

**“Coming to know others”: Using a dual-narrative approach to foster empathy, identity,
and historical thinking – A case study of history teaching and learning in a conflict
environment**

by

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DEDICATION

To Omar,

I will never be able to thank you enough for putting up with my crazy idea to do this. I realize it put a huge strain on you at a very vulnerable time, for which I am forever grateful, honey. By the way, you were spot-on. It is just a big, giant lab report.

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ABSTRACT

Empathy is critical to reconciliation efforts in conflict environments, as well as to effective functioning of diverse democratic societies. Helping students develop empathy is considered a responsibility of schools, and of history/social studies educators in particular. However, fostering empathy in history classrooms remains controversial, and how to do so poorly understood, particularly when the historical perspectives being discussed challenge aspects of students' identities.

This case study investigated students' empathic and historical thinking in a unique K-12 bilingual school in Jerusalem, Israel where contrasting Palestinian and Jewish *narratives* of national history are taught *side-by-side* to students of both identity backgrounds in the context of an intractable conflict. In addition to students' thinking, I examined how their teachers reconcile classroom empathic, identity, and critical thinking goals and address pedagogical challenges posed by such an approach. Data sources included teacher interviews, classroom observations, and five original written tasks.

Contrary to expectations derived from the literature, study findings suggest that students can think empathically, even regarding highly contested historical issues in conflict environments. They also suggest that strong identity affiliation may not inhibit (and might even encourage) empathy. Furthermore, and also in contrast to much of current theory, findings suggest empathic and identity instructional goals may be reconcilable with historical thinking, and that a dual-narrative instructional approach may foster such reconciliation. However,

teaching for empathy in this way presents numerous pedagogical challenges including how to affirm students' identities without essentializing identity differences and how to personalize narratives while depersonalizing responsibility for the conflict. I describe numerous strategies that the teachers have developed to address these and other challenges.

I conclude that if pursued carefully, a dual-narrative instructional approach may have significant benefits for in-conflict societies where reconciled narratives are impossible and where such an approach may contribute to rehumanizing the Other, an essential first step in reconciliation. I also suggest ways such an approach may benefit diverse democracies with legacies of discrimination and injustice. Finally, this study contributes to the history and conflict education literatures by reconceptualizing narratives based in collective memories as legitimate instructional tools and history instruction as involving two distinct dimensions of decision making – narrative approach and pedagogical approach. Choices along each dimension reflect epistemological assumptions and contribute interactively to students' empathic, identity, and historical thinking outcomes.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

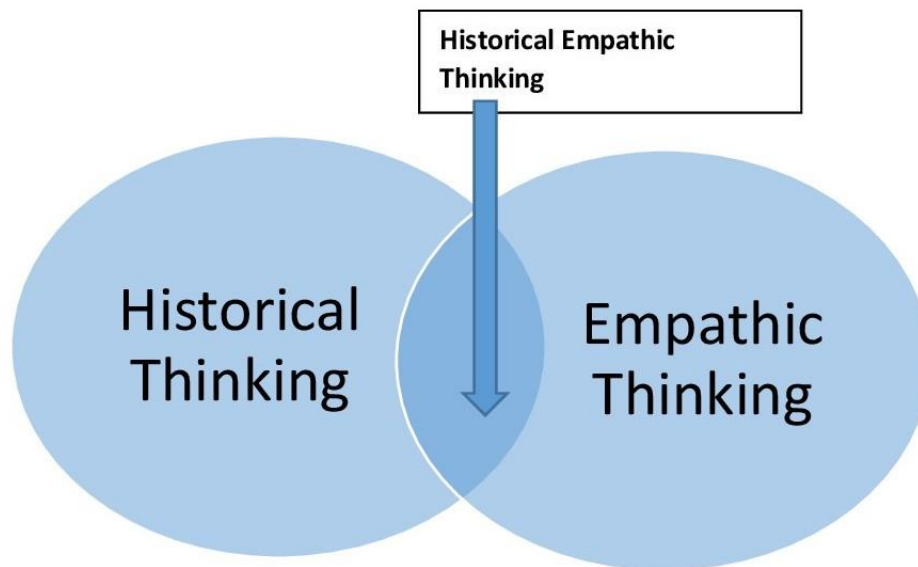
Our inability to perceive the experience of others . . . applies to the present no less than the past. This is why the study of history is so crucial to our present day and age, when issues of diversity dominate the national agenda. *Coming to know others* [emphasis added], whether they live on the other side of the tracks or the other side of the millennium, requires the education of our sensibilities. This is what history, when taught well, gives us practice in doing (Wineburg, 2001, p. 23).

“Coming to know others” involves both ability and inclination to understand the views and feelings of others – a quality known as empathy (Johnson, 1975). Empathy increasingly is recognized as critical to reconciliation efforts in conflict environments (e.g., Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006; Bruneau & Saxe, 2012; Halpern & Weinstein, 2004), as well as to effective functioning of diverse democratic societies. For example, problems such as intergroup conflict (Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Mealy & Stephan, 2009; Stephan & Finlay, 1999) and persistent inequality (Goleman, 2013) are increasingly attributed to deficits of empathy. Empathy is a counterweight to prejudice and stereotyping (Batson, 2009; Batson & Ahmad, 2009; M. H. Davis, 2005, 2009; Hoffman, 2000; Mealy & Stephan, 2009). It enables cooperative behavior such as support for policies that will benefit others and not necessarily oneself, an important ingredient of collective good (Eisenberg, Eggum, & Di Giunta, 2010). Empathy also facilitates collective decision making processes in diverse democratic societies. As philosopher Martha Nussbaum has argued:

...democracy is built upon respect and concern, and these in turn are built upon the ability to see other people as human beings, not simply as objects...The ability to imagine the experience of another – a capacity almost all human beings possess in some form – needs to be greatly enhanced and refined if we are to have any hope of sustaining decent institutions across the many divisions that any modern society contains (2010, p. 6).

Developing students' empathic skills and dispositions has long been considered a responsibility of schools (Damon, 2011; Dewey, 1905; Khan & Weiss, 1973; Solomon, Watson, & Battistich, 2001) and of history/social studies educators in particular (Barton & Levstik, 2003, 2008; Lee, 2005; NCSS, 2013). Many history educators presume a relationship between a particular form of empathic thinking, known to historians and history educators as historical empathy, and the psychological phenomenon of empathy more generally. Historians and history educators consider historical empathy – consideration of the actions of people in the past from the perspective of those individuals and not our own – an essential component of historical thinking that contributes to historical understanding and prepares students to think empathically more generally. Wineburg's statement above illustrates this presumed relationship. The figure below demonstrates my conception of the relationship between historical thinking, empathic thinking, and historical empathic thinking, which is similar to Wineburg's, with the exception of an implication of causality. (See Table 1.1 at the end of this chapter for my definitions of empathic and historical thinking and other terms used in this study.)

Figure I.1. Relationships among historical thinking, empathic thinking, and historical empathic thinking



Yet, despite empathy’s evident importance to conflict resolution and civic processes, teaching for empathy – including historical empathy – remains controversial. First, teaching students’ to consider and acknowledge others’ historical perspectives frequently is seen to contradict other prominent goals of school history education – namely promotion of a common national identity and acquisition of historical knowledge. Some fear that acknowledging other historical perspectives will undermine students’ national allegiance and affiliation and promote disunity (Bellino, 2014a; Schlesinger, 1992; Symcox, 2002; Taylor & Guyver, 2012). Others fear that acknowledging different historical perspectives might lead to relativist rejection of historical knowledge and truth (Bellino, 2014a; Lee & Shemilt, 2011).

Even if there were consensus on the value of teaching for empathy, how to foster empathy in history classrooms, particularly when the historical perspectives being discussed challenge aspects of students’ identities, remains poorly understood. Indeed, a growing body of

research suggests that students' capacities and dispositions to engage in empathic thinking will vary depending on salience of the issues discussed to their identities (e.g., Barton, 2005; Goldberg, Schwarz, & Porat, 2008; Gottlieb & Wineburg, 2012) and features of the instructional context (e.g., Bekerman, 2005; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Bruneau & Saxe, 2012; Kolikant & Pollack, 2009).

Whether students can think empathically when historical perspectives challenge aspects of their identities and *what and how* instructional choices might encourage empathy in such situations, including how empathy might be reconciled with other instructional goals, have not been adequately investigated. Meanwhile, research in a variety of settings suggests that teachers often avoid teaching contentious issues of national history because they engender strong reactions among students that are hard to manage (e.g., Bellino, 2014b; Cole & Barsalou, 2006). Yet these are precisely the types of issues where empathy is most needed.

All history/social studies instruction conveys an interpretive story of the past (whether intentional or not), through teachers' and texts' choices of topics, information, and perspectives, and how they are arranged and represented to students, including importantly, what narrative themes or overarching frameworks, if any, connect the topics, information, and perspectives. I call the sum of such instructional choices the "narrative approach" taken by the teacher or text. However, frequently, at least among Anglophone historians and history education and conflict education researchers, such choices are discussed in a binary manner that conflates these narrative choices with pedagogical choices made by teachers. By pedagogical choices I refer to the specific instructional methods and practices by which the topics, information, and perspectives – in whatever narrative form they are organized – are taught to students. An instructional approach that involves using "primary sources" to supplement a primary text

frequently is labeled a “disciplinary approach” and is assumed to encourage historical (including historical empathic) thinking. Meanwhile, instruction which promotes a single narrative theme, usually embodied in a single text, is labeled a “collective memory” or “heritage” approach and is assumed to be taught in a non-disciplinary manner for the purpose of fostering students’ identities or allegiance to the state (Bellino, 2014a; Carretero & van Alphen, 2014; Paulson, 2015). Little empirical work has been done to deconstruct these alternatives or to investigate the implications of narrative choices for students’ empathic or historical thinking.

Effective teaching for empathy requires greater conceptual understanding of how empathy, identity, and other instructional goals interact in authentic (i.e., non-experimental) history learning environments, particularly conflict environments, and how instruction contributes to those interactions (Cole & Barsalou, 2006). To contribute to such conceptual understanding, this study investigated an instructional component of these interactions that has been largely overlooked, the narrative approach used in the classroom.

Using a case study design, I investigated the interactions of history instruction, identity, and empathy in a unique context – a bilingual Jewish-Arab school in Jerusalem, Israel known as the Max Rayne Hand in Hand School.¹ Since its founding in 1997, this school has attempted to affirm the different perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that its students bring to the classroom (e.g., by observing memorial days important to each group). Such efforts have been understood as a key part of the school’s mission to promote empathy and equity between Israeli Jewish and Palestinian students, and thereby contribute to national reconciliation. In the past few years, however, the school has moved toward comprehensive instruction in the opposing Israeli Jewish and Palestinian historical *narratives* of the conflict *side-by-side*, with the expectation that

¹ I use the actual name of the school and the network at the request of the Education Director for the network. However, all teacher and student names are pseudonyms.

each student will understand and respect the narrative of the Other.² Hereafter, I will refer to this way of teaching as a dual-narrative approach.

Simultaneously, this school has been engaged in a pedagogical reform effort to increase student engagement and critical thinking across the curriculum. The teachers and other adults I interviewed for this study did not use the term “historical thinking” to describe their efforts to promote critical thinking in their civics classrooms.³ However, concepts they described trying to teach, pedagogical practices they described using, and rationales they provided for using such practices, coincide with understandings of historical thinking and disciplinary teaching practices advocated by Anglophone historians and history education researchers. Therefore, I consider the teachers’ and school’s efforts to promote critical thinking in their civics classrooms as analogous to efforts to promote historical thinking. For this reason, hereafter, I use the terms “critical thinking” when referring to how they describe their efforts and “historical thinking” to describe how I interpret their efforts.⁴

The school’s dual-narrative approach to national history instruction, coupled with their commitment to historical thinking, is unique in any setting. However, it is especially notable since it is taking place in a setting of protracted and ongoing identity-based conflict, which continues to be fueled by the opposing historical narratives, which makes empathy both very

² Throughout this study, I use the term “the Other” to refer to those who are from a different identity background than one’s own and are perceived as dissimilar to one’s self. Frequently, in discourse about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Jews represent Palestinians as the Other and *vice versa*. The concept of “otherness” is central in Bekerman’s research on education within the network of schools to which this school belongs (e.g., Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012). This term, “the Other,” was also used frequently by the teachers and academics in my study in interviews. More broadly, it is a common term used in post-colonial discourse about racial, gender, ethnic and other relations of power and inequality to refer to the opposite of the perceived Self or dominant in-group (e.g., Said, 1978).

³ In Israel, the curricular areas that fall within history and the “social studies” in the United States (i.e., history, civics and government, geography, and economics) are referred to as “civics.”

⁴ See the Methods chapter for a more detailed explanation for why I have chosen to frame their commitment to promotion of critical thinking as analogous to efforts to promote historical thinking.

necessary and unlikely (Adwan, Bar-Tal, & Wexler, 2013; Bar-Tal, 2000; Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006). I chose this setting for my research because it illuminates heretofore unexplored options for teaching and learning empathy through national history instruction in an authentic setting. Specifically, I investigated how students' empathic and historical thinking manifests in this setting, and how their teachers think about and make design decisions about instruction intended to facilitate understanding and respect for each other's historical perspectives while simultaneously attempting to promote students' identities and foster critical thinking.

Contrary to expectations derived from the literature, I elicited demonstrations of students' thinking which provide hope that empathy might be possible, even in the most difficult conflict environments. Furthermore, and also contrary to what might be expected from the literature, I found that strong identity affiliation may *not* necessarily impede empathic thinking. Furthermore, I found that this school's approach to teaching national history – via dual-narratives taught *side-by-side* in concert with a number of other instructional components (e.g., co-teachers from each identity background; bilingual instruction) – may provide possibilities for reconciling empathic, identity, and historical thinking goals, ones that traditionally have been viewed as irreconcilable, at least in Anglophone history education research.

In addition, this study identifies a number of pedagogical moves that appear, *in combination*, to be instrumental to the relative success or failure of these teachers' efforts. For example, simply adopting a dual-narrative textbook, or a single teacher attempting to teach opposing historical narratives on his/her own, is unlikely to be successful. This school's dual-narrative approach poses many teaching and learning challenges, for which they continue to strive to find solutions. Emotional challenges related to the salience of the narratives to students' identities pose the biggest daily challenge. The dual-narrative approach in this school involves

multiple components and pedagogical moves that together appear to be contributing to the student learning findings I discerned in this study. Based upon these findings, I conclude that teaching two narratives, *by itself*, is unlikely to accomplish reconciliation of empathic, identity, and historical thinking goals.

This research contributes to the literature on national history education in conflict and post-conflict settings where empathy is most urgently needed. Study findings suggest that a dual-narrative approach, if pursued thoughtfully with attention to the many challenges it poses, may provide a viable option for national history instruction in such settings where a reconciled or even “bridging” (Pappe, 2006) narrative may be impossible, yet where avoidance of the past is also undesirable. In such settings, this approach may contribute to rehumanization of the Other, an essential first step in reconciliation efforts (Halpern & Weinstein, 2004).

Extrapolating from study findings, this research may also contribute to the literature on history education and its relationship to democratic processes in stable democracies with histories of discrimination and injustice based at least in part on identity. In such settings, minority historical perspectives often struggle to be “heard” amidst powerful dominant voices (e.g., Almarza, 2001; Brown & Brown, 2010; Epstein, 2000; Good, 2009). A dual-narrative approach to the organization of curriculum may more equitably give voice to alternative historical perspectives.

Finally, this study contributes more broadly to instructional theory as it relates to history instruction. It challenges the applicability of the binaries in which instructional alternatives for history education frequently have been represented —as a choice between “disciplinary” and “collective memory/heritage” approaches in which “narratives” are disparaged as compatible

only with the latter) - and calls for separate consideration of narrative and pedagogical approach when analyzing instruction and instructional outcomes, particularly in conflict environments.

Table I.1. Glossary of key terms used throughout this study

Term	Definition
Empathy (Empathic Thinking)	Ability and inclination to understand the views and feelings of others. Empathic thinking refers to such efforts, as well as to the results of such efforts.
Historical empathy (Historical empathic thinking)	A particular form or subset of empathic thinking characterized by consideration of the actions of people in the past from the perspective of those individuals and not our own. Historical empathic thinking requires understanding of the social, cultural, intellectual, and emotional contexts that shaped people’s lives and actions in the past and is an essential component of historical thinking.
Critical thinking	An umbrella concept by which I refer to students’ ability and inclination to formulate questions regarding the world around them, seek information to answer such questions, examine the evidence underlying information they read, hear, or are told, and develop their own interpretations of information. Each discipline has specific ways in which critical thinking is manifested within that discipline.
Historical thinking	A form of critical thinking specific to consideration of historical questions and information. Historical thinking involves skillful and intentional application of concepts, including assessment of significance, determination of reliability of evidence, and engagement in historical empathy, when examining historical questions and formulating interpretations and arguments about historical information and assertions (Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, 2016).
Historical literacy strategies	A discipline-specific set of literacy strategies by which students can be taught to critique and interrogate sources, determine reliability of evidence, and construct evidence-based interpretations like historians do.
Disciplinary teaching practices	Disciplinary teaching practices, which include historical literacy strategies, are an important means by which historical thinking concepts can be inculcated in students in order to promote historical thinking and ultimately, historical understanding Such practices include those suggested by the <i>(C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards</i> and those specified by the Delphi Panel convened by Stanford’s Center to Support Excellence in Teaching (Fogo, 2014; NCSS, 2013). Instructional approaches which use such teaching practices are sometimes referred to as “disciplinary approaches to history teaching” (Bellino, 2014a).
Collective memory	Memories concerning past events that are shared among a group of people. To distinguish the informal oral and written historical understandings held by individuals and groups from the historical practices and accounts produced by professional historians, scholars have used varied terms including collective memory, heritage history, memory history, vernacular history, popular history, or sacred history to represent the former. For purposes of this research, I will use collective memory/heritage history to refer to the former and disciplinary or analytic history to refer to the latter. Intentional affirmation or incorporation of collective memories in the curriculum frequently is contrasted to historical thinking, with the former considered biased and self-serving, while the latter is considered reflective of disciplinary objectivity.
Narrative approach	My term for which topics, information, and perspectives are taught and how they are organized thematically for students. Narrative approaches can range from a single “grand” narrative to dual or multiple narratives and even approaches with no overarching narrative theme that connects the topics and perspectives taught.
Pedagogical approach	My term for the specific instructional methods and practices by which the topics, information, and perspectives – in whatever narrative form they are organized – are taught to students. Pedagogical approaches range from the non-disciplinary and strictly didactic to those that fully embrace and implement disciplinary teaching strategies.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

This review examines literature pertaining first to learning empathy and then to teaching empathy in order to situate the questions investigated and the study design amongst other related empirical work. I explain absences in the literature that are addressed by this study and conclude by describing conceptual assumptions that frame this research.

Learning Empathy in History/Social Studies Classrooms

Empathic thinking is fraught with many cognitive challenges when the issues involved are salient to one's identity. It is harder to be empathic when the views one is being asked to consider and acknowledge contradict one's own. In this section, I describe two types of empathy of concern to history educators. I then describe literature relating to the influences of identity and socio-cultural context on empathic and historical thinking.

Conceptions of Empathy Related to History

Two types of empathy concern history educators. The first type involves trying to understand the perspectives of *people in the past* through their eyes and not one's own (such as why various Jews and Palestinians in 1947 accepted or rejected the proposed United Nations partition plan for Palestine). This type – called historical empathy – has been the focus of some empirical and much theoretical history education work (see O. L. Davis, Yeager, & Foster, 2001 for examples of both). The second type, psychological empathy⁵, involves trying to understand

⁵ Psychologists, neuroscientists, ethologists, social workers and others who study this type of empathy do not refer to this form of cognition as “psychological empathy.” They just call it empathy. However, for the sake of clarity, in

and appreciate present-day perspectives regarding historical issues held by different *modern people* (such as different views held by Jews and Palestinians today on the significance and meaning of the events of 1947/1948). This latter type is more central to psychological research and also involves understanding and appreciating the perspectives of modern people regarding current political and social issues. My research focused primarily on psychological empathy because this is the ultimate set of empathic skills and dispositions which pertain to democratic processes and conflict resolution and to which history educators believe they are contributing when they teach historical empathy. I investigated students' empathic skills and dispositions regarding consideration of their peers' perspectives on historical issues.

Historical empathy. Dating back at least to Collingwood's theorizing related to what it means to "think historically" (Collingwood, 1946/1994, p. 317), historians have argued that historical empathy is *understanding of the actions of people in the past from the perspective of those individuals and not our own*. Historical figures are Other to us in many of the same ways that people in the present who are from different religions, nations, cultures, or ethnicities may seem foreign and strange to us (Lowenthal, 1985). Their values, cultural frames of reference, even the connotations of words we share with them (VanSledright, 2001), are so different from our own that their actions may at first seem bizarre and incomprehensible (Ashby & Lee, 1987; Lee & Shemilt, 2011). Understanding why people in the past acted as they did, which is the purpose of historical inquiry, requires a willingness and capacity to suspend our own perspectives, values, and beliefs in order to try to see the situations that historical actors were in through their eyes and not our own (Wineburg, 2001). Historical empathy requires a presumption that they had purposes that made sense to them for doing what they did within the

this chapter only, where I describe research on both kinds of empathy, I will refer to this second type of empathy as "psychological" to distinguish it from historical empathy.

context of the time and place in which they lived, even if we no longer agree with those purposes or find them repugnant.

Lesh (2011) has posited that historical empathy is “the ultimate historical thinking skill (p. 155),” for in order to understand how an individual or group in the past thought in a particular circumstance or why he/she acted as they did, one must engage in the foundational historical analytic skills of sourcing, contextualizing, and corroboration of evidence (Wineburg, 1991a, 1991b). For example, one must consider multiple sources of evidence (e.g., letters, speeches, journalistic or artistic accounts, etc.) regarding the individual or group’s actions. Readers must *source* these pieces of evidence, meaning readers must identify their date of creation and authorship to determine the potential purpose(s) and biases of the creators. Readers also must *contextualize* each piece of evidence. This involves setting the source in the time and place of its creation in order to try to ascertain its author’s understandings and intentions within that context. In contextualizing evidentiary sources, one must attend carefully to chronology and to both continuity and change in linguistic meanings, social values, etc. And readers must *corroborate* various sources of evidence (i.e., compare and contrast) to assess the reliability and significance of the evidence contained within each source regarding the questions investigated. Finally, while interpreting historical evidence, one must also think metacognitively about one’s own biases, paying close attention to our natural tendencies to misinterpret the experience of others in terms of our own, and to conflate values of the past and present – a form of cognitive bias historians refer to as *presentism* (VanSledright, 2001).

Historical empathy can be learned. While acknowledging a developmental component to such understanding (Lee & Shemilt, 2011), history education researchers believe that disciplinary teaching practices are the primary way that students acquire historical empathy,

among other historical thinking skills. Disciplinary teaching practices involve engagement of students in historical investigations that are organized around historical questions and incorporate interrogation and corroboration of historical evidence representing different perspectives to answer those questions (O. L. Davis et al., 2001; Fogo, 2014; NCSS, 2013; Wineburg, 2001). There is evidence in the history education research literature that students can be taught to analyze and consider different perspectives and to try to imagine the choices of individuals in the past as they saw them (e.g., Ashby & Lee, 1987; Bain, 2006; Endacott, 2010). For example, Yeager & Doppen (2001) compared students' written historical explanations for an historical event following several different instructional manipulations involving traditional textbook reading *versus* scaffolded analysis of primary sources. They concluded:

The students in both studies, who had access to a wide variety of sources and perspectives [as opposed to merely a textbook account], for the most part, viewed Truman's decision to use the bomb in relatively complex terms. Most were able to identify multiple perspectives, possibilities, and lessons to be learned from the decision. They also infused their own perspectives on Truman's decision into the empathy exercises in reasonable and appropriate ways (p. 110).

In this and other similar examples from studies cited above, researchers have demonstrated that students can be taught to consider the perspectives of others in the past, taking account of what viewpoints would have been plausible given the values of the time and what information the individuals had access to.

Psychological empathy. Although psychologists share historians' and history education researchers' conception of empathy as involving attempts to understand the beliefs and values of unfamiliar others, they are more concerned with attempts to understand the different views,

beliefs, and values of individuals *in the present*. Furthermore, in comparison with historians and history education researchers, psychologists and neuroscientists define empathy as a more complex phenomenon involving distinct cognitive and affective dimensions (Decety & Ickes, 2009; Decety & Moriguchi, 2007; Shamay-Tsoory, Aharon-Peretz, & Perry, 2008), as well as distinct motivational and skill dimensions (Gehlbach, 2004; Gehlbach, Brinkworth, & Wang, 2012; Hoffman, 2000), that interact in complex ways.

History education researchers have traditionally framed historical empathy as primarily, for some even exclusively, a cognitive activity. Indeed, many recommend that teachers discourage their students from making affective connections between their experience and those of individuals in the past. They are concerned that students will erroneously equate their feelings with those of individuals in the past (presentism) or judge past actors' behaviors rather than trying to understand them in context (Foster, 2001; Lee & Shemilt, 2011; Lesh, 2011; Nokes, 2013; VanSledright, 2001). However, psychological and neuroscience studies suggest that separating the affective and cognitive dimensions of empathy may be impossible (Decety & Ickes, 2009; Decety & Moriguchi, 2007). Indeed, the former may be necessary to motivate the latter (Decety, 2005). For example, feelings of affective concern or connection may precede and engender motivation to engage in the cognitive effort involved in trying to understand the ideas or experiences of another, just as learning about another's ideas and experiences can engender feelings of connection and concern. Studies also suggest that whether one is motivated to think or act empathically may be context-specific, involving a number of sub-conscious calculations related to perceived status of the Other, cost to self of caring, etc.(Gehlbach et al., 2012; Goleman, 2013; Hoffman, 2000; Marjanovic, Struthers, & Greenglass, 2012; Singer & Lamm, 2009).

Converging conceptions of empathy. As the Wineburg quotation in the introduction to this study suggests, historians and history education researchers believe that empathic understanding of the actions of individuals in the past will transfer to empathic understanding of the different perspectives of individuals in the present, which is for many an important, and for some the ultimate, civic goal of school history education (Barton & Levstik, 2008). However, there is far less evidence for this claim than for the claim that historical empathy can be learned (Barton & Levstik, 2008). Indeed, the only study I am aware of that has explicitly tried to test the relationship between historical empathic skills and psychological measures of empathic attitudes and inclinations found a weak association between the two, although as the author indicated, this study did not resolve the question of whether or how psychological and historical empathy are related (Gehlbach, 2004).⁶

Most importantly for this study, the separate conceptions of empathy that have emerged from the historical and psychological and neuroscience research may be beginning to converge. For example, a small but growing number of history education researchers are beginning to argue that, especially for children and adolescents, affective connections, including moral judgments, may be a necessary motivator for and developmental precursor to the intellectual effort involved in trying to understand the perspectives of individuals in the past (Bellino &

⁶ In this study, Gehlbach tested statistical relationships between students' performance on separate skill and dispositional measures of empathy (which he called "social perspective taking") and three educational outcomes – conflict resolution, historical empathy, and social studies grades. He assessed empathic skills using video and written scenarios where students had to infer the perspectives of individuals from verbal and other cues. Students' responses were compared to those of counseling psychologists (i.e., "experts" in empathic inference). Empathic dispositions were evaluated using a sub-scale of a well-known attitudinal scale of empathy (M. H. Davis, 1983). Historical empathic skills were assessed by posing historical questions (e.g., "Why did the Greeks divide themselves into social classes when they believed in democratic government?") and providing answer options meant to incorporate different degrees of historical empathic understanding. Students' responses were then compared to those of historians (i.e., "experts" at historical empathy). However, none of the scenarios or tasks included historical issues salient to students' identities and all were hypothetical (i.e., removed from personal experience or consequence). He called for more "ecologically valid measures" and for "examining environmental influences" on both empathic skills and dispositions (2004, p. 52).

Selman, 2011, 2012). Others argue that feelings (not just beliefs) are an essential component of the perspective of another that one is trying to understand (Endacott, 2010). Through my reading of these literatures, I align myself with this emergent reconceptualization of empathy within history education because I believe it is congruent with the far larger and more compelling body of empirical evidence concerning psychological empathy and with newer research in history education that integrates identity and collective memory – both sociocultural influences on cognition – with empathy. I turn next to this research.

Influence of Identity on Empathic and Historical Thinking

A growing body of research related to the learning and experiencing of empathy considers the role of identity in all forms of historical thinking, including empathic thinking (Monte-Sano & Reisman, 2016). Traditionally, history has been represented as a dispassionate, intellectual discipline, in contrast to collective memory – memories concerning a past event that are shared by a group of people – which are viewed by many historians as inherently biased (Burke, 1997; Fentress & Wickham, 1992; Lowenthal, 1998; MacMillan, 2008; Novick, 1988; Wertsch, 2004, 2008, 2012; Zelizer, 1995). Disciplinary teaching practices frequently have been represented as a way to promote historical thinking and avoid reinforcement of biased collective memories (e.g., O. L. Davis et al., 2001). However, newer research suggests that avoidance of the influence of collective memory may be impossible. Students' historical thinking, including empathic thinking, will vary significantly according to the salience to individuals' identities of the issues being studied. Salience refers to how meaningful and important a particular issue or event is to an individual. The studies discussed in the previous section that demonstrated success in engendering historical empathy using disciplinary teaching practices did not involve issues salient to students' identities [e.g., Anglo-Saxon trial-by-ordeal (Ashby & Lee, 1987), the Black

Death (Bain, 2006), Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb (Endacott, 2010; Yeager & Doppin, 2001)] and, thus, sidestepped this problem.

Collective memory's role in individual and collective identity. Collective memory is an important constituent of individual and collective identity (Fentress & Wickham, 1992; Wertsch, 2008, 2012). Identity – who we believe ourselves to be – always develops in interaction with the groups with which we are affiliated by birth or with whom we chose to affiliate as we grow (Fentress & Wickham, 1992; Gill, 2012; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Groups' identities are constituted in large part by the stories group members tell themselves about who “we” are, what “we” have accomplished or steadfastly endured as a group, and sometimes what “they” did to us (Fentress & Wickham, 1992; Letourneau, 2006; Lowenthal, 1998; MacMillan, 2008; Wertsch, 2008, 2012). Because the function of collective memory is to sustain individual and collective identity, rather than to determine accurate accounts of the past, it carries emotional weight (Gedi & Elam, 1996; Wertsch, 2012) and is resistant to change. It stretches to assimilate and accommodate new information into existing perceptual frames or “schematic narrative templates” (Wertsch, 2004, 2012; Zelizer, 1995). Unlike history, which is acquired via analysis, collective memories are transmitted via socializing institutions (e.g., families, schools), rituals (e.g., commemorations), and tools (e.g., films, monuments, and textbooks) (Burke, 1997; Zerubavel, 1996). The most important of these institutions for inculcating national identity in the modern era has been public schooling, supported by its textbooks and rituals (e.g., pledges of allegiance) (Anderson, 1983).

Identity's influence on students' empathic and historical thinking. A number of recent studies of historical thinking in various societies affirm the arguments of Wertsch (2004, 2008, 2012) and others that the emotional pull of memories of the past associated with individual

and collective identities often trump historical thinking. These studies have demonstrated the influence of identity on a number of key historical thinking processes and outcomes including: textual comprehension, attributions of significance,⁷ argumentation, and assessment of the reliability of different types of evidence.⁸ For example, Porat (2005, 2006) demonstrated that students do not read or interpret historical texts from a neutral stance. He compared the comprehension of religious and secular Israeli Jewish students who were asked to read and later recall an account of a historical incident in a national school text.⁹ He found that many students added information not included by the author and/or ignored other information in the text in order to make sense of the text in a way that fit their prior understandings. He labeled this phenomenon “cultural comprehension.” Furthermore, as a group, students for whom the event was salient (the religious students) read far more into the textual account and remembered the event in more detail a year later than those for whom it was not. Porat’s work suggests that identity is a filter that influences comprehension – making comprehension an interpretive, not just skill-based – process.

Other studies suggest that individuals’ identities – and the collective memories associated with those identities – influence how they assign significance to historical events. For example, Barton (2005), studying Northern Irish and American students, found that there were important differences in how Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant students attributed significance to historical events, although in comparison with American students, the Irish students shared many

⁷ Significance is a historical thinking concept that refers to how we determine in retrospect that specific historical events are important and worthy of being remembered.

⁸ While empathy was not a specific outcome in any of these studies, because of its relationship to these other historical thinking skills, it is logical to assume it will be similarly affected by identity.

⁹ The textbook account used by Porat was taken from an officially sanctioned text which had been recently revised to reflect changes in historical scholarship. The event was originally seen as a hostile encounter between Jewish patriots and their Arab enemies but was now generally understood by historians to have been an accidental misunderstanding. However, the former account was still highly familiar and salient in religious Jewish communities in Israel.

underlying similarities in their thinking. In a second study, he and McCully (Barton & McCully, 2005) found that while Northern Irish students begin compulsory history study with a range of views on national history, over their early adolescent years their perspectives harden and become more polarized as they “selectively appropriated (p. 90)” information from the curriculum to support their growing identification with the history of their own political/religious group.

Epstein (2000) found a similar pattern of differential response to a historical significance task when comparing European American and African American students in the U.S. Even when the teacher in her study attempted to present “alternative” perspectives, the school history narrative sat alongside both the European American and African American students’ varied memory histories and did not disrupt them.¹⁰ And Levstik (2001), who studied differences in how Maori, Pacific Islander, and European adolescents in New Zealand ascribe significance to events in their national history found that, although they shared a concern with fairness, “student responses indicate that they were better prepared to ‘think differently,’ and ‘understand a different point of view,’ in regard to distant rather than local ‘others’ (p. 88).” She explained that when it came to national history, their explanations for the significance of different events tended to reflect the perspectives of their “communities of identification (p. 89).”

Still other studies have directly addressed the influence of the salience of particular issues or events on historical argumentation and assessment of the reliability of source evidence. Goldberg, Schwarz, and Porat (2008) compared changes in students’ historical thinking and argumentation regarding two different types of historical issues – one “alive” in collective memory and a second that had disappeared from public discourse. Students wrote individual essays prior to instruction. Researchers then engaged them in a disciplinary history task:

¹⁰ Epstein’s findings parallel Seixas’ (Seixas, 1993) findings regarding the varied historical narratives of Canadian immigrant students and Wertsch’s (2004, 2008, 2012) findings regarding the persistence of pre-Soviet narratives in the historical memories of individuals the former USSR.

researchers read aloud to students a variety of sources reflecting different interpretations of each event and coached students in sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating the sources, followed by group discussions and finally, individual essay writing. As expected, students' thinking changed less and their arguments were less sophisticated in relation to the more salient issue, and students' ratings of the reliability of sources were further from disciplinary norms (as measured by correspondence with historians' ratings of reliability) for those sources that concerned the more salient issue. The authors concluded:

When learning a socially charged issue, the problem is never 'just' a historical problem in which the goal is to discover the truth, but [is] also the buttressing of moral and social status in the present social context (Goldberg, Schwarz & Porat, 2008, p. 235).

In a related example that demonstrates the ubiquity with which identity influences historical thinking, even among "objective" adults, Gottlieb & Wineburg (2012) compared how religious believers (historians and clergy) and skeptics (historians and scientists) read and interpreted a series of documents on two topics. Those topics were the Biblical Exodus, which was expected to be salient to the believers, and the origins of the U.S. Thanksgiving, which was not expected to be salient to any of the participants. As expected, there were differences in how the historians as a group approached the sources compared with the scientists and clergy. These differences mostly related to their more skillful sourcing and contextualization of the sources. However, there were also significant differences in how the believers (including the historians who were believers) dealt with the Exodus (salient) sources compared to the Thanksgiving (less salient) sources. There were differences in their appraisal of the reliability of the sources, their level of affective engagement with the sources, and the degree and type of warrants in their arguments. The skeptics, meanwhile, did not differ significantly in these behaviors between the

two topics. Gottlieb & Wineburg called this phenomenon “epistemic switching” where readers, even sophisticated, educated readers, try to coordinate and balance the cognitive and affective allegiances and demands provoked by the interaction of their personal and professional identities with different types of texts (2012, p. 111).

The findings from the studies reviewed in this section suggest that students’ historical thinking, particularly as they move through adolescence (a critical period of identity development), and particularly regarding their own national history, will be heavily influenced by their prior conceptions and allegiances, which are, in turn, heavily shaped by their collective memories and identities. Whether students can resist this unconscious internal pressure on their empathic thinking is not at all clear.

Influence of Socio-Cultural Context on Empathic and Historical Thinking

Just as issue salience will influence historical thinking, the context of the classroom and external learning environments will likely affect students’ empathic and historical thinking. For example, several recent studies manipulated group arrangements in order to assess the impact of socio-cultural context on historical thinking. These studies found that grouping conditions and the relative socio-economic power in the broader society of the different groups from which subjects came, influenced outcomes. The first of these studies (Kolikant & Pollack, 2009) involved Israeli Palestinian and Israeli Jewish graduate students. They were asked to complete a historical interpretation task first in separate, ethnically homogenous groups and then in a single, heterogeneous group. The task involved a historical event (the Balfour Declaration) expected to be equally salient to both groups of subjects. Furthermore, the heterogeneous phase was structured to encourage a productive encounter according to the findings of contact theory.¹¹

¹¹ Contact theory (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005) posits that intergroup relations can be enhanced by intergroup contact under very specific conditions including: engagement in a non-competitive task requiring cooperative interaction in

They found that students' thinking about the nature of historical truth changed through this process. In the first phase, each group selectively appropriated or resisted the evidence provided by the different sources in ways that reinforced their collective memories of the events, resulting in two very different initial accounts of the significance of the Balfour Declaration. In this way, the results of the first phase were similar to the findings of the other studies above. However, when they were combined into a single group, the students decided that their views were not, in fact, that far apart and could be reconciled. As they discussed the evidence and negotiated the elements of their collective argument, their view of historical truth itself evolved. They explained to the researchers that the reasons their initial and final essays differed was due to their different ethnic identities and that therefore, both how they "read" those sources, as well as the interpretations of each historian, reflected individual subjectivities (Kolikant & Pollack, 2009, p. 671). This realization reflects a higher level of epistemological sophistication regarding historical causation and evidence (Lee, 2005).

In close analysis of the heterogeneous group's negotiations over the language of the final essay, the authors found several interesting social phenomena at work. First, students sometimes chose to give in or gloss over differences. The researchers speculated that this may have been unconsciously done to maintain group cohesion. Or, as some of the interviewees suggested, the Jewish and Palestinian participants may have had different emotional stakes in or commitment to the outcome of the assignment as a result of the differential social, political, and economic statuses of their group within the broader society. Furthermore, the study authors speculated that the fact that the salient historical issue involved the actions of a third party (i.e., the British) may also have facilitated discussion without finger pointing (Kolikant & Pollack, 2009, p. 672).

order to achieve a common goal; equal status and treatment of all members of the group (at least within the immediate group context); and support for the task from the relevant authorities (in this case, the researchers).

Overall, they concluded that when structured carefully, "...conflict can enhance historical thinking (p. 673)." This, of course, is a fundamental premise of those advocating use of disciplinary teaching practices.

Finally, in the only study among those reviewed here that specifically considered the interaction of empathic thinking and identity, Bruneau & Saxe (2012) conducted a two-phase controlled experiment involving first White and Mexican American and then Israeli and Palestinian adult participants. Perspective "givers" wrote about a present difficulty experienced by their group that was intended to be read by a person from the other identity group, while perspective "takers" read and were asked to accurately summarize the statement of a giver to be returned to the giver for his/her review. Subjects were randomly assigned to either role, and various manipulations of the roles were conducted over the two phases of the study. Outcome measures were pre-and post-assessments of attitudes and beliefs about the "outgroup" as evident through responses to questions posed in a standardized attitudinal scale. Although historical experiences and perspectives provided the material of the study (i.e., they undergirded the "present difficulties" experienced by one's group), unlike the other studies reviewed here, historical thinking (e.g., assessment of significance of historical events) was not an outcome of interest. Rather the researchers were looking for congruence between the accounts of each perspective "giver" and "taker" pair as a measure of empathic thinking and understanding.

The researchers found that "...positive changes in attitudes towards the outgroup were greater for Mexican immigrants and Palestinians after perspective-giving and for White Americans and Israelis after perspective-taking (Bruneau & Saxe, 2012, p. 855)." Based on these results, they argued that "...*perspective-taking* [emphasis added] is more likely to improve attitudes of empowered toward disempowered groups, whereas *perspective-giving* [emphasis

added] is more likely to improve attitudes of disempowered towards relatively empowered groups (p. 864).” They attributed these findings to the critical need of members of non-dominant groups to be “heard” (p. 855). Thus, they concluded that “... the effects of dialogue for conflict resolution depend on an interaction between dialogue condition and participants’ group membership, which may reflect power asymmetries (p. 855).” They also found that the attitudinal changes disappeared after one week, recommending that “future studies should test whether a longer intervention (e.g., multiple interactions) can create more enduring effects (p. 863).” The findings of this study, as well as those of Kolikant & Pollack, reinforce the importance of the broader social, political, and economic context, as well as features of the specific grouping context, on empathic and historical thinking.

Bruneau & Saxe (2012) called for evaluation of the impact of longer interventions. Indeed, almost all of the empirical work reviewed throughout this section on learning empathy involved interventions of limited duration, not routine classroom practice. Therefore, little is known regarding possibilities for students’ empathic thinking in authentic (i.e., non-experimental) history/social studies classroom settings. My study addresses everyday history instruction in a regular (i.e., “authentic”) classroom setting, thus addressing this hole in the literature.

Teaching for Empathy in History/Social Studies Classrooms

Like learning to empathize with different historical perspectives, teaching empathy is also fraught with many challenges. These include: competing history education purposes, students’ competing memory histories, environmental pressures, and instructional choices.

Competing Instructional Purposes in History Classrooms

History education has been seen as vital to preservation of the nation state at least since the 19th century (Anderson, 1983). However, voluminous national and international research has documented how history curricula (most often embodied in history textbooks) often have become battlegrounds for competing purposes, particularly concerning national history (e.g., Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997; Taylor & Guyver, 2012). While surface issues in these fights have been what specific content to include in the curriculum, underlying issues include different notions of epistemology and competing perspectives on the purposes of school history education (Foner, 2002; Novick, 1988; Symcox, 2002). Many historians and history education researchers advocate promotion of historical thinking because such thinking is considered to involve skills vital to an informed electorate in democratic societies (Barton & Levstik, 2008). These historians and history education researchers further advocate use of disciplinary teaching practices to develop and inculcate historical thinking skills. On the other hand, many policy makers and political elites (and some historians), appear to prefer positive, uncomplicated accounts of national history to shape the civic values and commitments of young people in favor of allegiance to the nation-state (Barton & Levstik, 2008).

Both groups have expressed concern regarding the compatibility of empathy with their goals. On the one hand, some fear that acknowledging other historical perspectives will undermine students' national allegiance and affiliation. On the other hand, others fear that acknowledging different historical perspectives might lead to a morally relative attitude toward historical truth (Barton & Levstik, 2008; Bellino, 2014a). Furthermore, in some settings, minority advocates call for increased attention to their groups' stories in order to bolster minority students' identities. Sometimes individuals and groups advocate multiple purposes without

acknowledging potential conflicts between them. For example, the report, *Education for Democracy* (Albert Shanker Institute, 2003) called on teachers to tell both an uplifting and honest unified story of American history but did not explore potential contradictions inherent in this advice.

In post-conflict environments, these struggles take on additional relevance as state's rebuild and new elites who have wrested power from former ones seek to solidify their legitimacy or to reconcile recent enemies (Bellino, 2014a; Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Paulson, 2015). Indeed, the United Nations has deemed national history education a vitally important component of building a “culture of peace” post-conflict (UNESCO, 2016).

Based on a review of literature on history education in stable and post-conflict environments, Bellino (2014a) developed a typology of approaches. She described how history education is often discussed in terms of binary alternatives: multi-perspectival, multi-textual, “disciplinary” pedagogical approaches designed to encourage historical thinking are contrasted with more didactic, grand narrative, “collective memory,” or “heritage” approaches designed to foster students' national identities and allegiance to the nation (e.g., Barton & Levstik, 2008; Bellino, 2014a; Carretero & van Alphen, 2014; Paulson, 2015). As Bellino explained, in post-conflict settings, collective memory/heritage approaches may take multiple forms including “new” or “best” stories that dramatically rewrite the past in order to legitimate the new regime or to foster reconciliation (Bellino, 2014a).

In her typology, Bellino also put forth a third alternative which she labeled a “historical consciousness” approach (Bellino, 2014a). This approach would draw on merits of the “collective memory/heritage” and “disciplinary” approaches, while avoiding some of the intellectual, moral, and practical pitfalls of each. She defined the goals of such an approach as

including personal, affective, and moral dimensions such as, "...personal connectedness to history, locating oneself and one's capacity to shape human affairs in the past-present-future, [and] seeing links between past, present, and future." This approach would also encompass intellectual understanding of history as an interpretive discipline and of present reality as shaped by our interpretations of the past (Bellino, 2014a). However, thus far, I have not encountered empirical research that investigates approaches to national history instruction that attempt to reconcile or synthesize disciplinary and collective memory approaches in practice and, in doing so, might realize Bellino's vision.

Competing Memory Histories in History Classrooms

Further complicating history teachers' work, history classrooms often contain students whose memory histories contradict one another, as well as (for many) the "official" national narrative prescribed by the curriculum (Barton & Levstik, 2008). Students' frequently display emotional attachments to their memory histories that make intellectual disengagement from their own perspectives to consider the perspectives of others difficult. Teachers must try to balance respect for students' memory histories with respect for the historical record, as well as for the narrative embodied in official curriculum (textbooks, standards, assessments, etc.) (Bekerman, 2009; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Bellino, 2014b; Monte-Sano, Bordonaro, & Aumen, 2014).

Complicating this balancing act is the pull of teachers' own memory histories. For example, Bekerman (2009; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012), who spent years documenting the work of teachers and students in the Hand in Hand network of schools to which the school I studied belongs, found that even when teachers' intent was to explicitly teach respect for both narratives, it was extremely difficult in practice because of their affiliations with their respective national narratives. In a separate study of a joint Israeli Jewish-Palestinian textbook development

project involving teachers and historians from both backgrounds, participants reported feeling a deep sense of loss and a period of mourning at the start of their process (Adwan, Bar-On, Naveh, & PRIME, 2012), even as they were committed to the work. Coming to acknowledge the narrative of the Other involved for the teachers, "...letting go of something, losing something" and meanwhile, having "...no clear understanding of what they gain by this loss (Adwan et al., 2012, p. xiii)." Emotions such as anger, frustration, and defensiveness were part of the acknowledgement process. Similarly, Tibbitts (2006) documented how teachers involved in implementing a specially designed post-apartheid history curriculum in South Africa, developed with the support of the *Facing History and Ourselves* organization, had to spend substantial time working in facilitated groups to address the conflicted feelings they experienced in response to the curriculum content prior to teaching it. Historical interpretations are not neutral. The work cited here demonstrates how introducing perspectives that challenge individuals' or groups' memories carries an emotional cost for teachers as well as students, particularly when teaching national history.

Political, Social, and Historical Influences on History Classrooms

Contextual factors not only influence learning and experiencing empathy as explained in the prior section, they also influence teaching empathy. For example, research in many national contexts including, Guatemala (Bellino, 2014b), Israel/Palestine and Cyprus (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012); New Zealand (Sheehan, 2010, 2012); and Northern Ireland (Kilpatrick & Leitch, 2004), demonstrates that external influences including parents, school administrators, political advocates, and government inspectors influence teachers' teaching of national history, as do current political events.

In many conflict and post-conflict settings, as well as many seemingly “reconciled” ones, real or anticipated pressure from outside influences are coupled with other challenges discussed above, including lack of guidance on how to reconcile potentially opposing instructional goals, as well as how to manage the very difficult emotional reactions from students that teaching contentious historical issues can generate in the classroom, and even their own emotional ambivalence about the issues. These combined pressures cause many teachers simply to avoid teaching contested issues of national history that may implicate students’ identities because doing so presents as a minefield of potential missteps (Bellino, 2014b; Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Kilpatrick & Leitch, 2004; McKinley, 2013; Sheehan, 2012). In some post-conflict settings this may be official policy, at least initially (Cole & Barsalou, 2006). However, it is far more commonly an individual survival strategy in a wide range of classroom contexts.

Instructional Choices Likely Will Impact Students’ Empathic and Historical Thinking

Finally, as a number of the studies reviewed in the previous section on learning empathy demonstrated, specific instructional choices can influence historical learning, including empathic learning outcomes. All history/social studies instruction conveys a story or interpretation of the past (whether intentional or not), through text selection, instructional activities, discourse patterns, etc. Whose story(ies) are told; the form in which those story(ies) are organized for students, including which, if any, themes connect the events and perspectives in these stories; and what role, if any, students get to play in constructing those stories are significant instructional decisions. As important as each of these decisions are, the second of these decisions – the form in which those story(ies) are organized for students, including which, if any, themes connect the events in these stories – has received almost no attention in the history education research. This is perhaps because teaching a single, primary narrative (with or without insertions

of selected alternative perspectives) is so ubiquitous as to appear “natural.” The voluminous studies of history “wars” I referred to earlier discussed *what* content was included in standards and textbooks and political forces shaping those decisions (e.g., Nash et al., 1997; Symcox, 2002; Taylor & Guyver, 2012). However, *how* that content was organized received almost no attention in those studies. Furthermore, as I discussed in the previous chapter, narrative choices are frequently conflated with pedagogical ones in the common representation of binary alternatives for history instruction.

I have not come across any empirical studies of how narrative might be manipulated as an instructional tool or of how narrative choices might reinforce or undermine empathic or historical thinking outcomes. Because historical narratives are tied to identity, narrative choices made by history educators will likely privilege some and alienate others. If narrative choice is not examined, then a potentially potent element of teaching empathy may be overlooked. This study examined narrative as an instructional tool and choice.

Research Questions

Across the studies of learning and teaching empathy in history classrooms (or related to history instruction) reported here, three important and unresolved issues stand out: 1) *whether* students are able and/or willing to think empathically regarding historical perspectives that challenge their personal or cultural identities and 2) *what and how* instructional choices, such as narrative choices, might encourage empathy in such situations, and 3) how empathy might be reconciled with other instructional goals. Teaching for empathy requires greater conceptual understanding of how empathy, identity, and other instructional goals interact in authentic (i.e., non-experimental) history learning environments. To contribute to such understanding, this study addressed these three unresolved issues through the following research questions:

1. How do the 9th grade history teachers at the Max Rayne School reconcile classroom instructional goals that often are seen as contradictory - namely, promotion of empathy and identity and development of students' critical thinking skills?
 - a. What are their individual understandings of these instructional goals?
2. What do these teachers perceive as the challenges and opportunities for teaching and learning empathy via the dual-narrative approach to national history instruction that they have developed?
 - a. How do they manage the emotional challenges for their students and themselves when the past they are teaching is very much alive in their identities and in the identities of their students?
3. Beyond the 9th grade history curriculum, how else is teaching for empathy for different historical perspectives done in the school?
4. In this conflict setting, where a dual-narrative approach is used, and their teachers are simultaneously committed to empathy, identity and critical thinking goals, how do students' empathic and historical thinking manifest?
 - a. How do students' psychological empathic skills and dispositions manifest?
 - b. How do students' historical empathic skills manifest?

Do students' empathic responses vary by identity group, and if so, how?

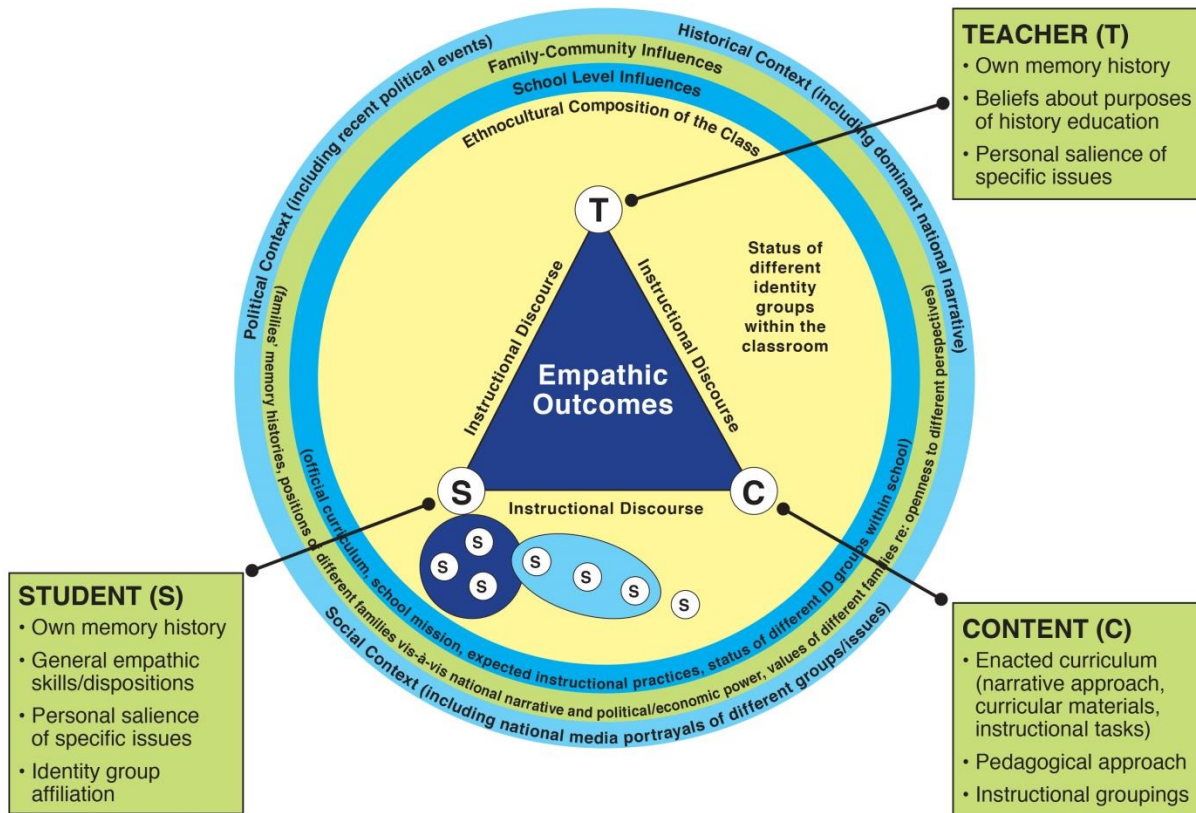
Conceptual Framework

Certain theoretical assumptions underlie this study. First, it is grounded in the socio-cultural perspective that *all* cognition, including empathic thinking, is socially shaped and occurs “in the interactions and tensions between and among thinkers, settings, means (tools), and purposes (Levstik, 2001, p. 70).” The specific research questions tackled by this study are

instructional ones and relate to aspects of teachers' and students' cognition and behavior within a formal instructional environment. Therefore, they concern the space which Ball, Cohen, and Raudenbush (2003) have called the instructional triangle, defined as "interactions among teachers and students around content, in environments (p. 122)." To further situate this as a study of *history* instruction within a conflict environment, I used Bellino's (2014a) theoretical categorization of the literature on instructional approaches to history education in stable and conflict environments (described above). In the typology she developed, she described how instructional alternatives primarily are discussed as exclusive choices between "disciplinary" and "collective memory/heritage" approaches. Finally, to analyze classroom interactions within this fraught environment, I relied on Bekerman's (2005, 2009; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012) ethnographic research on instruction within the Hand in Hand network of schools which led him to posit concentric levels of powerful micro and macro influences on classroom learning in conflict environments and led me to anticipate certain types of challenges.

My conceptual framework is, therefore, an adaptation of the generic instructional triangle in order to make it specific to the teaching and learning of empathy in the context of history/social studies classrooms in conflict environments, and this environment in particular. See Figure 1 for a depiction of this conceptual framework. Although they are not included, I acknowledge the importance of a variety of other instructional elements important to all teaching and learning, regardless of content area or setting (e.g., students' and teachers' prior historical knowledge, teachers' instructional skills, school resources, etc.). However, for purposes of this study, they are assumed and are not discussed or depicted in my framework. I briefly explain each element of the framework below.

Figure II.1. Initial conceptual framework



Content

As I described above, encouraging teachers to use disciplinary teaching practices has been the focus of the content vertex of the instructional triangle among history education researchers (e.g., O. L. Davis et al., 2001; Fogo, 2014; NCSS, 2013; Wineburg, 2001), while policy makers and advocates have focused on which events and people should be reflected in textbooks, standards, and assessments (Nash et al., 1997; Symcox, 2002; Taylor & Guyver, 2012). Meanwhile, narrative alternatives, the influence on students' outcomes of such choices, and the possibility of reconciling disciplinary and collective memory/heritage instructional goals that frequently are thought of as contradictory have remained largely unexplored, and potentially significant, components of this vertex.

Students

It is an established feature of socio-cultural learning theory that no student approaches instruction as a blank slate (Donovan, Bransford, & Pellegrino, 1999). This is potentially a significant and problematic factor in history/social studies teaching. Students' memory histories play a significant role in such instruction, acting as "lenses" through which history learning activities and instructional narratives are filtered (Barton & Levstik, 2008; Wertsch, 2004, 2008).¹² Specifically, in my formulation of history instruction, students must be understood as individuals, each of whom carries in his/her head a specific memory history that may or may not accord with that held by other students or with the predominant national form of collective memory represented by the school's texts, standards, etc. (Wertsch, 2004, 2008). They also must be understood as members of sub-groups of individuals who share collective memory histories. Each student and sub-group of students may be emotionally attached to a different degree to the memory histories they carry. This variability compounds the differences in knowledge (important in contextualizing new information) and skills, including reading comprehension, historical analysis, writing, and other component skills of historical thinking, that each brings to the classroom – differences shared with other content areas in the curriculum.

Teachers

Teachers themselves vary along many of these same dimensions. Like teachers of any content area, each is unique in his/her beliefs about the purposes of teaching history/social studies and has different degrees of understanding of the purposes of particular instructional methods and practices, including disciplinary teaching practices (Monte-Sano, Aumen, &

¹² For example, while students have naïve notions of scientific causation that must be unearthed and challenged, challenging those beliefs is unlikely to implicate their identities and thus produce emotional reactions in the same way.

Bordonaro, 2014). Teachers also vary in their general instructional skills, as well as in their skills in use of disciplinary teaching practices (Monte-Sano, Bordonaro, et al., 2014). However, unlike teachers of other content areas, each teacher also carries in his/her head a memory history about which he/she may feel strongly. This memory history likely filters his/her ideas about the purposes of teaching history, especially national history, how open he/she is to promoting other perspectives and how he/she takes up students' ideas, especially ideas that challenge his/her own memory history. (Adwan et al., 2012; Bekerman, 2009; Bellino, 2014b; Lowenstein, 2003; Tibbitts, 2006).

Environments

Finally, micro- and macro-level political, social, historical, and economic influences impact the teaching and learning of empathy, particularly regarding contested issues of national history (Bekerman, 2002b, 2003, 2005, 2009; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Bellino, 2014b; Bruneau & Saxe, 2012; Kolikant & Pollack, 2009). The first layer of such influences includes the social organization of the classroom and school itself and the values and customary practices of the school as a whole, including its mission and official curriculum. A second layer of influences pushing in on the students and teachers in the classroom are the beliefs and experiences of parents who have shaped the memory histories of their children and who may have strong and sometimes oppositional perspectives on what and how history should be taught. Beyond are the influences of community political, economic, and social events and beliefs. Finally, all history classrooms are situated within national, social, political, and historical environments where images of different groups are shaped by media, where groups have different economic and political status and influence, and where national and international events are constantly pushing into the classroom in a way they may not be in other content areas. The work of Bekerman

(2002, 2003, 2005, 2009; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012), Bellino (2014b), Kolikant & Pollack (2009), Bruneau & Saxe (2012), and others discussed in the Literature Review section of the prior chapter illustrates how power inequities and events outside the classroom can interact with instructional conditions to affect learning outcomes in ways they may not in other content areas.

