, "In patriarchal discourse, the nature and social role of women are defined in relation to a norm which is male" (p. 2). Central to the mission of early feminism was the critique of structural systems that reinforce gender roles and divisions of labor. Liberal feminists aimed to achieve full equality of opportunity in all spheres of life without radically transforming the social and political systems (Weedon, 1997). The second-wave feminists continued an agenda that primarily focused on concerns of white middle-class women in the West. Friedan's early writing on the plight of women compared the psychological effects of isolation on white housewives with the impact of confinement on prisoners in Nazi concentration camps (cited in hooks, 2000, p. 3). This comparison demonstrates the limited perspective of early feminist thought and the singular focus on white upper class women in American society.

In the second-wave movement, socialist feminists began extending the critique of gender roles and patriarchy to a broader social system particularly as it was "integrally tied in with class and racial oppression and which could only be abolished through a full transformation of the social system" (Weedon, 1997, p. 4). While there was an attempt to include ideas other than straightforward gender issues, the general thinking did not reach

far beyond liberal feminism. Freedman (2001) refers to liberal feminists "as those who campaign for equal rights for women within the framework of the liberal state, arguing that the theoretical basis on which this state is built is sound but that the rights and privileges it confers must be extended to women to give them equal citizenship with men;" while "Marxist and social feminists link gender inequality and women's oppression to the capitalist system of production and the division of labor consistent with this system" (p. 5). The critiques of liberal feminism were also centered on the absence of race as an interconnected aspect of class and gender.

Mohanty (1998) argues liberal feminism tends to co-opt all issues faced by women within a neoliberal discourse that "discursively colonizes the material and historical heterogeneity of the lives of women in the third world, thereby producing/re-presenting a composite, singular 'third world woman' –an image which appears arbitrarily constructed, but nevertheless carries with it the authorizing signature of Western humanist discourse" (p. 53).

The feminist movement in the early 1970's criticized the narrow platform of earlier feminist thought because "it primarily called attention to issues relevant primarily to women (mostly white) with class privilege" (hooks, 2000, p. xii). hooks established the premise of a third wave of feminism by looking at issues of gender and how they intersected with other forms of domination and oppression, especially race. hooks called for a feminist movement that embodied an internal critique and saw that this was essential to any politics of transformation. This offers an inclusive feminism on a global scale that,

"speaks to everyone, that lets everyone know that feminist movement can change their lives for the better" (p. xiv). This theory, hook asserts:

> will always challenge, shake us up, provoke, shift our paradigms, change the way we think, turn us around. That's what revolution does. And feminist revolution is needed if we are to live in a world without sexism; where peace freedom, and justice prevail; where there is no domination. If we follow a feminist path, this is where it leads. (p. xv)

Third-wave feminism. It is within this third-wave of feminism that I suggest global feminism emerged and currently resides. While feminist theory in general has evolved to examine issues of power, domination, and exploitation, global feminism draws from previous feminist frameworks and extends an understanding of the simultaneous oppressions based on the aspects of one's identity, social location, and nationality. It clearly theorizes domination as being based on the patriarchal formulations of economic globalization and draws on theoretical constructs embedded in postcolonialism and postmodernism.

Third World feminism

"Whereas First World feminists have tended to focus on sexual oppression and on the cultural dimensions of patriarchy, Third World feminists often seek to address political and economic oppression" (Amireh & Majaj, 2000, p. 8).

Lazreg (2000) also critiques Western feminists' notion of empowerment as constructed in relation to the condition and the alienation of "other" women. Far from representing an empowering or liberating agenda the western feminist ideals feed into the

oppression of women in the Third World. Lazreg (2000) claims that often the Western feminist discourse on developing countries assumes a universalism that, far from addressing the issues faced by women in developing countries, is actually central to and supports the "Neoliberal" globalizing process. Neoliberal perspectives on globalization assume that a reliance on markets and capitalist economic development will cure the world's social problems (Bourdieu, 1998). These tendencies of neoliberal discourse frame developing countries as needing economic development without recognizing the global structures that keep an inequitable and exploitive economic system in place within developing countries.

Many Third World women feel that their self-defined needs are not addressed as priority items in the international or liberal feminist agenda, which does not address the economic exploitation inherent in colonialism. Third World feminists have been consciously developing a perspective that relies on aspects of post-colonial theory to understand the unique oppressions encountered by women in Third World countries. Many women-of-color in the United States have also identified themselves as Third World feminists as a way to distinguish themselves from liberal or "First World" feminists who base their critiques on parochial understandings of gender, without addressing race, ethnicity and class as intersecting factors in oppression and violence. Third World feminists have differed from Western feminists because of their focus on broader economic and social issues and priorities.

Postcolonialism

I will address the literature in postcolonialism as a way to expand the notion of Third World feminism as it relates to the critique of capitalist economic exploitation, systems of political and cultural domination, and racial politics that constructs "the other" as degraded, inferior and in need of control.

Capitalist economic exploitation. At its core, colonialism is a system of global economic exploitation (Fanon, 1968). At the beginning of the seventeenth century the European powers—especially the English, French, and Spanish—began traveling far from their borders in search of economic gain. With the threat of military violence and aggression, they began acquiring the natural resources of places across the globe. Africa, in particular, was a site of devastating natural resource plundering (Rodney, 1972). As Rodney (1972) argues, this left Africa in a state of perpetual under development, with extremes of poverty and exploitative economic relationships. This exploitation occurred across the globe and was always for the benefit of the colonizing power. Loomba (1998) extends the notion of modern colonialism and asserts that it "did more than extract goods and wealth from the countries that it conquered—it restructured the economies, drawing them into a complex relationship with their own, so that there was a flow of human and natural resources between the colonized and colonial countries" (p. 3). These techniques of domination produced the economic imbalance that was necessary for the growth of European capitalism and industry (Loomba, 1998). The colonizing systems of economic exploitation were also seen after World War I in the Middle East as colonial powers divided up territory after the end of the Ottoman Empire (Said, 1978).

Embedded in postcolonial theory is a globally informed class analysis that allows a distinction to be drawn between people of the First and Third Worlds. The large scale nationally based economic differences between the First and Third Worlds, reproduced economic inequality on a massive scale. Bringing postcolonial theorizing back to the feminist perspective, Aguilar (2004) argues that much feminist thought has missed global economic dimensions, rendering its emancipatory claims hollow. Aguilar states, "contemporary feminist theoretical production dominated by the metropolis, though posing notions of empowerment and resistance as mechanisms to redress previous marginalization of the other, in truth accomplishes nothing of the sort" (p. 21). For Aguilar, it is through the recuperation of class analysis and the concrete positioning of women within global economic arrangements that feminist theory can give substance to and make real its promise of emancipation.

Economic structures around the globe have changed as capitalism has spread and more workers are brought into the global economy. Narayan (1997), a global feminist, posits that many Third World countries have remained vulnerable to economic exploitation and political manipulation by Western powers even in the aftermath of colonialism. She argues, "increasingly, transnational economic structures adversely affect the lives of many different groups of people scattered over a multiplicity of nation-states, reinforcing structurally asymmetrical linkages between nations, as well as radical inequalities within and across nation-states" (p. 38).

The theory of postcolonialism intersects with the important work of global feminists who have focused on the economic relationships of power within the patriarchal values of

transnational capitalism and globalization. Colonialism was founded on the premise that the colonized territories would bring profit and economic prosperity to the metropolis. Postcolonial theory is used to critique colonial practices of economic exploitation and oppression and to understand the importance of the colonized voice (Spivak, 1988). Global feminists' attention to economic globalization is a central theme that intersects with postcolonial theory. Global feminists' attention to inequality on a global scale is directly informed by the postcolonial framework that interrogates power relationships inherent in capitalism. This focus on economic globalization is central to a focus on class analysis and the relationship of economic exploitation of woman in developing countries.

The intersection of postcolonial theory with Third World and global feminist theories provides a powerful critique of the relationship between developed and developing countries and reveals the patriarchal and exploitive economic agendas that remain dominant in transnational politics and economics. Domination is created and maintained by global and transnational corporations that exploit cheap labor and the availability of natural resources in other countries.

Systems of political and cultural domination. Economic exploitation leads to a relationship of political and cultural domination between countries considered developed (First World) and those considered undeveloped (Third World). Postcolonialism informs the economic and hegemonic relationship of First World and Third World countries, placing an emphasis on the unequal and exploitative relationship of the colonizer and the colonized. These exploitive economic conditions foster power relationships that promote the economic and ideological hegemony of the West over the first world (Eagleton, 1991;

Loomba, 1998). Narayan (1997) argues from a feminist perspective that economic exploitation leads to systems of domination that are national, ethnic, and gendered. She states:

> We know that there is an imperative to address the concerns of women around the world in the historicized particularity of their relationship to multiple patriarchies as well as to international economic hegemonies. . . .We need to articulate the relationship of gender to scattered hegemonies such as global economic structures, patriarchal nationalism, authentic forms of tradition, local structures of domination, and legal-juridical oppression on multiple levels. (p. 38)

The rapid transformation of Third World economic and social structures in recent decades, a process often influenced by Western economic agendas and visions of development, has only re-evoked and intensified the feeling that traditional culture is under threat from Westernization (Narayan 1997). Many cultures around the globe have experienced the systems of domination by colonial powers. Western culture is rapidly enveloping the globe, displacing or replacing the unique characteristics of many cultures with a consumerist monoculture (Lash & Lury, 2007).

The West dominates the political fabric of the globe, imposing its political will through military force. In the history of colonialism, various colonizers simply took over and manipulated the political systems of "weaker" countries, in the name of bringing civilization to the uncivilized. Recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are nothing but total political imposition of western ideals on other peoples. These countries are being conquered, ostensibly, in the name of bringing democracy to those living in tyranny. The

western Empire has succeeded in controlling the political processes of many countries.

Narayan argues,

> We need to clarify the ways in which distortions and exclusions are linked to many
>
> ongoing national and international disparities and problems. . . As feminists we need
>
> to attend both to issues within particular nations and to urgent transnational or
>
> international issues if we are to achieve greater justice within particular nations,
>
> and greater global justice in an increasingly interdependent world. (p. 39)

This exploitive economic relationship between nations is the root of systems of

domination.

Postcolonialism theory is used to critique the exploitive and dominating

relationships of colonialism and demonstrate how imperialism is the highest state of

colonialism. Loomba (1998) states, "In the modern world then, we can distinguish between

colonization as the takeover of territory, appropriation of material resources, exploitation

of labor and interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or

nation, and imperialism as a global system" (p. 6). This definition of imperialism is

extremely important for the examination of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict because it helps

to understand how a political system governs a colonized country. In this case, Israel has

colonized the West Bank and Gaza, but the United States acts as the global super power

supporting the Occupation through American imperialism. Loomba defines American

imperialism, as that which "yields enormous military and economic power across the globe

but without direct political control" (p. 6). Here we are not seeing a postcolonial situation

where inequities of colonial rule have been erased, but rather a neo-colonialism that is

maintained through the support of the U.S. tax payers and Israeli interests abroad. For Palestinians, colonization is an ongoing struggle that places them at the far economic margins of the nation-state (Loomba, 1998) without autonomy and self-determination.

Patriarchy and postcolonialism are useful concepts in conveying a structure of domination and inequity, but Loomba (1998) suggests both are "articulated alongside other economic, social, cultural and historical factors, and therefore, in practice, work differently in various parts of the world" (p. 19). Because the Palestinians still struggle with the effects of neo-colonialism and domination, their struggle is one of anti-colonialism where indigenous people demand their human rights.

Racial politics and construction of the 'Other.' Central to the system of colonialism is the racialized construction of the other as a means to maintain and justify domination. Spivak (1993) argues forcefully that the colonizing powers in India constructed numerous portrayals of local inhabitants in ways that showed they were inferior and, in fact, colonization was in their best interest. Similarly, Tobin (1999) argues that the British constructed pictorial representations of others in an effort to define colonial interests as moral, right and proper.

Cesaire (1950), a Marxist scholar, claimed that "colonialism not only exploits but dehumanizes and objectifies the colonized subject" (p. 21). Anti-colonial intellectuals (Cesaire, 1951; Fanon, 1963) understood that the Marxist conception of class struggle needed to be revised because under the colonial system the division between the haves and the have-nots was influenced by race (Loomba, 1998, p. 22). Fanon (1963) states,

This world cut in two is inhabited by two different species. The originality of the

colonial context is that economic reality, inequality and the immense difference of

ways of life never come to mask the human realities. When you examine at close

quarters the colonial context, it is evident that what parcels out the world is to begin

with the fact of belonging to or not belonging to a given race, a given species. In the

colonies the economic substructure is also a superstructure. The cause is the

consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are

rich. (p. 32)

The colonial project took on different manifestations depending on the location and

circumstances of the population and resources and the particular designs of the colonizing

powers. Postcolonial perspectives acknowledge that location is central to the discussion of

difference and each country has experienced different aspects of the colonial project.

Palestinians experience colonization in an extreme form with little ability to resist because

of the continued financial support of Israel by the United States. Under these conditions it is

pertinent to understand the importance of location and the particulars of the struggle. In

addition, it is particularly important to understand how these locations operate as sites of

racialized hegemonies bolstered by ideological formations and worldviews.

In conjunction with the dichotomy between First World and Third World "others" is

a distinction between West and East, civilized and non-civilized (or barbaric), colonial and

native. These distinctions create discursive representations and stereotypes which

perpetuate racial ideologies. These stereotypes provide an ideological justification for

exploitation (Loomba, 1998). Miles (1989) explains, "The relationship between racial

ideologies and exploitation is better understood as dialectical, with racial assumptions both

arising out of and structuring economic exploitation" (p. 27). Ideologies of racial

differences are intensified by their incorporation into the discourse of science. European

colonial powers introduced the idea of race into numerous areas of the Third World,

especially where the tactic of "divide and conquer" proved highly effective (Smedley, 2007,

p 335). The focus on race as a form of identification that results in natural physical

characteristics was fabricated out of social and political realities (Smedley, 2007). The

creation of race was imposed on the conquered and enslaved peoples to provide them with

an identity as the lowest status groups in society (Smedley, 2007). This ideology of race

became internalized as the principal form of human identity. Smedley (2007) asserts that

this racial worldview is "perpetuated in American society by the popular media, daily

practices, political propaganda, race scientist, and social institutions as part of folk wisdom

about human differences" (p. 343).

A similarly racialized hegemony operates within the Israel-Palestine society

between Jewish Israelis and Palestinians. Although true racial categories are not

distinguishable, the politics of dominator and dominated culture are played out within

systems of identity and privilege. Although both Jews and Arabs are considered Semitic

people, the racial category is usually used in reference to Anti-Semitism which insinuates

an anti-Jewish sentiment. The use of this term is inaccurate as both Jews and Arabs are part

of the Semitic language group. In this case, the use of a racialized other is inaccurate and a

reproduction of propaganda. The ethnic, language, religious and national affiliations are

much larger categories of identity that operate within similar constructs to the racialization of the other.

    Hegemony and ideological struggle. For Gramsci, ideologies operate to maintain social cohesion and express dominant interests. However, the flip side to the ideological hegemony of domination, are the counter-hegemonies constructed by the oppressed. In the post-colonial context, particular ideologies express the protest and resistance of those who are exploited. These do not work separately but in an uneasy tension with the colonized subject. Loomba explains,

    The proletariat or oppressed subject posses a dual consciousness—that which is

    beholden to the rulers, and complicit with their will, and that which is capable of

    developing into resistance. If social realities, including social conflicts, are grasped

    by human beings via their ideologies, then ideologies are also the site of social

    struggle. (p. 28)

    Gramsci formulated the concept of hegemony as power that is achieved through a combination of coercion and consent. The ruling classes in colonized societies defined by racial difference achieve domination not by force or coercion alone, but also by creating subjects who willingly submit to being ruled (Gramsci, 1971). Loomba (1998) states, "Ideology is crucial in creating consent, it is the medium through which certain ideas are transmitted and more important, held to be true. Hegemony is achieved not only by direct manipulation or indoctrination, but by playing upon the common sense of people" (p. 29). Hegemony is central to understanding the colonial project as colonizing powers typically keep military force in the background preferring to find creative political and economic

methods for manufacturing consent from the colonized populations (Willinsky, 1999). This is economically and militarily more efficient and productive than wiping out the native population.

This particular notion of hegemony can also be used to understand the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians. In the conflict between Israel and Palestine, the dominant group of Israelis maintains the oppressive structure of the Occupation of Palestine. To preserve this dominance, hegemony operates through ideological manifestations within culture, such as media, schooling and religion and through state systems of privilege such as military service. Palestinian citizens of Israel are not allowed to serve in the military and, thus, do not receive all of the social benefits afforded the Jewish citizens. Althusser (1971) discusses these systems and refers to both the Repressive State Apparatuses such as the army and the police, and the Ideological State Apparatuses as the schools, the church, and the family, medial and political systems. Loomba (1998) maintains, "These ideological apparatuses assist in the reproduction of the dominant system by creating subjects who are ideologically conditioned to accept the values of the system" (p. 33). Foucault (1982) reformulated this notion of ideology and examined how systems of knowledge are formed and produced through discourse. He called this 'the order of discourse' and explained how discursive practices make it difficult for individuals to think outside them and how they are exercised as coherent systems of power and control.

This understanding of discursive representations was extremely important to feminism and anti-colonial struggles because both were subject to ideologies and discourses that justified their exploitation. Loomba (1998) explains,

> Both feminist and anti-colonial movements needed to challenge dominant ideas of history, culture and representation. They too questioned objectivity in dominant historiography, they too showed how canonical literary texts disguised their political affiliations, and they too broke with dominant Western patriarchal, philosophies. (p. 40)

Said (1978) recognized how knowledge is constructed and operates within structures of power. In *Orientalism*, he examines the way the knowledge about the Orient was produced in Europe and how it was used to form an ideology of colonial power. Said argues that representations of the Orient contribute to the dichotomy between Europe and its 'others', a dichotomy that was central to the creation of European culture as well as to the maintenance and extension of European hegemony.

Postcolonialism in relation to the Occupation of Palestine. Postcolonialism is also an important framework that can be used to critique the relationships between Israel and Palestine, Jews and Arabs, and Jews and Muslims. The framework of postcolonialism differs when examining power relationships between groups in the area of Israel and Palestine. This area does not completely fit under a postcolonial framework because the Occupation sets up a power division and relationship of domination and oppression for one group of people. Under this context we cannot say that the area has seen a post-colonial

outcome, rather Palestine remains in a colonized position in relation to Israel and the continuation of Occupation.

Postmodern Feminism

Further adding to the development of a global feminist approach is postmodern feminism. One of the main emphases of postmodern feminism is grounding the project of feminism in a struggle against social injustices and oppression. A postmodern global feminist perspective allows for the attention to be placed on the counter-hegemonic narrative that addresses difference and moves away from the homogenizing and essentializing that defines all women's issues as the same. Instead the focus is on understanding oppression from the larger view of global domination, and how it is supported by global capitalism and the imperialist movement that supports its hegemonic economic structures.

Postmodern feminist theories have challenged the essentializing, separate and ethnocentric policies that produce oppression and have highlighted the issues of inequality and differential power relations (Giroux, 1992; Smith, 2002). Giroux argues,

Postmodern feminism provides a language of power that engages the issue of inequality and struggle. . . Postmodern feminism makes visible the importance of grounding our visions in a political project, redefines the relationship between the margins and the center around concrete political struggles, and offers the opportunity for a politics of voice that links rather than severs the relationship between the personal and the political as part of a broader struggle for justice and social transformation. (p. 71)

Postmodern feminist theory justifies this project as a vehicle to address the micro and macro-level political and ideological forces that manage to keep the structures of the Occupation of Palestine and oppression of Palestinians in place. This particular lens is important for the discussion of this specific location and historical time period. Feminist theorists have recognized the limits of politics of location and have called for a modification and extension of the concept. Location, they suggest, should be seen as a question of both "where we speak from and which voices are sanctioned; it should allow us to acknowledge boundaries, not as mythic differences that cannot be known or theorized, but as the sites of historicized struggles" (Kaplan, p. 149).

Giroux (1992) contends, "Postmodernism has pointed to the development of new forms of knowledge that significantly shape traditional analyses relevant to the intersection of culture, power, and politics. It raises a new set of questions regarding how culture is inscribed in the production of center/margin hierarchies and the reproduction of postcolonial forms of subjugation" (p. 55). Postmodernism has thus provided a new discourse that enables us to understand the changing nature of domination and resistance in late capitalist societies.

As a response to modernist notions of the quest for an objective and homogenized master narrative of the emancipatory project, postmodernism relies on an expanded plurality of narratives and the multiple forms of politics that may not be accepting of the notion of progress inherent in a singular ideal of emancipation. For example, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) undermine the Marxist ideal of the working class as the "vanguard of history" and the singular group of people who will bring emancipation through the

overthrow of capitalist structures. They argue that a multitude of political and emancipatory projects exist that focus on disparate notions of race, class, sexual orientation, gender, etc. These cannot be subsumed under the guise of a single or privileged political project. Each must be acknowledged for its unique characteristics and principles, and its contribution to broader coalitions of an expansive notion of social justice.

Critique of the master narrative. Postmodernism has also focused on the ways in which modernity functions as an imperialist master narrative that links Western models of industrial progress with hegemonic forms of culture, identity, and consumption (Giroux, 1992, Lyotard, 1979). History and truth are constructed from metanarratives that consign justice based on limited and often disparate information that confirms power and privilege to the current hegemonic powers. Justice within this means of progress is justice that legitimates the hegemonic institution and social bonds (Lyotard, 1979). By legitimating popular metanarratives, societies continue to reinforce and reproduce inaccuracies in history and create consensus of authority. These structures of authority are the mechanisms that reinforce cultural imperialism within Western civilization (Lyotard, 1979) and allow for the relations of domination and subordination to be legitimated. Narratives that reinforce the dominating group's desires are constructed within global frameworks of media, politics, and economics. Referring to globalization and the discourse of power, Giroux (1992) states,

> In the discourse of neocolonial modernism, the culture of the Other is no longer inscribed in imperialist relations of domination and subordination through the raw exercise of military or bureaucratic power. Power now inscribes itself in

apparatuses of cultural production that easily transgress national and cultural borders. Data banks, radio transmissions, and international communication systems become part of the vanguard of a new global network of cultural and economic imperialism. (p. 57)

This mechanism of cultural and economic imperialism functions to keep the dominant and hegemonic group in power and tries to establish consensus among the majority of the population.

Resistance and transgression. Central to postmodernism is the idea of resistance. Giroux (1991) argues for a postmodern discourse of resistance as a basis for developing a cultural politics and anti-racist pedagogy as part of a larger theory of difference and democratic struggles. He asserts, "Postmodernism is a culture and politics of transgression, it is a challenge to the boundaries in which modernism has developed its discourses of mastery, totalization, representation, subjectivity, and history" (p. 461). Giroux is careful to mark his politically motivated postmodernism against what might be considered a more subjective, withdrawn and fragmented postmodernism.

Within the discourse of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, little debate exists within the structures of United States media, but postmodernism resurrects the possibility to transgress the silence and dominant discourse prominent in the American media and influenced by Israel. Advocates, for an end to the Occupation of Palestine, call for a reexamination of the practices that produce the hegemonic discourse of Israel. This hegemonic discourse is often legitimated and perpetuated as a need for "security" for Jewish people in Israel. Security functions in this case as a reason for establishing laws of

separation. These dominant narratives are reinforced by policies that privilege Jewish residents of Israel and punish Palestinians living under Occupation. Postmodernism allows for the marginalized voices of the Palestinians to be represented and recovered.

Giroux (1991) discusses the possibilities of critical postmodernism that calls for a plurality of voices and narratives. He argues "for narratives of difference that recognize their own partiality and present the unrepresentable" (p. 464). The narratives of the Palestinian Nakba have rarely been legitimated within the current discourse of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. They are often the submerged narratives silenced by the dominant narrative of the conflict in Israel and Palestine. By silencing these narratives, citizens of Israel cannot reflect on the multiple narratives of the other side, thereby reinforcing ideologies that do not acknowledge an entire people's history of oppression.

The emerging political projects of postmodernism interact with those of global feminism. The point here is not to argue that postmodernism acts as the precursor or generative moment for global feminism but that the two emerged at a similar moment and create a powerful synergy by informing the political and ideological projects of both.

Global Feminist Political Projects

Feminist scholarship has evolved over time as it has been informed by postmodern and postcolonial studies' interrogation of classical binary structures such as male and female (DeKoven, 2001). DeKoven (2001) explains that contemporary feminist intellectual thought and activism have challenged both the concept of the binary itself by examining the structure of hierarchies, self/other dualism, and also many of the particular binary parts at the heart of Western culture such as the "global and local, theory and practice, also white

and nonwhite, center and margin or periphery (producing 'west' and 'rest'), universal and particular, and perhaps most notably for feminism, masculine and feminine itself" (p. 1). This crossing of boundaries to challenge the western masculinist binaries to integrate the various political projects into an inclusive, consistent framework is the hallmark of global feminism.

Global feminism dismisses the arbitrary boundaries between certain kinds of specialized feminisms, postcolonial theory, and postmodern theory. It addresses not only the gender inequities, but also the economic structures of the global economy and how transnational economic structures lead to international economic hegemonies that reinforce structurally asymmetrical relationships between individuals, cultural groups and nations.

Feminist counterhegemonies. Global feminists emphasize the counter narrative to acknowledge the voice of the other and the oppressed and provide a lens to counterhegemonic practices. Alva (1995) suggests that postcolonial theory can incorporate the subjectivity of oppostionality to imperializing/colonizing discourses and practices by focusing on the multiplicity and often conflicting parallel narratives. He asserts that this can be done by insisting that there is no single history but a multiplicity of histories (Alva, 1995). Feminists also have discredited the idea of the master narrative and have insisted that such narratives have hidden women from history.

My dissertation provides a platform for the marginalized voices of those working for peace within an international conflict that is supported by the United States and perpetuated by large amounts of military and financial support to Israel. The voices that

advocate for a culture of peace are rarely heard within the mainstream media or hegemonic discourse. The efforts of those working to change the structures that encourage a culture of war are intrinsically tied to efforts to end women's oppression locally and globally and the larger frameworks of oppression linked to these systems. Warren (1994) shares that "feminism and peace share an important conceptual connection: both are critical of, and committed to the elimination of, coercive power-over privilege systems of domination as a basis of interaction between individuals and groups" (p. 11). A feminist critique is a critique of systems of unjustified domination (Warren, 1994).

Positional identities. To address oppression, global feminists uphold the standard to examine the positional identities across international borders and the inequities that are caused by global capitalism. They challenge the essentialism, separatism and ethnocentrism that have affected feminist theorizing regarding oppression. Rich (1984) coined the term "politics of location" as a way to examine the implications of one's standpoint in shaping political perspectives and knowledge, and to explore alternatives to the homogenizing tendencies of feminism. This alternative expression of feminism emphasizes the local and cultural specificity of other women's lives, and helps to "deconstruct the hegemonic use of gender as a universal category and to encourage interest in and receptivity to other cultures" (p. 9). Kaplan (2002) asserts,

> Only when we utilize the notion of location to destabilize unexamined or
> stereotypical images that are vestiges of colonial discourse and other manifestations
> of modernity's structural inequalities can we recognize and work through the
> complex relationships between women in different parts of the world. A

transnational feminist politics of location in the best sense of these terms refers us

to the model of coalition or . . . as practice of affiliation, a politics of location

identifies the grounds for historically specific differences and similarities between

women in diverse and asymmetrical relations, creating alternative histories,

identities, and possibilities of alliances. (p. 139)

These relations of difference become the dominant discourse of global feminists. For

postmodern global feminists the issues for woman on the local level cannot be separated

from the larger macro-economic and social-institutional level. It is imperative that

oppression be viewed not only from the personal and local systems of oppression, but also

through the precise difference between localities. Not only do global feminists recognize

the large structural barriers of global capitalism, they also recognize the relationships and

particular histories that shape these relationships and keep these structures in place.

Global militarization and the global feminist critique. As we can see above

global feminism focuses on many aspects of dominance and oppression worldwide. Three

factors help us understand relationships of dominance and power: the relationship of

capitalism to global dominance and oppression; location, which is central to the discussion

of oppression because so many factors shape the structures of economic, political and

ideological relationships of power; and global feminism, which offers awareness and

critique of how power operates within a global framework and how global oppression

leads into a discussion of global dominance.

Peace education is a large field of study that includes many different perspectives

and types of analyses on issues such as disarmament education, human rights education

and conflict resolution. Because of the nature of my study, I focus primarily on the

scholarship in peace education that is consistent with global feminism theories. Many

peace educators examine the macro structures that lead to oppression on various levels,

including economic, social, and political. International peace education must address issues

of inequalities that are defined broadly, and violence as it is embedded in the structural and

institutional organization of a global society.

A Culture of Peace

It is important to think of peace and peace education as more than just the cessation

of violent action or lack of war. Brock-Utne (1985) brings together many strands of

thinking in peace education, and shows how each is an important part of peace education,

including disarmament education, development education, and human rights education.