I theorized that whether classroom history teaching promotes “coming to know others,” as Wineburg advocated, may well depend on the nature of the interactions of teachers, students, and content – the instruction – in the classroom. These interactions are represented along the three legs of the triangle – teacher/content, student/content, and teacher/student. I anticipated that specific choices made by teachers and schools, including narrative choices, would interact dynamically with the identity (and other) characteristics of students and teachers and with environmental influences to affect students’ empathic and historical thinking outcomes. This framework provided an initial roadmap to guide my inquiry. For example, it sensitized me to issues to investigate through my interviews with teachers. However, it was not a specific hypothesis that I “tested.” As a consequence of doing the study, I was able to further refine this framework as I explain in the concluding chapter. Meanwhile, the following chapter describes the design of this study to address the various factors and dimensions of learning and teaching empathy that I theorized would be relevant in my framework.

CHAPTER III

Methods

Research Design

This research is a case study of empathic teaching and learning in a unique K-12 bilingual Arab-Jewish school in Jerusalem, Israel. The Max Rayne School is situated in a context of violent, intractable conflict which is fueled by the historical narratives of the opposing identity groups (Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006). I chose a case study design because although prior research on empathy has established that context matters (e.g., Gehlbach et al., 2012; Hoffman, 2000), much of it has investigated students' empathic thinking in experimental settings involving short-term or supplemental interventions (e.g., Bruneau & Saxe, 2012; Kolikant & Pollack, 2009). Meanwhile, much of the research on history instruction in on-going or post-conflict environments, or in settings with legacies of discrimination and injustice, has focused on analysis of state-level curriculum policy or textbooks (Paulson, 2015). Classroom-level examinations of empathic teaching and learning via history instruction in conflict settings are rare. Such studies are needed to extend theory and inform practice (Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Paulson, 2015).

Rationale for Case Selection

The school at the center of this study, the Max Rayne School, is the original school in a small network of schools known as Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel (Hand in Hand). This network was founded in 1997 by two men, a Palestinian Muslim and a Jewish Israeli/American. The network currently comprises six schools (including three recently opened preschools) and approximately 1350 students, with plans to expand to ten additional sites

within the next decade. The Max Rayne School has approximately 650 students in grades PK-12 and currently is the only of the six schools in the network to include grades 9-12.

This school, and the network of schools to which it belongs, is extraordinary in two ways. First, it is situated within an identity-based conflict where the historical narratives of the two primary identity-groups are opposed in almost every detail (Adwan et al., 2013; Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006), which ought to make empathy nearly impossible.¹³ On the other hand, the instructional environment is deliberately structured to encourage and facilitate empathy. Teaching the historical narratives of the two primary groups involved in the conflict is an important example of the latter. Such an approach is unique within Israel and in the world more generally. As such, the Max Rayne School constitutes a “critical case” (Yin, 1994) which allowed me to explore the possibilities and challenges of teaching and learning empathy in ways that I could not in other environments.

In addition to testing the possibilities for empathic teaching and learning, there are three other reasons why I selected this particular history learning environment in which to situate my study. First, as I indicated, the historical narratives of the two identity communities brought together in this school present sharply opposing interpretations of historical evidence on nearly every question; this made isolating and analyzing students’ ability to empathize with opposing perspectives on salient issues more precise for me as a researcher. Second, this school is attempting to teach understanding of and respect for one another’s historical narratives in conjunction with two other instructional goals: promotion of individual and group identity and promotion of historical thinking. As I described in the previous chapter, in much of the history

¹³ There are additional minority communities within Israel (i.e., Druze, Armenian, Ethiopian) and there are significant differences in the narratives of sub-groups within both the Jewish and Palestinian identity-groups (i.e., Sephardic versus Ashkenazi Jews, Christian versus Muslim Palestinians) but nevertheless the two primary identity groups around which the conflict centers are Jewish and Palestinian.

and history and conflict education literature, at least in Anglophone countries, (e.g., Barton & Levstik, 2008; Bellino, 2014a; Lee & Shemilt, 2011; Lowenthal, 1998; MacMillan, 2008), and in national and international political discourse about history education (; Nash et al., 1997; Symcox, 2002; Taylor & Guyver, 2012), these goals – empathy, identity, and historical thinking – frequently have been considered incompatible. By selecting a school that is attempting all three, I was able to explore how these goals might be reconciled in authentic classroom settings.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, I believe this school is attempting something courageous and extraordinary that is worth study. Evidence for the force of what they are doing to upset the *status quo* includes the violent attacks that have been directed at the school and its students both in the past and very recently.¹⁴ Furthermore, the teachers, students, administrators, and parents have been engaged in this reconciliation work for almost two decades now, learning along the way and refining their practice. The history curriculum, in particular, has been the subject of close scrutiny and concerted improvement efforts. Personal concerns influence one’s research (J. A. Maxwell, 2005). As a former high school history teacher and person concerned with improving intergroup relations and democratic processes, it has been a goal of mine for many years to better understand how they do this work.

For all of these reasons, I believe this “critical” case allows me to explore the possibility of students’ experiencing empathy for other perspectives when they care deeply about the issues and the opportunities and challenges of teaching empathy regarding these same issues in ways that I could not in other environments.

Case Description

History, Structure, Context, and Culture of the School

¹⁴ For example, in November 2014, two Jewish brothers who are members of a right-wing group attacked the school, burning several classrooms and spray-painting racist graffiti directed primarily at Arabs throughout the school.

From its inception in 1997, the purpose of the Hand in Hand schools has been to teach Israeli Jewish and Palestinian students together in an integrated environment where each group's identity, as reflected in its language, religious traditions, and historical narrative (i.e., collective memory history), is accorded equal respect and curricular attention.¹⁵ The motto of the network is, "Building shared society. One school, one community at a time (Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, 2015c)." The community part of this mission reflects the fact that the network's founders and administrators see their work as bringing together parents and community leaders from the divided Jewish and Palestinian communities in Israel, as well as their children. Parents serve on all school decision making committees and parent and community input and education are essential parts of the school philosophy and curriculum. The community component of the network's vision has become more central in recent years with implementation of an internationally grant-funded "Shared Communities Project" beginning in September 2013 (Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, 2014).

Israeli educational context. The schools in this network are anomalous within the complex, multi-layered system of public schooling in Israel. In this system, Palestinian and Jewish students are educated in separate schools with different curricula. A long history of resource inequities afflicting the Palestinian schools has been well-documented (Bekerman,

¹⁵ Finding the right words to define identities in Israel is difficult. For the purposes of this study, I use "Jewish" to refer to any Israeli person who identifies as Jewish and/or is identified as Jewish in the larger society. This designation includes individuals of European (Ashkenazi) descent or of Spanish and Middle Eastern descent (Sephardim) including "natives" of Palestine, as well as recent Jewish immigrants from countries such as Russia and Ethiopia. Jews may be religious, secular, or atheist. My use of "Palestinian" refers to any Israeli person who identifies as Arab or Palestinian or who is identified as Arab or Palestinian in the larger society. Palestinians in this context refers only to those Palestinians who live within the 1967 (i.e., internationally recognized) borders of Israel. These Palestinian inhabitants of historic Palestine became known as "48 Arabs" by other Palestinians to distinguish their status as citizens of the state of Israel, as opposed to the majority of Palestinians who either originated within the 1948 borders but became refugees through flight or expulsion, or who always resided in the parts of Palestine outside the 1949 Armistice lines (for example, in Gaza, Ramallah, or Jenin). Palestinians in Israel may be Christian or Muslim, and religious, secular, or atheist. Because of this complex national identity, many Palestinian students at the Max Rayne School refer to themselves as "from Jerusalem" rather than as "Arabs," (which they view as too non-specific because it can refer to Arabs anywhere in the Arab world), "Palestinians," (which gets confused with Palestinians who are not Israeli citizens), or as "Israelis" (because they are not part of the Jewish majority).

2005; Coursen-Neff, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2001). The official language of instruction is Hebrew in both Palestinian and Jewish schools in Israel. Palestinian students must study Hebrew beginning in third grade and national exams and much instruction is in Hebrew (Bekerman, 2005). Jewish students may study Arabic in the upper grades as a foreign language although relatively few do so. The fact that Palestinian students must take their qualifying exams in Hebrew is an oft-cited example of educational inequality (Cook, 2016).

The Israeli public school system is comprised of four sectors: the state sector (in which the majority of Jewish students are educated), the state-religious sector (which caters to Orthodox Jews, offering more in-depth religious instruction), the independent sector (which caters to the ultra-Orthodox Haredi population and offers an almost exclusively religious education), and the Arab sector (in which all Palestinian students in Israel are educated). Hand in Hand schools currently are considered public schools under the umbrella of the state sector. Because of this, they are eligible to receive government funding. However, they must also accept Ministry of Education (MoE) involvement in and oversight of their curriculum and staffing, a constant negotiation process for both school administrators and MoE inspectors (Bekerman, 2009). Recently, the network's schools were designated "special schools" making them eligible for additional government funding to defray costs involved in their bilingual co-teaching model. However, they continue to rely heavily on fundraising from foundations and individuals, both in Israel and abroad, particularly to cover the additional costs of having two teachers in each classroom.

Co-teaching. In all Hand in Hand schools including Max Rayne, each preschool and elementary class are taught by two teachers – a Palestinian teacher and a Jewish teacher. From 7th grade on, all classes become subject-specific and generally are taught by a single teacher who

is a specialist in the content area. The latter accords with the way middle and high school classes are taught in other Israeli schools. However, in keeping with their commitment to integrated co-teaching, the Max Rayne School continues to strive for a balance of Palestinian and Jewish teachers in the upper grades. For the most part, they appear successful.

Bilingualism. Language is viewed as a crucial component of identity by all network members. Therefore, the Max Rayne School is committed to bilingualism. In practice, however, particularly in the upper grades, use of Hebrew predominates among both teachers and students (Bekerman, 2005; Interview with Administrator 3, 6/24/14). Among the reasons given for this are that few Jewish teachers are sufficiently fluent in Arabic to feel comfortable using it instructionally. Furthermore, Palestinian students in the early elementary grades appear to quickly recognize Hebrew as the language of power that enables them to communicate effectively outside of the school as well as within it (Bekerman, 2005). In practice, by the time they are in middle and high school, many Palestinian students are more fluent in Hebrew than Arabic. This continues to be a concern of many school staff and parents, who are working on ways to achieve greater linguistic equity.

Equality of student population. In addition to bilingualism and integrated staffing, school administrators are committed to maintaining an equal balance of Palestinian and Jewish students. Over the years, this has been a challenge. Until recently, numbers were close to 50/50 in the elementary grades but Jewish students exited in large numbers in the 7th and then again in the 9th grades, leaving the middle and high school classes comprised mostly or exclusively of Palestinian students.

Various reasons have been offered for this disparity including: identity group differences over social mores and parental fears of intergroup gender mixing that become more acute in

adolescence, differential secondary educational opportunities available to Palestinian and Jewish parents, and concerns over school viability and academic quality. In particular, Jewish parents have access to many other high-quality learning opportunities for their children such as specialized science high schools (Bekerman, 2005; Bekerman & Horenczyk, 2004; Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, 2012; Interview with Administrator 2, 6/19/14). In the past, as their children approached middle and high school, concerns about academic rigor and college preparation trumped many Jewish parents' desire for an integrated education experience and led them to move their children to Jewish schools. Palestinian families, on the other hand, do not have access to other high quality educational alternatives. They view these schools as not only providing a higher quality of education than that available in the "Arab" schools (e.g., more resource-rich classrooms, better prepared teachers, more rigorous instruction, etc.) but also a "leg-up" in later economic competition where knowledge of Hebrew and familiarity with Jewish history and culture are essential to success, starting with success on the national high school exit exams (the Bagrut) and the psychometric exams (like U.S. SATs) which are administered in Hebrew (Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, 2012; Interview with Administrator 2, 6/19/14).

School officials have worked very hard to promote the academic rigor of the school program, for example, publicizing that their students perform as well or better on the Bagrut examinations than students in other "top" schools in the country. They also point to the success of their students in college admissions and national competitions like a national science competition, as well as artistic and sports endeavors (Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, 2012, 2013, 2014). These efforts appear to have paid off because, in recent

years, there has been a surge in applications from Jewish parents and a decline in Jewish attrition in the upper grades.

In the year I observed (2014-2015), there was only one Jewish student in the 12th grade, She had chosen to remain in the school and was accepted by the Palestinian students as “one of us” according to one student. However, in the 9th grade (the grade I observed), Jewish students comprised 29% of the class. Another 19% were neither Jewish nor Palestinian according to their teachers, but instead from a “mixed” or “different” background such as Druze. This trend toward increased Jewish retention appears to be continuing, furthering the objectives of the school’s founders but also leading to increased competition for spots in the incoming classes, particularly among Arab students.

Classroom environment. There are separate wings of the building for each grade cluster (i.e., PK/K, 1-5, 6-9, and 10-12). Students are assigned to a “class,” which is their grouping for all their required subjects. They stay in their designated classroom and their teachers rotate in to them for different subjects beginning in the early elementary grades. This is similar to how schools are structured in other Israeli settings. There is no “cafeteria” in the school. Students have a break time in the morning and eat both their morning snacks and lunches in their classrooms, with the exception of many 10th-12th grade students who leave campus to walk a short distance to a local shop to buy food and sit together at the picnic tables there. Again, this is not dissimilar to other Israeli schools I have observed.

I observed complete integration amongst the preschoolers and early elementary students at Max Rayne School. They played together on the playground chattering fluently in both languages, worked together in the classroom, and were nearly indistinguishable by ethnicity. However, I noticed that in the middle and high school classrooms, there was more self-

segregation by ethnicity, as might be expected given the increasing salience of identity in adolescence. Students did not have assigned seats in the classes I observed. However, they generally sat in the same seats each day and their chosen seat groupings were somewhat ethnically homogenous. They generally socialized with those same peers during the lunch break as well.

Although I noticed self-segregation, I observed less exclusivity than has been described as typical in integrated U.S. school settings (e.g., Tatum, 1997) or than I observed myself as a teacher in an integrated New York City high school. Furthermore, there were notable examples of cross-ethnic interaction. For example, I observed several student pairs comprised of students from different ethnic backgrounds. These pairs consistently chose to sit and work together in the classroom and ate lunch together. In addition to gender (these cross-ethnic pairs were always of the same gender), what seemed to unite these pairs was a common level of academic intensity (e.g., two “good” students who always worked together) or an outside interest such as soccer. In addition, their shared language of communication was Hebrew, likely for the reasons I mentioned earlier.

Beyond the classroom, the degree of socialization among students was much harder to determine. Many students travel long distances by public transportation or parents’ cars to attend the school. This obviates against socialization with any but the students who come from one’s own neighborhood, and neighborhoods are highly segregated in Israel, especially in and around Jerusalem. Anecdotally, I heard both positive and negative stories of students’ experiences visiting one another’s homes. Promoting cross-family interaction is a priority of the network’s family-school partnership initiatives. Finally and very importantly, in the hostile political environment of Jerusalem, identifying publicly as attending the school (which is known to be

integrated) or being seen to socialize in a mixed group has resulted in students being assaulted by bullies. Because I did not conduct student interviews, I could not determine the extent to which this influences older students' out-of-school socialization behaviors, but I expect it has some impact.

Instructional Goals of the School

Like all the Hand in Hand network schools, the Max Rayne School is committed to promoting and affirming students' group identities, while encouraging them to respect one another's linguistic, cultural, religious, and other differences, and accomplishing academic excellence.

Identity. Unlike in other national contexts such as the U.S. where racial/ethnic/religious identities frequently are downplayed,¹⁶ promoting, protecting, encouraging, and enhancing the separate identities of the two primary identity groups in the network's schools – Jewish and Palestinian – is a central feature of the Hand in Hand philosophy and curriculum (Bekerman, 2002a, 2003, 2005, 2009; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Interview with Administrator 2, 6/19/14; Interview with Administrator 3, 6/24/14). This may be especially important to Palestinian parents who believe their children's identity (e.g., religious beliefs, historical narrative, language, cultural practices) has not been respected and reinforced by Israeli public schooling (Bekerman, 2003).

However, all teachers, parents, and administrators believe that by acknowledging and exploring identity differences, and promoting positive identities for each group, they are making equal communication and interaction possible and promoting appreciation and understanding of

¹⁶ See, for example, Barack Obama's famous quote in his keynote address to the Democratic National Convention in 2004, "There is not a liberal America and a conservative America—there is the United States of America. There is not a Black America and a White America and Latino America and Asian America—there's the United States of America."

the Other. For example, educational anthropologist, Zvi Bekerman, who studied the network intensively for its first decade, found that parents consistently said that the schools' efforts to promote the national identities of each group are preparing and equipping their children for peaceful coexistence in Israeli society (Bekerman, 2002a, 2003, 2005, 2009). This sentiment was echoed by a parent in a news article following a November 2014 arson attack which included this quote from a Palestinian parent regarding why he sends his children to the schools:

I believed that if you want to solve any problem, the way to begin is through education...Some of my friends said, 'Your daughter will marry some Jew guy.' But I figured my daughters could meet Jew guys on the bus. I thought that this school would give them a stronger sense of their own identity and who we are living with (Klein, 2014).

This sentiment was also echoed in my interviews with school officials. For example, in explaining how emphasizing identity differences relates to promotion of equality and reconciliation, the network's Education Director, Inas Deeb, pointed to research indicating that "...interethnic exposure alleviated children's essentialist bias towards ethnicity and did so via making children aware of, rather than blind to, ethnic categories (Deeb, Segall, Birnbaum, Ben-Eliyahu, & Diesendruck, 2011)." This theme of reinforcement of identity was echoed by another school administrator who insisted that:

[Here] you can develop and decide your identity and respect another identity. That is our core belief. We are not creating a third identity here. This is one of the most dangerous things that could happen because the reality in the world outside doesn't give any chance for this identity to survive (Interview with Administrator 2, 6/19/14).

Empathy. Empathy is a primary emphasis of all school efforts. The school’s webpage defining “How We Are Different,” states the following,

When Arab and Jewish children learn together, they break the cycle of negative stereotypes and learn to relate to one another with mutual understanding and respect...Differences in culture, religion, and historical viewpoint are discussed openly. Arab and Jewish staff work together to teach tolerance, respect and coexistence (Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, 2015b).

Empathy is promoted in the network’s schools in both formal (such as via the civics curriculum) and informal ways. Regarding the latter, they argue that their students learn through daily interactions “to live with difference, complexity and even contradiction.” They learn to “make themselves heard” and in turn to “listen respectfully to others.” In this way, students learn that “pluralism, equality and the democratic process are more than just subjects: they are a way of life (Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, 2015a).” Learning to listen and to tolerate – perhaps even to appreciate and embrace – difference are key components of empathy embraced by this school and the network of schools to which it belongs. School leaders, parents, teachers, and even many students themselves view such skills and dispositions as essential to democracy and national reconciliation, particularly in their conflict-riven environment. For this reason, a number of upper grade students report having decided, sometimes against the wishes of their parents, to remain at the Max Rayne school, even if there are closer or more prestigious alternatives available to them (Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, 2016).

Critical thinking and academic excellence. The constructivist pedagogical methods within the Hand in Hand schools closely mirror those of state schools within secular Jewish

communities and are quite different from the schools for Arab students in Israel or the religious Jewish public schools where more traditional, didactic methods prevail (Bekerman, 2005). Discussions, interdisciplinary projects, and group work are frequent features of classroom practice (Interview with Administrator 2, 6/19/14). Art and music are central components of instruction. Furthermore, to continue to improve students' motivation and critical thinking skills across the curriculum, two years ago, the network's Education Director, Dr. Inas Deeb, introduced teachers throughout the network to Project Based Learning (PBL) (Buck Institute for Education, 2016). In our first interview, the Education Director discussed the school's movements both to PBL and dual narrative instruction as part of a broader effort to move away from their former "frontal" and didactic approach to classroom instruction (Interview with Administrator 1, 6/15/14). PBL is now a primary professional development focus throughout all Hand in Hand schools and is being implemented across the schools, including in civics classrooms, as a means to promote critical thinking, active learning, and student engagement.

Historical thinking. Although PBL is not a history teaching method specifically, it contains features that overlap with disciplinary teaching practices promoted by history educators.¹⁷ Furthermore, although the teachers and other adults I interviewed for this study about history education did not use the term "historical thinking," to describe their efforts to promote critical thinking in the civics classroom, the concepts they described trying to teach, pedagogical practices they described using, and rationales they provided for using such practices, coincide with understandings of historical thinking and disciplinary teaching practices advocated

¹⁷ PBL is defined by the Buck Institute as "...a teaching method in which students gain knowledge and skills by working for an extended period of time to investigate and respond to an engaging and complex question, problem, or challenge (Buck Institute for Education, 2016)." This approach overlaps with a number of disciplinary teaching practices advocated by history educators such as those outlined in the *(C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards* and specified by the Delphi Panel convened by Stanford's Center to Support Excellence in Teaching (Fogo, 2014; NCSS, 2013).

by Anglophone historians and history education researchers. Because of their commitment to implementation of PBL and the way in which they described their rationales for and use of disciplinary concepts and teaching practices (albeit mostly without using terms favored by Anglophone history education researchers), I consider the school's and teachers' attempts to promote critical thinking in the civics classroom analogous to attempts to promote historical thinking. Therefore, I use "critical thinking" when I discuss how they think about their efforts to promote critical thinking in civics (i.e., history) classrooms and "historical thinking" when I discuss my interpretations of their efforts.

Civics Curriculum's Contribution to School's Instructional Goals

The civics curriculum within the Hand in Hand schools is considered central to the network's empathic mission and a key element distinguishing them from other schools. This curriculum has three components: 1) multi-faith religious education, 2) observances of the National Days¹⁸ that incorporate Palestinian as well as Jewish historical experiences, and 3) instruction in the contrasting national memory histories – the historical narratives – of the Palestinian and Jewish peoples. These narratives are considered a central part of each group's identity, and understanding of each other's historical narratives is considered a major arena where equity is lacking and empathy is needed. Bekerman wrote, "At the basis of the conflict are controversial historical interpretations. As such, the need to negotiate between interdependent and conflicting historical narratives is one of the main goals of the schools' activities (Bekerman, 2009, p. 237)." Teaching both narratives involves naming, discussing, and commemorating

¹⁸ The National Days refer to two commemorative days which the Israeli Ministry of Education mandates be observed in all Israeli schools (including "Arab" schools): Israeli Independence Day and Yom HaZikaron. Yom HaZikaron, the "Day of Remembrance for the Fallen Soldiers of Israel and Victims of Terrorism," is Israel's official Memorial Day, enacted into law in 1963. It precedes Independence Day by one day, and both move on the Jewish calendar between mid-April and mid-May. Yom HaZikaron is a somber day that involves the sounding of a siren for two minutes during which all movement across the country stops. Independence Day, on the other hand, is celebratory.

historical events associated with the Palestinian narrative that are not mentioned in the official curricula of either Jewish or Arab schools in Israel, particularly Al-Nakba Day¹⁹ and Land Day.²⁰

Israeli Jewish and Palestinian national narratives. The Israeli Jewish and Palestinian national narratives are mirror images of one another and are viewed by many scholars as not only explaining but continuing to fuel the conflict (Adwan et al., 2013; Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006). The predominant Jewish narrative,²¹ has been described as the victorious return of the Jewish people to their ancient homeland of Eretz Israel (meaning the historical and biblical land of Israel) after two thousand years of exile and oppression culminating in the Holocaust, their valiant struggle to rebuild their homeland in the face of hostile Arab forces and international resistance, and their ongoing struggles to protect and maintain that homeland against aggressive and hostile forces both within and without that seek its destruction (Adwan et al., 2012; Podeh, 2000; Scham, 2005; Scham, Salem, & Pogrud, 2005). This narrative emphasizes Jews' Biblical roots in the land as well as achievements of Jews in the Diaspora, in addition to the Zionist quest

¹⁹ Nakba may be translated as “catastrophe,” “disaster,” or “cataclysm.” The day commemorates events surrounding the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 that resulted in the destruction of hundreds of Palestinian villages and exile of 700,000 Palestinians from their homes. In the Palestinian national narrative, it represents the beginning of Palestinians’ exile and loss of land and nationhood that began in 1948 and continues to this day. It is a key event in Palestinian memory history and collective identity and is commemorated by Palestinians in Israel as well as throughout the West Bank, Gaza, and the Diaspora. Al Nakba Day is traditionally commemorated by Palestinians in Israel on the same day as Israeli Independence Day and on May 15th (the day after the declaration of the establishment of the state of Israel by David Ben Gurion on May 14, 1948) by Palestinians elsewhere in the world. The Israeli Ministry of Education officially forbids commemoration of Al-Nakba Day in schools. From the beginning, how to observe the National Days while simultaneously acknowledging Al-Nakba Day and the Palestinian experience have been central topics of discussion and negotiation in Hand in Hand schools involving parents, teachers, students, administrators, community members and government officials. Until a few years ago, each school in the network held separate ceremonies for Palestinian and Jewish students on these days (Bekerman, 2002a, 2003; Interview with Administrator 2, 6/19/14; Interview with Administrator 3, 6/24/14). However, for the past several years, at the Max Rayne and the other school sites, students, teachers, and parents have been working to create joint commemorative events that involve students and families from both identity groups while maintaining the integrity and significance of each commemorative event (Interview with Administrator 2, 6/19/14; Interview with Administrator 3, 6/24/14)

²⁰ Land Day is observed only by Palestinian citizens of Israel. It commemorates the 1976 killing of six unarmed Palestinian citizens, and arrests of hundreds more, by the Israeli Army. Those killed and arrested were protesting the expropriation of Palestinian lands within the 1967 borders of Israel for Israeli settlements and security.

²¹ This is the standard secular, nationalist Zionist narrative. The narratives of the ultra-Orthodox, the settler movement, and other religious and ultra-nationalist groups deviate from this depiction.

for reestablishment of a Jewish homeland. In the 1990s, there were some revisions to depictions of specific events (such as the Tel Hai battle) in official textbook accounts. These changes were based upon a “second-generation” of Israeli historiography that acknowledged the historical veracity of some elements that have traditionally been considered part of the Palestinian narrative of Israeli history (Adwan et al., 2012; Porat, 2005). However, overall the basic narrative structure has remained constant and accords with the memory histories of many Israeli Jews since it is reinforced via the state schools, media, popular culture, music, families, etc.

The predominant Palestinian narrative²² also emphasizes Palestinians’ ancient roots in the land as farmers, fisherman, and craftspeople. It has been described as the story of their exile and loss at the hands of European colonial powers that conspired with European Zionists to forcibly settle Jews in their land and then imposed the creation of an alien country in the Palestinian homeland in 1948. This action is seen as causing the dispossession of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and the beginning of their long exile as a people. According to this narrative, since 1948, Palestinians have faced continuous discrimination and victimization in their own land at the hands of the Zionists, who continue to be aided and abetted by the West (Adwan et al., 2012; Jawad, 2006; Scham, 2005; Scham et al., 2005), while valiantly struggling to assert their rights and maintain their identity. This narrative accords with the memory histories of many Palestinian families and is reinforced via Palestinian schools in the West Bank and Gaza and Palestinian media and political groups. However, with the exception of this network of schools, only the Jewish narrative of modern Israeli history is taught in Israeli public schools, including schools for Palestinian Israelis (Administrator 1, personal communication, June 19, 2014; Administrator 2, personal communication, June 24, 2014; Bekerman, 2005, 2009).

²² This is the secular, nationalist narrative espoused by the Palestinian Authority and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). As with the Zionist narrative, the narratives of other Palestinian factions, especially religious factions such as Hamas, deviate from this depiction.

Participants

Profiles of Adult Participants

Focal adult study participants were the two teachers – one a Palestinian Muslim female (Raidah) and the other a Jewish male (Maor) – who shared responsibility for history instruction of all 48 of the 9th graders during the 2014-2015 school year –the year I observed.²³ 9th grade is the first time that students formally study national history in the curriculum of the school. Thus far, it is also the only grade in which the dual-narrative curriculum has been implemented. This is why I focused on this grade and these teachers and students. I also included as a focal adult participant a third teacher, a Jewish male (Gil), who formerly taught at the school and who, during the 2014-2015 school year, supported the 9th grade teachers in implementing project based learning (PBL) methods in the two history classes. Secondary adult participants included: 1) the Max Rayne school principal; 2) the Education Director for the Hand in Hand network of schools, Dr. Inas Deeb; 3) administrators of two other Hand in Hand schools; 4) Dr. Zvi Bekerman, an educational anthropologist at Hebrew University who has studied this network of schools extensively since its inception; and 5) teacher educator, Dr. Sami Adwan, and historian, Dr. Eyal Naveh who co-directed the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME) project that resulted in development of the dual-narrative textbook adopted by the 9th grade history teachers in the year I observed. (I describe this project in more detail in the following chapter.)

Profile of Raidah. As of spring 2015, Raidah had taught at the Max Rayne School (MRS) for six years and had not taught anywhere else. She deliberately sought to join the MRS staff after learning of its philosophy. She studied for her BA in Oriental History and Spanish Literature and received her teacher training at Hebrew University. Raidah grew up and still lives

²³ All teacher and student names throughout this study are pseudonyms.

in Beit Safafa, the Palestinian village adjoining the school which was incorporated by Israel into Jerusalem after the 1967 war. She is a practicing Muslim and is married with two young children who both attend the school.

Profile of Maor. Maor was invited by the Max Rayne School (MHS) principal to come to the school in 2013-2014 to teach a government class. He agreed to stay on during 2014-2015 to co-teach the two 9th grade history classes with Raidah, in order to provide support to the Jewish students in the classes. During both years, he remained a full-time civics teacher in another secular Jewish school a few miles away.²⁴ When the year ended, he resigned to teach exclusively at his other school. (In 2015-2016, Raidah co-taught the 9th grade history classes with another Jewish teacher from within the MRS.)

Maor grew up on a kibbutz in central Israel but spent his high school years in Australia. After his family returned to Israel, he did his mandatory army service and then traveled for several years. He studied Middle Eastern Studies (i.e., Middle Eastern history and Arabic) at Hebrew University, and received his teaching credential through a local teacher's college. As of spring 2015, he had taught for seven years, all of it in his other school and at the MRS. Maor is a non-observant Jew. He is married and has two young children, neither of whom attends the MRS.

Profile of Gil. Gil studied history and political science at Hebrew University with the intention of going into academia. However, after Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's assassination in 1996, he decided to go into education. First, he was a history teacher at a brand new Jewish state high school in another part of the country that was attempting to implement a "community of thinking." After five years, he left that school and education to join the Rabin Center and

²⁴ Many classes in Israeli high schools do not meet every day. The 9th grade civics classes at Max Rayne School met only once a week on Sundays. So it was possible for Maor to teach civics full-time at this other school and still teach the 9th grade classes with Raidah.

engage in political activism. In 2004, he came to the MRS as a 5th grade teacher. Like Raidah, he was drawn to the school after learning about its philosophy. He ended up teaching 5th and 6th grade for two years and then working for three more years as a teacher coach/facilitator and curriculum developer for the new middle school. In 2014-2105, he taught history part-time at a high school for the gifted associated with Hebrew University, as well as a course on pedagogy for future teachers in the education program at Hebrew University, and consulted with schools on project-based learning and other constructivist methods. I included Gil as a focal study participant because although he was not one of the 9th grade classroom teachers during the year I observed, he met weekly throughout the year with Raidah and Maor to debrief and plan lessons, observed in the classroom, and frequently interacted with the students. Gil is married and lives outside Jerusalem where he has a teenage child who attends a different high school.

Profile of Student Participants

Between them, Raidah and Maor shared responsibility for the history instruction of all 48 of the 9th grade students in the 2014-2015 year. In February 2015, I asked Raidah (who knew the students much better than Maor because of her six year tenure at the school) to briefly describe to me the identity background of each student using class rosters. She described the students' identity backgrounds as follows:

Arab Muslim	20 (42%)
Arab Christian ²⁵	5 (10%)
Jewish ²⁶	14 (29%)

²⁵ Raidah (and Maor on several occasions in our interviews) distinguished between Palestinian Muslims and Christians when describing students' identities. However, I did not find any obvious distinctions in the responses of the two Christian and ten Muslim Palestinians in my sample. Furthermore, neither used their families' religious background in their self-identification. Therefore, in order to be consistent with the naming conventions I adopted, throughout the remainder of this chapter and in other chapters, unless specifically stated otherwise, I refer to students in the class whom Raidah distinguished as Christian and Muslim Palestinian Arabs simply as "Palestinians."

“From a different background”²⁷ 9 (19%)

(5 of these students she characterized as having mixed Arab/Jewish parentage, 1 as an Ethiopian Christian, 1 as an Ethiopian Jew, 1 as a Russian Jew, and 1 as Druze)

Raidah also provided the genders of each student. They were:

Female 28 (58%)

Male 20 (42%)

As I describe later, students separately provided information about their identity backgrounds, which I compared with Raidah’s ascriptions.

Securing Approval for the Research and Consent from Participants

Securing approval for this research was complicated because of the special status of the school within the Israeli system. Eventually, I received formal approval to conduct my study from the network’s Education Director, Inas Deeb. That approval then became the basis for IRB approval through my university. The three teachers and the additional individuals that I interviewed to gain background information were all presented with informed consent documents that met both University of Michigan and Israeli Ministry of Education (MoE) requirements. All consent documents were translated into Arabic and Hebrew by professional translators whom I hired through reputable agencies. All three teachers consented in writing to be interviewed and observed. Using a script that conformed to MoE and University of Michigan IRB requirements, I informed the students collectively in English of their right not to participate

²⁶ Raidah implied only Israeli-born Jews only in her designation of students as “Jewish” because she distinguished two Jewish students as “from a different background” – one an Ethiopian Jew and the other a Russian Jew.

²⁷ In this study, I use “from a different background” to refer to students to whom Raidah ascribed identity backgrounds other than Israeli Jewish or Palestinian Christian or Muslim.

in any or all of the tasks I asked of them. Their teachers then repeated this information in Hebrew and Arabic.

My Positionality as a Researcher

A number of features related to my background have bearing on how this study was conducted and the validity of its findings. These include my gender, religion, ethnic and national origins, relationship to one of the founders of the network, and prior experience in Israel and with Israeli and Palestinian culture and language. First, I am a white female of Italian and Scottish-Irish descent from the United States. I was raised within a mainstream Protestant church but do not attend church regularly. This background set me apart from the teachers, students, and other adults with whom I interacted, who were from Jewish, Muslim, or various eastern Christian denominations from Israel or the Palestinian Territories. I believe my personal distance from the “warring camps” was an advantage in that it allowed me to be seen as relatively objective and open to all perspectives. Furthermore, given the patriarchal nature of both Palestinian and Jewish society in Israel and the predominance of males in the conflict, being female also may have led people to see me as less threatening when I asked probing questions than if I had been male.

Second, I am related by marriage to the Palestinian Muslim co-founder of the network.²⁸ He is my husband’s uncle. Because of this relationship, I was aware of the network for some time. Network staff faces constant pressures and criticisms. They must: 1) negotiate curriculum, staffing, budgets, etc. with the Ministry of Education; 2) maintain a positive external image in order to garner the extra funding, primarily from international donors, necessary to continue their work; and 3) deal with both overt and indirect forms of hostility and skepticism regarding their mission. Within this context, they are understandably hesitant to allow outsiders to “study” their

²⁸ He resigned his role as Executive Director of the network in 2011, although one of his three children still attends the MRS and two others have graduated from there.

work, particularly if the study is not likely to have direct benefit for their work. Because my husband's uncle is highly regarded by many, I believe our association provided significant entrance when negotiating initial relationships with some senior staff. On the other hand, I believe this same association led others to be more guarded than they might have been and to have questioned my ability to be objective, at least initially.

Third, my husband is a Palestinian Muslim who emigrated to the U.S. from Israel in 1989. We have two bi-cultural sons. We have visited my husband's family in Israel numerous times over the past 25 years. I have closely followed the history of the conflict – but from a safe distance – over the past quarter century. This familiarity, especially with Palestinian culture, helped me to contextualize the conflict and understand the cultural, social, historical, and political setting. I believe it also facilitated rapport with many of the Palestinians I encountered. Conversely, it may have created at least some initial suspicion of my intentions on the part of some Jewish students and teachers. Throughout data collection and analysis, I tried to be cognizant of the fact that while my background has helped me to understand the conflict in ways most others do not, it has also biased me toward certain beliefs regarding its causes, possibilities for resolution, etc. I tried to remain open to all points of view and perspectives, and not to convey my perspectives through my voice, facial expressions, etc. However, I am aware that all researchers “see” through their own lenses, even as they try to step outside of their own perspectives and experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). In order to mitigate my biases, I consulted with the 9th grade teachers, Education Director of the network, and school principal throughout development of the student tasks and “member checked” (Maxwell, 2005) all of my findings with them.

Finally, while English is widely spoken and understood by the students and teachers of the network, I believe that the biggest challenge I faced in this research was the language barrier. I speak and understand conversational Arabic fairly well, although I cannot read or write it; I do not speak or understand Hebrew at all. Because language is closely affiliated with identity in this context, I believe my language skills made some Palestinian students more comfortable and some Jewish students less comfortable with me at least initially.

In all formal communications, such as gaining informed consent, I was able to work around the linguistic barrier by using professional translators to translate relevant documents. In addition, I was able to structure the student tasks and teacher interviews in such a way that language was not a barrier. What I missed, however, was the casual give and take between teachers, teachers and students, and among students. For this reason, I chose not to rely heavily on observational data in my findings and was careful not to draw conclusions based primarily on this data.

Methods of Data Collection

The following table illustrates the alignment of each research question with data sources I collected. In order to triangulate evidence, I collected multiple sources of data for questions one through three. For question four, I asked students to complete more than one task or task component that addressed a single construct (such as historical empathy), rather than gathering different types of data.

Table III.1. Alignment of research questions and data sources

Research Questions	Data Sources				Dates Collected
	Interviews	Observations	Artifacts	Student Tasks	
RQ1: How do the 9 th grade history teachers at the Max Rayne School reconcile classroom instructional goals that often are viewed as contradictory – namely promotion of empathy and identity, and development of students’ critical thinking skills?	X	X	X		<i>Interviews: June-July 2014, February-March 2015, April-May 2015</i> <i>Observations: April-May 2015</i> <i>Artifacts: February-March 2015, April-May 2015</i>
RQ2: What do the 9 th grade teachers at Max Rayne School perceive as the challenges and opportunities for teaching and learning empathy via the dual-narrative approach to national history instruction that they have developed?	X	X	X		
RQ3: Beyond the 9 th grade history curriculum, how else is teaching for empathy for different historical perspectives done in the school?	X	X	X		
RQ4: In this conflict setting, where a unique dual-narrative approach to history instruction is used, and their teachers are simultaneously committed to empathy, identity, and critical thinking goals, how do students’ empathic and historical thinking manifest?				X	April-May 2015

Teaching Data

Interviews. To investigate how the teachers reconcile their instructional goals and how they perceive the challenges of teaching dual-narratives in a conflict environment (i.e., research questions one and two), I conducted the following teacher interviews:

- Raidah – 3 (1 hour) interviews, plus 2 (½ hour) background interviews
- Maor – 3 (1 hour) interviews, plus 1 (½ hour) background phone interview
- Gil – 2 (1 ¼ hour) interviews

To develop a broad background understanding of the history, philosophy, and curriculum of the schools, including understanding of critical research that has been done on the schools, gain support for my project, and organize my study, I conducted a number of other background interviews. These included:

- Max Rayne School Principal (Jewish male) – 2 (1 hour) interviews
- Principals of two other Hand in Hand network schools (Palestinian males) – 2 (1½ hour) interviews
- Dr. Inas Deeb, Director of Educational Programs for the Hand in Hand network of schools (Palestinian female) – 5 (1 hour) interviews plus numerous phone and email communications
- Dr. Zvi Bekerman, Professor, Hebrew University School of Education, and faculty member of the Melton Center and the Mandel Leadership Institute (Jewish male) – 2 (1 hour) interviews
- Co-founder of the Hand in Hand network (Palestinian male) – multiple informal conversations

Finally, to understand the origins, structure, and purposes of the dual-narrative text that the 9th grade teachers adopted in 2014-2015, the year I observed, I interviewed the following co-directors of the project that led to development of that text:

- Dr. Sami Adwan – Co-Director, Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME), Co-founder of PRIME with Dan Bar-On (passed away 2008), and Vice President for Academic Affairs, Hebron University – 1 (1¼ hour) interview

- Dr. Eyal Naveh - Co-Director, Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME), Professor of History, Tel Aviv University and Kibbutzim College of Education – 1 (1¼ hour) interview

I conducted all interviews, except those with Raidah, in English. Raidah speaks English but is more comfortable in Arabic and Hebrew and asked for an interpreter. I used a professional interpreter and translator, a professor of English Literature at Bethlehem University, to interpret during my interviews with her. I audiotaped all interviews, as well as taking extensive interview notes, which I typed up immediately following each interview. I transcribed all eight primary teacher interviews and the two interviews with the text developers. I selectively transcribed all other interviews.

Observations. I conducted the bulk of data collection, including classroom observations, during an intensive four week period from April-May 2015. I chose this period to coincide with teaching of the 1948 War and observance of National Days commemorative events by the school. This event and these days are pivotal in the opposing narratives of Palestinians and Israelis. I used my classroom observations to probe what dual-narrative instruction “looks and sounds like.” Because of the language barriers, I concentrated on what I could see and hear such as: 1) signs of affective engagement with the curriculum content (e.g., teachers’ and students’ tone of voice, facial expressions, body language), 2) dominance of the discussions by one teacher or the other or by one or more students, and 3) whether text sources were being used to ground discussions and claims. I began by using an observation protocol to structure each observation. However, when the protocol proved unwieldy, I switched to open field notes which I took while observing. I observed the following events:

- Classroom lesson observations (4 weeks)²⁹
- Lecture to combined 9th grade classes by a Hebrew University history professor (1 hour)
- Separate and joint Jewish and Palestinian National Days (i.e., Yom HaZikaron and Israeli Independence Day) and Al Nakba Day commemoration activities (4 hours)
- Presentation to assembly of 6th – 9th graders by two parents – one Palestinian and another Jewish – related to their experiences with the events of 1948 and 1967 (2 hours)
- In addition, I returned to the school in September 2016 to present my findings to school and network staff (2 hours).

Documentary data. I collected a number of documentary materials including:

- All handouts distributed during classes
- English and Arabic versions of the dual-narrative textbook
- A handout distributed to 8th graders for a class activity they did with American visitors to their class
- Selected pages from the Max Rayne School's 7th – 9th civics grade curriculum guide
- Hand in Hand website pages
- Hand in Hand annual reports

²⁹ The two 9th grade history classes each met once a week for 2 hours for a total of 16 hours of direct classroom observation over the four weeks. This schedule is similar to that of other Israeli schools where only high school math and language classes appear to meet more frequently.

- Students' board notes (Board notes were not generated in every class and most students did not take notes. In the classes where they were, I identified a student who appeared to be taking thorough notes reflecting what was written on the board and asked to Xerox their notes at the end of the class.)
- The school calendar
- Class rosters for the two 9th grade classes

Learning Data

I created five tasks to investigate students' empathic thinking, historical empathic thinking, historical literacy skills, historical knowledge, and self-identification.³⁰ I defined concepts used in these tasks (e.g., empathic skill) and used methods to operationalize and measure these concepts that I borrowed from definitions and methods used by other researchers discussed in the literature review section. I did this in order to increase the validity of the constructs used in this research (Yin, 1994, p. 42). Most importantly, I emulated (in modified form) psychologists' Bruneau & Saxe's (2012) narrative methodology to assess students' empathic skills and dispositions. They identified accuracy of representation of the perspective of the Other as an important component of empathic skill. In their study, accuracy was not measured against an outside standard such as historians' assessments of the historical evidence, as it was in several of the studies discussed in the literature review (e.g., Goldberg et. al., 2008). Instead, it was measured by congruence between the perspectives of perspective-givers and perspective-takers such that the giver felt that he or she had been heard, acknowledged, and understood by the Other. They argued that this sense of "feeling heard" is the foundation of

³⁰ Final versions of all five tasks may be found in Appendix C.

effective social communication and is especially important to those with less power in the broader society.

In each of the three empathic tasks (Tasks 1, 2, and 4), the first “perspective-giving” part of the task served two purposes. First, it “primed” students for the more cognitively and emotionally difficult task of considering the perspective of the Other. Second, it enabled me to gather the information necessary to determine the “likely” responses of members of each identity group regarding each respective question. Gathering such information was necessary in order to determine degree of correspondence between a student’s inferences regarding the likely perspectives of the Other and the actual perspectives of the Other.

All five tasks were written, rather than oral, in order to mitigate the language barrier between the students and me. Each task was translated into both Hebrew and Arabic, with both languages on the same sheet, in order not to make assumptions regarding which language each student felt most comfortable using. Students were free to respond in whatever language they preferred. The table below summarizes primary features of each task.

Table III.2. Primary features of each of the five student tasks used in this study

	Task 1	Task 2	Task 3	Task 4	Task 5
Task Format	Constructed response	Constructed response	Constructed response	Constructed response	Questionnaire
Skills/Dispositions Assessed	historical thinking (significance); empathic thinking	historical thinking (significance); empathic thinking	Part 1: historical empathy; Part 2: historical knowledge, historical literacy; Part 3: historical empathy, moral evaluation	historical knowledge; empathic thinking	Self-described features of identity
Description of Task	Part A: List what you believe are the 5 most important events, people, or ideas in the history of this land that every person living here should know and explain each choice. Part B: Repeat from perspective of a classmate from a different background.	Part A: From lists, select what you believe are the 5 most significant concepts, people, and events in the history of this land from 1900-1949 and explain each selection. Part B: Repeat from perspective of a classmate from a different background.	Part 1: Explain why many Palestinians rejected and many Jews accepted the Partition Plan proposed by the United Nations in 1947. Part 2: Read and analyze a novel account of the 1947 Partition Plan. Indicate what parts are accurate, inaccurate, and why. Part 3: Respond to two prompts – I think many Palestinians/Jews made the wrong/right decision in 1947.	Part A: What does Yom HaZikaron mean to you? What does Al Nakba Day mean to you? Part B: Repeat by answering each question from perspective of a classmate from a different background.	Several background questions. Concludes with question, How would you describe your identity?
When/where task administered and by whom	5/3/15. Task administered by me with assistance of assistant principal in Class 1's regular homeroom session with her, and with assistance of Raidah and Shoshanna (geography teacher) during Class 2's geography class.	Late May 2015. Task administered by Raidah and Maor in both classes after I left the school; responses were sent to me by mail.	5/10/15. Task administered by me with assistance of Raidah and Maor during a break in an extended final project session involving the combined classes. Students who did not attempt or finish this task on this date were asked to do so a second time by Raidah and Maor when they administered Task 2. Those responses were also sent to me by mail.	5/3/15. Task administered by me with assistance of assistant principal in Class 1's regular homeroom session with her, and with assistance of Raidah and Shoshanna (geography teacher) during Class 2's geography class.	5/10/15. Task administered by me with assistance of Raidah and Maor during a break in an extended final project session involving the combined classes.

Tasks one and two: Empathy. These two tasks assessed students' ability and willingness to consider the views (cognitive empathy) of the Other regarding the significance of contested historical events and the feelings (affective empathy) associated with those events by the Other.³¹ In Task One, I asked students to list what they believed "...are the five most important events, people/organizations, or ideas in the history of this land that every person living here should know." I also asked them to write one sentence explaining why they choose each event, person, or idea. In Part B of this task, I then asked them to do the same while taking the perspective of "another student in your class from a different background." In Task Two, students selected from lists of options what they believed are the five "most significant concepts, people/organizations, and events in the history of this land from 1900-1949."³² (I asked students to choose five *each* from the lists of concepts, people/organizations, and events, but most seemed to have disregarded or misunderstood that part of the directions and chose five overall rather than 15 total.) Students were also asked to "briefly explain why you chose these concepts, people/organizations, or events." In Part B of this task, I again asked them to repeat the exercise while taking the perspective of "another student in your class from a different background."

The choices of events, people/organizations, and concepts that I provided in Task Two were initially drawn from those identified as significant in the Jewish and Palestinian narratives of this period represented in the PRIME dual-narrative textbook (Adwan et. al., 2012). However, after consultation with Raidah, Maor, the Education Director, and the school principal, I revised

³¹ As discussed in the Literature Review chapter, cognitive and affective empathy, while related, are separate constructs (Decety & Moriguchi, 2007; Shamay-Tsoory et al., 2008; Singer & Lamm, 2009). Therefore, I analyzed the cognitive and affective components of students' responses separately. I defined cognitive empathy as ability and inclination to consider the perspectives of the Other regarding the historical significance of events, persons, etc. I defined affective empathy as ability and inclination to consider the emotional feelings of the Other regarding these same events, persons, etc.

³² I used "this land" instead of "this country" or "this nation" in Tasks 1 and 2 because many Palestinian students do not consider Israel their country or nation and because there was no recognized nation of Israel prior to 1948.

some of these selections to ensure that I included only people/organizations, events, or concepts that they had covered in class.

The methodology I used for assessing significance (“list the most important...” or “choose the most important...”) is commonly used in history education research (e.g., Barton, 2005; Barton & McCully, 2005; Epstein, 2000; Levstik, 2001). By adding the request that students also imagine the selections of the Other, I hoped to assess their cognitive and affective empathic skills and inclinations regarding consideration of the historical perspectives of the Other.

Task four: Empathy. In Task Four, the third of the empathic tasks, students were asked to explain the meanings of Yom HaZikaron and Al Nakba Day. First, each student was asked to explain the meaning of each day to him or herself (i.e., perspective-giving). Students then explained the meanings they believed each event might have to “another student in your class from a different background” (i.e., perspective-taking).”

I decided to pair these two particular events after consultation with Raidah, Maor, the network’s Education Director, and the principal. I had first proposed pairing Israeli Independence Day and Al Nakba Day since both commemorate events of 1948. However, Maor objected, arguing that it is not that difficult for Palestinians to observe Israeli Independence Day since it is basically a day of celebration. Further, he argued that pairing Al Nakba Day with Holocaust Day would be inappropriate because it might suggest parity in levels of suffering between the two events and that, to him, nothing is comparable to the Holocaust. Instead, he proposed pairing Yom HaZikaron and Al Nakba Day because these two days commemorate historical losses central to each identity group’s narrative. The losses commemorated in each case implicitly rebuke the narrative of the Other, and therefore, pose significant emotional

challenges to empathy for the Other. He argued that pairing the two days would seriously challenge students' empathic skills and dispositions. After discussion of his concerns with Raidah, Dr. Deeb, the principal, we decided to change the task to pair the two events recommended by Maor.

Task three: Historical empathy, historical knowledge, and historical literacy. Task Three assessed students' historical empathy, historical knowledge, and historical literacy skills. It had three parts. In Part 1, I asked them to explain why many Jews accepted the UN Partition Plan of 1947 and why many Palestinians rejected this plan. This task assessed students' ability to consider the actions of people in the past (in many cases their ancestors) from the perspectives of those individuals (i.e., historical empathy). The focal question of this task – Why did many Jews support and many Palestinians reject the 1947 Partition Plan for Palestine proposed by the U.N.? – is a central one in Israeli and Palestinian historiography related to responsibility for the current conflict.³³ It is also an important question within the 9th grade civics curriculum at the Max Rayne School.

In Part 3, I asked students, “from their perspective today,” to complete two sentences, “I think many Jews made the right/wrong (circle one) decision in accepting the Partition Plan because....” And “I think many Palestinians made the right/wrong (circle one) decision in accepting the Partition Plan because....” This portion of the task asked for students' personal judgments but also gave them a second opportunity to demonstrate a deeper level of historical empathy – the ability to both judge and empathize with the decisions of those in the past, while keeping separate these two kinds of thinking.

³³ Following several decades of conflicting promises made to Zionist and Palestinian leaders by the British who had taken control of Palestine following WWI, and increasing conflict between the two sides, the British decided to leave Palestine in 1947 and turn over “the problem” to the newly formed United Nations. The U.N. proposed to partition Palestine into two states, a move that set off a number of cascading events, including the declaration of the state of Israel in 1948 and the Palestinian refugee problem which continues today.

Part 2 of the task assessed their historical literacy skills. I instructed them to read an unfamiliar account of the 1947 Partition Plan, identify elements they believed were correct or incorrect in the account, and explain why. I used a text from the New York Times' Learning Network page designed for teachers and students. The text takes an objective, authoritative stance, yet it contains several assertions that are highly contested by Palestinians and Israeli Jews. Specifically, it uses "Palestine" to refer to the geographical area that became Israel after 1948. This is contested by many Israeli Jews, who refer to the pre-1948 land instead as "Eretz Israel," meaning "the [historic and biblical] land of Israel." Meanwhile, its references to Palestinian Arabs' "fleeing" and to "Arab armies invading" are contested by Palestinians, and indeed by many Israeli Jewish historians, who argue that in the events surrounding the declaration of Israeli statehood tens of thousands of Palestinians were forcibly driven out of their villages and homes by Israeli army soldiers and Jewish paramilitaries. Evidence of the contested nature of these passages is that both my Jewish and Palestinian professional interpreters objected to and wanted to edit the respective references. However, I insisted that they translate them as written in order to see if students identified any of these passages as problematic.

Task five: Identity. This task involved five short answer questions related to students' backgrounds and self-assessment of their identities. It was intended as a check on the information on students' identities provided by Raidah. The survey started with simple non-intrusive questions (i.e., "where were you born?") and worked up to the potentially more intrusive question, (i.e., "choose 3-5 words that you believe describe your identity"). The latter was the only response in this Task that I analyzed.

When/how tasks were administered and by whom. The two 9th grade civics classes met weekly on Sunday mornings, sometimes as one combined class and sometimes separately.

To the extent possible, I collaborated with Raidah and Maor to administer the tasks during the regular class time. In this way, we hoped to increase response rates. I read a script to students informing them of their right not to participate in any or all tasks. Raidah and/or Maor then repeated the information in Arabic or Hebrew. We administered Tasks 1 and 4 on the second regular class day that I was present and Tasks 3 and 5 the following Sunday. Because of conflicts with other “special” events, Tasks 1 and 4 ended up being administered during Class 1 and 2’s homeroom and geography classes respectively.³⁴ Administration of Tasks 3 and 5 was awkwardly sandwiched in the middle of an extended final project work time in which students from the combined classes were very engaged. Perhaps for this reason, initial response rates to Task 3 were quite low compared to Tasks 1, 4, and 5. This task also required more reading and writing than the other tasks which may also have contributed to the lower response rate. Given the teachers’ extremely limited class time, I was unable to administer Task 2 while on-site. Consequently, after I departed, the teachers administered Task 2 to their classes and invited those who had not completed Task 3 the first time to do so. They then mailed the students’ task papers to me.

Methods of Data Analysis

Analysis of Teaching Data

I engaged in analysis of the teaching data beginning with the interview process through ongoing adjustment of the interview protocols. Prior to arrival in Israel, I had structured my interview protocols to explore issues and dilemmas that I anticipated would be important to answer my research questions based upon my review of the literature. However, following the first interview with each individual, I restructured each subsequent interview to balance

³⁴ Recall that students stay put and their various teachers come into their room for each subject, including homeroom and geography.

continuing with lines of questioning I had planned and following up on emergent issues and themes raised by the interviewee. I captured my initial thoughts on emergent themes, patterns, and questions in memos that I wrote throughout data collection.

Once data collection was completed, I tried to set aside those thoughts and take an inductive approach (Glaser, 1965) to coding of my data. I conducted three phases of coding. The first phase involved reading through and annotating paper copies of the teacher interview transcripts to identify general themes prevalent in each teacher's interviews. Second, I considered how the themes I identified related to my research questions. I developed an initial outline of findings and a coding tree based on that outline. I then applied the codes to all my data sources (i.e., interviews, field notes, artifacts). Finally, the third phase involved validation of my codes by comparing all excerpts sharing a code for similarity, comparing findings after coding with my initial memos, identifying exemplary excerpts for each theme, and looking for discrepant evidence.

Preliminary annotations. In my first pass through the data set, I considered it holistically, looking for emergent themes. Specific analytical steps were as follows:

1. I transcribed the eight teacher interviews.
2. Then, I printed out transcripts of the three interviews with Maor. First, I read through each interview transcript holistically and made summary notations about themes that emerged within each transcript. Next, I notated themes that stood out across the three interviews. Then, I read through each transcript again line by line and annotated it for each specific theme or sub-theme that emerged. I repeated this process with Raidah's and then Gil's interview transcripts. The labels that I used in each successive pass at the data

became progressively more specific (e.g., from “two languages” to “initial resistance to introduction of Arabic”).

3. I wrote a memo summarizing my initial thoughts regarding differences between Raidah, Maor, and Gil’s goals.
4. In preparation for development of an initial outline of findings and systematic coding protocol, I considered how the themes that emerged in the interviews related to my research questions. Four primary themes emerged that related to my questions: dual-narrative curriculum, two languages, two teachers, and disciplinary teaching practices. I spent the most time trying to decide where information about each teacher’s unique interpretation of the three instructional goals and descriptions of the evolution of the school’s curricular approach fit in relation to my research questions. Finally, I made two decisions: 1) to add a sub-question to RQ1 because it was difficult to answer how goals were reconciled without first explaining what the teachers’ interpretations of the instructional goals were and 2) to address the evolution of the school’s curricular approach within each major component of the approach (i.e., two teachers, two languages), rather than as a separate section.

Development and application of a coding tree. Having determined initial thematic findings through many readings and annotations of the transcripts, I moved on to develop and implement a formal coding scheme.

1. I entered all eight teacher interview transcripts into the qualitative research software Dedoose.
2. As an additional check on my thinking before proceeding to an outline and detailed coding tree, I segmented each transcript by broad codes labeled RQ1, RQ2, or RQ3 to

further test whether the data “fit” the research questions and to identify what data did not fit within any question. I coded the latter “other topics” so as not to lose it.

3. I created a preliminary outline of findings based on the first stage of analysis described above.
4. I developed an initial coding tree based on this outline and entered the codes in Dedoose. For example, for RQ1, my four major coding categories (i.e., dual-narrative curriculum, two teachers, two languages, and disciplinary approach to instruction) reflected preliminary findings regarding how teachers reconciled their competing goals. The sub-codes under each major category reflected why and how that component contributed to reconciling the goals, based on the themes that emerged from my readings of the transcripts.
5. I coded one transcript with the new codes to test their usefulness.
6. As result of coding this first transcript, I identified coding categories that could be collapsed because they were redundant and others that needed to be expanded because they contained too many different ideas.
7. I wrote a revised and detailed coding protocol with code names and examples (from the transcripts) of ideas that should be coded under each code. I then wrote a second shorter version of this revised coding protocol with the code names only.³⁵ Finally, I revised the codes that I had entered in Dedoose to reflect these changes.
8. I coded all eight teacher interview transcripts using the new coding protocol.
9. I uploaded my observation and documentary data and repeated the coding process with each piece of that data.

³⁵ The final version of the short coding protocol may be found in Appendix D.

10. I transcribed the two interviews with the developers of the dual-narrative text, uploaded those transcripts, and coded them using the same protocol.

Validation of codes. In a final analytical process, I took steps to validate my coding process.

1. I generated and printed out reports of all the coded excerpts by each major coding category (e.g., dual-narrative curriculum) and sub-category (e.g., equity). I read through these reports to determine if the excerpts sharing a certain code collectively represented a common theme and recoded any excerpts that were “out of place.”
2. Next, I began to identify excerpts that best exemplified each code and sub-code’s theme for use in the text. This reading of the coded data indicated extensive redundancy in my use of the socio-political, emotional, and learning challenges codes, indicating that these findings and their codes needed to be further refined. I made modifications to my codes and sub-codes for these themes, and recoded this part of the data using the revised codes.

Validation of teaching findings. To evaluate the strength of each teaching finding via triangulation (Miles & Huberman, 1994), I created a spreadsheet with a page for each major coding category (ex. dual-narrative curriculum). This spreadsheet had a column to the far left for each sub-code (e.g., equity) within each major coding category (e.g., dual-narrative curriculum) and columns for each type of data arrayed to the right (e.g., interviews with Raidah, interviews with Maor, field notes from observations, etc.). I entered locations of coded excerpts, by data source, into the spreadsheet to visually “see” which findings were supported by more than one source of evidence (e.g., multiple teacher interviews, other types of evidence such as documentary data).³⁶

³⁶ This spreadsheet may be found in Appendix F.

I also used this spreadsheet to explore patterns across the teachers. For example, I was able visually to compare which goals each teacher referenced most frequently and then compare this visual analysis to perceptions I had captured in earlier memos. To test my initial perceptions regarding differences in teachers' use of disciplinary teaching practices, I created a table where I tallied instances of use of each type of disciplinary teaching practice by teacher and included examples from each teacher. Finally, I created a detailed outline of my teaching findings with excerpts from one or more data source to validate each finding. I did not eliminate findings that were not substantiated across multiple sources, but I do note the strength of each finding when I discuss my findings in the following chapter.

Analysis of the Learning Data

Of the 48 9th grade students across the two classes, 44 (92%) provided at least a partial response to at least one of the tasks. Three of the four non-respondents were male (one Jewish, one Palestinian, and from "a different background") and one was a Jewish female. This gender imbalance in response rates accorded with the Education Director's prediction that male students would be less likely to engage in tasks requiring writing.

Of the 44 students who responded to at least one of the five tasks, 22 (46% of the total study population) provided at least partial responses to *each* of the five tasks. I concentrated my analysis on these 22 students so that I could look for patterns across their responses. This sample of 22 reflected the demographic characteristics of the study population, except in the case of gender where females were overrepresented. Again, this likely reflects girls' greater willingness to engage in voluntary tasks requiring writing. The table below compares characteristics of the population and sample.

Table III.3. Comparison of characteristics of study population versus sample

	Population (n = 48)	Sample (n = 22)
Male	20 (42%)	7 (32%)
Female	28 (58%)	15 (68%)
Palestinian ³⁷ Muslim	20 (42%)	10 (45%)
Palestinian Christian	5 (10%)	2 (9%)
Israeli Jewish	14 (29%)	6 (27%)
From “a different background” (i.e., Druze, Ethiopian Christian, Ethiopian Jewish, Russian Jewish, and mixed Palestinian/Jewish)	9 (19%)	4 (18%)

As with the teaching data, I engaged in a number of rounds of inductive analysis of the student data. I began by analyzing the data holistically as I entered students’ translated responses into individual data files and a master spreadsheet. I captured “hunches” regarding initial findings that emerged from this holistic level of analysis in an ongoing memo. From there, I concentrated on detailed analysis of students’ self-identifications followed by their empathic thinking as evident in Tasks 1, 2, 4, and 5. I examined identity and empathy outcomes qualitatively and then transformed the qualitative data using rubrics (Chi, 1997) in order to validate qualitative findings via quantitative analysis and to explore possible relationships between students’ empathic and identity responses.³⁸ Finally, I analyzed students’ historical empathic, historical knowledge, and historical literacy skills that were assessed in Task 3.

³⁷ As I have explained elsewhere, for analytic purposes I combined Palestinian Muslim and Christian students. However, here, I chose to indicate Muslim and Christian percentages separately to demonstrate that the Palestinian components of the sample did not differ in religious makeup from their representations in the population.

³⁸ To examine possible relationships between students’ identities and their empathic responses, I used students’ ascribed identities provided by Raidah, rather than their self-described ones from Task 5. For 73% of the students in the sample, ascribed and self-described identity characteristics overlapped. I describe in more detail my rationale for using ascribed identities in Chapter 5.

Primary qualitative analysis of students' empathic and identity responses. Specific analytical steps I followed to analyze students' responses to Tasks 1, 2, and 4 were the following:

1. I created separate paper and electronic folders for each of the 48 students' responses. The electronic folders contained English versions of each of the five tasks as templates in which to enter each student's responses.
2. I had every student response translated from Arabic and/or Hebrew into English by an individual fluent in all three languages who is also a family member. To validate his translations, I sent a sub-set of the responses (concentrating on those that were most difficult to translate) to the same professional Arabic and Hebrew translators that I had used for translation of the tasks, consent forms, etc. In each instance, the translations from the professional translators were identical or nearly identical in meaning to those of my family member.
3. I entered the translated responses to each task into each student's electronic file.
4. I then created a master spreadsheet to view and compare the responses across the five tasks of the 22 students who comprised my sample.³⁹
5. As I entered the 22 students' responses into the spreadsheet, "hunches" regarding findings began to emerge. I captured these initial "hunches" in an ongoing memo. An example of one such "hunch" was that students' responses appeared to cluster according to degree of identity group affiliation. Some students' responses indicated a strong degree of affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to them while others' responses suggested a much weaker degree of such affiliation. Another "hunch" was that while the degree of empathy evident in students' responses varied, all students appeared to demonstrate at least some degree of empathy, even though these tasks

³⁹ This spreadsheet may be found in Appendix H.

involved historical issues that are extremely contentious in their society. A third “hunch” was that among these 22 students, degree of identity group affiliation and degree of empathic response did not appear to be related.

Secondary quantitative analysis of students’ empathic and identity responses. In order to more systematically test these initial “hunches,” I decided to transform the qualitative data from Tasks 1, 2, 4, and 5 (the Survey) into quantitative form (Chi, 1997). This allowed me to validate initial qualitative findings and also to analyze the strength of any relationships between different constructs of interest (i.e., affective empathy, cognitive empathy, and identity). This work also proceeded in several steps.

1. To transform the data, I developed initial versions of three rubrics. The first assessed degree of evidence of cognitive empathy in Part B of Tasks 1, 2, and 4. The second assessed degree of evidence of affective empathy in Part B of these same three tasks. The third rubric assessed degree of evidence of affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to him or her, across Tasks 1, 2, 4, and 5. These initial rubrics used a 1 (evident), 0 (not evident) scoring system.⁴⁰
2. I coded the responses of a few students using the rubrics which led me to revise the rubrics several times to clarify definitions of each construct and distinctions between criteria indicating presence of the construct. After four revisions, I settled on versions of each rubric that appeared valid and reliable. Each rubric included detailed descriptors for each criterion along with one or more examples from students’ responses to elucidate the descriptor(s). I also expanded the scoring levels on the two empathic rubrics (i.e., 2, 1, or 0) to account for different degrees of evidence of the criterion. (I did not do so for the identity rubric because some criteria on that rubric, such as whether a student mentioned

⁴⁰ Final versions of these scoring rubrics may be found in Appendix I.

religion as an element of his/her self-definition of identity, could only be scored yes or no.)

The final empathy rubrics contained three criteria for affective empathy (one each for Tasks 1, 2, and 4) and three for cognitive empathy (one each for Tasks 1, 2, and 4). The final identity rubric contained six criteria (one each for Tasks 1, 2, 4, and two for Task 5 – the Survey, as well as an overall criterion). There were three scoring levels on each criterion (2, 1, or 0) on the empathy rubric and two scoring levels (0 or 1) on the identity rubric. I then coded the responses of each of the 22 students' responses to Tasks 1, 2, 4, and 5 using the empathy and identity rubrics and entered each student's scores on each criterion into a spreadsheet.

3. Next, I asked a professional acquaintance, who was the first assessment specialist hired at the Vermont Agency of Education in 1998 with extensive experience in portfolio scoring, to double score each of the 22 students' responses. When she finished, I entered her scores for each student on each criterion into separate columns in the spreadsheet and calculated inter rater reliabilities (IRR) for our scoring of each criterion. Together, we determined that the IRR scores were as follows: 95%, 50%, and 86% respectively on each of the three cognitive empathy criteria; 86%, 82%, and 77% respectively on each of the three affective empathy criteria; and 98% across the six identity criteria.

The level of IRR for the criterion related to cognitive empathy in Task 2 was unacceptably low (i.e., 50%), so after discussing our respective interpretations of the descriptors in this rubric, I further clarified the language distinguishing the scores of 1 and 0 on this criterion in the rubric. We then separately rescored all 22 students'

cognitive empathic responses on this one task and again compared our scores. This time the IRR was 100% on this criterion.

4. Next, we reviewed each instance where there was a two-point disagreement between our scores. We compared the descriptors with the student's response and came to agreement on a score. In some cases, that required further clarifying the language of one or more descriptors to emphasize distinctions. Finally, I went through the spreadsheet one last time, double checking any remaining instances of one-point disagreement among our scores. In order to resolve these disagreements, I reanalyzed students' responses in comparison with the rubrics. In some instances, I determined that my score was more appropriate and in others that the score of my acquaintance was more appropriate.
5. During this same phase of analysis, I also tallied students' responses to Parts A and B of Tasks 1 and 2. Through these tallies, I determined the events, persons, etc. that were most frequently nominated or selected by members of each identity group as important to them. I also determined the top five that each identity group was likely to think would be picked by the Other. Having this information would provide a check on the "reasonableness" of individual students' selections of events, persons, etc. likely to be chosen by the Other.⁴¹

Analysis of relationships between students' empathic and identity responses. Earlier qualitative analysis of students' responses had suggested that any relationships between degree of students' empathic and identity responses would be weak. In a final round of analysis of students' empathic and identity responses, I examined the significance of possible relationships between students' empathic and identity outcomes using statistical tests.

⁴¹ Tables containing these tallies may be found in Appendix J.

1. I totaled each student's scores on the three cognitive empathy criteria to determine his or her overall cognitive empathy score. I then did the same for their scores on the three affective empathy criteria and on the six identity criteria. I used their resulting scores to compute correlations between students' affective and cognitive empathy scores and between students' cognitive and affective empathy scores and identity scores.
2. In the first round of qualitative analysis, I had noticed that the responses of six of the 22 students (3 Palestinian, 2 Jewish, and one student "from a different background" – five female and one male) stood out. These students did not respond to one or more of the tasks as directed. However, holistically their responses reflected empathy, especially cognitive empathy, as well as engagement with the tasks. In these ways, their nonresponses or alternative responses set them apart from other students who did not respond to one or more questions or who put only minimal effort into all of their responses.
3. In order to be objective in my scoring of students' responses using rubrics, I had not awarded points for non-responses to the scored (i.e., Part B) sections of each task or for responses that were unresponsive to the expectations of a particular prompt. For this reason, I felt that these six students' empathic and/or identity scores were probably lower than they would have been had they responded to each part of each task as instructed. I considered excluding them from the correlational analysis because I felt they were probably skewing the results. In the end, I decided to keep them in the sample because I did not want to appear to be hand-picking students to get certain results. However, I decided to reanalyze the correlations with and without the six "unique" cases in order to

assess their impact on the findings. Therefore, I recomputed the correlations and descriptive statistics for the sample without these six cases.

4. I also decided to compute correlations by gender to see if any important variations appeared along this dimension.
5. I concluded my analysis of students' empathic and identity outcomes by selecting particular examples of students' cognitive and affective empathic responses and identity responses that illustrated findings I had identified through qualitative and quantitative analysis of students' responses to Tasks 1, 2, 4, and 5. I tried to spread my examples across the 22 students, and to provide examples that indicated the range of responses, not just "strong" ones.

Analysis of students' historical empathy, historical knowledge, and historical literacy responses. In the final stage of my analysis of the student data, I examined students' responses to Task 3. Like the analyses of empathic and identity outcomes described above, this work also proceeded in several steps.

1. I started by analyzing Part 2 of this task which asked students to evaluate the accuracy of information in an unfamiliar text on the 1947 Partition. I created a table with students' verbatim responses to this part of the task in order to focus in on their responses side by side. As I examined their responses, I noticed that students' responses could be grouped into five predominant "response types." Examples of such response types were "lack of knowledge" and "concordance with what I know and believe." I then regrouped students' responses in my table according to these five response types.⁴²
2. Next, I analyzed responses to Part 1 of Task 3. Looking across the responses, I noticed that "unfairness" and "winners and losers" were frequently mentioned by students in their

⁴² This table I developed to analyze students' responses to all three parts of Task 3 may be found in Appendix K.

explanations for why many Jews accepted and many Palestinians rejected the proposed Partition Plan. I generated a list of historical and geographic factors (e.g., Palestinians had significantly more land than Jews in 1947) that could have been mentioned by students as reasons for many Jews accepting and many Palestinians rejecting the proposed Plan. I kept only historical factors that were mentioned in their text and generally well known. I then created a table to categorize students by how many of these factors they included in their responses. This enabled me to gauge the depth of historical knowledge underlying each student's response.

3. Finally, I analyzed Part 3 of this task which called for students to evaluate or judge the decisions made by people in the past based upon their perspective today. First I organized students' *verbatim* responses in a table based upon whether they said the parties were both right, both wrong, or one right and one wrong. In doing this, I noticed that students' ranged widely in how they derived these evaluations. For example, some evaluated the decision of one group based upon knowledge of the consequences of those actions (i.e., via hindsight) while evaluating the actions of the other group based upon their perceptions of its fairness at the time to members of their identity group. I realized there were four possible types of evaluation that could have been included: 1) evaluation of the decision of many Jews to accept *from their perspective then*, 2) evaluation of the decision of many Jews to accept *in terms of impact on present circumstances*, 3) evaluation of the decision of many Palestinians to reject *from their perspective then*, 2) evaluation of the decision of many Palestinians to reject *in terms of impact on present circumstances*. A response that involved all four types of evaluation would be nuanced and sophisticated. It would indicate understanding of the distinction between judgment based upon what

people could have known then and judgment based upon what we know today, and would have involved both historical empathy and moral judgment. Such evaluations would, therefore, avoid blame, presentism, and inevitability, common problems of historical analysis. I then went back and coded each student's response for presence of each type of judgment. Finally, I selected quotes to use as illustrations of these differences in the text.

Member Checking of Findings

Following completion of drafts of the Methods, Teaching Findings, and Learning Findings chapters, I further tested the validity of my findings by "member-checking" them with my key informants, including Raidah, Maor, and Gil; the Education Director, Dr. Inas Deeb; and the two co-directors of the PRIME project, Dr. Sami Adwan and Dr. Eyal Naveh. (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I sent individual emails to each of them containing drafts of the Methods and two findings chapters and requesting their feedback. Maor emailed to inform me that I had accurately represented his perspectives. Dr. Deeb informed me that she would convene a committee that included herself, the Max Rayne School principal and assistant principal, and Raidah to review the draft text. Several weeks later, she informed me that the committee felt comfortable with how they and the school were represented. Gil did not respond to my email requests. Perhaps because I offered the three teachers and the administrators opportunities earlier in the process to provide feedback on the task design and broader research design, this reduced objections to the findings or their representation later. Finally, although I had not consulted them in the planning stages, Drs. Adwan and Naveh also each informed me via email that they no objections regarding how they and the PRIME project were represented.

Limitations

Confounding of Effects of Dual-Narrative Instructional Approach and Broader School

Context

Because the school as a whole is structured to promote empathy, identity, and critical thinking, confounding of the impacts of the 9th grade curriculum and the broader context on students' task performance was likely. Ideally, I would have assessed students' performance on the tasks at the beginning and end of the school year to minimize this confounding. However, this was not feasible within my research timeline and budget. Furthermore, since one of my key purposes was to explore *if* such thinking were possible given the close connections between the content and students' identities, change over time was less important in this study.

Short Time Frame

Because of budget limitations and delays related to securing necessary approvals, my time-frame for data collection was shorter than I would have preferred. I maximized the four-week data gathering window that I had by intensively collecting data during a critical part of the year when the school was observing the National Days and the 9th grade classes were discussing the two narratives in the greatest depth. However, my ability to independently assess instructional practice, such as use of disciplinary teaching practices, was limited by the short time-frame in which I observed classes. I had to rely on teachers' reports of what they did throughout the year and why. I believe that teachers' intentions and self-understandings do inform their practice, even if they are not always able to realize their intentions due to time or skill limitations or other obstacles. Exploring their intentions through extensive interviews, as I did, was valuable, even if I was unable to evaluate or confirm their implementation of all of their

goals in practice. Ideally, however, I would have spent the full school year onsite observing the teachers' implementation of the curriculum.

Furthermore, being in the classroom for the full year, preferably as a participant-observer, not just an observer might have enabled me to develop a deeper rapport with the students which might have increased response rates. It also would have enabled me to administer the tasks in a less intrusive, more "natural" and less rushed manner. However, I had sufficient response rates to draw some initial conclusions that can be investigated further in future research.

Language Barrier

The language barrier prevented me from interpreting with confidence the casual in and out of classroom interactions between students, students and teachers, and among teachers that I observed. Being privy to these interactions would have provided better triangulation of my interview and documentary data. The language barrier also prevented me from interviewing students as I did teachers. Being able to probe students' responses, which were sometimes hard to interpret or curious, would have provided useful triangulation of their written responses. Unfortunately, use of an interpreter to accompany me during full day observations and to interpret for student interviews was cost prohibitive.

Tasks and Scoring Rubrics Have Not Been Externally Validated⁴³

Validated empathy and identity assessments such as those used in psychological research (e.g., Davis, 1983) were not appropriate for this study because they are decontextualized. They pose generic scenarios and ask general questions about feelings and attitudes that do not pertain to any specific historical environment, or to issues that generally are salient to students. The content and format of the tasks I developed for this study asked students to respond to salient

⁴³ As I explained earlier in this chapter, the empathic and identity responses of each of the 22 students in the sample were double scored by an independent rater and interrater reliability (IRR) coefficients were computed. Modifications to the rubrics were made when the IRR coefficient for one criterion was initially unacceptably low.

historical issues that mirrored the classroom curriculum. The conditions under which the tasks were given also were designed to be close to “regular” classroom conditions. (In reality, administrative conditions were not as natural as I intended because of time limitations – see above). However, the drawback to authenticity was that these tasks have, therefore, not been externally validated.

CHAPTER IV

Teaching Findings

This research examined the thinking of three history teachers and associated administrators and academics regarding the teaching of empathy in concert with identity and critical thinking goals, and their students' empathic outcomes, in an environment of ongoing violent conflict. In this chapter, I describe how, contrary to expectations derived from the literature, the three 9th grade history teachers at the Max Rayne School are reconciling empathic, identity, and historical thinking instructional goals via a unique four-component dual-narrative approach to national history instruction.. In order to situate their thinking, I begin by describing in detail the school's goals related to civics (i.e., history) education, and how each teacher individually interprets and values those goals, before describing how they individually and collectively go about reconciling the school's goals via the unique instructional approach they have developed. Then in the second half of this chapter, I discuss the three teachers' thinking regarding challenges they have encountered when teaching empathy for different historical perspectives via this approach and how they have addressed these challenges. Findings in this chapter answer my first two research questions: 1) How do the 9th grade history teachers at the Max Rayne School reconcile classroom instructional goals that often are viewed as contradictory – namely promotion of empathy and identity, and development of students' critical thinking skills? and 2) What do these teachers perceive as the challenges and opportunities for teaching and learning empathy via the dual-narrative approach to national history instruction that they have developed? I focus on the first question in the following section.

The School's and the 9th Grade History Teachers' Goals for Civics (i.e., History) Education

Civics is a key component of the curriculum at each of the Hand in Hand network's schools. According to the network's website, the three overarching themes for civics education are "citizenship, heritage and connection to the land" (Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, 2015d). Two of these three themes directly concern identity and empathy – namely understanding the heritage, including connections to the land, of one's own identity group and developing empathy for the connections to the land and heritage of the Other.⁴⁴ In addition, the civics curriculum in each school is expected to contribute to the broader network goals of critical thinking and academic excellence. In our interviews, each of the three 9th grade civics teachers at the Max Rayne School – Raidah, Maor, and Gil – evinced commitment to the network's and school's empathic, identity, and historical thinking goals for civics education. For example, each expressed that they wanted students to understand and respect the different Palestinian and Israeli Jewish perspectives on culpability for the conflict; to acquire factual knowledge of history, as well as understanding of disciplinary concepts such as cause and effect and perspective; to develop and maintain a questioning and engaged stance toward the content; and to feel positively about themselves and their identity group's historical contributions. However, beyond these broad commonalities, each interpreted and valued these goals somewhat differently. Their individual differences informed the nuanced ways in which each saw him or herself reconciling the network and school's civic goals. I will briefly explain the unique way

⁴⁴ Eight topics are specified for civics education at Hand in Hand schools. Each embodies in some way the network's heritage, empathy, and identity goals. They are: familiarity and connection with country, nature and society; obligation to humanitarian and democratic values; stereotypes; understanding and respect for different historical narratives; knowledge and understanding of relations between Jews and Arabs; creating a common meeting point for individuals, communities and the society; developing a culture of dialogue within the school; and the role of mass media in society.

each teacher interpreted these goals before discussing how collectively they have attempted to reconcile the goals in practice.

Raidah's Interpretation of the School's Civics Goals

As a Palestinian who is proud of her heritage and believes her people's historical perspectives and experiences have been systematically ignored by the Israeli school system, Raidah expressed a particular focus on empowerment and affirmation of her Palestinian students' identities and heritage as Palestinians living in Israel. This commitment was illustrated when she said, "It's very important that my students have a sense of belonging – nationality – whether it is an Arab or a Jew. And reinforce and enhance the feeling of belongingness and patriotism inside them (Interview 4/30/15)."

She repeatedly mentioned the word "rights" when discussing her instructional goals. She used this term to refer both to her Palestinian students' rights to learn about their narrative and to see it represented equitably in the curriculum, and to her right as a teacher to teach the Palestinian narrative and to shape curriculum as she thought appropriate for her students. She even framed learning about the Other partly in terms of rights such as in this example where she said,

When I know about the narrative of the Other, I am not forced to approve it. But *it is my right to know about the narrative of the Other* [emphasis added] in order to expand my knowledge... Me, a teacher representing the Palestinian narrative, it is very important for me that our students, especially who are learning all the time the Israeli curriculum, should know important details about the Palestinian history in order to be able to go into discussions and debates (Interview 4/30/15).

Thus, for her, learning about the narrative of the Other was not only valuable in and of itself as a step toward peace but would also empower Palestinian students to better understand their Jewish classmates and therefore, to better advocate for their rights and needs in interactions with Israeli Jews.

In addition to empowering her Palestinian students' by increasing their knowledge of both Palestinian and Israeli Jewish history and heritage, Raidah also expressed directly (i.e., in response to specific questions about her goals) and indirectly (i.e., in her responses to other types of questions) that affirming and respecting students' identities and feelings were also very important to her. Although she saw herself primarily as a role model for her Palestinian students, she expressed commitment to affirmation of the identities and feelings of all of her students. For example, she said,

Sometimes, when we are talking about Palestinian and Jewish narratives, some students who come from different backgrounds, for example, a student whose father is an Arab and whose mother is Jewish, or an Armenian or a Druze student, sometimes those students will take sides with their friends. Undoubtedly, they are kind of lost. And I try to attract them to the human side of the issue. For example, when the rituals for the Yom HaZikaron, and which is Al Nakba Day at the same time, a student came to me and said, "I don't know where to go." I answered her, "We don't force you to be in either side, but eventually there is a unified ceremony and you could join that if you like it." And actually she joined that (Interview 5/3/15).

Throughout our interviews, she volunteered many other examples of strategies she had adopted to help her students' express their feelings about the emotionally-fraught subject matter and ways

she had actively tried to respect the identities of each student. I describe several of these examples in more detail in the second half of this chapter where I discuss challenges.

Maor's Interpretation of the School's Civics Goals

As a member of the dominant group in Israeli society, perhaps not surprisingly, Maor expressed less concern with empowerment and asserting his students' rights to "be heard." When asked about his goals, he offered two. The first was accurate knowledge of historical facts, by which he said he meant,

Not just the emotions and how I connect to it, and all that. Knowing actual facts that are agreeable are very important. Trying to get the actual facts and not rub off what facts I don't want to, that it's easier to not learn or to not know (Interview 4/26/15).

In other words, Maor was cognizant of the natural human tendency to focus only on those "facts" that align with our pre-existing affective commitments. As a teacher, he wanted to help students avoid this tendency.

His second related goal was to promote students' understanding of each narrative to help them make sense of the current political and social situation. He explained it this way, "...so, if they are asked, what do Israelis or Jews or Zionists, how do they tell their stories? To be able to tell their story. And the same thing for the Palestinians. This knowledge is very important to understand why people behave ...as they behave (Interview 4/26/15)." In both of these statements, he expressed that his primary goal instructional goal was to equip students with a necessary level of knowledge to participate in an informed way in political discussions, which requires both knowing "accurate" historical knowledge and being aware of how others might view events differently from one's self or the historical record.

Secondly, just as Raidah expressed particular responsibility as a Palestinian to affirm the identities of her Palestinian students, Maor, as a Jew, expressed particular responsibility to affirm the heritage and identity of the Jewish students in the class. He explained that he wanted to demonstrate to his Jewish students that,

You can be a good Israeli and even Zionist and be proud of your heritage and still, of course, try to fix the things that went wrong. And try to, not to...yeah, destroy... to throw it all to the wind. You needn't criticize everything in your past. Yeah, of course, even to be proud of some things [that] were amazing (Interview 4/28/15).⁴⁵

Finally, although he did not mention this when asked specifically about his goals, Maor offered several examples from his teaching that illustrated his belief that airing all points of view is a democratic necessity and that his role as a teacher was to encourage and facilitate such discussions. For example, he described a dispute that erupted among his civics (in this case meaning government) students at Max Rayne the prior year, saying,

Maor: ...somehow we got to a conversation about appearance and there was a big fight about how to dress up to school. And the conservative voice said "look, girls that dress up very..."- what do you call it?

Researcher: Like with tank tops or short shorts?

Maor: Yeah, "...they are asking for harassment or rape." Of course, this is a very conservative point. And the liberal side – which is bigger actually – they went berserk with this accusation. I was surprised. I didn't expect to get such an opinion, *but I felt obliged to let it be voiced* [emphasis added]... even if I don't agree with this voice, the

⁴⁵ Interestingly, he perceived his responsibilities as a role model differently at Max Rayne compared to his other school, a secular Jewish state school where he said most of his students come from very right-wing families. There he saw himself as a role model for tolerance of different opinions in opposition to the nationalist, intolerant mentality that he perceived has become dominant in Israel (Interview 4/28/15).

conservative voice about this. I said, this a voice and it should be heard and let's see how you can deal with this opinion which is, maybe it's a minority in this school but it's a voice much bigger outside in the community, in the country, in the world (Interview 4/28/15).

Thus, for both Raidah and Maor encouraging students' self-expression was an important instructional goal. However, Raidah seemed to view self-expression primarily in individual, emotional terms related to "being heard" whereas Maor seemed to view it more in terms of its role in collective democratic processes.

Gil's Interpretation of the School's Civics Goals

Gil had the most experience and training as a pedagogue. During the school year I observed, 2014-2015, he had been contracted by the Education Director to assist Raidah and Maor in implementing the newly adopted dual-narrative approach using PBL methods. Perhaps not surprisingly then, he spoke at length about his pedagogical goals, the first two of which can be captured by the words "dialogue" and "understanding." For Gil, dialogue was related to empathy, which he understood not only as learning about the narrative of the Other, but also in terms of listening to the multiplicity of voices and narratives in society and engaging in respectful communication regarding different points of view. He explained,

When I was coming to the ... first class [in any school in which he teaches], I'm saying...I am teaching histories which means there is no one history; there are stories – her story, his story, all these issues, and there are many voices. And we have to hear all of them. And there is no one truth ... (Interview 5/1/15).

Gil felt that listening to the multiplicity of voices and narratives creates multiple layers and types of dialogue that are productive to learning. In the same interview, he elaborated,

That's the important word here. Dialogue. It's a dialogue between the children in the class, it's a dialogue between me and the children, it's a dialogue between the children and the texts, the children and the heroes in the past... The dialogue means that we have to compromise. We have to understand. Not to say it's true. We have to hear the other voice – the other voice from the past, from the Muslim world, or from the Jewish world or from the Christian world...(Interview 5/1/15).

Encouraging this dialogue of narratives and voices and “truths” was related to his second pedagogical priority – understanding. He defined understanding via a Hebrew metaphor.

When we are talking about understanding, we are not talking about skills... We are talking about habits of mind... In Hebrew, you can ask for meat, but the whole plate is *manah* – habits of mind is *manah*... it's skills, habits of mind, and understanding. [It means]...if you can read something, you can speak about it. If you read something, you can compare it to something else. If you read something, you can add by yourself something. This is what we call understanding...I want each of the students in the class to do something...I can't know it but just when they are doing it. The doing is very important. So I want them to read, and I want them to write, and I want them to think, and I want them to ask, and I want them to draw something, and I want them to have a play or make exhibition. What is important in this type of teaching is focus on what happened to the students from the beginning of the class to the end of the class... (Interview 5/1/15).

In each class, Gil pushed Raidah and Maor to aim for “understanding” by which he meant enabling students to make personal connections to and critique what they read or discussed. For

Gil, “knowing about” any topic was insufficient. Understanding requires active engagement with the instructional content.

Finally, although he did not refer to this explicitly as an instructional goal, Gil, like Raidah and Maor, spoke at length about the importance of promoting students’ identities through enrichment of their understanding of their own narratives. For example, he described how when he began teaching 5th/6th grade at Max Rayne in 2007 there was no civics curriculum appropriate to the school’s bilingual mission. He decided to use a curriculum called “Roots” to connect students’ individual and collective identities to the concepts they would be studying. He explained,

So we asked where do we come from and how it connects with our people, our nation? How my family connects with the issue that I am Jewish and Israeli or Palestinian and Arab...All my students went to the villages of their families and tried to know the private, the domestic, history of the place they come from. And then they had to combine it with national history...The idea was to find the connections between my family and to give them something connected with their family, or their heritage, or their nation (Interview 5/1/15).

Though Gil talked about it most extensively, each of the three teachers expressed that helping students make connections between self and nation was an important responsibility.

Thus, in their own ways, each of the three teachers subscribed to the school’s instructional goals for civics education of identity, empathy, and critical thinking. However, each interpreted these goals in subtly different ways. For example, Raidah emphasized knowledge of the heritage and history of self and Other as an important vehicle for empowerment for marginalized Palestinians. Maor, on the other hand, was less concerned with empowerment and

more with accurate factual knowledge and democratic dialogue. Gil, meanwhile, emphasized the importance of understanding and dialogue over factual knowledge. However, despite these and other nuances in emphases, they shared numerous understandings, including self-perceptions as role models, particularly for the students from their respective identity groups, and beliefs in the need for understanding of the Other and in the importance of active student engagement in learning.

As I discussed in the Literature Review chapter, empathic, identity, and historical thinking goals frequently have been understood by many British and American historians and history education researchers as incompatible. That this school, and these teachers and their administrators, did not view these goals as incompatible is, therefore, instructive. The similarities and differences in how each teacher interpreted the school's civics goals that I have described subtly informed how each understood and justified the actions they collectively took to reconcile these goals. I turn next to how the school, and the 9th grade teachers in particular, collectively went about reconciling their instructional goals for civics education *in practice*.

The Teachers Reconcile their Empathic, Identity, and Critical Thinking Goals via a Four Component, Dual-Narrative Approach to Instruction

Over several years, the 9th grade teachers and school administrators have assembled a combination of four primary instructional components to reconcile their empathic, identity, and critical thinking goals for history education. By reconciliation, I mean how the teachers and other school staff set out to accomplish each goal, while at the same time resolving conflicts between goals that arose and avoiding an over-emphasis on one objective *versus* another. These four components are: 1) a dual-narrative curriculum, 2) instruction via two teachers – one Palestinian and one Jewish, 3) use of both national languages – Arabic and Hebrew, and 4) use of

disciplinary teaching practices (most of which appear under the guise of PBL practices) to teach the dual-narratives.⁴⁶

All three teachers had similar justifications for incorporation of the first three components, arguments that centered on the need for equitable representation of Palestinian perspectives and the role these components play in promoting identity and empathy. However, they varied in concern that instructional actions taken to promote identity and empathy might potentially conflict with their historical thinking goals. Furthermore, each teacher also understood and implemented the fourth component – disciplinary teaching practices – somewhat differently. These differences likely resulted, in part, from the nuances in their instructional priorities discussed above.

A dual-narrative curriculum was the first implemented and longest to come to fruition of these four components. It is also the most unique component of the four, and possibly the most important, although I will argue that its power derives from being embedded within this multi-component approach, where each component reinforces the others. I begin by describing this component and why it was adopted and then discuss each of the other three primary components that complement it.

Component 1: Dual-narrative Curriculum

The most unique component of the school’s and teachers’ approach to reconciliation of their goals for national history education in the 9th grade is their dual-narrative curriculum. By this, I mean *side by side* teaching of both Palestinian and Zionist Jewish *narratives* of the history

⁴⁶ As I explained in the introductory chapter, none of the school people I interviewed used the term “disciplinary teaching practices” to describe instructional practices that they use to encourage critique and analysis of the narratives. However, many of the practices that they described using align with the disciplinary teaching practices advocated in the American and British history education literature (e.g., Fogo, 2014; NCSS, 2013). Therefore, I feel justified in referring to them by this term when explaining my interpretations of their practices.

of the land and conflict since the late 19th century. This approach evolved through a series of steps taken over approximately seven years.

Promoting understanding of and respect for the perspectives of each identity group has been a commitment of the network from its start. As discussed in the Methods chapter, it is accomplished not only in civics classes but through activities such as National Days commemorations and in joint investigations such as “what does the land mean to us?” that begin in kindergarten. However, despite the school’s emphasis on integration, equity, affirmation of identity, and learning about the Other, the 9th grade civics curriculum followed standard Ministry of Education (MOE) guidelines for secular Israeli and Arab schools until the 2013-2014 school year. As such, Palestinian and Jewish students were separated for history instruction beginning in 9th grade – the first year when national history is formally taught. Palestinian students were taught the national history curriculum for Arabs in Israel, while Jewish students studied the national curriculum for secular Jewish schools.⁴⁷

In 2012-2013, the decision was made by a team of administrators and teachers to integrate the 9th grade history classes and to begin formally teaching both Palestinian and Zionist Jewish *narratives* of national history to all the students, as envisioned in a curriculum guide

⁴⁷ In the state curricular sequence for secular Jewish schools, 9th grade is treated as the culmination of a middle school sequence which begins with study of 17th and 18th century revolutionary movements in 7th grade and continues with study of 19th century nationalist and colonialist movements in the 8th grade, with an emphasis primarily on European movements and thought. In the 9th grade, the focus is on the wars and pogroms of the late 19th century through World War II and struggles, including especially those against Palestinian Arabs, leading to the (re)emergence of the nation of Israel in 1948. The separate Israeli curriculum for Arab students in grades 7-9 places more emphasis on the medieval “golden era” of Islam and Ottoman history in comparison with European history during the 17th-19th century. It also includes an abbreviated and modified version of the Jewish Zionist narrative of the origins of the conflict, which downplays certain aspects of Jewish suffering such as pogroms and ignores the emergence of Palestinian nationalism and Palestinian perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

developed several years earlier by Hand in Hand teachers and administrators, and invited Palestinian and Jewish historians.⁴⁸

Meanwhile, in 2011, a new Education Director, Dr. Inas Deeb, had been hired to coordinate and lead instruction across the network. One of her priorities was to move teachers from what she called a “frontal” approach to teaching to more student-centered, inquiry-based instructional practices, which she viewed as embodied in PBL (Interview with Administrator 1, 6/15/14). These curriculum reform and instructional reform goals were jointly introduced in the 2013-2014 year. Raidah volunteered to pilot the new dual-narrative approach and Gil (who had left the school several years earlier) was contracted to assist her with simultaneous implementation of PBL methods. This new combination was piloted in one 9th grade class taught by Raidah, while the former approach continued in the other 9th grade class taught by another teacher. Based on the results of that pilot year, this new dual-narrative/PBL approach was expanded to both 9th grade classes, along with several additions, including a second Jewish co-teacher, a new text, and use of both languages in 2014-2015 (the year I observed).

Incorporating Palestinian perspectives on national history could have been accomplished in other more conventional ways (e.g., by incorporating primary and secondary source documents representing contrasting Palestinian and Zionist Jewish perspectives on key historical events). The decision to teach understanding of and respect for the historical experience of the Other via dual historical *narratives* taught *side by side* – a practically unknown approach – was made for several reasons. These reasons relate to assessments of the nature of the conflict, equity

⁴⁸ Starting in 2007, as the first cohort of students was moving into middle school, a committee of administrators, teachers from Hand in Hand schools including Gil (then a 5th - 6th grade teacher), and several prominent Israeli Jewish and Palestinian historians, had collaborated to develop a new curriculum for 7th-9th grade that would better accord with the empathic, identity, and integration goals of the schools. However, as of 2013-2014, it had not been implemented in the 9th grade.

concerns, and beliefs that narratives are powerful and ubiquitous features of thinking and identity that can be used purposefully as tools to promote both historical thinking and identity.

Many of the same rationales for taking a dual-narrative approach were offered by leaders of a curriculum reform/peace building project (henceforth referred to as the PRIME project) that developed independently but overlapped in timing and goals with Max Rayne's curricular evolution. (I discuss this project in more detail later in this section.) That project resulted in the creation of a dual-narrative history text for 9th and 10th graders. The 9th grade teachers' reform efforts intersected with the PRIME project in the second year of the school's new curricular approach when they adopted the new text to support their new curriculum. Because of this intersection of goals and approaches taken, I interviewed the two co-directors of the PRIME project regarding their rationales for also taking a dual-narrative approach to curriculum. Next, I briefly discuss the three teachers' rationales for taking a dual-narrative instructional approach in the 9th grade national history classes. I include, where complementary, perspectives of the leaders of the PRIME project as well.

Rationales for adopting a dual-narrative instructional approach. The teachers and administrators described three broad rationales for why they adopted their dual-narrative instructional approach. These rationales were echoed by the PRIME project leaders in their descriptions of why they took a dual-narrative approach in their text.

Nature of the conflict. The three teachers, as well as the PRIME project leaders, concurred that the intractable nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is fueled by the one-sided narratives of each group. Each also expressed that teaching a reconciled narrative – a new master narrative that incorporates the perspectives of both sides – or even a “bridging” narrative – one that focuses on areas of agreement (Ilan Pappé, 2006) – might be ideal. However, for practical

reasons, no one felt this was possible, given the present state of the conflict. For example, Maor said,

That's the reality. The two narratives don't combine. They live separately. They have a separate existence in the world in the minds of people from the different communities. As such, it's the right thing to teach them separately (Interview 4/26/15).

He reiterated this argument more fully in a subsequent interview stating,

The problem with us is we're teaching a bleeding conflict. It's not a matter of the past that we can reconcile. And then we have some more generosity toward the other narrative... It threatens both physically and symbolically, still that people are less generous to make the step forward to understand it. Therefore, it's so tense. That's why in Jewish and in Arab schools they don't teach it. It's too hard. It's too difficult. It's too close (Interview 4/28/15).

His perspective was echoed by Drs. Eyal Naveh and Sami Adwan, co-directors of the PRIME project. They offered similar arguments for why they took a dual-narrative approach in their text, instead of creating a single reconciled narrative or a sourcebook containing alternative perspectives. For example, Adwan said,

We feel the conflict here is because of what historical narrative each side still has and is still influential in supporting and feeding the conflict ... So we started to think, "What could happen if we tried to create a project that would introduce each other to each other's narrative." And in itself it was a big challenge, because we are not in a soft conflict, we are in a hard conflict with life and death, killing, confiscation of land, imprison people, injuring, it's a daily practice here... When we started, we discussed the issue of would be possible to develop let's say a joint narrative. Like this is Balfour and

we mix and both narratives and produce [arrive at a common understanding] but [we realized] that's completely impossible. And we moved to the concept of trying to have even a bridging narrative. Take bits and pieces and try to make it...So we decided no, we are not at that stage yet. We are at the stage where each side has to write his own narrative (Interview 5/9/15).

Thus, in the minds of the Max Rayne teachers and administrators, and also of the creators of the dual-narrative text they adopted in the 2014-2015 school year, a dual-narrative curricular approach was a necessity given the nature of the conflict. They did not believe that other options for promoting empathy for the historical perspectives of the Other were feasible, even if they might be preferable.

Equity. A second reason for adopting a dual-narrative approach expressed by all interviewees was a shared perception that the Ministry of Education (MOE) guidelines, which minimize or ignore Palestinian perspectives on the conflict, were unfair to the school's Palestinian students and inappropriate for their setting. Gil explained, "We built curriculum for each discipline. Like we cannot teach geography for the Jewish and not for the Arab. We have to do it combined. So we built a mixed one (Interview 5/1/15)." Maor argued that the national curriculum currently *does* encourage the teaching of Palestinian perspectives at select points, such as why many Palestinians rejected the Balfour Declaration. However, even he felt the coverage of Palestinian perspectives was insufficient. He said,

Some of the national history program is fair. It's not that [bad]...But, of course, when you deal with the material and you choose so much of ...[the Zionist narrative]; even it's like a drop in the ocean. For a second, you will teach them the other rationale. But when

it's a drop in the ocean, you don't deal with it all the time, so it doesn't really sink in
(Interview 5/3/15).

In alignment with her desire to empower her Palestinian students, Raidah felt much more strongly than either Gil or Maor that the MOE curriculum was unfair to Palestinian students. Identifying with her Palestinian students through the use of "we," she said, "What we don't like, as Arab students, why should I learn the Israeli narrative instead of learning my own narrative (Interview 4/30/15)?"

Along with a perception of unfairness toward Palestinians, all interviewees expressed a belief that no one is without bias. They argued that neutrality and objectivity in history, while an ideal, is not possible, most especially for people involved in an ongoing conflict. Teaching both narratives was viewed as a means to balance these biases. Raidah best exemplified the teachers' arguments regarding bias when she said,

Raidah: I don't believe that anybody is really neutral. Each one has a certain point of reference, even if he does not declare it. It would be clear in the sentences and phrases that he or she is using.

To be sure that I correctly had understood what she had been saying, I then paraphrased back to her what I thought she was trying to express to me.

Researcher: So, in that case, if that's true, then your story is biased, Maor's story is biased, and by putting the two stories together, maybe the truth is somewhere in the middle?

To which she responded,

Raidah: This is exactly what I think (Interview 4/30/15).

Historian Naveh offered a more historicized but similar assessment of the ubiquitous problem of bias.

More than one narrative is the human condition. We always produce more than one narrative. That doesn't mean that on a normative level, this is the most perfect way of looking at history. The most perfect way of looking at history is to know the truth. But we are not able to do it because of all kinds of problems like testimony, of all kinds of mediators, of *Zeitgeist*, of all kinds of things (Interview 5/10/15).

Finally, all interviewees concurred that equity required simultaneous, not sequential, presentation of each narrative, which might suggest priority. For example, Maor said,

You have to teach them together because if you teach one, it's unfair, it's not balanced. You can't teach for one year, maybe you can teach one lesson this and one lesson that, that's okay but that's still the same as doing it together. That's what we doing. Maybe one lesson we do that, next hour we do that. We try to even it up (Interview 4/26/15).

Adwan made this same point when explaining why the textbook they developed has the narratives *side by side on facing pages*. He said,

So we put them side by side to give them equal footing, equal space, and equal locations. And that's in itself important because all the time, the narrative of the powerful usually dominates the narrative of the underdog or the oppressed. But, we put them side by side so they can kind of tend to create symmetry in light of the asymmetry that exists [between Palestinians and Jews in Israeli society] (Interview 5/9/15).

Thus, all three teachers and their administrators justified their decision to adopt a dual-narrative approach as necessary to promote equity by balancing biases and giving equal "space" to each narrative. They felt that if these goals could have been achieved via a single reconciled narrative,

such an approach likely would have been preferable. However, it was not viewed as possible in their context. Their perspectives in these regards were echoed by the academics who co-directed the project that resulted in creation of the textbook that the teachers adopted to support their approach.

Narratives have power. In addition to the nature of the conflict and desire for greater equity and fairness, the teachers and administrators offered a third type of argument for choosing a dual-narrative approach. In slightly different ways, each argued that narratives are natural and pervasive structures shaping identity and thinking. As such, they concurred that it was appropriate to teach the different Palestinian and Jewish perspectives on events as juxtaposed *narratives*, as opposed to other approaches, such as juxtaposing primary source documents related to specific events. Furthermore, they argued that juxtaposing narratives is a powerful cognitive tool to encourage critical thinking. In this way, for the teachers, teaching dual-narratives helped to reconcile their empathic and identity goals with critical thinking. Once again, the teachers' and administrators' perspectives were echoed by those of the PRIME project leaders.

Cognitive power. Gil represented the thinking of the other teachers when he argued that narratives are cognitively powerful because they connect events, giving them significance and setting them in context. This perspective was evident when he argued,

I think you cannot teach events even when you teach them in an academic way, with primary sources and articles and things like that, because the events are part of something...The issue is not the event. The issue is the insights you want the children to understand (Interview 5/10/15).

As a historian, PRIME project co-director Naveh offered a similar explanation for how we naturally use narrative to tie events together in meaningful ways and therefore, why it is necessary to build on this tendency to support students' historical understanding. He said,

We start from this European idea that the story is linear and it has own development. It's not isolated, event, event, event. You need to create any kind of logical connection and then our two ways diverge and there's no point of connection. Nevertheless, every one of the ways has its own initial development, it unveils something. For the Israeli narrative it unveils, at the end, the sovereign state of Israel. For Palestine maybe it will come in the future, not yet. But nevertheless, it's still within this European-oriented, nationalist ...linear approach...(Interview 5/10/15).

A second rationale expressed by the teachers for teaching dual-narratives side by side was that it facilitates comparison and contrast, an important component of historical thinking. Raidah exemplified this argument when she explained,

I would show the students the two narratives at the same time. In this way, I would let the student to know the strong points of his own narrative. And try to hold comparisons and contrasts. Of course, these contrasts might not work most of the time because most probably when you are biased to your own narrative, you will be 100% convinced of it. But the positive side...[is that] in this way, you will support your own narrative (Interview 4/30/15).

This statement expresses her belief that juxtaposing the narratives highlights differences in a way that draw students' attention to evidence supporting their own identity group's narrative, as well as clarifying the views of the Other. It also exemplifies her awareness that students' might not always be receptive to such contrasts and comparisons because of our natural

tendency to favor our own perspectives, which Maor also demonstrated in an example above. Nevertheless, true to her focus on empowering Palestinian students, the statement also expresses her belief that such comparisons are valuable because they provide evidence that students may use to bolster their narrative and counter the narrative of the Other when challenged.

In a somewhat similar, but more metacognitively aware way, teacher educator and PRIME project co-director Adwan argued that learning about the narrative of the Other in juxtaposition to one's own promotes a productive inner dialogue that is both empowering and conducive to critical thinking:

I think when you read the other side's narrative, I think you value so much of your narrative and that motivates you to read more ...about your own narrative because it's not a matter of feeling cozy and comfortable with your own narrative. Your narrative exists besides other narratives so "What do you say? They are saying this, you are saying that." It's an inner dialogue between you, yourself, your narrative, and their narrative... So in a sense, they try to engage critically, to ask their parents [at least internally], "you were telling us this or that, and now I read this or that, so now can you relate to this?" That's why it empowers the children. It gives them so much strength, a basis to discuss (Interview 5/9/15).

Adwan elaborated that the evidentiary and perspectival challenges posed by the narrative of the Other encourage students to critique their own narrative. For example, it might lead a Palestinian student to ask him or herself, "Suppose we had accepted the Partition Plan of '47? Wouldn't our situation be much better? Do I have to blame my ancestors who decided not to accept it? Were they not wise enough? (Interview 5/9/15)." He felt that such questions lead students to recognize that:

History should be open for discussion and criticism and analysis, not to be taken for granted. Sometimes realizing the wrongdoing of the past strengthens you to think critically about any decision that you would like to take now...It's a process of internalization of history rather than just saturating information and giving it back to the teachers (Interview 5/9/15).

Thus, in various ways reflecting their personal proclivities and depth of understanding of historical thinking, each of the three 9th grade teachers, along with the administrators and academics I interviewed (who indirectly contributed to the teachers' work via leadership of the project that resulted in the textbook that the school adopted), argued that a dual-narrative curricular approach would not only improve students' understanding of the perspectives of the Other but would prompt and encourage historical thinking. It would do so by highlighting differences in the facts and biases underlying each narrative, and would thereby raise questions in students' minds about the historical narrative that they had been socialized into believing.

Emotional power. In addition to the perceived cognitive benefits of a dual-narrative curricular approach, each teacher, and again the PRIME project co-directors, mentioned the emotional meaning of narratives as the second way that narratives are powerful teaching tools. They viewed narratives as compelling vehicles to engage students deeply in the curriculum. For example, in a handout that she co-wrote with another Jewish civics teacher in the school (not Maor), Raidah defined the emotional power of narratives in this way:

Every nation or group of people needs a narrative in order to create a common denominator for all of its members. The narrative is based on events that happened in reality, but has a story-like quality because narratives choose specific events that the collective might find meaningful and chooses how to present these events to create a

sense of meaning and value that validates the existence of this group and its struggles.

Narratives have beginnings, culminations, and lessons or goals. The hero of a narrative is the group identity (8th Grade Dual-narrative Handout 4/26/15).

This statement illustrates her belief that narratives are inherently engaging because they fulfill individuals' emotional needs to have a past they can be proud of that is shared with others. In a similar statement, Maor emphasized the importance of understanding not just historical facts, although these are very important to him, but also the "story" (e.g., narrative) of the Other because it provides insight into his/her actions and motivations. As he explained,

Even though we want to be factual, we are also learning the existing narrative of the other side even if it is maybe ignoring what we see as the truth but it's important for us to learn that narrative in order to understand how the other side thinks. Or how both sides think. For both sides, it's the other side ... The narrative also contains a lot of emotional effect and it's important to learn how the history, the narrative, creates that (Interview 4/26/15).

In this statement, he argued that the historical "stories" of each side are powerful emotional lenses through which individuals make sense of the present and shape their responses to contemporary events. As such, he reiterates his belief that students' must understand both the objective "facts" and the subjective historical perspectives of each identity group, in order to participate politically in an effective manner within Israeli society.

Historian and PRIME project co-director Naveh best represented the perspectives of all the interviewees on the emotional power of narratives when he argued that understanding the narrative and the emotions attached to them is extremely important because history is high stakes in Israel:

It's not fragmented, it cannot be fragmented because we are still using history as justification for identity. It's not just a play that you play in order to amuse yourself. It's something that's much more serious. Especially in Israel, [history is used] to challenge any claim of the legitimation that comes from abroad. In Palestine, [history is used] to build a nation (Interview 5/10/15).

The teachers did not discuss their thinking regarding the emotional power of the narratives in Naveh's historiographical terms. Nevertheless, they echoed his assessment that writing, teaching, and learning history is high stakes in Israel, and compelling for them as teachers and for their students.

Role of the dual-narrative text. I have been discussing the first component of the school's and teachers' approach to reconciliation of their instructional goals – a dual-narrative curriculum. I indicated that this curriculum was augmented in the second year of adoption of this new approach (2014-2015, the year I observed) by adoption of a dual-narrative text. During the 2013-2014 school year, the Education Director, Inas Deeb, had introduced to the school, and specifically to Raidah and Gil, a little known and highly unusual dual-narrative text called *Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative: Palestinians and Israelis*. This text had been completed several years earlier as the culmination of a multi-year, joint Palestinian-Jewish textbook development project (i.e., the PRIME project I referred to above).

The textbook development work began in 2000 (just as the Second Intifada got underway) and proceeded under the auspices of the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME), and its' co-directors – Palestinian teacher education professor Dr. Sami Adwan and Israeli Jewish psychology professor Dr. Dan Bar-On. Together, these two men had formed PRIME: Peace Research Institute in the Middle East in 1998. With the support of the Georg

Eckert Institute in Germany, PRIME convened a team of Palestinian and Israeli Jewish teachers and historians to develop and pilot dual-narrative units and eventually a full dual-narrative text. Dr. Eyal Naveh, a professor of history at Tel Aviv University, coordinated and supervised the project and following Bar-On's death in 2008, became co-director of PRIME with Dr. Adwan.

The project initially yielded several dual-narrative booklets on select events and periods and finally resulted in a complete dual-narrative text spanning the history of the conflict from the late 19th century to the present. Over the course of its seven years, the project involved almost 20 Palestinian and Jewish teachers; in addition to a Palestinian history professor, Adnan Musallam, who, with Naveh, co-led the teachers in the text development work; and a number of other Palestinian and Jewish international participants. The text has never been authorized for use in Israeli schools by the MOE, nor has it been authorized for use in schools under control of the Palestinian Authority. Raidah and Gil used excerpts from this text in the first year of the new curriculum; however, in the second year, 2014-2015, the year I observed, it was adopted by the teachers to replace the approved Ministry texts for 9th grade history in secular Jewish and Palestinian schools.⁴⁹

The text is structured with each page arranged in three columns. The Israeli Jewish narrative occupies the left side and the Palestinian narrative the right side of each page. Intentionally placed white lined space forms a third column between the two narratives on each page. (This element, which the developers considered key, was left out of the English trade book version).⁵⁰ The chapters are sequenced chronologically although they are not arranged strictly by decade (e.g., the Six-Day War in 1967 forms a single chapter). Frequently, the lengths of the

⁴⁹ For more information on the history of the project, see Rohde, A. (2006) *Learning each other's historical narrative – a road map to peace in Israel/Palestine?* in Korostelina, K.V. & Lassig, S. eds. *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation*. New York: Routledge, pp. 175-191. The English trade book version of this text is called *Side by Side: Parallel Histories of Israel-Palestine* (The New Press, 2012).

⁵⁰ See Appendix L for an excerpt from the English version of the primary Arabic and Hebrew student text.

accounts in a chapter differ since different events within the particular time frame represented by a chapter (e.g., the 1920's) are considered significant by each side. Therefore, most chapters do not end with an even amount of space devoted to each narrative. Each chapter is prefaced by a two-sided timeline (i.e., events significant to Palestinian narrative on one side of the line and to the Israeli Jewish narrative on the other side) of the events within the chapter. (This element was also left out of the English trade book version.) Chapters include images (e.g., newspaper headlines, photographs, political cartoons), maps, charts, quotations from historical figures, and literary quotations to illustrate points being made in the text. Footnotes are used to cite historical sources and are placed at the end of each chapter. The entire text is available in separate Arabic and Hebrew editions. In addition, it has been translated into a number of other languages for use abroad (e.g., Catalan, German).

In the year I observed, 2014-2015, which was the first year a class set of texts was made available to the students, the text was introduced midway through the year. In joint planning prior to the start of the school year, the three teachers had decided to delay introducing the conflict and instead to first teach an extended, self-designed unit on Jerusalem in the 19th century as a model for Jewish-Palestinian co-existence. (I will describe their rationale for doing so in more detail shortly.) Once they introduced the text, however, the teachers treated it as the foundational resource for teaching the two narratives for the remainder of the school year. They used the text in a variety of ways that are familiar among classroom teachers. Sometimes they had students read particular sections guided by comprehension questions to provide background for a later discussion or activity. Other times they directed students to consider a particular image in the text as part of a discussion. And on still other occasions, they did not use it at all, instead organizing a lesson entirely around alternative sources or involving non text-based activities.

Adwan explained that they initially conceived of their effort as a peace curriculum, believing that it was necessary to become acquainted with the historical perspectives of the Other as a first step in any reconciliation process (Interview 5/9/15). Such acquaintance does not require acceptance of the narrative of the Other. Naveh called this same process “rehumanization” of your enemy.” He explained how he underwent this process in the early days of his involvement in the dual-narrative project, when the Israeli Jewish and Palestinian participants were writing and exchanging narrative drafts with one another.

Suddenly the Palestinians appeared human...Ah, he is able to write a story. Even though the story is false and full of misperceptions but he’s able to write a story, so maybe he’s a human being like me. Maybe we can start to talk. So it’s kind of rehumanization of your enemy in the midst of a violent conflict, and the conflict is continuing (Interview 5/10/15).

More recently, Adwan has come to see their dual-narrative work more as an educational reform project. He believes that teaching dual-narratives requires of teachers an openness to different points of view, a willingness to listen to students’ voices, and an approach to historical truth that are foreign to most Israeli and Palestinian teachers (Interview 5/9/15).

All three teachers expressed enthusiasm for the new text, arguing that it helped make their dual-narrative curriculum much more successful in the second year than it had been in the first pilot year (2013-2014) when Raidah taught both narratives alone with Gil’s assistance. Each teacher described specific teaching and learning advantages that he or she believed the text provides.

Teaching advantages provided by the text. All three teachers felt that the book was extremely helpful as a teaching tool because it was written *by teachers* in a language students

could understand. It had already been translated into Arabic and Hebrew; students were allowed to choose which language version they wanted to use. (The time and expertise involved in translation of materials came up frequently as a teaching obstacle as I will discuss later.) Furthermore, the prominent historians supervising the project had vetted and assembled the sources, data, and other evidence to explain and substantiate the Palestinian and Israeli Jewish narratives. The degree of historical knowledge required, as well as the time necessary, to do such vetting were things that they felt were impossible for them to accomplish, even as dedicated teachers. In addition, Maor argued that the book provided a much-needed anchor to the second half of the year that had been missing in the first half, when they focused on the pre-conflict history of Jerusalem and developed all the materials to support that unit themselves. He said,

The kids need the book. They need something to hold onto. What we did was not as good as a book. Sometimes it's better than a book. But it's not as good as having a book, as having a set program that you can use. Of course sometimes a set program makes you rigid. Of course, but the opposite of it is having too much, nothing to hold onto, having no anchor. I felt that it's too much effort for us and the kids were always asking "where's the book, where's the book." And were always saying we didn't get to that part yet (Interview 4/28/15).

Learning advantages provided by the text. Each teacher also felt that the language and structure of the textbook enabled students' to easily compare and contrast the facts and interpretations of facts sustaining each narrative. For this reason, Raidah believed the text helped her students to make evidence-based, as opposed to just emotionally- or anecdotally-based critiques of the narrative of the Other. She explained,

The students, so many times, they criticize the text and this is shown through the different contrasts that they are making with the examples. They would bring in examples [from the text] that would show this discrepancy or contrast...He might make a citation or quotation from the Palestinian narrative or the Israeli narrative, to support his ideas from the text itself (Interview 5/3/15).

Naveh, PRIME project co-director, echoed Raidah's assessment, albeit with deeper disciplinary understanding. He argued that specific features of the textbook, such as the juxtaposition of the narratives side by side and the two-sided timelines that introduce each chapter, not only support basic comprehension but also illuminate for students and teachers the contingent, constructed nature of historiography itself:

You can go and say "Look, what is history education?" It's a process of selection and approval. You take a story, accept it and select it and you put in in the textbook. And you see that the other side selects and accepts different stories. Yet they cannot ignore some evidence on both sides. So you can see these common events that are still the raw material for historical writing and then you can see the process of selection which is different, which can enable you to have a much higher level of comprehension about how history is written (Interview 5/10/15).

Thus, the dual-narrative text was viewed by the teachers and staff as facilitating several of their critical thinking goals (e.g., comparison and contrast) while providing structure, organization, and quality resources to support the dual-narrative curriculum that the teachers felt incapable of replicating through their own efforts.

Incorporation of the PRIME dual-narrative textbook in 2014-2015 was accompanied by the introduction of two other instructional components in that same year. Like adoption of the

textbook, these other components were also considered necessary to effective implementation of the dual-narrative curriculum, based upon results of the 2013-2014 pilot. I turn now to the rationales offered for each of these two additional components, a co-teacher from each primary identity background and introduction of Arabic as an equal instructional language.