Common to all these educational emphases is the belief in the rights of individuals and the

concept that all human beings have equal rights. Brock-Utne asserts that forms of

oppression on major and minor scales have to be addressed within peace education. She

states,

> Only through respect for the equal rights of others and through work for the
>
> cessation of all forms of oppression on a major and minor scale will the concept of
>
> peace become a reality. So, logically, a commitment to peace education leads to a
>
> commitment to end sexism and racism and to the quest for ending the inequalities
>
> that are manifested in every aspect of society. (p.32)

A global feminist standpoint examines issues of peace and human rights based on

the larger construction of economic equality. It also examines how dominant patriarchal

ideology perpetuates a "culture of war" and advocates for the transformation to a "culture of peace" which includes the premises for peace education locally and globally.

It is important to frame the ways in which a "culture of peace" is defined and described by international efforts. The United Nations (UN) has defined the term peace as "a condemnation of all forms of oppression, discrimination and exploitation" (UNESCO, 1977, p. 62). The UN does not define peace only as the absence of war and violence, but also as the presence of justice (Brock-Utne, 1985). In Resolution 11.1 the General Conference of UNESCO (1977) stated:

> Peace cannot consist solely on the absence of armed conflict but implies principally a process of progress, justice and mutual respect among the peoples designed to secure the building of an international society which everyone can find his true place and enjoy his share of the world's intellectual and material resources. (Resolution 11.1)

This statement by the General Conference of UNESCO clearly positions the notion of human rights as a central theme in peace and peace education. Building on this definition, Brock-Utne (1985) offers the following:

> By *peace* we mean the absence of violence in any given society; both internal and external, direct and indirect. We further mean the nonviolent results of equality of rights, by which every member of that society, through nonviolent means, participates equally in decisional power, which regulates it, and the distribution of the resources, which sustain it. (p. 2)

Within this notion of peace, it is important to distinguish between direct violence and indirect or structural violence (Brock-Utne, 1985; Galtung, 1973).

Peace education research. Most peace education researchers clearly differentiate between direct violence and indirect violence when they discuss peace education research. They also consider the socio-political context in which peace education takes place. Solomon (2004) establishes three specific strands of peace education by delineating that they are located in different geopolitical areas. Solomon identifies these three areas as regions of intractable conflict, regions of racial and ethnic tension with no overt actions of hostility, and regions of tranquility and cooperation. He clarifies that when examining peace education a distinction needs to be made between the political, economic, and social status of peace education participants: racial or ethnic majority versus minority, conqueror versus conquered, and perpetrator versus victim. He states, "Clearly peace education for the weak and dominated is not the same as for the strong and dominating" (p. 18). Salomon argues that subsuming all types of programs under the superordinate category of peace education harmfully blurs important distinctions. Salomon critiques the use of overarching categories of peace education and suggests delineating the divergent goals of peace education. These three goals include:

1. Changing mindsets: Promote understanding, respect, and tolerance;

2. Cultivating a set of skills: acquire a nonviolent disposition and conflict resolution skills;

3. Promoting human rights: environmentalism, disarmament, and promotion of a culture of peace.

These three areas distinguish several ways that peace educators have addressed the need for peace and the ways in which they have tried to transform a culture of war into a culture of peace. As a feminist peace scholar, Reardon (2001) advocates for a gender perspective as an essential aspect of envisioning and developing a culture of peace. She contends that peace education efforts must be informed by a gender perspective that recognizes the different effects institutions and policies have on men and women.

In addition to values of gender equity, a culture of peace advocates for environmental sustainability, cultural diversity, human solidarity, and social responsibility. Scholars realize that these capacities must be constructed if they are going to give rise to a change in perceptions and human consciousness (Reardon, 2001). The Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO explicitly states that peace must be constructed. Educational scholars, such as Kinchloe and Steinberg (2004), affirm that social reality is constructed and reinforced by cultural influences. They also theorize about how these systems are shaped by the coercive state and ideological apparatuses defined by Althusser (1984).These state and ideological apparatuses must be examined to understand how ideology is shaped by the state, church, school and other cultural influences. By examining these, one can better understand how to develop counterhegemonic discourses that resist the dominating systems. These ideological apparatuses nourish the institution of war and maintain a culture of war and violence. The framing of the conflict happens within the media, films, and school curriculums. Noddings (2005) discusses how war is often depicted as glorious, courageous and heroic and Reardon (2001) demonstrates how wars are celebrated with holidays and ceremonies, and marketed in children's computer and video

games. These competitive ethoses prevail in many classrooms and indicate how the culture

of war has affected education (Reardon, 2001).

In contrast to the culture of war, the culture of peace paradigm has been defined as

the idyllic state of planetary wholeness. Reardon asserts:

> A culture of peace would be the human analogue of a healthy ecosystem composed
>
> of complementary, functionally integrated forms of biodiversity. It would bring
>
> together in a mutually enhancing way all of the world's human cultures, each
>
> maintaining its own integrity while function in a contemporary fashion with all
>
> others to achieve a global society sustained in peace through the acknowledgement
>
> and pursuit of common human values. (p. 24)

At the Hague Appeal for Peace Civil Society Conference (1999), the Global Campaign for

Peace Education statement emerged as a rationale for undertaking a universal movement

towards education for a culture of peace. It stated,

> A culture of peace will be achieved when citizens of the world understand global
>
> problems; have the skills to resolve conflict constructively; know and live by
>
> international standards of human rights, gender and racial equality; appreciate
>
> cultural diversity; and respect the integrity of the Earth. Such learning cannot be
>
> achieved without intentional, sustained and systematic education for peace. (The
>
> Hague Appeal for Peace Global Campaign for Peace Education, May 1999)

This focus on peace education clearly demonstrates the need to focus on global issues and

recognizes the connection between gender, racial, and cultural factors that impact the

world. An education that focuses on the culture of peace would require a significant

paradigm shift in how we educate students.

Implications for Dissertation

The global feminist framework provides a critical lens of the state and ideological

apparatuses influencing Western ideology and education. Critiques by global feminists

have encouraged a move toward looking at global perspectives in relation to nationalistic

hegemonic forces. Spivak (1993) advocates for a vision of "globality" that challenges the

parochial viewpoint that allows for Eurocentric ideals and agendas to dominate the school

curriculum. Additionally, Gunning (1998) urges, "we should not only observe others, but

also turn the same critical lens back upon ourselves. This is necessary both so that we do

not obscure our own discriminatory practices, but also so we can begin exploring

similarities and interconnections across boundaries of nationality" (cited in James, 1998, p.

1037).

It is important to advocate for a global analysis that examines the ways in which the

United States' systems and structures contribute to the nationalistic hegemonic ideology

that supports global violence and military agendas. These structures dominate

development agendas and globalization efforts. Global feminists advocate the need to

introduce a global perspective to Westernized education to better understand how it

perpetuates an ideology of nationalistic domination, imperialism and hegemony.

The purpose of a theoretical framework is to provide an interpretive structure for

conceptualizing and conducting a research study. Depending on the theoretical framework

that is used to conduct research there can be many different kinds of research design and

analysis. Examining peace education efforts in the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict can be accomplished in various ways given the theoretical framework employed. By using the theoretical framework I have articulated here, I am able to focus on the complex relationships of power that animate or constrain the peace work engaged in by my participants.

The particular formulation of global feminism I have articulated here, allows me to reveal certain types and kinds power at different phases in the conceptualization, design, conduct, and analysis of this study. Methodologically, it points me in the direction of critical ethnographic and advocacy forms of research, as these are fundamentally concerned with how individuals simultaneously exist within and resist forms of power, and it allows me to take a stance within the research to advocate for marginalized voices. In turn, the research questions and interview guide are constructed with the intention of examining how the participants conduct and understand their work in a context that is infiltrated at all levels by concrete and symbolic forms of violence. In the analysis phase, I am able to use my theoretical framework to interpret and make meaning of the interview data with respect to the global and local relationships of power that may constrain peace work or affect how the participants understand the end point or purpose of their work. This can be done at the concrete and material levels as well as the ideological or discursive.

Global feminism builds on feminist constructions of patriarchy as a form of domination, and applies it broadly to the central issues of war, peace, violence and domination of many different kinds. This is appropriate for my study as it is conducted within the context of a violent, militaristic occupation that creates unequal relationships of

power within the complex and shifting terrain of everyday life in the Israel-Palestine

conflict.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The design for this study evolved out of the desire to research a culture of peace as it

is defined by educators working within the zone of conflict between Israel and Palestine.

This area has seen on-going efforts for a peace process for decades without major

accomplishments in the political arena or on the ground. Therefore the voices of those

working for peace have been marginalized or silenced as the dominant discourse portrays

a violent resistance movement spurred by suicide bombers and a "culture of war." This

study intends to advocate for, and provide a platform to highlight, grassroots efforts on

both sides of the conflict that are working to end the conflict and create a just and

sustainable peace. Within this section, I will discuss how the theoretical framework shapes

the purposeful design and explain the research process employed for the study. I will also

discuss my data collection and analysis methods, as well as the important aspects of critical

qualitative projects that were relevant to this particular project.

I used a qualitative research design that incorporated an advocacy approach to

collect data and conduct the analysis. By focusing on an advocacy and critical ethnographic

approach, I recognized that my own background shapes my interpretations and biases

towards the research method, theoretical framework, and analysis of this study (Thomas,

1993). I acknowledge that my interpretation was influenced by my own personal, cultural,

and historical experiences (Creswell, 2003). I approached this research with a personal

commitment to revealing inequalities and differentials of power and advocating for peace.

In addition to an acknowledgement of a commitment to peace on the personal and global

level, I also maintain a commitment to work towards social justice and human rights issues

around the world. The advocacy and ethnographic approach reinforced these commitments and highlighted the injustices brought about by the Occupation of Palestine, thus influencing the research design, data collection, and analysis (Thomas, 1993).

Qualitative Design

A qualitative research design was most appropriate for this study because I was interested in how the participants perceived peace, their peace-oriented work, and how their viewpoints shaped their actions within particular relationships of power. I endeavored to understand the participants' actions and their experiences as well as the ways in which their actions arise from and reflect back on their experiences (Brewer, 2000; Spradley, 1980). One of the most important aspects of this particular study involved the exploration of how the participants brought meaning to their world and how these meanings were bound by the structural and institutional location of the person and their peace work. Brewer (2000) refers to this as "a body of knowledge that enables them (the participants) to know social life from the inside" (p. 22). This construction of social reality was particularly relevant because I interviewed people from varied viewpoints and experiences and analyzed how these constructions manifested themselves within the work they pursued. The qualitative methodology for this study drew upon two research traditions: advocacy research and critical ethnography.

Advocacy Research

My research approach incorporated aspects of Lather's (1991) advocacy approach. She states that "advocacy research is openly opposed to the maldistribution of power and is neither more nor less ideological than mainstream research" (p. 36). Mehra (2001)

advances the notion of the advocacy approach by explaining that "those committed to research approaches that challenge the status quo and contribute to a more egalitarian social order are considered to have made an epistemological break from the positivist insistence on researcher neutrality and objectivity" (p. 77). By defining my approach as advocacy, I attempt to demonstrate how larger social justice issues on the local and global scale inform my research.

The advocacy approach is appropriate for this study because the political situation and the oppression of the Palestinians call for a project that addresses issues of social justice. Advocacy research is defined by the researcher's stance on an injustice, in this case Occupation, that clearly identifies aspects that reinforce the discrimination and social injustice, and also analyzes how to end the injustices (Lather, 1991). Not only does the methodology help explain the historical and social perspectives that shape the identity of the participants, but it also analyzes the context and purpose of their work in relation to the peace process and peace building efforts between two peoples who are physically, ideologically and politically separated. There is also an active forward move to advocacy research as the aim is to "create a political debate and discussion so that change will occur" (Creswell, p. 11). An advocacy approach does this by highlighting problematic issues of power, relationships of power at the heart of social inequality and oppression, and activities to counter inequality and oppression.

Critical Ethnographic Research

Along with an advocacy approach, I employ elements of critical ethnography, which can also be used to analyze issues of power and social justice. Critical ethnography focuses

on the process of social transformation and explores how the local context is situated within larger social, political, and historical structures (Madison, 2005; Thomas, 1993; Smith, 2002). This framework views society as either wholly or partially constructed and reconstructed on the basis of these relationships of power (Brewer, 2000), and views society is not as a natural and fixed given, but as an ever-changing system.

Critical ethnography shares with advocacy research a focus on inequality and inequitable relationships of power. Although this study was not ethnographic in its design, it shares with critical ethnography a concern with interrogating issues of power, dominant ideology, and knowledge construction in everyday experience and understanding. By borrowing from critical ethnographic methods, I am able to highlight the voices of those who are marginalized so that they could receive more focused recognition. Noblit (2004) elaborates on the definition of critical ethnography by stating that it provides both a value orientation and a critical epistemology.

One of the main goals of critical ethnography is social transformation (Thomas, 1993). "The goal is not only theoretical development, but also material transformation rooted in social and political action" (Hytten, 2004, p. 97). Critical ethnographers explain how the local contexts they study are situated within larger social and historical structures. Critical ethnographers begin research with the ethical imperatives to "challenge disempowering forms of social reproduction, to expose oppression and repression, and ultimately to make the world a better place" (Hytten, p. 97). In so doing, they embrace and reassert the basic aim of the Enlightenment ideal of inquiry; to improve human existence by viewing knowledge for its emancipatory potential" (McLaren & Giarelli, 1995). Hytten

states, "Critical ethnography aims to counter the colonialistic and voyeuristic tendencies of traditional ethnography by beginning research with conscious political intentions of letting practice inform theory, and theory inform practice, in order that the powerless can be empowered and emancipated" (p. 98).

The scholarship of critical ethnographic research "claims that the central point of research is to develop forms of critical consciousness, both in the researcher and the researched that can lead to positive social change" (Hytten, 2004, p. 97). Therefore, within this research, it is important to represent how the dominant macro- structural forces influenced the understandings of the participants. I highlight how the larger structure of power and ideology inform the practices and perceptions of the participants. Hytten argues that "by situating groups or societies within a broader discourse, it connects to the way power operates in society" (p. 97). She calls for the examination of the dialectics between micro- and macro-analyses, which unveil how marginalized people are structurally positioned and how through their own actions may unknowingly participate in their own oppression. I argue that people who are marginalized may be very aware of their structural position and their own inability to affect the larger macro-structural forces that lead to their oppression. Just simply recognizing that they are marginalized and oppressed by structural forces does not emancipate the oppressed; rather, it may only reinforce the recognition of the dominant power and macro-institutional forces at work. On the other hand, I also argue that it is only within the micro-structures of everyday lived experience and perception that a potentially counter-hegemonic discourse can gain prominence and lead to emanicipatory action by the disenfranchised.

For research to acquire the ability to emancipate, it must go beyond grand theorizing and sweeping generalizations and highlight the voices of marginalized groups. In this way, the voices of the marginalized and oppressed construct, modify, inform, and enhance critical theories for understanding the world, thereby also addressing the absence of human voice and agency in traditional critical social theories (Hytten, 2004). Hytten highlights one of the goals of critical ethnography is to:

> change the material conditions of oppressed peoples' existence in emancipatory and empowering ways. The source of this emancipatory action involves the researchers' ability to expose the contradictions of the world of appearances accepted by the dominant culture as natural and inviolable and then further to provide vision and direction for more liberatory social practices. (p. 98)

This goal is particularly important for the researchers' representations of the participants and the historically positioned identities that are constructed and constitutive of the places in which they reside. By analyzing the identities of the marginalized and the localities of their oppression, the researcher can demonstrate how the dominant power structures maintain the marginalization of oppressed peoples. Although Hytten explores the goal of changing the material conditions of the oppressed peoples' existence, it is important to interrogate the agency and emancipatory action marginalized peoples can actually influence. The larger macro-structural institutions that dominate the world scene are often impenetrable by even those who might be considered to have power.

Guzenhauser (2004) reflects on the mission of critical ethnography as a methodological approach and clarifies, "Critical ethnography is a political project in which

the social science researcher appropriates the tools of ethnography and promises to communicate the voice of the oppressed, uncover differential power relations, discover agency, and connect particular experience to social critique" (p. 77). He explains, ethnographic methods allow researchers to give voice to their research subjects. This perspective is particularly important to the advocacy research in the area of peace education because this viewpoint is not the dominant viewpoint in a society that uses war and power as a means to subjugate populations of people. Critical ethnographic viewpoints help frame the interrogation of events, experiences, and perceptions of participants who work within areas of conflict and asymmetrical power relations.

Although my dissertation research did not fully conform to the ethnographic method, I used the insights gathered from this critical framework to inform my research design and methods, and inform the framework through which I viewed the struggles of peace activists and educators.

Power relationships. Fundamental to advocacy and critical research are the power relationships that invade and affect relationships between individuals and groups. An important aspect of advocacy research is that the relationship between researcher and activist must be symmetrical and coequal (Van Willigen, 1993). The researcher acts as an activist with the participants to define the parameters necessary for community change (Van Willigen, 1993). These relationships of power must be named and addressed in the research design. The technologies of power and the recognition of how power operates in relation to the politics of nationalism, race, class, and gender shape part of the context of my work and research. By acknowledging how power works within the field of hegemonic

force and how it is formed through political coercion, consensus or struggle, I establish that

identities are formed and informed within and through the structures of power.

It is clear that this study was situated within particular power dynamics that define

the Israel-Palestine conflict and the efforts to achieve peace. While there are many ways to

define power and to analyze the effects of power, the Israel-Palestine conflict defines these

relationships in a very particular way as a system of domination and subordination. By

reflecting on the historical formation of Israel and the continued Occupation of the

Palestinian Territories in my literature review, I situate the current research in the larger

landscape of social, political and cultural relations of power. Palestinians exist in a position

of subordination when considered alongside Israelis. Palestinians have been largely

isolated by Israel and the international community and have little voice, power or authority

to advocate for change or improve their lives. This power differential is particularly

important to the qualitative method of critical and advocacy research. Critical and advocacy

researchers explain how the local contexts they study are situated within larger social and

historical structures. This focus on political struggles and social inequalities is one of the

main tenets of critical and advocacy research methods situated within postmodern

theoretical tradition (Giroux, 1991).

Voice. Power is more than just a relationship of domination and subordination

between certain groups; it also affects how the research is represented. Central to advocacy

research is the notion of voice and how voices become marginalized and how certain

peoples' work becomes subjugated knowledge (Smith, 2002). The colonial and

imperialistic discourse that Said (2001) aptly identifies leads to the construction and

process of "othering." This "Othering" approach has led me to focus on ways research can help highlight the power differentials between "scientific/rational approaches" of research and work towards emancipatory methods that incorporate multiple voices and ways of knowing. The intriguing part of research for me is listening carefully to how each individual participant in a qualitative research project comes to understand events, how their identity is shaped, and how their interpretations inform their reality. Kinchloe (2005) writes:

> Educators who value differences often begin their analysis of a phenomenon by listening to those who have suffered most as a result of its existence. These different ways of seeing allow educators and other individuals access to the new modes of cognition- a cognition of empathy. Such a perspective allows individuals access to tacit modes of racism, cultural bias, and religious intolerance that operate to structure worldviews. (p.3)

According to Sarris (1993), it is through dialogue that we can come to understand persons of other cultures as well as ourselves. In understanding another person and culture, you simultaneously understand yourself. "The process is ongoing, an endeavor aimed not at a final and transparent understanding of the Other or of the self, but at continued communication, at an ever-widening understanding of both" (Sarris, p. 6).

The advocacy approach also places an ethical burden on the researcher to broker the voice of the participants: to facilitate the "voice" of the participants to become an integral part of the representation of the research. In the case of the Palestinian voice and advocates for peace education in the region of Palestine and Israel, this voice is often marginalized or silenced through political means or through a complacent and biased

media. One example of this silencing has been documented by an *If Americans Knew* study titled "Deadly Distortion: AP Coverage of Israeli and Palestinian Deaths." In part, it reads:

> The study revealed that Associated Press Newswire coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict significantly distorts reality, essentially over-reporting the number of Israelis killed in the conflict and underreporting the number of Palestinians killed. The study found that AP reported on Israeli children's deaths more often than the deaths occurred, but failed to cover 85 percent of Palestinian children killed. (retrieved http://www.ifamericansknew.org/media/)

Voice is more than just whether participants can be heard; it also assumes that I, as the researcher, had a responsibility to treat the voices of the participants in a particular fashion. Given the focus on power, voice and advocacy, it was important to represent the narratives from a nondominant perspective, as they are not often represented or given legitimacy in political discourse, research, or the mainstream media. Within social justice and advocacy research, the researcher starts from the premise that there is an imbalance of power and recognizes the disproportionate representation of one viewpoint. Therefore, objectivity and balance are misnomers within this research. Instead, I advocate for an examination and representation from the viewpoint of the less dominant group; in this case it is the viewpoint of Palestinians and Arabs who are working towards peace and reconciliation in the area of Palestine and Israel, and the voices of Israelis and internationals working toward a culture of peace in the region.

Positionality. By using advocacy research and a critical ethnographic stance, this research is positioned within a very particular viewpoint and perspective that is intended

to critically examine dominant and oppressive forces. This positionality works in two different ways: the first, requires me to consider how the participants are situated historically, socially and politically; the second requires me to consider my own positionality within these relationships of power.

Positionality of the research participants*. It is particularly important to understand how identities are structured by the location of the participants. These positions are varied, multiple, and contingent and need to be examined and explored to determine the relationship between various constructions of meaning. Within an occupied territory, culture and ideology are strongly shaped by the neocolonial forces of Occupation. For the occupied, movement is restricted and subjugation by oppressive forces influences everyday lived experience. For the occupier, privilege may exist on certain levels, but if their work transgresses the barriers of Occupation, their identity may also be on the margins of the dominant society. Later in this section I discuss how I use the theoretical perspectives discussed here in my analysis of information collected for this study.

In the data collection and findings phase of the research, I scrutinized the varying perspectives that illuminated the speakers' position and the structures that inform their ideology. Particularly, I was interested in how the participants use language to interpret and understand their experiences. Alasuutari (1995) discusses the way people construct meaning; he states, "The way in which we react and respond to the boundaries we encounter will always depend on the interpretations we make. This means that life and social activity are grounded in and are dependent on the process of signification" (p. 30). A poststructuralist position rejects the notion of a final signified arguing that reality is

constructed in contexts of power relations; instead, it asserts that theory and research are claims to power (Noblit, 2004). These assertions regarding power and knowledge frame the questions of how dominant ideology is constructed.

This perspective is informed by the critical theoretical framework I employ for this study which acknowledges not only that reality is socially constructed, but also how knowledge is framed within a particular ideological framework. Of particular importance to my study is how the systems of meaning constructed by my research participants are connected to questions of power and politics (Alasuutari, 1995; Giroux, 1992).

Since advocacy research and critical ethnography employ a perspective that is similar to my theoretical framework, I was also able to incorporate this framework when I analyzed the data and represented the participants' ideas and viewpoints. Building on Giroux's (1991) work, I situated the meanings and understandings of my participants within the particular configurations of space, place, time, and power that defined the Israel Palestine conflict (Giroux, 1991). This allows the research to focus on locating the individuals within broader systems of history, ideology, and social power. It also provides "the referents for both interrogating the notion of history as tradition and for redrawing and rewriting how individual and collective experience might be struggled over, understood, felt, and shaped" (Giroux, 1991, p. 464). A key focus within my research was to understand how the experience of marginality at the level of everyday life lends itself to forms of oppositional and transformative consciousness (Giroux, 1991).

Although I strove to represent all the participants from varied perspectives and positions, I was particularly interested in the power differential between Israelis and

Palestinians, and between internationals and Palestinians and how this positions their identities and interests in particular ways. Within the geopolitical and historical boundaries of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, there is a huge discrepancy as to whose knowledge gets represented and whose ideology governs the structures in place that effect everyday experience. This research focuses on how those designated as "Others" reclaim and remake their histories, voices, and visions so that they may become part of the wider struggle for creating and maintaining democratic political communities.

Postionality of self. The second issue of positionality is how I position myself within the research. Positionality involves being explicit about the groups and interests the researcher wishes to associate with and serve, as well as his or her biography (Noblit et al, 2004, p. 21). Within critical ethnographic research, one's ideas are conditioned by race, gender, class, and sexual orientation and are subject to exploration as part of the ethnography. Noblit et al. assert, "Position may be so important that it can be seen as an epistemological claim" (p. 21). Rosaldo (1989) postulates that the "analyst should be as explicit as possible about partisanship, interest, and feelings" (p. 221). Fine (1994) adds, "As researchers, we need to position ourselves as no longer transparent, but as classed, gendered, raced, and sexual subjects who construct our locations, narrate those locations, and negotiate stances with relations of domination" (p. 76). Fine also asserts that activist or advocacy scholarship shares several distinctions. Such research is clear about the place it stands politically and theoretically, it critically analyzes current social arrangements and their ideological frameworks, and the narratives reveal and invent disruptive images of what could be.

Given the theoretical and political backdrop of the Palestinian and Israeli conflict, it was crucial for me to position my own role within the construction of my dissertation on narratives of peace. My own position influences every aspect of the research design and the analysis that framed the results. By positioning myself as using advocacy research, a critical ethnographic approach and a theoretical framework that is critical, postmodern, global and feminist, I also clearly communicate a location and reference for the reader to evaluate my analysis and interrogate my findings.

My personal narrative informs my perspective and therefore needs to be articulated in a way that demonstrates how my individual position frames the research design and analysis. I first became interested in the Palestinian/Israeli conflict and recall memories of hearing about Palestinian children and the effects of Occupation on their daily lives from my uncle who served as the spokesperson for the Palestinian Liberation Organization at the United Nations in 1981. I knew at the time he was enmeshed with the struggle of Palestinian liberation, and I often saw him speak on television news programs trying to convince his audience about the plight of the Palestinian people. I questioned my own knowledge of the situation but didn't have the capacity or knowledge to understand the larger historical and political events leading up to the Occupation of Palestine. At 16 years old, when I first met my Uncle Hasan Abdel Rahman, I did not have the context or frame of reference to understand the political information or the details of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Over the years, I watched my uncle on television trying to explain the conflict from a Palestinian perspective, each time getting resistance and opposition, but each time displaying more passion and continued commitment.

In 2003, as I entered graduate school with a commitment to work on issues of global education, I reencountered my uncle's passion within a document published by the United States Senate. In this Senate hearing report titled, *Palestinian Education: Teaching War or Peace*, Hasan, a participant and spokesperson at the hearing, tried to explain that taking away federal funding for Palestinian education and humanitarian aid was not a fair outcome of the hearing, which inferred that Palestinians were inciting violence in the education setting by explaining and representing *their* history in the new Palestinian textbooks. Many of the U.S. Senators brought up evidence of videos, which showed Palestinian children giving praise to martyrs within their society. Hasan tried over and over again to explain that the translation of Arabic to English could not adequately convey the reverence given to martyrs and that the struggle needed to be represented in a fair and unbiased format. He asserted that these videos were taken out of context and were used inappropriately as evidence for inciting violence against the Jewish people in Israel. He argued that the textbooks did not incite violence. Instead, he stated that the roots of violence originated from the living conditions of the Palestinians, their experiences of checkpoints, the constant humiliation of occupation, and their lack of human rights.. He made it clear that Palestinian students did not need to read their history in textbooks to understand the oppression they experienced on a daily basis living under Occupation since 1967.

This Senate hearing report was a revelation to my research in education and cultural studies and served as an example to me of how the dominant discourse was framed to represent and misrepresent the actuality and reality of Palestinians living in the

West Bank and in the Diaspora. Power relationships were significantly unbalanced within the report and were used to manipulate the justification of economic sanctions against the Palestinian government and people.

Particularly important to critical ethnographic research and advocacy approach is the attention paid to how narratives are constructed and located within specific locations. My personal narrative informs my perspective and therefore needs to be articulated in a way that demonstrates how my individual position frames the research design and analysis.

Research Purpose and Design

One of the specific purposes of my research was to document how a culture of peace is envisioned by Palestinian, Israeli, and international educators and how this informs their peace activities. This project was also conceived to be a concrete resource for additional peace education and social justice efforts in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Israel. My hope is that this research is as a vehicle for exploring a more theoretical stance on the continued Occupation of Palestine and the peace efforts of nonviolent activists and educators. By documenting nonviolent resistance efforts of educators and activists, I intend to shed some light on the way to achieve a resolution to this long-standing conflict in the Middle East.

The specific questions this research intends to answer are:

1.   What does a "culture of peace" look like to educators working in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories?

2.   How do educators working in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian

               Territories define peace?

3.   How do educators working in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian

               Territories construct peace as a concept?

4.   How do their various positionalities affect these constructions?

5.   What do participants see as the barriers to peace?

Situating the Work

This qualitative research study was conducted from 2006 to 2009 and reflects a broader commitment to participate in educational and scholarly activities designed to advocate for social justice for Palestinians living under Occupation. The research documented here was enhanced by perspectives developed from several advocacy projects I conducted prior to and after the collection and analysis of data for this project. No data or information from these projects was included in my dissertation, but they helped me to develop a broader and deeper understanding of my dissertation research.