Component 2: Two Co-teachers

In the first year of the new dual-narrative approach, Raidah taught the Jewish and Palestinian narratives on her own with the regular support of Gil, who was often in the classroom helping students. Raidah was enthusiastic about the new approach but did not feel she was entirely successful that first year. As a result of her self-assessment and complaints from some parents that Jewish students were being made to feel ashamed of their identities and apologetic, Raidah, the Education Director, and the principal decided to seek a second Jewish co-teacher. The principal invited Maor, who had been teaching civics (in this case meaning government) one day per week at Hand in Hand during the 2013-2014 year (while still teaching full-time in his other school) to take on the role.⁵¹ Therefore, during 2014-2015 when I observed the class, the two 9th grade history classes were co-taught by Raidah and Maor, with the continued assistance of Gil, primarily concerning implementation of PBL.

Raidah, Maor, and Gil felt that having a co-teacher from each identity background provided a number of advantages for them as teachers, as well as for the students as learners. The most significant teaching advantage was that it enabled more fair and equitable representation of each narrative. None of the three teachers felt that he or she could adequately represent the experience of the Other. For example, Raidah, who had actually tried to teach both narratives herself, said that she could not represent the Zionist narrative “in an ideal way” because despite

⁵¹ As I described in the Methods chapter, the 9th grade history classes only met one day per week and throughout this period, Maor continued to teach full-time at his other school.

trying to be objective, “I am biased to my own question or cause (Interview 5/3/15).” Maor, too, reported struggling in his other school to represent perspectives that he did not identify with (e.g., ultra-Orthodox), even as he believed it was important for his students to become familiar with them. He explained,

As a civics teacher, I want to teach the kids about the different political opinions in the country, not only the different political opinions, but also the different sectors – like the Arab sector, the ultra-Orthodox sector, etc. Can I do it, coming from one sector? It’s a question. I try to do it. I try to do it as good as possible. But obviously, I lean to one side (Interview 5/3/15).

The teachers argued that having co-teachers from the two predominant identity backgrounds balanced their individual biases, just as teaching two narratives side by side balanced the biases in the two historical narratives.

In terms of advantages for students’ learning, there was strong agreement among the three teachers that students from both primary identity groups needed role models with whom they could identify and who could personify the legitimacy of each narrative. For example, describing the situation in the pilot year, Raidah explained,

Most often [the Jewish students felt] that they were put in a situation that the Palestinian is the victim and they are the aggressors. And this [wa]s the general feeling among them all. That’s why there was a need to have a Jewish teacher who would use the Hebrew account or narrative and talk about the difficulties that they had faced in the past like the Holocaust and give examples about their sufferings...Having Maor in the classroom, this supports the feelings of the Jewish students (Interview 5/10/15).

As evidence for the efficacy of their decision to move to a co-teaching model with teachers from each major identity background, all three teachers pointed to less contention among students around the 2014-2015 National Days ceremonies, which I observed. For example, Maor said,

One indication, I don't know how good it is. It's just an indication... for example last year I taught here but I taught civics but during the National Memorial Days, we were dealing with these issues, and they didn't undergo this history program, they did but in a different way, and there was so much emotion and bad blood and fighting. In a way that it really, really hurt the classes. It really hurt them. They said, "Stop it, we don't want to hear about these things anymore. It only hurts us. It only breaks up friendships." ...Now I don't hear it here as much" (Interview 4/26/15).

The teachers attributed the improved learning climate in the 9th grade classes to students from both primary identity groups having an ally and role model in the classroom.

Thus, in addition to the dual-narrative text I discussed previously, based upon outcomes of the pilot year, a second teacher was also added to augment the newly adopted dual-narrative curriculum. A third component – addition of Arabic as an instructional language – was also introduced in the second year. I turn next to the teachers' rationales for addition of this third component to their instructional approach.

Component 3: Two Instructional Languages

The third and most recently added component of the 9th grade dual-narrative instructional approach was introduction of Arabic as an equal instructional language. All three teachers concurred that while the school is officially bilingual, Arabic has a second-class status in the school, just as it does in the larger society. Most of the Jewish teachers do not know Arabic. Most of the Jewish students speak Arabic poorly, even though it is taught from preschool on,

since their incentives to become fluent are small and their use of it outside of school very limited. On the other hand, Palestinian students speak, read, and write Hebrew fluently out of necessity. For this reason, instruction is conducted primarily in Hebrew throughout the school, particularly in the upper grades.

The three teachers viewed the privileging of Hebrew as putting an unfair burden on Palestinian teachers who must teach their content in both languages and on Palestinian students who must learn entirely in their second language. In addition, Raidah argued that for her, the Arabic language is not just a tool for communication but an integral part of her narrative and identity (Interview 5/10/15). Neither Maor nor Gil made the same argument regarding Hebrew, although because it is the dominant language, this may not be a concern for them.

Introducing Arabic as an equal instructional language came midway into the second year as Raidah and Maor also began to introduce the two narratives using the new text. In planning discussions, the three teachers determined that Jewish students were skimming over excerpts or questions in Arabic and concentrating on those in Hebrew which were connected to the Jewish narrative. The teachers felt that by requiring Arabic (for example, by refusing to translate Arabic text excerpts into Hebrew and dividing assignment questions equally between both languages), it might make Jewish students pay more attention to the Palestinian narrative and to their Palestinian classmates' perspectives.

While there was initially serious resistance to this change, particularly on the part of a minority of Jewish students who felt that it would compromise their ability to perform well in the class, all three teachers felt that the dialogue about equity that ensued from this decision was very beneficial and the effect on the classroom climate was ultimately positive. When I observed the class late in the school year, instruction was being conducted in both languages, although

Hebrew was still dominant since Maor does not speak Arabic fluently. Nevertheless, I observed Palestinian students helping Jewish students read Arabic passages and questions and to compose board notes in Arabic. And I observed Maor listening to and even responding one-on-one to questions from Palestinian students in Arabic (Observation Notes 4/26/15). Maor even speculated whether introduction of Arabic and resolution of the conflicts among students that arose from this decision may have been equally responsible for the reduction in contention around the National Days observances compared to the prior year (Interview 4/26/15).

Thus far, the instructional components I have discussed – a dual-narrative curriculum (augmented by a dual-narrative text), teachers from both identity backgrounds, and dual instructional languages – were explained primarily as ways to promote empathic and identity goals. The teachers referenced critical thinking as a rationale for their instructional choices primarily in relation to their use of the dual-narrative text to support the dual-narrative curriculum. However, there is a fourth and final component of the teachers' and school's instructional approach, one that they described as specifically directed at critical thinking and that involves incorporation of what are known in the history education literature as historical thinking concepts (e.g., historical empathy, cause and consequence) and use of disciplinary teaching practices (e.g., setting historical context, facilitating discussion, employing historical evidence) to teach those concepts. This fourth component appears to be instrumental to the teachers' efforts to reconcile their empathic and identity goals with their critical thinking goal.

Component 4: Disciplinary Teaching Practices

The fourth and final component in the teachers' and school's multi-component approach to reconciliation of their instructional goals involves use of teaching practices described as “disciplinary” in the American and British history education literature. With the exception of Gil,

the teachers did not discuss the rationales for their instructional decisions using “disciplinary” language. However, many of their instructional decisions, and the rationales they offered for them, overlap considerably with teaching practices and the rationales for them that are advocated by history education researchers (e.g., Fogo, 2014; NCSS, 2013). Therefore, I refer to this fourth instructional component, which concerns *how* the two narratives were taught, as disciplinary teaching practices.

Of the four components, this was the one where there appeared to be the greatest differences among the three teachers. Sometimes those differences were between a particular teacher’s stated goals and the practices he or she described using. In other cases, the differences paralleled nuances in the teachers’ interpretations of the school’s goals for civics education that I previously described. Because of this variability, I discuss each teacher’s instructional decision making separately, before discussing their common thinking regarding historical empathy. Findings in this section are derived primarily from teachers’ *explanations for use* of disciplinary teaching practices. I did not observe for a sufficient length of time and the language barrier impeded my ability to judge whether or how they differed in *actual use* of disciplinary teaching practices.

Raidah’s use of disciplinary teaching practices. As discussed in the goals section, Raidah was focused first and foremost on promoting Palestinian students’ identities. In our discussions, she did not mention any dangers of teaching narratives as Maor did, nor did she talk about the benefits of disciplinary methods in theoretical terms as Gil did. Nevertheless, of the three teachers, she provided the most frequent and detailed examples of use of disciplinary teaching practices compared to either Maor or Gil. In fact, throughout the course of our interviews, she provided examples of use of all the Delphi Panel’s core practices (Fogo, 2014)

except modeling and supporting historical writing. Her use of these practices seemed to be driven by three goals: 1) for students to experience the two perspectives at a personal, emotional level, especially the Palestinian perspective which she felt had not received equal attention; 2) for students to be aware of bias, which she believed was present in all sources; and 3) for her teaching to foster more active learning and student engagement.

In the following extended quotations about an investigation that she did with students in the 2013-2014 year when she taught the dual-narrative curriculum alone, there is evidence of her use of multiple disciplinary teaching practices simultaneously. She began this investigation by introducing her students to research done by a Jewish Israeli anthropologist, Dr. Efrat Ben-Ze'ev, whose work Gil had brought to her attention. Ben-Ze'ev had investigated memories of the events of the 1948 War from the perspectives of Palestinian villagers, Israeli Jewish soldiers, and British policeman. For the Palestinian and Israeli Jewish perspectives, Ben-Ze'ev relied respectively on oral interviews with Palestinian survivors and soldiers' accounts, both of which were taken from the Israeli Archives.

Raidah gave her students excerpts from Ben-Ze'ev's book about recollections of events in three Palestinian villages that were destroyed in 1948 from the perspectives of villagers and soldiers:

They had specific tasks for each excerpt. For example, they were supposed to [determine] the sequence of events that had really taken place without being biased to the Palestinian or the Israeli account. Just they had to locate the incidents. Then they were asked to bring in citations about the feelings of people through their readings. What does land mean to them? How would they remember it? How could they remember the time when they were expelled out of their homes (Interview 5/10/15).

After they had examined each account carefully, she explained that she divided the class into two groups to hold a mock international tribunal to weigh the evidence regarding responsibility for the events:

This was a very interesting class because each side was looking ... through the text excerpt for facts that would authorize them to achieve the winning position in court...the end [goal] of the task was not to show who is a winner and who is a loser. But what I really cared about was the kind of discussion that took place (Interview 4/30/15).

At the conclusion of the classroom portion of the investigation, she said she took the students on a trip to visit the three destroyed villages discussed in Ben-Ze'ev's book. Ben-Ze'ev even accompanied the class on this trip. While onsite, the students engaged in historical inquiry practices including conducting oral history interviews and examining archeological remains.

These three villages, which currently have different names and are inhabited by different people... I let them see these villages with these new names... It was really very emotional and difficult to get into this place, especially because the students had a mission do in the villages.... During our tour, we divided students into different groups, and each student or group had a specific task. For example, interviews with people already [currently] living in the village. Of course, it's a forgotten village but there are other inhabitants now. It has become an Israeli settlement. And we also asked them to look for any archeological remains of the Palestinian village, and the students were easily capable of distinguishing the mosque that has become a pub. The house of the Moktar, the village chief's house, was transformed into one of the average citizens, and he changed it to a hostel....We had someone from the school who was a photographer and who documented the whole process (Interviews 4/30/15 and 5/10/15).

In a different exchange, Raidah explained how she taught her students another disciplinary inquiry practice – evaluation of the reliability and biases of texts through use of practices associated with sourcing, although she did not use this language (Wineburg, 1991a). In doing so, she argued that she was helping her students to develop what she called “critical thinking” and what I am calling “historical thinking” skills.

If I bring a text from a primary source, I would give the students a card... This card contains ...questions about the author himself, about the time period, about the central idea of the text, and the year of publication of this text. So whenever I have a primary source, I would give them this card...They have to look for these things. There isn't any information available right away about the author...What I really care about is not only reading the text. Also it's important to know about the background of the writer of the text, his political affiliations for example. And in this way, the student will be able to distinguish what kind of a text he has in his hands. They might have a critique of this text or yes, they would distinguish [that] “Yes, ah, this writer is a Palestinian,” or “That one, he is Zionist.” So we have developed the idea of criticism among students...(Interview 5/10/15).

The activities Raidah described doing with her students as part of the unit on the 1948 War (e.g., engaging students in an extensive historical investigation, using historical questions to frame the investigation, selecting and adapting historical sources to support students' work, encouraging students to use historical evidence to justify their arguments) and the card she described using to encourage students to think critically about authors' biases are all examples of disciplinary teaching practices, even though she did not refer to them this way. Raidah offered

the most such examples, even though empowerment – an identity goal – was the one she discussed most explicitly and frequently when asked about her instructional goals.

Maor’s use of disciplinary practices. Maor offered far fewer examples of use of disciplinary teaching practices than Raidah did. Those he did describe using were consistent with his instructional goal of facilitating democratic discussion. He offered two detailed examples of difficult class discussions that he had led in both his schools for the purpose of giving voice to all opinions and perspectives. One was a discussion he led in his government class the previous year regarding appropriate attire, which I discussed in the goals part of this section. The second was a heated discussion in his other school about whether Arab or Muslim players should ever be allowed to play on the Jerusalem soccer team – a hot button issue in Jerusalem where the team is extremely popular. His students almost unanimously opposed such a move while the team’s owners and coaches favored it. He said that he considered the students’ opposition racist and wanted to encourage them to consider the alternative position (Interview 4/28/15). Both of these examples of facilitation of discussion were consistent with his stated desire to encourage the airing of all opinions in a respectful dialogue.

Maor was the only one of the three teachers to express concern regarding a potential conflict between teaching narratives and historical thinking. In this regard and consistent with his goal of teaching “the real facts,” he spoke fervently about the danger of reifying the narratives. He said,

[A]...problem of teaching narratives is that it’s not scientific. In a way that you might say, “Ok, this is my narrative, this is what I feel.” Hey hello, there’s history, there’s facts. There’s real things that happened. You can’t just say “this is my narrative.” You have to learn it and somehow see how it fits with reality. You can’t say, for example, something

like “The Arabs wanted to throw us to the sea, this is my narrative, this is how I feel.” It’s not true. You have to learn the facts. You can’t say “The Jews wanted to make a Holocaust for us like they had in...or the Jews are inventing their Holocaust because it never happened. They are just using it politically to give a justification for what they are doing.” You know there’s facts, and the discourse of narratives somehow gives justification to talk bullshit or to not be scientific about things or historical, real historical, about things. It’s something that happens on both sides. We use this thing a lot, Jews use it a lot, Arabs use it a lot. This is like a trap that we can fall into when teaching only narratives...(Interview 4/26/15).

Yet despite his awareness about this very important challenge when teaching narratives, he did not offer any specific instructional strategies that he used to counter this challenge. In general, of the three teachers, he talked the least about pedagogy and provided the fewest examples of use of disciplinary teaching practices.

Maor’s use of disciplinary teaching practices was the most difficult to summarize. Through his comments on the dangers of reifying the narratives, he expressed the most critical awareness of potential conflicts among the school’s instructional goals – goals he also subscribed to. He also discussed at greatest length challenges he had encountered in facilitating controversial discussions. Yet he seemed, at least in our interviews, to be the least interested in discussing specific instructional practices. For example, compared to Raidah, he described in much more detail research he had done to come up with resources to support their 19th century Jerusalem unit, yet said almost nothing about teaching the unit itself. However, because of the limited time I observed, I do not feel confident concluding anything definitive about the actual classroom practices of Maor (or the other two teachers for that matter). For example, it may well

be that Maor used disciplinary teaching practices other than facilitation of discussion, but that talking about instructional practice is just not something he is comfortable doing.

Gil's use of disciplinary teaching practices. As might be expected given his background and his role, Gil discussed disciplinary teaching practices the most theoretically. For example, he was the only of the three teachers to use language common to the British and American literature on history pedagogy when describing his instructional choices. Consistent with his concern for promoting deep understanding, not just factual knowledge, he talked about the importance of a number of disciplinary teaching practices such as use of primary sources, teaching students to interrogate the reliability of those sources, and teaching them to justify their opinions regarding reliability of those sources with facts drawn from the text as well as knowledge of the context. For example, he said,

So the issue is how to find the sources, not just to Google them. ... You can give them a list of sources, or you can ask the source questions, to see if the source is reliable. It's very important. But reliable for me, it can be something that is not reliable for you. But I have to convince you that the source is reliable and you can convince me... There are facts in history. I am not post-modern – no facts. I think there are facts, we have to find them. But we can build other buildings on these facts... Like what it means that the Palestinians didn't agree to the Partition? ... They didn't agree, everyone knows that. But what it means for the Palestinians, for the Israelis? You can write ... [entire] books on it (Interview 5/1/15).

He argued that engaging in active, even visceral, investigations that connect the content of the investigation to students' lived experiences was also very important. For these reasons, he had helped Raidah to organize the inquiry unit on the events of 1948 that I discussed above.

Similarly, he described using his consultation role in the 2014-2015 year to support Raidah and Maor to organize an inquiry-based investigation of the pre-conflict history of Palestinians and Jews in Jerusalem in the 19th century as a foundation for introducing the conflict. He explained his thinking thus,

Like when they teach Jerusalem in the 19th c., I told Raidah and Maor, you have to take them to Jerusalem. We are here in Jerusalem. You cannot speak just about Jerusalem here in the school when ...[the Old City] is a kilometer from here. We went to the [barrier] wall, and we [touched] the wall. And we spoke about the new neighborhoods in Jerusalem. And so we saw it in our own eyes. The real wall is very important (Interview 5/1/15).

Finally, Gil also spoke about encouraging Raidah and Maor to use other disciplinary teaching practices such as framing their instruction around questions, not just content. He said that students must always be asked,

What do you think about it? Like in your task [he was referring to Task Three that I gave the students], “What do you think about the issue that the Palestinians were against? If you were there what would you have done?” ... Or what were the mistakes? What [would have] happened if they had decided to be for the Partition Plan? Many “if” questions” (Interview 5/10/15).

Using disciplinary teaching practices to teach inquiry skills, facilitate engagement with real historical questions and sources, and encourage students to recognize the difference between fact and interpretation were all viewed by Gil as promoting understanding or *manah*. In addition to promoting such understanding, and consistent with his identity goals, Gil also provided several examples of ways he connected instructional content and activities to students’ personal

and cultural histories – also a disciplinary teaching practice. His use of the “Roots” curriculum which I discussed in the first section of this chapter was one such example.

Thus, each of the three teachers described using disciplinary teaching practices. The pedagogical choices each made and the rationales each offered for those choices are consistent with the Delphi Panel’s recommendations regarding Core Teaching Practices (Fogo, 2014). Yet, each described using such practices to a different degree and in somewhat different ways. Often, even when the practice used was the same (e.g., a historical investigation), their explanations for using that practice varied. For example, Raidah emphasized emotional engagement with the content and active learning as the desired outcomes while Gil emphasized deep understanding.

Yet despite important differences in their descriptions and rationales for use of disciplinary teaching practices, these differences were small compared to their similarities. Each teacher expressed commitment to the broad goals of historical thinking and active student engagement. Each wanted students to think and express their opinions. And each wanted to connect the content to students’ lives and experiences. These common commitments were evident in the way that they jointly expressed commitment to teach the disciplinary concept historical empathy and the examples that they each offered for how they had collectively tried to foster such empathy. I conclude this section by discussing their common commitment and approach to teaching historical empathy.

Teachers’ shared commitment and approach to teaching historical empathy. Despite differences in the degree to which they discussed using disciplinary practices, all three presented similar rationales for why they started the curriculum where they did in the 2014-2015 year (the year I observed and the first full year of implementation of the dual-narrative curriculum in combination with the other components) and for why they incorporated historical empathy

activities in their instruction (i.e., instructional activities that required students to try to take different perspectives on events in the past involving other peoples).

The teachers made a joint decision during planning meetings in the summer of 2014 to begin the curriculum early in the 19th century, a period of peaceful coexistence between Jews and Palestinians under Ottoman Rule. Their expressed purpose was to contextualize the conflict – to put it in historical perspective – in order that students could see that the conflict has not always been a part of their shared history. As Maor explained,

It was important for us to show first of all the roots of this and also to show that there were other times, different times when Jews and Arabs could live together peacefully and not have to kill each other. To see that it was possible in the past but things went on in a certain way that led to this, but not to start now because then you don't have the perspective (Interview 4/26/15).

They choose to focus especially on how 19th century events affected the lives of ordinary Jerusalemites, believing this would be of personal significance to the students. For example, one of the writing tasks they assigned was to describe life for a fictional 19th century family who had chosen to move outside the city walls. This assignment followed study of the process of expanded settlement that began in the mid-19th century and included reading accounts from individuals living in Jerusalem at the time. Such activities enabled students to contextualize the conflict, an important disciplinary concept undergirding historical empathy.

All three teachers also provided examples of how they asked students to analyze primary sources that illustrated different perspectives on a range of 19th century events to prepare them to discuss the conflict. For example, when studying 19th century imperialism in Africa early in the

year, they read a complaint letter that Zulu King Lobengula wrote to Queen Victoria.⁵² They also read Napoleonic as well as Egyptian perspectives on colonialism in Egypt. Raidah explained,

I gave them international examples before I start with issue of the Occupation and the Arab-Israeli conflict. I give them examples from the imperialism in Africa. I brought them caricatures. And we looked at them with different perspectives. We even used European eyes to look at them and African eyes (Interview 5/3/15).

The teachers argued that, in addition to illustrating important concepts like imperialism, such perspective taking activities were intended to equip the students with emotional and critical skills for discussion of differing narratives of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which they anticipated would be much more difficult. Naveh, the historian and co-director of the PRIME project, called this instructional strategy “estrangement.” He said, “You estrange your attitude toward the material and therefore, you are secure enough later on to deal with more heated issues (Interview 5/10/15).”

Contextualizing the perspectives of individuals in the past, meaning situating them in their time and place in order to try to ascertain the thoughts and intentions of those individuals, considering different perspectives on past events, and even using historical “estrangement” to prepare students for the emotional distress associated with engaging in empathic activities related to present events, are all components of the disciplinary practice of historical empathy. Although none of the teachers used the term historical empathy, they demonstrated common commitment to this practice through the choices of teaching activities that I have just described (e.g., beginning the year with a unit on pre-conflict Jerusalem) and the rationales they offered (e.g., looking at imperialism in Africa from “African and European eyes”) for those choices.

⁵² The letter explained how he felt he had been deceived by the Europeans who asked him to sign a document that turned out to be a land concession document.

Teaching and Learning Challenges of Their Dual-Narrative Instructional Approach and How They Are Addressing Them

As might be anticipated, collaborating to teach opposing historical narratives in a situation of intractable conflict to a mixed population of students in two languages, while trying to balance stances of respect and critique toward the narratives, posed numerous challenges for these teachers. Some of these challenges have been resolved while others are in the process of being resolved. Still others challenges were evident to me, but not necessarily to the school staff. In this second section of this chapter, I report findings related to my second research question, What do the 9th grade teachers at Max Rayne School perceive as the challenges and opportunities for teaching and learning empathy via the dual-narrative approach to national history instruction that they have adopted?

Logistical Teaching Challenges

First, there are several logistical obstacles that have made achievement of their approach challenging.

Instructional time. Time is a persistent challenge. According to Gil, the time allotted to civics instruction overall has been reduced in recent years, as it has in many countries including the U.S. The class only met once a week for two hours, and holidays and special events frequently intruded on class time. This made maintaining continuity from one week to the next difficult. For example, I observed one occasion where the teachers anticipated delving more deeply in the subsequent class into a discussion of a topic that they had introduced with a skills-based comprehension activity. However, other activities (i.e., field trips, holidays, need to explain and give in class time for final project) conspired to make that impossible (Field Notes, Class Observations, 4/26/15 and 5/3/15). At a deeper level, how to balance the amount of time

devoted to establishing the pre-conflict context *versus* delving into the details of the conflict was mentioned by all three teachers as a significant challenge.

To mitigate this pressure, they are in process of extending their current 9th grade dual-narrative curriculum through 12th grade to provide more time for in depth study of the two narratives. Seventh and eighth grade would continue to focus on 17th and 18th century Western European and American history, concentrating on topics relevant to Israeli and Palestinian history such as imperialism, revolution, and colonialism. Ninth grade would lay the foundation for intensive study of the conflict through study of the 19th century pre-conflict context in the Middle East and the early years of the conflict (perhaps through WWI). Study of the conflict would continue throughout subsequent grades in order that contributing factors such as pogroms in Europe, the Holocaust, and contemporary aspects of the conflict could also be addressed.

Lack of prepared curriculum materials. Related to the general problem of instructional time, teaching a unique curriculum required development of all materials and translation of those materials into both languages. Gil said that lack of time for translation of the approximately 100 primary sources intended for use in the 7th-9th grade curriculum that he had participated in developing was a major reason they had never fully implemented this curriculum. As I mentioned previously, adoption of the dual-narrative text was in part a strategy to mitigate challenges related to developing and translating high-quality, original curriculum materials.

Shortage of Palestinian historians. Both Maor and Raidah mentioned as a challenge a shortage of well-known and accessible Palestinian historians to represent the Palestinian perspective in person. Everyone, including the school leadership, wanted to include Palestinian historians in public presentations and on committees to balance the biases of Jewish historians and to increase the perception of equity (Interview 4/26/15; Field Notes, Discussion with Raidah

and Education Director, 4/20/15). Max Rayne and Hand in Hand administrators continue to seek individuals who might serve in this capacity. However, such historians are difficult to find for many political and historical reasons including traditional inequities between the school systems for Palestinian and Jewish schools in Israel, difficulties securing university positions for Palestinian historians focused on Palestinian historical perspectives, closures that make travel across the Green Line difficult, and the preference of educated Palestinians to study the sciences and medicine over the humanities. Furthermore, many historians who concentrate on Palestinian perspectives work from abroad.

Incongruity with national assessments. A substantial challenge facing the school is that their vision of an appropriate curriculum for their students does not meld with the requirements of the Bagrut, the all-important high school exit examinations that play a significant role in determining post-secondary options. There are separate civics examinations for Palestinian and Jewish Israelis that reflect the different curricula Arab and Jewish schools are expected to follow in grades 9-12. The Palestinian narrative is not included in either curriculum. In addition to anticipated changes to the curriculum discussed above, they are simultaneously negotiating with the Ministry of Education to allow them to design a unique Bagrut civics exam for their students that would assess their curriculum.

Emotional Teaching and Learning Challenges

In addition to the logistical, there are a number of emotional teaching and learning challenges that are more difficult to mitigate. These challenges are interrelated since each learning challenge poses one or more teaching challenges.

Charged emotional nature of subject matter. The emotional salience of the content is perhaps the most fundamental learning challenge. Because of the intimate connections between

narrative and identity and the intensity of the conflict, many students are deeply attached to their narratives. This attachment makes it very difficult – and for some impossible – to listen openly and respectfully to perspectives of the Other. For example, based on her experience using the dual-narrative text with her students, Raidah said that it encouraged empathy for some students while for others it had the opposite effect. “...It creates more conflict within. So it depends on the[ir] background, what perspective the student has in relationship with the textbook (Interview 5/3/15).” Raidah’s perception accorded with PRIME project co-director, Adwan’s assessment of the impact of the text on students in other settings who have been exposed to the text. He said that according to teachers’ reports,

Some of them say, “Now we realize why we failed. Now we realize why the Other was successful. Now we understand why the Other behaves that way or this way.” Some of them say, “Their narrative is full of propaganda and falsification of information but our narrative is right and full of logic.” Some of them reject it reading or listening to or understanding the other narrative. They say “Only one narrative exists and that’s us” (Interview 5/9/15).

I witnessed, on several occasions, both within the classes and in special presentations organized to coincide with the National Days, the difficulties of listening to perspectives one disagrees with. For example, I observed great tension, and even hostility and indignation on the part of many Palestinian students, during a class presentation about the events of 1948 by a well-known and regarded Israeli Jewish historian who is also a parent at the school. This historian has a professional reputation as neutral (although according to Raidah and Maor, he specifically rejected the claim that he is or could be strictly neutral). Many Palestinian students challenged him and when his responses were dissatisfactory to them, many began talking out and grumbling

(Observation Notes 4/19/15). The following day during their debriefing of the presentation, I listened while Raidah and the Education Director (who happened to be visiting the class when the historian presented) talked back and forth to one another about their objections to his presentation. Neither had questioned him during his presentation, and Raidah even had reprimanded some students for their disrespectful behavior. Nevertheless, both women were demonstrably angry and upset as they discussed what he had said the day before. I asked for a specific example of something that they found objectionable in his comments. Raidah said,

He told the kids that Israel is the safest place for you Arabs to live. And then he compared life in Israel to Syria and Iraq. It's not fair to compare life here to life in two countries that are currently at war...He also said that only 13 people were killed in Israel last year. But he didn't mention the children who are in prison. Families are not safe and at peace if their fathers or children are in jail (Field Notes, Discussion with Raidah and Education Director, 4/20/15).

The Education Director added, "He denied the right of return." I asked if he actually said that and she replied, "He said, 'There is no law of return for Arabs in the Knesset.' But the Knesset is biased. It does not represent us (Field Notes, Discussion with Raidah and Education Director, 4/20/15)." The historian's statements regarding numbers killed and there being no law of return for Palestinians in Israel were not incorrect. However, it was clear that Raidah, the Education Director, and many Palestinian students objected viscerally to his interpretations of those facts.

Separately, Maor also raised the issue of students' reactions to the presentation with me. He said the historian was "...as neutral as can be." Yet Maor acknowledged that "there was still unrest on the Arab side that he's one-sided or at least leaning to the Zionist side." I asked him if he felt the same way. He replied,

Let's say I was too comfortable with his lecture so maybe that's a sign that he was a bit more leaning to the Zionist narrative. Maybe that's like a red flag... To be neutral you have to be in some way really uncomfortable. And I think I was too comfortable. And the Arabs, like Raidah [weren't] comfortable (Interview 4/26/15).

Maor's notion of having to be uncomfortable if one is genuinely open to the perspective of the Other underscores just how emotionally challenging such teaching and learning is. Furthermore, the reactions of the Palestinian teachers, staff, and students affirm the teachers' decision to have co-teachers from both identity backgrounds because bias is inevitable.

Self-suppression of identity. While such difficulty being open to the perspectives of the Other might lead to irreconcilable conflicts in the classroom, this has not happened. In part it appears that this is because, according to the teachers, many students suppress their identities in order to maintain their friendships. (I expect many adults do the same to maintain their professional relationships.) For example, as I have discussed, all three mentioned the experience of the prior year as a difficult one. A number of Jewish students in particular had felt put on the defensive and made to feel guilty for what their ancestors had done. During the National Days observances, Palestinian and Jewish students had pleaded with Raidah and Gil not to discuss the conflict because they believed it was hurting their friendships which cross group lines. Maor and Raidah said the students did not have this reaction this year, which all three attributed at least in part to the fact that they have moved to the co-teaching model and use of Arabic. Nonetheless, all agreed that there continue to be times when students choose to avoid topics that they believe might threaten their personal relationships.

Furthermore, the school also has students of mixed Palestinian and Jewish heritage, students from other backgrounds (e.g., Druze, Armenian), and Christian Palestinians and

Ethiopian Jews, both of whom are minorities within the Palestinian and Jewish communities respectively. Each teacher provided one or more example of occasions when they perceived these students suppressing their identities to fit in or affiliating themselves with others they perceived as having higher status within the school or society.

Developmental appropriateness of empathic expectations. A fourth type of emotional teaching and learning challenge, the developmental appropriateness of asking students to consider the perspectives of the Other or to critique their own narratives, was raised by Maor and Gil. However, their views diverged on this question. Maor expressed skepticism that most students are capable of engaging in such thinking until they are much older. He felt they could go through the “technical” motions of such thinking but few could really do it and those few would do it with or without instruction. Furthermore, he was unsure whether it is ethical to put such responsibility on the shoulders of young people (Interview 5/3/15). Gil, on the other hand, did not have reservations about raising difficult issues of co-existence with children since they live this reality, so long as it was done intentionally and carefully (e.g., by facilitating reflection and discussion). And he thought 9th grade was the optimal age to introduce the conflict because prior to this age, they are not cognitively capable of conceptual thinking, yet as they get older, he felt one’s thinking becomes “stuck.” (Interview 5/1/15). This issue did not arise in my conversations with Raidah, although based on the totality of our conversations, I believe her views are probably more aligned with Gil’s.

Strategies for mitigating emotional learning and teaching challenges. The teachers’ primary strategies for mitigating the emotional challenges of learning the narrative of the Other were their decisions to move to a co-teaching model and instructional use of both languages. Having a teacher from each background provided role models that legitimized each perspective

and provided an emotional ally in the classroom for students from each primary identity group background. Using both languages served to further legitimate each perspective. In addition to these changes, however, the teachers used a number of other instructional strategies to mitigate the tensions caused by the contested and personal nature of the subject matter.

Switching roles. Raidah, Maor, and Gil each mentioned switching their roles in the classroom, which they called “intended exchanges,” as a valuable strategy they used to signal to students that considering the views of the Other is not disloyal to one’s group, nor does it signal acceptance of the views of the Other. Raidah explained,

Most of the time, I reflect my own narrative and Maor will reflect his own narrative. Sometimes we will have an intended exchange to give a good atmosphere in the classroom. Especially that the topic we are talking about is very, very complicated ... I and Maor, we agree on this. Because I and Maor sit for one hour after the class with a counselor [Gil], who would observe our classroom. He gives us feedback and views about the ways, how we could reflect and mention the different narratives but without letting the students feel there’s a tense atmosphere. Eventually we would reach the same idea. For sure, it never happened that an Arab or a Jewish student lost his or her identity because of this activity. In fact, the opposite has happened (Interview 4/30/15).

To Raidah, taking turns representing the different narratives demonstrated to students that “we can live with [ambiguity and contradiction] (Interview 3/2/15).”

Providing students multiple opportunities to have their voices heard. All three teachers emphasized the importance of providing students multiple opportunities to express themselves and have their voices heard. Raidah’s responses were focused on how she provides students with

opportunities to explore and process their feelings through writing (Interview 5/10/15 and 5/3/15) and to share their criticisms privately with her. For example, she said,

So many times I would show them texts ... that would make them feel emotional about it, and these strong sensations might cause kind of conflicts among students themselves later on. And this is the point that I am aware of most of the time... I would guarantee, especially for students who might be more sensitive about these things, to give them an opportunity to get in touch with me, could be by email or maybe an assignment that would reflect their point of view. And this has happened so often with girls and boys who are kind of disapproving about the way I explained the issue. And I asked them to make a presentation - an assignment - showing exactly what they thought. And in this way, I would kind of make sure that the feelings of everybody are kind of satisfied (Interview 4/30/15).

She felt she had a special obligation to provide such opportunities for dissent and self-expression to her Jewish students because they "...chose to be in this school...to learn in the presence of Arab students, even though they have better opportunities in different Jewish schools. So I do believe that I should kind of respect their choice and maintain their self-esteem also (Interview 4/30/15)."

Consistent with his desire to promote democratic dialogue, Maor focused on allowing students to air dissenting views without fear of punishment. Describing an encounter he had with a Palestinian Muslim female student, he said,

Last year I had an example in a class...I taught civics [i.e., government in this instance] and we talked about the conflict from a historical, civic, and geographical point of view. And we talked about the solution, peace solutions. And one of the students, who was a

very good student, very quiet. Then she wrote something in the exam that was very, let's say, aggressive Arabic ... The student was very intellectual from a learned family. And she said something very aggressive like that the whole country should be for the Palestinians, which is an unexpected voice in the school. Then I read this in the exam and I asked her, "Oh, you wrote this. It was surprising." And then she got really scared because it's an exam, to write this in an exam, I might ... deduct points or something, and then she said, "No, no, I was just thinking..." And I said, "No, I really wanted to know what you were thinking." And I know that another teacher, who is a Jewish, the geography teacher, when he heard expressions such as that, he got very antagonistic about it, got into fights with Arab kids and that's ridiculous. And I was just asking her what does she think, is it a good idea? What does she think about it? That's it. She got 100. She was so good. I didn't take marks from her because it was a legitimate answer for an opinion question, as long as it's being ... defended (Interview 4/28/15).

While most of Maor's instructional examples concerned leading whole class discussions of difficult topics, consistent with his desire to promote democratic dialogue, in this instance he described a private exchange with a student in which he sought to affirm that student's right to express a different opinion than his or that of other students.

Consistent with his emphasis on learning for understanding, Gil said providing multiple avenues for self-expression and reflection were key teaching strategies for dealing with emotionally challenging material. In every single class, he said he wanted students to be given opportunities and to be expected to reflect on what was presented or discussed:

I think when you are talking about feelings. That's something that's not easy. I mean in the days while you were here, the Remembrance Days, many feelings came up. And

when you deal with history and feelings, it's something that's not easy for them and the narratives are full of feelings but when you understand it more and when you have more facts, when you think about things, and when you can speak about it, or draw it or play it [do a play about it] or something, you can take out your feelings also. ...I think that the main way to deal with it is by reflecting. Always reflecting. Reflect and reflect and reflect (Interview 5/10/15).

Gil's advocacy of reflection was similar to Raidah's and Maor's efforts to encourage students to share concerns with them, but not the same. He wanted opportunities for reflection to be a much more consistent, embedded part of the curriculum than he felt they were in the year I observed. I cannot affirm or disconfirm his perception because of the limited time frame of my observations and the language barrier. However, during the time I was there, *structured* opportunities to reflect were not evident.

Naming feelings and types of responses. Raidah discussed a metacognitive strategy that she used the prior year to help her students name their emotions and specify how they were reacting or responding in classroom discussions. This strategy, which is based on the work of physician and psychologist Edward de Bono, involved students' selecting "hats" representing different type of responses (e.g., emotional, factual, critical) before speaking. All types of responses were valid. She felt this strategy helped students recognize their own reactions and compare them to how other individuals were responding and therefore, gave them some control over their feelings (Interview 5/3/15). She believed this strategy has been very helpful to her students, and Gil concurred with her assessment, arguing that it can help to support empathy.

Personalizing representations of the narratives. All three teachers argued that the narratives must be "personalized" [my term for this idea]. (Consistent with his tendency to talk

less about specific instructional practices, personalization of the narratives was discussed in the least detail by Maor). Personalization meant that the texts and instructional activities must explore the stories of individual people and their experiences. They argued that personalization of the narratives was necessary to create engagement with the material, promote relevance of the subject matter, and encourage and facilitate empathy for the Other, which is so emotionally difficult in this setting. For example, Raidah said,

I don't prefer to use texts that have political views. And I think that most of the texts that really have a very good effect on the students are the real, the authentic texts, that have narratives of people who witnessed the events and talked about their feelings and problems. For example, on Land Day, I brought a film that was directed by a Palestinian director. He went to each and every family of the martyrs. He met their parents. He did not bring in any politician to talk. Just interviews full of emotions and feelings. Which is for the first time in history of Palestine, these families are being interviewed by somebody who comes and asks them, "What had happened with you?" (Interview 5/3/15).

Gil echoed Raidah's argument for personalization when he said,

You have to make these narratives much more familiar to the children. If you talk about the political issues by phrases like Nakba, war, and things like that, it's not relevant for the children. You cannot understand or have empathy for a narrative while it is just facts in history. You have to make it a story and to make a story based on people. It's supposed to be something personal. What happened to someone there? What happened to the narrative? How it changed. Like a person. A narrative cannot be based on the political facts or the official facts. It's supposed to be based on stories that you are telling. It's

supposed to be something that makes it much more personal... If you want them to be tolerant to the other narrative, this narrative is supposed to be built on persons. Not on the whole Palestinians. We hate the Palestinians or we hate the Jews (Interview 5/10/15).

Gil's use of the "Roots" curriculum with 5th and 6th graders, and Raidah's investigation of the experiences of villagers and soldiers based on Ben-Ze'ev's research, both of which I described earlier, are additional specific examples of personalizing the narratives, in order to enable students to better connect with the events and concepts being studied. While the teachers' views regarding personalization are based on their own experience, they accord with psychological findings regarding the conditions necessary for empathy (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2010; Singer & Lamm, 2009). They are also consistent with rationales offered by advocates of disciplinary teaching practices for use of such practices (Fogo, 2014; NCSS, 2013).

Depersonalizing responsibility for the conflict. Based on their teaching experiences, Raidah, Gil, and Maor also argued that a potential danger of personalizing the narratives is that it can also lead to feelings of shame, guilt, embarrassment, and anger. Therefore, although none used the term "depersonalization," Raidah and Gil in particular also described strategies that they used to depersonalize responsibility for the conflict in discussions of the narratives. Such strategies included being explicit with students about how they are neither guilty nor responsible for the actions of their ancestors in the past, or even for members of their identity group in the present, how shame and guilt should be limited to one's own actions, and how responsibility is something one must assume if one has done something wrong or that one may choose to assume (especially if one is benefiting from past injustices) to rectify injustices. However, even assuming responsibility does not imply that one caused those injustices. For example, Gil said,

While you are dealing with narratives, you don't have to take the shame for what happened. Like for me, as a Jewish student in this school, I don't have to take the shame of what my father or my grandfather did in 1948. And for me the Palestinian, I'm not *shahid* here. I don't want to kill all of you. When you deal with narratives you don't have to put yourself in a way of shaming. You have to think about it. You have to say something about it. But you do not have to take the responsibility for it. You are not part of it. You are just grandson or granddaughter and that's very important (Interview 5/10/15).

Besides explicitly discussing guilt and responsibility, Raidah and Maor both described how they relied on texts to represent and depersonalize perspectives in discussions. For example, Raidah described an instance where she asked her students to explain how they would have felt, as Palestinians or Jews, when they first heard about the Balfour Declaration. Their first reactions were emotional:

Most of the Arab students whenever they read the Balfour Declaration, they were very much emotional. And even some of them were really very nervous and tense and expressed their views with indignation and rage and they would give sentences and phrases, citations, like "It doesn't make sense to come and take my room and say to me out. Who would say to me that this room is yours and we want to divide it into two halves?" (Interview 5/10/15).

Raidah went on to explain how during this class, the students spontaneously had used the dual-narrative textbook to form evidence-based, not just emotional, responses to the perspective-taking task. She explained,

So they give such examples that supported their views. Also, they supported their views using, through reading of texts that would display both narratives – Palestinian and Israeli narratives - regarding the Balfour Declaration ... They depended on the textbook, on statistics mentioned there and population rates (Interview 5/10/15).

In this way, Raidah argued that in addition to the dual-narrative textbook depersonalizing an intensely emotional discussion, it also helped prompt students' historical thinking.

In a different example, Maor explained how he also uses texts to depersonalize responsibility for the conflict in class discussions. Maor explained that when a discussion got heated, and before things reached a point where there was open conflict, he might ask his students to,

“Stop” and “Let’s go with the facts, let’s express the two narratives and see,” or highlight the facts that one narrative says. And then say, “Look what do you think is the right thing? Maybe this or this or maybe they are both right in a way and let’s see how we can integrate them.” So stop everything, go to the narratives, try to integrate them (Interview 4/28/15).

Similarly, he said that he also uses texts (including TV reports and news articles) to depersonalize counter arguments in the discussion he led on allowing Muslims or Arabs on the Jerusalem soccer team. He argued that the texts could represent anti-racist perspectives that the students would reject if they felt *he* was pushing these views on them (Interviews 4/26/16 and 4/28/15).

Naming teaching purposes. Finally, none of the three teachers offered naming teaching purposes as a strategy for dealing with the emotional challenges associated with learning and teaching dual-narratives. However, in the course of our interviews and my classroom

observations, I determined that being very explicit as a teacher when one's expectation is for students to listen quietly and respectfully and when it is to offer critique might potentially be a useful strategy for mitigating the emotional impact of the content. Explaining to students the purpose of both types of responses and reassuring them that they have plentiful opportunities for critique and self-expression might lead to better listening when this is called for. When I suggested this as a possibility to Maor, he concurred that it could be helpful. However, he suggested that this is challenging because teachers (including himself) are not always consciously aware of what kind of response they are seeking from students (Interview 5/3/15). His insight concerning self-awareness lends support to my contention that determining one's goal and expectations for a particular discussion activity and communicating those explicitly to students is a potentially strong strategy to reduce contention surrounding discussion of controversial, salient issues.

Ensuring that there are frequent structured opportunities throughout the curriculum for students to name and respectfully share their personal feelings through strategies such as the "hats" one described earlier complements naming of teaching purposes. For example, students may be more likely to accept teachers' requests that they listen quietly during the course of a presentation that they vehemently disagree with, such as the one given by the historian that I described previously, if they know there will be structured opportunities where they can express their objections following the presentation.

Socio-political Teaching Challenges

A third type of teaching challenges arose in my discussions with the teachers, administrators, and the PRIME project co-directors. I call these socio-political because they relate to dynamics of power and identity within the society and classroom. As I explained in the

first part of this chapter, teaching dual narratives side by side, with co-teachers from each background, and in both languages are primary strategies by which the school has chosen to address challenges related to political and social inequity and to affirm students' identities and encourage empathy. However, even with these steps, socio-political challenges persist. Because there are numerous such challenges that make this subsection long, I have addressed each challenge and strategies for mitigating it together, rather than consolidating all mitigating strategies at the end of this section.

Not replicating external power inequities in the classroom. Avoiding replication of gender, ethnic, or other forms of societal inequities within the classroom is a significant challenge. For example, women's and Palestinians' lower status in Israeli society could be duplicated in the classroom via the instructional roles played by each teacher. Gil was especially concerned about this possibility (Interview 5/10/15). Although Arabic was added, which eliminated a major manifestation of social and political inequity in the classroom, he argued that continued vigilance is required to ensure that distribution of instructional leadership tasks, division of teachers' and students' talk time, and use of both languages remain equitable. Vigilance might even require periodic observations by a third teacher to identify any such patterns since teachers may be unconscious of replicating such inequities. I did not notice obvious replications of external power inequities in Raidah and Maor's interactions or their interactions with students. However, limited observation time and the language barriers did not position me to effectively interpret these interactions.

Co-teaching difficulties. Co-teaching itself under these conditions posed significant challenges. As in any setting, co-teaching poses significant planning as well as coordination challenges. However, co-teaching in this setting posed special challenges which Gil referred to

as “maintaining one class” (Interview 5/10/15). For example, Gil said that sometimes he observed Raidah answering questions from Palestinian students while Maor simultaneously was answering different questions from Jewish students. He argued that this behavior risked dividing the class along linguistic and ethnic lines (Interview 5/10/15). I observed such competing exchanges on several occasions but also several exchanges where Raidah and Maor addressed the students together.

In addition, the teacher’s themselves are attached to the content, which Raidah said caused friction when trying to co-plan lessons on the conflict portion of the curriculum together. “Eventually we reach a point that I will be responsible for preparing the Palestinian part and Maor will do it on his own for the Israeli narrative (Interview 4/30/15).” As an outsider to the school and its dual-narrative, co-teaching approach, Maor had been concerned that he and Raidah might get into conflicts in front of the children because “most people do get really attached to their story (Interview 4/26/15).” He was grateful to find that that had not happened. Nonetheless, he maintained that it was entirely possible had they been less tolerant people. I observed a cooperative and respectful relationship between Raidah and Maor in the classroom. They shared instructional time and affirmed or extended one another’s comments. Presenting such a joint front, however, required extensive planning, negotiation prior to class outside of students’ sight, and most likely, self-restraint. It also appears to require careful attention to teacher pairings and provision of time for them to work together to create shared not parallel lessons. Both teachers must want to be involved in the difficult work and capable of tolerating alternative perspectives, as was true with these two teachers.

Affirming the narratives without reifying or essentializing them. A third and very significant type of socio-political challenge presented by the teachers’ and school’s dual-

narrative instructional approach is how to affirm the two narratives without “reifying” or “essentializing” them. By reification or essentialization, I mean assuming that every member of an identity group “identifies” with his or her respective identity group’s narrative. I also mean assuming that a narrative “belongs” exclusively to an identity group, whose members have a duty to defend it. Teaching actions can reinforce these reductive assumptions and thereby discourage historical thinking by students.

This was a significant concern raised by educational anthropologist, Zvi Bekerman who studied the Hand in Hand schools extensively in their first decade ((2009; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012). According to Bekerman, at the time he was observing in the classes (early 2000’s), the teaching of history in the elementary classes involved the Jewish teacher relaying the Jewish perspective on a historical event and then the Palestinian teacher relaying the Palestinian perspective on the same event, without any dialogue between the two teachers regarding the two representations. He criticized this practice as “dialogic monologue” (2009, p. 245). He argued that such a practice served to “essentialize” each narrative as belonging exclusively to one group, which, in turn, made challenging or critiquing the narratives difficult or, indeed, even disloyal.

My observations indicated to me that Raidah and Maor had avoided or moved beyond this stance in their co-teaching practice. For example, to prepare students for the classroom presentation by the historian that I described earlier, Raidah and Maor divided the 48 students among them. Each teacher asked his or her students to read two excerpts provided by the historian regarding recollections of the events of 1948, one from an Arab diplomat and the other from a Jewish soldier. Each teacher then tried to represent *both* perspectives to the students by

having them read and discuss both excerpts and by creating board notes summarizing each excerpt (Observation Notes 4/19/15).

In addition, as I described earlier the teachers told me they sometimes engage in role switching or what Raidah called “intended exchanges” to demonstrate that, as Raidah said, “...we can live with [ambiguity and contradiction]” (Interview 3/2/15). Raidah also described a second type of role switching they sometimes practice which involves asking students to switch *their* response roles. One such example was an assignment where she asked Palestinian students to respond as Jews to the announcement of the Balfour Declaration and Jewish students to respond as Palestinians, which was challenging for students (Interview 4/30/15).

Nevertheless, in spite of their efforts to affirm without essentializing or reifying the narratives, I observed how easily the narratives inadvertently can be “essentialized” in ways that undermine empathic and historical thinking learning goals. For example, in the class to prepare for the historian’s lecture that I described above, the teachers did not have time to translate the excerpts provided to them by the historian. The soldier’s excerpt was provided only in Hebrew and the diplomat’s only in Arabic. Unfortunately, this undermined their otherwise strong effort to deessentialize the narratives because since many of the Jewish students are not proficient in Arabic, they were implicitly excluded from both the opportunity and the responsibility to understand the Palestinian narrative. This was less the case with the Palestinian students who mostly know Hebrew well. However, they still were being told implicitly that this narrative is for Hebrew speakers (i.e., Jews) only (Observation Notes 4/19/15).

When teaching dual-narratives, it is easy to leave students with the false impression that the narratives that are taught fully represent the perspectives of any individual or group. This, of course, is not true. Gil, for example, said,

I want to say that there are many voices on the Israeli side and many voices on the Palestinian side. I mean there is no Zionism. There are many Zionisms, many kinds of Zionism. And there is not a Palestinian idea that.... There are many. And you have to know what is different between Hamas and Fatah today and you have to understand what it means before, what was different between Nashashibi and Husseini. They are two families. They didn't behave the same (Interview 5/1/15).

Like Gil and Maor, the PRIME project co-directors, Adwan and Naveh, the textbook developers were also quite concerned about the risk of treating narratives too gingerly by essentializing or reifying them, and in the process, denying the multiplicity of voices among both Jews and Palestinians. Both Adwan and Naveh argued that the narratives in their text probably represent the perspectives of less than half of the Jewish and Palestinian populations in Israel. For example, the Zionist narrative in their text reflects the narrative taught in secular Jewish schools and assessed on the Bagrut, but not the narratives of the Orthodox, ultra-Orthodox, or settler movements. And the Palestinian narrative reflects the secular, nationalist PLO narrative, not that of religious groups like Hamas or other political factions. Furthermore, as historical accounts, they argued that narratives are never static but continue to evolve as events and historical research evolve (Interviews 5/9/15 and 5/10/15).

Narratives are not true just because people believe them. This was the “trap” that Maor was concerned about falling into when just teaching narratives. Narratives, like any accounts, are constructed and must be open to challenge. Naveh, Adwan, and Gil also spoke at length about their concern that teachers, students, or observers not misconstrue that teaching two narratives implies a belief that there is no historical truth. Naveh said,

It's difficult to put this approach within the traditional epistemology of history education – that history is the truth and you strive to discover [it]... This approach, at least at certain point, can be disadvantage[ous] to people who look at...it could open the question, "What about the truth if you have two narratives?" Somehow you internalize this hidden assumption that that there is no historical truth and then they can blame me as being relativistic or post-modern. Which I am not. I think there is a historical truth. I am not able to reach it. I am supposed and I am obliged and I am condemned to get closer to it, knowing that I will never reach it. Therefore, I produce these narratives, which are plausible more than the others, and we are disputing these narratives according to this assumption (Interview 5/10/15).

Adwan, Naveh, Gil, and Maor all emphasized the importance of facts and critiquing the narratives, not accepting them at face value. Raidah, while not speaking to this point directly, implicitly concurred with the others through explanations she offered for her instructional choices, many of which involved use of disciplinary teaching practices to promote historical thinking, as I explained in the previous section.

Finally, all interviewees agreed that the dual-narrative textbook, while playing an important role in supporting critique, must itself be the subject of critique through use of other sources. For example, Adwan urged teachers using the text not to:

...Fall under the delusion of having only one set of [legitimate] texts. They should use it as basis and to move differently... They shouldn't feel comfortable using one resource. Of course it saves them time and energy. But to try to go beyond because there is no one ultimate truth in one resource. Truths exist everywhere (Interview 5/9/15).

None of the three teachers used the term “essentialization” or “reification” when explaining their rationales for engaging in “intended exchanges” as teachers or for having students “role switch.” Instead, they described such actions as signaling to students that they are expected to consider perspectives other than their own, that the narratives do not “belong” exclusively to their respective identity group, and that it is not traitorous to one’s identity group to acknowledge other perspectives.

Affirming each narrative as a manifestation of the historical perspectives animating each group – an essential step to reconciliation – has to be balanced with critique of the narratives – an essential step to historical understanding. Critique, in turn, requires not falling victim to false assumptions that a narrative “belongs” to any one identity group or that it represents the sum-total of any one identity group’s collective experience. Switching teaching and students’ response roles; incorporating multiple sources to teach the narratives, including dissenting voices within each identity group; and remaining vigilant of ways that as a teacher, one may be inadvertently “essentialize” or “reify” any perspective or identity are all important strategies for balancing and reconciling the potentially conflicting instructional goals of affirmation and critique of the narratives.

Affirming students’ identities without reifying or essentializing identity differences.

Just as it is important not to “essentialize” or reify the narratives while trying to affirm them, it is equally necessary not to reify or essentialize students’ identities. Affirmation of students’ group identities must be balanced with treatment each student as an individual. Each teacher discussed situations that made him or her conscious of the individuality of their students. For example, Maor reflected on how the experience of leading the difficult discussion about appropriate attire

caused him to see how diverse students' views were and not to assume anything about a particular student's perspective based on his or her identity background. He said,

That [discussion] showed me that it's a multi voices school. And it made me to be more careful about, first of all, about voicing an opinion and thinking that there's only one opinion or two opinions. There's an array of narratives and opinions. And you're going to have to respect it or at least be aware of it. And not automatically think that the Arabs are thinking this way and the Jews are thinking that way. And also within the Jews, there is very extreme leftist Jews and also normal leftist Zionist voices that you can hear or even righter than that (Interview 4/28/15).

While each teacher seemed aware of the danger of essentializing students' identities, it was nevertheless an ongoing challenge to balance affirmation of students' group identities, which is an important school goal given the importance of group identity in Israeli society, with treatment of each student as an individual.

Need for equity in all forms of representation of the narratives. A fourth type of socio-political challenge was apparent to me, though no teacher or administrator raised it as an issue in our conversations. Support for this finding accumulated gradually over several occasions when I observed contentious interactions where people appeared to be vigilantly on guard for bias. They appeared to be looking for manifestations of equivalence such as length of textual descriptions, manner of presentations, language(s) used in oral presentations, etc. The first such occasion occurred during my first classroom observation when the Jewish historian presented to the classes about the events of 1948. As I discussed earlier, this event sparked angry private reactions from Raidah and Inas Deeb, the Education Director, as well as angry reactions during his talk from many Palestinian students. In addition, a few days later, at a presentation by two

fathers, one Palestinian and one Jewish, who were invited to speak to the 6th through 9th grade class about their personal experiences with the events of 1948 and 1967, many students' behaviors during the presentation (e.g., talking while the speaker was talking, having angry facing expressions, grumbling irritably under their breath) were only slightly more respectful than they had been during the historian's presentation (Observation Notes 4/20/15). Both Jewish and Palestinian students engaged in such behaviors, although the behaviors seemed more vocal and intrusive toward the Jewish father's account.

There could be many potential explanations for the rancor I observed, including pure boredom. The language barriers precluded my attribution of students' reactions to any particular factor. However, I noted at the time that the Palestinian father spoke to the students both in Hebrew and Arabic, while the Jewish father spoke only Hebrew. Meanwhile, the Jewish father showed a family video that was set to music as part of his talk. The effect of the video was to make the Jewish father's presentation seem more polished and intended to sway emotions. The Palestinian father did not have any such visuals to support his talk. I had an initial hunch, based upon these observations that the students might have been reacting in part to a perception of imbalance in external manifestations of the content of the narratives. The different manners of presentation appeared to lend differential "weight" or "status" to each talk. In addition, each speaker's language proficiencies appeared to be contributing to a perception of unequal access to what was being said by each speaker (e.g., the Palestinian students could access the entirety of the Jewish speaker's presentation but not vice versa) as well as resentment by Palestinian students of the expectation that the Palestinian speaker would translate for the Jewish students but not vice versa.

These hunches were strengthened after I was privy to a third interaction involving the narratives, this time in English. A few weeks after my observations of the classroom presentations, I overheard a discussion by American and Israeli group leaders of an 8th grade tour group from a New York City Jewish school who were visiting the school while I was there. Raidah and another Jewish teacher (not Maor) had prepared a handout for a class activity. Using the handout, they had the Max Rayne and American 8th graders work in groups to discuss the opposing narratives. Raidah wrote the Palestinian narrative, the Jewish teacher wrote the Jewish narrative, and they translated both into English as well as Hebrew and Arabic. The class activity appeared to go smoothly. However, several of the American and Israeli adults waiting in the hallway outside the classroom objected to the handout, arguing that they felt the Jewish narrative was slighted (Observation Notes 4/27/15). They specifically noted the difference in length of the descriptions of each narrative on the handout. The Jewish narrative contained two paragraphs and 163 words while the Palestinian narrative contained four paragraphs and 289 words.

My hunch regarding the importance of external manifestations of equity was further solidified in my mind when I compared adults' and students' contentious reactions in each of the three above examples to what I observed during the separate and then joint commemorative ceremonies held on Yom HaZikaron Day. In addition to the teachers and administrators, Palestinian and Jewish students, as well as some parents, had been active participants in the planning and implementation of the separate and joint ceremonies. In each presentation, students sang, read poems, played music, etc., in addition to listening to adult presenters. During these observances, I observed no evidence of overt hostility from either group toward the other (Observation Notes 4/22/15). In fact, during the sounding of the siren, an integral part of all Yom HaZikaron ceremonies in Israel, the Palestinian students halted their Al Nakba presentations and

sat in silence. A Palestinian high school student later told me that they had done this “out of respect.” And during the combined ceremony that concluded the day, there were presentations by teachers and students from both backgrounds. Translations of all songs sung, poems read, or statements made were posted on an overhead screen for all to see. Students listened while their classmates and adult presenters from different backgrounds performed and spoke.

These many observations suggest to me that surface manifestations of “equality” such as these do seem to matter. Bekerman came to a similar conclusion when examining preparations for joint religious holiday and National Days commemorative ceremonies a number of years ago. He said, “Every detail of an activity, every word in a text, has the potential of becoming an obstacle to ultimate reconciliation (Bekerman, 2002a).”

Other Challenges

Finally, my interviews and observations illuminated several other challenges that did not fall into any of the above categories, yet were important nonetheless.

Need for goal agreement among teachers and emotional support. In the course of our interviews, no teacher or administrator mentioned the importance of teachers’ agreeing with the goals of the school and with its dual-narrative approach to curriculum specifically. Furthermore, no one specifically mentioned the emotional cost of such work for teachers and their need for support. Most likely, these factors were considered obvious by both teachers and administrators. Nevertheless, I believe it is important to be explicit about these challenges. Teaching opposing historical narratives in a setting of conflict is extremely taxing emotionally for teachers as well as students, since their identities are also connected to the narratives (i.e., collective memories) of their identity groups. If teachers are to engage cooperatively in co-teaching and “intended

exchanges,” and to listen openly to alternative perspectives presented by their students, they must want to do this work.

I witnessed the necessity of buy-in firsthand while interacting informally with one Jewish teacher at Max Rayne (Observation notes 5/3/15). She expressed discomfort with the casual teacher-student forms of interaction at the school. She also expressed what I considered resentful and biased attitudes towards her Palestinian colleagues and students through her comments to me about their behaviors toward her. Her students, in turn, appeared not to respect her, based upon their behaviors toward her in class. The school has some, but not full, control over its staffing because of its status as a public school that receives funding from the Ministry of Education. Therefore, ensuring and maintaining teacher buy-in to the school’s approach is always a challenge.

Likely to be just as important as teachers’ buy-in are time and support to process the difficult emotional journey involved in considering the perspectives of the Other. As has been documented in other work (e.g., Adwan et al., 2012; Tibbitts, 2006), even when teachers choose to be involved in teaching multi-perspective history in a conflict situation, because of the connection between *their* own identities and the historical narratives, they likely will often experience strong emotions (e.g., a feeling of loss, mourning) when moving to a dual-narrative approach. They likely also will need ongoing support to problem-solve challenges that inevitably will arise when engaging in this approach, such as the many I have described here.

Need for administrative and parental support. The approach taken by the 9th grade teachers challenges the educational norms, and political, social, and cultural realities of this school’s geographic and historical setting. Without the support of school administrators, and without parents’ commitment at least at a basic level to the school’s empathic, identity, and

critical thinking goals, the teachers would not be able to engage in the work they are doing. However, I do not mean to suggest that every administrator or parent understands or supports these goals in the same way or to the same degree. As I explained in the Methods chapter, since the first Hand in Hand school opened, parents have varied in their reasons for sending their children to the network's schools. Furthermore, they continue to vary in their perceptions of the appropriateness of the curriculum. One example was the concerned reactions of many Jewish parents regarding the pilot year implementation of the dual-narrative curriculum in 2013-2014 that I discussed earlier in this chapter. Indeed, in a number of interviews with Max Rayne high school students themselves that are posted on the Hand in Hand website, the students report their parents wanting to withdraw them from the school for a variety of reasons, while the students say they have argued to remain at the school, again for a variety of reasons. Without this commitment to the fundamental philosophy of the school, which teachers and administrators continue to work hard to cultivate among all constituents, the many challenges of teaching empathy, identity, and historical thinking via a dual-narrative approach to history instruction likely would be insurmountable.

Summary

The teaching findings discussed in this chapter relate to two research questions: 1) How do the 9th grade history teachers at the Max Rayne School reconcile classroom instructional goals that often are viewed as contradictory – namely promotion of empathy and identity, and development of students' critical thinking skills? And 2) What do the 9th grade teachers at Max Rayne School perceive as the challenges and opportunities for teaching and learning empathy via the dual-narrative approach to national history instruction that they have adopted? I explained first how each teacher somewhat uniquely interprets each instructional goal, based upon his or

her personal experiences and background, while sharing an overarching commitment to all three goals. Their unique interpretations of the instructional goals explain some of the nuances I noticed in how each teacher approached the problem of reconciliation. The first major finding is that through experimentation, the teachers have developed a four component approach to reconciliation of the school's goals. These components are: 1) a dual-narrative curriculum, augmented by a dual-narrative textbook of the conflict; 2) co-teachers from both identity backgrounds; 3) instructional use of the languages of both predominant identity groups, Arabic and Hebrew, and 4) use of disciplinary teaching practices to facilitate critique of the narratives. The first three components (i.e., a dual-narrative approach to the content of the curriculum, co-teaching with teachers from both primary identity background, and instructional use of both languages) contribute to equitable promotion of the identities of Jewish and Palestinian students, while simultaneously encouraging empathic understanding of the historical experiences of the Other. Use of disciplinary teaching practices complements these three components by discouraging essentialization and reification of the narratives and of students' identities that would inhibit historical thinking goal. The four components appear to be working together to enable reconciliation of the teachers' and school's empathic, identity, and critical thinking instructional goals.

A second major teaching finding is that even with use of such practices, essentialization and reification are ever-present teaching challenges. These challenges, along with many other logistical, emotional, and socio-political ones, have required the teachers to take many actions to achieve their goals beyond implementation of the four major components. Based upon my understanding of the literature and my own teaching experience, I anticipated certain challenges such as the need to avoid essentialization of the narratives and the difficulty of engaging

students' in emotionally challenging content while avoiding evoking defensiveness and anger, which were confirmed by my interviews (although I had not anticipated all of the ways they described addressing these challenges). For me, the most surprising of my teaching findings was the need to simultaneously personalize representation of the narratives while depersonalizing responsibility for the conflict. This delicate balancing act appears very important to the success of the teachers' efforts to reconcile their instructional goals.

For the most part, findings were based on interview data, supplemented by observational data when possible. However, some findings relied exclusively on my observations and extrapolations. This was the case in relation to findings related to the need for balance and equity in all external forms of representation of the narratives, for teacher buy-in and support, and for administrator support of teachers and parental support of the school's broad mission. Having investigated the 9th grade teachers' thought processes and actions related to teaching a dual-narrative curriculum to accomplish identity, empathy, and historical thinking goals, I turn in the next chapter to the 9th grade students' outcomes in these three areas.

Table IV.1. Summary of teaching and learning challenges of a dual-narrative instructional approach and strategies for mitigating them. (Bold identifies the four primary instructional components.)

Challenge	Strategies for Mitigating the Challenge(s)
Logistical teaching challenges	
➤ Instructional time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revisions to schedule, rethinking when/where to start curriculum, creating multi-year curriculum
➤ Lack of prepared curriculum materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoption of dual-narrative textbook
➤ Shortage of Palestinian historians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuing efforts to locate such individuals
➤ Incongruity with national assessments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating multi-year curriculum, negotiating with MOE for a unique Bagrut (national history assessment)
Emotional teaching and learning challenges	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Charged emotional nature of subject matter ➤ Self-suppression of identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-teaching • Using both languages in the classroom • Switching teaching roles – “Intended Exchanges” • Providing students multiple opportunities to have their voices heard • Naming feelings and types of responses • Personalizing representations of the narratives • Depersonalizing responsibility for the conflict • Naming teaching purposes
➤ Developmental appropriateness of empathic expectations	
Socio-political teaching challenges	
➤ Not replicating external power inequities in the classroom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teaching the two narratives side by side • Co-teaching • Using both languages in the classroom • Attention to equity in instructional roles, talk time, etc.
➤ Co-teaching difficulties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extensive planning and negotiation prior to class • Self-restraint • Careful selection of teaching pairs
➤ Affirming the narratives without reifying or essentializing them	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Switching teaching roles – “Intended Exchanges” • Switching students’ response roles • Attention to equal accessibility of both narratives to all students • Using disciplinary teaching practices to interrogate and critique the narratives • Incorporating sources other than the textbook
➤ Affirming students’ identities without reifying or essentializing identity differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Switching teaching roles – “Intended Exchanges” • Switching students’ response roles • Co-teaching • Equal attention to all students, treating each as an individual, not speaking to only one group (3rd teacher to provide feedback)
➤ Need for equity in all forms of representation of the narratives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attention to surface as well as substantive manifestations of equal treatment of the narratives
Other challenges	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Need for goal agreement among teachers and emotional support ➤ Need for administrative and parental support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time and support for teachers to process their own emotions when moving to a dual-narrative approach, and going support to problem-solve the challenges that arise when engaging in this approach (see above) • Shared agreement on goals among administrators, parents, and teachers

CHAPTER V

Student Learning Findings

In the previous chapter, I described strategies and challenges faced by the 9th grade teachers as they work to reconcile and accomplish their empathic, identity, and critical thinking instructional goals within the fraught political environment in which their school is situated. In this chapter, I report findings concerning students' thinking in relation to their teachers' and school's instructional goals. Once again, my findings contradict expectations derived from the literature. I found that many students *were* able and willing to think empathically, even in this difficult political environment and regarding issues that were highly salient to many of them. I also found that students varied in their self-defined identities and in the degree to which they identified with identities ascribed to them. Finally, I found that strong identity affiliation did *not* preclude demonstration of strong empathic skill and disposition, at least among these students at this time on these tasks. I discuss each of these findings in detail in this chapter. In the first section, I discuss findings from Tasks 1, 2, 4, and 5 that indicate how the 22 students in my sample identified themselves, and how their self-identifications compared to the identity(ies) ascribed to them. In the second section, I discuss findings from Tasks 1, 2, 4, related to students' cognitive and affective empathic skills and dispositions. In the third section, I present findings related to possible relationships between students' identity affiliations and their empathic skills

and dispositions. And in the fourth and final section of this chapter, I discuss findings from Task 3 concerning students' historical empathy, historical knowledge, and historical literacy skills.⁵³

Identity Findings

Students' Self-Described Identities Compared to the Identities Ascribed to Them

Although the teachers, administrators, parents, and staff of the school distinguish students as “Arabs” or “Jews,” I wanted to know how the students would describe themselves and whether their self-described identities would affirm or contradict the identities ascribed to them by adults in the school and broader society. Therefore, as I explained in the Methods chapter, I asked Raidah, who knew each student well because of her tenure at the school, to briefly describe each student's identity background.⁵⁴ In addition to gender, Raidah described each student as Arab Muslim, Arab Christian, Jewish (by which she meant Israeli-born Jews only), or by some other designation.⁵⁵ Nine of the 48 9th graders (19%) fell into this latter category. Of these nine, she described five as “mixed” (half Jewish/half Arab), one as Druze, one as Ethiopian Christian, one as Ethiopian Jewish, and one as Russian Jewish.⁵⁶ (In previous years, there have also been a number of Armenian Christian students in the school.)

In Task 5, I asked each student to complete a survey of short background questions (e.g., where were you born?). The survey concluded with the request that they describe their identity in three to five words. I expected variability in students' responses given that they are teenagers and therefore, engaged in the developmental task of defining unique identities. However, their responses ranged more widely than I had anticipated given the salience of ethnic and religious

⁵³ See Table III.2 in the Methods chapter for a summary of the key features of each task.

⁵⁴ Although Raidah provided the identity designations, in no case during my observations or interviews did her designations deviate from how Maor, Gil, the Education Director, or the principal referred to these same students.

⁵⁵ As I explained in the Methods chapter (footnote 25), I chose not to distinguish between Christian and Muslim Palestinians for analytical purposes unless specifically indicated.

⁵⁶ Four of these nine students ended up in my sample. Also as I explained in the Methods chapter (footnote 27), I refer to the ascribed identities of these four students as “from a different background” to indicate that they did not fall neatly into either the Palestinian or Israeli Jewish identity groups, according to Raidah.

identities in Israeli society. Below are several examples of students' responses to the prompt "How would you describe your identity?" that illustrate the range of nuanced and unique ways in which students' described their identities:

Arab Nazarene Palestinian. I like singing and basketball. A calm [person]. I don't like lying. I respect others and different opinions.

I am a 15 ½ year old girl. Ethiopian. I like to draw and read books.

Israeli, woman, Jewish (in terms of culture)

I am a Muslim Arab girl [who] lives in a state (Palestine) occupied by Jews

Human being (gamer) [latter word written in English]

The table below summarizes how each of the 22 students in my sample defined him or herself in Task 5 compared to the identity group(s) ascribed to him/her by Raidah. I have included Raidah's unedited descriptors and students' unedited self-descriptions of their identities to illustrate the range of their responses. All student names are pseudonyms. In order to protect students' privacy, I did not specify the ascribed identity backgrounds of the four students in the sample whom Raidah had described using specific designations such as Druze. I did this because there were so few students of each such background and therefore, they were easily identifiable. The table below underscores my assertion that students' identified in more unique ways than the identity characteristics ascribed to them by Raidah.

Table V.1. Students' self-described identities compared to identity features ascribed to them

Pseudonym	Identity ascribed to him/her by Raidah	Gender	Student's self-described identity
Miriam	Arab Muslim	Female	I am an Arab and proud (Palestinian), 9 th grade, live with my parents, and I was born in (2000)
Omar	Arab Muslim	Male	Muslim, Arab, Palestinian
Bara	Arab Muslim	Male	No response
Darius	Arab Muslim	Male	Human being (gamer) [latter word written in English]
Munira	Arab Muslim	Female	Arab Nazarene Palestinian. I like singing and basketball. A calm [person]. I don't like lying. I respect others and different opinions.
Rawia	Arab Muslim	Female	I am a Palestinian Arab who lives in Israel and holds an Israeli ID. I am Muslim and was born in Jerusalem but I am from Kufr Qara.
Sumaya	Arab Muslim	Female	I am an Arab Muslim Palestinian girl [who] lives in Israel and holds an Israeli ID.
Asma	Arab Muslim	Female	Human being, female
Rana	Arab Muslim	Female	I am a Muslim Arab girl that lives in a state (Palestine) occupied by Jews.
Sundus	Arab Muslim	Female	Palestinian, Arab, Muslim, Safafiya [someone from Beit Safafa]. I love peace.
Yasin	Arab Christian	Male	Arab
Isa	Arab Christian	Male	Arab Palestinian that lives in Israel
Mariel	Jewish	Female	Israeli, woman, Jewish (in terms of culture)
Mira	Jewish	Female	Israeli Jew
Irit	Jewish	Female	[Student named self] – me!!!, human being, woman
Chanah	Jewish	Female	Israeli Jew
Yaffa	Jewish	Female	Israeli, Jewish, atheist
Shimon	Jewish	Male	Handsome
Hania	From a different background	Female	No response
Tamar	From a different background	Female	I am a 15 ½ year old girl. Ethiopian. I like to draw and read books.
Oz	From a different background	Male	My identity is half Jewish and half Arab Muslim. My father is Muslim, my mother is Jewish, most of my family are Palestinians that live in Israel (the Territories).
Jamila	From a different background	Female	I am a Muslim who speaks both Arabic and Hebrew. My identity is not connected or tied to the place where I was born. For me the land is just land, regardless of the name: <i>I am a citizen of earth</i> [latter written in English]. That's why the above questions [about where she was born, where her parents were born, etc.] don't change anything for me.

Students Ranged in the Degree to Which Their Self-Described Identities Coincided With Identity Characteristics Ascribed to Them

From the table above, it is evident that 16 of the 22 students (73%) in the sample used either ethnic or religious terms to describe themselves as Raidah had. However, when examined more closely, only five of the 10 students whom Raidah had described as Arab Muslims described themselves as both Arab and/or Palestinian and Muslim. Both of the two students Raidah described as Arab Christians described themselves as Arabs or Palestinians, but neither described himself as Christian. Four of the six students that Raidah described as Jewish (meaning Israeli-born Jews only) described themselves as both Israelis and Jews. However, two of these four qualified their “Jewishness” as a cultural identity, rather than a religious one. Of the four students in my sample that Raidah described as being from a different background, one did not answer the identity question, one answered in terms of nationality only (Ethiopian), one in terms of religion only (Muslim), and one in terms of religion and nationality (“half Jewish and half Arab Muslim”). Interestingly, no student identified himself as a boy, yet 6 of the 15 female students (40%) identified themselves as women or girls.

The responses of the remaining six students in the sample (27%) did not coincide with either the ethnic or religious components of Raidah’s descriptions of them. Three of these six students (14% of the sample) wrote “human being” which appeared to be a way of completely rejecting ethnic and religious identity descriptors. Of these three, one, a boy, described himself also as a “gamer” while the other two said they were human beings and a woman or girl. Two of the six students (9% of the sample) provided no response to the request that they describe their identity, which I interpreted as a rejection of the self-identification task, given that they had completed the other portions of the survey. And one student wrote “handsome.” I interpreted his

response as a sarcastic one, however, rather than a rejection of self-definition in ethnic or religious terms, because elsewhere he indicated strong identity affiliation as an Israeli Jew. In all, approximately one quarter of the 22 students in the sample described themselves in neither religious nor ethnic terms as Raidah had.

The response of one of the 16 students whose self-identification overlapped with characteristics ascribed to her by Raidah, a girl whom Raidah had described as from a different background, stood out to me from all of the others for its simultaneous embrace of ethnic and/or religious identity and rejection of assumptions and stereotypes based upon either. She wrote,

I am a Muslim who speaks both Arabic and Hebrew. My identity is not connected or tied to the place where I was born. For me the land is just land, regardless of the name: *I am a citizen of earth* [latter written in English, italics added]. That's why the above questions don't change anything for me.

In sum, the self-identifications of three-quarters of the students in the sample (16 of the 22 students or 73%) overlapped with those ascribed to them by Raidah. These students described themselves in ethnic and/or religious ways that coincided with how Raidah had described them. Their self-descriptions were generally more nuanced and specific than her descriptions had been, frequently including details other than religion and ethnicity that the student thought defined him or herself. Nevertheless, their self-identities did not directly contradict Raidah's ascriptions of either their ethnic and/or religious identity. However, the self-descriptions of 27% of the students in the sample (six students) did not overlap at all with ethnic or religious components of Raidah's descriptions of them.

Definition of students' identities I used to analyze possible relationships between students' identity and empathic responses. I did not ignore students' self-identifications. I

included this information in tables and narrative descriptions of individual student's responses wherever I described findings regarding relationships between students' ascribed and self-defined identities as I have here. In addition, when I transformed students' identity responses for secondary quantitative analysis (which I describe in the next section), I accounted for degree of relationship between student's self-defined identity and ascribed identity in each student's *individual* identity affiliation score. For example, the rubric included points for referencing religious and/or national identity in the Survey as well as for use of affiliative language (e.g., personal pronoun use) in reference to historical events.

However, I chose to use Raidah's ascribed identities when examining identity *group* differences in empathic responses. I did this for several theoretical and practical reasons. First, within the school and broader Israeli and Palestinian society, a person's religious and ethnic group origins are assumed to be highly salient to that person's values and sense of self and therefore, important to affirm. Those origins are also assumed to be highly predictive of that person's political and ideological beliefs. Because students are seen by others in these narrower categorical ways, I thought it was important to examine whether those identifications were predictive of their empathic responses. Second, because each student's response to the final survey question was unique, it would be difficult to conduct group comparisons using these responses. Finally, using ascribed identities to conduct group comparisons seemed reasonable because, as I have indicated, for 73% of the students, features of their self-identifications overlapped with the ethnic and/or religious identity features ascribed to him or her. Therefore, for both theoretical and practical reasons, findings involving identity that I describe in the remainder of this chapter are based on students' *ascribed* identities rather than their *self-defined* ones.

Students Ranged in Degree of Affiliation with the Identity Group(s) Ascribed to Them

In addition to the variability in their self-described identities that I have just described, the degree of each student's affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to him or her varied considerably as well. Some students' responses to Part A of Tasks 1, 2, and 4 (the parts of these tasks where they were asked to provide their perspectives), as well as the Survey (Task 5), indicated strong self-identification as Jews or Palestinians.⁵⁷

Pronoun use was one way in which differences in degree of affiliation with ascribed identity were evident. For example, some students used personal pronouns in their Part A responses such as Miriam, a Palestinian, who wrote,

Al Nakba Day is *my* [emphasis added] ancestor's day; they were expelled from their homes; this is sad for sure; but, nothing happened to me; nonetheless, it is *my* [emphasis added] homeland. This ...day is depressing and sad.

Similarly, a student Raidah described as Jewish, Mira, wrote, [Yom HaZikaron] is "a sad day that marks the sacrifices of people *exactly like me* [emphasis added] for *my* [emphasis added] security and for the security of the state." Through their use of the first person in their responses, both Miriam and Mira positioned themselves as feeling connected to the events they described. They appeared to see themselves as having a stake in the outcome of those events and as participating, even if indirectly, in those events.

Miriam and Mira's responses can be contrasted to those of other students who used third person language as evident in these two examples. Mariel, a Jewish student, wrote, "[Yom HaZikaron is] the day in which to remember the people who died in wars and got injured from terrorist acts." And Bara, a Palestinian student, wrote that Al-Aqsa Mosque, "...represents the Muslims (Arabs) in Jerusalem. And there were several conflicts about it." In these examples,

⁵⁷ See Appendix H for a spreadsheet of students' unabridged responses to all five tasks.

each student placed him or herself at a bit of distance from the events, including those that are central to his or her ascribed identity group's narrative. It would be impossible to know just from these responses, the identity backgrounds of either student since their responses are given in neutral, descriptive, third person language.

In addition to pronoun use and explicit reference to religion or ethnicity, several students demonstrated strong affiliation with their ascribed identity group(s) by including highly contested recent events as most important in "the history of the land" in Task 1 (the free write). They described these events in very personal terms as evident in the following examples.

The checkpoint. I picked that because this young man was martyred at the check point and he was little. He was 16 years old. The Jewish army pointed (their guns) at him and he was innocent. He was with his friends. (Palestinian student, Miriam)

Burning the body of Muhammad Abu-Khader [Palestinian American killed by Jewish extremists in summer 2014]. I feel the Jews are taking revenge on the Arabs the same way Hitler was killing them, burning, checkpoints, torture... (Palestinian student, Rana)

The expulsion from Gush Katif [a block of 17 Jewish settlements in Gaza that were forcibly vacated by the Israeli army in 2005]. Because in my opinion, this was a mistake which should be recognized as such. (Jewish student, Shimon)

In each of these examples, the student referenced a highly controversial recent historical event of significance only to one identity group or the other.

In order to more precisely compare each students' degree of affiliation with the identity group ascribed to him or her, I created a rubric to score students' written responses to Task 1, 2, 4, and 5 according to degree of affiliation with ascribed identity group(s) evident in their

responses.⁵⁸ Rubric criteria were: 1) use of impersonal or personal language in their responses to Tasks 1, 2, or 4; 2) inclusion of language related to religious or national identity in the self-identification question in Task 5; 3) and inclusion of a recent event that is highly salient only to one identity group in Task 1. The table below summarizes the results of that analysis. Possible total identity scores ranged from 0-6 across the six criteria. Each of the six criteria was scored on a 0/1 scale. I considered identity affiliation scores of 0-1 low, 2-3 medium, and 4-6 high.

⁵⁸ Scoring rubrics may be found in Appendix I.

Table V.2. Students’ degree of affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to them, as reflected in their responses to Tasks 1, 2, 4, and 5

Student name	Total identity score
Palestinian †	
Miriam	4*
Omar	2
Bara	3
Darius	0
Munira	3
Rawia	5*
Sumaya	3
Asma	0
Rana	3
Sundus	6*
Yasin	2
Isa	2
(Israeli born) Jewish	
Mariel	2
Mira	3
Irit	0
Chanah	2
Yaffa	4*
Shimon	2
“A different background”	
Hania	1
Tamar	2
Oz	2
Jamila	1

* = high degree of affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to him/her as demonstrated on Tasks 1, 2, 4, and 5

† = includes both Muslim and Christian Palestinian students

As is evident in this table, three of the 10 (30%) students described as Arab Muslims demonstrated strong affiliation as Palestinian (Arab) Muslims across the four empathic and identity tasks. One of six students (17%) that she described as Israeli Jewish also demonstrated strong affiliation with this ascribed identity on these tasks. However, two of 10 students she described as Arab Muslims (20%) demonstrated weak affiliation with their ascribed identity, as did one of six (17%) she described as Israeli Jewish. All four students she described as from “a different background” demonstrated weak affiliation with the identity group(s) she ascribed to them. Thus, just as students’ varied considerably in their self-definitions, at least on

these tasks, they also varied in the degree to which they demonstrated affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to them.

Empathic Findings

As I discussed in the Literature Review and Methods chapters, empathy has two components – cognitive and affective – each of which, in turn, involves both skill and dispositional elements, which are considered to be related but not identical (e.g., Decety & Moriguchi, 2007). Therefore, I analyzed cognitive and affective aspects of students’ responses to my three empathy tasks separately. In this study, cognitive empathy referred specifically to ability and willingness to infer *views* regarding the likely significance to the Other of particular historical events, persons, and concepts, while affective empathy in this context referred to skill and willingness to infer *feelings* likely to be associated with those historical event, persons, and concepts by the Other. In addition, the psychological literature (e.g., Gehlbach et al., 2012) has demonstrated that cognitive and affective empathy involves both skills and dispositions. I assessed empathic skill through a methodology I discuss below. Empathic disposition was more difficult to assess. I used degree of responsiveness to the task as assigned as an indicator of a student’s willingness to engage in empathic thinking, at least in these instances.

I used three self-designed tasks to assess students’ cognitive and affective empathic thinking. Part A of Tasks 1 and 2 asked students to provide their own perspectives on the most significant events, persons, etc. in the “history of the land,” first in a free write format (Task 1) and then through selections from a chart of options (Task 2). Part B of each task asked students to answer these same questions from the perspective of “another student in your class from a different background.” Part A of Task 4 asked students to provide their perspectives on the meanings of commemorative events central to each narrative (i.e., Yom HaZikaron for the

Zionist narrative and Al Nakba Day for the Palestinian narrative). Part B of Task 4 repeated the pattern of Tasks 1 and 2 by asking students to consider the meanings of these events from the perspective of “another student in your class from a different background.”

When analyzing students’ responses to each of these three empathic tasks, I looked first for evidence of cognitive empathy and then analyzed responses a second time for evidence of affective empathy. My analysis concentrated on students’ responses to Part B – the “perspective-giving” part – of each of these three tasks. By looking at students’ responses across the three tasks, I was able to triangulate my assessments of students’ cognitive and affective empathic skills and dispositions.

Table V.3. Empathic and historical thinking skills and/or dispositions assessed by Tasks 1, 2, and 4

	Perspective-giving	Perspective-taking	Historical Significance
Task 1	X (part A)	X (part B)	X
Task 2	X (part A)	X (part B)	X
Task 4	X (part A)	X (part B)	

Explanation of Analytic Method for Assessing Empathic Skill

The first part of each of these three tasks – the “perspective-giving” part – had two purposes. First, it was designed to “prime” students for the more cognitively and emotionally difficult task of considering the perspective of the Other. Second, it was intended to gather the information necessary for me to determine the “likely” responses of members of each identity group regarding each respective question. Gathering such information was necessary because, as I described in the Methods chapter, I defined empathic skill in terms of degree of correspondence between a student’s inferences regarding the “likely” perspectives of the Other and the actual

perspectives of the Other. This technique for operationalizing empathic skill was borrowed from Bruneau & Saxe's work (2012).

I demonstrate this analytic methodology using the two tables below. Table V.4 below displays tallies of the number of times an event, person, or concept was included in the free write lists of the 22 students who responded to Part A of Task 1, by ascribed identity group. (In these two tables, I kept separate the responses of the two Palestinian Christian students in the sample to demonstrate their overlap with the responses of students Raidah described as Palestinian Muslims. This overlap was typical and demonstrates why, therefore, I chose not distinguish the two groups of Palestinians when comparing empathic outcomes by identity group.)

Table V.4. Students' selections of most important events and people in the history of the land from *their own perspectives* (Task 1, Part A). Numbers refer to the number of times each event was chosen by students from that identity group. Percentages refer to the proportion of the students from that identity group who listed that item.

Israeli Jewish (n = 6)	Palestinian Muslim (n = 10)	Palestinian Christian (n = 2)	A different background (n = 4)
<u>3 (50%)</u> 1948 War David Ben Gurion 1967 War	<u>6 (60%)</u> 1948 War Al-Nakba	<u>1 (50%)</u> 1948 War Israeli Independence Day 1967 War	<u>2 (50%)</u> 1948 War Yitzhak Rabin
<u>2 (33%)</u> 1917 Balfour Declaration Holocaust Hertzal Israeli Independence Day Yitzhak Rabin Creation of the state (of Israel)	<u>4 (40%)</u> Yasser Arafat	Oslo Accords 1976 War Second Intifada (building of the Wall)	<u>1 (25%)</u> Al-Nakba Creation of the state (of Israel) Israeli Independence Day First Intifada Second Intifada Yom HaZikaron David Ben Gurion Holocaust Memorial Day First Lebanon War (1982) Sinai War
<u>1 (17%)</u> World War I First Intifada Second Intifada Yom HaZikaron Expulsion from Gush Qatif	<u>3 (30%)</u> 1967 War First Intifada Second Intifada		
	<u>2 (20%)</u> Creation of the state (of Israel) (Israeli) Occupation Al Aqsa Oslo Accords		
	<u>1 (10%)</u> World War I Holocaust World War II Confrontations (with soldiers) in the Arab sector Death of boy at the checkpoint British settlement/colonization Israeli Independence Day Land Day Al-Buraq Revolution (1929) Yitzhak Rabin War on Gaza (2014) Burning of body of Mohammed al-Khader		

By focusing on the first, greyed column in this table, it is evident that the 1948 War, David Ben Gurion, the 1967 War, the Holocaust, the 1917 Balfour Declaration, Theodor Hertzl, Israeli Independence Day/the creation of the Israeli state, and Yitzhak Rabin were the most frequently included events/ persons by the six Israeli Jewish students in my sample. Each of those eight events or persons was chosen by at least two (33%) of the six students. The selections of the six Israeli Jewish students in the sample can then be compared to the inferences of the eight Palestinian students in Part B who provided “likely” selections of their Israeli Jewish classmates.⁵⁹ To demonstrate this comparison, Table V.5 below contains tallies of the responses of the 20 students who provided responses to Part B of Task 1, which asked them to list the events, people, or concepts that would likely be provided by “another student in your class from a different background.” To be consistent with the previous table, I again organized students’ responses according to the identity groups ascribed to them by Raidah.

⁵⁹ Two Palestinian Muslim students provided no response in Part B.

Table V.5. Students' selections of most important events and people in the history of the land that were likely to be chosen by a classmate from a different background (Task 1, Part B). Numbers refer to the number of times each event was chosen by students from that identity group. Percentages refer to the proportion of the students from that identity group who listed that item.

Israeli Jewish (n = 6)	Palestinian Muslim (n = 8)	Palestinian Christian (n = 2)	Different Background (n = 4)
<u>3 (50%)</u> Yasser Arafat	<u>5 (63%)</u> Israeli Independence Day	<u>1 (50%)</u> 1948 War Yasser Arafat	<u>3 (75%)</u> Al-Nakba
<u>2 (33%)</u> Al-Nakba (Day)	<u>4 (50%)</u> Holocaust Yitzhak Rabin	PLO War on Gaza (2014) Border between West Bank and Israel	<u>2 (50%)</u> 1948 War Holocaust Land Day First Intifada
<u>1 (17%)</u> 1948 War 1947 UN Partition Plan Creation of the state (of Israel) (Israeli) Occupation Land Day Israeli Independence Day 1967 War Al-Aqsa	<u>3 (38%)</u> 1917 Balfour Declaration Yom HaZikaron <u>2 (20%)</u> 1948 War Al-Nakba 1967 War David Ben Gurion <u>1 (10%)</u> World War I World War II Yasser Arafat Creation of the state (of Israel) First immigration Second immigration How the Jews arrived from Germany Rothschild family They came to the country Lebanon War Shimon Peres	Low salary 1967 War Oslo Accords Attacks	<u>1 (25%)</u> Creation of the state (of Israel) Yasser Arafat Yitzhak Rabin Second Intifada 1967 War Israeli Independence Day

By comparing the second, greyed column above with the greyed column in the first table, it is evident that four of the eight events, persons, or concepts provided by Israeli Jewish students as most important to them (i.e., Israeli Independence Day, the Holocaust, Yitzhak Rabin, and the 1917 Balfour Declaration) were included in the lists of three or more (38% or more) of the Palestinian Muslim students, while three more (i.e., the 1948 War, the 1967 War, and David Ben-Gurion) were mentioned by at least two (25%) of the eight Palestinian Muslim students. I considered this kind of overlap between perspectives “taken” and perspectives “given” by the Other as an indicator of empathic skill in my study.⁶⁰

All Students Demonstrated Some Degree of both Cognitive and Affective Empathy on the Tasks, and Some Did So to a Substantial Degree

In contrast to expectations derived from the literature, each of the 22 students in my sample, on at least one occasion on at least one of the three empathic tasks, demonstrated cognitive and/or affective empathy. Six students (27% of the sample) did so consistently on all three tasks. To validate this finding, I next provide a detailed analysis of students’ empathic responses by task.⁶¹

Cognitive empathy - Task 1. 20 of the 22 students in my sample (91%) responded to Part B of Task 1. 10 of these students (45%) demonstrated notable cognitive empathy on this task. By notable, I mean they provided a minimum of four events, persons, etc. that were likely to be considered important to a classmate from a different background than his/her own *and* a reasonable rationale for choosing at least two of those events. Determination of whether students’ selections in Part B were “likely” to be chosen by the Other was made based on correspondence with the people, events, etc. actually chosen by the Other in Part A of this task in

⁶⁰ Tallies of students’ responses to Parts A and B of Task 2 may be found in Appendix J.

⁶¹ A spreadsheet containing the unabridged responses of each of the 22 students in the sample to each of the five tasks may be found in Appendix H.

the manner I have just described. “Reasonableness” was determined in relation to correspondence with rationales provided by the Other in Part A of each task. For example, a Palestinian student, Bara, whom I determined met both these criteria, listed the following events as likely to be important to a classmate from a different background:

- Yitzhak Rabin: A person who tried to make peace with Yasser Arafat.
- Independence Day: A pleasant day which marks the declaration of the creation of the state of Israel.
- Yom HaZikaron: A sad day which symbolizes the death of the soldiers and those who were injured by the enemy’s actions.
- David Ben-Gurion: The first Prime Minister.
- Balfour Declaration: A declaration which decided that the Jews can live in the land of Israel and create a Jewish state in it.

The events, persons, etc. provided by Bara mirrored those frequently chosen by the six Jewish students in Part A. Independence Day, Yitzhak Rabin, David Ben-Gurion, and the Balfour Declaration were each included in the lists of at least two (33%) of the six Jewish students. Only Yom HaZikaron received fewer than two nominations by Jewish students in Part A of this task. Bara also provided a reasonable explanation for including each event or person – explanations that mirrored those provided by Jewish students in Part A. For example, his rationale for including Yitzhak Rabin in Part B – “he tried to make peace with Yasser Arafat” – mirrored the rationales of Israeli Jewish students who included Rabin in Part A of their responses. The accuracy of his inferences reflected cognitive empathic skill. I gauged the completeness with which he responded to the directions of the task as reflecting his willingness to engage in this empathic exercise.

In a second example, a Jewish student, Yaffa, who was one of the four students demonstrating the highest degree of affiliation with her ascribed identity group, also demonstrated strong ability and inclination to consider the views of the Other in her responses to Task 1. She listed the following as likely to be important to the Other in Part B:

- Al-Nakba Day: A sad day that affected the future of the Arab families in the country, a lot were expelled
- 1967 War: Defined the new borders and distinguished new residents from past residents
- Partition Plan: Shook the Arabs and awakened a big rejection
- Yasser Arafat: Led and caused many people to oppose the Israeli government
- Al-Aqsa: The holy place which represents the Muslim Arabs in Jerusalem (and in Israel in general)

Al Nakba Day and Yasser Arafat were nominated as significant respectively by six (50%) and four (33%) of the 12 Palestinian students in the sample. The 1967 War, the 1947 UN Partition Plan, and Al-Aqsa were either not nominated (i.e., the 1947 UN Partition Plan) or received fewer than four nominations each by Palestinian students. However, her explanations for each choice reflect reasonable inferences regarding the views of the Other. Again, the thoroughness of her response reflected her disposition to engage empathically with this task.

Responses that also demonstrated cognitive empathic skill but to a lesser degree than Bara's or Yaffa's included the following one provided by Mariel, a Jewish student:

- 1948 War, the Nakba and creation of the state – beginning of the Occupation
- Arafat – was the leader of the Palestinian Authority for a considerable time
- I don't know what else

The 1948 War and the Nakba were the top nominations of Palestinian students in Part A. However, Mariel provided little explanation of her choices, making it difficult to determine if her rationales for these selections mirrored those of the Other. In a second example where cognitive empathy was demonstrated but to a lesser degree than Bara or Yaffa, Palestinian student, Rawia, another of the four students who demonstrated the highest degree of affiliation with her ascribed identity group, provided events, persons, etc. likely to be chosen by Jewish students and an extensive narrative explaining her choices. She wrote:

The Holocaust, the first and second immigration, Independence Day, 1967 War. These events are the most important events that had happened to the Jewish people. These events stirred sorrows or joy. These represent the Jews in different ways (weak, victims, strong, heroes). Each event was a turning point for the Jewish people from the Holocaust to Independence Day. They went through a lot of troubles as well as victory. The Jews were treated unjustly, and in return, the Jews themselves were unjust towards another people!

Her response indicated strong cognitive empathy until the latter half of the final sentence where she qualified her empathic response with a criticism of the behavior of Israeli Jews. Rawia's response illustrates a limitation of this study which I discuss in the final chapter. Since the tasks were administered in written form, rather than in oral interviews, and since I was unable to answer students' questions regarding them in Arabic or Hebrew, I could not probe students' responses to clarify if a response such as this reflected misunderstanding of the scope of the task or something more significant in terms of limitations on empathy.

Among the four students in the sample (three females and one male) whom Raidah described as from backgrounds other than Israeli Jewish or Palestinian Muslim or Christian (e.g.,

mixed Arab and Jewish, Ethiopian Jewish, etc.), imagining what “a classmate from a background different than his or her own” might choose was potentially more complicated. That classmate might be Palestinian, Israeli Jewish, or from some other background. For example, Tamar, a student Raidah described as an Ethiopian Jew, listed the following events and people as significant to a classmate from a background different from her own:

Al-Nakba, Holocaust, Land Day, Yitzhak Rabin, Intifada. I chose Nakba Day because this is a very significant day for *the Palestinians* [italics added]. I chose Holocaust Day because *they are also* [italics added] in my class and they are aware of it and it should never happen again. I chose Land Day because we learned about it not long ago. It is awful what *they did to the Palestinians* [italics added] in the country. And I chose Yitzhak Rabin because he made a peace treaty with Yasser Arafat.

As evident in the italicized selections above, Tamar positioned herself as part of the class by her use of “we” and “my” but as separate from both the Palestinian and Israeli Jewish students in her class by her use of the third person to denote both. Her responses mirrored selections and explanations of both Palestinian and Jewish students in Part A of this task, indicating cognitive empathy. She also provided a detailed explanation of her choices, indicating her willingness to engage in this empathic task. Positioning herself outside of both identity groups and their histories perhaps contributed to her being as empathic as she was toward both in her response.

The responses of the four students Raidah described as from different backgrounds varied in degree of cognitive empathic skill and/or disposition demonstrated, just as those of the Palestinian and Israeli Jewish students did. For example, Hania, a student Raidah described as “mixed,” provided the following events/people as important to a student from a different background in Part B of this task:

1948; the taking of Palestine – an important time and every Palestinian remembers, old or young; Land Day; the Nakba; Yasser Arafat – leader that fought for peace

By listing these events and persons in Part B (i.e., the Other’s perspective) which mirrored those provided by Palestinians in Part A of this task, she positioned herself as Jewish and the Other as Palestinian. However, she did not provide rationales for each of her selections, indicating to me that she was able, but not as willing as Tamar, to engage in this perspective-taking task, at least on the particular day it was administered.

Affective empathy – Task 1. 12 of the 22 students in the sample (55%) demonstrated a notable degree of affective empathy in Task 1 (the 10 students discussed above plus two more). As I did in analyzing cognitive empathy, I looked for correspondence between the feelings associated with persons, events, etc. expressed by students in Part A – the perspective-giving part of the task – and those inferred as likely to be felt by the Other in Part B – the perspective-taking part – of this task.

Affective empathy was evident in each of the student examples above. For example, the Palestinian boy Bara used the qualitative words “sad” and “pleasant” to describe feelings likely to be associated with Yom HaZikaron and Independence Day respectively among his Jewish classmates. These are words that the Jewish students also used to describe these days. In the second example, the Jewish girl, Yaffa used “sad” to describe the feelings associated with Nakba Day for Palestinians. She also used the contested term “expelled” in reference to Al Nakba Day. This is important because Jews tend to say “left” or “ran away” while Palestinians say “expelled” or “forced out” to describe the circumstances under which Palestinians became refugees in 1947-1948. In trying to imagine how a Palestinian classmate would think, she chose the emotionally-laden word “expelled” which implies forcible removal and which is a key feature of the

Palestinian narrative, to describe how her Palestinian classmates would likely feel, even though she may or may not subscribe to this interpretation of events herself. She also described Al-Aqsa as a “holy” place to Muslim Arabs (also a contested claim in Israel), which again demonstrates her ability and willingness to consider the feelings of the Other.

In the third example above, the Jewish student, Mariel, used the word “Occupation” – also a loaded term like “expelled” – which demonstrated affective empathy. Palestinian students (and the international community) refer to Israeli control of the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem as an occupation; however, many Israeli Jews object to use of this term. Mariel may or may not subscribe to use of this term herself but she indicated willingness to do so for the perspective-taking purpose of this task. Palestinian student, Rawia, demonstrated affective empathy through her references to the events she chose as stirring “sorrows or joy,” to different events representing Jews differently as “heroes” versus “victims,” and to Jews being treated “unjustly.”

Finally in the two examples from students Raidah described as from different backgrounds above, Tamar demonstrated affective empathy by insisting that the Holocaust should “never happen again,” – that Al Nakba Day is a “very significant” day for Palestinians, and by describing as “awful” the killings of unarmed Palestinian farmers by Israeli soldiers and police during the Land Day protests. Hania also demonstrated affective empathy by her use of the word “taken” to refer to the Palestinians’ loss of their lands and her awareness that “every Palestinian remembers, old or young.” While these may not be the exact words used by the Palestinian students in reference to these events, they reflect the emotional tone and language associated with these events among Palestinians generally and specifically in the responses of the Palestinian students in this study.

Cognitive empathy – Task 2. This task was similar to Task 1 except that I asked each student to choose from predetermined lists the five people, events, and concepts that they believed would be chosen by a classmate from a different background as most important and to provide an explanation for each of their choices. Again, I analyzed students' responses to Part B – the perspective giving – part of this task in terms of correspondence between their choices of what the Other would likely select and what students of the Other background collectively selected in Part A. I considered those who provided more detailed explanations to have demonstrated stronger disposition to engage with this perspective-taking task.

Twenty-one of the 22 students provided a response to Part B of this task. Of these 21, 17 (77% of the sample) demonstrated at least some cognitive empathy on this task, which I defined as selecting five or more events, persons, or concepts likely to be selected by the Other and providing some sort of reasonable rationale for their selections. In addition, four of the 17 students demonstrated notable cognitive empathic skill and disposition. One such individual was Palestinian student, Sundus, who was also among those students who demonstrated the highest level of affiliation with her ascribed identity group. From the chart of options, she selected the following as likely to be chosen by a classmate from a different background: nationalism, anti-Semitism, Aliyah/immigration, Israeli Law of Return, Palestine/Eretz Israel, Jewish Agency, United Nations, Palmach, David Ben Gurion, Hitler, 1948 War, World War I, the Holocaust, pogroms, and the 1947 Partition Plan. Seven of these 15 selections were among those most frequently chosen by the six Jewish students in Part A. The other eight selections were all selected by the Jewish students in this sample but fewer times. Sundus described her selections this way:

1948 War: Because the Israeli people won in this war. UN Partition Plan: Thanks to it the state of Israel was created. Palmach: The first army that was in the beginning and occupied the state of Palestine. United Nations: Approved the building [creation] of the state. Aliyah: Because of the Aliyah of the Jews, the state came into existence. Eretz Israel: the country [historic land] of the Jews.

Sundus' response met my criteria for strong demonstration of cognitive empathic skill and disposition. She chose events, people, or concepts likely to be chosen by the Other, and she provided a reasonable justification for each selection, one that was historically plausible (even if not reflective of deep historical understanding) and that reflected explanations offered by the Jewish students who chose these same events in Part A.

None of the six Jewish students provided a similarly strong response to this task. An example of a somewhat weaker but still cognitively empathic response was that of Jewish student, Mira. She selected: Waqf, Aliyah/immigration, Palestinian Right of Return, Palestine/Eretz Israel, Al-Nazihun, Ezzedine Al-Qassam, Haj Amin Al-Husseini, United Nations, Arab countries, Ottoman Empire, 1948 War, Deir Yassin Massacre, Sykes-Picot Agreement, Al-Nakba, and destroyed Palestinian villages. Five of these 15 selections were among the top selections of Palestinian students and all but three were chosen by at least one of the 12 Palestinian students in the sample. However, her simplistic explanation for these choices – “Because these are connected to the history of the Palestinian people” – demonstrated a lower level of skill and/or disposition to engage in this task, compared to Sundus' response above.

Again, the responses of the students described by Raidah as from other backgrounds varied. One in particular, Jamila, demonstrated strong cognitive empathic skill in her selections of events, persons, etc. She selected 15 events, persons, and concepts (five of each) that were

likely to be chosen by her Palestinian classmates, *and* 15 likely to be chosen by her Jewish classmates. All but four of her selections mirrored those chosen by Jewish and Palestinian students in Part A. However, she did not explain each selection. Instead, she wrote,

I marked the causes which in my opinion affected the Palestinian narrative in green and the causes affecting mostly the Zionist narrative in blue; this is what I expect that the rest of my classmates marked.

Her explanation was not specific but the level of specificity in her selections reflected both cognitive empathic skill and disposition to engage in this task.

Affective empathy – Task 2. Students’ responses to Task 2, Part B highlight the distinctions between cognitive and affective empathy. For example, Sundus’ response (above) demonstrated strong cognitive empathy but no affective empathy. She did not qualify any of her explanations with language referring to how Jewish classmates likely would *feel* about any of the events or organizations that she chose. Mira and Jamila’s responses, likewise, showed cognitive but not affective empathy for the same reason. However, other students provided explanations for their choices in Part B that demonstrated affective empathy. For example, Omar, a Palestinian student, wrote:

Because that’s how they were thinking, the Holocaust is one of the most important things that happened to the Jews, and they will not forget, Hitler is the most brutal human being and they will not forget because he started the Holocaust.

His use of “important” in reference to the Holocaust, “most brutal” in reference to Hitler, and “they will not forget” in reference to both Hitler and the Holocaust demonstrated understanding of the likely emotional resonance of this person and this event in Jewish history (even though his

response that Hitler “started the Holocaust” demonstrated relatively weak historical understanding).

Cognitive empathy – Task 4. Task 4 asked students to describe the meanings of Yom HaZikaron and Al Nakba Day.⁶² The events commemorated by these two days encapsulate major differences in the Israeli Jewish and Palestinian interpretations of history. Students were asked first to explain the meaning of each day to themselves in Part A and then in Part B as they imagined “another student in your class from a different background” might answer. I anticipated that Palestinian students would think about what Yom HaZikaron likely meant to their Jewish classmates, while Jewish students would think what Al Nakba Day likely meant to their Palestinian classmates. I expected that students Raidah described as from “a different background” would vary in how they defined the Other in this task.

I defined a strong cognitive empathic response to Part B, the perspective-taking part of this task, as one that demonstrated accurate understanding of the historical *events* commemorated by the Other’s day – namely, that Yom HaZikaron is a day of remembrance for the deaths and injuries of soldiers who fought to establish the state of Israel in 1948 and to defend it since, and that Al Nakba Day commemorates Palestinians’ loss of their lands and homes and their becoming refugees in the 1948 War. Contrary to my expectations for the Task, in many cases, students demonstrated this understanding in Part A, rather than in Part B, apparently indicating misunderstanding of the intent of the questions.⁶³ For this reason, I considered their responses to either part of this task when determining if they demonstrated cognitive empathy.

⁶² In the Methods chapter, I provided my rationale for pairing these two days in this task.

⁶³ I concluded that this misunderstanding resulted from my wording of the questions. Asking students to explain the “meaning” of each day was too vague because this could mean emotional significance, historical events commemorated, or both. I explain in the concluding chapter how I would modify this task in the future to avoid such misunderstandings.

Every one of the 22 students in the sample responded to Part A of this task and 20 of the 22 students responded to Part B as well. 12 of the 22 students (56% of the sample) provided a response that I considered notable meaning that they demonstrated understanding of the historical events commemorated by the respective memorial day of the Other, while another 6 students (27% of the sample) demonstrated at least partial understanding of the events commemorated. Overall, therefore, 18 students (82% of the sample) demonstrated at least some understanding of the historical events commemorated by the respective memorial day of the Other and willingness to describe those events.

One student who provided a notable response to this task was Palestinian girl, Munira. She described the likely meaning of Yom HaZikaron to the Other as, “Very sad day. Remembrance of the soldiers and those wounded in action with the enemy and that died and sacrificed their lives.” Oz, a second student whom Raidah had described as from “a different background,” also provided a notable response when he described the meanings of both events in this way:

The concept of “Yom HaZikaron” says to me that in Yom HaZikaron all of those are remembered who were killed, injured, or died (Holocaust, wars, murder of Rabin...) in the land of Israel. The concept of Al-Nakba says to me that this is a day in which the Palestinian Arabs (Israeli Arabs) remember the almost 700,000 Palestinian Arabs who were expelled and left.

His response demonstrated understanding of the historical meanings of *each* event to each respective identity group.

Finally, an example of a notable response from a Jewish student was Mariel’s. She described the likely meaning of Al Nakba Day to Palestinians as,

A day in which they remember the family stories, *about how our grandpa and grandma lost their homes* [italics added], the Jews killed some of them, they became refugees and the Jews settled in their homes.

Her response demonstrated understanding of the historical events commemorated by Palestinians on Al Nakba Day, as well as appreciation of feelings likely to be associated with these events by her Palestinian classmates as I discuss next.

Affective empathy – Task 4. I had expected this task to be the most emotionally challenging one for the students because of the salience of the events commemorated by each day; therefore, I expected the response rate to be lower than for Tasks 1 or 2. However, response rates were similar to the other tasks. 20 of the 22 students in the sample provided a response regarding the likely perspective of the Other concerning his or her respective memorial day. Furthermore, fully 19 of the 22 students in the sample (86%) used at least one qualifying word such as “sad” when describing the likely meaning to the Other of their respective commemoration day; 13 students (59%) used two or more such words.

Mariel’s response above was an example of one that demonstrated strong affective empathy on this task. In addition to her cognitive understanding of the events commemorated by Al-Nakba Day by Palestinians, she demonstrated deep affective understanding of the resonance of those events across generations through her references to “the family stories” that transmit intergenerational feelings of loss and her use of the word “refugee” to describe the plight of Palestinians displaced in 1948. Although the UN and much of the world refers to Palestinians expelled or dispossessed of their homes and lands in 1948 as refugees, this is a “loaded” term that is contested by many Jews. Furthermore, in her response, she also partially assumed the

personage, not just the perspective of the Other when she switched from third person to first person in her reference to how “our grandma and grandpa lost their homes.”

Such affective empathy was evident in the responses of a number of others to this task. For example, like Mariel, Rawia, a Palestinian student, provided a very strong affective response by literally stepping into the shoes of the Other. This was evident in her repeated use of the personal pronoun “we” to explain how she imagined her Jewish classmates would describe the meaning of Yom HaZikaron. She wrote,

It is a day of sorrow and pride at the same time. *We* [emphasis added] are sad for our soldiers who fought in order to defend our homeland; however, it is a source of pride since *we* [emphasis added] gained victory and *we* became stronger [emphasis added]. This day is one of the most important days in the history of the Jewish people; *we* [emphasis added] will not forget our heroes who sacrificed themselves for us and the homeland.

Her response also reflected appreciation of the conflicted feelings of “sorrow and pride” associated with Yom HaZikaron for Jews, words that appeared in descriptions of Jewish students regarding the meaning of Yom HaZikaron in Part A. She also used the qualitative word “important” and emphasized that Jews will not forget the “sacrifices” of “our heroes,” word choices that appeared in the responses of several Jewish students to Part A of the task.

Rawia’s use of the term, “sacrifice” to describe how as she would feel as a Jew about the deaths of soldiers who died for the state represented notable affective empathy because in Part A where she was asked to describe the meanings of each day *to her*, she said of Yom HaZikaron “...it means a lot to me. First it is those soldiers who were killed while they were fighting my people.” In that section she also said of Al Nakba Day, “...it means sorrow and sadness for my

family, my people, my land...I feel strength because despite everything that has happened to us we are still demanding to have our land, rights and of course peace.” That she chose to describe the likely feelings of her Jewish classmates associated with the deaths of Israeli soldiers in the 1948 War and since as “sacrifices,” despite the strong feelings of loss and sorrow and indignation associated with both Yom HaZikaron and Al Nakba Day for her, indicated that she was trying hard to put aside her feelings and to put herself in the head of her Jewish classmates.

In a third example, another Palestinian student, Asma, demonstrated strong affective empathy in her response regarding Yom HaZikaron. She said, “In this day *we* [emphasis added] respect and remember all those who died to create Eretz Israel.” The “we” here may mean she adopted the personage of a Jewish student as Rawia did. It also may mean that even though she is Palestinian, she counts herself among those who “respect and remember all those who died to create Eretz Israel.” In addition, her use of the Hebrew title “Eretz Israel” is also notable. Only Jews refer to Israel by this term. It means literally “the land of Israel” and connotes Jews’ ancient roots and biblical inheritance of this geographic place. Many Jews resist referring to the territory prior to 1948 as “Palestine” and likewise, many Palestinians resist referring to the same territory as “Eretz Israel.” Her use of it here was likely a deliberate choice reflecting her effort to put herself in the mind of her Jewish classmates.

And in a fourth example of demonstration of strong affective empathy in this task, Tamar, a student from “a different background” wrote of the meaning of Al Nakba Day, “This reminds me of Yom HaZikaron except it’s on the Palestinian side. They remember those who were injured or died in the war. They respect them and mourn them.” She continued,

...[Al Nakba Day's] meaning will be important in his eyes because after all, he's Palestinian and this is his people who were injured there...So it makes sense that the meaning of the name is significant for him, and if not, he will identify.

Although she did not describe the specific events commemorated by Palestinians' on Al Nakba Day, she demonstrated affective empathy through her recognition that the day involves feelings of "respect" and "mourning" for Palestinians that are akin to the feelings associated with Yom HaZikaron for Jews. She also demonstrated broader understanding that it is a natural human phenomenon for groups whose members have been hurt to identify with that loss.

Finally, there were four students who provided responses which did not reflect any understanding or acknowledgement of the particular historical events commemorated by the respective memorial day of the Other – in other words who did not demonstrate cognitive empathy – yet whose responses nonetheless demonstrated affective empathy. For example, Jewish student, Chanah, wrote of the meaning of Al Nakba Day that it "...is a sad day for my Arab friends." She did not provide any accompanying explanation of what events Palestinians commemorate on Al Nakba Day, possibly indicating either lack of understanding or unwillingness to acknowledge, the historical events commemorated on this day which implicitly rebuke the national narrative with which she identifies, as evident from her other responses. Nevertheless, she acknowledged the emotional significance of the day to her Arab friends. Three other students demonstrated this same pattern of affective-only response – Miriam and Yasin (Palestinian) and Shimon (Jewish). Shimon wrote "hard day?" in reference to the likely meaning of Yom HaZikaron to his Palestinian classmates, while Yasin wrote, "They will say that you are not forced to join but at least respect." And Miriam wrote, "As a Jewish student, it is something sorrowful and sad. I also feel sad on Al Nakba Day." None of these four students demonstrated

understanding or willingness to acknowledge the historical events commemorated by the Other's memorial day; however, each acknowledged that his or her classmates feel sadness on the day or that their commemoration day should at least be respected.

The affective empathic findings described in this section were perhaps the most surprising and promising of the empathic findings overall, given how contested the interpretations of the founding events surrounding these commemorative days are. I was heartened that almost every student in my sample (19 of 22 or 86%) provided a response to this Task that indicated some level of appreciation of the feelings associated with the commemorative day of the Other.

Secondary Quantitative Analysis of Students' Empathic Thinking

As I explained in the Methods chapter, I validated my qualitative findings by conducting additional quantitative analysis of students' responses. Transforming students' written responses to Tasks 1, 2, and 4 into numeric scores via rubrics provided an additional way of analyzing the degree of cognitive and affective empathy evident in each student's responses.⁶⁴ The following table summarizes the cognitive, affective, and total empathy scores of each of the 22 students in the sample that I derived using the rubrics to assess students' written responses. Possible scores on each of the two constructs (i.e., affective empathy and cognitive empathy) ranged from 0-6; therefore, by combining students' scores on each construct, total empathy scores ranged from 0-12. I considered total empathic scores of 8-12 as demonstrating a high degree of empathy on these tasks. High empathic scores are noted in bold below.

⁶⁴ These rubrics may be found in Appendix I.

Table V.6. Degree of cognitive, affective, and total empathy demonstrated by each student in their responses to Part B of Tasks 1, 2, and 4

Pseudonym	Cognitive empathy score	Affective empathy score	Total empathy score*
Palestinian †			
Miriam	0	2	2
Omar	3	4	7
Bara	6	5	11
Darius	1	0	1
Munira	6	5	11
Rawia	5	5	10
Sumaya	3	2	5
Asma	3	2	5
Rana	2	1	3
Sundus	6	3	9
Yasin	0	1	1
Isa	3	2	5
(Israeli) Jewish			
Mariel	3	3	6
Mira	3	1	4
Irit	1	2	3
Chanah	1	1	2
Yaffa	5	3	8
Shimon	1	1	2
"A different background"			
Hania	3	3	6
Tamar	4	6	10
Oz	5	5	10
Jamila	3	2	5

†These are the identity groups ascribed to them by Raidah. "Palestinian" includes the two Palestinians in the sample whom Raidah distinguished as Christians. I included them with Muslim Palestinians here because they consistently responded to the empathic tasks in ways similar to the Muslim Palestinian students and unlike the Israeli Jewish students.

* = I considered total empathy scores of 0-3 low, 4-7 medium, and 8-12 high.

As is evident from the table, within each identity group and across all the 22 students, degree of empathy manifested by each student across the three empathic tasks varied considerably. However, every one of the 22 students exhibited at least some degree of cognitive and/or affective empathy on one or more of these tasks. Furthermore, ability and willingness to try to infer the ideas and feelings of the Other regarding contentious historical events were not restricted to any one identity group. This secondary numeric analysis of students' responses confirmed the findings that I derived from holistic qualitative analysis.

Empathy Also Was Evident in Unanticipated Ways

As I read and reread students' responses, there were a number of instances where I noticed students demonstrating empathy in ways I had not anticipated. In order to be objective in my quantitative assessment of students' responses, when I constructed the rubrics, I confined my scoring of students' responses to their completion of the perspective-taking tasks in the ways I asked of them. These unanticipated manifestations of empathy are important, however, even if they could not be "scored." These manifestations included: deliberate use of the language of the Other to describe his/her perspective; spontaneous consideration of the perspectives of both identity groups when determining the significance of events, persons, etc.; and attribution of empathy towards one's identity group to the Other – a kind of "double" empathy.

Deliberate use of the language of the Other. Hebrew is the dominant language in the school, as I have discussed elsewhere. Most students, therefore, responded to the tasks in Hebrew, even though all were given the choice to respond in whatever language they felt most comfortable. Only two (18%) of the 12 Palestinian students chose to respond exclusively in Arabic. However, five (42%) of the 12 Palestinian students and one (25%) of the four students Raidah described as from a different background used *both* Hebrew and Arabic in their responses. Each of these students appeared to do so in an intentional way. They used Hebrew when they described the likely perspectives of the Other and Arabic when they described their own perspectives. I believe this language use reflects empathic understanding of the connections between language and narrative, something Raidah had asserted in our interviews to justify increasing the use of Arabic in the classes. No Jewish student did this. However, their fluency with Arabic is generally much lower.

A few students also used English in their responses. Again, this appeared to be deliberate. For example, one of the student's that Raidah described as from a different background, Jamila, used English in Task 5 when she said "I am a citizen of earth." The rest of her Survey was completed in Hebrew. I believe she did this to emphasize to me, an English speaker, that she does not see herself as limited by an ascribed identity. Yasser, a Palestinian, used all three languages in his responses. However, he exclusively used English in his responses to Task 4. For example, he said regarding what Yom HaZikaron means to him, "Nothing but I respect the other side." I expect he was also trying to communicate to me his willingness to respect the Other.