The first project was a study I conducted in an early qualitative research class. In this pilot study I conducted interviews with Palestinians living in the Diaspora who were unable to return to their land. These interviews helped me understand the background of the Nakba and gave me a context for understanding the continued conflict between Israel and Palestine from the perspective of those living in the U.S. The second activity was a week-long project I completed for another course. For the final project I organized a Free Palestine week for the University and community to educate my local community about the issues revolving around the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The week-long event included films

about how the Occupation affects the lives of families living in Palestine, a speaker who

discussed the conflict, a spoken word event that provided insight into resistance poetry,

and a traditional Middle Eastern dinner with a talk by an invited speaker who witnessed

the Occupation through a Compassionate Dialogue tour. All of these activities helped

inform my understanding of the ongoing Occupation of Palestine and made me an active

participant in educating about the cause.

In the summer of 2005, after I completed two years of graduate coursework, I went

to the West Bank with an international ecological group to work with youth in Bethlehem

on a tree-planting project. While there, I was also able to participate in the Sulha, a large

peace gathering in Israel that was inspired by the Palestinian indigenous process of

mediation ("Sulha"), which aims to rebuild trust, restore dignity, and move beyond political

agendas. At the Sulha, I participated in Palestinian and Israeli dialogue circles where

participants engaged in listening to narratives from each other.

In 2006, I conducted a series of interviews at the International Peace and

Democracy Education Conference in Antalya, Turkey. The interviews and data from this

event are compiled within the findings of this dissertation, and have been supplemented

with research I collected after the conference. During the last three years, my advocacy and

activism have become more informed, as my understanding of the ongoing Occupation of

Palestine has grown. In 2008, I was awarded a Fulbright-Hays Travel Abroad grant that

allowed me to lead a 13 person delegation to Palestine and Israel for one month. During

this time I arranged interviews with people in the government from both Israel and

Palestine. Significant to this group was an interview with Salam Fayyed, the Prime Minister

of Palestine, and Hasen Abdel Rahman, a chief spokesperson for the Palestinian National

Authority. Within the Israeli government, we interviewed a spokesperson from the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a spokesperson directly involved in the rebranding of Israel.

(Rebranding involves creating a different international perspective on what Israel is and

what it does. The focus of the Israeli rebranding campaign was to frame Israel as an

international tourist destination rather than a state that is in constant military conflict.)

Along with governmental officials, I also met with local journalists, educators, and

grassroots peace organizers in Israel and Palestine. This month-long immersion in the

region gave me a better perspective on the conflict and allowed me to have more time with

the original participants in the study.

The following summer I spent another four weeks in Palestine and Israel conducting

interviews with different individuals involved in peace education and peace building

activities in the region. Again I lived in Jerusalem and travelled around the area

experiencing the Occupation and interviewing people who have been affected by the

Occupation. These people included non-violent activists, peace educators, and human

rights organizers dedicated to ending the Occupation and other human rights abuses of

Palestinians. This ongoing commitment to education, activism and organizing is central to

the outcomes and information gathered in this dissertation, and is the reason I employed

advocacy research and critical ethnography.

Research Context

The context for my research was the 2006 and International Conference on Peace

and Democracy Education, convened in Antalya, Turkey with the purpose of bringing

together Palestinians, Israelis and internationals to discuss aspects of peace education for Palestine and Israel. I was particularly interested in the concept of a culture of peace and knew that peace activities in Israel and Palestine are conducted by these three different groups of people. It was therefore imperative to gain the perspectives of these different groups. For this reason, the conference served as an appropriate venue for my research.

The conference was sponsored by The Israeli-Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI) with the intention of providing a safe place for peace educators, academics and grassroots organizers to discuss and share their work with one another. The conference was held in Antalya, Turkey because most Palestinians are unable to enter the Israeli territory and Israelis are restricted from going into the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Therefore, holding a conference in another county was a viable option where two oppositional groups could meet neutrally. Approximately 270 Israelis, Palestinians and international participants from some 20 countries participated in the international conference. During the four days of the conference, about 150 workshops, lectures, and films were presented. Each of the participants in this study shared their research, presented their visions of their organizations and networked with others on missions for peace-building in the region.

I was fortunate to receive funding from IPCRI to present my previous research on the Palestinian experiences of living under Occupation. This enabled me to participate in the conference and engage with others concerned with peace education in Palestine and Israel. The conference participants all stayed in one hotel together in Antalya, a resort city

on the Mediterranean. The conference hotel was a very large, modern, well-equipped

resort with direct access to beaches on the Mediterranean Sea.

Sampling Procedures

Participants for the study were gathered from a sampling of conference presenters.

The sampling was purposeful (Stake, 2006) and I tried to recruit equal numbers of Israelis,

Palestinians and Internationals. Participants included Palestinians living in the Occupied

Palestinian Territories, Jewish Israelis living in Israel, and internationals who worked

across both of these regions and within their own countries.

I was able to study the conference program before the conference and review the

participants' presentation topics. To solicit participants before arriving at the conference, I

used the conference guide to identify potential participants and sent email messages to

them requesting their participation. I was able to further identify potential participants by

viewing the conference guide in which each of the presenters provided an abstract of their

presentation. I was able to identify individual participants who explained their work

within the terms of peace education or peace-building activities. When I arrived at the

conference I was able to make contact during the conference sessions with more people

who were working on peace education efforts. By soliciting participants from different

locations and positions with the conflict, I am able to accomplish Creswell's (1998) goal of

including multiple perspectives of the topic of interest. Each of the participants identified

themselves as working in the area of Palestine and Israel on issues of peace, conflict

resolution, education, and research. The sample of participants included nine women and

three men all between the ages of 25 to 55. The ethnicity of the participants included three

Jewish-Israelis, an Arab-Israeli, four Palestinians, three Jewish-Americans, and one Jewish-Canadian. Having representatives of the different groups that are typically involved in peace activities in Israel and Palestine was important as it allowed me to examine how these three identified groups differed in their visions of peace . Moreover, the differences in ethnic, national and cultural backgrounds among the participants offered an opportunity for me to explore the various elements of cultural identity and social ideology that they expressed in their interviews and presentations.

Data Collected

This qualitative research study includes the following data:

- Interviews with 12 participants representing various viewpoints on the conflict between Palestine and Israel.

- Video-taped recordings of their presentations at the international peace and democracy education conference.

- Additional artifacts distributed by conference organizers and participants.

All of these materials were analyzed for how they formulated and supported constructions of peace and peace education in Israel and/or the Occupied Palestinian Territories The data provides a context for peace education efforts and a description of work in which the participants are engaged. The interviews and transcripts allowed me to analyze what meaning the peace educators assign to their particular efforts and their constructions of peace.

Table 1:

Data collected	What will the data give me?	How does data fit into research purpose?	Data Analysis
Interviews and transcripts *4 Israelis* *4 Palestinians* *4 Internationals*	Provides information about: -Lived experiences -Perspectives of peace -Perceived barriers to peace -Cultural identity	-Creates context of peace work -Captures the voice of participant -Provides personal narrative	Analyzed using constant comparison method to arrive at themes of how participants construct peace and how they envision a culture of peace
Observation and transcripts of presentations on peace education efforts	Sets context of what participants view as important to communicate	Captures the voices of the participants	Analyzed along with interviews
Artifacts: -Written conference paper -Materials explaining their organization *Websites* *Pamphlets* *Brochures*	-Provides information about: -Theoretical perspectives -Context of peace work in relation to peace education -Organization and mission	-Provides understanding of how participants construct peace	-Analyzed peace efforts and how they fit into a paradigm of peace

Interviews. The primary method of data collection was in-depth semi-structured interviews (Spradley, 1979; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Interviewing provided information about things that could not be observed and included beliefs, descriptions of behavior, feelings, and thoughts (Merriam, 1998). As Ely (1991) notes, "The major purpose of an in-depth interview is to learn to see the world from the eyes of the person being interviewed" (p. 58). The interview protocol (see Appendix A) was organized into three sections with

questions designed to gather information on the topics that defined each section. The first section focused on the participants' work and peace education efforts. The second section focused on how the participants' perceptions and understandings of the conflict, and the alternatives they think would help achieve peace and end to violence in the area. The third section focused on their perceptions of global influences and their constructions of the "Other" in relation to their work and efforts for peace.

The interviews conducted at the conference ranged from 45 to 90 minutes in length. Each interview was audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. Videotaping was used as a back-up system. Time constraints impeded my ability to conduct all the interviews in person. I conducted eight of the interviews in person in Turkey and conducted four telephone interviews which included one Palestinian participant, one Israeli participant, and three of the internationals. I first met with all the participants in Turkey and established rapport with each before following up with telephone interviews when I returned. Follow-up phone interviews were also conducted as needed for clarification and member checking.

Video tapes of presentations. Each of the participants gave an oral presentation of the research or work they had conducted. The presentations included information on their programs, the work they conducted, and research they had completed. Between 15 and 50 people attended each of the program sessions. I videotaped each of the presentations and reviewed these videos to better understand the larger context of the participants' work and the frameworks they used to apply their work.

Artifacts. Spradley (1980) identified the collection of documents and other artifacts produced by research participants as central to any qualitative inquiry. Artifacts are the

concrete manifestation of the thoughts and actions of the individuals. They also provide insight into the culture practices, norms and values of a group or individuals. These included the written abstracts and paper presentations from the international conference, pamphlets and brochures explaining their work, and websites that represent the organizations of the participants. By examining these various materials in conjunction with the interviews I was able to triangulate my research findings (Bogdan & Biklin, 1992).

Data Analysis

My analysis of the data must be characterized in two ways: as a bottom up inductive process and as a theoretically informed deductive analysis. The two processes were complementary and consistent with the critical qualitative approach used for this study. The inductive process offers a more generalized form of reasoning rather than trying to adopt and adhere to a particular method or model for conducting this analysis. Hatch (2002) acknowledges that the inductive process cannot be considered a method applied to the data, it is a general approach that is shared by different types of analysis methods. Inductive reasoning, for example, under girds Spradley's (1980) domain analysis, and Glaser's (1967) constant comparative analysis. The second type of analysis was conducted simultaneously and involved a typological analysis (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). LeCompte and Preissle describe typological analysis as "dividing everything observed into groups or categories on the basis of some canon for disaggregating the whole phenomenon under study" (p. 257). I approached the analysis of data with a set of predefined categories that were derived from the research literature, my theoretical framework and research design. These included "barriers to peace," and "concepts and constructions of a culture of peace."

I then examined the data looking for evidence to support these broad themes. Drawing from a critical ethnographic focus, the emerging categories were linked to ideas and constructs from my theoretical framework. There was also a developmental component to the data analysis. Once the preliminary interviews were analyzed and coded, emerging themes were tested and more data was gathered through follow-up interviews. In this way, robust themes and categories emerged from the analysis.

The final component was to link the analysis of the interview data with an analysis of the video-taped presentations and other artifacts. In the following sections, I discuss the process of the analysis in a linear fashion. I acknowledge that the actual process was developmental and often recursive, but the linear description helps to clarify and put a fine point on each of the separate processes that I engaged in to analyze the data.

Inductive analysis of interview transcripts. To conduct an appropriate analysis, all interviews were transcribed verbatim. The transcripts then formed the primary data base from which to conduct my analysis. Since the initial interviews were conducted at the conference with very little time in between, analysis did not begin until well after this set of interviews was conducted and transcribed. Consequently, the initial analyses were strongly inductive (Hatch, 2002). Hatch describes inductive data analysis as "a search for patterns of meaning in data so that general statements about phenomena under investigation can be made" (p. 161). The inductive process is a bottom-up, emergent process in which analysis is formed through reading closely, identifying data patterns and coding passages.

During the analysis of the data, I started by dividing the overall data set into categories or groups. This approach allowed me to derive a general description and analysis of the peace education process and activities as they are grounded in the views of the individuals in this research study (Creswell, 2003). My inductive analysis proceeded by identifying particular statements and ideas that seemed to be interesting and important. Rather than coding at this time, I simply highlighted the statements. Second, I moved to looking for patterns across these statements as they appeared in individual interviews. In this second level of analysis, I began grouping statements together that had a similar focus, illustrated a similar idea or could be related back to my theoretical framework in a similar way. At this point I began identifying similar passages in the text with stylized code. For example, a code developed from the analysis was "rehumanization." This was then transformed to the code "RH" that was used to identify and mark passages that represented the goal of seeing the essential humanity in people on the other side of a conflict.

I expanded and developed these various groupings with numerous examples of passages from the text and then looked for commonalities among these categories and collapsed them to make sense of those patterns as general explanatory statements (Potter, 1996). This inductive process is similar to the grounded theory approach that Strauss and Corbin (1998) describe as "discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis" (p. 23). As I gathered the data, I constantly studied it for emerging categories to "maximize the similarities and the differences of information" (Creswell, p. 14).

Typological analysis. The typological analysis was a bit more straightforward. The specific ideas and codes were constructed prior to the analysis of the data; passages from the transcripts that matched these ideas were coded. Some inductive process was employed. For example, the category of "barriers to peace" developed into a complex group of ideas rather than a monolithic concept. The themes constructed for the typological analysis included personal constructions and stories, barriers to peace and conceptions of a culture of peace. These themes were not entirely uniform and consisted of other related but unique categories. The categories within each typology were constructed and developed using the method of inductive analysis described above.

Artifact and document analysis. The artifacts and documents I collected were submitted to a similar process of organization and analysis as my interview transcripts. The artifacts and documents were submitted to a typological analysis (Lecompte & Preissle, 1993). Analysis of these supporting materials served two purposes: to fill out, deepen, and extend the categories I was developing from analysis of the interview transcripts, and to triangulate previous findings. Both purposes hold the analysis of documents and artifacts in a supportive role. The categories and themes of meaning were developed prior to examining the artifacts; information from the artifacts and documents was used to support or contradict the predetermined themes and categories.

Ethical Issues

In my choice of drawing from advocacy and critical ethnographic research I have made a choice to take a stand on a critical issue. My responsibility is to represent the participants in an honest, open and transparent way (Madison, 2005). Because the

Palestinian-Israeli conflict is mired in struggles between people and governments, it is particularly important to be certain that the research and dissemination of the findings does not have any negative impact on the people willing to share their ideas, work, and visions of peace with me during my research. At this time, even peace advocates and non-violent activists can be criticized and imprisoned for their work on resistant efforts in the West Bank and Gaza. Arrests and imprisonments have been documented by several human rights organizations (i.e. If Americans Knew, Amnesty International, B'tselem).

Issues of confidentiality and ethics were of primary importance in this study because of the highly politicized nature of the participants' ethnicity and national identity. All of the participants were given a consent form explaining the research and outlining how the information would be used. The consent form clearly informed the participants that their names and the names of their organizations would be used in the study and the findings. The participants were also given the option of withdrawing from the study at any time during or after the interview. I was concerned about the personal safety for the participants, thus protecting participant's identity was extremely important if they did not want to be identified. I encouraged the participants to identify their names and the names of their organizations, and to be open and honest about their work, their beliefs, and everything they said because I would be exploring the dialogue that the participants engage in and the public presentation they presented at the international conference. After the interview, I also asked them if I could conduct follow-up interviews with them that would take place over the year.

Originally, I had twelve participants in the study but after the interviewing process, one participant from Israel dropped out because of the political nature of the research. The participant had been involved in local politics and decided that he did not want to have his name exposed in the research findings. This request was respected and therefore reduced the total number of participants represented in the findings to eleven.

CHAPTER FIVE: DESCRIPTIONS OF PEACE WORKERS

In this chapter, I introduce the peace workers in this study and the organizations in which they work. Many of the peace workers created their own organizations based on their beliefs of how best to bring understanding, reconciliation or peace-building activities. Some participants once held strong viewpoints that were antithetical to the peace-building process and have come to the work of peace-building through personal, transformative experiences. Others have grown up within peace organizations or studied conflict resolutions in academic settings.

Within each of the portraits, I attempt to capture the essence of the participant's passion and commitment to building a culture of peace not only within the context of the Palestine-Israeli conflict but also throughout the world. Some participants' understandings have shifted from a national identity to an identity based on human rights and social justice. These vignettes will help the reader gain a clearer picture of how people develop a peace education perspective. While each narrative tells an individual story, I explore the similarities and differences between their work and their identities within their work. Each of the participants took part and presented their work at the International Conference for Peace and Democracy Education in Antalya, Turkey in 2006. Each came to share their visions for peace with others and each shared ideas on how to end the decade's old conflict between Palestinians and Israelis. Their participation in the conference provided opportunities to share their insights and passion, and to be a part of a larger network of people who care about peace for Palestinians and Jewish people everywhere. Below I

present the portraits of 11 participants and explain the general information regarding their

work in Palestine and Israel. I provide the demographical and biographical information of

each participant and describe the general overview of the organization. Finally, I describe

the individual's peace work within the context of the organization.

Table 2: Participants

Name	Identity	Age	Organization Affiliation
Palestinians			
Ibrahim Issa	Palestinian male	30's	Director of Hope Flowers School
Rula Sulameh	Palestinian female	30's	Coordinator of MEND
Thaquan Quzimeyh	Palestinian male	30's	Coordinator of Friends School
Enas	Palestinian female	20's	Coordinator of Nonviolent Library on Wheels
Israelis			
Anael Harpez	Israeli female	40's	Co-facilitator of Creativity for Peace
Rutie Atmon	Israeli female	40's	Founder and director of Windows Channels of Communication
Anat Levy	Israeli female	40's	Citizens Accord IPCRI
Internationals			
Leah Green	American female	40's	Founder and director of Compassionate Listening

Rebecca Subar	American female	40's	Independent mediator
Reena Lazar	Canadian female	30's	Creative Peace Network, Peace It Together
Melodye Freedman	American female	40's	Founder and Director of Building Bridges for Peace

Palestinians

Ibrahim Issa

Palestinian male.

Affiliation: Hope Flowers School.

Background. Ibrahim was born in Deheishe Refugee Camp and spent eight years there with his family until he moved into Bethlehem. Ibrahim studied mechanical engineering in the Netherlands and received a master's degree. Ibrahim became the director of Hope Flowers School after his father Hussani Issa died in 2000. Hope Flowers School is a leader in "the field of peace-building and democratic education and it responds to the pressures arising from the acute situation in Palestine."

Creating a new generation. Ibrahim became committed to peace education work after his father died; he found that the work was extremely important after the beginning of the Intifada. Ibrahim shared that his father "believed always in peaceful co-existence between Palestinians and Israelis. Hussain thought that our conflict with the Israeli's can never be solved by military means, by violence, and what we needed to do was create a new generation of Palestinians and Israelis who believe in peace and co-existence and

respect the rights of each other." Ibrahim explained, "Given this philosophy, my father started the kindergarten to bring Palestinian and Israeli children together. Then this kindergarten developed into an elementary school and then a secondary school and now we are acting as Center for Educational and Community Development." Ibrahim's father grew up in the refugee camp in Bethlehem after his family had lost everything in the 1948 Nakba and the creation of the state of Israel. Hussein's dream was to "give children what he himself had lacked and needed as he grew up." The first child care center was intended to give children "a fair chance under difficult circumstances, learning how to contribute to creating a peaceful and democratic future." This was a unique school because at that time neither Palestinians nor Israelis were talking of peace and coexistence. The region was experiencing spiraling violence in the wake of the 1980s Lebanon war and the controversial massacres of Sabra and Shatila, Beirut.

   Teaching peace and democracy. The Hope Flowers School is "a unique school teaching peace and democracy and aiding trauma-reduction and community development in Bethlehem, Palestine." The school was "created to meet a need for a safe and supportive environment in which children could grow and develop into citizens of a new Palestine." The school is a "leader in its field and a significant contributor to the process of de-escalating violence and extremism in the 21st Century." It has over 250 students ages 4 to 13. This number has declined since 1999, when it had 500 students ages 4 to 16, mainly due to difficult economic conditions during the Intifada and Israeli re-occupation. The school runs a trauma-recovery program for children and their families.

Rula Salameh

> **Palestinian female.**

> ***Affiliation: Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy (MEND) and Peace X Peace.***

> *Background.* Rula is an Arab Palestinian woman who attended the Peace Education

conference with Peace X Peace, a rapidly growing international organization that connects

women across cultures for friendship, support, and action for peace. She also works for

Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy (MEND). MEND "promotes active nonviolence

and encourages alternatives to violence among youth and adults throughout Palestine.

MEND employs innovative methods, especially with the media, and is widely respected for

working with authenticity, professionalism and courage." It was started in 1998, with its

main focus on "nonviolence and democracy, using training and innovative media

techniques to reach individuals in Palestine to help them deal with the difficulties they

confront in their daily lives."

> ***Envisioning a peaceful future.*** Rula shared that her work with MEND involved

working with Palestinian and Israeli youth, ages 13 to 17, to give them skills using cameras

to make video documentaries. This effort provides youth with the ability to express

themselves through media. She said the young men and women "really needed a space to

express themselves because they all have suffered and they don't have that many

opportunities." Through this work, Rula tries to help youth envision a future and discuss

the realities of occupation and the obstacles that they may face. Rula explains, "Our overall

goal is to build a peaceful future in this region and this therefore involves work outside the

Palestinian community, as well as inside. One of the most important, but very difficult

obstacles to overcome, is the image of the Palestinians as terrorists. This image is not only utterly unfair, but in feeding into Israeli fears, it undermines any possibilities for peace and perpetuates the cycle of violence." She further explains, "We try to make the youth see that they have choices to be leaders and we show them ways to deal with the violence within the area and in their families. We try to give them skills about nonviolence, how to use nonviolence, how to listen to others, how to accept others."

The program focuses on helping youth find nonviolent ways to deal with issues that face them. She said, "We try to give them skills, so they will accept choosing nonviolence in different ways—in school, in the family—and always we give them tasks to correct the violent ways within the community." She tries to "work through the understanding that the youth have about violence" and "dialogue with them about the violence." At MEND, they are working to change the negative stereotypes by raising their profile internationally and by giving talks and distributing their films abroad. They are also developing a "nonviolence network" regionally by consulting on nonviolence with women from all over the Middle East and co-founding the Arab Partnership for Conflict Prevention and Human Security.

MEND offers an interactive website to provide space for discussions, sharing of information, and counseling. MEND offers education and training programs on nonviolence and democracy, along with psychodrama and creative projects, like a radio soap opera for youth. In cooperation with several international organizations, they are increasingly developing training programs for women.

Connecting the global community. The other project that Rula has been engaged in is The Peace X Peace Global Network which is a "grassroots community of women around the

world who connect directly to one another because they know that what happens to one happens to all." The mission of Peace X Peace is to "improve the status of women everywhere and to build sustainable peace." Its primary program is the online Global Network. They state, "Our global community of women is building a more balanced, peaceful world where our lives, stories, and voices are valued and honored. Women connect for friendship, mutual support, and dialogue. They share information, expertise, and experience firsthand, independent of governments, political agendas, and corporate or media spin."

The intention of Peace X Peace is to expand networks around the world, "As of December 2007, over 90 nations were represented in an expanding Network of Circles and individual women." They state, "Peace X Peace Circles are dynamic, inclusive and non-hierarchical, either formal or informal, that meet on a regular basis to support each other and share an online connection to sisters in another country."

Thaquan Quzimay

Palestinian male.

Affiliation: Friends School.

Background. Thaquan, previously a business man in Ramallah, is now a peace educator and director at the Friends School, a Quaker school in Ramallah, where he works with youth in a leadership program. After losing his computer business during the siege in Ramallah, Thaquan began to work for the Friends School as a leader for youth empowerment where he inspires youth to have agency in their own communities where they can make a difference and inspire dreams. The Friends School of Ramallah was

established in 1869 and strives to be a leading educational institution in the Palestinian community.

Building youth skills. Thaquan believes that the "youth will be the leaders of the future so the work they do focuses on building skills for the future and practicing citizenship and democracy." He believes that although the Palestinians are "poor in natural resources they are very rich in human resources." His program does not integrate Palestinian and Israeli youth because of the problems with barriers, instead he "helps the youth focus on local issues where they can be involved and share their points of view." For Thaquan it is "important for the youth to be involved in the peace process by exploring what kind of peace they need. If they are involved in the process at a young age, they will have the skills needed to participate in the democracy."

Connection to the land. Thaquan has strong connections to the Palestinian land confiscated in 1948 during the Nakba. His father was born in 1932, and has a birth certificate that says he was born in Palestine. Thaquan explains, "Israel was existing by the international force and by the international intervention by 1948, so he was born before the Nakhba. He will never forget that he was a Palestinian. He will never forget that he was a refugee...his memories when he was a child and when he was raised and when he was playing with his friends. . . he still remembers the symbols of the orange trees and the names on the trees."

Thaquans's mother is from the part of Jerusalem that was occupied by 1967. Thaquan's relatives have an Israeli identity card and he explains, "I don't know if it's fortunately or unfortunately, all of my uncles and my aunts have the Israel identity and my

mother has the Israel identity because when they did statistical operation after the

Occupation my mom used to live in the West Bank and they didn't count her as a Jerusalem

citizen." Many of his relatives were moved during the resettlement of Arab Palestinians in

1948 and 1967.

    Turning Point. Thaquan's experiences in the West Bank have transformed the ways

he thinks about the world and the vision he has for his life and work. He graduated in

computer engineering from the American University in Egypt. He originally opened a

business in Ramallah which sold computer accessories and had an internet café. He related

to me that his life took a turn during the Intifada in 2000. He explains, "You know. . . .It's

like a bad story that happened with me in Ramallah during the first Intifada after my

graduation from Egypt. Many students and many people used to come to my office."

Thaquan had decided to stay in the West Bank and as he built his business he envisioned

"starting my own business from zero in my country." Thaquan explains during the

incursions of the Israeli army into Ramallah he lost everything. He tells the story, "They

came to Ramallah and damaged these two offices so my office was damaged. In terms of

finance I lost. . . . I lost more than $ 55,000. I don't care for the monies because the one who

did the money is me, but I lost my dream because I built many dreams in my business." This

loss was devastating to him and it often led him to thinking about leaving the West Bank

and emigrating, but Thaquan explains "I choose that I have to dedicate myself to

community work and I have to applaud my community and I have to open a road, a way,

and just maybe I will find some partners inside Israel just to talk with them."

The Friends School is committed to "*Excellence in education* and calls for high academic standards and a willingness to experiment with new methodology and curricula." The school is "committed to helping each member of the school community realize his or her physical, mental, spiritual, and social potential. It recognizes that every person is different, with varying abilities which must be developed to the full extent possible." The Quaker education is "committed to helping each person recognize her or his responsibility as a caring member of the school, community, nation and global family where each lives for the other and all live for God." The Friends School is committed to nurturing character traits such as integrity, simplicity, honesty, cooperation and compassion. The School believes in and encourages freedom of thought and expression. They expect, however, that this freedom be enjoyed with a full sense of responsibility. Quaker education advocates non-violence as a viable option for resolving conflict in every aspect of life. These values are best learned through the example and practice as students, teachers, parents, workers and administrators interact with each other.

Enas

Palestinian female.

Affiliation: Library on Wheels for Non-Violence.

Background. Enas works for the Library on Wheels for Non-Violence and Peace (LOWNP), a non-violence organization in Palestine founded by the Palestinian Center for the Study of Non-Violence in Jerusalem. LOWNP travels to over one hundred isolated villages in the West Bank providing Palestinian children with books and other educational

material. Their overarching goal is "to teach children about peace and nonviolence. They also reach the children through a touring puppet show and videos of educational cartoons and music. Additional activities include helping families that cannot afford school fees, tree planting campaigns, and reporting on the conditions in the area via publications."

Emphasis on non-violent culture. The organization works on "printing non-violent and peace education materials and offers alternative educational programs and also training programs in this field." Enas states, "What we do is also to employ every single activity in order to emphasize the positive aspects of non-violent culture. This is basically also Library on Wheels, because basically the idea came to start as a mobile library because kids usually go to the library and get the kind of books they want. Now what we do is sort of the opposite . . . we take special the kinds of books and we deliver them to kids in isolated areas and villages. . . .Like in the Palestinian refugee camps, sometimes the Bedouin community in the dessert and also in some isolated areas and villages." Many of the books are about Martin Luther King, Ghandi and other nonviolent activists. Enas explains that the books "deal with these sorts of persons who believed in non-violence, resistance from a violent culture."

Enas also trains others for the organization and presents the information to donors who may be interested in funding the project. She has completed some speaking tours in Europe to attract donors. She explains that her work takes place in the West Bank, but the organization has "a head office in Jerusalem and we have two other locations in Hebron. We have a location in the old city of Hebron and another location in another area in Hebron."