Consideration of events, persons, etc. of importance to both identity groups when determining significance. Recall that in Tasks 1 and 2, students were asked to provide *their* perspectives on the most important events, persons, etc. in the history of the land (Part A) before imagining the perspective of a "classmate from a background different than his/her own" (Part B). However, 10 students (six Palestinian students, two Jewish students, and two "Other" students), 45% of the total sample, chose to include events, persons, etc. of significance to people on *both* sides of the conflict in Part A of either Task 1 or 2 or both. For example, Palestinian student, Bara wrote the following in Task 2, Part A, which asked him to select the five most important events, people, and concepts in the history of the land from his perspective and to explain his selections:

Al-Nakba, 1948 War, and the Holocaust were very important events which happened in the past and changed the future we live in. David Ben-Gurion is the first prime minister and that's why I chose him. And for the Palestinian Right of Return it's a very important concept because our grandparents believe in it and believe one day they will go back to their land.

In this response, he identified as most important to *himself*, a Palestinian person, events and people – the 1948 War, the Holocaust, and David Ben Gurion – that were more often chosen by Jewish students, even though he demonstrated affiliation with his ascribed Palestinian identity through his choice of the Right of Return, which is rejected by many Israeli Jews, and his use of the 1st person “our” to include himself in that right.

Similarly, another Palestinian student, Asma, wrote in Task 1, Part A:

- 1948 War – this is the event that started everything and decided everything
- Oslo Accords 1993 – this event in my opinion shows that peace is possible between both peoples
- The Second Intifada (2000) – this event was a big disaster and brought total destruction and the death of thousands of people on both sides
- Yitzhak Rabin – I think everyone should know Rabin – his ideology – that Arabs and Jews can get along. This is our school’s foundation.

She did not answer Part B, the scored part of this task. However, her selections in Part A indicate that she considered it important to understand both sides of the conflict, including the suffering of both sides, and that peace and reconciliation are important to her.

In a third example of a student incorporating events of significance to both sides when asked to provide those significant to him or herself, Darius, a Palestinian, wrote in Part A,

- World Wars – In order to try everything possible to prevent death of human beings and tragic events
- Holocaust, Nakba, and the establishment of the state [of Israel] – to try to have each side understand the other side and to eliminate racism on both sides and that there will be friendship

He emphasized the importance of appreciating one another's suffering in Part B when he wrote,

[I chose] ...the same events, because the events that I chose are mutual or similar events for both sides. I mentioned those events to explain to both sides that death of one side is death of a human being. Nobody wants this. Maybe then [illegible] less among human beings.

Like Palestinian students Bara, Darius and Asma, Irit, an Israeli Jewish student, also appeared to incorporate perspectives associated with the Other in her own thinking. For example, in Part A of Task 1. She wrote,

- 1948 War (from both sides) – it's the war that caused the creation of Israel and Al-Nakba
- 1967 War (from both sides) – it's the war that defined the borders of the state of Israel and caused Al-Nakba
- The First Intifada – it was caused by the Occupation and even affected the situation in the country
- The Second Intifada – it was caused by the Occupation and even affected the situation in the country
- Yitzhak Rabin – tried to find a solution to the conflict

Interestingly, in Part B, she refused to take the perspective of another, writing, "I think what my classmates would write depends on their own personality, community and family, and I don't want to put words in their mouths." She followed this same pattern in her responses to all three Tasks. She chose events, persons, etc. of significance to the narratives of both identity groups in Part A of Task 2 and she described both Yom HaZikaron and Al Nakba Day as significant to her in Part A of Task 4. There, she wrote,

The concept of “Yom HaZikaron” symbolizes for me a sad day for women/men, and personally I feel no connection to it at all since I don’t believe in militarism and [illegible], but I respect all human sorrow and loss. The concept of Al-Nakba says to me a day in which we all respect men/women who lost their homes as a result of war and occupation.

Despite her refusal in Part B of each task to “put words into her classmates’ mouths” her responses in Part A of each task indicated cognitive empathic understanding of events and persons significant to each identity group. In addition, her consistent use of the loaded terms “occupation” and “Palestine” and her insistence that both days are days for respect for the losses of others indicated strong affective empathy, even if it was not demonstrated in the precise ways I intended by the Tasks.

The pattern of consideration of the perspectives of the Other was a surprising and important indicator of empathic skill and disposition evident in the responses of fully 10 of the 22 (45%) students in the sample. Furthermore, five of those 10 students (Bara, Darius, Asma, Irit, and Tamar) appear to have internalized perspectives of the Other into their personal assessments of historical significance, a finding that is even more promising in terms of possibilities for empathy.

Attribution of empathy to the Other. In addition to manipulation of language and consideration of the perspectives of both sides in assessing significance, a third kind of unanticipated empathy was evident in the responses of a number of students to Part B of Task 4. As I have already described, a number of students from each identity background demonstrated appreciation of the historical and emotional meaning to the Other of the commemoration day observed by the Other. Indeed, 17 of the 22 students did so to at least some degree.

Unexpectedly, however, many students also described their classmates from different backgrounds as being willing and able to appreciate the emotional meaning of the commemoration day significant to *their identity group*. In other words, these students attributed affective empathic skill and disposition to their classmates.

One student who did this was Miriam, a Palestinian student whom I described earlier as demonstrating strong affiliation with her ascribed Palestinian identity. First, she described the meaning of Yom HaZikaron to her in a way that demonstrated empathy toward her Jewish classmates, “For me, as a female Arab, it means sadness for the Jews indeed; however it’s not sad for me personally with due respect to the Jews. I just respect the thing [day] itself.” Next, she described its likely meaning to her Jewish classmates, writing, “As a Jewish student, indeed it is something sorrowful and sad.” However, what is most interesting is what she wrote next about the likely meaning of Al Nakba Day to her Jewish classmates. She wrote, it is, “...a day to [show] respect for the Arabs and to show feelings towards the Arabs.” In this response, she attributed both the capacity and disposition to have empathy for her and her Palestinian classmates *to her Jewish classmates*. This is a kind of double empathy. Not only does *she* demonstrate affective empathy toward her Jewish classmates, she expects *her Jewish classmates* will demonstrate empathy toward her as well.

Another Palestinian student, Sumaya, similarly attributed empathy toward her to her Jewish classmates when she wrote that they would “...treat [Al Nakba Day] with respect if he understands what happened.” In a third example, Palestinian student, Rawia, who like Miriam and Bara also appeared to identify strongly as Palestinian based upon language used in her responses (such as pronoun use), wrote that her Jewish classmates would say of Al Nakba Day,

It is a day of sorrow for the other side. I have different feelings; feelings of sorrow for them and happiness for us; however, they are humans like us, so we feel sorrow for them.

Taking on the personage of her Jewish classmates, Rawia attributed to those classmates a capacity equal to her own to see the Other as human. As a Palestinian, she chose to speak in the first person as an Israeli Jew to explain how she would feel as a Jew about her Palestinian classmates' perspectives on Al Nakba Day. She described herself, as their Jewish classmate, feeling "sorrow for them (i.e. Palestinians)" and recognizing that "they are humans like us." In this complicated way, her response exhibited a kind of "double empathy" – a willingness to imagine that the Other will also be empathic toward her.

This attribution of empathic capacity to the Other also was evident in the responses of several Israeli Jewish students and students Raidah described as from another background as well. For example, Yaffa, a Jewish student wrote that her Palestinian classmates would likely describe the meaning of Yom HaZikaron as "a day in which the Jews are marking the deaths of their soldiers who sacrificed their lives for Israel." Tamar, a student described by Raidah as from a different background said Palestinians would likely describe the meaning of Yom HaZikaron as "...Yom Al-Nakba except for the Jews."

In all, 15 of the 22 students in the sample (68%), across all three identity groupings, imagined that their classmates from backgrounds different than their own would understand *their* feelings about their respective commemoration day, even though those classmates would not likely share their feelings about that day. This was a significant, though unanticipated, kind of empathy. It resonates with the assertion of Dr. Eyal Naveh in the previous chapter that an essential first step in any reconciliation process is recognizing common humanity in the Other.

Six “Unique” Cases

Six of the 22 students in my sample (27%) did not address one or more components of a task as directed. In each of these six cases, students’ non-responses or non-germane responses to parts of one or more tasks differed from those of students who provided no explanation for non-completion of a task component or who completed all tasks with minimal effort. Each of these six students was also among those who demonstrated empathy in one or more of the unanticipated ways I have just described. However, in order to score students’ responses objectively, I did not give any student “credit” on the rubrics for responses that did not address a task as directed (e.g., inclusion of events of significance to both identity groups in Part 1 but non-completion of Part 2 – the scored part). For this reason, I believe each of these six students “scored” lower on empathy and identity than was reflective of the level of empathic skills or dispositions, or degree of identity affiliation that was evident in holistic examination of their responses. Next, I briefly describe each such case.

Mariel, an Israeli Jew, chose not to respond to Task 2 because she said, “... I don’t think it covers the school curriculum.” Therefore, she received no empathic (or identity) “credit” for this task. However, she completed Tasks 1 and 4 with responses that demonstrated both cognitive and affective empathy. Irit, also an Israeli Jew, completed Part A of each task by incorporating events, persons, etc. of significance to each side (one of the unanticipated types of empathy I described above). However, in Part B of each task, she indicated that she did not want to “put words in the mouths” of her classmates. Therefore, she also did not receive empathic “credit” on the scored parts of the three tasks. Yet her responses in Part A of each task, which I have excerpted throughout this chapter, demonstrate empathy. Miriam, a Palestinian Muslim, did not complete Part B of Task 1 and provided no explanation why. However, like Irit, she

completed Part A of Task 2 (the non-scored part) by including events of significance to both sides of the conflict. And in Part B of Task 2, rather than providing the perspective of the Other, she inserted a message regarding her frustration with an aspect of the school, perhaps expecting that this message might reach her teachers through me. Like the Mariel and Irit, I did not give Miriam “credit” for these non-responses or irrelevant responses. However, her responses to other parts of the tasks, taken holistically, again demonstrated cognitive and affective empathy.

Darius, another Palestinian Muslim, provided a response to Part B of Task 1 that emphasized his desire to “have each side understand the other side and to try to eliminate racism on both sides and that there will be friendship...and to explain to both sides that the death of one side is death of a human being...” In Task 4 he also asserted his belief that “...it was not necessary to fight so much for a nation, it would have been possible to live together if both sides would have cooperated...” In both cases, his responses did not answer the questions directly and therefore, received no “points” for empathy, but could be said to reflect empathy. Furthermore, as I described above, Asma, another Palestinian Muslim, provided events, persons, etc. important to both sides in Part A of Task 1 including an explanation for selecting Yitzhak Rabin that stated “I think everyone should know Rabin – his ideology – that Arabs and Jews can manage [get along]. This is our school’s foundation.” However, she did not respond to Part B, the scored part. Finally, Jamila, a student Raidah described as from “a different background,” expressed frustration in Task 1 that she:

...does not prefer to get stuck and remember troubles that happened in the past but to go forward with positive things that helped and continue to help to this day and to think about the future and how I can make things better.”

I did not believe I could give her “credit” for demonstration of empathy in this response because it did not address the Task. Yet in my estimation, her response indicated engagement with the Task, rather than carelessness, sarcasm, resistance, or disinterest as the non-responses or curt responses of several other students did.

In each of these six cases, students’ lack of responsiveness to the directions of one or more specific tasks meant that I could not score their responses to those tasks as indicating empathy. However, when considered holistically, I believe the responses of each of these six students demonstrated greater empathy than is reflected in their “scores.”

Findings Regarding Relationships between Students’ Identity and Empathic Responses

Given the findings of past studies on historical thinking and empathy and their interactions with identity (e.g., Goldberg, Schwarz, & Porat, 2008; Gottlieb & Wineburg, 2012; Porat, 2005), one would expect that students who expressed stronger affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to them would have greater difficulty or be more reluctant to express empathy for the Other. However, this was *not* the case with the students in this sample.

The Degree of Students’ Empathic Responses Was *Not* Highly Related to Their Degree of Affiliation with the Identity Group(s) Ascribed to Them

Qualitative analysis of students’ task responses indicated that they ranged in the degree to which they demonstrated cognitive and affective empathy, and in the degree to which they demonstrated affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to them. Furthermore, such analysis did not reveal any obvious relationships between degree of empathic response and degree of identity affiliation. Use of rubrics to transform students’ written responses into empathic and identity scores further affirmed these qualitative findings.

To illustrate the lack of apparent relationship between empathic and identity scores, the table below compares the total empathy scores of the 10 students (45% of the sample) whose task responses demonstrated the highest and lowest degrees of total empathy compared to those same students' identity-affiliation scores. Total empathy scores ranged from 0-12 while identity affiliation scores ranged from 0-6.⁶⁵ I considered total empathy scores of 8-12 high and identity affiliation scores of 4-6 high.

⁶⁵The rubrics used to assess cognitive and affective empathy, and identity affiliation may be found in Appendix I.

Table V.7. Comparison of identity affiliation scores of the 10 students with the highest and lowest total empathy scores

Pseudonym	Ascribed Identity Group	Self-Defined Identity	Total Empathy Score (range = 0-12)	Degree of Identity Affiliation Score (range = 0-6)
Demonstrated Highest Degree of Empathy on Rubrics				
Bara	Palestinian	No response	11	3
Munira	Palestinian	Arab Nazarene Palestinian. I like singing and basketball. A calm [person]. I don't like lying. I respect others and different opinions.	11	3
Rawia	Palestinian	I am a Palestinian Arab who lives in Israel and holds an Israeli ID. I am Muslim and was born in Jerusalem but I am from Kufr Qara.	10	5
Tamar	"A different background"	I am a 15 ½ year old girl. Ethiopian. I like to draw and read books.	10	2
Oz	"A different background"	My identity is half Jewish and half Arab Muslim. My father is Muslim, my mother is Jewish, most of my family are Palestinians that live in Israel (the Territories).	10	2
Demonstrated Lowest Degree of Empathy on Rubrics				
Miriam*	Palestinian	I am an Arab and proud (Palestinian), 9 th grade, live with my parents, and I was born in (2000)	2	4
Chanah	Israeli Jewish	Israeli Jew	2	2
Shimon	Israeli Jewish	Handsome	2	2
Darius*	Palestinian	Human being (gamer) [latter word written in English]	1	0
Yasin	Palestinian	Arab	1	2

* = One of the six "unique" cases whose rubric scores for empathy are lower than my holistic assessment of the level of empathy they demonstrated on the tasks

This table visually highlights the weak relationship between students' empathic and identity affiliation scores on these tasks. It also demonstrates that this lack of relationship crossed identity groups. For example, it is evident that only one student, Rawia, a Palestinian, scored high on both total empathy and identity affiliation, while only one other, Darius, also a Palestinian, scored low on both total empathy and identity affiliation. (Darius was one of the six "unique" cases so his empathic scores are probably too low.) The identity affiliation scores of the other eight students with the highest and lowest total empathy scores were neither consistently high nor low.

A second table below (V.8) illustrates in a different way that among these students at this time demonstrating a high degree of affiliation with one's ascribed identity group(s) did not preclude demonstrating strong empathic responses on these tasks. It compares the total empathy scores of the four students – three Palestinian and one Jewish – who demonstrated the highest degree of affiliation with their ascribed identity group.

Table V.8. Total empathy scores of students who demonstrated the highest degree of affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to them

Pseudonym	Ascribed Identity Group	Degree of Identity Affiliation Score (range = 0-6)†	Self-defined identity	Total Empathy Score (range = 0-12)†
Miriam*	Palestinian	4	I am an Arab and proud (Palestinian), 9 th grade, live with my parents, and I was born in (2000)	2*
Rawia	Palestinian	5	I am a Palestinian Arab who lives in Israel and holds an Israeli ID. I am Muslim and was born in Jerusalem but I am from Kufr Qara.	10
Sundus	Palestinian	6	Palestinian, Arab, Muslim, Safafiya [someone from Beit Safafa]. I love peace.	9
Yaffa	Israeli Jewish	4	Israeli, Jewish, atheist	8

† I considered identity affiliation scores of 4-6 high and total empathic scores of 8-12 high.

*= One of the six “unique” cases whose rubric scores for empathy are lower than my holistic assessment of the level of empathy they demonstrated on the tasks.

The above table illustrates that among the four students who demonstrated the highest degree of affiliation with their ascribed identities, three also demonstrated high levels of total empathy.

The fourth did not. (However, she was one of the six “unique” cases and therefore, her total empathy score probably underrepresented the actual degree of empathy she demonstrated on the tasks.)

To further validate qualitative findings of a weak relationship between degree of empathy and degree of affiliation with the identity group(s) assigned to them, I used students’ quantitatively transformed responses to analyze relationships between their empathic and identity affiliation scores using statistical tests. Regression analysis confirmed what I found through qualitative analysis of students’ responses – that students’ degree of affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to them did *not* predict well either their cognitive or affective empathic scores. Among these students, on these tasks, strong identity affiliation did not preclude strong demonstration of either cognitive or affective empathy, nor did it predict it well.

Relationship between students' cognitive and affective empathy scores. I first tested the relationship between the two types of empathy in students' responses. The correlation between students' cognitive and affective empathy scores was $r(20) = .76, p \leq .05$. Therefore, approximately half (58%) of the variance in a student's cognitive empathy score could be predicted by his/her affective empathy score and vice versa. This affirms findings of psychological literature where cognitive and affective empathy have been found to be distinct yet interconnected attributes with bi-directional influence on thinking and behavior (Decety & Moriguchi, 2007; Shamay-Tsoory, Aharon-Peretz, & Perry, 2008; Singer & Lamm, 2009)

Relationship between students' identity and cognitive and affective empathy scores. The correlation between students' identity scores and their cognitive empathy scores was $r(20) = .47, p \leq .05$. Therefore, only about one-fifth (22%) of the variance in a student's cognitive empathy score could be predicted by his/her identity score. The relationship may be even weaker between identity and affective empathy where the correlation was $r(20) = .31, ns$, although this latter correlation was not significant. Therefore, the degree to which a student indicated affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to him/her and the degree to which he/she demonstrated cognitive (and perhaps affective) empathy on these tasks *did not* appear to be meaningfully related. Table V.10 summarizes the statistical findings.

Six "unique" cases. I considered removing the six "unique" cases from the sample when conducting the statistical analyses. However, I decided not to because I did not want to appear to be hand-picking students to derive certain results. Instead, I analyzed relationships between students' affective and cognitive empathic scores, and between students' scores on each type of empathy and identity, with and without these students in order to assess the impact of their inclusion (or exclusion) on the statistical results. As expected because they did not complete as

many “scoreable” components, these six students had lower mean scores for cognitive empathy, affective empathy, and identity affiliation than the sample as a whole. Table V.9 below summarizes these differences.

Table V.9. Comparisons of mean empathic and identity affiliation scores of entire sample and six “unique” cases

	Mean score cognitive empathy (range = 0-6)	Mean score affective empathy (range = 0-6)	Mean score degree of affiliation with ascribed identity group (range = 0-6)
Total sample (n = 22)	3.05	2.68	2.36
Six “unique” cases only (n = 6)	1.83	1.83	1.17
Difference	1.22	.85	1.19

The impact of these six “unique” cases on the correlations was mixed. The correlation between total affective and cognitive empathic scores, minus the scores of the six “unique” students, was $r(14) = .77, p \leq .05$, which was nearly identical to the correlation with the six students included. The correlation between total identity affiliation scores and total cognitive empathic scores increased from $r(20) = .47, p \leq .05$ to $r(14) = .56, p \leq .05$. However, even with the increase, still only approximately one third (31%) of the variance in students’ cognitive empathy scores could be predicted by their identity scores. Meanwhile, the correlation between total identity group affiliation scores and total affective empathic scores decreased with exclusion of the six “unique” cases. However, this correlation, like that between identity and affective empathy scores for the full sample, was non-significant. Including these six “unique” cases made some difference to the statistical outcomes. However, whether they were included or excluded did not change my basic finding that degree of cognitive or affective empathy evident in students’ responses was *not* highly related to degree of affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to them.

Males versus females. Recall that boys were underrepresented in my sample relative to the population. A smaller percentage of boys than girls completed at least part of all five tasks, the condition for inclusion in the sample. The pattern of male aversion to writing that the Education Director had warned me of was reflected in the responses of the seven male students in the sample. None provided the extensive written responses that a few female students did.

Means for cognitive empathy, affective empathy, and identity affiliation were all lower for males than females in this total sample of 22 students. The biggest difference was in the mean for degree of affiliation with ascribed identity group(s). Overall, the responses of the seven boys in this sample demonstrated a weaker degree of affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to them than the girls' responses did. The most interesting gender difference appeared in the correlation between cognitive and affective empathy. This correlation for females was $r(13) = .65, p \leq .05$. However, for males it was $r(5) = .91, p \leq .05$. These correlations suggest that for these 22 students on these tasks, ability and disposition to engage in cognitive and affective empathy were much more predictive of one another for males than for females. The results of all correlational analyses are summarized in the table below.

Table V.10. Summary of means and correlations for cognitive empathy, affective empathy, and identity affiliation for full sample, sample minus “unique” cases, and males versus females†

	All students in sample (n = 22)	Sample minus 6 “unique” cases (n = 16)	“Unique” cases only (n = 6)	Males only (n = 7)	Females only (n = 15)
Mean – degree of cognitive empathy (CE) demonstrated†	3.05	3.5	1.83	2.71	3.2
Mean – degree of affective empathy (AE) demonstrated†	2.68	3	1.83	2.57	2.73
Mean – degree of affiliation with ascribed identity group†	2.36	2.81	1.17	1.86	2.6
Correlation – CE and AE	.76*	.77*	.43	.91*	.65*
Correlation – Identity Affiliation and CE	.47*	.56*	-.36	.56	.47
Correlation – Identity Affiliation and AE	.31	.15	.40	.68	.23

* = significant at $p \leq .05$

†Possible scores on each construct ranged from 0-6.

Historical Empathy and Historical Literacy Findings

All findings reported thus far have been in relation to Tasks 1, 2, 4, and 5. Task 3 sat apart from the other tasks as an assessment of historical empathy and historical literacy. Part 1 asked students to explain why many Jews accepted the Partition Plan for Palestine proposed by the UN in 1947 and then why many Palestinians rejected it. This task required historical empathy – the ability to “put one’s self in the shoes of people in the past” – in order to produce historically plausible rationales for their actions. Part 2 of Task 3 assessed students’ historical literacy skills in relation to evaluation of the accuracy of a novel text, and Part 3 of Task 3 asked students for their personal judgments on the rightness or wrongness of the decisions made by many Palestinians and many Jews in 1947. While historical empathy was not required in the Part 3, it offered students’ a second opportunity to demonstrate a deeper level of historical empathy as

they made their judgments. In this final section, I examine closely findings derived from students' responses to each part of Task 3.

Historical Empathy

Twenty (91%) of the 22 students in the sample demonstrated at least some historical empathy by providing at least one historically plausible explanation regarding why many Jews accepted and many Palestinians rejected the proposed Partition Plan in 1947.⁶⁶ However, they varied in the depth of the content knowledge upon which they based their explanations. Strong demonstration of historical empathy requires factual knowledge of the historical context, including what the individuals involved could have known. Far fewer (6 of the 22 students or 27%) demonstrated such knowledge on this task. Students varied even further in their demonstration of historical empathy when asked to evaluate the decisions of their ancestors.

Historical empathy – Task 3, Part 1. The students' textbook referred to a number of factors that students could have mentioned to explain many Jews' acceptance and many Palestinians' rejection of the Partition Plan for Palestine proposed by the UN in 1947.⁶⁷ All but two of the 22 students (91%) provided a response that indicated some awareness of these factors. The most common explanations given were that the Plan was perceived as unfair by Palestinians and that Jews were the territorial "winners" and Palestinians the territorial "losers." Palestinian student, Sumaya's explanation represents the unfairness argument. She wrote, "A lot [of Palestinians] refused because there is no right for another human being to interfere in partitioning

⁶⁶ The tables I created to analyze students' responses to all three parts of this task may be found in Appendix K.

⁶⁷ These factors include: Palestinians' had significantly more land and significantly outnumbered Jews in 1947, yet the plan gave a majority of land to the Jews. Many Palestinians believed any action by an outside body that did not include them violated the UN guaranteed right of all peoples to self-determination. Jews did not have a state and after the Holocaust many felt acutely the need to have a state where they would be the majority. The Plan was perceived by many Jews as a first step toward statehood and possible later territorial gain. Other Jews perceived it in religious terms as fulfillment of an entitlement or dream.

their land and homes.” Jewish student Shimon’s explanation represents the “winners and losers” argument. He wrote,

Most Palestinians rejected because it wasn’t to their advantage and they gave them [the Jews] more territory. [Most Jews accepted] because this was to their advantage, more territory to the Jews.

A Palestinian student, Bara, said simply, “[Many Palestinians rejected] because it’s their land and they are the losers. [Many Jews accepted] because it’s not their land they are the winners.”

The explanations of each of the 20 students who responded to this first part of the task, whether Jewish, Palestinian, or “from a different background” demonstrated understanding that the plan was perceived by many Jews at the time as to their advantage and by many Palestinians at the time as to their disadvantage and that these perceptions involved how the land was divided. In this sense, each demonstrated historical empathy. However, a smaller portion of the 20 students (12 or 55%) provided explanations that included any of the other historical facts that contributed to these perceptions. For example, seven students (32%) mentioned Jews’ lack of a state as contributing to their acceptance of the Plan and of these, only one, Tamar, a student Raidah described as “from a different background,” mentioned persecution of Jews as related to that perceived need for a state. She wrote,

Many Jews accepted the Partition Plan the UN suggested since they were pursued in all of Europe and finally they got the opportunity to settle in a safe country where they will not be pursued. That’s why they agreed. Earlier, they had nothing and here they got a worthwhile suggestion. Obviously, they would agree.

Only three students (14%) mentioned that in 1947, Palestinians held significant majorities in population and land ownership. For example, Mira, a Jewish student, wrote,

[Many Palestinians rejected] because the Jews were a minority in the country and ... [the UN] gave them a big part of the country. [Many Jews accepted for the] ...same reason, they were a minority and they were given a big part of the country.

Therefore, while the explanations of many students in this task demonstrated their ability to consider issues from the perspectives of individuals in the past (i.e., historical empathy), most did not demonstrate deep historical content knowledge to inform or “contextualize” that empathy. Based only on their responses to this one Task, I cannot determine whether students lacked such knowledge or simply did not make the effort to provide more complete explanations.

Historical empathy – Task 3, Part 3. History education researchers studying historical empathy have tended to discourage students’ affective engagement with the perspectives of others, fearing that students’ responses will reflect presentism (e.g., O. L. Davis et al., 2001; Riley, Washington, & Humphries, 2011). However, moral evaluation and judgment are increasingly recognized as an essential part of historical empathy, and of historical thinking and civic engagement more generally (Barr, 2005; Bellino & Selman, 2012; Endacott, 2010; B. Maxwell, 2008; Nokes, 2013). The challenge is how to encourage students to judge actions of those in the past with historical empathy, as well as from their own perspectives in the present, while recognizing the difference. We do not want students to summarily reject the actions of those in past, nor do we want them to summarily accept those actions in morally relativistic terms. The challenge is to walk this line.

Part 3 of Task 3 asked students to judge the decisions of both Jews and Palestinians in 1947 *from their perspective today*. Students were asked, “I think many Jews made the right/wrong decision in accepting the Partition Plan because....” They were then asked to answer the same question for Palestinians. Although these prompts did not require it, they provided

students another opportunity to demonstrate historical empathy, this time at a more sophisticated level. They offered students the opportunity to judge the actions of those in the past with the benefit of hindsight, while simultaneously maintaining an empathic stance toward the decisions they made, *while keeping the two kinds of thinking distinct*.

Overall, somewhat fewer –15 of the 22 students or 68% of the sample – responded to the prompts in Part 3 than to those in Part 1. (Each of the seven non-respondents was Palestinian.) I could not determine if non-responses were because they were tired or disinterested or because they found the task difficult or discomforting.⁶⁸ Of the 15 students who responded to this part of the Task, two (9%), one Palestinian and one Jewish, evaluated *only* the actions of the Other. Chanah, the Jewish student, wrote regarding the decision of many Palestinians to reject, “Wrong because in my opinion if they accepted the Partition Plan they would have been in a better situation than now.” And Yasin, the Palestinian student, wrote, “[The Jews’ acceptance was] wrong because the Palestinians didn’t want to partition or divide the state.” Neither student evaluated the decision of his or her identity group; each only evaluated the decision of the other identity group.

The other 13 respondents (59% of the sample) evaluated the actions of *each* party to some degree. However, sometimes their evaluations were based on hindsight only, sometimes on judgments regarding the perceptions of people at the time only, and sometimes on a combination of these. For example, Omar, a Palestinian student, wrote,

[The Jews’ acceptance of the Plan was] wrong. The state was for the Palestinians, and they had no right to come and take it from them. [The Palestinians’ rejection was also] wrong. They should have accepted and all of this would not have happened.

⁶⁸ In the Methods chapter, I explained how very awkward timing for administration of Task 3, as well as the Task’s length and complexity in terms of reading and writing, may well have contributed to the lower response rates to Task 3 compared to the other tasks.

In this response, he negatively evaluated the decision made by many Jews based on his judgment of its unfairness to many Palestinians *at that time*. He did not consider the perspective of Jews then or now. Meanwhile, he evaluated the decision made by many Palestinians based on his understanding of *present circumstances*. He implied through the first part of his response that Palestinians' decision to reject then was logical but did not explicitly say so.

In another example, a student from "a different background," Hania, wrote,

[Regarding Jews' acceptance] Right - As of now there is a state. It's the state of Israel.

[Regarding Palestinians' rejection] Right - They want a state of their own.

In these statements, she evaluated the decision made by many Jews in 1947 *from her contemporary perspective only*. To her, Jews made a good decision then because now there is the state of Israel. However, she evaluated the decision made by many Palestinians in 1948 *from their perspective then only*. She argued that Palestinians made a good decision because they wanted a state of their own. She did not consider the perspectives of either *Jews then* or *Palestinians today* in her responses. Furthermore, her judgment of the rightness of the decision made by many Jews in 1947 to accept the Partition Plan reflects teleological thinking, which is called historical determinism among historians. Essentially, she said, "Jews then made the right decision because it resulted in the good outcome we have today."

Task 3, Part 3 asked only for evaluation or judgment. However, without considering empathically the perspectives of individuals in the past, judgments based on knowledge of current circumstances alone can end up blaming the losers for their current situation. For example, by not addressing why Palestinians rejected the Plan, Chanah's response to their decision was "wrong because in my opinion if they accepted the Partition Plan they would have been in a better situation than now." Her response seems to imply that "They had their chance

and blew it. Their situation today is their fault.” Chanah’s non-empathic response can be compared with that of Mira, another Jewish student, who argued, “They should have accepted the Partition then, *even though this wasn’t logical towards them* [emphasis added], since this was the best plan they have gotten.” In contrast to Chanah, Mira acknowledged that while hindsight has demonstrated the Palestinians’ miscalculation, it was “illogical” to them to accept the Plan at the time.

Lack of historical empathy in students’ judgments may have been a function of the task wording. In the concluding chapter, I discuss ways that I would modify this task for future use to better elicit both types of judgments from students. Meanwhile, with the wording I provided, only three of the 22 students (14%) – two “Other” and one Jewish – consistently demonstrated this deeper level of historical empathy. They judged the actions of *both* Jews and Palestinians in terms of *both* the context of the times and from their perspective today with the benefit of hindsight. And they did so while maintaining awareness of the distinction between these different kinds of judgment. This enabled them to avoid both presentism and blame. For example, Tamar, whom Raidah had described as from “a different background,” wrote,

[Regarding the decision of many Jews] Today the situation is not good. There are always wars for who will rule the country in the end...I think an Arab-Jewish state is the solution. Besides, they pursued the Jews in the world so it’s clear the Jews will agree on a solution. They [Palestinians] didn’t make a correct decision because the situation is very hard and if they accepted then we would be living in the country, although not in peace and quiet but there wouldn’t be refugees at this magnitude...And all would not be willing...But they cannot be blamed. They couldn’t prophesize the future...They were [here] first so why should they give their lands to a strange people? ...

In her response, she first explained why, from her perspective today, she believes a two-state solution is the only way forward. Then she described why many Jews from their perspective in 1947 also accepted such a solution. Next she explained why, from her perspective today, Palestinians made a poor choice back then. She concluded by saying, however, that Palestinians today cannot be blamed for the choice made by their ancestors because “They couldn’t prophesize the future.” She argued empathically that the decision was not fair to them at the time so why would they have accepted it then?

Two other students, Mariel, a Jewish student, and Jamila, another student “from a different background,” provided similarly complex responses that indicated deep historical empathy. Mariel wrote,

[Regarding the decision of many Jews] Right - It improved their situation compared to before, and they got lands according to that. In addition to that, the Partition Plan was more fair than today’s situation or reality. [Regarding the decision of many Palestinians] Wrong - Even though the Plan was not that fair towards them, in the end, their situation got worse and today they have less land, less rights and they have no state.

And Jamila, wrote,

For me both [judgments – right and wrong –] are correct, each from a different way:
[Regarding the decision of many Jews] Agree: Because they butchered them in Europe and they didn’t have their own country. Don’t Agree: Because they live at the expense of others and in their land. [Regarding the decision of many Palestinians] In this case, I also think they made both the right and wrong decision. Correct: Because they defended their land and fought in order to live in their homeland. Wrong: Because if they had

cooperated with the Jews maybe they would live in two cities in peace and safety, but their greed led them to lose everything.

This level of historical empathy is far more sophisticated and difficult than the one assessed in Part 1 of this Task. However, it is also essential for reconciliation in a situation of ongoing conflict or where inequities caused by past injustices persist. In either case, blame for decisions made by those in the past, without acknowledgement of the logic of those decisions to those at the time, is an obstacle to progress in the present.

Historical Literacy

The second part of Task 3 asked students to read a short, unfamiliar text on the 1947 Partition and ensuing war, and then evaluate its accuracy. As I discussed in the Methods chapter, I took the text from the New York Times' Learning Network page designed for teachers and students. The text had an objective, authoritative stance, yet contained several assertions that are highly contested. Specifically, it used "Palestine" to refer to the geographical area that became Israel after 1948. This is contested by many Jews, who refer to the pre-1948 place instead as "Eretz Israel," meaning "the [historic and biblical] land of Israel." Meanwhile, its references to Palestinian Arabs' "fleeing" and to "Arab armies invading" are contested by Palestinians and also by many Israeli Jewish historians who argue that that in the events surrounding the declaration of Israeli statehood tens of thousands of Palestinians were forcibly driven out by Israeli army soldiers and Jewish paramilitaries. Evidence of the contested nature of these passages is that both my Jewish and Palestinian professional interpreters objected to and wanted to edit the respective references. However, I insisted that they translate them as written in order to see if students identified any of these passages as problematic.

Historical literacy – Task 3, Part 2. Like Part 3 above, response rates to this part of Task 3 were lower than to Part 1. Six of the 22 students (27% of the sample), four Palestinian and two Jewish students, did not write anything in response to the prompt in Part 2. Holistic analysis of the responses of the 16 remaining students revealed that their answers fell into one of five response types. I did not try to apply numeric values to students' responses as I did their empathic and identity responses. Instead, I sorted them into five primary "response types" in an analytic table.⁶⁹

A first response type was lack of sufficient knowledge. Five students (23% of the sample) expressed that they did not feel that they knew enough to evaluate the text's accuracy.⁷⁰ For example, Jamila wrote, "I don't know because I wasn't there in that period and that's why I can't imagine if it's logical or not." She seemed unaware that historians make judgments all the time about events with which they are not personally familiar and that being present at an event does not make one automatically a reliable informant. Another student, Hania said simply, "I don't know if this is true or not because I never learned about this. Therefore, I have no other version." While indicating lack of knowledge, her response indicated awareness that there might be multiple "versions" of these events.

In a second response type, three students (14% of the sample) critiqued the unfairness of the 1947 Partition Plan itself, rather than critiquing the accuracy of the text as called for. For example, Sumaya, a Palestinian student wrote, "In my opinion the description of the 1947 Partition is not correct because in my opinion, no one has the right to get someone else's home by force and without permission of the homeowner." She evaluated the accuracy of the text

⁶⁹ The analytic tables used to analyze students' responses to all three parts of this Task may be found in Appendix K.

⁷⁰ Two students provided responses that fell into more than one category of response type.

based upon its correspondence to her perception of the fairness of the Partition Plan that was described in the text, rather than upon any claims or evidence for them offered in the text.

A third response type involved surface features of the text (e.g., tone, inclusion of data such as dates or place names) which five students (23% of the sample) claimed “proved” its accuracy. For example, Sundus, a Palestinian student wrote, “...I believe that it is true since evidences are happening [provided] inside it, and this gives us the assurance that it is true.” Similarly, Mariel, a Jewish student took issue with the task arguing, “I don’t “agree” and I am opposed to what is written [in the question] because those are facts, and I cannot agree or not agree with facts.”

In a fourth response type, three students (14% of the sample) argued that the text was correct because it accorded with their opinions or prior knowledge. For example, Yaffa, a Jewish student, wrote, “In my opinion, the description is correct because it describes my point of view, and the world view that I grew up with and according to which I was raised.” This type of response was similar to those given by the students in the second category above who evaluated the accuracy of the text based upon their perspectives regarding the fairness of the Plan it described. Students whose answers fell within any of the four response types I have just described – being unable to judge because they were “not there,” evaluating accuracy of a text based upon it’s similitude to one’s beliefs or perceptions about the content being discussed in the text, and judging the accuracy of a text based on its having “facts and figures” to support its assertions – did not appear to understand that none of these are reliable bases for judging the accuracy of a historical text.

Only two of the 22 students (9% of the sample) provided responses that critiqued the accuracy of specific claims, language, or information in the text as called for. The first, Rawia, a Palestinian student, wrote,

The beginning of the narrative is correct but there are several wrong points. In my opinion, first Palestinian Arabs did not run away but were forced to run or escape at the hands of the Israeli and Zionist armies and they became refugees. Secondly, the Arab armies didn't attack the Israeli armies but started to demonstrate [protest] and then after that the wars were ignited between them and not because of the Arabs/Arab armies.

Tamar also analyzed claims within the text itself. She circled several of the assertions in the text that I anticipated would be controversial because they contradict interpretation of events generally found in either the Israeli Jewish or Palestinian narratives (e.g., use of the word "Palestine" to refer to pre-1948 Israel in the first paragraph which many Jews reject, or the reference in the fourth paragraph to Arabs "fleeing" and the Arab armies "invading" in 1948, which many Palestinians reject). She wrote in her explanation that the text was "Partly correct. It doesn't tell both narratives. This text is as if it's looking from the side..."

Both of these students drew upon their knowledge of historical events to judge the accuracy of the text. In addition, Tamar seemed somewhat aware that the account is biased toward one of the two narratives. However, neither of these students discussed possible reasons for the bias in perspectives that they noted. For example, they might have referred to the authorship of the text as a potential explanation for the biases they saw, a historical literacy skill described by history education researchers as "sourcing." They might also have stated that all texts have biases and therefore, this text must be corroborated with other texts representing other perspectives in order to evaluate its accuracy. Overall, on this part of Task 3, the students in this

sample did not demonstrate either the strong historical knowledge or historical literacy skills which undergird historical thinking. I shared this information with the teachers and staff at the school, as they encouraged me to do.

Comparisons of students' historical empathy and historical literacy responses to their empathic and identity responses. For several reasons, I do not feel comfortable investigating possible correlations between students' historical empathic and historical literacy responses in Task 3 and their empathic and identity responses to the other tasks. First, the three parts of this task made it long and intellectually challenging. Most likely for these reasons, the response rates for each part of this task were lower than for the other tasks. Only 13 students (59% of the sample) provided some response as instructed to each part of Task 3. Secondly, I did not have multiple tasks that assessed the concepts in Task 3 (i.e., historical empathy and historical literacy). Therefore, I could not triangulate my findings to the degree I would have liked to. Finally, as I described more fully in the Methods chapter, Task 3 was administered by the teachers in the middle of another activity in which students were very engaged. Therefore, many students devoted less attention and time to this task than to some of the others.

With these stipulations, however, I did note anecdotally that several of the students who provided the strongest historical literacy responses in Part 3 of this task also provided some of the strongest historical empathic and empathic responses on other parts of Task 3 and on Tasks 1, 2 and 4, namely Rawia, a Palestinian student, and Tamar, a student Raidah described as from "a different background.". On the other hand, several other students who also provided strong empathic responses provided less able responses to any part of Task 3 including Irit, Mariel, Jamila, Sundus, Yaffa, and Bara. These patterns and non-patterns suggest to me that psychological empathy, historical empathy, historical literacy, and identity affiliation may be

somewhat independent constructs. Each of the first three must be taught and reinforced if it is to be skillfully and willfully demonstrated, while the fourth, identity affiliation, does not appear to preclude any of the others. These possibilities warrant further exploration in future research.

Summary

In contrast to expectations derived from prior research, each student in this sample demonstrated at least some cognitive and/or affective empathy on the perspective-taking tasks that I asked of them; many demonstrated a notable degree of empathy. This is especially surprising and noteworthy because they were asked to consider historical perspectives that many indicated via their responses were highly salient to them. Furthermore, they live in an environment where these matters of interpretation can have life and death consequences. They also demonstrated diverse identity affiliations despite the somewhat essentialized identities that are ascribed to them by the adults around them. Furthermore, and perhaps most encouragingly, the strength of their affiliations with the identities ascribed to them did not appear to preclude strong cognitive and affective responses. Finally, the students demonstrated historical empathic skills but relatively weaker historical literacy skills and knowledge. This is not unexpected given that the school has until very recently emphasized empathy and identity. Strengthening historical thinking is a relatively recent focus of the curriculum. It is worth reiterating that these results pertain only to one year – the first year of their multi-component dual-narrative approach – and derive from written tasks (interviews may have generated stronger or different results).

CHAPTER VI

Discussion

In the two prior chapters, I discussed findings of this study related to teaching for and learning of empathy and historical thinking. In this chapter, I integrate the two. I highlight key findings and indicate where specific findings extend or challenge the literature on empathy and/or history education.

Learning Empathy in History/Social Studies Classrooms

I have defined empathy as ability and inclination to understand the views and feelings of others. As I explained in the Literature Review chapter, both the history education (e.g., Gottlieb & Wineburg, 2012; Porat, 2005) and psychological literature on empathy (e.g., Gehlbach, Brinkworth, & Wang, 2012; Hoffman, 2000) suggest that being able and willing to empathize with the Other ought to be difficult, if not impossible, when the issues being discussed are salient to one's identity. The student learning findings of this study challenge that supposition. They suggest that while empathy under such conditions certainly is not easy, neither is it impossible. Furthermore, they suggest that strong identity group affiliation may not automatically preclude empathy for the perspectives of those from other identity groups, as the literature implies. In fact, study findings suggest that confidence in one's identity may enable empathic thinking. Finally, both teaching and learning findings of this study suggest that under supportive instructional conditions, empathy, identity, and historical thinking may be compatible learning goals and outcomes. Creating and sustaining "supportive" conditions, however, involves many interrelated instructional choices and actions.

Students Can Think Empathically, Even Regarding Highly Contested Issues Salient to Their Identities

Even in this highly conflicted environment, and despite the highly contested nature of the historical issues discussed in the tasks, every one of the 22 students in my sample exhibited at least some degree of empathy on at least one of the tasks. Furthermore, many students demonstrated significant capability and willingness to thinking empathically across tasks. Greater proportions of the Palestinian students, and students from a background other than Israeli Jewish or Palestinian, demonstrated the highest levels of empathy compared to the Israeli Jewish students in the sample. However, students from all three identity backgrounds demonstrated at least some degree of empathy.

Many students demonstrated both cognitive and affective dimensions of empathy.

These tasks offered students the opportunity to demonstrate both cognitive (historical meaning and significance) and affective (emotional meaning) dimensions of the perspectives of the Other on historically controversial and contested issues. Perhaps the most emotionally challenging of the three empathy tasks asked students to imagine the meanings to the Other of the two pivotal memorial days (i.e., Yom HaZikaron and Al Nakba Day). Each day commemorates events that rebuke themes of the collective historical narrative of the other identity group regarding responsibility for the conflict. Yet, even on this task, most students, including many who demonstrated strong affiliation with their ascribed identity group(s), demonstrated some degree of either cognitive or affective empathy or both toward the Other.

Students demonstrated empathy in both anticipated and unanticipated ways. I

expected that at least some of the students would respond empathically to the tasks I asked them to complete. However, I did not anticipate several additional ways that students would

demonstrate empathy beyond what was asked of them by the tasks. For example, 10 students (six Palestinian, two Israeli Jewish, and two from different backgrounds) chose to respond to the first part of Tasks 1 and/or 2 – the part where they were asked to provide *their* perspective on the historical significance of events, persons, etc., which I expected would reflect the narrative of their identity group – by including events, persons, and concepts that are significant to the narrative of *the Other*. Their explanations indicated that some of these students routinely incorporate perspectives of the Other in their assessments of historical significance, while others acknowledge the Other’s perspectives as important, even when they disagree with them. In the context of this conflict, which is long-standing, violent, and omnipresent in students’ lives, such responses were surprising and hopeful.

Language use was a second form of unanticipated demonstration of empathy evinced by many students in my sample. Almost half (five students – 42%) of the 12 Palestinian students in the sample chose to use Hebrew to represent their inferences regarding perspectives of their Jewish classmates, while using Arabic to refer to their own perspectives. The responses of these students reinforced their teacher, Raidah’s, perception of the interrelation of language and identity. Whether some Jewish students also would have used Arabic to reflect their inferences regarding their Palestinian classmates’ perspectives is unclear since their Arabic language skills likely were not sufficiently developed to enable them to do so. Furthermore, given that Jews constitute the majority group in Israel, their sensitivities regarding language and identity might differ. This relationship between language, identity, and historical narrative is worthy of further investigation.

Finally, 15 students (68% of the sample), including students from all three identity groupings (Israeli Jewish, Palestinian, and those from a different background) attributed empathy

to their classmates. These students responded in ways that demonstrated that they were able and willing to plausibly infer the perspectives of others, which I had asked them to do. However, their answers also indicated that they imagined their classmates would be able and willing to do the same for them. Their attribution of empathy to the Other reflected trust in and respect for their classmates, another hopeful and unanticipated outcome.

Most students also demonstrated historical empathy, although few did so at a sophisticated level. On Part 1 of Task 3, most students in my sample (20 students – 91% of the sample) demonstrated historical empathy regarding the decisions of many Jews and Palestinians in 1947 to accept or reject the UN Partition Plan. Their responses indicated awareness that the Plan *at the time* was perceived as unfair by many Palestinians and as an opportunity by many Jews. Many fewer (6 students – 27% of the sample), however, provided any historical evidence to substantiate their responses, such as references to differences in population or land ownership of each group compared to their allotments under the Plan, which could explain those perceptions. In addition, in Part 3 of Task 2, only three students (14% of the sample) demonstrated the ability to distinguish between their inferences regarding the motivations that informed peoples' actions *then*, and their evaluations of those actions *today*, a more sophisticated extension of historical empathy.

Identity and Empathy May Be Compatible, and Indeed Even Mutually Reinforcing, Outcomes

Contrary to expectations derived from existing literature, the ability and willingness of the students in this study to think empathically was *not* limited by strong identity group affiliation (either ascribed or self-defined). Qualitative analysis of students' empathic responses and identity responses suggested that there was no consistent relationship between students'

empathic and identity responses. Furthermore, some of the students who indicated the strongest degree of affiliation with the identity(ies) ascribed to them (e.g., Rawia, Sundus, Yaffa) also demonstrated the strongest degree of cognitive and affective empathy for the Other. Scoring of students' empathic and identity responses via rubrics allowed me to conduct secondary statistical analyses of possible relationships between these variables. Those analyses confirmed the lack of a strong relationship between degree of empathy and identity affiliation demonstrated on these tasks at this time among the students in my sample. (My sample was small; a larger sample might have yielded different results.)

My findings appear to support and extend other research which found that when students attend schools under “optimal” integrated conditions where identity differences are not shied away from and are equitably affirmed, their natural tendency to “essentialize” the identity of the Other is reduced (Birnbaum, Deeb, Segall, Ben-Eliyahu, & Diesendruck, 2010; Deeb, Segall, Birnbaum, Ben-Eliyahu, & Diesendruck, 2011). In these studies, “optimal” intergroup instructional conditions were those specified by Contact Theory (Allport, 1954), namely, equal status among groups, shared goals, cooperation, and support from authorities. Hand in Hand schools are put forth as meeting these “optimal” intergroup instructional conditions. The lack of a strong relationship between identity affiliation and empathy among the students in my study raises the possibility that by teaching the narratives, which represent the collective memories, of each predominate identity group, the identities of students are affirmed, giving them the courage, confidence, and generosity to be able and willing to consider other perspectives. Further research would be necessary to validate this possibility.

Teaching for Empathy in History/Social Studies Classrooms

Historical “Narratives” Are an Important Feature of This School’s Unique Approach to History Education

It appears that the curricular choices made by the teachers and administrators in this school may be contributing to students’ empathic and other learning outcomes. Their choices are extremely unusual both for societies involved in or recently having emerged from violent conflict, as well as for stable democracies such as our own. In particular, their choice to teach the opposing historical *narratives* of each primary identity group is rare and complicates much of customary wisdom and guidance regarding how history should be taught in either type of setting.

Teaching “narratives” has many negative connotations in British and American history education research. Despite the fact that the narrative process is fundamental to historiography, many historians and history education researchers, at least in Anglophone countries, view teaching of identity group narratives as antithetical to the objectivity and intellectual rigor strived for through a disciplinary approach. Identity group narratives, sometimes also called “heritage” narratives, are equated with collective memories, which are viewed as inexorably selective and biased, and with deliberate attempts to manipulate public opinion or shape beliefs (e.g., Lowenthal, 1998; MacMillan, 2008). In addition, emphasizing the varied historical experiences of different identity groups is frequently seen as divisive and counterproductive to pluralism. (Bellino, 2014a; Schlesinger, 1992; Symcox, 2002; Taylor & Guyver, 2012).

Hand in Hand teachers, administrators, and their academic collaborators view teaching historical narratives differently. In contrast to these critical attitudes toward narratives, among the 9th grade teachers, Max Rayne and Hand in Hand administrators, and

academics that I interviewed for this study, historical narratives are viewed as natural and inevitable pillars of individual and collective identity. Their view of the “naturalness” of narratives resembles that of cognitive scientist Bruner, who has argued that narrative is the paradigmatic way in which we make sense of the human world and our place within it (1991).⁷¹ In addition, their concept of the role of narratives in undergirding individual and collective identity resembles that of socio-cultural learning theorists such as Wertsch, who wrote of narratives, “Remembering what ‘we’ did or what others did to ‘us’ is a sort of invitation to create an image of who ‘we’ are in the first place (2012, p. 18).” Hand in Hand teachers, administrators, and their academic collaborators would likely agree with Wertsch (2004) who called for putting analysis of identity-group narratives at the center of studies of historical consciousness.

Like the Anglophone critics of teaching narratives, each interviewee described historical narratives as incomplete accounts of the past constructed from collective memories, which are themselves biased. They felt that no one historical narrative is completely truthful or accounts for all experiences, and that it is possible to compile multiple plausible accounts from the same limited evidence.⁷² They conceded that narratives may be deliberately manipulated (what Maor called “recruited”) for nefarious purposes such as to manipulate public opinion, justify inequalities, or seal affiliation within an identity group.⁷³ However, they argued that the fact that

⁷¹ Bruner contrasted the narrative way of thinking by which he argued we understand the human world to the logical and experimental way of thinking by which we understand the natural world.

⁷² An example where Jewish and Palestinian historical narratives differ, yet neither is “right” or “wrong,” is use of the term “Palestine” versus “Eretz Israel” to refer to the territory that is today known as Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. This is not a question that can be resolved through recourse to historical evidence since each side’s perspective is based on ancient and even biblical claims and assumed emotional identities, as PRIME textbook project co-founder, Dr. Sami Adwan argued. He wrote, “... What is the definition of “Eretz Israel?” Is it from the Nile to the Euphrates or from the [Mediterranean] sea to the [Jordan] river? If this term continues to be used, it signifies a complete denial of the existence of Palestine. On the other hand, if the term “Palestine,” as it has been used historically, remains identified as the land from the sea to the river, then it also signifies denial of the existence of Israel. Thus, there are differences in the terms that are employed, as well as what is meant by those terms (Just Vision, 2015).”

⁷³ An example of such narrative manipulation might be the persistence of the “voluntary exodus” argument in Israeli textbooks and popular discourse to explain how Palestinians became refugees in 1948 and to reject Palestinians’

some historical narratives are “recruited” does not discredit all narratives. They also argued that the fact that all historical narratives are partial and biased does not negate their pedagogical usefulness.

Historical narratives are linear and teleological. They incorporate events within broad themes (e.g., progress toward democracy) that connect events and give them significance. These themes, and the way they guide selection and interpretation of the significance of events, can be compared. In such ways, the 9th grade teachers, Max Rayne and Hand in Hand administrators, and academics who co-directed the PRIME textbook project believe teaching identity-based historical narratives not only supports empathic and identity goals but is compatible with historical thinking.⁷⁴ Evidence that they perceive these goals as compatible is that Hand in Hand staff continue to collaborate with renowned Palestinian and Jewish historians to write, rewrite, and expand their dual-narrative curriculum. Similarly, the PRIME project that produced the dual-narrative textbook used by the 9th grade teachers resulted from a close collaboration of classroom teachers and esteemed university historians and psychologists.

Teaching the Opposing Palestinian and Israeli Jewish Historical Narratives *Side-By-Side* Is a Fundamental Component of Hand In Hand’s Approach to Reconciliation of Their Instructional Goals

After much experimentation, the 9th grade history teachers and administrators in this school have concluded that teaching the historical narratives of each identity group *side-by-side* helps facilitate their empathic, identity, and critical thinking goals. They believe paired teaching of the contested Israeli Jewish and Palestinian narratives illustrates how different people can look

claims to a Right of Return. This argument has been disproven by Israeli Jewish and many other historians based upon documentary evidence (Pappé, 2006).

⁷⁴ In his writings and in our two interviews, Bekerman conveyed a somewhat less sanguine perspective about their compatibility but nonetheless continues to be a critical friend of the Network.

at the same situation and interpret it differently, which is considered good preparation for citizenship in a pluralist society. They also believe doing so equitably affirms students' identities. And they believe it builds upon students' background knowledge, as well as providing other cognitive advantages that facilitate students' historical understanding.

Teaching dual-narratives promotes equity and positive identity of each group. As I argued in the Methods chapter, promoting positive and strong individual and group identities is a key goal of all Hand in Hand network schools. In this bilingual, integrated, Arab-Jewish setting, parents of both identity backgrounds expect that their children's identities will be affirmed in the school. Furthermore, they appear to share the belief of teachers and administrators that historical narratives are central to individual and group identity; therefore, incorporating the narratives of each identity group is required to affirm each group's identity. Each of the teachers, administrators, and academics that I interviewed for this study also argued that equity and mutual respect require that both narratives be taught *alongside* one another in the classroom. This was considered particularly important for the Palestinian narrative, which is not reflected in the national narrative taught in the separate government schools for either Jews or Palestinians in Israel. Inserting selected texts representing a Palestinian perspective to challenge the official Israeli textbook narrative was considered insufficient to ensure equity.

Teaching dual-narratives promotes empathy. Every one of the teachers, administrators, and academics interviewed for this study argued that in order to know the Other, to know why he/she does the things they do, one must know the historical narrative(s) that propel, motivate, and sustain him or her. Such understanding is distinct from acceptance of his/her perspectives and is fundamental to reconciliation. Their arguments are similar to that of historian and history educator, Calder, who argues that recognizing "...the plausibility of

sophisticated narratives that are different from their own...,” (2013, p. 8) is an essential constituent of empathy and is an important component of historical understanding. I concur with the Max Rayne School and Hand in Hand teachers and staff and the academics I interviewed that recognizing that reasonable people can view events and issues very differently is critical to enable students to contribute to building a reconciled and just Israeli society that embraces its diversity.

Teaching dual-narratives facilitates historical thinking and understanding. The students in the Max Rayne School (and the other Hand in Hand network schools) bring a variety of collective memories undergirding different historical narratives to the classroom. They “know” a lot of history already, even if it may be incomplete or inaccurate. In many cases, their historical perspectives are informed by family and personal experiences of the conflict. Once again, the 9th grade history teachers, school and network administrators, and the academics who developed the dual-narrative textbook concurred that teaching via a dual-narrative approach not only encourages positive identity development and empathy for the Other, it also promotes students’ historical thinking and understanding in several ways.

First, they argued that by incorporating the prior knowledge of all their students – not just those whose narrative is privileged through official sanction – it is more likely that all students will feel connected to the curriculum and will engage with it (Donovan et al., 1999; Lee, 2005). Engagement is necessary to challenge prior conceptions and retain knowledge. Their perspective is consistent with Wertsch’s (2000) research that demonstrated without such engagement, students may “learn” required official narratives that contradict their own yet maintain their prior conceptions outside of the school setting. There is evidence of this form of intellectual “resistance” among both Palestinian and Jewish students in Israel (Cook, 2016; Porat, 2005).

My interviewees also argued that teaching dual-narratives side by side highlights the interpretive, constructed, selective character of all historical narratives and the way history is used to justify claims in the present. Teaching dual-narratives highlights for students that the “facts” they know are part of a narrative, and there are other narratives that are built around other facts, or other interpretations of these same facts. They argued that when students encounter the narrative of the Other, it encourages them to question *their own* narrative, in addition to becoming acquainted with that of the Other.

Finally, according to all my interviewees (but most especially the PRIME project co-directors who discussed instruction in more conceptual terms than the teachers and administrators), narratives reflect our natural sense-making processes. They connect events through relationships to broader themes. They illustrate cause and effect and provide coherence that facilitates thinking and understanding. They argued that without narrative, historical events are more likely to appear as discrete, disconnected, and isolated, and students’ experiences of learning history are more likely to lack coherence. They felt that compared to juxtaposing sources that provide different perspectives about an event, juxtaposing dual-narratives more strongly promotes historical thinking by facilitating thematic coherence. Their rationale for favoring a dual-narrative approach is similar to the critique of several British and American history education researchers who have questioned the appropriateness of a strict disciplinary approach for secondary students who lack sufficient background knowledge to contextualize sources effectively (Calder, 2013; Halldén, 1997; Lee, 2005; Shemilt, 2000, 2009).

Dual-Narrative Instruction Involves Much More Than Just Teaching Two Narratives to be Effective

Experience acquired by the Max Rayne School 9th grade history teachers and their administrators, through trial and error with dual-narrative instruction, demonstrates that it involves much more than just teaching two narratives. They argued that many other pedagogical factors, including several introduced in the second year of experimentation with dual-narrative instruction (the year I observed) contributed to greater successfulness of their efforts in the second year.⁷⁵ They also believe they face many challenges that they have yet to resolve.

Co-teachers from both identity backgrounds and incorporation of both languages essential. Having co-teachers from both identity backgrounds, which they introduced in the second year, was considered essential by all three teachers in this study. They argued that doing so reinforces the identities of all students and ensures that each identity group has an ally in classroom, reducing feelings of defensiveness. Regarding using both languages, which they also introduced in the second year, Raidah felt especially strongly on this point. However, all three teachers agreed that language, narrative, and identity are intertwined. For this reason, they believe requiring greater use of Arabic is an important component of equity that signals respect and recognition of the Palestinian narrative. Although introducing an Arabic requirement was initially contentious, all three asserted that it contributed to making discussion of the two narratives less difficult in the second year.

Aid of a well-written dual-narrative text also is important. The teachers also argued that incorporating the dual-narrative text created by PRIME, which they felt was well-written,

⁷⁵ In addition to less dissension among students, the teachers described to me other anecdotal evidence that they felt illustrated the greater success of their efforts in the second year including: less contentiousness surrounding observance of the National Days (Yom HaZikaron and Al Nakba Day), fewer expressions of parental concern, increased retention of Jewish students after 9th grade, positive student comments, and high levels of student engagement.

contributed to improvement of their program in the second year. They argued that the text assembled and integrated evidence for each perspective in ways they could not do on their own, given their time constraints and limitations on each teacher's historical knowledge. Also, by giving each narrative equal "space" literally and figuratively, they felt it reinforced each group's identity. Furthermore, they argued that the textbook encouraged comparison and contrast of perspectives by physically placing interpretations of events side-by-side on the page and describing each viewpoint in accessible language. In this latter way, the text may have functioned to provide the kind of scaffolding that Wolfe & Goldman advocated in their description of "engineered" text (2005). Finally, they felt that the dual-narrative text depersonalized the representations of the each narrative. Maor, in particular, discussed how difficult he found it, as a teacher, to provide historical evidence that challenged his students' narratives. He cautioned that students will reject the challenging information entirely if they believe their teacher is trying to coerce or brainwash them with his/her ideas. The teachers felt that the textbook lessened the likelihood of this reaction by depersonalizing representations of each narrative. For the reason, as Gil suggested, the book may have contributed to promoting a relatively calmer, dispassionate way of learning about each narrative in the second year.

Additional Pedagogical Challenges Require Redress When Teaching Dual-Narratives

Besides incorporation of both languages, co-teachers from both backgrounds, and the dual-narrative text, the teachers described a number of other pedagogical actions that they learned, through trial and error, are essential to their efforts. Maor, in particular, was concerned that teaching dual-narratives can result in a figurative "war of narratives" where students talk past each other and ignore historical evidence, an outcome he referred to as "talking bullshit." A narrative "war" risks reinforcing identity group differences and competing victimizations, rather

than encouraging respect for the Other and self-questioning (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012). It may also ossify the past, rather than encouraging reconciliation and feelings of individual agency to change the future. The teachers have experimented with and adopted a number of pedagogical strategies that appear to be contributing to avoidance of a narrative “war.” Next, I discuss some of the most notable challenges the teachers reported facing and instructional strategies they have adopted or developed to address them.

Reification and essentialization of narratives and identities must be avoided.

Reification of narratives and essentialization of students’ identities are two of the most significant contributors to a narrative “war” when teaching contested historical narratives (Bekerman, 2009a, 2009b; Bekerman & HMaorczyk, 2004; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012). By “reification” of narratives, I mean treatment of each narrative as the complete, unchanging representation of the historical perspectives of that identity group, one that must not be challenged or critiqued. Essentialization of the narratives also means assuming that every member of an identity group “identifies” with his or her respective identity group’s narrative. By “essentialization” of identities, I mean treatment of any feature of a person’s identity (such as the ethnic or religious group into which he/she was born) as a fixed attribute that fully encompasses that person’s identity.

The students in this study expressed a complex mix of self-defined identities. Though none overtly rejected affiliation with the identity group(s) ascribed to them by Raidah, they varied in the degree to which they described their identities in either religious or ethnic terms (as their teacher, Raidah, had done) and the prominence they accorded to such affiliations. For example, one student, Jamila, whom Raidah described as “mixed” (i.e., half-Jewish, half-Arab) described herself, in Hebrew, as “a Muslim who speaks both Arabic and Hebrew. My identity is

not connected or tied to the place where I was born. For me the land is just land, regardless of the name.” She concluded by saying in English, “I’m a citizen of earth!” Other students also expressed nuanced identity affiliations, such as a Palestinian student who is “a Palestinian girl who lives in Israel and holds an Israeli ID” or a Jewish student who said she was an “Israeli, woman, Jewish (in terms of culture).” Several even provided descriptors that had nothing to do with ethnic or religious affiliation such as “gamer.” Finally, two students (9% of the sample) chose not to respond to the identity question at all.

The three 9th grade teachers, the school and network administrators, and the two PRIME project co-directors each expressed varying degrees of concern or awareness that treating narratives and identity differences too rigidly is an omnipresent danger when teaching via a dual-narrative approach. For example, each teacher expressed varying degrees of concern and understanding that no single narrative represents the totality of the experiences and perspectives of all the individuals who identify (or who are seen to identify) with a particular group, and that over-equating narrative perspectives with particular identity groups can inhibit students’ freedom to think independently. Each also argued (to varying degrees) that treating the narratives as sacrosanct simply because people believe them also discourages historical thinking and inhibits historical understanding.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Academics Sami Adwan and Eyal Naveh, co-directors of the dual-narrative textbook development project, expressed emphatically to me that they believe the narratives in the textbook represent the experience and perspectives of only a portion of both the Palestinian or Israeli Jewish communities and even then, neither narrative fully represents any one individual’s perspective. Nonetheless, they felt that these are the dominant narratives in political and public discourse and therefore, are important for students to be aware of. They were also adamant that they wish teachers to use the textbook in concert with other sources, preferably primary sources, and to encourage student critique of the narratives. Ultimately, they hope teachers will use the text to encourage students to develop their own narratives of the conflict, which is why they included the white lined space between the narratives in the text. As I discussed in the Literature Review chapter, Zvi Bekerman, who studied the network’s schools extensively for the first decade of their development, was particularly concerned about reification and essentialization, even when done for positive identity-promotion reasons. He views this as a persistent concern in any setting where contested identity narratives are taught (Bekerman, 2009).

The three teachers described to me a number of strategies that they use to create a positive learning climate in the classroom. Although none of them used the terms “reification” or “essentialization,” the pedagogical strategies they described also serve to mitigate these problems. Two important examples of such strategies are: 1) switching teacher roles and students’ response roles so that neither teachers nor students always represent the narrative of their ascribed identity group; and 2) using texts written by a member of one identity group to question the evidence for that group’s narrative or to bolster the perspectives of the other identity group (e.g., Raidah’s use of Israeli scholar, Efrat Ben-Ze’ev’s, text with her students in the year prior to my observations). Such moves signal to students that it is possible to critique one’s narrative without losing one’s identity, that facts matter and can be studied objectively, and that considering the perspectives of others does not make one disloyal to one’s identity group.

Disciplinary teaching practices are an important strategy to discourage reification and essentialization of the narratives and avoid other pitfalls including historical and moral relativism. As I described in the literature review, historians and history education researchers consider historical empathy an essential skill that enables psychological empathy, as well as historical understanding. All three teachers described their joint efforts to engage students in historical empathy in order to prepare them emotionally and cognitively for discussion of different perspectives on the conflict. Their pairing of primary sources representing Egyptian versus French, and Zulu versus British, perspectives on colonialism was an important example of such efforts.

Historical literacy strategies, including interrogation of the reliability of each piece of evidence via sourcing, contextualization of sources, corroboration across sources, and construction of evidence-based arguments, also can be strong tools to counter reification of

narratives. In our interviews, Raidah, Maor, and Gil argued that the biased nature of all historical sources and narratives is one of the primary reasons that teaching both narratives is imperative. They argued that juxtaposing biased narratives exposes their biases and balances them. Beyond this, to varying degrees, all three teachers emphasized the importance of teaching students to critically analyze and corroborate the narratives. In addition, Raidah, in particular, offered examples of ways she has taught students some historical literacy skills (although she did not use this terminology), such as how to identify the authorship of a text and the reasons for doing so (i.e., sourcing). Use of disciplinary teaching practices to examine and interrogate the two historical narratives appears to be an essential component of reconciliation of the school's and teachers' critical thinking, empathic, and identity goals. Such strategies help to keep their critical thinking goal in balance with their empathic and identity goals by avoiding pitfalls such as reification and essentialization of narratives and historical relativism.

However, from my interviews and observations, it appears teaching historical literacy skills has not been a prominent feature of the curriculum thus far. Students' weaker outcomes on Part 3 of Task 3, which assessed historical literacy skills, compared to their empathic outcomes, reinforces that this pedagogical area has received less attention. This is not surprising given that attention to facilitation of independent, historical thinking (thus far primarily via introduction of Project Based Learning) is very recent. Administrators indicated to me that they desire to receive such feedback in order to continue to improve their program outcomes.

Other essential pedagogical considerations affecting students' outcomes. In the Teaching Findings chapter, I discussed a number of other pedagogical considerations that helped to support, or sometimes to undermine, the teachers' and school's efforts to reconcile their empathy, identity, and critical thinking goals. Among these are equity of representation,

personalization of narratives versus depersonalization of responsibility, and explicit teaching of respectful listening. My observations suggest that attention to equality in surface, as well as substantive, manifestations of each narrative also matters. Teachers, parents, and most importantly students, are looking for demonstrations of equity and without it, may “act out” their disapproval in disrespectful ways.

The teachers also argued that personalizing representations of each narrative by bringing them down to the level of individual people’s experiences is important when fostering empathy. Doing so accords with psychological findings that indicate that we empathize more strongly with individuals whom we feel we “know” rather than anonymous groups (Davis, 2009; Gehlbach et al., 2012; Hoffman, 2000; Marjanovic, Struthers, & Greenglass, 2012; Preston & de Waal, 2002). Gil and Raidah each described ways that they tried to do this such as incorporating oral history projects, films, speakers, field trips to historic sites, and interviews with elders, etc.

According to the teachers (and the PRIME project co-directors), personalizing the narratives must go hand in hand with depersonalizing responsibility for the conflict. Again, their perceptions are reinforced by psychological findings that suggest that being made to feel too personally identified with another’s victimization or harm may lead to defensiveness and even rejection of concern for the Other, due to a basic need to protect one’s self from “egoistic distress” (i.e., anxiety) (Batson, Shannon, & Giovanni, 1997; Hoffman, 2000). In addition to having teachers of both backgrounds in the class as allies and switching roles, each teacher, to some extent, described ways in which he or she tried to communicate to students that they are not responsible for the actions of their ancestors or for the actions of members of their ascribed identity group in the present. Such ways included: speaking explicitly with students about guilt and responsibility; offering students’ many opportunities to name, process, and express their

emotions; preparing students for difficult discussions of opposing perspectives on the conflict by practicing perspective-taking regarding less personal conflicts from past; being clear when the goal of an activity is respectful listening and when it is critique; and building community among students. Each argued that their use of such strategies contributes to creation of a positive, calm atmosphere in the classroom for students to debate the personally salient and painful historical issues that they have inherited.

Summary

As I described in the Teaching Findings chapter, among the goals of this school's civics curriculum are to: attain factual knowledge about the past, develop pride in the accomplishments of one's identity group, encourage understanding of and respect for how classmates from different backgrounds view the past and present, understand how the past is used to justify actions in the present, and acquire a sense of agency to change the future. The 9th grade teachers, the Max Rayne School and Hand in Hand administrators, and the academics I interviewed and observed for this study, believe teaching the opposing historical narratives of the two primary identity groups in the school – Jewish and Palestinian – *side by side* and via dual languages and co-teachers from each background, enables them to equitably affirm each group's identity. They also believe that the three components together encourage empathy for the historical experience of the Other. They view promotion of students' identities and of empathy for the Other as their contributions to national reconciliation. Finally, they argue that juxtaposing the narratives fosters their critical thinking goals. To avoid some of the many pitfalls associated with this approach (e.g., reification of narratives, essentialization of identities, defensiveness) and facilitate respectful dialogue, they have experimented with and adopted a number of pedagogical strategies. They are not content with where they are and continue to seek to improve their

practice. Nevertheless, the combination of narrative and pedagogical approaches that they have adopted thus far appears to be contributing to accomplishment of a number of surprising and hopeful empathic and identity outcomes among their students that the psychology and history education literatures suggest ought to be nearly impossible in their conflict environment.

CHAPTER VII

Implications and Conclusions

In this final chapter, I present possible implications of this study for two types of instructional settings: societies in or recently having emerged from, violent conflicts; and stable diverse societies with legacies of discrimination and injustice. I also discuss possible implications for instructional theory. I identify limitations of this study and implications for future research. Finally, I conclude by revisiting the goals and relevance of this study.

Implications for Practice

Implications for History Education in Conflict and Post-Conflict Settings

First, and most directly, findings of this study are relevant to in-conflict and immediate post-conflict settings where identity affiliations, and the narratives undergirding them, are highly polarized and issues of history education are most urgent and immediately consequential. Identity-based conflicts are often fueled by opposing identity-based historical narratives (Adwan, Bar-Tal, & Wexler, 2013; Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006; Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Wertsch, 2012). The dual-narrative approach to teaching national history adopted by this school will have significant benefits for other societies in or just emerging from identity-based conflicts where opposing narratives fuel the conflict. In such settings, creating a reconciled narrative that accounts for the perspectives of all parties regarding responsibility for the conflict may be impossible. First, the historical scholarship to inform such a narrative may not yet exist. Second, individuals may not be ready to relinquish the power that comes with their positions as victims

(Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012).⁷⁷ Furthermore, during and after an identity-based conflict, people must continue to function side by side. Many fear that insisting too soon that all historical perspectives be heard may compromise restoration of harmonious intergroup relations, promoting “Balkanization” of identity groups and discouraging unity and common identification with the post-conflict nation state (Bellino, 2014a). Creating an alternative narrative that arbitrarily reconciles the opposing groups by avoiding discussion of the conflict may resolve immediate needs but will not resolve the conflict’s legacy (Bellino, 2014a, 2016; Kilpatrick & Leitch, 2004; Mark Sheehan, 2010; Mark Sheehan, 2012). It merely may alienate some or many students by downplaying their identity-group’s experiences or current reality and leave all unprepared to understand the roots of contemporary differences and problems.

The participants in this study persuasively argued that teaching the biased narratives of each group, *side by side*, enables acquaintance with the narrative of one’s enemy, without requiring agreement or acceptance of the Other’s historical claims. Such an approach rehumanizes the Other by removing him/her from an anonymous category, such as “Palestinians” or “Jews,” and individualizes him/her as someone with a unique story to tell. It is important, perhaps essential, to see the human side of the narrative of the Other, in addition to or maybe prior to, understanding and respecting the political and historical arguments of the Other (Adwan Interview 5/9/15; Just Vision, 2015; Naveh Interview 5/11/15; Rohde, 2013). Teaching dual-narratives does not reconcile the narratives or resolve responsibility for the conflict. However, it may be an essential first step to those efforts (Halpern & Weinstein, 2004). Of

⁷⁷ I described in the Methods chapter how I came to pair Al Nakba Day and Yom HaZikaron in Task 4 after initially pairing the former with Israeli Independence Day. The discussions that ensued about which events are “parallel” are an example of competing victimizations. Jews in Israel tend to refuse to acknowledge that the events of 1948, which led to their freedom and statehood, were a catastrophe for Palestinians. Likewise, Palestinians tend to refuse to concede a unique status to Jewish suffering during the Holocaust.

course, to be effective, such an approach requires attention to the kinds of pedagogical concerns discussed at length by the teachers and academics in this study.

In addition to its benefits for students, the process of developing a dual-narrative curriculum itself may be an important step in the reconciliation process for the teachers, academics, and other adults who develop and teach such a curriculum. For example, Dr.'s Adwan and Naveh both said of their experience facilitating the Jewish-Palestinian dual-narrative textbook project that the process of writing and exchanging narratives between members of the communities in conflict was as powerful as the final product for themselves and the teachers and academics involved (Adwan, Bar-On, Naveh, & PRIME, 2012). In another such example, several years ago, their institute, the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME), facilitated a project in Germany where Euro-Germans and Turkish-Germans met to explore and discuss their different views of parks and public spaces as part of a public planning project. There is little contact between the two communities in Germany. According to Adwan, an external evaluation of this project demonstrated that it was a powerful empathic experience for all participants (Interview 5/9/15). Adwan and Naveh's contention that the process of such work supports empathy and, thereby, reconciliation, is supported by findings of Bruneau and Saxe's (2012) research regarding the importance to empathy of "being heard." It is also supported by research in several other settings where teachers collaborated to develop or implement new history curricula after prolonged identity-based conflicts (e.g., Tibbitts, 2006).

A quality dual-narrative textbook – one that has been written by a joint committee of teachers and historians and that fairly represents the narratives of each side while maintaining historiographical integrity (e.g., that uses forms of evidence to substantiate its claims that are considered credible by historians) – may support dual-narrative instruction in conflict

environments. History textbooks are ubiquitous tools used by nations to develop civic knowledge and identification. They confer legitimacy to the information they contain, falsely convey objectivity, and appear authoritative to students, which are among the many reasons they are criticized by history educators (e.g., Bain, 2006). However, despite their many limitations, recruiting the authority of the textbook might be helpful in conflict situations where it would be difficult for individual teachers to introduce different perspectives or for students to “hear” them without defensiveness. Teachers in conflict environments have reported their anxiety about managing multi-perspective dialogues. They have also lamented the lack of resources to support their doing so (e.g., Bellino, 2014b; Kilpatrick & Leitch, 2004; Paulson, 2015). Placing opposing perspectives in the form of opposing narratives side by side on the pages of a textbook might put some needed “distance” between presentation of those perspectives and the perspectives themselves – a phenomenon I discussed earlier as “depersonalization” of responsibility and guilt. It may also encourage students to critique the perspectives of their own identity group, as well as to engage empathically with the narrative of the Other.

For all of these reasons, a dual-narrative approach to history education curriculum may contribute to building what UNESCO refers to as a “culture of peace,” an essential component of post-conflict reconciliation (Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Paulson, 2015). Treaties may stop active conflict but they cannot reconcile people. Learning about the Other and coming to acknowledge him/her as human like one’s self, with plausible though different perspectives worthy of consideration, is an important step in reconciliation efforts (Halpern & Weinstein, 2004). Further experimentation with dual-narrative approaches in a variety of different conflict and post-conflict settings would be necessary to test these possibilities. These experiments need not be large-scale involving whole countries. Indeed, politically this would be highly unlikely since nation-states

continue to rely on single narratives to promote their socialization goals (Anderson, 1983; Thelen, 1998). Instead, efforts could begin with single schools, such as the Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, or single events or topics, as the PRIME dual-narrative “parks” project described above have.

Implications for History Education in Stable Democracies with Histories of Discrimination and Injustice Based at Least in Part on Identity

In addition to the direct relevance of this study’s findings for in conflict and post-conflict settings, this research also offers important, though less direct, implications for a second type of setting – stable democracies with histories of discrimination and injustice based at least in part on identity. Countries such as the USA and Canada fall into this category where there is not persistent, organized intergroup conflict but where unresolved historical problems manifest in intergroup disparities in present-day life opportunities and outcomes (e.g., educational, social, health, and other indicators of well-being) and persistent low-level identity-based conflict which occasionally manifests as overt conflict (such as the recent reactions and counter reactions in the U.S. to the shooting deaths of black men and women by police officers). Applicability of this study’s findings to such settings requires greater extrapolation from the data than in the first instance. Therefore, these suggestions are more tentative. However, I believe consideration of the possible relevance of this study’s findings to non-overt conflict settings with histories of identity-based conflict and discrimination is appropriate, given the current obstacles to being “heard” faced by those whose historical experiences are not equitably reflected in the dominant narrative.

In such settings, identity-group affiliation(s) may be more blurred making identification of opposing perspectives more challenging (e.g., depending on the context, a White person in the U.S. may identify as White in contrast to Black; as immigrant versus native; by ethnic or

religious background such as Italian or Jewish; as working class versus middle class, etc.). Furthermore, because of the lack in such settings of organized, wide scale hostilities which threaten to undermine the state, there is often the misperception, among the dominant group(s) in the society at least, that all past inequities have been reconciled. However, it is apparent from other research that frequently this perception of reconciliation is premature and facile and minority perspectives often struggle to be “heard” amidst those powerful dominant voices (e.g., Almarza, 2001; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Bellino, 2014b; Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998). Minority perspectives on American history tend to be ignored or glossed over ((Brown & Brown, 2010). When they are addressed, they frequently are relegated to “side-bars” in the textbook or to short text excerpts selected by teachers to challenge assertions of the primary narrative. In this way, an implicit message may be sent to all students that these perspectives are not equal to the “main story,” reinforcing minority experiences as Other. Such approaches may also be insufficiently strong interventions to disturb the predominant narrative, a concern that Maor expressed.

For example, in the U.S. context, the predominant narrative is generally agreed to be a narrative of progress toward increasing inclusion, equality, and democracy, and American “chosenness” (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Blake, 1999; Calder, 2013; Thelen, 1998; Wertsch, 2004, 2012). This narrative is evident in most state standards and assessments, as well as in the textbooks used in most U.S. classrooms. The “elasticity” of the narrative framework itself (Wertsch, 2004) has enabled experiences that counteract this narrative (e.g., Jim Crow, gender discrimination) to be incorporated into the dominant narrative as problems that continue to be overcome. This theme of continuous progress toward inclusive democracy primarily reflects the experience of White immigrants (Thelen, 1998).

Yet, it appears that the historical memories of certain minority communities in the U.S. (particularly African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans) have been (and continue to be) quite different from this narrative (Almarza, 2001; Brown & Brown, 2010; Epstein, 2000; Good, 2009; Levstik, 2000; Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998). Elevating minority perspectives on national history from occasional counter-perspectives to comprehensive alternative narratives, with overarching themes of their own, might grant greater legitimacy to these perspectives. It might also better engage the background knowledge that minority students bring to the class, which is important to achievement in history/social studies (Donovan et al., 1999). Finally, elevating minority perspectives might also contribute to improvement of minority students' learning outcomes more generally by supporting their identity development. Minority students would see that they are part of a long history of victimization, but also of struggle, resiliency, and accomplishment. Such positive collective experiences are important to positive collective and individual identities and feelings of efficacy (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In these ways, teaching via dual-narratives might be a tool to support culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 2009).⁷⁸ Multiple narratives might be organized around the experiences of different ethnic and racial groups or could be organized around opposing concepts, such as opportunity and hierarchy, as contrasting lenses through which to view the American experience.

In addition to its potential benefits for minority students, dual- or even multi-narrative instruction might improve the historical thinking of students of all backgrounds. Single

⁷⁸ As Maor and Dr's Sami Adwan and Eyal Naveh each argued, placement of the narratives is very important. Side-by-side versus sequentially may convey different implicit messages regarding the importance of each narrative, in addition to making corroboration more or less difficult. For example, in 2005, the Philadelphia, PA school district became the first (and so far, still the only) in the U.S. to mandate a year-long course in African-American history in addition to American history for graduation. While this effort is laudable, by teaching American and African-American history as two separate courses in separate years, this requirement may inadvertently reinforce the otherness of African-American perspectives on American history and marginalize perceptions of their relevance, particularly to non-Black students (Janofsky, 2005). It may also make comparison and contrast of the perspectives presented in the two courses challenging.

narratives limit opportunities for historical thinking by presenting history as closed to interpretation and restricting visibility of alternative perspectives that could encourage comparison, contrast, and self-critique. On the other hand, teaching via a strict disciplinary approach may also inhibit historical understanding through a kind of “chicken and egg” instructional dilemma. This dilemma facing elementary and secondary history educators is that many students will not engage in historical thinking unless the work is intrinsically challenging and interesting. Consideration of different points of view via historical investigations, particularly of contested historical events and issues, is intellectually challenging and motivates students’ interest. On the other hand, elementary and secondary students may lack sufficient background knowledge to assess the reliability of different primary sources and to contextualize those sources effectively unless their teachers take the time to develop such background knowledge (Halldén, 1997; Lee, 2005; Shemilt, 2009). Bain (2006) described an in-depth investigation he did with his students that enabled them to develop plausible interpretations of the evidence and equipped them to challenge the authority of both their textbook and him, their teacher. Yet, in addition to being extremely time-consuming, on their own, such “deep investigations” may ill-equip students to connect events over time and space and identify broader patterns of continuity and change (Calder, 2013; Shemilt, 2009).

Teaching opposing perspectives organized in the form of broad opposing narratives may provide thematic and chronological coherence that complements historical thinking goals. For example, it might facilitate skills such as comparison and contrast (i.e., corroboration) of accounts. It might also facilitate demonstration of the contingency of historical events and constructed, interpretive nature of all historical narratives, while building students’ background knowledge in ways necessary to support skillful contextualization of the different perspectives.

Narrative approaches could be sequenced, rather than being seen as exclusive alternatives. For example, in the first year of formal national history study, students might acquire basic background knowledge about the broad sweep of national history and be introduced to historical empathy via instruction in competing narratives of that history. Key founding documents (for example, in the U.S. context, this might include the Declaration of Independence and Declaration of Rights and Sentiments) could be introduced at this stage primarily as illustrations of arguments in each narrative. In subsequent years, students could be engaged in critical historical investigations of specific events or topics in national history from multiple perspectives using primary sources. Students could then write their own narrative interpretations of such events and of national history more generally. Such an approach would not add extra years of advanced study reserved for elite students but instead would reconfigure the existing requirements for study of national history that are usually divided chronologically (for example, in the U.S., national history instruction is usually divided in two parts – 1600’s to 1865 in 8th grade and Reconstruction to the present in 11th grade).

This is the strategy that they are working toward at the Max Rayne School. Looking ahead, the teachers and administrators told me their plan is to introduce the two narratives very broadly in the 9th grade, and then concentrate closely on analysis and critique of the narratives through investigations of particular events in the 10th and 11th grades. This would even more substantially depart from the Ministry’s scope and sequence than they have thus far. To accommodate these changes, they are negotiating with the Ministry of Education to be allowed to develop their own unique Bagrut exam in Israeli history for their students.

Finally, by elevating minority perspectives and representing them coherently and consistently, teaching dual-narratives in societies with histories of discrimination and injustice

might also encourage greater empathy for those perspectives. Non-minority students might gain greater appreciation of the struggles and accomplishments of minority communities. Such empathy is essential to motivate concern for and willingness to mitigate continuing inequalities. Factual knowledge alone will not motivate such action. As I said above, in advocating experimentation with a dual-narrative approach to curriculum, I would, of course, expect care to be taken to ensure that the narratives are not incorrectly assumed to represent the experiences of all students of any particular identity group.

Implications for Instructional Theory as it Pertains to National History Education
Reconceptualizing National History Instruction as a Function of Two Choices: Narrative Approach and Pedagogical Approach

I began by situating my study within a theoretical framework informed by three theoretical perspectives: 1) Ball, Cohen & Raudenbush's (2003) conceptualization of the "instructional triangle" as the "interactions among teachers and students around content, in environments," 2) Bellino's typology of approaches to history education in conflict environments as generally being seen to involve binary choices between "disciplinary" and "collective memory/heritage" approaches (2014a), and 3) Bekerman's conceptions of the array of micro and macro contextual factors influencing the teaching of history in contested environments and likely pitfalls of dual-narrative instruction in such environments (e.g., "reification" of the narratives) (Bekerman, 2005, 2009; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012). I believe my study informs and extends each of these theoretical perspectives.

First, this study adds nuance to Ball, Cohen & Raudenbush's instructional model as it pertains to national history education. It suggests that an array of micro and macro political, social, and historical contextual factors are likely to affect history education. Furthermore, the

degree to which those factors influence teacher-student-content interactions may well be greater for national history instruction, particularly in conflict environments, than for other content areas, including other areas of history education. My study did not focus on these outside influences. Nevertheless, I was continually aware of their presence (e.g., the arson attack on the school in fall 2014 which came up frequently in my discussions with teachers and students). I was also aware of the unique set of positive micro-level factors under which this school operates (e.g., parental support, buy-in by most teachers to the school's goals). These micro-level factors mitigate the obstructive impact of negative macro-level factors. I recognize that in other settings, lack of such factors might make this kind of teaching, especially at a system level, impossible. Consideration of the complex range of contextual factors influencing the instructional triangle is essential when analyzing national history education, particularly in conflict settings.

Second, Bekerman expressed skepticism whether reification of narratives and essentialization of identities could be avoided when teaching historical narratives in contested settings. My findings affirm his concerns that both are ever-present dangers which threaten to exacerbate intergroup hostilities and restrict individual's students' development, as well as to undermine historical understanding. However, students' performance on the tasks, and my observations and interviews, suggest that in spite of the difficulties of avoiding reification and essentialization, pedagogical steps can be taken which lessen the likelihood of both outcomes.

Finally, my findings suggest that there are alternatives for organization of history education instruction that have not been previously imagined by history education researchers. History education need not be limited to the single narrative, inculcation versus multi-perspective, disciplinary approach binaries in which it has often been discussed among history education researchers. For example, a dual-narrative instructional approach could be added to

Bellino’s typology of approaches to national history education in conflict settings. Although this approach is not common, I believe my study has demonstrated that it is a viable alternative, at least in some settings. A dual-narrative approach, in combination with disciplinary teaching methods, might even contribute to realizing Bellino’s aspiration for a third “historical consciousness” approach that reconciles merits of the disciplinary and collective memory/heritage approaches (2014a).

More generally, I suggest that instructional theory as it pertains to history education may be strengthened by reconceptualizing the “content” vertice of Ball, Cohen, & Raudenbush’s instructional triangle in terms of two components – narrative approach and pedagogical approach – that together comprise “instructional approach” in history classrooms. These two components of instructional approach may best be imagined as two axes that both in theory and practice can intersect in a great variety of combinations. Which combination of approaches is desired, and which is actually enacted, in any setting reflect political and social power and epistemological and ethical beliefs, even if unconscious, regarding questions such as: Whose perspectives should be taught? What questions are legitimate to ask? What is the nature of the historical process? What are the purposes of teaching history in schools? Who gets to decide these matters? (Apple, 1995). The 9th grade teachers at Max Rayne School answered these questions quite differently than teachers in other schools. I will briefly explain what I mean by narrative approach and pedagogical approach in order to situate Hand in Hand’s curriculum along these instructional dimensions.

Narrative approach. By narrative approach, I mean what content (i.e., topics, information, events, perspectives) is taught and, very importantly, the form in which that content is organized thematically for students. Narrative approaches form a continuum. At one end are

single privileged narratives that embody an overarching or “grand” theme with no room for alternative perspectives. Single narratives may be described as “best,” “new,” “triumphal,” “reconciled,” etc. (Bellino, 2014a). In between are permutations of these two extremes. First, there is a single privileged narrative supplemented by some to many selective insertions of alternative perspectives (e.g., speeches and editorials by abolitionists and supporters of slavery, or even other textbook accounts). Teachers vary in the range of alternative perspectives they provide (for example, in the U.S. context, few schools teach about the Greenwood, OK race riots and lynchings) and how frequently they include insertions of alternative perspectives (Reisman, 2012).

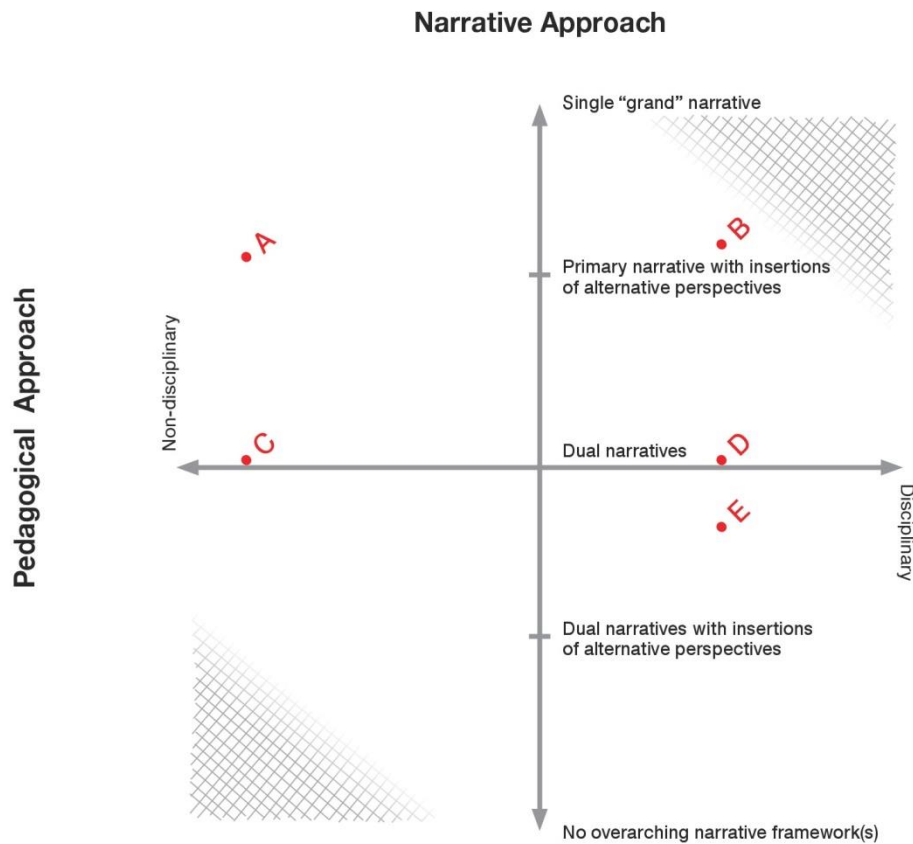
Eventually, competing perspectives may be brought together into implicit or explicit alternative narratives organized around competing themes, which, like single narratives, may or may not be supplemented by some or many selective insertions of alternative perspectives. Finally, at the other extreme, there is no privileged narrative theme. Instead, multiple primary and secondary historical sources are used to investigate specific historical questions or events, as determined by the teacher or students. However, no overarching narrative thread or theme is provided to students that connects or frames these investigations. As one moves across the continuum from a single privileged narrative to no privileged narrative framework(s), the epistemological representation of history becomes increasingly “open” and interpretive, and closer to historians’ conceptions of the discipline, yet at the same time may become harder and harder for students to make sense of without guidance and strong background knowledge (Calder, 2013; Shemilt, 2009).⁷⁹

⁷⁹ In reality, even for historians, there is no such thing as completely narrative-free interpretation because all historians work within paradigms that shape the questions they ask, the sources they consider worthy of investigation, and their interpretations of those sources (Novick, 1988).

Pedagogical approach. By pedagogical approach, I mean how teachers, through choices of instructional tasks and forms of discourse, position students *vis-à-vis* the content, regardless of which narrative approach is used to organize and represent the content. Options along this axis also may best be understood as a continuum. At one end is the most didactic, and non-disciplinary approach where teachers present information via lecture to students whose job it is to listen and remember. Teachers do not attempt to provide evidence for the conveyed information to students or engage them in the process of historical interpretation. Further along the continuum, teachers attempt to represent the discipline by demonstrating its interpretive character and providing increasing opportunities for student analysis and interpretation, while still determining the parameters for questions that will be asked and texts that will be used. At the other extreme is a fully disciplinary pedagogical approach where students determine historical analytic questions, answer those questions by finding and analyzing texts through guided use of disciplinary literacy skills, and present their interpretations orally and in writing for critique by others. Again, as one moves across the continuum from non-disciplinary to disciplinary, the representation of history embodied in the pedagogical practices becomes more and more “open” and interpretive, and closer to historians’ disciplinary practices.⁸⁰ However, an extreme disciplinary approach risks historical relativism without strong teacher guidance in the form of a moral and intellectual framework in which investigations are conducted. The following is a graphic representation of these two axes.

⁸⁰ Furthermore, no history/social studies instruction can be considered entirely narrative-free and constructivist since all involves some degree of teacher selection of issues to explore and limitations on the permissibility of particular conclusions (Freedman, 2014).

Figure VII.1. Two dimensions by which to analyze history instruction: Narrative approach and pedagogical approach



Analyzing Instruction Using the Two Axes

In the case of both narrative and pedagogical approach, I have specified the two extremes primarily for conceptual purposes. In most classrooms, the enacted curriculum lies somewhere between these extremes. For example, two teachers who aspire to teach students to think historically may both use a single primary narrative, supplemented by additional sources. However, one (Point A above) may treat the sources as illustrations of the text's points, with little room for student analysis or interpretation of the sources, while the other (Point B above) encourages students to analyze the authorship of each text in order to assess its reliability and to

compare and contrast the sources and the text in order to derive some of their own interpretations (Monte-Sano, Aumen, & Bordonaro, 2014; Monte-Sano, Bordonaro, & Aumen, 2014). In a second example, two teachers both might use dual-narratives. However, one might teach both narratives didactically as closed and “reified” accounts (Point C above), while the second (Point D above) might represent both as accounts to be interrogated using disciplinary reading strategies such as sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration. In this latter example, the teacher would treat the narratives themselves pedagogically as “primary sources” for historical analysis, such as examining how each identity group’s narrative has changed over time or compares to other narratives claiming to represent that identity group’s perspectives, as well as to the narrative of the Other. As these examples are meant to show, how different texts are used, not just their presence or absence, is important (Barton, 2005). I believe the national history instruction that I saw enacted in the two 9th grade classes at the Max Rayne School in the 2014-2015 school year, could be described as situated at Point E above. As they move forward with some of the instructional reforms they are planning, I imagine their enacted curriculum will move further along the narrative approach axis toward addition of texts to illustrate and challenge the dual-narrative text and along the pedagogical axis toward increased student analysis and interpretation of all texts, including greater use of disciplinary teaching practices to promote such interpretation.

The nature of interactions between teachers and students, students and students, and students and content, as well as student’s empathic and historical thinking outcomes, will be a consequence of, among other things, choices made on both the pedagogical and narrative approach axes. Alignment of narrative approach with pedagogical approach is, therefore, essential to achievement of intended outcomes. I suggest that history curriculum design and

analysis, particularly in conflict environments, might be enhanced by consideration of both narrative and pedagogical approach.⁸¹

Revised Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework that I used to frame my study which I described in the Methods chapter depicts the “content” vertice as a combination of “enacted curriculum (narrative approach, curricular materials, instructional tasks), pedagogical approach, and instructional groupings.” Also, it also does not take account of some important dimensions of teacher-student interactions. As a result of conducting this study, I have modified my conceptual framework (see Figure VII.2 below). The “content” vertice is now made up of two components – narrative approach and pedagogical approach – that jointly comprise “instructional approach.” Narrative approach concerns what content is taught and the form in which that content is organized thematically for students. Pedagogical approach concerns how teachers’ choices of instructional tasks and use of discourse position students vis-à-vis the content. For example, are students asked and enabled to question the perspectives provided?

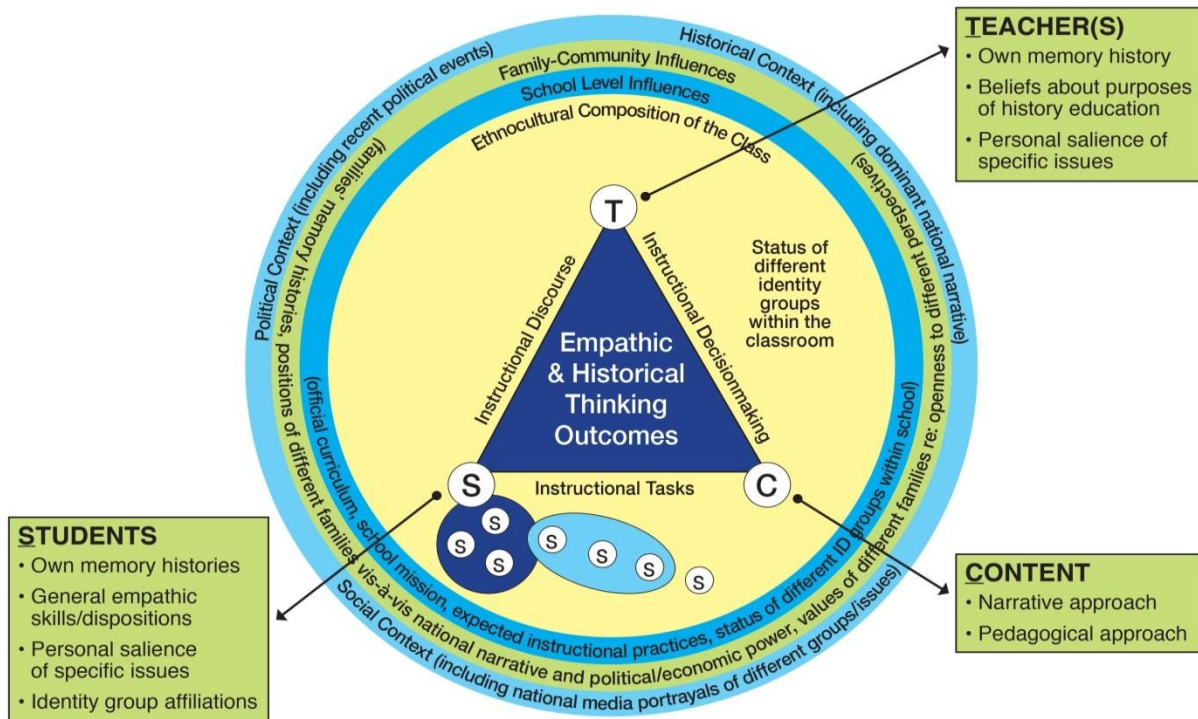
Secondly, my original framework depicted a single teacher interacting with students around content within environments. However, classrooms may involve more than one teacher. How these teachers interact with one another, and with their students both as individuals and as members of groups, will influence students’ empathic and historical thinking outcomes. For example, do teachers’ essentialize students’ identities in their interactions with them as individuals or as members of as members of a “group”?

The figure below represents these changes. I changed “teacher” to “teacher(s)” to reflect that there may be more than one teacher in a classroom. I modified the elements under “Content”

⁸¹ My recommendation is aligned with that of Cole & Barsalou (2006) and Paulson (2015) who have encouraged much more attention to pedagogy when looking to history to contribute to post-conflict reconciliation.

to reflect my revised thinking on the components of history instruction. Finally, I revised the processes reflected in the legs of the triangle to more precisely define the interactions of each pair of elements. Taken together, the interactions of teacher(s) and student(s) with each other and with the instructional approach enacted by the teacher(s) within specific classroom settings, that are themselves situated in the midst of concentric macro and micro types of influences, will shape students' empathic and historical thinking outcomes.

Figure VII.2. Revised conceptual framework for teaching history in conflict settings



Additional Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

This case study has provided a rich portrait of the possibilities for engendering empathic thinking, even in extremely challenging circumstances, and of the thinking of a unique, dedicated group of educators regarding difficult and largely unexplored instructional challenges. This school's experiences provide new possibilities for thinking about how history education might

support empathy, identity, and historical thinking. In these ways, it has responded to calls for more practice-focused examinations of how history education might contribute to peace-building (Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Paulson, 2015). However, in addition to the limitations I anticipated at the outset of this study (see Methods chapter), several new ones emerged over the course of the research, which I describe below. I conclude by offering recommendations for future research that would address a number of the limitations of this study and contribute to advancing this line of work.

Additional Limitations

Inability to isolate relative contribution of any individual component of the 9th grade civics dual-narrative curriculum. As I indicated in the Methods chapter, the Max Rayne School, as a whole, is structured to promote empathy, identity, and critical thinking. Therefore, confounding of effects of the 9th grade dual-narrative approach to national history instruction and the broader instructional context on students' task performance is likely. However, there is an additional type of confounding of effects that I did not anticipate. Max Rayne's 9th grade dual-narrative instructional approach is comprised of multiple instructional components and pedagogical actions, which appear to together contribute to students' outcomes (e.g., dual-narratives, co-teachers from identity backgrounds, dual-narrative text, and specific pedagogical strategies). Furthermore, a number of these components and actions were introduced simultaneously. Since this was a case study of enacted instruction in an authentic setting, not an experimental study, it was not possible to isolate the impact of any one of these components or actions.

Tasks did not always identify empathic thinking and identity as anticipated. The tasks generally functioned well to elicit students' empathic thinking and degree of affiliation

with their ascribed identity group(s). For the most part, students did not appear “put off” by being asked to consider the perspective of the Other. When they did not respond or responded without much care, it appeared to be because of reluctance to do additional “schoolwork,” not because of emotional objections. However, my experience using the tasks indicated a number of modifications that I would make before using them again. I discuss those changes in the final section.

Small sample size. This study had a population of 48 students and a sample size of 22. While the sample was representative of the population, it was not large enough to conduct extensive statistical analysis of the relationships between the empathic and identity elements of students’ written responses with confidence. Several of the correlations were not statistically significant, but a larger sample size may have led to significant results.

Difficulty of defining and assessing identity. I tried to avoid essentializing students’ identities by providing them an opportunity to self-define their identities in Task 5 and by allowing them to choose how they defined “a classmate from a different background” when assuming the perspective of the Other. However, I do not believe that I adequately captured the range of students’ identity affiliations. Essentially, the way I set up and scored the empathic tasks assumed the importance of dominant group identities. It was also challenging to decide which identity features (i.e., ascribed or self-defined) to use when assessing relationships between identity and empathic responses. Identity is a fluid concept; it depends on context, stage of development, etc. Nevertheless, while identity is self-constructed, how a person is identified by others also carries weight in terms of the opportunities that person experiences and how others react to him/her. I do not believe education and psychology yet have effective ways of assessing identity.

Limited generalizability of findings. There are several important features of this context that are unlikely to be present elsewhere including a high degree of parental, teacher, and administrator buy-in regarding the overall school mission. This does not mean there are not extremely contentious discussions of specific goals and strategies to meet them, some of which have resulted even in the recent past in parents withdrawing their students at key transition points. As I explained in the Methods chapter, parents' reasons for sending their children to the school, and parents' and students' reasons for remaining in the school, vary broadly by identity-group as well as individually. Furthermore, as I explained in the Teaching Findings chapter, not all teachers concur regarding the school's goals and maintaining common purpose is a constant challenge. Nevertheless, the fact that this is a public school of choice for all of its students, parents, and administrators, and for many (but not all) of its teachers⁸² makes it difficult to determine the particular impact on students' empathic outcomes of the 9th grade curriculum, and indeed the entire school curriculum.. The students who attend this school may simply be more likely to empathize with the Other and/or may learn important lessons about empathy outside of school from their families who have made a bold choice to send their children here.

In addition, the textbook used by the 9th grade teachers in the second year to support their instruction was created by a unique collaboration of teachers and historians. As I have explained, the textbook project originated and proceeded entirely independently from the school. Nevertheless, the availability of such a text to complement the school's dual-narrative instructional approach was fortuitous and would not necessarily be available in other settings.

⁸² Because the school accepts government funds, it falls under the purview of the Ministry of Education, which means teachers and administrators may be, and sometimes are assigned to the school. Network and school administrators try to push back on placements they do not want, but are not always successful.

For these reasons, as well as the small study size, it would not be appropriate to generalize directly to other settings. In addition, since this study looked at the thinking of a small group of students at a moment in time, it would be inappropriate to suggest that I have determined any individual student's overall empathic capacity or disposition or identity affiliation. I am only making claims about these students empathic, identity, historical empathic, and historical literacy thinking as demonstrated *on these tasks at these specific moments in time and in this place*.

Recommendations for Future Research

The limitations above, as well as others I anticipated at the outset (and described in the Methods chapter) could be addressed at least to some degree in the design of future research.

Confounding of impacts of instructional approach and environment. Assessing students' performance on the tasks at the beginning and end of the school year to identify *growth over time* would contribute to isolating the relative contributions to students' empathic and identity outcomes of the 9th grade dual-narrative instructional approach compared to the broader school environment.⁸³ Adding Israeli Arab and Jewish comparison schools that use the Israeli Ministry of Education's curricula for their respective populations in combination with disciplinary pedagogical practices to encourage consideration of different perspectives on national history would strengthen the design of future research even further.⁸⁴ It would permit examination of whether Hand in Hand students are simply different from those in other schools to start with and also would allow comparisons of the relative impacts on students' empathic and historical thinking and identity affiliations of different narrative approaches.

⁸³ I did not have the resources to do pre-post assessments and full year observation for this study.

⁸⁴ I tried to identify comparison schools early in the design of this study but was told by network administrators that finding such schools would be extremely time-consuming and politically difficult. Therefore, I did not pursue such efforts further for this study.

Confounding of impacts of individual instructional components. Isolating impacts of each separate component of the dual-narrative approach would not be resolved even by a comparative study. Experimental research could be designed that would vary the components of the 9th grade dual-narrative instructional approach among different classes (e.g., one class taught by a single teacher, a second class taught by co-teachers) to explore the relative impact of different components of the school's curricular approach.

Modifications to tasks to increase their usefulness in future research. In the instructions for Tasks 1 and 2, I would further emphasize that I want students to write a full sentence explaining *each* selection. These explanations were important in determining if a student chose a particular concept because it was important to him/her, to the Other, or to both, and also why he/she thought it was important. Secondly, in Task 2, I would separate Aliyah from immigration and Palestine from Eretz Israel in the options. Although those are parallel concepts in each narrative, which is why they were paired, their meanings are very different. I was unable to tell which meaning a student felt was significant when he/she selected either pair. I would also eliminate some of the items (e.g., Ze'ev Jabotinsky) that they had not yet studied and replace them with others that were discussed in class (e.g., 1929 "Buraq" Revolution).

In Task 4, I would experiment with phrasing the questions in terms of more directive stems such as "What is the *historical* meaning of this day to you?" and "What is the *emotional* meaning of this day to you?" I intentionally left the questions very open-ended to see what students would say regarding the meanings of each commemorative day to him/herself and to the Other. However, in doing so, I was unable to interpret whether a student who, for example, discussed the day only in terms of its emotional meanings did not know its historical meaning or chose for some reason not to provide this. These distinctions matter.

Finally, in Task 3, Part 1, I would modify the prompts to ask students to provide *specific reasons* why many Jews accepted and many Palestinians rejected the 1947 UN Partition Plan. In this way, I could gain greater insight into the level of historical knowledge each student possesses underlying his/her historical empathy. I would also create additional tasks to assess historical empathy and historical literacy skills. With only one task to assess these skills, I was unable to triangulate students' responses related to these skills across tasks. As I mentioned elsewhere, findings derived from Task 3 are, therefore, less robust than the empathic and identity findings that I derived from Tasks 1, 2, 4, and 5. If I were able to increase overall response rates and to triangulate my historical empathy and historical literacy data, I also could compare students' historical empathy and historical literacy responses to their emotive empathy and identity responses. This would be an important area for further research. In particular, comparing historical empathy and empathic outcomes would be valuable since history educators assume a relationship between these two phenomena, yet almost no work has been done to substantiate or explore this relationship.⁸⁵

Defining identity. Moving forward, researchers must continue to explore ways to assess students' identity affiliations and compare identity group differences in empathic responses without essentializing identities. They should determine advantages and disadvantages of different approaches, as well as how to design empathic tasks that honor the different characterizations of identity.

Validation of tasks. Validation of the tasks would require that they be used in multiple instructional settings by different researchers to assess their ability to discriminate differences in degree of empathy and identity evident in students' responses. Future researchers are encouraged

⁸⁵ As I explained in the Literature Review chapter, I am aware of only one study that tried to do this (Gehlbach, 2004)] and it used decontextualized psychological assessment instruments to measure empathy.

to use these tasks in other settings (with modifications to the specific content for their historical settings).

Time frame and language barriers. Future research ideally would involve participant-observation over the course of a minimum of one school year in order to validate teachers' claims regarding their practices and to build relationships with students that would encourage more students to provide detailed written responses. In addition, securing the services of a tri-lingual interpreter to interpret during class observations and to facilitate individual and focus group interviews with students would be beneficial to probe students' written responses via interviews and thereby triangulate findings derived from the tasks and classroom observations.

Generalizability. Adding comparison schools and interpreters, extending the time frame, validating the tasks, and increasing the response rates to increase the sample size would all increase the validity of future findings. These actions would thereby increase the generalizability of findings, although direct generalizability of findings generated even by such research would still not be possible.

Conclusions

Despite its limitations, I believe this study contributes to understanding how empathy, identity, and historical thinking might be reconciled in history classrooms. Empathy – what Wineburg (2001) has called “coming to know others” – is vital to harmonious intergroup relations and effectively-functioning democratic processes. Fostering empathy is especially important in societies that are engaged in, or have recently emerged from, violent intergroup conflict. However, empathy is also vital in diverse societies, such as the U.S., Canada, or New Zealand, with histories of intergroup conflict where legacies of discrimination and injustice persist. Resolving such problems requires empathy for the historical experiences of those who

have been treated unjustly. Throughout the world, history classrooms continue to be viewed as primary sites for development of positive civic attitudes and values to counter violence and discrimination. How to best inculcate such values, however, is poorly understood and frequently highly contested.

Anglophone history education researchers advocate a disciplinary approach to teaching history as an antidote to simplistic thinking and ethnocentrism. They argue that such an approach encourages tolerance and respect for diversity while building students' capacities for reasoned and informed debate. Among the many disciplinary concepts they advocate inculcating is historical empathy – a dispassionate consideration of the perspectives of individuals in the past. Such perspective taking is thought to contribute to empathic skills and dispositions, as well as to historical understanding. However, research by some of these same history educators as well as other psychological researchers, suggests that dispassionate perspective taking will be extremely difficult regarding contested issues that are salient to students' identities – the very issues where empathy is most necessary.

There are very few empirical studies in either the history education or psychology literatures that have investigated students' empathic thinking in *authentic* classroom settings regarding historical issues salient to their identities. There are also few studies that have addressed the challenges of teaching for empathy regarding contested historical issues. In the few studies that have, teachers generally reported that such teaching presents numerous difficulties (e.g., parental objections, potentially unmanageable emotional reactions by students) and, therefore, they have largely avoided it.

In this case study, I have begun to address these gaps in the literature. I explored, *in context*, the teaching and learning of empathy, identity, and historical thinking in two 9th grade

classrooms within a unique school situated in a highly fraught political, historical, and social environment. This school approaches the teaching of national history in a unique way within the Israeli context, and indeed within the world – through instruction in opposing identity group narratives taught side by side. I selected this setting in order to test the limits for engendering empathy for contested historical perspectives. I posited that if empathy were possible even in such a fraught context, it ought to be possible elsewhere as well. I also thought that eliciting from teachers in this environment how they go about doing what many others avoid or believe is impossible, might yield important insights worthy of further exploration.

Contrary to expectations derived from the literature, I elicited demonstrations of students' thinking which provide hope that empathy might be possible, even in the most difficult situations. Furthermore, I found that strong identity affiliation may not necessarily impede empathic thinking; indeed, further research might find that it even facilitates it. I also found that this school's approach to teaching history – via dual-narratives in combination with other key instructional components and pedagogical attention to the many challenges posed by a dual narrative approach – may provide possibilities for reconciling empathic, identity, and historical thinking goals, goals that have traditionally been seen as irreconcilable, at least in Anglophone history education research. However, I also found that a dual-narrative approach alone is unlikely to accomplish any of these goals. For example, simply adopting a dual-narrative textbook, or having a single teacher trying to do this on his/her own, is unlikely to be successful. There were a number of pedagogical actions that I (and the teachers and administrators I interviewed) believe, together, are contributing to the relative success of their efforts. For this reason, I believe it is important to analyze history instruction in terms of both narrative and pedagogical approach. Both elements must be aligned with instructional goals.

A dual-narrative approach, in combination with aligned pedagogical practices, may have significant benefits for schooling in conflict or post-conflict societies. It also may have benefits for schooling in stable democracies with legacies of discrimination and injustice. However, much more work would need to be done to explore both conjectures. Ultimately, this study provides an image of what is possible regarding empathic teaching and learning. There is much need for additional research to explore and validate the findings of this study, as well as to explore its implications for other contexts. Researchers must continue to investigate the challenges and possibilities for empathic teaching and learning because empathy is such a vital civic skill and disposition and schools remain among the few settings where empathy may be intentionally cultivated.

APPENDIX A

Consent Documents

Study Title

Coming to Know Others: Teaching Students to Empathize with (develop/have empathy towards) Historical Perspectives That Challenge Their Identities *via* Parallel Historical Narratives

Researcher Information

Principal Investigator: **Anne Bordonaro**

Doctoral Candidate

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Faculty Advisor: **Dr. Chauncey Monte-Sano**

Associate Professor

School of Education

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

cmontesa@umich.edu

Invitation to Participate in Research

I, Anne Bordonaro, invite you to participate in a research study. This study, which is part of my doctoral work, investigates 1) the challenges for history teachers of trying to teach students to empathize with the historical perspectives of “the Other” and 2) how students think about the historical perspectives of “the Other.” If you agree to be part of this study, you will be asked to:

- Participate in three 1-hour interviews regarding your teaching (within a four week period)
- Allow me to observe in and audio-record your class for four consecutive class periods
- Allow me to observe and audio-record your joint planning meetings for four consecutive class periods
- Participate in the distribution and collection of four student tasks and a student survey
- Introduce me to your students and describe to them why I am observing in their classes

Administration Support

This study was designed in close collaboration with the Hand in Hand and Max Rayne school administrations during the past year. As you know, the 9th grade history curriculum has been redesigned. This study will evaluate the impact of the redesign on selected student learning outcomes. The administration considers this study very important for the school and Hand in Hand as it continues its redesign work.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to participate, or stop your participation at any time during the study. You may also refuse to answer any specific interview question.

Benefits of this Research

My research will advance understanding of how empathy for other historical perspectives can be facilitated by teachers and schools. Schools in many diverse and post-conflict societies are looking for such guidance. This research will also benefit this school directly by giving feedback on students' learning outcomes that can be used to continue to improve the curriculum. Finally, it will provide you with an opportunity to reflect upon your own practice.

Risks of this Research

I and my advisor have taken steps to minimize the risks of this study to you. These risks may include that some of the questions are sensitive and may make you feel uncomfortable. You may remember or think about things that bother you. To reduce this risk, I will not use your name in any published material. And you may refuse to answer any question. Furthermore, I am committed to sharing the results of my work with you and with the school administration before publishing anything.

Compensation

You will be given \$300 dollars (approximately 1200 NIS) to thank you for your participation in this study (\$100 per interview completed).

Confidentiality

We plan to publish the results of this study, but your name will not be used in any published materials. The identities of all persons who participate in this study will be confidential. All data, including interview recordings and notes, will be stored in an external hard drive in my possession to protect your privacy. I will retain the data for 3-4 years in order to write additional articles derived from the data. After that, I will destroy all the files.

Consent

By signing this document, you are agreeing to participate in this study. You will be given a copy of this document for your records, and one copy will be kept with the study records.

Printed Name

Signature

Date

Script for Introducing Me (Anne)

I will be observing in your classroom for the next month. Let me tell you a little about myself.

- *I live in Vermont, in the U.S.*
- *I have been coming to Israel since 1991*
- *My husband is Palestinian*
- *I have two sons, Ameen and Omar*
- *I speak some Arabic but unfortunately almost no Hebrew. I would like to learn Hebrew though.*

The work that I am doing here is something that your principal, X, and your teachers Raidah and Maor all support and think is important. They all want to keep improving how they teach you history, and I am helping them with that, like Gil. What I learn from you will also help teachers and students in other countries, including the U.S.

Later today, I will tell you about some ways that you can help me in this work.

Script for Administering Student Tasks (each task should take 15-20 minutes to complete)

Please use these scripts for administering each task and the survey. Please read them as they are written.

“I told you earlier that I would tell you how you can help us improve this course. Together with X (principal) and your teachers, I have developed four very short tasks that will help us see how well we are meeting our goals.

Today, I am asking you to complete the (1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th) of these very short assignments. It should take about 10 minutes.

We hope you will help us by completing this short assignment. However, you are free not to answer any or all the questions if you do not want to, and no one will be angry with you if you choose not to answer.

By completing this assignment, you are agreeing to participate in this research.”

[Pass out the tasks. Then read the following directions aloud. Use “1st time” directions for the first task that is given. After that, use “Other times” directions.]

1st time:

“Please write your name on top of your paper. I will give each of you a number. I am asking you to write your name so that after I collect the papers, I can match your response to your assigned number. I will replace your name with this number. After that, this number will be the only way your response is ever identified. Your answers are confidential and I will never use or publish your name.

You can respond in either language you choose.

I apologize for any errors in the Arabic or the Hebrew. I wrote these tasks so there may be grammatical and spelling mistakes.

Raidah, Maor, and X (principal), and I hope you will put effort into your answers because your ideas are very important to us.”

Other times:

“Please write your name on top of your paper so that we can match your response to your assigned number. Remember that this number will be the only way your response will ever be identified. Your answers are confidential and we will never use or publish your name.