Interested in human rights as a child. Enas was interested in nonviolence in her childhood. She said, "I was down here in the library a long time ago and you know, when you experience something yourself, it comes easier to find your direction . . . because this is something you experienced . . . you enjoy." She enjoyed attending summer camps where she learned about Gandhi as a non-violent leader and a leader who spoke about human rights. "I was very much interested in human rights as a child. Human rights philosophy, suffice it to say, fits with non-violence culture. Usually a war or a political conflict is a violation for human rights or a human rights violation." Within the Palestinian area of Hebron where Enas lives, Palestinians experience constant human rights violations. Many nonviolent peace activist groups work in this particular area because it is the site of extreme Israeli settler violence against Palestinians and their children. Many international human rights groups participate in protecting the Palestinian children from harm and act as witnesses who document the human rights violations. Enas' work tries to inform children of other means to display their resistance to violent and oppressive action toward them.

Israelis

Anael Harpez

> **Israeli female.**

> *Affiliation: Creativity of Peace.*

Background. Anael grew up in a Zionist family, but got into peace work because she was curious about the other side. She was inspired at a compassionate dialogue workshop at Plum Village, France with Thich Nhat Hahn, a Vietnamese Buddhist monk, poet, scholar,

and a peace activist. Anael was born in South Africa. She hated what was happening in

South Africa and moved to Israel when she was 17. Anael is the co-director of Creativity for

Peace, which is a summer camp in Santa Fe, New Mexico that brings adolescent girls ages

15 to 17, from Palestine and Israel, out of the violence and conflict of their communities

into the safe New Mexico countryside for a three-week summer program that teaches

leadership and communication skills, and promotes understanding, trust and

reconciliation. The goal of this program is the development of deep friendships, leading to

reconciliation and a true desire for social justice and peaceful coexistence, not only among

participants but also throughout the communities to which they return.

Coexistence as a key to peace. Anael's one desire and vision that she hopes to

accomplish is the empowerment of one girl from the group "to become a world leader like

Nelson Mandela" who "will get up and say 'Let's forgive each other, there's no other way we

can do it.'" The Creativity for Peace organization states that their vision is "the

commitment to a time of peace when people and nations coexist by understanding and

respecting each other. Toward that end, our focus is on developing the next generation of

female leaders and peacemakers in Israel and Palestine."

The Creativity for Peace program attracts girls who want to meet and understand

the "enemy" and create innovative means of finding peaceful coexistence. When the girls

return home, they continue to strengthen coexistence through regularly organized

meetings, email exchanges, and telephone conferencing. It is the hope of the program that

"the friendships continue to thrive and grow as they create new relationships that cross

religious and cultural boundaries." It is Anael's hope that "the girls bring the power of their experiences and fresh perspective into the lives of their families and friends."

Cultural Conditioning. Anael explained that through her cultural conditioning she was told that Israel was her home, her land, and her place, and she wanted to come to a land that gave her some dignity. Anael moved with her family to Northern Israel near the Sea of Galilee. Anael discussed some of her beliefs as she arrived in her new home. She explained, "It was okay to come and kill all the Arabs" because the land was hers. Anael confessed that what she didn't understand at the time was "that there were a whole other people that were getting the same message." Growing up in a "very Zionistic family" she states that she "was only shown a very small portion of the truth."

Rutie Atsmon

Israeli female.

Affiliation: Windows Channel for Communication.

Background. Rutie established the organization Windows Channels for Communication which is "a joint Hebrew and Arabic magazine to bring kids of both nations together and enable them to grow up with better knowledge and understanding of each other and the life in the region." Windows was established in 1991 with the aim to promote acquaintance, understanding and reconciliation between people from both nations, through educational and cultural programs, media and art.

Windows believes that in order to reach a just and lasting peace, and to advance the process of conciliation in the region, it is important to understand and internalize democratic values and human rights, and to deepen mutual knowledge of the other. Rutie

explains, "In this way we can learn to cope together with the present reality that we, Palestinians and Jews, share." The Windows group involves students at different ages with different projects aimed at their age group. The printed magazine is intended for junior high school students, ages12 to 14, and the video program is for youth ages 15 to 16. Rutie explains, that the "idea is that the kids will go through the media program in junior high school, and then will be able to move on to the video group with the knowledge and experience they gained in the previous two-year program. Those that will graduate those two programs can continue at 17, 18 years old in our young leadership group. Then those who want to continue will either do a year of service in our centers volunteering or later on become facilitators for our future leadership team." Rutie shows a tremendous dedication to the long-term work of establishing partners with Palestinians in Israel and the West Bank to overcome the barriers of stereotypes and prejudice. Rutie's ongoing energy and commitment for the project is seen in her enthusiasm and leadership.

Belief in the equality of human beings. Rutie's goal is "to encourage people, and be there all the time so people may work on things at different stages and then encourage them as they develop another stage." She has made a decision to make it her "life thing.". She shares the leadership role and realizes she couldn't do anything on her own. She explains, "I think what I do bring is my beliefs, the values, democracy and equality of humans . . . these things for me are real values and of course we practice them as much as we can in the work."

The youth have produced 18 issues of the Hebrew-Arabic Youth Magazine and distributed over 10,000 copies. The magazine is available for free through schools and

organizations in Palestine. The magazine was awarded the New Israel Fund's Award for Promoting Democracy, Tolerance and Dialogue as well as the Rotary-Israel Prize in 2000 for its contribution to coexistence. Rutie explains that participants from Israel and Palestine are "responsible for researching, writing and editing the bilingual magazine. Throughout their work and their articles they report on a variety of subjects such as art, culture, science, nature, the environment, current events and sports. Through their articles the young journalists reflect the process of the joint work that enables them to get to know each other and learn about their past, the harsh present reality and their aspirations for the future."

Rutie "believes that education is crucial for promoting understanding and reconciliation." It is the hope that the Windows team will help educational teachers to incorporate material from the Windows' magazine in formal lessons as well as informal activities. "Using texts from Windows in this process will help them cope with the reality and encourage them to think about ways to bridge differences. The program will emphasize human rights, with a focus on democracy and equality."

Anat Levy

Israeli female.

Affiliation: Israeli Palestinian Center for Research Institute and Director of Citizens Accord.

Background. Anat Levy has been involved in several grass roots and educational activities in Palestine and Israel. She is a leader in developing peace education curriculum with the Israeli Palestinian Center for Research Institute and the deputy director of Citizens

Accord. Her vision is for "a just society that respects all its citizens, and gives them full rights." She explains her work "is to bridge the gap between Jews and Arabs in Israel."

Holocaust memory compels action. Anat's family lived in Poland since the 17th century. Both her parents were in Poland during World War II and spent four years in concentration camps before they were able to come to Israel. Anat explains that her parents were "not Zionists, they were neo-Zionists and they couldn't stay in Poland anymore." The stories and lessons from her family were from the Holocaust and she related that they always said, "Never again, never again to anybody else." She refers to this as a statement that fuels the work she does now. She says that, "I'm not comparing the Holocaust to anything else, but evil should not be… should not take place…definitely not by us. Not by anybody else, but definitely not by me."

Shaping greater equality. A portion of Anat's time has been spent working with Israeli-Palestinian Centre for Research and Information (IPCRI), a joint Israeli-Palestinian public policy think tank "devoted to developing practical solutions for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." IPCRI was originally launched to promote dialogue at various levels between the Israeli and Palestinian civil societies. Anat was involved in teaching skills in multinational peace education, and with mediation services focusing on techniques to resolve disputes. Activities organized by IPCRI include ongoing roundtable discussions, conferences, and commissioned research, and library and database resources.

Anat also works with The Citizens' Accord Forum for Jews and Arabs in Israel (CAF), which was established with "the vision of building a just and equal relationship of accord and stability among Israel's Jewish and Arab citizens." The Citizens Accord has tried to

respond to the increasing polarization between Jewish and Arab citizens of Israel since the

Second Intifada in October 2000 and bridge the gaps between Israel's Jewish and Arab

communities, and strives to implement systematic changes to improve the status of Israel's

Arab citizens. This is addressed through "work in five targeted areas: advocacy, education,

local and community development, media and networking." According to Anat, her work

includes helping to "impact public policy and shaping public perceptions toward greater

equality between Arab and Jewish citizens."

Internationals

Leah Green

> **Jewish American female.**

> *Affiliation: Compassionate Listening.*

> *Background.* Leah is an American Jewish woman who lived in Israel for two years.

She founded The Compassionate Listening Project after she had experienced dialogue

groups that made her feel very uncomfortable because people ended up shouting and

yelling and blaming each other rather than truly listening to the others as they explained

their pain. Leah has been traveling to Palestine and Israel for years and began leading

delegations in 1990. Leah's desire is to "help people from outside of the region to

understand the situation on the ground and introduce them to remarkable leaders in each

community working for reconciliation." Leah has a master's degree in public policy and

Middle Eastern studies. Leah is internationally recognized as a leader in Jewish-Palestinian

reconciliation. She has led 21 training delegations to Israel-Palestine; she is well known as

a speaker and writer about Middle East peace-building. One of Leah's original visions was

to strengthen U.S. support for Mideast peace "by connecting Americans to Israeli and Palestinian reconciliation leaders and providing them with a firsthand experience of the complexities on the ground."

Listening as an act of healing. Leah witnessed conflict resolution sessions at a peace village in Israel, but after five years and nine delegations to Palestine and Israel, she wanted to play a greater role in Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation and healing. Her hope was to move beyond conventional peace efforts that assumed one side is "right" and all others are "wrong." She looked for a way to have people truly listen to each other. She now leads annual delegations to Israel and Palestine to educate people from outside the region of Palestine and Israel about the everyday realities of the conflict.

In 1997, after experiencing the powerful nature of the work of "compassionate listening," she adopted it as a framework and established The Compassionate Listening Project (TCLP) as a non-profit organization. It is the intention of the project to "teach powerful skills for peacemaking in families, communities, and in social change work locally and globally." The curriculum for TCLP grew out of many years of reconciliation work in Israel and Palestine. Leah has guided over 450 American citizens to Israel and Palestine to "listen to the grievances, hopes, and dreams of people on all sides of the conflict, including religious, political and grassroots leaders, settlers, refugees, peace activists, citizens, soldiers, and extremists." She has trained other professional educators and Israeli and Palestinian colleagues, and has "built trusting relationships across political, religious and social divides throughout Israel and Palestine." Compassionate listening "offers a powerful conflict resolution model and concrete skill building for the participants." The

Compassionate Listening Project claims that the "delegations have resulted in an extensive

network of informed leaders across the U.S. who stand for both peoples as a result of their

transformative experiences in the field." Many of the alumni who participated in the

delegations to Israel and Palestine learn to embrace listening as a tool of reconciliation

Rebecca Subar

Jewish American female.

Affiliation: Independent Mediator and Consultant.

Background. Over the past 20 years, Rebecca has been a facilitator, trainer, coach

and consultant to leaders in private and nonprofit organizations, focusing on leadership

skills, planning processes and strategies for effective communication and relationship

management. Since 1998, her consulting firm has supported leaders of nonprofit

organizations in the design of problem-solving processes, organizational and project

planning, and the design of management, performance and supervisory systems. Rebecca

has provided meeting and retreat facilitation, leadership coaching, and mediation to

organizations in transition.

Education leads to activism. Rebecca grew up in the United States and became a

Jewish settler in Gaza where she married a rabbi and had two children. After living for four

years in Israel she realized she wanted to better understand the conflict. She went back to

school in the United States to work on international conflict resolution work in the Middle

East. Rebecca received her undergraduate degree from Barnard College at Columbia

University and her Master's in Public Administration from the John F. Kennedy School of

Government at Harvard University. She now has her own consulting firm in Philadelphia,

where she relocated with her husband and children. The firm has clients such as nonprofit

organizations, corporations, and activist groups; the focus is on facilitating difficult

conversations among the employees and other associates of these groups. She speaks

Hebrew and has facilitated dialogue among American Jews and Arabs on the Israeli-

Palestinian conflict. Rebecca has also been involved with *the Jewish Dialogue Group*, and

worked with a group out of Cambridge, MA called *The Public Conversations Project*, which

set up a program to train lay people to facilitate intra-Jewish dialogue about the conflict.

Rebecca is also involved with a group called *The Jewish Voice for Peace*, as an activist. She

explains that it is a "group that believes there has to be a solution to the conflict, and that's

what I believe, which is put in place by the people who are involved in the conflict."

   Zionist family connected to the land. Rebecca grew up in "a very Zionist family" and

expressed that she has gone through many trials and tribulations moving away from a

Zionist ideology. Rebecca's family has long ties to Israel and she surmises that her family in

Safed (the Northern Galilee area) "had probably been there forever." She explained that

before 1948 the family felt "very connected to Palestine more than anywhere else on the

planet…more than Poland or Lithuania you know…we weren't Poles and we weren't

Lithuanians." She went on to explain, "…it wasn't even about the word Zionist, it was about

a connection with the land. I grew up calling it Israel. If you look on the Ellis Island list, my

Aunt Betty was born in Palestine and she came to the U.S. to live in the 50's and listed her

birth place as Palestine."

   Rebecca's family valued the connection to Israel and promoted the Zionist dream to

the family. Rebecca said, "I was sent to Zionist summer camps…I learned the songs from my

dad and what it meant and I can cry for you now readily…because we're like this." She explains that she can remember as a child singing the songs about the return to Israel. During the interview, she even sang a short verse. For her, the songs are "sort of a more religious and scriptural whereas some of them are more nationalistic and connected and they all have dances associated with them." Earlier in her life, she completely adhered to a strict Zionist ideology. She says "We moved to one of those communities in the Gaza Strip, so I was a settler. I covered my hair and I had skirts and I wore long sleeves and I was being exactly who I had been in the States but really bringing to fruition what I believed and it was really very exciting."

Involvement in the anti-occupation movement. Eventually Rebecca "made discoveries" and started to rethink what it meant to be Jewish and raise Jewish kids and she "ultimately became involved in the anti-occupation movement." This complete change of ideology was followed by a major change in her life. She said, "Certainly it made all the sense in the world to me only because I had this cataclysmic shift in every aspect of my life…I mean it's very funny to say this in a linear way, to tell my story, because nothing is *of course* but at that time, for some miraculous reason, it seemed to be, to be "*of course*!" Of course, there was this story here that I didn't know because there were lots of stories that I hadn't known and because I had this big coming-out-into-my-life-experience at age 25." This revelatory shift led her out of Gaza and on to her path of working toward conflict resolution and dialogue.

Reena Lazar

Jewish Canadian female.

Affiliation: Founder of Creative Peace Network and Peace It Together.

Background. Reena Lazar has been working with peace projects in Palestine and Israel for a long time. She founded *Creative Peace Network*, a project allowing youth from Palestine and Israel to make documentary films together during a weeklong camp in British Columbia. Reena first began working and training in conflict resolution and compassionate listening. She attended a compassionate listening delegation to Israel and Palestine in 1999 and she joined Vancouver's *Palestinian and Jewish Women's Dialogue Group for Peace*. Reena has been very involved in conflict resolution and is currently an instructor of Peace and Conflict Studies at Langara College in Vancouver B.C. She completed her advanced training in compassionate listening and was a co-facilitator of compassionate listening and dialogue at *Creativity for Peace*, a summer program for Israeli and Palestinian girls in New Mexico in July 2003.

Reena founded the *Creative Peace Network* and led *Peace It Together* in 2004. Reena works closely with a Palestinian man, Adri Hamael, in their *Peace It Together* program. Reena says they have a shared vision and belief that peace "can become a reality in the Middle East if people from different sides of the conflict could collaborate, create and learn together." The *Peace It Together* program is an 18-day summer program that brings together a large group of teenagers from Palestine, Israel and Canada to focus on hearing each other's stories. The program helps the youth "gain new communication and conflict resolution skills, and they use dialogue and creativity to break down barriers and

transform lives." One of the creative focuses of the program is to teach the youth film-making skills. For example, during the program in 2004, "after getting to know each other for a few days in the city, the youths gathered on Galiano Island at the Gulf Islands Film and Television School." In small culturally mixed groups of four to five participants, the youth are given the task to create films expressing some aspect of how the conflict impacts their lives. Participants wrote, filmed, starred in and edited their own films. The films developed through the project are now being used as "educational tools to inspire youth and adults around the world about collaboration and peace." This project has gained extensive media coverage and the films have been screened in Vancouver, Canada.

The intention of the program is to "empower youth to exploit their creative potential to transform conflict, and then use the creative outputs to educate and inspire others." The hope is that "as a result they foster a new breed of creative leaders and a culture of peace among people impacted by social and political conflicts." The films are available for downloading on their website so the youth can share the films when they return home. *Peace It Together* strives to "foster a culture of collaboration and justice through creativity and dialogue."

Melodye Feldman

Jewish American female.

Affiliation: Seeking Common Ground.

Background. Melodye Feldman is the founder and executive director of the internationally known grass-roots organization *Seeking Common Ground*. She has been traveling to Israel since 1967 and declares that she "knows the conflict fairly intimately."

Melodye lived in Israel in high school and for the years when she attended university and then her mother immigrated to Israel and became an Israeli citizen. Melodye traveled to Israel in the 1960's, '70's, and the '80's when the intifada began. Melodye went to school to become a social worker and studied "in the area of violence." She has worked on national and state coalitions for domestic violence and ran a shelter for battered women. She studied philosophy of education and human services at Northeastern University of Boston and has a master's degree in social work.

In 1987, Melodye "witnessed the beginning of the first Palestinian Intifada and, although well-versed in the Israeli/Jewish perspective of the conflict, began to explore the Palestinian perspective." She met with both Israeli and Palestinian women working for peace and reconciliation. In 1993 after the historic Oslo peace agreement, Melodye co-founded *Seeking Common Ground* and the program *Building Bridges for Peace*. The program "brings together Palestinian and Israeli young women for a summer intensive in the United States and ongoing programming when the young women return to their respective communities. We work with teenage women primarily, although this year we will be starting a program for males. The ages are 16 to19 years of age. We work with Palestinians who come from Gaza, and we work with Palestinians who are Israeli citizens, and we work with Israeli Jews and then we also have Americans from diverse backgrounds."

Listened to peace activists on both sides. Before getting involved with trying to understand the Palestinian perspective, Melodye explained, "I thought there were good Arabs and bad Arabs—ones that wanted to kill us and ones that we could live with… But,

really, I didn't understand Palestinian nationalism until the first intifada and I became fairly

politicized by meeting with first the Israeli peace activists and then the Palestinian peace

activists." Melodye became very involved in listening to peace activists on both sides and

realized, "A lot of my own personal prejudgments and stereotypes and understanding of

the narrative changed when I was listening, especially to the Palestinians. And it really

impacted my life." After this change in perspective, and when Oslo was signed, "the idea

was how can we introduce Palestinians and Israelis to each other and give them an

opportunity to create a new relationship." Melodye was energized by the potential of

creating new relationships, which led her to envision the Building Bridges program. She

explains, "so I wrote the program for Building Bridges and then went over and met with

Palestinians and Israelis to see if it was something that they were interested in…They were

very interested at the time. They liked the leadership component of the program very

much as well as the people-to-people contact and activities. So that's how it started."

Building Bridges for Peace is now "the flagship program for *Seeking Common Ground*."

Participants come from Israel, Palestine and the United States for "an intensive summer

program. During their time together, participants learn new communication techniques,

develop leadership skills and engage in activities that promote peace and the status and

empowerment of women." After the summer program, participants return to their

respective communities to continue in a year-long follow-up program.

The Building Bridges program is also "based on a female paradigm of peace

building; the program is a model for developing young women's leadership programming."

In order to continue the efforts of Building Bridges, Melodye is hoping to open an office in Jerusalem for follow-up to the leadership training.

CHAPTER SIX: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter I provide an analysis of the interview data I collected with peace educators and activists. The data is organized around two broad categories: obstacles to peace and conceptions of a culture of peace. One of the key findings is that how the participants focused their responses and what issues they felt were important to them was a function of the particular group they represented.

Palestinians, Israelis, and Internationals brought different and unique foci, perceptions and understandings of the barriers to peace and the conceptions of peace. Palestinians, who live under the oppressive conditions of Occupation, focus largely on barriers to peace and the nature of Occupation. Israelis, who work with Palestinians and may come in contact with the realities of Occupation, acknowledge the barriers, yet are able to see how their work contributes to a culture of peace. Internationals who have little firsthand experience with Occupation and can move rather freely, focus primarily on their conceptions of a culture of peace.

Barriers

The ability of peace workers and educators to conduct their work has been affected by the ongoing Occupation and the barriers between people and communities. Since the second Intifada began in 2000, new barriers have been introduced that impede the peace education and peace building work of the participants I interviewed. The Occupation has imposed many limitations on the participants' work, and therefore it is imperative to discuss these barriers in order to articulate the outcomes of peace-building activities.

The current conditions are affected by impediments that fall into three main categories: physical barriers, ideological barriers, and political barriers. Physical barriers are material barriers that block movement and include such things as the Separation Wall between Israel and the West Bank, and road closures and checkpoints within the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Ideological barriers are socially produced and disseminated ideas that create separation between people and include education, religious dogma, and media influences. Political barriers are legal, legislative and military constraints and actions that are often imposed on Palestinians and include the sanctioning of inequities of power, laws, rules, and regulations that support the Occupation and segregation between Palestinians and Israelis. Each of these barriers is discussed below with excerpts from the participants' interviews illustrating each of the categories. Each of the barriers demonstrates the challenges the participants face as they try to work on peace education and peace building activism within the area of conflict between Israel and Palestine.

The barriers exist on a spectrum, from a macro-level to a micro-level, and in certain circumstances they overlap. For example, the physical barriers may also be perceived as political barriers in the way that they are sanctioned and administered through legal actions and are used to segregate groups of people and impede dialogue amongst the groups. Just as physical barriers are politically fortified by Israeli laws that forbid Israelis from entering the West Bank and Gaza, ideological barriers—created by the perpetuation of misconceptions through the media, education, and religion—manifest physically.

The effect of the barriers depends on the nationality, ethnicity, or location of the participant in the study. For example, most of the international participants conduct their

work outside the area of Palestine and Israel, and choose instead to bring youth from those areas to international sites where their work will not be impacted by the physical or legal barriers. Individuals who work within the Occupied Palestinian Territories, or who wish to engage in cross-border groups, have found that their work becomes very difficult and sometimes impossible. For instance, the Palestinian participants explain how the physical barriers create a daily reality that thwarts not only their work, but every aspect of their lives. The obstacles constitute human rights abuses on every plane, and essential and relational rights such as visiting their holy sites and visiting relatives only a few miles away. The Jewish Israelis are affected by the obstacles but relate to them on a different level because the human rights abuses that are a function of the barriers do not affect them directly. Instead the physical barriers impede their work and create situations that harm their hope for interaction and dialogue with Palestinians. The physical, ideological, and political barriers lead to the polarization of Israelis and Palestinians and tend to dehumanize Palestinians. These three overarching forms of barriers are main contributors that construct, support and maintain a culture of war in the region. The barriers create a sense of fear and distrust among Israelis and Palestinians that keeps them apart and, at times, unwilling to engage in dialogue.

Physical Barriers

The physical barriers discussed below include the checkpoints scattered throughout the Occupied Palestinian Territories and on the borders of Israel, the Separation Wall that segregates Palestinian towns and parts of Israel from the West Bank, and other forms of segregation.

The physical barriers are a constant reminder of the inequitable power relationships and how governmental structures can interfere with every aspect of life. These barriers have a polarizing effect on both Israelis and Palestinians because they put a physical distance between them and restrict cross-cultural dialogue. These physical barriers affect Jewish Israelis wanting to engage in dialogue and reconciliation activities across borders. The physical barriers affect Palestinians living under Occupation because they restrict and block all movements and every aspect of life for the Palestinians. The physical barriers serve as perhaps the most extreme reminder that the Occupation has imposed a structure that controls and regulates Palestinian lives. In addition, many of the barriers imposed have a direct relationship to human rights abuses of Palestinians that will be discussed throughout the analysis.

For the peace educators and grassroots organizers in this study, the focus on barriers came primarily from the Palestinian participants. The physical barriers create such an imposition on their lives that it has become emblematic of the vast oppression and discrimination placed on one group of people by another. Thaquan, a Palestinian business man from Ramallah, explained this most clearly when he discussed his feelings about meeting with Israelis at the international conference outside the country to speak about peace education in the area of Palestine and Israel. Upon returning to Palestine, he would be confronted with the physical barriers that separate him from Israelis and Internationals. Thaquan stated:

> Taking Palestinians and Israelis outside the country, you feel that things will go in a better way, more smoothly. When they take out groups to share outside the country

they can freely share with one another, but once we get back in the airport we are

separated. We go to Ramallah and the others go into Tel Aviv. The same situation

will return back. We will take the same road through the checkpoints, the tanks will

invade Ramallah, I will hear the shooting, and some of the people who had wanted

to go will never have gotten their permissions, so nothing will be changed. By the

end of the day nothing has changed.

Thaquan continues to work on his projects for peace within his own community, but finds

that the work he accomplishes must be situated within the reality of the physical barriers

erected through Occupation.

Ibrahim, another Palestinian man and the director of Hope Flowers School near

Bethlehem, finds that the physical barriers impede the ability of his students to meet.

Ibrahim explained that unfortunately most of his work is limited to the Palestinian society

because "it's very difficult for Israelis to come to West Bank areas and very difficult for

Palestinians to go to Israeli areas." Ibrahim stated that this is because he works in a "very

difficult environment." He explained, "We have difficulties in everyday life like road

closures."

The physical barriers put a strain on his school and his ability to implement his

work. He emphasized the fact that working towards peace requires that individuals from

the two sides get together. He stated "to develop and create a culture of peace it is very

important to understand that it is not done on only one side. Palestinians and Israelis need

to work together in order to work toward the ultimate goal of peace between two peoples."

Many organizations trying to work toward peace and reconciliation have found that leaving the area enables bringing people together. Before 2000, Ibrahim explained, the Hope Flowers school used to "bring Palestinian and Israeli children together and after 2000 it's impossible to do that, or you have to do it in a third country like Germany." Ibrahim continued, "Germany became much closer to us than Jerusalem."

In a general sense, Palestinians are negatively impacted by the physical barriers. The participants acknowledge that it makes it very difficult for them to get together and impedes any progress—and staying hopeful—to achieving peace. Each type of barrier poses unique kinds of problems.

Checkpoints

The most common type of barrier and the ones that Israelis and Palestinians see daily when they try to travel from one place to another in the West Bank, are the Israeli checkpoints. Checkpoints are military barriers set up on roads to check the movement of people within the Occupied Territories and the border between Israel and Palestine. Some of the checkpoints are fortified buildings at major points in the road or at crossing points on the border. Other checkpoints are movable and still others, called "flying checkpoints," are erected by a military vehicle stopping traffic at a moment's notice. The checkpoints are militarized and all individuals working the checkpoints are heavily armed. At checkpoints, cars and buses are searched and identification is checked. To go through a checkpoint requires a permit. The permit process, controlled by Israelis, can take a long time. Even if a permit is obtained it can be arbitrarily ignored, creating a sense of uncertainty. Palestinians

are often detained for long periods of time. Combined with the fact that the travel can take hours, even without checkpoints, it can be an exhausting ordeal to get people together.

In addition to staffed checkpoints, the army has erected hundreds of physical obstructions (dirt piles, concrete blocks, boulders, trenches, fences, and iron gates) to block access to main roads and channel Palestinian traffic to staffed checkpoints. In recent years, the number of these obstructions has gradually risen. The average monthly number of checkpoints and obstructions for 2008 (January to September) was 537 (OCHA). These checkpoints restrict the movement of Palestinians and delay any travel within the West Bank.

The checkpoints limit travel and create many difficulties for Palestinians wanting to work on projects in the West Bank and Gaza. Thaquan referred to the problems and barriers presented by the Occupation, as well as the difficulties with transportation presented by checkpoints. He stated, "We have the major problem with the Occupation due to our transportation from Ramallah and when traveling from the West Bank to Gaza because we have another office in Gaza. I think these are at the moment the major problems." All travel is restricted into Gaza except with special permission.

Jewish Israeli participants also experience extreme difficulty conducting work with Palestinians because of the checkpoints. Anael, a Jewish woman from Israel, stated that "the big barriers are checkpoints because it's so difficult for us to get the Palestinians to come and be a part of what we are doing. Every time is such an effort"." Anael's organization, Creativity for Peace, goes outside the country to do their work with youth because the barriers are too great and make it difficult to carry out their work in Israel or in Palestine.

Creativity for Peace takes the girls to New Mexico where participants can leave the

checkpoints behind and achieve some equanimity and freedom.

Rutie, another Jewish Israeli woman who works on getting youth on both sides of

the conflict to meet, also stated that it has been very difficult because of the checkpoints.

She explained:

There are more and more places where the only way you can go in is through a

checkpoint and if you have to go through a checkpoint the soldiers will ask you

where you are going. It's really hard to convince them to let you go to a B area

village because in some places B area means it's a Palestinian village under Israeli

army control. Officially, Israelis aren't allowed to come in.

Rutie explained, "Even when we do get a permit, to cross a checkpoint can take hours

and hours for many reasons. Either because the permits were not issued, because it took

time to get the papers or because it took time to cross. It can be a nightmare and by the

time we get to Tel Aviv the Palestinian kids are exhausted." The ordeal at checkpoints can

lead to extreme exhaustion for the kids who come from towns in the West Bank such as

Jenin. Rutie explained:

It can take hours with checkpoints and being stuck on the way, then hours on the

checkpoint, and then traveling. They're exhausted, but they don't give up. They come

because they really want this freedom, they want to meet their friends.

B'tselem, an Israeli human rights group, explains that Israel enforces severe

restrictions on Palestinians' freedom of movement in the West Bank, using a system of

permanent and temporary checkpoints, which are staffed and physical obstructions, which are unmanned. They state,

Israel's policy is based on the assumption that every single Palestinian is a security threat, thereby justifying restrictions on his or her freedom of movement. This assumption is racist and leads to the sweeping violation of the human rights of an entire population on the basis of national origin. As such, the policy flagrantly violates international law. (p. 9)

The Separation Barrier/Wall The most prominent and infamous physical barrier is the Separation Wall that now divides the West Bank and Israel. The Wall is a barrier being constructed by the State of Israel, which is comprised of a network of fences and 30 foot high concrete walls. The Wall snakes through the West Bank and separates Israel from the West Bank.To construct and maintain the Wall land is confiscated, Palestinian houses are demolished, and roads closed or torn apart. The Wall is often the first of the physical barriers that are erected in a region.

It is in the stories of the lived experience of Palestinians that the notion of a barrier can be lived, heard and felt. Hope Flowers School has been inordinately affected by the wall. I use it here as an illustration of the impact the wall can have. The wall, and the various other barriers and threats that accompany it, serve as forms of intimidation that have an effect on the movement of children to and from the Hope Flowers School. Ibrahim, the director of Hope Flowers School, said the effects of the Wall on his school and students are tangible. Because it is within 200 feet of the Wall, the school cafeteria currently has

demolition orders from the Israeli government. Additionally, the Israeli army closed the road leading to the school.

The Separation Wall threatens the school in many ways. Building the Wall so close to the school also affected the surrounding houses. Many of the neighboring houses were under demolition orders because they were too close to the Wall. When I stayed at Hope Flowers School in 2005, I witnessed the demolition of several houses near the school. These demolitions were devastating to the families, and all those who witnessed the destruction. Many internationals had protested the demolition of the houses and had been to court to halt the demolition orders. Through their efforts, the residents were given a 60 day injunction to provide support for their claims against demolition. Although this injunction was granted, the houses were demolished within a week of the court date.

In addition to the Wall, Israeli settlers set up an outpost on the opposite hill from the school to protect the wall. These outposts began with small structures and containers and then are reinforced by military support and surveillance. The military outpost imposes a threat to the local Palestinian inhabitants and prevents students from walking to school safely. During my 2005 visit, the children explained that the soldiers positioned in the Israeli military post on the opposite hill from the school had shot at the school while the children were out for recess. The children showed signs of fear from this threat and monitored their activity based on the constant threat of the military post.

On the road near the school, a large mass of dirt restricted vehicle access to the school. In order to get around the mound of dirt, people walk over a path and cross in front of an Israeli sniper tower which serves as a constant form of intimidation and surveillance.

In the area of the school, Palestinian families that once sent their children to that school are no longer able to do so, as the Wall prevents students from accessing the school. Ibrahim explained:

> In 1999 we had 500 students and in 2001 we had only 120 students left from 500. The army places the sniper towers, checkpoints, military posts in the area and that gives an impression to the parents that the school is an unsafe place for their children.

Thaquan, from Ramallah, claims the Wall creates tangible divisions between Israelis and Palestinians. He said, "I think the worst thing was building the Wall because the Wall separated people, actually it made it that THESE are the Palestinians and THESE are the Israelis." Thaquan expressed his belief that it has separated two peoples from one another and this limits their abilities to exchange ideas and learn from one another. He stated that it is vital to have good relations with Israelis, but the Wall impedes any possibility to have any contact with each other. Thaquan discussed how the Wall impedes the exchange of ideas from one University to the other. He said that people should have access to one another, "to interact with each other and talk about information, and leave the conflict to the people who are interested in the conflict."

Enas, a Palestinian woman, explains that the Separation Wall has been a huge impediment toward moving in the direction of peace and reconciliation. She stated, "Of course I see the wall as a huge obstacle towards the peace process because it separates and it makes life more complicated." Enas felt that some of the Israelis are in favor of the Wall because it is viewed as somehow fixing the security problem, "Yeah, some of them still

want the Wall. They think it's a magical stick to solve the problem." Ultimately, Enas

explained, the wall has hurt both Israelis and Palestinians in their peace building activities,

"The Wall has been a huge deterrent in joint Israeli and Palestinian peace building activities

because it makes it so difficult for each side to meet." Enas explained how this happens,

"The physical restrictions pose a continual problem for those people working together to

meet. Because as I'm a Palestinian I'm not able to go to Israel and Israelis are not able to go

to Palestine." At times organizers from Palestine and Israel will creatively get around some

of these restrictions by using international workers because they can "do the role of a

mediator" between groups that are restricted from access. Enas explained, "Sometimes we

have to work through international workers or international employees who work for

Palestinian NGO's and Israeli NGO's. But for communication to be effective you have to

meet, you have to visit, you have to see each other."

Segregation

While the Wall is a crucial component in keeping Israelis and Palestinians separate,

there are other methods employed that segregate the two populations. Many cities and

towns in the West Bank have been divided because Jewish settlers have confiscated and

appropriated land and created illegal settlements throughout the West Bank. The

settlements are typically ringed by a wall, fences and barbed wire. No Palestinian is

allowed near the settlements. Also, Israeli settlers have created enclaves of segregated

neighborhoods in the several cities in the West Bank. Enas, from the Nonviolent Library on

Wheels in Hebron, explained that after the Oslo Accords her city was divided into two

sections. She elaborated:

One under Palestinian Authority control, and the other section under Israeli forces

control. By dividing the city, many people do not have access to places they need to

go and many Palestinians run into violent clashes by Israeli settlers when they try to

pass through certain areas.

Hebron is one of the most difficult cities to navigate in the West Bank because Israeli

settlers have taken over large portions of the old city and have set up outposts within

Palestinian neighborhoods. Enas, who lives in Hebron, experiences the physical barriers on

a daily basis and worries about the children living in her city. She stated, "The children in

the old city are going through harder situations." She explained:

Children often have to face violent conditions because there are Israeli settlers and

Israeli soldiers, and checkpoints. For example, if you want to access the old city of

Hebron you have to go through an Israeli checkpoint. That means that you have to

undergo security checks whenever you go in or go out. It's the same if you live in

the old city; there is nothing that can mark you as an inhabitant of the old city.

Enas explained that this segregation severely restricts life in so many areas for

Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories. She also referred to the interference of

illegal Jewish settlers within the old city of Hebron. The illegal Jewish settlers live in

segregated settlements throughout the West Bank. The establishment of settlements in the

West Bank violates international humanitarian law which establishes principles that apply

during war and occupation (Bennis, 2007). The tension between illegal Jewish settlers and

Palestinian residents often leads to violence and conflict.

Discussion

      The various physical barriers that include the wall, checkpoints, segregated cities and neighborhoods are an impediment to peace and freedom within the daily lives of Palestinians. One of the key concerns with the physical barriers is that it jeopardizes the right of the Palestinian people to freedom of movement. Such a restriction is a violation of human rights and has a detrimental impact on Palestinian economic, political, and social self-determination. The physical barriers create obstacles to the future of a viable Palestinian state. The barriers can lead to annexation of more territory, redrawing of future borders, and the creation of a series of unconnected enclaves, or Bantustans.

      The physical barriers often change the focus the participants' work and impede many of their visions for a culture of peace on the local level. Each of these barriers has an incessant impact on the Palestinians within the West Bank and those wanting to work across borders. These barriers are documented as human rights abuses and demonstrate disrespect for Palestinian residents by restricting their ability to move about freely in the occupied territory. International humanitarian law requires Israel, in its capacity as the occupier, to ensure the safety and well-being of the local residents, and to maintain, to the extent possible, normal living conditions (Bennis, 2007). B'tselem states,

> Freedom of movement is important because it is a prerequisite to the exercise of other rights, such as those set forth in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Among these are the right to work (Article 6), the right to an adequate standard of living (Article 11), the right to health (Article 12), the right to education (Article 13), and the right to protection of family life (Article 10).

The physical barriers and the restrictions of movement that come with them prevent

Palestinians' ability to protect their families, access medical facilities, and attend school.

These restrictions only apply to Palestinians which is blatant discrimination based on

national origin (B'tselem).

Ideological Barriers

Participants' narratives highlighted the various ideological barriers that inhibit their

ability to work together and achieve peace. I use ideology as the set of socially constructed

and disseminated ideas that get taken up by individuals as common sense narratives used

to make sense of and validate one's position in the world (Therborn, 1999). In this study,

ideologies are constructed in the form of narratives or stories that the participants tell

about the conflict, their work, their own identities or their perspectives of the "other."

These narratives are typically used to validate their own experiences and invalidate the

experience of others. These become barriers to people on the different sides of the conflict

and often impede their abilities to come together and engage in dialogue. It is interesting to

note that the participants are self-reflective and are able to critically analyze these

ideologies rather than simply expressing them as their own ideas.

The ideologies are formulated in three different areas: education, religion, and

media. While religion and media are pretty clearly delineated in the following discussion,

education can be a little more difficult to explain. Education can mean what is learned in

school or textbooks or it can viewed more broadly as things learned in more informal

settings such as the family. Both of these interpretations will be discussed within the

education section, as well as how the master narratives are constructed and reinforced

through these structures. The ideological barriers polarize the two groups of people and lead to dehumanization of Palestinians and Israelis by creating ideological viewpoints that allow for detrimental stereotypes and prejudices to be reinforced.

      Cultural Conditioning: Ideologies are socially constructed and frame the ways people interpret the world. In regards to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, both sides create knowledge about the other and construct their knowledge of the conflict in ways that are reinforced through the cultural influences on each side. Anael shared that both sides suffer because they hold onto their history. She stated, "I believe without sharing our suffering we aren't being honest with each other and we'll never get close to each other. We have to share our suffering." Anael explained that some of the main causes of the conflict deal with "people holding onto history and to their beliefs that they are the victim." There are also ideological structures that influence their beliefs. Anael clearly described this and stated, "It's our cultural conditioning...we're conditioned...I was conditioned in a certain way; I was taught that the Germans and the Arabs are my enemies. That's what I was told as a kid and I believed it." The cultural conditioning described by Anael creates a polarizing effect between the two sides and allows for each of them to justify the dehumanization of the other. Nationalistic and imperialistic ideologies create cultural conditioning that leads to one-sided viewpoints. These ideologies allow people to adhere to practices that limit the potential of others and create racist beliefs that become justified through propaganda (Finkelstein, 2005 Said, 1997).

Education: Education is one of the main influences in understanding the history and narrative of each of the groups. Participants were adamant that lack of education about the history of the region or the history and culture of Palestinians and Israelis can lead to prejudices, stereotypes, and biases toward the other. The education system within Israel and the West Bank has almost completely segregated the two groups of people. Currently, only four bilingual multicultural education programs exist in the entire region of Palestine and Israel. This separation perpetuates the lack of knowledge or understanding of each other and creates a polarized view of the other.

Many of the participants indicated that two factors contribute to polarizing viewpoints: the lack of information each group has of one another and incorrect or misinformation. Both of these factors can lead to incorrect perceptions and stereotypes. Polarization is also perpetuated by the narratives the two sides create to validate their own histories, cultures and position in the conflict. Anat, a Jewish woman working on peace education in Israel, suggested that, through their schools, Jews have constructed a narrative of victimhood that is rooted in their long history. She stated:

> The education in Israel is very much focusing on the sense of us being victims. It's very much focusing on the Jewish history and trials. The lessons that are drawn from it are very dangerous. There is no balance anywhere and I think that more awareness, a very deep understanding of human rights, and self-criticism and critical reading of our narratives, of our holidays, of our culture, would be very, very important and useful.

That Jewish people see themselves as victims is expressed in the way they frame their history. Halper (2008) states that the framing of information, narrative and history enhances the divisions between Jews and Arabs that validate the conflict. He explains, "When it comes to resolving the conflicts such as the pitting Israeli Jews against Palestinian Arabs, framing is more important than the facts" (p. 37). Halper asserts that most Israeli Jews see themselves as innocent victims of terror while viewing the Palestinians as terrorists who merely get what they deserve (Halper, 2008, p. 37). He argues that the Israeli government has advanced among the Jewish public a framing of the conflict based solely on Jewish rights and security. Halper explains, "The Israeli narrative asserts that it desires peace, but it has no Palestinian partner. The Palestinians want only to throw the Jews into the sea" (p. 38). This narrative, which is a staple of the Israeli school curriculum, results in an overarching framework for how many Jewish people in Israel view Palestinians and results in viewing Palestinians in a stereotypical and essentialized way. Enas, a Palestinian working for nonviolent peace education organization, understands that stereotypes of Palestinians are created in the Israeli psyche. She stated:

> It is not only their (Jewish Israelis) fault; there is just lack of information. They don't get the information necessary to correct their perceptions. For me, myself, I meet with many Israeli people who have no ideas that there are peaceful organizations in Palestine and that there are people who believe in peace and they want to make a change. Maybe after we had some kind of contact, they will start to change their views and to believe that there are some Palestinians who are interested in the

peace building process, who really want it. Palestinians are not all in the extreme side.

Enas expressed her desire to change the perceptions that Israelis have of Palestinians, but also notices that Palestinians perpetuate misperceptions about the conflict and Israelis too. She shared that many biases can show up within the curriculum in Palestinian schools. When Enas was in school in Palestine, the school system was using Jordanian curriculum. She saw that biases existed within the curriculum and it "did not have balance. It didn't have the Jewish views." She thought that in regards to "some Islamic topics it was not neutral enough, or at least there was no balance." She stated, "You can find few stories about the co-existence between the Jewish and the Muslims in the old times and you can't find curriculum that supports peace building or supports non-violence." Enas recognized that the education curriculum did not provide an accurate picture of the coexistence between Arabs and Jews that existed before the Occupation. Many Palestinians acknowledge that, prior to the large immigration of European Jews into the area and the Nakba, Palestinians and Jews lived together in relatively peaceful coexistence.

Rebecca, a Jewish American who works in the area of conflict resolution and mediation, acknowledged that it is important for people to build their understanding of one another. Rebecca remains very close to Jewish relatives who are settlers in the West Bank. Their viewpoint varies tremendously from her own, but it is through her work in conflict resolution that she wants to address these opposing viewpoints and provide people with new information that will transform their previous held assumptions. Rebecca explained that she understands these viewpoints because, as a one-time settler in Gaza, she held onto

them as well. She explained that many settlers hold onto their ideas because they do not

fully understand the situation and use misinformation to guide their decisions. She stated:

> I come from this place of those people and they're good, loving people. My sister's
>
> still a settler, my aunts are settlers, and my father spends three months a year
>
> going on six months in what we call a West Bank settlement when actually it's a
>
> gorgeous suburb, which is also illegal. These are all really good people; I know that
>
> because they were me, they were my family. They're not crazy, they're just wrong.
>
> They're not misinterpreting the information they have, they just have limited
>
> information and they're brilliant people. They're professors and rabbis and
>
> teachers and doctors and scholars in their field AND their field of vision is limited.

Rebecca explained that these people have limited information, allowing them to continue

their lives without regard for the Palestinians. She looks for a solution that would enable

people like this to change their beliefs, but she feels in order to be effective and enable

people like that to see something different "would challenge their whole existential

foundation." Education and creating new knowledge is one way to change these ingrained

perspectives.

Israeli participants acknowledged that in many Israelis' minds fear of Palestinians is

based in ignorance. Rutie, an Israeli Jewish woman, stated that the information is available,

but often people interpret it using their prior knowledge. She explained:

> People in our region suffer from so much ignorance and fear of each other. There's
>
> a lot of racism and hatred and anger. I think that fear is a key word and ignorance
>
> is another. Ignorance is not necessarily because people don't know or don't have

information. Today there is quite a lot of information and if you want to look for

information you can find it. But, whatever information people get, they interpret it

according to their prior knowledge and preconception. So, it doesn't matter how

much you know, but what you understand or what you make of it. In order to make

people use the knowledge and gain from knowing more about each other, first they

have to overcome so many preconceptions and prejudices and other negative

feelings that they carry with them.

Rutie acknowledged that "it is not just simply a matter of no information or misinformation

that can be corrected by providing accurate information. There is a cultural component in

which the information is transformed into stories that validate one's own perspective."

Rutie shared, "…it is so much a part of our culture, the way each side's narrative is being

taught, about what you hear since the day you were born, what you've been taught in

school, what you hear at home, [and] what is in the media."

      History and the master narrative*.* Often history is taught through the lens of the

victor, while the victim's story becomes marginalized, or even silenced (Zinn, 2003). The

master narrative becomes the dominant viewpoint within each society and, in this case, the

Israelis control most of the mainstream media. Both sides tell a different story of the

history and explain how things happened in Israel and Palestine from very different

perspectives. One of the main subjects that Israelis and Palestinians interpret differently is

how the state of Israel was formed. In Israel, the history is told through the lens of victory

over the area and the creation of a God-given state. This history is celebrated through

holidays and festivities that are often part of the school curriculum and school activities.

For Palestinians, this same event is interpreted as a tragedy or the Nakba (catastrophe).

They tell the story of becoming refugees and being displaced from their homeland by the

Jewish people. These two versions of the history exist side by side, and rarely does either

side acknowledge the other's narrative.

Rebecca, an American Jewish woman and previously a Jewish settler in Gaza,

explained that one of the key factors leading to polarization is the silencing of the history of

the Nakba for the Palestinians. The Nakba created 750,000 Palestinian refugees and

remains one of the main issues in peace negotiations. Rebecca acknowledged that the

displacement and dispossession of the Palestinians is one of the main factors contributing

to animosity and conflict in the region. She stated, "Ignoring the fact that hundreds of

thousands of Palestinians were forced out of the region in 1948 leads to a deep resentment

and continued disagreement." She said, "That's what I believe the refugee problem is and I

think it's way out of hand and I think that if I'm a Palestinian and I'm told again and again,

nothing happened in '48 then I'm going to be really mad about that because that's my only

reality." Rebecca suggested that one way to overcome the animosity would be for the

Israeli Jews to acknowledge the Nakba and make an apology. Rebecca shared:

> I think in 20 years it will be possible for Jewish Israelis to say that the refugee
>
> problem did come about in 1948 when we Jews, who were the coming Israeli Jews,
>
> did bad things to Palestinians in order to make them leave their homes. I don't
>
> know what the solution is and maybe they'll say that they don't know what the
>
> solution is, but at least we can say we're sorry we did that. I think that would be
>
> extremely powerful and that is something that I want to work toward.

Understanding the different viewpoints and perspectives is one of the key factors in each

side understanding the other and transforming stereotypes and biases. If people hold onto

stereotypes of the other then polarized viewpoints continue.

Rutie explained that the way Jewish Israeli children are educated in school

perpetuates the dominant narrative of the history of the Jewish people in Israel. She

elaborated:

> The students believe it's our land, our country, we belong here. We have a long
>
> history. They don't make the connection. They take it for granted. I was born here
>
> and that's enough. When the students begin engaging with the Palestinians they are
>
> being challenged in such a way they have to go back and study and then they realize
>
> that they studied this in school.

The students have to confront how they were taught and why they think their roots are in

Israel and why they feel that it is their land. Realizing that there is a narrative that exists

that is different from the one that they know sets them up to think critically and examine

perspectives from a different viewpoint. This is a difficult transition for students and often

leads them through stages of transformation. They may first deny the existence of an

alternative narrative before they are able to construct something new.

Rutie explained that the Jewish Israeli youth feel that if their country is doing

something wrong, probably there is a reason for it. They often have a difficult time

questioning the actions of their own country. When faced with a narrative that challenges

their perspective, they have to reconcile this new narrative. During the writing encounters

between the Palestinian and Israeli youth that are part of the Windows program, the Israeli

students learn about tragic stories from the Palestinians. Rutie shared one story that a Palestinian child wrote to an Israeli child about soldiers who killed his friend:

> There are so many stories like that. Most of the kids that come to our group, the Palestinian kids have stories - very hard, sad, tragic stories that are part of their lives. When the Palestinian child writes these stories or tells the Israeli kids, their first response would be, "It cannot be!" They cannot accept these stories and reject them saying, "We're good people; we don't do these kinds of things. It cannot be true, my brother does reserve duty, and my father is a soldier. They're good people they wouldn't shoot a Palestinian boy for nothing, so probably it's not true." Another Israeli group would say, "Ok, maybe it's true, but it's exaggerated." Then they might say, "Alright, it might not be exaggerated, but there was a reason to it. The boy did something. He was carrying explosives. He was carrying a gun. He did something.

These encounters bring up a lot of new information for the students that contradicts the stories they accept and hold onto, and they do not want to accept it. The information does not fit into their identity or the narrative with which they are familiar. Rutie said, "It takes time to understand that in this situation of war a lot of terrible things happen, and many good people do terrible things."

On the other side, Palestinians can be unwilling to acknowledge the stories of suffering told by the Israelis, and Israeli youth often do not understand why the Palestinians don't understand their suffering. Rutie shared that the Israeli youth asked, "Why don't they understand why we suffer too?" Rutie explained, "It's another stage of

recognizing this complexity." Rutie expressed her feeling that Palestinian kids often had difficulty recognizing the fears and difficult situations of Israelis, because the Israeli children live lives that are so different from their own. She explained:

It takes longer for the Palestinians to recognize that Israelis also have their fears of suffering because you can't of course compare Israelis' lives because they have normal lives in most cases. Every Palestinian suffers in one way or another, but subjectively, the Israeli kids feel that they suffer because they're afraid and even if the chances that they will experience anything is very, very small, the fear is there because they're manipulated by the government and by the media to be afraid.

Ultimately, Rutie explained, both Israeli and Palestinian children have a difficult and often very emotional time coming to understand the perspective of those on the other side. Rutie shared that during their workshop sessions together the kids cried, held hands, and shared feelings. After the encounter the youth go home and exchange letters. Rutie explained that there is often a duality in processing the encounters. The students begin to care about the others, but often they maintain the master narrative from their own culture. Rutie shared, "We received a letter from a girl living in a Palestinian refugee camp who wrote to one of the Israeli girls living in Tel Aviv. She wrote:

'I love you so much, it was really wonderful to meet, and I already miss you, and I want to see you again. I'm so happy that we became such good friends. If you think about it, you'll realize that you don't have any roots here. I can't wait to see you again. Love…'

On a personal basis, Rutie explained:

They loved each other so much as these thirteen year old girls. With hardly any common language, they managed to have a bond. But the political thing is a huge wall between them. The Israeli girl was just shocked! She asked, 'Where did this come from? We had such a good time together, we understood each other, and I cried for them! Why do they say, I don't have roots here? Why do they say it's not my land?'

These complex encounters bring youth to reconsider their long held beliefs about their own narrative and they begin to ask questions of why the other does not believe it as they do. The Windows program works through all of these encounters and is committed to the long-term work of discussing how narratives are created and reinforced. Rutie went on to explain this process between the Palestinian and Israeli youth:

I asked her, 'What do you want to tell her?' She says, 'I want to say I have roots!' I say, 'Ok, what are your roots?' Then she says, 'I was born here.'" You find out that many of the Israeli kids being born in a state; with the confidence of our own state, government, and army and all that, and they don't think about those things. They don't think so much about the nation and flag and capital and roots and history. They live normal lives; they don't think about it, they take it for granted. Sometimes they have the feeling that it's very clear to everyone, it's our land.

Rutie shared that these discussions often include talk of suicide bombings. In these discussions it is difficult for the Israelis to see suicide bombers as anything but killers of innocents. Palestinians, on the other hand, often see them as martyrs for the cause of Palestinian freedom. Rutie acknowledged that having the two sides reconcile these

divergent positions is difficult, but that through discussion, the Israelis begin to see that maybe there is a different side to their once strongly held viewpoint and begin to discuss that these suicide bombers are "not monsters, they're people" and the Palestinian youth begin to question whether or not they support violent resistance. Part of the dialogue process is motivated by students who are often racked with questions to which finding acceptable answers is difficult; they ask, "Why do they do that? What brings a person to do something like that and what brings other people to support or accept or understand it?"

These youth clearly care about each other on a very personal level, but the strongly held narratives remain embedded in their identity. Rutie's goal is that the students begin to realize that each side has its own narrative, its own story, and its own history. Holding on strongly to their own narrative also reinforces the victimization of each of the groups. Each group believes that they suffer more than the other. In the case of conflict there is pain on both sides. Often one side cannot see the pain of the other and holds on to the belief that they suffer more. Consequently, one side often does not clearly understand what justice means to the other side. Windows encourages the students to come together to figure out the new narrative that can be informed by Palestinian and Israeli youth.

Religion: Religion is one of the contributing factors in polarizing viewpoints and justifying the ideas of extremists on both sides of the conflict. At one extreme are the most radical Islamic fundamentalists who believe Palestine should be an Islamic state and part of a larger Islamic nation. On the extreme, are the most ardent Jewish fundamentalists who claim all of the land of Israel from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea was given to

the Jews by God. According to peace workers, the most productive dialogue can happen between people who meet in the middle.

Islamic fundamentalism. Enas, from the West Bank, explained that she understands that there are extremists in Palestine who try to get their message to youth. She stated:

> I think, unfortunately, some of them employ the religious ideas to justify their visions and their ideas. Unfortunately, for instance, some Palestinian extremists, they're very good at affecting the people and driving young people to join them. At times the extremist groups employ tactics that use the Koran and Islam.

Enas questions whether or not they have a "right to use the name of Islam in order to justify their political perception." She asserted:

> The answer is, 'Of course not.' When they have their logos for some extreme parties, they have the sword or the gun on the right hand and they have the Koran on the left hand. I don't think in a million years that you can find a justification in Islam for a political party to put the holy Koran. But for some people, they are good people because they fight in the name of Allah, in the name of God, in the name of Islam. So, they are working for the good of our nation, they want to liberate Palestine.

Often the extremist viewpoints reflected in actions and words of Islamic resistance groups have an influence on disenfranchised youth in Palestine. These organizations threaten non-violent peace activities and education because they rely on more aggressive action for liberation. Enas expressed fear that these groups have the ability to recruit Palestinian youth that are fed up with the Occupation and want to work for emancipation.

Zionism. Zionism, in its contemporary form, is a potent blend of fundamentalist

Judaic ideas and nationalism. Many of the peace workers surveyed expressed opinions on

Zionism and shared how Zionist ideology impacted the narratives and viewpoints that

impeded dialogue and peace between the two groups. Enas expressed that Zionism

promotes an insular and ethnocentric ideology among Jews. She stated, "I think it

(Zionism) really creates very big hinders between Jews to get along or to have co-existence.

It has a key role because it separates both societies. It's like a barrier of dialogue and a

barrier of contact." She explained that this happens, "Because you consider yourself as best

based on some religious factors or ethnic facts. It seems that you cannot change the other

side because the other side is not like you. You have to work on one boat; you cannot both

be on the same boat." Enas stated that Zionism inhibits productive dialogue between the

two groups because it perpetuates the separation of people and provides a justification for

separation.

Rebecca, a Jewish American, seeks to help people understand how to compromise

and move out of their strongly held viewpoints. One of the strongly held viewpoints she

encounters is fundamentalist Zionism. For her, fundamentalist Zionism "asserts that all of

Israel is promised to the Jewish people by God, and creates a hegemonic structure with one

group of people in power over the less dominant group." She questions how people can

make the transition from fundamentalist Zionism to a more equitable position. She stated,

"How do other people make their way from a fundamentalist view of Zionism to the

possibility that it isn't true, that the world wasn't created in order to live on this planet with

hegemony?" She answered her own question and indicated the extreme difficulty in making

such a transition, "It's huge existentially. It's huge…and the group of people who still hold that view are not going to leave that land voluntarily."

Palestinians recognize the role that Zionism plays in polarizing the population by maintaining the idea of a separate and distinct people. Rebecca revealed:

> Do you have any idea how negative a view of Zionism Palestinians have? They hate the actual idea of Zionism. I do think that it's been a very destructive force, but I also think it comes from places that were not wholly horrible in the first place. There were some pretty awful strands of Zionism before '48. There were people and movements who intended very clearly to get rid of Arabs living in Palestine.

Before the ideology of Zionism became part of the dominant narrative in Israel, many Arabs and Jews lived in relative peace as neighbors in the area. Rebecca explained that Jews were in Israel living for a long time, and "then Jews started coming in as strange sorts of immigrants and some of them had the idea of forming a political colony and ultimately, they wanted everyone to get with the program: We're going to be a political colony." Rebecca acknowledged that the very idea of Zionism, which includes the belief that Israel is a state for only the Jewish people, sets up a dichotomous and hegemonic relationship between Jewish Israelis and Arab Palestinians and Arab Israelis. She expressed her belief that this relationship creates ideological justifications for the creation of Israel and perpetuates and legitimates the Occupation. Fundamentalist Zionists believe that all of the area of Palestine and Israel is contested land and God promised the land to them. If Jewish people believe in the mission of Zionism then they can rationally exclude Arabs from the state of Israel and create an ideology that allows for the expulsion of all Arabs. For Rebecca,

this ideology represents an imperialistic and racist vision that excludes the Palestinian narrative and perpetuates separation, polarization and a dehumanized "other."

Media: The media also constructs ideologies of the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis in ways that damage the relations between the groups of people. Many biases and stereotypes are reinforced through the media, which perpetuates the fear and distrust. From the Palestinian perspective, the Israeli media is biased in two ways: first, it does not inform the Israeli population or the global community about the military operations taking place in the West Bank and Gaza and, second, it frames the Palestinians as extremists.

Enas, a Palestinian woman living in the West Bank who works with Nonviolent Library on Wheels, described the situation:

> Some Israelis on the Israeli side have no idea that there are militant operations, or that some Israeli soldiers are arresting children, which is against the international laws. Some of them really have no idea. They're just normal people, they are just living. When a bombing takes place in Tel Aviv they just hear about it and say that the Palestinians are extremists. They only see the big events.

Enas explained that the information that Israelis receive about the ongoing Occupation of Palestine is misunderstood or ignored. Because of the separation of peoples, there is little interaction or knowledge of the other. Enas said she fears that the Israelis do not have a context of the suicide bomber because they are unaware of the Israeli military operations and failure of its troops to follow international law. When a bomb goes off, it reinforces the idea that Israelis have that Palestinians are only extremists.

Palestinians in this study were more likely to focus on how Israelis viewed them and how Israelis have misinformation about Palestinians. Enas stated, "I don't think that there is a fair media coverage regarding the Israeli Palestinian conflict. Unfortunately, it only deals with it if any political escalation takes place, and then you get media coverage. So, regarding the media coverage, it's not fair enough." Enas shared that only some European channels do fair media coverage. She wants the media to "show the right story of what is going on the ground" and to "be objective." She feels that most of the media coverage "shows more victims and more blood." She would like to see the media put more emphasis on the peace work that is being conducted rather than focusing solely on the aggressive behavior of both sides. By focusing only on the conflict in the media, a constant state of fear of the other is perpetuated. Rutie shared this viewpoint and explained how the media manipulates the fear of Palestinians within the Israeli population. She stated:

> It is a fact that the media is full of manipulation. Whenever there is a suicide bombing there is so much all over the papers and there are so many stories and everything is made so huge. It's not that any death is not huge. Any death is awful, but the way it's being described and the way the media is dealing with these things, gives a child the feeling (and not only children, also adults) that anytime you're going out of the house you're going to explode. If you get on a bus, you'll die.

These media images create the idea of the other as extremists and perpetuate a fear of the other. These mechanisms lead to more polarized views of the other and feed into constructions of prejudices and stereotypes.

Rutie agreed that the Israeli media does not appropriately represent the Occupation and the militarization of the West Bank and Gaza and does not show all of the military operations that take place within the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Part of the Windows program involves educating people about the situation and helping people feel that they are not so isolated. The program works to bring in testimony from Palestinians from the West Bank to help reframe the media information that the Israelis were given. Rutie explained, "We smuggled people from the territories to come and speak to say what was happening because it wasn't in the news. People didn't know what was happening."

In addition, the media often distorts the reality of the conflict and perpetuates the viewpoint that Palestinians are terrorists. The language that is used in the media also distorts the understanding of the conflict. For example often the international media refers to the illegal settlements as "Jewish neighborhoods" which gives the impression to the general public that these settlements are legitimate and legal (Jhally & Ratzkoff, 2004). Media bias can serve to misinform people rather than inform them about the reality of the conflict. These media distortions create a lens for the international community to view the conflict. Deadly Distortions (2004) documents the media's skewed reporting: the Israeli death rate was represented as being greater than it was, while the Palestinian death rate was represented as being considerably smaller than it is. In addition, this document shared a study that showed immense distortion in the Associated Press's coverage of children's deaths in the conflict. They found that the Associated Press covered a larger proportion of Israeli children's deaths in headlines or first paragraphs and a much lower proportion of Palestinian children's deaths. The coverage also obfuscated the fact that in actuality over

20 times more Palestinian children were killed than Israeli children (Deadly Distortions, 2004).

Political Barriers

Political barriers disproportionately affect Palestinians who live under numerous restrictions and laws; these laws often protect Jewish Israelis and provide them assurances within Israel. The international participants in this study also were not affected by the restrictions, and rarely discussed them in their interviews. The importance of clearly understanding these barriers and how they are experienced by the different groups of people working towards peace is central to understanding peace education. First and foremost, however, it is critical to be aware the social injustices placed on Palestinians who live under Occupation. In this way, we have a greater understanding of the depth of the commitment on behalf of all educators working toward peace and reconciliation.

Occupation and Relationships of Power

Political barriers are created by the laws, policies, and procedures imposed through Occupation. Laws, policies and military procedures impose restrictions and create and reinforce unequal relationships of power based on ethnic identity, religion, and nationality. The political barriers act as the force that legitimize and empower the other barriers.

Political barriers imposed by the Occupation are enforced by Israeli military personnel and operations, physical barriers (described earlier), and a system of restrictions that disrupt and impede all life and movement for Palestinians. The restrictions range from sieges and blockades, to requirements for permission to move within the West Bank areas and move in and out of Gaza. One extreme example of a siege took place in 2002

when the Israeli military invaded areas of the West Bank including Nablus, Jenin, and

Bethlehem. According to Human Rights Watch, at least 140 buildings in Jenin were

completely leveled and more than 200 others were severely damaged, leaving about 4,000

people—more than a quarter of the population—homeless (Audeh, 2002, p. 13). The

Israelis also invaded Bethlehem during the same time period and kept the town under

siege for 44 days. The second extreme example was "Operation Cast Lead" that Israel

carried out from December 2008 to the end of January 2009 in Gaza. The *Report of the*

United Nations Fact Finding Mission on Gaza found that approximately 1,400 Palestinians

were killed during this invasion of Gaza (UN Fact Finding Mission, 2009). In addition, the

mission found that the Israeli forces committed grave breaches of the *Fourth Geneva*

Convention in Gaza. These included "willful killing, torture or inhumane treatment, willfully

causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health, and extensive destruction of

property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly" (p.

537).

Grave human rights violations are routine within the West Bank and Gaza, and

include demolition of houses, sieges and closures, confiscation of property and agriculture

lands, violation of right to health care, impediments to movement, and imprisonment and

torture (Palestinian Center for Human Rights, 2003). These forms of institutionalized

control and violence affect the daily movement of Palestinians, restrict them from traveling

to work, cut them off from their livelihood, and keep them away from their places of

worship.

Power relationships. I provide evidence of how the Palestinians understood the power relationships that are central to maintaining the Occupation and restrict the prospects for a lasting peace in Palestine and Israel. For example Ibrahim, a Palestinian, asserted that the barriers to peace must be seen from the political standpoint of who has power. He stated:

> For me, I don't make it very complicated. There is Occupation and there is occupier. What we are all struggling with is to get our independence. Some people find that they have military means and they agree with the military ends to separate our home land. Personally, I don't see that military means contribute to our struggle. I prefer to have non-violent resistance. So the main aspect here is Occupation. We should be also careful not to make the Occupation beautiful. Otherwise, we are not true to our reality. Don't try to forget that we are finally struggling here to get our independence and the Israeli's are the occupiers. You don't make peace with a friend; you make peace with an enemy.

For Palestinians independence and self-determination are key ingredients for liberation and emancipation, but the political barriers create circumstances that distance them from that goal. People at the local level are often unable to affect the change needed for social justice because of the extent that the political barriers, such as segregation and separation, impede their movement and action. Zayed et al (2003) explained:

> The very nature of the Israeli occupation tends towards denying the existence of the occupied, dealing with the occupied population through a set of military laws issued

by the occupying power and rejecting the rules set by the international community

defining the relationship between occupier and occupied. (p. 7)

This power relationship is reinforced by Israel's imposition of its own definition of the

relationship between occupier and occupied and the rules of Occupation, designating its

Occupation as an exceptional case (Zayed, Qatamish & Nimer, 2003). The international

community has neglectfully accepted Israel on this basis, irresponsibly refusing to make

Israel accountable for violations of international law committed over the last half century.

Despite the quantitative and qualitative tools used to monitor international human

rights, Palestinians are still subject to countless forms of human rights abuses that are a

function of laws, policies and military procedures that the international community

continues to ignore. Zayed et al (2003) explains how these are part of a political system

developed in the context of the conflict, "The basic human rights of Palestinians have

become subject to negotiations within the context of conflict, such as the right of return,

self-determination, right to life, education, freedom, and human dignity" (p. 8).

The political barriers to peace in the region are influenced by the political processes

taking place in Israel, Palestine, and the global community. Often the people at the

grassroots level do not feel the ability to affect the solutions for peace. Although the peace

process is a potential political solution to the conflict, it is also influenced by the larger

political forces. Ibrahim explained that the peace process has been hampered by forces

external to the region, "The peace process is imposed on the Palestinians and the Israeli's

and it is not a natural process. It's imposed on them from outside so actually both parties

have been resisting that in one way or another." He expressed that a peace process

imposed from the outside is not an effective way to bring about peace. The peace educators in this study all come from a place of grassroots activism and they create activities that engage people at the local level. Consequently, they all talked about the necessity of peace originating organically at the local level.

Even within Palestinian society, inequitable relationships of power and influence favor some over others. Thaquan agreed that the actual implementation of a peace process must involve people at the grassroots level. He expressed his belief that the peace process is often negotiated within the political confines of governments and limits people's access to being part of the process. He explained that those who are educated and have access to the peace process have an agenda to affect the policies in their favor to the detriment of the people on the ground. Thaquan stated that many people in politics, "have their own agenda and they affect the policy." However, even though they may know the truth and have the power, it is really not up to them to implement the peace strategies once they are decided upon; this is the responsibility of the people. The average families who are most affected by Occupation on a daily basis are pawns in the process; he asserted that "the majority of the people are victims." The few are making decisions that affect the vast majority of people and the "minority are leading the majority according to their interests."

These relationships of power exist within the Palestinian communities, within the relationships between Israel and Palestine, and within the global community. Thaquan clearly communicated that Palestinians can feel disenfranchised because, even though the Occupation affects them directly, they are not involved in making the decisions that affect their lives. Living under Occupation means their chances of emancipation are slim and

their daily experiences include subjugation by the occupying force. As we saw earlier in

the discussion of human rights, the larger global community has an undeniable, albeit

often unrecognizable, responsibility in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict not only because it

supports the Israeli military at close to $ 3 billion a year, but also because it has an

influence in either supporting or denying international law.

Restrictions on movement of Palestinians. One of the main systems used by the

Israeli military to maintain Occupation is the set of laws which impose restrictions on

movement of Palestinians. These restrictions are carried out through travel permission

requirements implemented through Israeli military checkpoints, curfews imposed on

Palestinian cities, and closures that leave Palestinians without access to roads and towns.

In order for any Palestinian to travel into Israel, or at times between Palestinian cities, they

need permission. Rutie, from Windows, explained:

> In order to get Palestinians into Israel they have to ask for permits. Up to the age of
>
> sixteen, it's usually not a problem. But the facilitators have a problem. Sometimes
>
> when there's a Jewish holiday there's a strict closure. Palestinians can't move out of
>
> the territories, only for humanitarian reasons. Sometimes there are many security
>
> forces…the security forces believe there could be the threat of suicide bombings and
>
> they make a strict closure.

In addition to laws that require permission for movement, Palestinians also face

curfews and closures that create obstacles for any kind of movement or peace education

activities. Enas explained that the curfews placed on Palestinians can last from several

hours to several days depending on the security forces of Israel. Enas further described the

curfews, "From town to town it's more or less restricted. By the end of 2004, the situation

in Palestine, especially in Hebron, we witnessed instability on a political level and on a

security level. There were curfews that were imposed from time to time." The curfews are

placed on entire towns and maintain a system of control over the Palestinian populations in

the West Bank. During the curfews, Palestinians are required to stay in their homes and are

not allowed to open businesses. Often these curfews are placed on Palestinians within the

Occupied Palestinian Territories as a means of collective punishment.

The Israeli army has also imposed curfews on cities in the West Bank as

punishment. The routine use of curfews violates international law (Bennis, 2007). B'tselem,

a Human Rights group in Israel, clearly states,

> As the occupying power, the army is required to ensure the well-being of the civilian
>
> population. Therefore, any means that it employs must maintain a reasonable
>
> balance between security needs and potential harm to the civilian population. In
>
> imposing curfews, the army violates this reasonable balance: the Palestinians' needs
>
> are given only marginal consideration, which is reflected in the short breaks in the
>
> curfew. (p. 21)

Prolonged curfew affects all areas of life including destruction to the economic

infrastructure, loss of sources of income, malnutrition, stress from confinement to home,

and grave harm to the education, health, and welfare systems. B'tselem further concludes,

"The prolonged curfew constitutes collective punishment, which is absolutely prohibited

by international law" (p. 15). According to figures, in 2005, the Israeli Defense Force

imposed a comprehensive closure on the Occupied Territories for a total of 132 days.

Thus, for more than one-third of 2005, residents of the Occupied Territories were not allowed to travel between the West Bank and Gaza or to enter Israel (OHCA). These closures have a devastating effect on all Palestinians as they impede their ability to attend school, travel to their jobs, visit relatives or obtain medical treatment.

Furthermore, Palestinians' movements are restricted by policies that limit their entry into certain areas of the Occupied Palestinian Territories that remain under Israeli control. Palestinians who would like to visit Jerusalem are usually restricted except with prior permission. Jerusalem remains extremely important to Palestinians not only for commerce, but also for religious reasons; Jerusalem is the central location of important religious sites, including the Al-Aqsa mosque for Muslims, and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher for Palestinian Christians. It is also the proposed capital of a future Palestinian state. Enas explained that Palestinians:

> ...have to have a permit to go to Jerusalem. It's restricted. You have to be a resident of Jerusalem. If I want to go to Jerusalem, if I have a good reason to do so, then I have to have permission. For instance, just two months ago, I was invited to join a workshop on the media section of the United States Consulate in Jerusalem. They presented me an invitation, so I was able to access Jerusalem.

Sometimes permits can take several weeks to obtain and can often be denied. The 19 miles from Enas' home in Hebron to Jerusalem becomes a major difficulty due to restrictions of movement placed on Palestinians. Enas continued:

> It feels offensive when you know that Jerusalem is a holy land for Palestinians and it's very offensive when you are not able access it and you need a special permission

for that. It gets to you. Sometimes you ask yourself the question, "Why we are not

allowed to go?" Of course, you know the answers—it's the political issues and the

security—but you just cannot stop asking yourself this question whenever you want

to do so.

Thaqaun also contemplates the same question about the restrictions and reflects on

the possibility of a life without such restrictions. He explained:

Usually I ask myself this question, "Why is this happening? Is it only a fate from God?

Is it just like a dream?" I'm dreaming of one day to wake up in the morning and be

driving my car and going to Jerusalem and doing my prayers and visiting my uncles

and my aunt.

For now this reality does not exist for Thaquan because currently any Palestinian living in

the Occupied Palestinian Territories cannot travel to Jerusalem. Thaquan is restricted from

going to the holiest of sites of his religion. Thaquan's narrative is an embodiment of the

injustice that remains a contentious point for most Palestinians and serves as a constant

reminder to them that their rights are not respected by the Israeli government. The

physical barriers that limit movement are also a political because they impeded the

reconciliation work and any collaboration for joint projects between the groups of Jewish

Israelis and Palestinians. Ibrahim explained that "unfortunately most of our work has been

done in the Palestinian society because it's very difficult for Israelis to come to West Bank

areas and very difficult for Palestinians to go to Israeli areas."

Restrictions impede dialogue. The Israeli government has created laws restricting

people on both sides to meet. These barriers have a polarizing effect on both groups

because it physically puts a distance between them and restricts them from any cross-

cultural dialogue. Enas explained:

> On the governmental level, the negotiation channel is almost closed now and the
>
> peace process in the political level is dying more and more. Even on the social level,
>
> local level of both societies, how can you speak about dialogue if you cannot sit and
>
> meet with the Israeli people and Israelis cannot come to Bethlehem or Ramallah for
>
> instance, a Palestinian citizen cannot go to Israel?

However, while Ibrahim acknowledged that dialogue is an important part of the process,

that ultimately a political solution must be reached, he added:

> I think peace is possible but we need also to have leadership on both sides whether
>
> imposing or natural process, but we need leader support. We need political peace
>
> process also. As you know, every peace process is divided into two parts: the grass
>
> roots (or the public peace process) and the political peace process. You need both of
>
> them, what we do is a grass roots, but it's not enough. We can have dances, we can
>
> have intensive workshops, we can have media, but to be effective we need the
>
> political peace process.

Global influences. The participants discussed how the global community is

politically involved in the conflict and can be seen as impeding a culture of peace. Ibrahim

clarified that the conflict is "not only the Palestinian and Israeli conflict; it's a world

conflict." He stated:

> It's very obvious, certainly after September 11th attack. The first statement from
>
> Osama Bin Laden included a statement about Jerusalem. So you see, it's not a local

conflict, it's a world conflict. This is one of the things of our world now, as I told you, we are living in an open system. In the past what happened in Palestine was nothing, now in a few seconds it could be on all the TVs in the world.

Thaquan sees that the international community perpetuates the conflict because they benefit from its continuation. He stated:

The international community has its role in the conflict. I see it in that way. I see that poor Palestinians and Israelis are the victims. I see it in this way. Why? Because there are other parts outside who are getting the benefit from this conflict and I see it clearly. The United States and other European countries will get the benefit from this conflict. Why? Because they are sending weapons and without the conflict there will be no access to these in the various regions. Due to the conflict, there is destruction and construction and without the conflict you will end some business. So it is the shape of a multi-national conflict and there are two victims: the Palestinian and the Israelis. So what we see here is the economic viability to continue a conflict because it benefits those that have an economic interest in the war economy (weapons manufacturing).

The emphasis on how the international community influences the political barriers to peace can be seen in the way that policies influencing the continuation of military aid and support continue to maintain the Occupation. Thaquan clearly asserted that Israel and the United States have a relationship that influences the power in the region in favor of Israel and allows for the continued Occupation of Palestine. He stated:

Now the only power in the world is the United States and United States has its own interest in the region and Israel is the lovely baby for those states. I believe that Israel exists by an international decision. Israel can be limited by sanctions on exports and Israel can give us our rights that are ordered by international law. You have to question the leaders in the states. Why are they supporting Israel? What is the benefit they are getting? In this way, I think the public in the United States may change in the future if you manage to convince the others and if you manage to give them another image.

The political influences that impede a culture of peace exist at the intersection of the local and the global political landscapes. The participants indicated that the barriers to peace in the region are strongly influenced by an international and global set of forces. A checkpoint may look like a local physical and political barrier, but the $600,000 to build and maintain the structure is supplied by the United States. The Separation Wall, which affects the movement of people and goods locally is, in part, manufactured through a German construction company. The local and global go hand in hand in the Israel Palestine conflict.

Effect of legal and policy restrictions on the economy. Despite the many factors affecting the economic situation in the West Bank, it is generally undisputed that the sweeping restrictions on movement since the outbreak of the second intifada are a major reason for the deterioration of the Palestinian economy including an increase in unemployment and poverty. The economic situation creates another barrier that severs much of the persevering good will between Israelis and Palestinians and thwarts desire for

productive dialogue in the development of a culture of peace. As a result of the comprehensive closure of the Occupied Territories that Israel imposed at the beginning of the current intifada, tens of thousands of Palestinians lost their jobs in Israel (B'tselem, 2008). Within the West Bank, the restrictions make it very hard for Palestinians to get to their jobs and to transport goods from area to area. These restrictions led to an increase in transportation costs and, consequently, to lower profits. Trade from one section of the West Bank to another has become expensive, uncertain, and inefficient. Arbitrary and unannounced closings of roads and checkpoints make it difficult and time consuming to transport products even short distances. The effect of Israeli laws and policies on the Palestinian economy has been devastating.

Because barriers to the process of creating a culture of peace in Israel and Palestine are numerous and multi-dimensional, the peace workers must wage an ongoing struggle to see that peace develops in the region. One reason the participants focus on the barriers is to construct a clear vision of the nature of peace and what needs to be accomplished on the ground to reach their goals.

Processes and Skills for Depolarization and Rehumanization

While the discussion up to this point has focused primarily on how the participants conceptualize and understand the barriers to peace, it is ultimately their conceptions of a culture of peace that are the driving force of this study. The primary finding of this research is that educators work towards a culture of peace by encouraging the creation of a new narrative by Israelis and Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, and Israel. Polarization and violence are an essential part of an old narrative, the "us vs. them" history and story passed

down by generations of Israelis and Palestinians; in a culture of peace, a new narrative, which reflects a depolarized and inter-related society, is based on the emergence of a modern story in which both sides are equitable contributors. This requires people on both sides of the conflict with prejudices to undergo a transformative experience triggered by an understanding that can only be achieved through dialogue and being in relationship.

People interested in moving societies to a culture of peace must be self consciously aware of the many barriers that are in there way. These barriers cannot be ignored and must be acknowledged in the transformative process. The idea of depolarization assumes that there is something to work against or resist in the process of working towards a culture of peace. Through depolarization, people move out of their own extreme position and acknowledge and develop compassion for "the other." The participants explained that often the opposing parties identify with a "victim" position, and the challenge is to break the binary between an "us and them" mentality and, subsequently, right and wrong. Depolarization is achieved when people overcome preconceptions and prejudices about the "other" and is part of a rehumanization process in which both sides of a conflict come to see each other, not as part of a larger nondescript "enemy," but as distinct human beings no different from themselves. Depolarization seeks to dismantle the dichotomous, hierarchical and racist reasoning of modernity that is at the root of systems of domination and exploitation by replacing it with a more complex reasoning (West, 2002).

Many of the barriers discussed in the previous section create polarization between the two groups of people. The Separation Wall is one physical incarnation of the polarized system of a global culture of war. Thaquan discussed how the Wall impedes the exchange

of ideas from one person to the other. Ibrahim explained, "What's dangerous is that we don't interact with Israeli society and vice-versa." In a sense, coming together is a revolutionary act that defies the dominant power structure that created the Wall. Overcoming the barriers and the systems that set up structures for a culture of war takes a transformation in practices and a commitment to peace.

Transformation

Real global and societal change can only happen if people change. The transformative process of seeing an "enemy" as a human being occurs inside the hearts and minds of individuals. According to Anael, "peace can be reached between people before it happens between governments." Like other peace educators, she acknowledges the necessary aspects of the human-to-human approaches toward peace and reconciliation efforts in contrast to a system of political and governmental actions that imposes peaceful resolutions to the conflict.

Many of the research participants had personal experience with the transformative rehumanization process in their own lives. Often this included a specific event in which they came to see the importance of seeing the "other" as human, dissolving the distinctions between an "us" and "them." For example, Anael explained that her Zionist perceptions shifted after she visited the West Bank for a peace workshop in Nablus. She said "everything looked gray;" it looked "depressed and oppressed." She had a physical reaction in which she felt the heaviness of the atmosphere and she acknowledged how different this was from the life she led in Israel.

Within the process of rehumanization one side begins to open up and acknowledge that the other side has its own narrative, frame of reference, and viewpoint. By actually experiencing the other's suffering, one can begin to be informed by a new perspective that challenges previous ideology. During Anael's visit, she heard the stories of the Palestinian women and recounted:

> ...my belief system crashed and I felt as if I had been standing on glass. Someone took a hammer and POW! Who am I now? I was in absolute shock. Like where have I been? Where have I been? Who are these people that I don't know in my backyard? ...And I've never seen it! I saw their suffering as being so real and my suffering as being in my head, my thoughts. It was a shocking revelation for me. It was really, really painful hearing the stories of Occupation.

Understanding the importance of seeing the "other" as human also informed Thaquan's personal experience. He and his family were forced into hiding when soldiers from the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) invaded Ramallah. To survive, his family needed water and milk, and Thaquan knew that to get these supplies he would need to reach out to one of the soldiers in a way that emphasized his own humanity. He explained his belief that to the IDF soldiers, "Palestinians are the people who are like criminals, who come to Israel and do the "three D's work"—they do the dangerous work, they do the dirty work, and they do the death work. They have a stereotype image. I started to talk with him on another level."

Thaquan explained to the soldier that he went to the American University in Cairo and majored in mathematics and minored in economics. According to Thaquan, "The soldier said, 'Wow! You have a minor in economics; I'm doing a minor in economics also."

Thaquan explained, "We found something in common. We discovered some courses and some economic theories and he said, "I never heard that, I have the image of Palestinians as dirty people and lower class, but actually you changed this idea. I took his email and he took my email and to this day we still are friends."

Peace workers acknowledge that the transformative experience is a difficult and emotional journey because it forces a person to express their own pain and acknowledge the pain of the "other." Melodye stated, "Israelis and Palestinians will start to say we used to think our pain was worse, but what we're finding out is that pain is pain, and it is real for both of us in different ways."

Similarly, Anael acknowledged that "hearing and sharing" suffering is at the core of peace work. She continued, "I believe without sharing our suffering we aren't being honest with each other and we'll never get close to each other. We have to share our suffering." Rutie explained, "The work is a very deep work that helps our participants, mostly youth but also adults, to first of all express the feelings - to discharge the negative feelings."

Because of the intense emotions that can be triggered through this work, some programs, particularly those that work with youth, may ease their participants into the work. For example, Windows encourages youth from different identity groups to exchange letters and pictures before they meet. Rutie explained:

This helps because when you receive information in paper, you read it,

the other is not there – your enemy is not there, so you don't feel so

intimidated. You don't feel so attacked by the person who tells you that

he hates you, or that he's against you, or he wants you to go away.

Reading is easier and you may get angry and you express your anger, but it's easy for you even to express your anger when the other is not there because you feel free to say whatever you want. When you write it, it gives you time to think, 'Ok, I have questions to ask, I can think how to phrase them.'

Dialogue

Peace programs generally incorporate a back-and-forth exchange of ideas, which requires both sides to meet face to face. Anael described this as the essence of rehumanization, which at its core involves simply "sitting with the other person." Melodye described the main point of her program as bringing people together. "What we're saying here is we're going to give you this opportunity to meet the other." Ibrahim shared similar ideas, "...it's very important that people interact with each other at a human level, that they see themselves as equal human beings." This involves both explicitly talking about the conflict and providing youth opportunities to engage in activities and topics that are not directly related to the conflict.

This deceptively ordinary act of bringing people together can have extraordinary consequences. Peace workers agree that dialogue is the central component in bringing about the transformation that rehumanizes the "other." Enas expressed the views of many other peace workers when she explained, "Conflict cannot be resolved without dialogue. Without opening channels of dialogue we cannot think about conflict resolution or peace...dialogue opens the channels between the two conflicting parties in the first place." For this reason, dialogue is the centerpiece of peace programs. For example, Creativity for

Peace is based on a single fundamental supposition: that resolution can only be reached when the two sides of a conflict learn to see each other as humans and learn to talk to each other, hear each other's stories and empathize. Most programs are dedicated to encouraging dialogue, whether by bringing people together to talk and share ideas or by laying the foundation for dialogue.

Education. Peace educators recognize that the desire for dialogue starts with education. The peace workers agree that lack of information perpetuates the fear of the "other" that promotes polarization and violence. For example, according to Anat, "Education in Israel is very much focused on us being victims. It's very much focusing on the Jewish history and trials." Such a one-sided viewpoint reaffirms neo-colonial practices that create oppression and discrimination (Said, 1978).

The peace workers recognize that the prejudices on both sides are deeply rooted. Rutie said, "I would even say that they are born with it because it is so much a part of our culture the way each side's narrative is being taught. It's what you hear since the day you are born, what you've been taught in school, what you hear at home, [and] what is in the media." Rutie explained that for peace education to be effective, participants, "first have to overcome so many preconceptions and prejudices and other negative feelings that they carry." Ibrahim acknowledged how easy it is for prejudices to be perpetuated generation to generation through the educational process. He continued by explaining that this is achieved in a very subtle manner in the classroom and is a function of the very language teachers use with their students, "Teachers need to be very careful in the terminology they use in the classroom otherwise they keep circulating this cycle of violence."

To introduce new ideas, and lay the foundation for dialogue, most peace workers provide education on topics such as non-violent culture and mediation, conflict resolution and human rights and community action. Such topics may be offered in a formalized curriculum. For example, Enas explained that her organization, "issued a five book series regarding the non-violent tradition in Islam. The idea was to include some parts of these books into the national curriculum at schools."

The peace workers also acknowledge that the idea of human rights is foundational to their work. Ibrahim stated that "peace education is a human rights education." "In Israel and Palestine," said Anat, "there is no education for human rights. The lessons that are drawn from this are very dangerous. I think that more awareness, a very deep understanding of human rights...is very, very important and useful." Rutie explained:

> Recognizing human rights opens the door for a deeper understanding. If I want rights, that means that I have to accept that you want your rights too, and this will put us in an equal way where we all want our rights. From this they can get some joint vision. What can we do together to make sure that we all get our rights?

Peace education involves the understanding of human rights for all people. In particular, educators on both sides of the conflict teach the ideas expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Having been introduced to these ideas, people begin to ask critical questions when they do not see human rights available to all citizens.

Speaking from the "I." Peace workers lay the foundation for the exchange of ideas by encouraging participants to speak from their own personal experience. Instead of blaming each other, the focus is on how the issues affect them personally. Rutie explained

that she tells students, "Don't say, 'You took our land, you killed our people!' These are slogans that you can't identify with." In her program, Rutie helps the youth to focus on narratives of the family and personal memories instead. Rutie shared:

> They begin to exchange stories about their families and every family story is somehow connected also to the narrative. My grandparents came from here and my grandparents came from there. Something happened in so many wars, everybody has something to say. Every family has a story. It's easier, again, after we get to know you, know your brothers, your sisters, your parents and your grandparents.

Melodye also recognized the importance of speaking from the "I" and from personal experience. She understands that many cultural influences shaped students' identities. Melodye shared:

> Each one of us comes to the situation from the perspective of where we come from—where we live, our culture, our race, our identity, our religion, our nationality, our community, our neighborhood, our parents. We talk about identity and how our identity has formed us and shaped us.

Part of the Building Bridges program focuses on creating relationships between girls from Palestine and Israel. By sharing personal stories with each other, each side comes to understand a different perspective and vantage point and, most profoundly, develops a new relationship with the "other." Melodye expressed, "We're trying to create interpersonal relationships that give these young people the opportunity to tell their story through their perspective of the situation while they are living together." These

experiences empower the individuals to create relationships otherwise unavailable in the spaces where they reside.

By speaking from the "I," the peace workers understand that depolarization and rehumanization begins internally, within the self. The first act of transformation that people must engage in is deeply personal. They do not begin by trying to dismantle the master narrative but with the simple act of telling ones story. Rather than focusing outward to the "other," the telling and reimagining of personal narratives makes it possible for people to then reach out and formulate a different kind of relationship with the "other."

Neutral territory. Another detail that the peace workers acknowledge can help lay the foundation for dialogue is for both parties to meet somewhere that is not so politically charged and full of the barriers and constant reminder of Occupation. The difficulties imposed by the Occupation make it almost impossible for the Palestinians and Israelis to meet in a common space in their local environment. The chances for Israelis to meet Palestinians and vice versa is much easier within a location outside of Israel or the Occupied Palestinian Territories. For this reason, several of the participants work outside the local area and bring youth to these places to meet. These locations also serve as a neutral space where the youth can speak openly.

The Creativity for Peace camp takes place in the United States to start the process because, as Anael stated,

> I think for the Palestinians specifically, for them to go to Israel would be so
>
> threatening, so scary that they would say, "Oh my god, I have to sleep with an Israeli
>
> girl in the same room!" All they know is a soldier, they don't know that they are

actually people, so that influence I think is important so that we can get out and start the process somewhere where it feels safer and then come back.

Melodye, the director of Building Bridges, explained that leaving the region helps to address the inequitable balance of power and authority that is embedded in the social relations between Israel and Palestine , "We felt it was important to bring Israelis and Palestinians to the U.S. so that they could be on a level playing field." Melodye recognized the asymmetrical power relationships imbedded within the Israeli system of Occupation. In the U.S. the girls participating in the Building Bridges program can experience some sense of freedom if only for a short amount of time. The way that these youth return to their respective communities is fundamentally transformed, and the narrative of transformation is at the minimum invited into the personal lives of the girls. In this neutral space the dialogue is allowed to begin weaving its way into daily life. The legacy of this work is often intangible at the moment and difficult to acknowledge. The peace education work "out of country" can be viewed as an expanded or transformed notion of place.

Taking youth out of their place and transporting them to this new and different space has its difficulties. One of the issues in doing peace education work this way is that it can be an idealized space free of the everyday confinements that are part of life in Israel and Palestine. However, the program participants must then return to their home communities. To address this issue, one of the added dimensions of the Building Bridges program is the long-term work of engaging the youth when they return to Israel and Palestine. Continuing the work in each of the respective communities remains difficult, but is a central component of the program. Without the follow-up portion of the program, many

of the lessons can be lost as students return to the pull of the old and comforting narratives they were raised with. Building Bridges relies on leaders within the communities to continue the dialogue when the girls return home so they can discuss the realities and difficulties they experience when trying to live with their newly transformed understanding.

Rutie, from Windows also maintained that an emphasis in their program is to follow-up and continue their work in each of the communities. In order to do this they have members of their organization from each of the areas as part of the leadership team and they make sure that meetings are held in different locations so as not to favor one site over the other.

Follow-up work is essential to the depolarizing and rehumanization process. Research in peace education studies shows that face-to-face encounters can actually be detrimental and lead to a heightened sense of polarization and dehumanization if not accompanied by follow-up work (Saloman, 2002). Short, self-contained encounter sessions do nothing to address the anxiety and tension that comes when individuals representing conflicting positions come in contact. Follow-up work is essential to the success of these programs as dismantling old narratives and replacing them with new ones requires ongoing long-term engagement and high levels of support.

Socialization/Normal activities. Another strategy for creating an environment where dialogue can take place is removing the emphasis on the political by encouraging participants to engage in ordinary activities. The strategy of Creativity for Peace involves daily artistic practices which allow each girl to find her creative voice. In Peace it Together,

youth from Palestine and Israel take part in videography skills and produce short length

films to share with the communities. In the Building Bridges program the participants are

integrated in cabin groups, communication workshops, discussion groups, and as partners

in creative projects. Melodye provided a rationale for this approach: "These experiences

begin to break down walls that lead to hate, racism, and often violence."

One of main aspects of the Windows project is not to create a particular agenda, but

offer people ways to understand the issues from different viewpoints. Rutie explained,

> Windows is not affiliated with any political party and we do not offer political
>
> solutions. Another thing is, because we don't have a clear political agenda in a sense
>
> of solution, if it's one or two states, or where the border will be, people feel more
>
> comfortable because they don't have to believe in a certain way because we have
>
> people who can argue very strongly for one or two state solution or for or against
>
> the right of return and they feel comfortable with those.

By allowing the participants in Windows to express different viewpoints, Rutie explained,

people are more likely to participate and express their ideas and personal feelings. This

allows for a democratic space to develop where many ideas can be explored.

Anael described her own goals is for the girls who participate in the Creativity for

Peace camp in New Mexico to feel the freedom that they cannot feel at home. At home, the

girls do not have the opportunity to meet each other and live normal lives. Anael explained:

> I want to see the girls at camp, just living together peacefully, going bowling
>
> together, going shopping together, doing all these natural things together, that's
>
> what I want to see. I just want to see us being friends and being able to share our

lives and to be free. Like normal people do, like the girls when they're in the space

they say that they felt like their lives were normal but now they see that their lives

are not normal.

These normal experiences allow the girls to experience what is possible and to envision a

world where segregation is eliminated. These experiences also allow for authentic

integration and socialization between the two groups, something that is not possible in

their lives in Israel and Palestine.

Similarly, Melodye explained that by engaging in a new and different form of

socialization, the girls are able to construct a transformed or new identity. Identity is often

shaped by what other people and society construct. She shares that in the Building Bridges

camp they talk about "what happens when other people give us an identity." Melodye

stated that the girls "haven't had this opportunity before so the socialization work is very

important." The camp is not only about formal workshops and seminars, but also "about

the times in between the formal workshops and seminars. It's the idea that we are sleeping

and eating and recreating together." These are the times when the girls can actually make

friendships and share in activities beyond the scope of the formalized settings.

By replacing a formal rules-based type of socialization that can be part of many

encounter groups, participants are allowed a sense of freedom and power that is not

available in their home countries. At home, when encounters are even possible, they adhere

to a formalized structure such as a short planned encounter. The unstructured time spent

together allows participants to have a sense of power and autonomy to define their own

lives and their own relationships.

Compassionate listening and acknowledging the other. Setting the foundation for dialogue also means encouraging participants to acknowledge the other. While many of the initial encounters focus on changing the internal and personal environment, there is a time when it becomes important to focus outward and begin developing relationships through listening. The peace workers described the importance of listening and hearing the other's stories. These ideas of listening were extremely important factors for dialogue to be productive. Many of the educators expressed a need to "get out of the mind and work from the heart." This deep emotional work operates through a sense of compassionate listening. Compassion is an emotion that generates a sense of shared suffering. The participants explained that it is the deep emotional relationship between individuals rather than the impersonal political system which changes attitudes and beliefs about the other. Breaking long held emotional beliefs is the first step toward achieving respect and mutual coexistence.

Melodye comes from a social work and psychosocial perspective that uses Maslow's the theory of individual needs to explain how needs are not being met on either side. She explained:

> I think on both sides they have a fear that the other is 'trying to annihilate me, make me invisible, and make me not exist.' One of our basic needs is to feel a sense of belonging, the ability to feed, and clothe and be secure. I think at the very basic needs of that insecurity [there is the belief that], 'the others are out there to eliminate me.'

This fear of the "other" creates a sense of not being acknowledged by the other side. In Israel and Palestine this is a particularly prickly subject as the two societies have a modern and historical narrative of displacement that is such a central component of their identities. Melodye explained, "The Palestinians are indigenous to the land—they feel that they are uprooted and that they have no place. The Israelis have always been Jews and displaced people. And so the real fear, on both sides, is that the other wants a spot to exist."

The strategy of Creativity for Peace is the inclusion of "daily sessions of compassionate dialogue which allows the girls to hear the other's stories." This activity creates an opening for each side because they realize that someone is listening. For the first time, many of the girls feel they are being heard and acknowledged.

Rutie clarified that the participants in her program have a deep need to be heard and understood, "Students from both sides of the conflict want to have their pain, suffering, and fear acknowledged." Rutie understands that both sides of the conflict want to be acknowledged and heard. She stated, "The Israeli kids find that their suffering is very real...Very often the Israeli kids feel that it's not fair, they ask, "We're very understanding and empathetic showing empathy to the person for their suffering, why don't they understand why we suffer too?" The idea is to move past one's own sense of suffering and having the ability to acknowledge the suffering of others. This is particularly difficult when the source of suffering is perceived to be sitting across from you. This takes time, concerted dialogue and a committed personal relationship to the other.

By having the time to share with each other, the students begin to listen to one another. Leah's organization, Compassionate Listening, works on a more global scale by

bringing internationals into Palestine and Israel to hear each side's narratives. Through

intensive training in listening skills, she provides the participants the ability to see the

conflict through a new understanding. She created these formalized training programs as a

way for people to learn how to really hear the other person and compassionately listen

with an open heart. She has found that this training allows for one to "rehumanize the

other" and it creates an opportunity for the once held "polarized viewpoints" to be

changed. These listening sessions are a means to transformation of viewpoints and a

movement toward a culture of peace. Leah explained that she is deeply committed to the

"process for rehumanization, reconciliation and healing." This is done by understanding the

"complexities on the ground, listening to leaders, and people in each community who have

suffered greatly from the conflict. Her purpose in the delegations she leads to the Middle

East region involve communication with others to establish relationships and

compassionate dialogue.

Freedom to share. Creating open dialogue includes the ability to feel free to share

anything that is important to the participants. Anael thoroughly embodies these beliefs in

her work and explained, "The feeling in the organization is that everybody can raise their

voice and everybody can say all they have to say and it's open. We don't push anything

under the carpet." This has not only been written into the philosophy of the organization,

but has "become part of the spirit of the participants in the organization."Rutie explained:

> We encourage them to take it all out: the fears, the angers, the frustrations.
>
> Everything is legitimate which means that you can say that you hate, you can say

that you are afraid of something; you can say anything because you have the right to express your feelings.

The freedom to share anything is one of the most important parts of the reconciliation process because it allows people to express themselves and speak their truth from a place that is authentic and powerful. It takes people some time to be able to really express their feelings, but Rutie sees this as an integral step. She explained,

Part of this ability to express your feelings is first it does release you, you feel better. When you express your own feelings and the other hears you, and accepts it and you contain yourself or your story or your anger, even your hatred. If the other side is able to contain it and to accept it and listen to you, it's possible with empathy which comes along the way, then you may feel open to listen to the other side too.

The freedom to share anything is key to acknowledging the suffering and pain experienced by both sides and the painful collective narrative that informs their ideology.

This process shows how personally invested individuals are in these ideologies. They are not just some dispassionate bureaucratic ideas or slogans; they are part of one's identity and sense of self. Speaking the pain and acknowledging the grief creates an opening for healing and reconciliation to take place. Rutie explained, "For people to come to Windows, it is like a support group. Here we can talk. They would come to us again because it has some sense of safety; its kids, its education, so we tend to get people that want to be involved, want to create a difference, but don't want to be too political."

Common goal. Creating a common goal between participants in cross-cultural groups is an important factor in dialogue and reconciliation work. This work helps to

create an understanding and language between the two groups. In the Peace it Together

program, students are put into mixed groups (Palestinian, Israeli, and Canadian) to identify

a topic, issue or story that each can contribute to as they are given the skills to make a film.

There are multiple levels of difference that the participants must negotiate. Reena

explained, "In this task they must also negotiate differences in language as well because

each person has a different first language."

Windows also encourages students to work together on a shared Hebrew and

Arabic magazine where the mixed groups have to negotiate the joint focus and issues.

Initially the stories are about familiar and personal issues that all participants have

experience with, such as their own families. As the students get to know about each other's

families, they learn about journalism and how to write articles. Windows wants students to

write about the experiences and to demonstrate how to cover stories from different angles

and different sides. Rutie described the process:

> In every article there would be different voices so the readers at the end of the line
>
> will get information, opinions, feelings, from both sides of the conflict. Now, working
>
> on articles together teaches them a lot about journalism, but also about life, about
>
> each other. It brings them together. Our facilitators who are experienced dialogue
>
> facilitators help them to cope. Because every new issue, information, angle brings
>
> more questions and more feelings so it's all the time about how we feel about it and
>
> why do they feel the way they do. Along this work of coping with different issues
>
> and becoming journalists, we also try to get out, from the different activities, to pull
>
> out values.

Thaquan stated that a focus on larger issues facing the opposing societies can become the common ground for depolarization. He said that focusing on an issue like pollution can bring Palestinian and Israeli groups to work towards liberation. He stated, "To think of an issue of pollution – pollution will never discriminate whether I am Palestinian or whether or I am Israeli. If you give them a space to learn and to practice, they will succeed." Thaquan acknowledged the difficulty of creating cross-cultural groups in Palestine that can focus on common goals, but he works with youth in his own community to empower them to work on joint projects at the local level. He tries to empower the youth by focusing on issues within their own society where they can take social action and try to make a difference.

Rula also works with Palestinian youth on social action and community projects at the local level because of the inability to create cross-cultural exchanges. Her work focuses on helping youth find social action projects and issues within their own communities that are of value to them. She explained, "It is important for the youth to choose their own topic and what is important to them. This cannot be a top down approach." In fact, Rula refused funding from an organization because they were trying to bring their own agenda to the focus rather than "focusing on the perceived needs of the youth."

Implementing a New Narrative and Taking Action

The common goal among the peace workers is helping people not only experience a personal transformation but then also to feel empowered enough to take the lessons they learned into their own communities. Taking action is one way participants bring to life a

new narrative. Taking action takes place on many different levels and the types of actions taken by the International, Israelis, and Palestinians may differ.

Internationals describe their work as grounded in social action, community development and leadership at the grassroots level. The dialogue and reconciliation efforts do not end with one camp or joint film making program, but continue in the individual communities. Efforts at the local level are reinforced through leadership training activities for youth to become involved in political and social action.

Melodye discussed that, before the girls leave their camp, they begin to focus on their realities of returning to their home communities where peace with the other and reconciliation are far from the minds and hearts of many others around them. The Building Bridges program shares that their goal is that "while learning skills to talk about conflict, the young women also build self-esteem and leadership skills, and together they begin to create a vision for a peaceful future." The ultimate goal is for the participants to turn their experiences into positive action.

The Israeli participants also describe programs focus intensely on fostering the relationships between the youth so commitment to social activism and engagement will continue when they return to their home communities. The programs help youth develop skills in leadership, negotiation, and conflict resolution, which they are expected to use in their real lives to help people understand multiple perspectives and viewpoints.

The Palestinian participants in this study all focused on local level efforts with other Palestinians. They did not discuss their activities in relation to encouraging or engaging in many cross-border activities. It is likely that they feel discouraged by the barriers they

encounter and powerless to overcome them. Instead, they emphasize local grass-roots efforts that educated youth on nonviolent activism, community action, and empowerment instead. The Palestinians discussed these skills as necessary for youth to be engaged in at the local level because as Thaquan pointed out, "At some point they will be able to participate and they need to know their rights as citizens." By focusing on the local level, Thaquan provides them with some form of autonomy and agency that is often lacking outside their small surroundings. For example, Thaquan lives in the town of Ramallah, which is 15 minutes from Jerusalem, and many of the students are not able to travel to Jerusalem with their parents because of the restrictions. This sense of building on the community engagement skills at the local level provided youth with some empowerment to make a difference in their own communities.

Embodying and enacting change on the local level is one step towards taking responsibility, working for social justice, and acknowledging human rights for everyone. Rutie explained that in the Windows project, part of the process "is helping youth to see that they want their rights." Rutie explained, "If we do more as we grow up, we take more responsibility, then hopefully we will be able to not only cope locally, but to cope with outside factors. We can raise a strong enough voice that the global factors will not be able to ignore.

Processes Related to a Culture of Peace

The participants' understanding of a culture of peace was quite a bit different than what I thought I was going to find. I began the study thinking I would be able to identify a concept that brought together the common elements of their understanding of peace. What

I found was not an end point, a concept that every one worked towards, but a process and a set of skills for encouraging and enhancing productive dialogue. Processes such as listening, sharing, and building common purpose are ongoing actions needed to move people towards an internal transformation that eventually leads to a culture of peace. The participants and their programs developed skills that were intended to effectively engage people in these processes and offered them the ability to develop their own understanding of a culture of peace.

In addition, a culture of peace is built upon social justice and human rights. This is consistent with the perspectives of global feminist conceptions of peace and the culture of peace. Peace requires that injustice and suffering be acknowledged in an effort to get participants to work towards its amelioration or elimination. Again, no particular answer or sense of social justice was proposed, only that social justice was to be a goal of the processes that constitute a culture of peace. This was particularly true for the Palestinians. There was little acknowledgement of peace, but a deep focus and commitment to social justice, human rights, and equality. This makes sense as they are the victims of an Occupation in which their civil liberties and human rights are constantly being violated. The very idea of coexistence almost seems foreign as they are unable to even meet Israelis who are not soldiers, much less engage in the dialogue that is required for true equality and the recognition of rights.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have explored participants' conceptions of what comprises a culture of peace from their various locations and perspectives. A major finding was that a

culture of peace cannot be considered without first thoroughly examining the obstacles to peace. While the participants seemed hopeful about their work, this was tempered by the reality of working in a region of conflict. Important to this finding is the scholarship of Salomon (2002) who asserts that peace education is more difficult in societies with intractable conflict compared with those that post conflict. In post conflict society's, people can easily engage in dialogue because barriers have been minimized, but in societies where intractable conflict continues, the barriers to peace remain constant and ever present. Additionally, what is meant by peace and the actions one can take are mediated by the unique situation of the conflict. The conflict in this case has a clear relationship of domination and oppression that one group imposes on the other. Therefore, relationships of power affect all efforts to work towards peace. The two societies in this conflict are highly polarized through concrete barriers and ideological and political forces. This creates a consciousness of fear and distrust of the "other" that makes any peace process exceptionally difficult. The barriers to peace that I discussed in this chapter amount to a set of powerful forces that polarize Palestinians and Israelis and inhibit any real and lasting movement toward peace. The one hope that the participants discussed was the possibility of moving beyond extreme positions through the depolarizing processes of dialogue, listening, and building a common purpose.

The process of depolarization involves moving people out of their own extreme position in an effort to acknowledge "others" and their situation. Peace educators work to bring people together from very different, polarized, and conflicting positions to communicate and listen to other perspectives in order to change deeply held convictions.

Many of the participants discussed the need to create opportunities for contact and dialogue at the local level. Additionally, education is a key component to encourage ideas of transformation that lead one to change preconceptions, prejudices and extreme viewpoints. By encouraging dialogue, educators are able to begin breaking down the misconceptions and misinformation about the "other." One of the key elements of depolarization involves an acknowledgement of others' narratives by listening, acknowledging and respecting their history and perspectives.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

The purpose of my dissertation research was to examine the conceptions of a culture of peace that held by peace educators. For this purpose, I used a sampling of Israeli, Palestinian and International peace educators working within the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict and conducted a qualitative study for the purpose of shedding light on the questions: "How do peace educators construct an understanding of peace and a culture of peace?," and "How do their positionalities as Israelis, Palestinians and Internationals affect these conceptions?." My research, which included face-to-face and telephone interviews with follow-up questions by email and phone, was conducted within a critical theoretical framework of advocacy research, critical ethnography and global feminism. This colored the information I collected; the conclusions I was able to draw from my analysis frame peace within issues of social justice. In addition, I entered the study with presuppositions about the mechanisms and structures in the region that keep social justice and peace from being a reality.

My overarching finding is that it is difficult to talk about the concept of peace or working towards peace in the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict. While the participants were committed to working toward peace between Israelis and Palestinians, their work was made quite difficult because of the various characteristics of the Occupation. General notions of peace tend not to work in regions of conflict like Israel and Palestine. A more appropriate term would be "peace education under Occupation." The Israeli Occupation of Palestine frames and, in many ways, defines the activities and conceptions of the peace

educators. The Occupation, then, is primarily an issue of social justice and human rights.

Since 1967, Israel has maintained a military Occupation of Palestine that has brought

severe human rights abuses upon the population of Palestine. Any understanding of peace

and peace education in the region must be filtered through the framework of Occupation.

Discussion

The first theme that emerged from my study is the importance of the barriers to

peace that had profound effects on the peace education work my participants were able to

conduct. The three primary types of barriers were physical barriers, ideological barriers

and political barriers. Each of these barriers is a function of the Occupation.

The physical barriers include the massive separation barrier, checkpoints and

roadblocks, and segregated Jewish communities. The physical barriers impede the travel of

peace educators and make it particularly difficult, if not impossible, for the peace educators

and the participants in their programs to meet. The physical barriers are also a form of

human rights abuse on Palestinians that is illegal under the Geneva Conventions.

The second barrier is ideological and includes the stories and narratives of the

"other" that are propagated through the educational system, religion, and media. These

socially produced, distributed and validated stories are told by one side of the conflict

about the other and vice versa. The stories that each side tells are framed by a collective

memory conditioned by unique but overlapping histories. Israelis tend to frame their

stories in the context of the Holocaust and the importance of Israel as a Jewish state.

Palestinians construct history as a story in which Jews appropriated their land and

continue an illegal Occupation that impedes their human rights. These two narratives are polarizing and maintain and legitimate the barriers between the Israelis and Palestinians.

The third type of barrier is political and functions along with the physical barriers to constrain peace education work. This is constituted through maze of rules, regulations and policies. The political barriers are particularly troubling as their enforcement at times is arbitrary and/or used as punishment. Palestinians can be denied travel across checkpoints even when they have proper clearance. Curfews are a set of regulations instituted upon the Palestinian population as punishment for what Israelis perceive as Palestinian aggression. The political barriers often operate in concert with the physical barriers to severely restrict any kind of movement between Israel and Palestine or within Palestine.

Peace educators are left to contend with the polarizing and dehumanizing effects of the barriers. As a form of polarization all of the barriers create and validate physical separation and distance between Israelis and Palestinians that pervades all of their work. Any attempts to work together are often thwarted or made difficult because of these barriers. The ideological barriers create and maintain personal and social distance between the two peoples. This polarization fuels a sense that one group is less deserving of rights than the other group. The political barriers exacerbate both the physical and ideological polarization and its dehumanizing effects by giving legal force and sanction to the physical barriers and enhancing resentment between the groups, particularly the resentment of Palestinians for Israelis. It is important to note that while both Israelis and Palestinians feel the influence of ideological barriers, Palestinians suffer disproportionately because of the Occupation.

The second overarching theme developed from my research is that Occupation serves as an ever-present hegemonic structure that frames and colors the conceptions of peace and a culture of peace held by the research participants. The Israeli Occupation of the Palestinian Territories erects physical, ideological and political barriers to peace that became intertwined within the participants' conceptions of peace and a culture of peace. The barriers to peace are so powerful and pervasive in the work of the peace educators that they are impossible to separate out from their conceptions of peace and the work they conduct.

Rather than coming to an understanding of a culture of a peace as a concept that can be clearly defined, the participants focus on the kind of work that would lead to peace and a culture of peace. This leaves the notion of what constitutes peace as somewhat open and negotiable. Participants engage in or conduct a set of processes—compassionate listening, dialogue, speaking from the "I", normal socialization, acknowledging the other, sharing, and creating a common purpose—that are intended to lead towards an idea of peace. These processes are intended to bridge the physical, ideological and political gaps that will depolarize the participants and allow them to re-humanize the "other."

However, the idea of peace, or a culture of peace, is constantly mediated by the imposition of the barriers to peace. Oftentimes, it is impossible for Israelis and Palestinians to get together, so peace education work is conducted within the populations rather than across them. In cases where such meetings are possible, the interactions are may be short and composed of perfunctory activities. Moreover, because of the polarized positionalities of the participants, these can sometimes be very difficult, both cognitively and emotionally.

At times this means that the work has to be conducted outside the region as the barriers can be too much to overcome. Even if the participants are taken to a neutral location, this tends to be a utopian space that has little bearing once as the participants must return to the constant imposition of the barriers that are constructed through Occupation. Consequently, the very idea of peace as a kind of reconciliation or coexistence is difficult to conceive.

Because I examined peace education in a region of intractable conflict all of my findings were influenced by these barriers. The vast differences in equality and human rights between Israelis, Palestinians, and Internationals influence how the peace education projects are taught and received. This is consistent with research on peace education that finds that different political, economic, and societal conditions inevitably influence how peace education is implemented (Bar-Tal, 2002; Salomon, 2002). Because the peace education activities are conducted in the context of the Israel and Palestine conflict, the experience of the peace educators as a group are different than if they were working in a region not marked by such persistent and chronic conflict. Salomon (2002) argues that peace education in regions of intractable conflict is difficult to manage. Peace education within this context faces three important challenges: "(a) it faces a conflict between collectives, not between individuals; (b) it faces a conflict that is deeply rooted in collective narratives that entail a long and painful shared memory of the past; and (c) it faces a conflict that entails grave inequalities" (p. 7). This makes peace education in this region quite different from peace education that might take place in post-conflict societies.

Peace education objectives also differed within the group of study participants. Specifically, Jewish Israelis and Palestinians have differing perspectives on peace and what it takes to achieve peace. Israelis and Internationals operate in a context of relative privilege as they are not always subjected to the severe travel restrictions or arbitrary applications of rules, regulations and policies that Palestinians regularly suffer. Their conceptions of peace and a culture of peace tended to form around coexistence achieved through dialogue. Palestinians, on the other hand, conceptualize peace as social justice and human rights within the broader purpose of ending Occupation. Abu-Nimer (1999) found a similar disjuncture between Israeli and Arab participants in dialogue projects, "With respect to Arab-Jewish encounter groups, the focus on individual psychology may be unable to affect significant changes at the macro level, where the roots of the problem may be" (p 8). The dialogue and encounter camps and programs that are represented in my findings often focus on dialogue as one of the main contributors to depolorization and rehumanization. This approach may be effective at the level of interpersonal relations, and may even influence the individual participant to question their previously held assumptions and prejudices, but it does not get to the larger root causes of inequalities and human rights abuses.

The central conceptual construct that emerged from my study is "Peace education under Occupation." Peace, peace education, and a culture of peace are held hostage by Israel's ongoing Occupation of Palestine. Peace and peace education only can have a positive effect on Israeli and Palestinian society through fundamental efforts to end

Occupation. In this way, it is Occupation rather than peace that is the main issue for peace

workers.

Implications

Many of the participants in my study acknowledged that their efforts may not create

a culture of peace in the present, and that their work may actually be in creating the

conditions for a culture of peace once the intractable points of the conflict are overcome,

negotiated, and mediated. Their strategies are crisis-intervention strategies. The

intractable point of conflict is the Occupation itself. For the participants in this study, there

can be no peace until the Occupation is ended, therefore a true culture of peace cannot exist

simultaneously with Occupation. Occupation, in and of itself, creates promotes, and

perpetuates social injustices and human rights abuses for Palestinians.

The Occupation encompasses and envelops Israelis and Internationals, as well as

Palestinians, within a Matrix of Control (Halper, 2009). The Matrix of Control is an

interwoven system of concrete, political, and bureaucratic structures and barriers. As

Halper (2009) acknowledges, a "Kafkaesque" psychological drama that is played out

through a system of policies, laws, and restrictions. The results of this research indicate

that the Matrix of Control has two other components: the first is ideological and

epistemological and the second is the deeply embodied and emotional component. The

data and analysis from this study suggest that what gives the Matrix of Control its power is

its unseen or unsensed elements. These elements function to create the common beliefs

and normative everyday experiences and perspectives of the "occupied." Halper very

clearly lays out the physical and material components of the Matrix of Control: the web of

everyday lived experience. Ultimately, the material conditions of control become internalized and function as a set of disciplined and embodied principles that guide thinking and behavior (Foucault, 1977).

The Matrix of Control parallels Foucault's conception of the panopticon that creates disciplined ways of being in the world. In his book *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault draws upon Bentham's 1786 model for a prison that was intended to fashion a very particular set of material constraints upon the prisoner. The purpose of the panopticon is "to induce in the inmate a state of consciousness and permanent visibility that assures the permanent functioning of power" (Foucault, 1977, p. 201). For the prisoner, the structure of the panopticon becomes embodied in their emotional, physical and mental constructs of norms and behaviors. My research findings indicate that the Matrix of Control has such an effect on the participants and their conceptions of a culture of peace. While they have a sense of the processes that they are engaging in to construct a culture of peace, there seems to be a real difficulty in conceptualizing exactly what a culture of peace would look like given the parameters of Occupation and the Matrix of Control. It is as if the question—How can a culture of peace be constructed when all that is visible are the signs of war, violence and Occupation—belies everything they do.

Despite this, some peace workers have a critical capacity to engage in analysis that reveals the constraints and systems of domination that the Matrix of Control represents. They display a critical awareness that includes the acknowledgement of segregation and the polarizing characteristics of the Israeli Occupation.

The Matrix of Control operates on a global scale because the Occupation is funded and supported through economic and political means. Halper points out that it is "a maze of laws, military orders, planning procedures, limitations on movement, Kafkaesque bureaucracy, settlements and infrastructure (plus prolonged low-intensity warfare) that serves a critical function: it conceals the Occupation—necessary, since, again, Israel denies having one—and Israeli control behind a bland façade of proper administration" (Halper, 2009, p. 48).

As with any system, control is never complete. Palestinians seem to have what Willis (1982) calls a "partial penetration" into the disciplinary mechanisms that define their lives. While they consciously participate in the processes that go into creating a culture of peace, they understand that a culture of peace is not possible under the constraints of Occupation. Like Israelis and Internationals, they are severely constrained in their ability to bring about what they consider to be a culture of peace. While the disciplinary and panopticonal effects of the Matrix of Control powerfully constrain and reconstruct the meaning and processes of a culture of peace, the peace workers actions and ideas amount to what Scott (1985) refers to as "everyday forms of resistance."

Drawing from Scott's (1985) study of everyday forms of peasant resistance within systems of economic and political domination, I find a similarity with the peace activities of Israelis, Palestinians and Internationals. Scott employs a Marxist framework and ethnographic research methods to examine the micro-level workings of class status within a rural Malaysian village. His findings focus on the everyday functioning and meanings attributed to systems of domination, subordination and resistance within the community. I

suggest that, in important ways, the Israelis, Palestinians and International peace workers

are similar to the villagers in that they actively resist the dominating and suppressive

forces of Occupation. However, also like the villagers, their particular forms of resistance

lack the true power to reconstruct relationships of power and domination to overthrow the

Occupation. In fact, the work of the peace activities may actually hide and obfuscate the real

issues and what should actually be done to accomplish peace. As Scott acknowledges, "...the

success of *de facto* resistance is often directly proportional to the symbolic conformity with

which it is masked" (p. 33). While the Malay peasants that Scott studied exist in a very

different context and with a very different purpose than Israeli, Palestinian and

International peace workers, they are linked by the fact that the everyday forms of

resistance that they are consciously or unconsciously engaged in are easily co-opted back

into the system of domination. Moreover, these smaller and weaker acts of resistance are

allowed by the systems of domination because they may do more to hide the actual forms

of domination and the actions necessary to dismantle them.

Like Scott (1985), I do not want to diminish what everyday forms of resistance can

accomplish because they create important spaces for individuals to live meaningful lives

within systems of domination and in some ways are more important to the dominated

because of their everyday and simple character. In fact, this may be the most important

contribution of peace education in Israel and Palestine. In addition, these activities, when

taken together, comprise a wider conceptualization of nonviolent resistance (Abu-Nimer,

2006). "What everyday forms of resistance share with the more dramatic public

confrontations is of course that they are intended to mitigate or deny claims made by the

superordinate classes or to advance claims vis a vis those superordinate classes (Scott, 1985, p. 32). While the everyday forms of resistance serve their purpose, however, the macro-level systems of domination remain unaffected (Fanon, 1968).

My research indicates that the idea of peace education within Israel and Palestine must be reconceptualized as peace education under Occupation. The idea and practice of Occupation will necessarily affect how peace, peace education and a culture of peace can be conceptualized and practiced in the region. Peace education under Occupation requires a critical analysis connected to issues of social justice and human rights. In the following, I discuss some of the recommendations for implementing peace education under Occupation.

Recommendations

In this section I will present some recommendations for reconstructing peace education within the context of Occupation. My recommendations are: to construct a critical pedagogy of peace education and to participate in non-violent civil disobedience. I will finish with some recommendations for further research.

A critical pedagogy of peace education. If the ultimate purpose of peace education is to create peace, it is imperative to ask, "What is really necessary under these conditions for peace to be achieved and maintained and what will this peace look like?" It is important to envision possibility. The findings of my study and the kind of analysis I have conducted indicate that peace education must be considered peace education under Occupation and this means that peace education must be reconstituted to meet the demands of this particular context. The fundamental assumption guiding peace begins with social justice

and respect for human rights. Without these the other elements of peace such as harmonious coexistence and life without violence become hollow or misleading. Achieving social justice and human rights must be the driving force behind any conceptualization of peace education under Occupation. Educationally, peace education under Occupation must begin by revealing systems of domination in an effort to encourage action intended to overcome and dismantle the system of Occupation. What is necessary is a critical pedagogy. In critical pedagogy, systems of power and domination are examined, unveiling their true character for the purpose of creating political action.

Peace educators must foster a pedagogy that critically examines paradigms that generate globalized inequalities leading to marginalization and exploitation of people and resources. Peace education that focuses on human rights and social justice examines the relationship of capitalism to development that leads to structural inequalities (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2003). Since capitalism underpins the contemporary global culture of war, these critical understandings are particularly important if we want to transform the dominant culture of war into a culture of peace.

An education that supports a culture of peace with social justice and human rights requires the cultivation of individuals who think deeply and creatively and work collaboratively as students and citizens to alter social practices that hinder freedom (Miller, 2004). Education cannot simply look to the past but must be responsive to the pressing issues and dilemmas of a changing world. An education that is relevant to our time cannot simply aim for transmission, but must support cultural reconstruction or transformation (Miller, p. 2). During unsettling times many people choose reactionary responses or violent

means to resist oppression or opposition. Although this has been seen in the Middle East, it is my intention to focus on the evidence of peace education and human rights education to represent not only an alternative to these approaches, but demonstrate that the transition to a culture of peace reinforces cultural stability and democracy. Moving toward a culture of peace and an education system that advocates for peace education is more important than ever as we see violence waged around the world, and witness the further degradation of nature and the reinforcement of the domination of the global corporate economy which fuels many of these problems (Miller 2008). Modern schooling prevents young people from recognizing or addressing critical problems in the world around them (Miller, p. 4). It is necessary to involve young people in reconstructing our societies, in building a culture of peace, justice, and compassion (Miller, p. 4).

In the context of Israel-Palestine, this means a peace education that unveils the inequitable relationships of power and the human rights abuses of Occupation. This is particularly true for Israelis and Internationals. As I mentioned earlier, since Palestinians live with the daily abuses of Occupation, they have some understanding of the system and how it operates. Israelis and Internationals may be oblivious to these abuses or simply wish to ignore them. A critical pedagogy of peace would help Israelis and Internationals come to a better understanding of life under Occupation and what this means for Palestinians. However, understanding these inequities and the broader systems of power that make them possible is not enough: it must be accompanied by political action intended to end Occupation.

Non-violent resistance. The most defensible political actions would be non- violent resistance and civil disobedience. For a model of how this can happen we need look no further than the history of Palestinian political action. Although American media highlights violent forms of resistance, Palestinian society has largely engaged in non-violent resistance to Occupation, and has a long history of non-violent resistance. To end Israeli Occupation, Abu-Nimer (2006) argued:

> It should be emphasized that the effective daily actions include maintaining internal solidarity, finding alternative routes around checkpoints, continuing to harvest olives, holding strikes, boycotting, refusing to cooperate with Israeli civil and military administrations, protesting, blocking roads, hanging Palestinian and black mourning flags on electric-power poles, and educating foreign audiences about the impact and nature of Occupation. (p. 138)

Palestinian peace groups have focused on human rights and freedom as their platform, whereas Israeli peace groups have built their work around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with the notion of achieving security and peace (Abu-Nimer, 2006).

Abu-Nimer (2006) explains that "most groups in Israel that focus on nonviolent direct action with Palestinians have made the shift from focusing on peace and dialogue to focusing on freedom and liberation" (p. 148). This shift is extremely important to the argument that only real peace will come when the Occupation is ended. One of the main characterizations of nonviolent direct action by both Israelis and Palestinians is to create and operate resistance to and rejection of the Occupation and to put pressure on the system and forces of Occupation instead of adapting to its oppression (Abu-Nimer, 2006).

"Palestinians have a long and solid repertoire of activities to draw from in dealing with the Occupation, which range from passively living with the conditions and finding ways to adapt to it to finding ways to handle the restrictions without directly confronting the occupation" (p. 149). One of the main actions that Kuttab (2003) recommends for the non-violent direct action strategy to succeed:

> It must be adopted on a massive scale by large segments of the Palestinian population and by the Palestinian National Authority itself. It must involve a strategic, long-term commitment and not simply be symbolic or episodic in character. To achieve this commitment, we need broad public discussions involving unions, students, civil society institutions, and the local Palestinian media. Political discussion within the community must be revived so that participation is universal and everyone has a voice instead of a gun. (p. 158)

Recommendations for further research

In the arena of peace education, more research can be conducted to understand the unique characteristics of peace education under Occupation. While my research focused on one particular element of peace education, many others are being implemented in Israel and Palestine. It is imperative to locate and understand other forms of peace education that are more tinged with a critical political edge. I recommend trying to understand to what degree these forms of peace education encourage a critical understanding and, if so, what kind of critical understanding and whether it leads to some form of political action.

I also recommend further examinations of how the Occupation affects and informs ideas of peace and peace education. My research did not begin with this premise, and I

think it is important to have a clear and in-depth understanding of the ways that Occupation "affects" peace education. This can offer insights for creating effective educational measures that are precisely and effectively focused to achieve their aim. If political action is to be properly focused so that it achieves its aim, which is the end of Occupation, the correct barriers to this action must be identified.

My final recommendation for research would focus on the nature and motivations of non-violent political action. I think that peace educators tend to carry universal conceptions of non-violent political action that are rooted in the examples of Martin Luther King and Ghandhi. While these are revered models, it is unclear that the lessons learned by their examples are appropriate for the context of a 60 year long military occupation. It is important to understand what types of non-violent action are culturally appropriate and which have achieved some success within this context. Palestinians often refer to the general strike in 1938, in which Palestinian workers struck against the working conditions imposed by the British Mandate, as a model of peaceful civil disobedience. I also recommend examining what motivates individuals for non-violent political action within the specific context of Occupation.

Although the findings of my research indicate the existence of many restrictions and barriers to achieving peace in the region, ultimately I am hopeful because of the commitment, passion and energy shown by the individuals who participated in my research. While I would recommend that they re-examine their focus and their goals, peace education remains a viable and important component of resistance and potential political action against an unjust Occupation.

References

Aguilar, D.D., & Lacsamana. (2004). *Women and globalization.* New York*:* Humanity Books*.*

Alasuutari, P. (1995). *Researching culture: Qualitative method and cultural studies*.

    London: Sage.

Althusser, L. (1984). *Essays on ideology.* London: Verso.

Alva, J. K. K. (1995). The Postcolonization of the (Latin) American Experience. A

    Reconisderation of "Colonialism", "Postcolonialsim" and "Mestizaje". In G. Prakash (Ed.),

    After Colonialism, Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements, 241-275. Princeton,

    NJ: Princeton University Press.

Amireh, A., & Majaj, L.S. (2000). *Going global: The Transnational reception of Third*

    World women writers. New York: Garland Publishing.

Asher, N. (2003). At the intersections: A postcolonialist woman of color considers western

    feminism. *Social Education*. 67(1), 47-58.

Baskin, G., & Al Qaq, Z. (1999). *Creating a culture of peace*. Jerusalem: Israel Palestine

    Center for Research and Information.

Bennis, P (2007). *Understanding the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Primer.* New York:

    Routledge.

Bowles, M. (2007). *US Aid: The Lifeblood of Occupation.* Retrieved from

    http://www.wrmea.com/html/usaidtoisrael0001.htm.

Brenner, J. (1993). The Best of Times, The Worst of Times: US Feminism Today. *New Left*

    Review. 15(2), 109-118.

Berkeley, K. C. (1999). *The Women's Liberation Movement in America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *The essence of neoliberalism*. Paris: Le Monde Diplomatique

Brah, A. (1996). Diaspora, border and transnational identities. In, R. Lewis & S. Mills (Eds.), *Feminist Postcolonial Theory*, 613-635. New York: Routledge.

Brauer, J., & Dunne, J.P. (2004). *Arms trade and economic development: Theory and policy in offsets.* London: Routledge.

Brewer, J. D. (2000). *Ethnography.* Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Brock-Utne, B. (1985). *Educating for peace: A feminist perspective*. New York: Pergamon Press Inc.

Cesaire, A. (1950). *Discourse on colonialism*. London: Monthly Review Press.

Carspecken, P. F. (1996). *Critical ethnography in educational research: A theoretical and practical guide*. New York: Routledge.

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

Chomsky, N. (2001). In Ed. R. Carey (Ed.).*The New Intifada: Resisting Israel's Apartheid,* 5-26. London: Verso.

Chomsky, N (2009). *"Exterminate all the Brutes": Gaza 2009*. Retrieved from http://www.chomsky.info/articles/20090119.htm.

Chopra, D. (2005). *Peace is the way*. New York: Harmony Books.

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

Constas, M.A. (1998). The changing nature of educational research and a critique of

postmodernism. *Educational Researcher.* 27(2), 26-33.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methodsapproaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Deadly Distortions: Associated press coverage of Israeli and Palestinian deaths (2004). Retrieved from http://www.ifamericansknew.org/media/ap-report.html.

Eagleton, T. (1991). *Ideology: An introduction*. New York: Verso.

Ely, M., Anzul, M., Friedman, T., Garner, D., & Steinmetz, A. M. (1991). *Doing qualitative research: Circles within circles*. London: The Falmer Press.

Fanon, F. (1968). *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Groves Publishing

Fine, M. (1994). Dis-tance and other stances: Negotiations of power inside feminist research. In A. Gitlin (Ed.), *Power and method, 13-55*. New York: Routledge.

Finkelstein, N. (2005). *Beyond Chutzpah: On the misuse of anti-semitism and the abuse of history.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Foucault, M. (1982). *Archaelogy of knowledge and the discourse on language*. New York: Pantheon.

Freedman, J. (2001). *Feminism*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Galtung, J. (1973). *Peace: Research, education, and action*. Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers.

Giroux, H. (1988). *Schooling and the struggle for public life: Critical pedagogy in the modern age*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Giroux, H.A. (1991). Postmodern as border pedgagogy: Redefining the boundaries of race and ethnicity. In, J. Natoli and L. Hutcheon (Eds.) *A Postmodern Reader*, 452-496. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Giroux, H. A. (1992). Border crossings: Cultural workers and the politics of education. New

York: Routledge.

Giroux, H. A. (2003). The abandoned generation: Democracy beyond the culture of fear.

New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

Gramsci, A. (1971). Selections from the prison notebooks. London: International Publishers

Company.

Grange, J. (1998). Palestinian Security Forces: Oslo Constraints and Search of National

Legitimacy. *Maghreb Machrek Monde Arabe,* 16-27.

Guba, E. E., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In

N. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, 105-117.

Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Guzenhauser, M (2004). Postcritical Ethnography. In, G. Noblit, S. Flores and E.

Murillo (2004). *Postcritical ethnography: Reinscribing critique,* 96-117. Cresskill,

N.J.: Hampton Press.

Haaretz. (2008) Livni sparks Arab 'transfer' row. Retrieved from

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7779087.stm

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural representation and signifying practices*.

London: Sage.

Hall, S. (1977). Culture, the Media and the "Ideological Effect". In, J. Curran, M. Gurevitch

and J. Woollacott (Eds.) *Mass Communication and Society,* 28-41. London: Edwin Arnold.

Halper, J (2008). *The matrix of control.* Jerusalem: Israeli Committee Against House

Demolitions*.*

Hammond, M., & Collins, R. (1993). *One world, one earth: Educating Children for social responsibility*. Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers.

Harding, S. (1987). *Feminism and Methodology*: *Social science issues*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Israeli Occupation Archive. Israel pulls textbook over reference to 'ethnic cleansing'. Retrieved from http://www.israeli-occupation.org/?s=Search+IOA+website.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies* 14(3), 575-97.

Harris, I. (2002). Conceptual underpinnings of peace education. In G. Salomon and B. Nevo(Eds.) *Peace education: The concept, principles, and practices around the world, 43-60.* Mahwah New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2005). *Multitude: War and democracy in the age of Empire*. New York: Penguin.

Hatch, J. A. (2002). *Doing qualitative research in education settings*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Hill-Collins, P. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge consciousness and the politics of empowerment, 201-238*. New York: Routledge.

Hiro, D. (1999). *Sharing the promised land: A tale of Israelis and Palestinians*. New York: Olive Branch Press.

hooks, b. (1984). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

hooks, b. (1989). *Talking back: Thinking feminist thinking black*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York, Simon & Schuster,

Hytten, K. (2004). Postcritical Ethnography. In, G. Noblit, S., Flores and E. Murillo (Eds.), *Postcritical ethnography: Reinscribing critique*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.

Jhally, S., & Ratzkoff, B. (2004). Peace propaganda and the promised land (Film). Boston: Media Education Foundation.

Kaplan, C. (2002). The politics of location as transnational feminist practice. In, I. Grewal and C. Kaplan (Eds.) *Scattered hegemonies: Postmodernity and transnational feminist practices, 221-236*. University of Minneapolis Press: Minneapolis.

Kashti, O (October, 19, 2009) Israel pulls textbook with chapter on Nakba. Haaretz, Retrieved From www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ ALeqM5ihGzZwx_SAjCumDMQp-mmC44MQ9A.

Keller, W.W., & Hakuta, K. (1995). *Arm in Arm: The political economy of the global arms trade*. New York: Basic books

Kimmel, M.S. (2000). *The gendered society.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Kinchloe, J. (2005). *Critical constructivism*. New York: Peter Lang.

Klier, J. D., & Lamroza, S. (2004). *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krug, E. (2002). World Report on violence and health. Geneva: World Health Organization: Geneva.

La Guardia, A. (2003). *War without end: Israelis, Palestinians and the struggle for a promised land.* New York: St. Martins Press.

Lather, P. (1992). Critical frames in educational research: Feminist and post-structural perspectives*. Theory into Practice*, 31(2), 87-99.

Lather, P. (1986). Research as Praxis. *Harvard Educational Review.* 56(3), 257-272.

Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*. New York: Routledge.

Lather, P. (1994). Fertile obsession: Validity after poststructuralism. In, A. Gitlin (Ed.) *Power and method, 165-183*. New York: Routledge.

Lazreg, M. (2000). The triumphant discourse of global feminism: Should other women be known? In A. Amireh and L. Majaj (Eds.), *Going global: The Transnational reception of Third World women writers,* 76-98*.* New York: Garland Publishing.

LeCompte, M.D. (1982). Problems of reliability and validity in ethnographic research. *Review of Educational Research*. 52(1), 31-60.

Lewis, B. (1995). *The Middle East: A brief history of the last 2,000 years*. New York: Scribner.

Lewis, R. & Mills, S. (2003). *Feminist Postcolonial Theory*. New York: Routledge.

Lincoln, Y.S. (1991). *The detached observer and the passionate participant: Discourses in inquiry and science*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Loomba, A. (1998). *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.

Lorde, A. (1983). The Master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. In, R. Lewis

and S. Mills (Eds.) *Feminist Postcolonial Theory,* 25-29. New York: Routlege.

Lyotard, J. (1979). *The Postmodern condition: A report on knowledge*. Geoff Bennington and

Brian Massumi Translators. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Madison, D. S. (2005). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*.

Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Map retrieved from http://www.passia.org/

McArthur, S. (2008). A Conservative estimate of total direct aid to Israel: Almost $114

Billion. Washington, DC: Washington Report on Middle East Affairs.

McLaren, P. (1995). *Critical pedagogy and predatory culture: oppositional politics in a

postmodern era*. New York: Routledge.

McLaren, P. & Farahmandpur, R. (2003). The globalization of capitalism and the new

imperialism: Notes toward a revolutionary critical pedagogy. In, G. Demitriadis and D.

Carlson. *Promises to keep*: *Cultural studies, democratic education, and public life*. New

York: Routledge Falmer*.*

McMichael, P. (2004). *Development and social change: A Global perspective*. Thousand Oaks,

Ca.: Pine Forge Press.

Menon, N. (2005). Between the Burqa and the Beauty Parlor? Globlization, Cultural

nationalism, and Feminist Politics. In, A. Loomba, S. Kaul, M. Bunzi, A. Burton and J. Esty

(Eds.) *Postcolonial studies and beyond, 134-143*. Raleigh, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). Qualitative research and case study applications in education. San

Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Mohanty, C. T. (1988). Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. In C. Mohanty, A. Russo and L. Torres. (Eds.) *Third-world women and politics of feminism,* 333-359*.* Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 333-359.

Mohanty, C.T. (2004). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity.* Raleigh, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Moore-Gilbert, B. (1997). Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices. Politics. London: Verso.

Narayan, U. (1997). *Dislocating cultures: Identities, traditions, and Third World feminists.* New York: Routledge.

Noblit, G., Flores, S., & Murillo, E.G. (Eds.) (2004). *Postcritical ethnography: Reinscribing critique.* Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.

Noddings, N. (2006). *Critical lessons: What our schools should teach*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pappe, I. (2006). *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. London: Oneworld.

Pappe, I. (2004). *A history of modern Palestine: One land, two peoples*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Qumsiyeh, M.B. (2004). *Sharing the land of Canaan: Human rights and the Israeli-Palestinian Struggle.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Rast, W.E. (1992). *Through the ages in Palestinian archaeology*. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International.

Reardon, B.A. (2001). *Education for a culture of peace in a gender perspective*. Paris: UnitedNations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Reporters without borders (2002). *Israel/Palestine: The black book*. Paris: Editions LaDecouverte.

Rodinson, M. (1973). *Israel: A colonial settler state?* New York: Modad Press.

Rich, A. (1984). *Notes Toward a Politics of location*. In, R. Lewis & S. Mills (Eds.) *Feminist Postcolonial Theory, 42-59*. New York: Routledge.

Richardson, L. (1993). Poetics, dramatics, and transgressive validity: The case of the skipped line. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 34(4), 695-710.

Robinson, W.I. (2004). *A Theory of global capitalism: Production, class, and state in a transnational world.* Baltimore, MA: John Hopkins University Press.

Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press.

Rosaldo, R. (1989). *Culture and truth: The remaking of social analysis.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Rubin, H.J., & Rubin, I.S. (2005). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Sabella, B. (1999). Multiplication, fragmentation, and unification of the Palestinian identity. In (Ed.) *Creating a culture of peace*. Jerusalem: Israel Palestine Center for Research and Information

Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Pantheon Books.

Said, E. W. (1992). *The question of Palestine*. New York: Vintage Books.

Said, E.W. (1997). *Covering Islam: How the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world*. New York: First Vintage Books.

Salomon, G., & Nevo, B. (2002). *Peace education: The concept, principles, and practices around the world.* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

Salomon, G (2002). The nature of peace education: Not all programs are created equal. In,G. Salomon and B. Nevo, B. (Eds.) *Peace education: The concept, principles, and practices around the world, 64-76.* Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Sassen, S. (2000). *Cities in a world economy*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Pine Forge Press.

Silvers, B.J. (2003). *Forces of labor: Workers' movements and globalization since 1870*. New York: Cambridge University.

Smedley, A. (2007). *Race in North America: Evolution and origin of a worldview*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Spivak, G. (1993). Scattered speculations on the question of cultural studies. In S. During (Ed.). *The Cultural Studies Reader, 226-247*. London: Routledge.

Spradley, J. (1980). *Participant observation*. New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston Inc.

Spradley, J. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston Inc.

Spretnak, C. (1983)*. Naming the Cultural Forces That Push Us Toward War. Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 23(3), 104-114.

Telegraph (2009). Retrieved from http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/politics/defence/5483121/Worldwide-military-spending-on-weapons-hits-record-high.html.

Therborn, G. (1999). *The ideology of power and the power of ideology*. New York: Routledge.

Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing critical ethnography.* New York: Sage.

Usher, G. (2000). "The Al-Aqsa Intifada," Middle East International. Retrieved from

    http://meionline.com/index.php?section=mei_magazine

Warren, K.J. (1994). *Feminism and peace: Seeing connections*. Hypatia, 9(2), 11-25.

West, C. (2002). A Genealogy of modern racism. In P. Essed and D. Goldberg (Eds.).

    RaceCritical Theories. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Whelehan, I. (1995). *Modern feminist thought: From second wave to "post-feminism".*

    Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Shulman, R. (August 24, 2007). "In New York, a Word Starts a Fire". Washington Post.

    Retrieved from http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-

    dyn/content/article/2007/08/23/AR2007082301933.html.

Van Maanen, J., & Barley, S. (1985). Cultural organization: Fragments of a theory. In, J. Frost

    (Ed.), *Organizational culture*, 31-53. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Watkins, J. (2000, November). Briefing paper on considerations of the potentially negative

    impact of publication of factual data about a study population on such population.

    Prepared for American Anthropological Association Committee on Ethic. Retrieved

    from http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/bp4.htm.

Weinberg, R. (1993). *The Revolution of 1905 in Odessa: Blood on the Steps*. London: Verso

    Books.

Zinn, H. (2003). *A people's history of the United States: 1492 to the present*. New York:

    Harper Collins.

Appendix A

Interview Protocol

Tell me about the work you do.

Who do you work with?

What is the vision of your work? (What do you hope to accomplish?)

How does your work intersect with the concepts of peace and democracy?

What are the kind-of things you do as someone working towards peace?

Tell me about your experiences working with Israelis or Palestinians

How did you become interested in this work? What drew you to this work? (ie. Life

experiences).

What are the complexities of this kind of work? (Are they accused of taking sides or being

partisan or collaborators?) How do you respond to this criticism?

Describe any barriers you have experienced or perceived in your work towards peace and

democracy in the area of Palestine and Israel.

How do you see your work in relationship to the peace process? (What are your visions for

the work you are doing?

Do you consider yourself to be an activist or educator?

How does your work fit into the theme of the conference?

What do you hope to achieve by attending this conference?

How could you envision other people helping you?

Constructions of conflict - How do they construct the conflict?

From your perceptions tell me about the situation in Palestine and Israel

How does the conflict affect your community?

How does it affect your life on a daily basis?

What efforts do you see that impede the peace process?

How do issues of religion affect the conflict?

How do issues of ethnicity affect the conflict?

How do issues of race affect the conflict?

Does Zionism have an influence on the conflict between Israel and Palestine? How so?

From your perspective what are the main factors to know about when trying to understand

the conflict between Israel and Palestine?

In your view how do you think the conflict can be resolved?

What do you think contributes to the culture of war?

Narrative of peace

What is peace?

What are the key components of peace?

Could you give me your ideas on how to resolve the problems in this area?

What kind of efforts do you see that are helping the situation?

Is peace different than democracy? What is the relationship between the two?

What is the role of education in the process of peace building?

What kind of activities have you engaged in to create alternatives to conflict?

What alternatives exist to continued violence and oppression?

What would a "culture of peace" look like?

What are the key components that you see are integral components to the culture of peace?

The United Nations has defined the term peace as "a condemnation of all forms of oppression, discrimination and exploitation" (UNESCO, 1977, p. 62). How do you understand this definition? Can you please respond to how such a vision of peace could develop in the Middle East?

Global influences

How do you view your work in a global context?

How do you perceive outside (international) efforts?

What role do you think other countries have in the affairs between Israel and Palestine?

What influences do global relationships have on the situation? (economic, political, media)

Given the work that you do could you generalize the activity to other contexts? (Do your efforts move across various conflicts or are they particular to one place/area?)

Perceptions of the Other

How do you think race/ethnicity/ religion affect your work?

If you were a __"Other"____how would you perceive the conflict?

How do you think _____feel about the situation?