You can respond in either language you choose.

Again, I apologize if there are any language mistakes.

Raidah, Maor, X (principal), and I hope you will put effort into your answers because your ideas are very important to us.”

[Collect the tasks.]

As you collect the tasks:

Please make sure each student has written his/her name on each task paper.

If they have not written their name on their paper, please write it yourself.

Please make sure that all pages of the task remain stapled together. Re-staple if necessary so that the pages don't get separated.

If a student is absent, please ask them to complete the task when they return and collect it.

Remember to tell them of their right not to answer using the script above

Script for Administering Survey (should take 10 minutes)

“As part of the research we are doing, we have developed a very short survey. We want to ensure that their teaching is fair to students of every background. So knowing more about how you define your background will help us to do this.

We hope you will help us by completing this survey. However, you are free not to answer any or all the questions if you do not want to, and no one will be angry with you if you choose not to answer.

By completing this survey, you are agreeing to participate in this research.”

[Hand out the surveys. Then please read the following directions aloud.]

“Please write your name on top of your paper so that we can match your response to your assigned number. Remember that this number will be the only way your response will ever be identified. Your answers are confidential and we will never use or publish your name.

You can respond in either language you choose.

We hope you will respond because your ideas are very important to us.”

[Collect the surveys.]

As you collect the surveys:

Please make sure each student has written his/her name on each task paper.

If they have not written their name on their paper, please write it yourself.

If a student is absent, when they return to class, please ask them to complete the survey and collect it. Remember to tell them of their right not to answer using the script above.

When all Tasks have been Completed:

Please send the originals to me in the envelope which I have left in the office.

Please make copies of each response and keep them with you, in case the originals get lost in the mail.

APPENDIX B

Final Interview Protocols

Inas Deeb - Interview Protocol for Initial Interview – 6/15/14

Intro – 5 min.

1. Thank her. I know you get many requests to observe/study your schools and I appreciate you taking the time to meet with me.
2. Introduce myself and what I'm studying. I'm interested in whether it is possible to get students to appreciate and understand – to have empathy for – historical perspectives that challenge their own, and how their teachers can facilitate this process. I'm interested in this subject because of our need for national reconciliation regarding the inequities of our history and for better democratic communication skills in the U.S. You all are way ahead of us in thinking about these issues, which is what has brought me here.
3. I'm especially interested in the sense HinH students make of their experiences of being deliberately exposed to/taught the contested Israeli and Palestinian narratives and how it affects their subsequent historical thinking and ability/disposition to empathize in other contexts.
4. I do NOT want to evaluate the HinH schools. In fact, it's possible for all school people and the school name itself to remain anonymous.
5. I would like to be of service to the schools as well. As we are talking and after I leave today, please let me know if you think of ways that I might be helpful to individual schools or to the schools as a whole? Toward the end of our conversation, I will share one idea that I've had.
6. **Share consent form info. with her.**
7. **I would like to tape record our interview, so that I can focus on our conversation and not note taking. But I totally understand if you are uncomfortable with that. May I tape? [If she says yes, make sure to get her permission again on the tape.]**

Background info. on the civics/history curriculum in the schools – 15 min.

1. How would you describe the most important goals of the civics/history curriculum in the HinH schools? In other words, what do you all hope your students will take or gain from the civics/history curriculum in your schools?

Possibilities to probe if necessary:

- Contact → mutual respect (contact hypothesis)
 - Instilling knowledge and respect for different cultures → stronger civic society (information hypothesis)
 - Heritage, connection to land, understanding of and respect for different historical narratives, obligation to democratic values (subset of stated goals of civics curriculum on network's website)
2. Is the civics/history curriculum the same in each school or does each develop its own? If they vary, can you explain some of the differences?
 3. What are ways in which you see HinH teachers teaching empathy, heritage, connection to the land, mutual respect for different historical narratives [try to use her words from #1 here] in your schools? How do they accomplish these pedagogical goals?
 4. What are the most important challenges related to the teaching of empathy, heritage, connection to the land, mutual respect for different historical narratives [try to use her words from #1 here] in your schools?
 5. Does the way civics/history are taught differ between the elementary, middle and high school? If so, how? Why?
 6. If you could change anything about the way civics/history is taught in your schools, what would you change? Why?
 7. Are there other schools within Israel or outside of it that are trying to teach mutual respect for different historical narratives? If so, how do they do it?
 8. [**Optional** - How does HinH's approach to teaching of civics/history differ from the teaching of these subjects within non-religious Jewish schools generally, or Palestinian schools generally?]

Specific curricular questions – 15 min.

1. How are difficult issues of contested history such as Israeli Independence Day/Al Nakba Day taught/commemorated in the schools?
2. Does this vary by grade?

3. How has the teaching/commemoration of these events changed over time, if at all?
4. At what grade is Israeli Independence Day/Al Nakba Day first taught as an official history topic? For example, its antecedents in Palestinian and Jewish nationalism and WW's I and II?
5. [**Skip if low on time.** What other historical issues pose similar challenges?]
6. [**Skip if low on time.** How are decisions made regarding what civics/history content will be taught and how it will be taught? Are parents/students involved?]
7. [**Skip if low on time.** How do government or other requirements impinge on that thinking? Are there things you feel you must “cover” or that you cannot do or say?]
8. Could I get copies of the civics/history curriculum for grades 5-12 in the schools?

My work – 10 min.

1. I understand that the Galilee school ends in 8th grade and that students then go on to traditional Israeli high schools. Is this correct?
2. I'm curious how their experience of being exposed to the competing historical narratives at HinH carries forward into their historical thinking and perspective taking in other environments.
3. Has anyone studied this question? Is this something that you think others would be interested in/would be helpful to HinH?

Permission from MofE and HinH for research – 5 min.

1. Do you know if Ministry of Education approval is necessary for any research in Israeli schools? If so, might you know to whom I should speak in the Ministry regarding this approval?
2. Within HinH, who else, besides yourself would need to approve any research involving your students or teachers?

Wrap-Up – 5 min.

1. Thank her for her generosity in sharing her time and knowledge with me.
2. I admire the work HinH is doing and your commitment to trying to continuously improve and learn from your work with students and families. Your work has great significance and relevance for us in the U.S.

Zvi Bekerman - Interview Protocol – 6/16/14

Intro – 5 min.

1. Thank him.
2. “All roads have led me to you.” Mention David Cohen and Don Peurach and their mutual connections to Josh Glazer and through Josh to Adam Lefstein. And Bob Bain connection. And Amin connection.
3. Introduce myself and what I’m studying. I’m interested in whether it is possible to get students to appreciate and understand – to have empathy for – historical perspectives that challenge their own, and how their teachers can facilitate this process. I’m interested in this subject because of our need for national reconciliation regarding the inequities of our history and for better democratic communication skills in the U.S. You all in Israel are way ahead of us in thinking about these issues, which is what has brought me here.
4. **Share consent form info. with him.**
5. **If it’s okay with you, I would like to tape record our interview, so that I can focus on our conversation and not note taking. But I totally understand if you are uncomfortable with that. May I tape? [If he says yes, make sure to get his permission again on the tape.]**

His perspectives on the teaching of history in HinH – 10 min.

1. How would you describe the most important goals of the history curriculum in the HinH schools? In other words, what do they want students to take from the history curriculum?
 - Contact → mutual respect (contact hypothesis)
 - Instilling knowledge and respect for different cultures → stronger civic society (information hypothesis)
 - Heritage, empathy for “the other,” understanding of and respect for different historical narratives, obligation to democratic values, connection to the land (subset of stated goals of civics curriculum)
2. In HinH schools, what differences, if any, do you see in the way civics/history is taught in elementary versus middle and high school?
3. What do you see as the most important challenges related to the teaching of empathy, mutual respect for the different historical narratives [try to use his words from #1 here] in the HinH schools?

Teaching contested history generally – 10 min

1. **[May be unnecessary depending on answers to above.** It appears from your work and other materials I’ve read that the HinH schools approach the teaching of history as two

competing but equally “true” narratives, taught in parallel, each of which needs to be affirmed for purposes of supporting students’ identity development. Is this a correct picture of how they approach the teaching of history?]

2. [May be unnecessary depending on answers to above. If not, how would you describe their approach?]
3. An alternative approach to teaching parallel narratives would be a disciplinary one where multiple sources are interrogated and corroborated in order to try to come up with one narrative interpretation that reconciles the evidence. Do you know if this alternative has been attempted? Why or why not?
4. Do you know of other schools within Israel (or outside of it) that are trying to teach mutual respect for different historical narratives?
5. If so, how do they go about it (parallel narratives, transmission, disciplinary approach)?
6. [Skip if low on time. How common is teacher telling (the didactic form of instruction) in Israeli Jewish and/or Palestinian schools in general? For example, was the event that begins on p. 101 of *Teaching Contested Narratives* where teachers did the majority of talking (telling) specific to teaching the contested narratives or was it the common method of teaching history?]
7. [Skip if low on time. Do you see a difference in the approach to the teaching of Israeli-Palestinian history of HinH’s middle or high school teachers who were trained as history teachers versus the elementary teachers who were not? What does that look like? Have you noticed it making a difference in students’ learning?]

Your critique – 10 min.

1. In your book, you wrote “By providing opportunities to critically analyze contested narratives in classrooms, students and teachers are invited to inhabit renewed learning spaces and form alternative emotional communities (p. 5).” Have you seen examples of such opportunities anywhere?
2. Later you call this goal, making students “critical design experts” (p.22) or “critical researchers of what is around them” (p. 42) who can see how the world is organized to sustain conflict and then take joint steps to overcome it. Have you seen any examples of this?
3. [Skip if low on time. U.S. schools generally avoid dealing with “ugly” historical information until students are in middle or high school, if at all, arguing that students

aren't ready for the ugly truths. From the examples in your work, it seems this might not be true in Israel and Cyprus? Or were these examples in chap. 6 exceptional? (ex. death of Arafat, Land Day)]

4. Have you seen any examples of the kind of “mourning together” for shared losses that you describe in your book (p. 20 and Part III) that might lead to a new collective identity?

My Work – 15 min.

1. What questions remain for you about the teaching of history at HinH? What are “next steps” in this work for you?
2. **[Skip if low on time.** I understand that the school in Galilee ends in 8th grade but has no Jewish students after 6th grade. Why do you think this is?]
3. In your book, you asked, “...whether students in the future, after being exposed to a state-mandated curriculum – be this a critical one or not – will ever reconsider their present positions (p. 113).” To your knowledge, has HinH done any follow-up studies with their students when they leave HinH to see how their experience has shaped their historical thinking or empathic perspective taking in other environments?
4. If you were to do such a study, what would you want to know or how would you approach it?
5. What obstacles would you anticipate (from government, parents, administrators, etc.) in conducting such a study?

Info on dealing with Israeli MofE – 5 min.

1. I have heard that it may be necessary to get Ministry of Education approval for any research in Israeli schools. If so, might you know to whom I should speak in the Ministry regarding this approval?

Wrap Up – 5 min.

Thank you for your generosity in sharing your time and knowledge with me.

I admire your work tremendously and it has great resonance for me. I taught high school history in NYC years ago and the ways history, identity, emotion, and memory are intertwined and play out in the classroom have always been my interest and concern because we don't deal with these things well or prepare teachers well to deal with them.

Interview Protocols for Background Administrator Interviews, Administrator 2 6/19/14 and Administrator 3 6/24/14

Intro – 5 min.

6. Thank him. I know you get many requests to observe/study your schools and I appreciate you taking the time to meet with me.
7. Introduce myself and what I'm studying. I'm interested in whether it is possible to get students to appreciate and understand – to have empathy for – historical perspectives that challenge their own, and how their teachers can facilitate this process. I'm interested in this subject because of our need for national reconciliation regarding the inequities of our history and for better democratic communication skills in the U.S. You all are way ahead of us in thinking about these issues, which is what has brought me here.
8. I'm especially interested in the sense HinH students make of their experiences of being deliberately exposed to/taught the contested Israeli and Palestinian narratives and how it affects their subsequent historical thinking and ability/disposition to empathize in other contexts.
9. I do NOT want to evaluate the HinH schools. In fact, it's possible for all school people, including yourself, and the school name itself to remain anonymous.
10. I would like to be of service to the schools as well. As we are talking and after I leave today, please let me know if you think of ways that I might be helpful to your or to the schools as a whole? Toward the end of our conversation, I will share one idea that I've had.

11. Share consent form info. with him.

12. I would like to tape record our interview, so that I can focus on our conversation and not note taking. But I totally understand if you are uncomfortable with that. May I tape? [If he says yes, make sure to get his permission again on the tape.]

Background info. on the civics/history curriculum in the schools – 15 min.

9. What are the most important goals of the civics/history curriculum in your school? In other words, what do you hope your students will take from or gain from the civics/history curriculum in your school?
 - Contact → mutual respect (contact hypothesis)
 - Instilling knowledge and respect for different cultures → stronger civic society (information hypothesis)

- Heritage, connection to land, understanding of and respect for different historical narratives, obligation to democratic values (subset of stated goals of civics curriculum)

10. How do your teachers teach empathy, heritage, connection to the land, mutual respect for different historical narratives [try to use his words from #1 here]?
11. What are the most important challenges for your teachers related to the teaching of empathy, heritage, connection to the land, mutual respect for different historical narratives [try to use his words from #1 here]?
12. Does the way civics/history is taught differ between the elementary and the middle school? If so, how? Why?
13. If you could change anything about the way civics/history is taught in your school, what would you change? Why?
14. How does HinH's approach to teaching of civics/history differ from the teaching of these subjects in non-religious Jewish schools, or in Palestinian schools?

Specific curricular questions – 15 min.

9. How are difficult issues of contested history, such as Israeli Independence Day/Al Nakba Day, taught and commemorated in your school?
10. Does this vary by grade?
11. How has the teaching/commemoration of these events changed over time, if at all?
12. At what grade is Israeli Independence Day/Al Nakba Day first taught as an official history topic? For example, its antecedents in Palestinian and Jewish nationalism and WW's I and II?
13. What other historical issues pose similar challenges for your teachers?
14. How are decisions made regarding what civics/history content will be taught and how it will be taught in your school? Are parents/students involved?
15. How do government or other requirements impinge on your teachers' work? Are there things you feel you must "cover" or that you cannot do or say?

16. Can I get copies of the books/written materials that are used to teach IID/AND in your school?

Student demographics- 15 min.

1. Are the percentages of Palestinian and Jewish students equal through 6th grade? 8th grade? Why or why not?
2. How does this imbalance affect the teaching of civics/history, if at all?

Subsequent plans – 5 min.

1. Do you track where your students go after they leave your school for 9th grade?
2. Do you have any sense of how their experience of learning parallel historical narratives affects their thinking in their new school or in their community/family contexts? Is this something that you might want to know more about?

Wrap-Up – 5 min.

13. Thank him for his generosity in sharing his time and knowledge with me.
14. I admire your goals, and the persistence with which you all continue to pursue them and to try to continuously improve and learn from their experiences. Your work has great significance for us in the U.S.
15. I will return to Israel several times in the next year. Might it be possible for me to meet with you again?

Inas Deeb - Follow Up Interview Protocol - 7-9-14

Questions re: research design and development of proposal: 15 min's

1. You indicated that you would be interested in both of the following questions:
 - The impact of Hand in Hand's National Days curriculum on students' ability and motivation to empathize with the historical perspectives of "the Other,"
 - Students' recall of the historical events of 1948, the accuracy of their recall of these events, and their ability and motivation to represent the perspective of "the Other" on these events in relation to the new history curriculum.
2. What would be the next steps in this process? I expect I would send you a study design plan and we would discuss it until we agree. Then I would need a letter from you authorizing the study to submit with my IRB proposal.
3. At what point would I need to inform the Ministry of Education to get their approval?
4. Is there a specific individual you would recommend that I speak to there?
5. Do you have relationships with the administrators of the middle and high schools where your students go after HinH that would make it possible to identify comparison students to include in a study?

Questions re: history teaching in HinH schools: 30 min's

1. Can you tell me more about how the new 9th grade curriculum and the prior curriculum are different?
2. It would be helpful to me to see the actual materials. Would it be possible for me to get copies of the curriculum materials that were used this year to teach the events leading up to the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 in the 9th grade pilot classroom and in the other classroom that has not used the new materials?
3. Until now, have the curricula for 9th grade history been the same in the Galilee school and in the Jerusalem school?
4. What are the curriculum topics for the 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th and 12th grades in HinH?
5. Are the National Days curricula the same across the three schools (Kufr Qara, Galilee, and Jerusalem)? (I am somewhat familiar with the National Days curricula in Kufr Qara and Galilee.)

6. I have reviewed the MofE website which describes the curriculum specifications for grades 7-9 in the Jewish non-religious schools only. I have also emailed the ministry with the following questions but have not gotten a response.
7. What are the curriculum specifications for history for grades 10, 11, and 12 in the Jewish non-religious schools?
8. What are the curriculum specifications for history for grades 7-12 in the Arab schools?
9. How do HinH's history curriculum specifications differ from these specifications? **May not be necessary after #4 above.**
10. What time periods/topics are tested in the Bagrut exams? Is it correct that your students may take either the Arab or Jewish students' Bagrut?

Questions re: your students: 10 min's

3. Are the percentages of Palestinian and Jewish students equal through 6th grade? 8th grade? 12th grade? Why or why not?
4. How does this imbalance affect the teaching of civics/history, if at all?
5. Do you track where your students go after they leave your school either at the end of 6th or 9th grade or college?

Wrap Up:

Once again, thank you so so much. I really look forward to working with you to further both my research and your work. I have to complete several other requirements in August. I will get back to you in late September with some specific study design options.

Interview with Inas – 2/25/15

Thank you so much for all your help over email in these past six months and for meeting with me again. Thank you also for arranging the meeting with HinH principal tomorrow. I have many questions that I need to clarify before actually gathering my data. Some of the questions that I will ask today may be better for HinH principal to answer tomorrow or even for the teachers to answer. Just tell me if I should ask someone else.

Share my cell phone number with her.

Anonymity

Please reiterate to everyone that I am not planning on using teacher, student, or administrator names in my study. Not even the school name will be used.

Get her permission to be audiotaped on the tape recorder.

MoE Application (5 minutes)

Tell her that I've applied to the MoE for approval and hope to meet with them this week. Share the MoE documents with her. **(GIVE HER A PACKET WITH THE MOE DOCUMENTS.)**

9th Grade Civics Curriculum (10 minutes)

When I was here last summer, the teachers were revising the 9th grade curriculum.

I understand that 9th grade is when the 1947 Partition Plan and the 1948 War are first taught in depth as history topics? Is this true?

If not, when are these events first taught?

Can you explain the major topics or units in the 9th grade course from September to June? *(This will be especially important if I do not get MoE approval in time to come back this year. I will need to choose another unit to observe and revise all my student tasks accordingly.)*

Do you have a chart or some other type of document that lays out the sequence of topics or units for the 9th grade year?

May I get a copy of this document?

If I am unable to observe the 1948 War Unit, what other historical events pose similar teaching and learning challenges for the teachers and students because there are two very different narratives of the events?

When during the year are these events taught?

May I get copies of the curriculum materials that are used to teach the 1947 Partition Plan and the 1948 War in the 9th grade?

Getting Approval for the Project as a Whole (5 minutes)

I plan to observe one unit of instruction (approximately two-three weeks), to do 3 1-hour teacher interviews with the 9th grade teachers – either together or individually – and to administer the three short tasks to the students. I am most interested in observing the unit involving the 1948 War.

At this point, can you anticipate any problems with students' or teachers' participating in any part of this project? What kinds of problems?

Teaching Structure (10 minutes)

These next questions may be more appropriate for HinH principal.

Is each civics class taught by two teachers or one?

At what point do the classes stop being taught by two teachers? After 6th grade?

Who teaches 9th grade civics?

What is the background of each teacher? Arab or Jewish?

How many classes of 9th grade history does each of these teachers have?

How long has each 9th grade teacher been teaching with the new curriculum?

Do either of these teachers also teach other civics classes?

Has any other teacher taught this new curriculum as well?

Do they work together as a team to plan?

Do you believe the 9th grade teachers will be comfortable participating in several individual interviews about their teaching? I will provide them with honoraria for their time of course.

If not, might they be willing to do these interviews together?

Does each teacher speak some English?

If not, should I contract with a translator or is there another staff person who could sit in on or interpret during the interviews? I would pay them of course.

Bagrut (10 minutes)

When will this year's 9th graders take the Bagrut civics exam in modern Israeli history?

Is there a document provided by the Ministry that outlines for teachers the key topics addressed in the civics exam?

Is it possible to get released items from the Bagrut civics exam?

Could I get access to your students' scores on the Civics Bagrut exam?

Do you have these or do I need to get them from the MoE?

Student Demographics

Again, these may be more appropriate for HinH principal.

How many students are there in the 9th grade?

How many are Jewish and how many are Arabs?

Would it be possible to get class rosters for each class with name, gender, ethnicity?

How many Jewish students are there in the current 8th grade and 11th grade?

Study Design

I know a comparative design is the most meaningful in terms of being able to draw definitive conclusions. However, as you predicted, finding a Jewish school willing to participate has been very difficult. Instead, as we discussed, I would like to explore the impact of your new inquiry teaching approach separately from the impact of teaching two narratives throughout the school.

I would like to administer the three tasks to current 11th or 12th graders who did not receive the revised 9th grade curriculum, as a comparison of the impact of the new instructional methods on empathic outcomes.

Alternatively, I could compare 8th graders before the curriculum to this year's 9th graders.

This would tell me how much extra the curriculum is contributing to students' empathic thinking beyond being in the school as a whole.

Do you anticipate including either 8th or 11th graders as being a problem?

Who taught 9th grade civics two years ago to the current 11th graders?

Did this year's 11th graders have a different teacher for 9th grade civics as well as a different curriculum?

I would also like to add a short survey asking each student to tell me where he/she is from and what their background is. This will be important to exploring the influence of identity on outcomes.

Do you anticipate that this will be a problem?

Finally, I would like to audiotape during my classroom observations, not videotape. I would then have the discussions translated and transcribed.

Do you anticipate parental or teacher objections?

Parental Consent (10 minutes)

I'd like to share with you the parental consent letter and non-opposition form recommended by the Israeli Ministry of Education.

Are there any parts of these parental consent letter and non-opposition form that you believe should be changed?

How long do you normally give parents to respond to such a request?

I plan to read aloud the assent letter to the students, or ask the teachers to do so.

Is it the practice here to also have the students sign individual assent forms, in addition to their parents?

Can you anticipate any problems with teachers or students participating in this project at this time?

Incorporation of Tasks into Curriculum (5 minutes)

If they are willing, would it be possible for the teachers to administer the tasks as class assessments?

Letter of Support for MoE Application (5 minutes)

Would it be possible for me to get a letter of support from you to include with my application to the Ministry and to my university?

Honoraria

Give her \$250 now and another \$250 when the project is over. **(BRING \$250 IN CASH OR IN A CASHIER'S CHECK WITH ME.)**

Wrap-Up (5 minutes)

Confirm meeting with her and HinH principal tomorrow – here or at the school? Time?

Protocol for Interview with Inas and HinH Principal – 2/26/15

Intro – 5 min.

Introduce myself. *I've really been looking forward to meeting you. Thank you so much for taking the time to meet with me.*

I'm studying how teachers can help students to respect and understand opposing historical perspectives and how students think about different historical narratives. This is part of the Hand in Hand mission and you all have been working on this problem for a long time. You have a lot to teach the U.S. and other countries about these issues.

First, I want to share with you the documents that I recently submitted to the MoE explaining my study. (GIVE HIM A PACKET WITH THE MOE DOCUMENTS.)

For my research, I would like to observe one unit of instruction (approximately two-three weeks), to do 3 1-hour teacher interviews with the 9th grade teachers – either together or individually – and to administer the three short tasks to the students. I am most interested in observing the unit involving the 1948 War.

*I am NOT here to evaluate the HinH schools. In fact, the names of all students, teachers, and administrators, including yourself, will remain **anonymous**. Even the school name will not be used unless you all decide you want it to be.*

I would like to help you and your teachers as well. As we talk today, if there are questions about the 9th grade curriculum that you or they would like answered, please let me know. I will try to accommodate them.

*I would like to tape record our interview, so that I can focus on our conversation and not note taking. But I totally understand if you are uncomfortable with that. May I tape? **If he says yes, make sure to get his permission again on the tape.***

I will ask you a number of questions that I need to answer to finalize my study plan. However, if some of them are more appropriate for the teachers to answer, please don't hesitate to tell me.

9th Grade History/Civics Curriculum (10 minutes)

My first questions concern the 9th grade civics curriculum.

My plan is to observe the 1948 War unit. If I cannot do this, I will need to choose another unit to observe and revise all my student tasks accordingly.

Can you explain the major topics or units in the 9th grade course from September to June?

Do you have a chart or some other type of document that lays out the sequence of topics or units for the year?

May I get a copy of this document?

Do you know when exactly the 1948 War unit will be taught this year?

If I am unable to get MoE approval in time to observe the 1948 War Unit, or if this unit has already been taught, what other events prior to 1950 pose similar teaching and learning challenges for your teachers and students?

May I get copies of the curriculum materials that are used to teach the 1947 Partition Plan and the 1948 War in your school?

Teaching Structure (10 minutes)

I understand that Raidah and Maor are the two 9th grade civics teachers. I would like very much to interview them regarding how they go about teaching the two narratives - what the challenges are, and what the benefits are. I would also like to observe in their classrooms while they teach a unit.

Do you believe they will be comfortable participating in three individual interviews about their teaching and being observed? I will provide them with honoraria for their time of course.

If not, might they be willing to do the interviews together?

I am hoping that you can help me to encourage them to participate. Of course, I will ask them what information about their students' learning they would like to know.

Does each teacher speak some English?

If not, should I contract with a translator, or is there another staff person here that they might prefer who could sit in on and interpret during the interviews? I would pay them too of course.

I could also provide them with the questions ahead of time in Arabic and Hebrew.

I would like to offer them honoraria. Is this acceptable?

Student Demographics

I want to administer the tasks to the 9th graders. However, I would also like to administer the tasks to the current 11th graders who did not have the new curriculum, to evaluate the impact of the new curriculum on students' learning. For this, it is helpful to know more about the backgrounds of the students in the two grades.

How many students are there in the 9th grade?

How many are Jewish and how many are Arab?

Would it be possible to get class rosters for each class with name, gender, ethnicity?

How many Jewish students are there in the current 11th grade?

Besides the tasks, I would also like to add a short survey asking each student to tell me where he/she is from, what their background is, and how long they have been in the school. This will be important to exploring the influence of identity on outcomes.

Do you anticipate that this will be a problem?

Finally, I would like to audiotape during my classroom observations, not videotape. I would then have the discussions translated and transcribed.

Do you anticipate parental or teacher objections?

Parental Consent (10 minutes)

Inas and I discussed yesterday the possibility that I may not need MoE approval since I am working only in the bilingual high school and am not interviewing students. We also talked about having teachers give the tasks to their students, rather than me, in order to get the best results. If this is so, then parent and student consent might not be required.

However, I could still provide a consent letter to parents and students if you would like.

Do you have a preference at this time?

I have included in the packet the parent letter that I submitted to the MoE.

Are there any parts of these parental consent letter and non-opposition form that you believe should be changed?

How long should I give them to respond?

I plan to read aloud an assent letter to the students, or ask the teachers to do so. Is it the practice here to also have the students sign individual assent forms, in addition to their parents?

Can you anticipate any problems with teachers or students participating in this project at this time?

Feedback on Tasks (15 minutes)

These next questions might be more appropriate for the teachers. If so, feel free to tell me that you can't answer them.

Share the written task with him.

In this writing task, I ask students to tell me the historical meaning and then the personal meaning of Israeli Independence Day, first to themselves and then as they imagine “the Other” would respond.

Will your students understand my intent?

If not, how should I modify it?

For example, since I ask Palestinians what Israeli Independence Day means to them and to Jews, would it be better to ask the Jewish students what Al Nakba Day means to them and then, what they think it means to Palestinians?

Are there other ways you believe it should be modified?

Share the significance task with him.

In the significance task, I ask the students to circle the five most important event, people, and concepts in the 1900-1949 history of “this land.”

Which of these events, people, and concepts are taught in your 9th grade curriculum?

Are there important events, people, or concepts that you teach that I have left out?

Do you think your students will understand that I mean the geographical territory that, since 1948, has been called Israel when I say “this land?”

Is there a better way to refer to it?

Share the historical empathy task with them.

In this task, I want to see if students can place themselves in the shoes of Jews and Palestinians back in 1947 who were debating the Partition Plan, and understand why people took the positions that they did.

Are students asked to read texts from different points of view regarding the 1947 Partition Plan as part of the curriculum?

What other historical events are taught in 9th grade that present similarly opposing perspectives?

Identity Issues (5 minutes)

I know identity is very important here. I would appreciate your feedback on how I should refer to your Arab/Palestinian students.

How do your Palestinian students refer to themselves?

In the tasks and in other materials, should I refer to your Palestinian students as Palestinian Israelis, Arab Israelis, Arabs, Palestinians, or by some other name?

Wrap-Up – 5 min.

Thank you for your generosity in sharing your time and knowledge with me.

I would like very much to meet with the two 9th grade teachers while I'm here.

Could you arrange a meeting with them for me on Sunday or Monday?

Would it also be possible to meet with Gil, the consultant, the same day, either with the teachers or separately?

Will we need an interpreter?

I would also love to meet with you again next week to wrap up any details.

Is the 4th at 12 noon still good?

Thank you so much. It has been a pleasure meeting you.

Protocol for Background Teacher Interviews – 3/2/15 (Raidah) and 3/3/15 (Maor)

Introduction (5 minutes)

Introduce myself. *Thank you so much for taking the time to meet with me. I really appreciate it.*

I'm studying how teachers can help students respect and understand historical perspectives that challenge their own. You all have been working on this problem for a long time and have a lot to teach the U.S. and other countries about these issues.

*First, I want to share some materials that describe my study. **(MAKE THEM A PACKET WITH THE MOE DOCUMENTS. GO THROUGH EACH DOCUMENT WITH THEM.)***

*I am NOT here to evaluate the HinH schools. In fact, the names of all students, teachers, and administrators, including yourself, will remain **anonymous**.*

*I would like to tape record our interview, so that I can focus on our conversation and not note taking. May I tape? **[If they say yes, make sure to get their permission again on the tape.]***

I would like to start by asking you a few questions about your background and then about the curriculum you teach.

Background (10 minutes)

When did you come to Hand in Hand to teach?

Why did you come here?

Where did you grow up?

Where/how were you trained as a teacher?

Did you teach elsewhere before coming here?

How long have you been here?

How many classes of 9th grade history do you have? (2 with your teaching partner?)

Do you work together as a team to plan?

Do you teach the class together?

Does one of you have a group of Arab students and one Jewish?

When do you teach your classes separately and when together as one group?

Do you teach other civics courses as well? Which ones?

9th Grade Curriculum (10 minutes)

I realize that in this school you talk about the Jewish and Arab narratives from preschool on. However, I've been told that 9th grade is the first time students formally study Israeli national history, such as the events of 1948.

Is this true?

When in this year do you teach the 1948 War?

Can you explain to me the major topics or units in your 9th grade curriculum from September to June?

Do you have a chart or some other type of document that lays out the sequence of topics or units for the year that you could share?

Are there other topics, besides the 1948 War, that are equally challenging for you to teach because they involve such opposing perspectives?

When do you teach these events?

Can I get a copy of the Hand in Hand calendar (of holidays) and of the curriculum calendar?

Disciplinary History vs. Heritage History

As I'm sure you know, teaching two narratives is very unusual not only in Israel but in the world.

What do you mean by "narrative" when you say you teach both narratives?

What are your goals in teaching both narratives?

What do you hope students will remember or take away from your class when they leave the school?

Feedback on Tasks (15 minutes)

I would appreciate your feedback on the tasks that I have designed for your students.

Share the writing task with them.

In this task, I want students to tell me what an event means to them, and then what they believe it means to the Other.

Inas and HinH principal have said I should change this task to ask about both Israeli Independence Day and Al Nakba Day and to have one version in both languages so the students can choose what language they want to respond in.

Do you agree?

Are there other things that you believe need to be changed in this task?

Share the significance task with them.

In this task, I ask the students to circle the five most important event, people, and concepts in the 1900-1949 history of “this land.”

Which of these events, people, and concepts do you teach in your curriculum?

Are there important events, people, or concepts that you teach that I have left out?

Have the names for the events been translated appropriately?

Share the historical empathy task with them.

I want to see if students can place themselves in the shoes of Jews and Palestinians back in 1947 who were debating the Partition Plan, and understand why people took the positions that they did.

Do you teach the 1947 Partition Plan in the 9th grade?

If so, when in the year do you teach it?

Do you ask the students to read different documents or accounts to understand the different points of view of Arabs and Jews regarding the plan?

Are there other events where you also ask students to analyze sources from different points of view and to try to put themselves in the shoes of the Other? For ex. Tel Hai?

Identity Issues (5 minutes)

I know identity is very important here. I would appreciate your feedback on how I should refer to your Arab/Palestinian students.

How do your Palestinian students refer to themselves?

Should I refer to your Palestinian students as Palestinian Israelis, Arab Israelis, Arabs, Palestinians, or by some other name?

Study Design Issues

I am hoping that you will be willing to let me interview you for approximately three hours (3 1-hour interviews) later this spring and to observe in your classes for several weeks to probe in depth how you teach two narratives. I am prepared to offer you a small gift of money to thank you for your time.

Would you be willing to do this?

Would you like me to provide you the interview questions in writing in Arabic and Hebrew ahead of time?

Would you like someone else present to translate? A formal translator? A friend or another teacher?

Finally, HinH principal, Inas, and I would prefer to have you administer the tasks yourselves in the classroom to your students. This will seem more natural to the students, and we hope that they will feel more free to respond honestly.

Are you comfortable giving these tasks to your students?

Conclusion (5 minutes)

You have so much to teach us.

Thank you so very much. I am looking forward to coming back in _____.

Confirm when I will interview and observe them.

Confirm when they will give the tasks to the students.

Confirm how we will contact one another – share emails, phone numbers.

Protocol for Follow-Up Interview with Hinh Principal - 3/4/15

Study Design Issues:

Inas and I have talked about me doing a comparative study involving another Arab and Jewish school, which is a stronger design.. You mentioned that you would check with your colleagues in several other schools to see if this might be a possibility.

What has been their reaction?

For several reasons, I would like to restrict my study to only Hand in Hand.

First, I talked to Amin and he did not think it would be possible to find an Arab school who will give the tasks.

Also, after thinking more about it, it doesn't seem a fair comparison because Arab and Jewish schools are not trying to teach empathy for each narrative, so of course, their students will not do as well on the tasks.

I think there is a great deal for me to learn just by talking to Raidah and Maor and by giving the tasks to the students. Also, if I involve outside schools, it will slow down and complicate the process.

After talking to both Raidah and Maor, I learned that they are just starting the Balfour Declaration now and will be slowly working their way toward the 1948 War in May. So between now and the end of the year is the perfect time for me to come back. So I don't want to slow down the process.

In May, I plan to come back for several weeks to interview the teachers and Gil, if he agrees; observe the teachers on 3-4 Sundays, and to have them give the tasks to their students.

Is this satisfactory to you?

I have the teachers' emails and will communicate directly with them from now on to finalize the tasks and to plan for when I will return.

Communication:

How would you like me to keep you to communicate with you from now on? Email, phone? For example, do you want me to copy you on every communication with the teachers or Inas?

Tasks:

Raidah felt that having separate versions of the tasks for the Arab and Jewish students was fine but it was also okay to combine them into one version. And she agreed that adding Al Nakba Day was important.

However, Maor thought that Yom HaZikaron was really a more appropriate comparison. He thought Al Nakba Day and Yom HaZikaron are more symmetrical than Independence Day and Nakba.

How do you feel about this?

Also, to avoid putting students into boxes as Arabs or Jews, especially since there are many who are not Arab or Jewish, I am thinking to use the term "the Other." I would say, "How do you think about this event and then, how do you think "the Other" would think about it."

Raidah thought this was okay, that students would understand what I mean?

Do you agree with them?

May I get class rosters for both classes and could you ask someone to help me identify the backgrounds of each student on the rosters?

Approval for research:

Inas will write a letter of support which I will use for my university application for approval. As I said, I was told by my university that if Raidah and Maor give the tasks to their students, my university will require me to add them to my application as part of the research team. They will also require me to prove that they have been trained in studying human beings ethically. I think it is possible to do online training (1 hour) through Hebrew University. I will arrange for this. And if there is any cost, I will pay.

I sent my materials to the Ministry but have not heard from them. Now it looks like I don't need their approval.

How do you recommend that I proceed regarding the Ministry of Education at this time?

Closing/Thanks:

Thank you so much for all your help. I am very excited to be allowed to learn from your school's experience.

Follow-Up Interview with Raidah – 3/4/15

Students' identities

Share that the principal gave me these rosters and asked me to ask you to identify the background of each student on the rosters.

Would you be able to help me with that now?

Tasks

Tell her about my conversation with Maor and then principal about changing the first task to pair Yom HaZikaron and Al Nakba.

Is this agreeable to you? Why? Why not?

Curriculum Schedule

Could you send me the schedule of topics you plan to cover for the remainder of the semester?

Thank you/Wrap Up

Maor - Protocol for Interview 1- 4/26/15

Timing: Immediately following the first lesson I will observe on April 19, 2015

Goals: 1) to put teachers at ease regarding talking about their teaching, 2) to explore challenges and opportunities of dual narrative instruction, 3) to explore planning processes involved in their dual narrative instruction, and 4) to explore if/how they think about teaching for historical empathy as distinct from empathy.

Introduction (2 minutes)

Thank you so much for agreeing to meet with me. Share consent letter with them and reiterate confidentiality and anonymity. Ask them to sign it.

Remember to ask for permission to audiotape. *I would like to tape our conversation so I can focus on what you are saying instead of trying to capture every detail in my notes. Would this be alright with you?*

Background (10 minutes)

I'd like to ask you a bit about your background.

Where did you grow up?

Where/how were you trained as a teacher?

How long have you been teaching?

Maor, you said this is the second course you have taught here and that you teach full time at another school.

What classes/subjects do you teach in your other school?

Teaching Purposes (10 minutes)

What would you say are **your** main teaching goals for this course?

What do **you** hope your students will remember or take away from your class when they leave the school?

Are these different goals than you would have if you taught a modern Israeli history course in your other school?

Dual-Narrative Issues (15 minutes)

This school's mission calls for students to understand and respect each other's historical narratives.

What do you mean by "narrative" when you say you teach both narratives?

Is a narrative "true"?

Does it differ from a historian's account of events? If so, how?

What do you think are the **advantages** for your students of learning the Palestinian and Jewish historical narratives together instead of learning just one or the other?

What is **challenging or difficult** for your students about learning the Jewish and Palestinian narratives together?

What do you think are the **advantages** for you as a teacher of teaching the Palestinian and Jewish historical narratives together instead of teaching just one or the other?

What **challenging or difficult** for you about teaching the Jewish and Palestinian narratives together?

How do you know if your students are developing "understanding and respect" for each other's historical narratives?

What do you look for as evidence?

How has having students who are either mixed background or neither Palestinian nor Jewish influenced your thinking about teaching the two narratives?

Pre-Post Disciplinary Inquiry (10 minutes)

I understand that you are using new curriculum materials and a new instructional approach to teaching the 9th grade curriculum.

What is Gil helping you to do?

Can you explain this [new] instructional approach?

How is your teaching here different than how you teach in your other school?

Debrief of Lesson Planning (10 minutes)

Last week, you taught x and you used x materials.

What were your goals for student learning?

What did you want your students to remember or learn from that lesson?

Please walk me through how you planned for this unit.

How did you start your planning?

How did you decide which questions to ask?

How did you decide to use this/these readings?

(Did you consider pairing this/these readings with any others that provided different perspectives?)

What things did you expect would be difficult for your students in that lesson? Why?

Were these things, in fact, difficult?

What surprised you about how the lesson went?

Historical empathy (15 minutes)

I'd like to dig a bit more into your thinking in that lesson.

Did you want your students to consider different perspectives in that lesson?

If so, whose perspectives did you want your students to consider?

What was difficult about getting your students to think about how x saw things?

Do you think asking students to consider the perspectives of people ***in the past*** helps your students empathize with people ***today*** with different historical perspectives?

If so, how or why? What is the connection between these two kinds of perspective taking?

Conclusion (2 minutes)

Thank you so much for taking so much of your time to talk to me. I really appreciate it.

Arrange time for next interview.

Discuss when we will meet to plan administration of the assessments.

Zvi Bekerman Interview Protocol 4-27-15

Research on Narratives:

Who are the most important historians today writing about the Palestinian and the Jewish national narratives?

How do you define “narrative?” (*This term is much more popular here and in Europe than in the U.S.*)

How does a narrative differ from a historian’s account?

How do narratives connect to identity?

What would you say are the main overarching themes of the P and J narratives?

Is a third narrative that integrates historical evidence yet also looks forward possible? If so, what would it look like?

Is it the school’s role to introduce such a narrative?

Identity issues:

How do you define identity?

What do you see as the role of schools in supporting or promoting particular groups’ identities?

One of the Hand in Hand schools accepts mixed kids, another apparently no longer does.

Apparently, this reflects differences regarding the possibility of a hybrid identity at this point in time.

I know you have expressed concern about essentializing identity. I see this too.

Is a third identity possible?

Pros and cons of teaching parallel dual narratives:

Teachers who are interested in presenting alternative points of view and “facts” can teach two opposing narratives sequentially or simultaneously, or can try to teach different perspectives about selected, specific events within a single overarching narrative. (Of course, one can also teach a single national narrative – either consensual and majority or oppositional - with no consideration of alternative perspectives.)

From your observations of classrooms, what are the pros and cons of these different approaches for students?

For teachers?

What role does language play in this process of teaching two narratives?

Is it important that teachers be fluent in both languages in order to teach both narratives?

Is it possible for individuals to represent another's narrative? For example, (professor and historian who spoke to both classes about events of 1948). Can he represent both? Can anyone fairly represent both? What would this mean for schools? Two teachers in every class? Matching of teachers with kids in every case?

Is it possible for teachers/historians to represent historical evidence without biasing it toward a particular narrative?

Teaching Challenges in Teaching Contested Histories:

From your experience observing the teaching of contested historical topics or questions, how can teachers balance respecting each individual student's and group's historical narrative with teaching them to critique their narrative and to use historical evidence to support their ideas?

For example, in teaching the Tel Hai events or the 1947 Partition Plan, how can they prepare students to consider factual information or emotional perspectives that challenge what they have been raised to believe?

How might texts be used to support such preparation for critical thinking?

What kinds of texts (literature, primary sources, films, etc.)?

How might tools like timelines be used to facilitate critical thinking?

Can asking students to consider the actions of individuals in the past (using primary source texts to explore different opinions) or of third parties (like the role of the British) help to prepare them or make them more open?

Have you seen any examples where teachers who tried to teach different perspectives or narratives were straightforward and transparent about what narratives are, what "recruited narratives" are, and what your teaching purposes are prepare students to be more open to different perspectives?

How did it work?

Do you think asking students to consider the perspectives of people *in the past* helps your students empathize with people *today* with different historical perspectives?

If so, how or why? What is the connection between these two kinds of perspective taking?

How can teachers prepare students for the emotional challenges of discussing a difficult topic like the Deir Yassin Massacre or the Holocaust?

How can they help them to try to understand the actions of their ancestors before judging those actions?

Protocol for Maor Interview 1 (Part 2) – 4/28/15

(Maor had to abruptly end our first interview because he got a call that his daughter was sick and needed to be picked up immediately. We picked up where we had left off.)

Dual Narrative Issues (cont.)

How has having students who are either mixed background or neither Palestinian nor Jewish influenced your thinking about teaching the two narratives?

How does teaching two parallel “narratives” differ from teaching different perspectives (historian’s perspectives or primary source perspectives) on specific events (such as the 1929 Massacre) within a single overarching national narrative? *This is kind of what you are trying to do in your other school, right, and what we try to do in the U.S.*

Pre-Post Disciplinary Inquiry

I understand that you are using new curriculum materials and a new instructional approach to teaching the 9th grade curriculum.

What is Gil helping you to do?

Can you explain this [new] instructional approach?

How is your teaching – your actual instruction - here different than how you teach in your other school?

Debrief of Lesson Planning

Last week, you taught about the 1929 Hebron Massacre and before that the two narratives.

What were your goals for student learning in each lesson?

What did you want your students to remember or learn from each lesson?

Please walk me through how you planned for this unit.

How did you start your planning?

How did you decide which questions to ask?

How did you decide to use this/these readings?

Who wrote the excerpts that were used in the two narratives discussion?

Would it be important for students to know this information?

What things did you expect would be difficult for your students in that lesson? Why?

Were these things, in fact, difficult?

What surprised you about how each lesson went?

Identity Issues (15 minutes)

I understand that Hand in Hand tries to support each child’s identity.

How do you define identity?

What is the connection between one's narrative and one's identity?

What do you see as your role in supporting or promoting Jewish students' identities in your classroom?

What do you see as your role in supporting or promoting Palestinian students' identities in your classroom?

How do you define identity when you are dealing with a student who is of mixed parents or who is neither Palestinian nor Jewish?

What is your role in supporting these students?

For example, do you treat them as a Jew or as a Palestinian when it comes to studying religion, history, commemorating the National Days, etc.? Has this issue arisen? How have you approached it?

Because of your background, do your students expect you to represent a particular narrative?

What challenges does this pose for you?

Do other teachers or parents expect this?

Can you think of an example where this has been a problem for you? In what way?

Do you try switching roles so that you teach the Jewish/Palestinian narrative or so that you both teach both narratives?

Why or why not?

Do you think you could teach both narratives if you were the only teacher in this class?

Why or why not?

If a Palestinian-only or a Jewish-only school tried to teach both narratives like you are doing here, how do you believe it would affect the outcomes? Would they be the same?

Why or why not?

How would not having a "representative" of each narrative in the classroom, or students from each identity group, affect the outcomes?

Competing Responsibilities – Heritage vs. Disciplinary History Goals (10 minutes)

I see that besides promoting students' identities and respecting each other's narratives, you are also trying to teach them to think clearly and to use evidence/facts to challenge their incoming narratives.

Please tell me about an instance where a student's beliefs about their history – their narrative - contradicted the historical evidence you presented in class.

What did you do then?

As you said, in any school, kids bring their narratives, their stories.

How to prepare students to consider (be open to) facts and emotional perspectives that challenge their own? How do you try to prevent that “blockage?”

For example, how do you prepare them to discuss different perspectives on Tel Hai, or the 1948 War, or the Partition Plan?

Can you tell me more about how you use Edward de Bono's *Six Hats of Thinking* in your teaching?

Does his book help you teach and if so, how?

How does it help you when teaching material that challenges the narratives of one or more students?

Can texts help you with this preparation and work?

If so, what kinds of texts (literature, primary sources, films, etc.)? And used how?

Might use of tools like timelines that could sequence events in time (to help explain cause and effect and challenge narratives of cause and effect) help to depersonalize/facilitate these discussions?

Might being very straightforward and transparent about what narratives are, what “recruited narratives” are, and what your teaching purposes are prepare students to be more open to different perspectives? Have you ever tried this? How did it work?

Do you ask students to try to put themselves in the shoes of people in the past – to understand what they were thinking at the time that they said or did certain things – using primary source texts from those individuals?

For example, do you ask them to read documents from Palestinians and Zionists who agreed and disagreed with the Partition Plan in order to understand why they agreed or disagreed?

Do you think asking students to consider the perspectives of people *in the past* helps your students empathize with people *today* with different historical perspectives?

If so, how or why? What is the connection between these two kinds of perspective taking?

You have two goals for students – respect for the narrative of “the Other” and respect for facts and use of evidence.

How do you signal to kids when the purpose of an activity is respect vs. critical thinking/questioning/synthesizing info?

Emotional Issues (15 minutes)

For our last few minutes, I'd like to ask about how you manage the emotional challenges for students of this kind of instruction.

How do your students respond emotionally to this dual-narrative, problem-based curriculum?

Can you recall an instance where a student has become defensive or angry or distressed or sad when discussing a historical event in class?

Can you describe this experience?

How did you manage it?

How do you prepare students to discuss emotionally difficult topics like The Arab Revolt or Deir Yassin or Tel Hai?

Do your students act as if they feel responsible or embarrassed by the actions of their ancestors?

How do you handle this?

How are you able to keep them from judging the actions of their ancestors before trying to understand them in their context? How do you talk about this?

When things happen outside the classroom, like killings, or kidnappings, or land confiscations, how do you address those events here in your classroom?

Do you think that contested historical issues of modern history are appropriate for 14 and 15 year olds? If not, at what age is it appropriate and important to start discussing these issues?

Outside Pressures (10 minutes)

What outside pressures do you face in teaching this curriculum?

Can you explain an instance where there were outside pressures on what you were teaching?

What did you do?

What did your colleagues or the principal do? How was it handled?

How do outside pressures affect what or how you teach?

Support (10 minutes)

This work sounds extremely difficult.

How have you learned to do this work?

Where do you still feel you need more guidance or need to learn more?

What are the emotional challenges of doing this work for you?

Where do you get emotional support for this work?

Wrap-Up:

Discuss timing for next and final interview and for task administration.

Raidah – Protocol for Interview 1 – 4/30/15

Timing: Immediately following the first lesson I will observe on April 19, 2015

Goals: 1) to put teachers at ease regarding talking about their teaching, 2) to explore challenges and opportunities of dual narrative instruction, 3) to explore planning processes involved in their dual narrative instruction, and 4) to explore if/how they think about teaching for historical empathy as distinct from empathy.

Introduction (2 minutes)

Thank you so much for agreeing to meet with me. Share consent letter with them and reiterate confidentiality and anonymity. Ask them to sign it.

Remember to ask for permission to audiotape. *I would like to tape our conversation so I can focus on what you are saying instead of trying to capture every detail in my notes. Would this be alright with you?*

Background (10 minutes)

I'd like to ask you a bit about your background.

Where did you grow up?

Where/how were you trained as a teacher?

How long have you been teaching?

When did you come to Hand in Hand to teach?

Did you teach elsewhere before coming here?

Why did you come here?

Teaching Purposes (10 minutes)

Is 9th grade the first time that students study the two narratives? What do they study in 7, 8 and in 10-12 currently?

Do J's and A's study together in 10,11, 12 currently?

How does this curriculum mesh with the Bagrut requirements for each group?

Gil mentioned that a new program for 10-12 is being developed. Can you say a bit more about this?

What would you say are **your** main teaching goals for this course?

What do **you** hope your students will remember or take away from your class when they leave the school?

Have your goals for this course changed since you began teaching this course x number of years ago?

Dual-Narrative Issues (15 minutes)

This school's mission calls for students to understand and respect each other's historical narratives.

What do you mean by “narrative” when you say you teach both narratives?

Is a narrative “true”?

Does it differ from a historian's account of events? If so, how?

There are different ways to teach students to consider different perspectives and to have empathy for the experiences of “the Other.” For example, you could teach a single narrative that tried to reconcile both narratives (create a third narrative) and to look forward? Or you could use primary sources from different perspectives (like letters, speeches, official documents, newspaper accounts, etc.) to use to explore specific events in national history from different perspectives you're your students.

What do you think are the **advantages** for your students of learning the Palestinian and Jewish historical narratives the way you do it here – side by side?

What is **challenging or difficult** for your students about learning the Jewish and Palestinian narratives together?

What do you think are the **advantages** for you as a teacher of teaching the Palestinian and Jewish historical narratives the way you do it – side by side?

What **challenging or difficult** for you about teaching the Jewish and Palestinian narratives together?

How do you know if your students are developing “understanding and respect” for each other's historical narratives?

What do you look for as evidence?

How has having students who are either mixed background or neither Palestinian nor Jewish influenced your thinking about teaching the two narratives?

Pre-Post Disciplinary Inquiry (10 minutes)

I understand that you are using new curriculum materials and a new instructional approach to teaching the 9th grade curriculum.

What is Gil helping you to do?

Can you explain this [new] instructional approach?

Who decided the curriculum needed to change?

Why did they decide it needed to change?

How did the new curriculum come about?

As a teacher, what do you like/dislike about these changes?

How has your teaching changed since implementing these new materials? For example, if I came to your classroom three years ago and now, what would I see that is different?

The Text

Gil said that this is the first year that you are using this text this way.

Do you like the text? Why or why not?

Does the text's structure help aid students' comprehension and if so, how?

Does the text's structure aid empathy and if so, how?

Does the text's structure aid critical thinking and if so, how?

Debrief of Lesson Planning (10 minutes)

Last week, you taught x and you used x materials.

What were your goals for student learning?

What did you want your students to remember or learn from that lesson?

Please walk me through how you planned for this unit.

How did you start your planning?

How did you decide which questions to ask?

How did you decide to use this/these readings?

(Did you consider pairing this/these readings with any others that provided different perspectives?)

What did you ask students to look up on their phones? Fawzi?

What things did you expect would be difficult for your students in that lesson? Why?

Were these things, in fact, difficult?

What surprised you about how the lesson went?

Wrap-Up

Thank her and schedule next interview and discuss task administration details.

Maor - Protocol for Interview 2 and 3 combined – 5/3/15

Identity Issues (continued):

Do you think you could teach both narratives if you were the only teacher in this class?

Why or why not?

How would not having a “representative” of each narrative in the classroom, or students from each identity group, affect the outcomes?

You were describing your concern that Jewish students feel they must suppress their identities in the school.

Do Palestinian teachers and or students also suggest that Jewish kids should be ashamed of what the Zionist monster has done? Do they blame the J kids for the actions of their ancestors and adults? Or is this mostly a problem of the Jewish teachers?

Do you find that P. kids and adults speaking out more forcefully in this environment than in other environments? [because they are minorities and do not have outlets for their voice to be heard in other settings]

How important is the issue of being heard to J's to P's in the school?

Competing Responsibilities (continued):

Can you tell me more about how you use Edward de Bono's *Six Hats of Thinking* in your teaching?

Does his book help you teach and if so, how?

How does it help you when teaching material that challenges the narratives of one or more students?

Have you and Raidah tried being very straightforward and transparent about what narratives are, what “recruited narratives” are, and what your teaching purposes are in order to prepare students to be more open to different perspectives? How did it work?

Do you ask students to try to put themselves in the shoes of people in the past – to understand what they were thinking at the time that they said or did certain things – using primary source texts from those individuals?

For example, do you ask them to read documents from Palestinians and Zionists who agreed and disagreed with the Partition Plan in order to try to understand why those people agreed or disagreed with it at the time?

Do you think asking students to consider the perspectives of people *in the past* helps your students empathize with people *today* with different historical perspectives?

If so, how or why? What is the connection between these two kinds of perspective taking?

What do you say to try to keep them from judging the actions of their ancestors before trying to understand them in their context? How do you talk about this?

Can texts, media, etc. help you facilitate difficult discussions?

If so, what kinds of texts (literature, primary sources, films, etc.)? And used how?

How might tools like timelines and maps help depersonalize/facilitate discussions?

You have two goals for students – respect for the narrative of “the Other” and respect for facts and use of evidence.

How do you signal to kids when the purpose of an activity is respect vs. critical thinking/questioning/synthesizing info?

Emotional Issues (15 minutes)

What do you say to students if you sense that they are feeling responsible or embarrassed by the actions of their ancestors?

When things happen outside the classroom, like killings, or kidnappings, or land confiscations, how do you address those events here in your classroom?

Do you think that contested historical issues of modern history are appropriate for 14 and 15 year olds? If not, at what age is it appropriate and important to start discussing these issues?

Evolving Student Body

You mentioned in February that Jewish teachers don't send their kids to this school, at least until recently.

Why do you think that is?

In our first interview, you said there are benefits to each side of keeping the conflict going.

What are some of the benefits for Jews of keeping the conflict going? For Palestinians? Do you discuss these issues in the class?

Do you ask students to think of a way forward out of this clash of narratives? Are they able to offer possibilities? Are they able to provide evidence for their arguments? Can you give me an example?

Support (10 minutes)

This work sounds extremely difficult.

How have you learned to do this work?

Where do you still feel you need more guidance or need to learn more?

What are the emotional challenges of doing this work for you?

Where do you get emotional support for this work?

Wrap-Up

Thank him and discuss scheduling of administration of remaining tasks.

Dr. Sami Adwan – Interview Protocol 5/9/15

Introduce myself and my project, share consent form

Why Dual Narratives:

There are different ways to teach students to consider different perspectives and to have empathy for the experiences of “the Other.” For example, you could have written a single narrative that tried to reconcile both narratives (create a third narrative) and to look forward? Or you could have done what history education reformers in the U.S. often do, create a document-based text that compiles primary sources from different perspectives (like letters, speeches, official documents, newspaper accounts, etc.) for teachers to use to explore specific events in national history from different perspectives with their students.

Why did you choose a parallel narrative approach?

Compared to other approaches, what **advantages** does such an approach provide for students for encouraging empathy? For promoting comprehension of the narratives? For teaching critical thinking?

What **disadvantages** does it provide for students for encouraging empathy? For promoting comprehension of the narratives? For teaching critical thinking?

Compared to other approaches, what **advantages** does such an approach provide for teachers for encouraging empathy? For promoting comprehension of the narratives? For teaching critical thinking?

What **disadvantages** does it provide for teachers for encouraging empathy? For promoting comprehension of the narratives? For teaching critical thinking?

How did you actually go about this process? (trace process)

Meaning of Narrative:

What does narrative mean to you?

How do these narratives differ from historian’s accounts?

International Use and Relevance:

In what national contexts does teaching two parallel narratives make sense? Under what conditions? In what contexts and under what conditions might it not make sense?

Can you tell me about how people in other countries are using your text?

In read online that Macedonia-Albania is using your approach. Do you know of others who are trying to similarly write parallel narrative texts of their national history in another country? How do they go about it?

How might this model pertain in a U.S. context where there are multiple minority group narratives (Native American, African American, white immigrant, Black freemen, non-white immigrant including Hispanic) that stand in opposition to the American narrative of progress toward freedom and where those narratives are more ethnic/racial/or class than national?

Are you aware of any people who may be trying similar efforts in the U.S.?

Can you put me in touch with them?

How Is/Should It Be Used?:

How would you like teachers to use your text with students?

How can they use the text to build not only empathy and comprehension for the narrative of the other, but also criticism of their own narrative (as well as the narrative of the other) based on historical evidence?

For example, how can they use the text in such a way that it is not like I said/you said, but where students can be prepared to critique other information (“recruited narratives”) that they encounter in the media such as “the Arabs want to drive us into the sea” or “The Nazis did not kill 6 million Jews.”

How can they use the text to help students integrate the perspectives as they think about a way forward?

How can teachers prepare students to be open to the narratives of the other? How can they prevent or avoid the resistance that students have to hearing about and respecting the perspectives of “the Other?”

I know that your text is used in a small number of Israeli and Palestinian schools in addition to Hand in Hand.

Have there been evaluations of the use of your text in these schools?

Have people critiqued your approach and what have their critiques been?

Comparison with Zinn:

Are you familiar with the work of Howard Zinn in the U.S.? A People’s History of the United States or with Facing History and Ourselves?

How is your work different?

As an outsider who studied in the U.S. (and who specializes in American history), you can see things we cannot. What would you say are the themes of the dominant U.S. national narrative?

Do you see a clear alternative or minority narrative? If so, what would it be?

Wrap-Up

Thank him.

Gil - Protocol for Interview 2 – 5/10/15

Background on Curricular Change (10 minutes)

Who was on the committee that rewrote the 7-9 curriculum?

What is the Focus Group – is this the committee with parent and historian x, administrators x and x, Maor, Inas, and Raidah that oversees the 9th grade curriculum?

PLEASE SEND YOUR ARTICLE ON TEACHING FOR UNDERSTANDING

Goals of the Curriculum

What do you see as the most important goals of this curriculum? What do you want students to take away from it?

Do you think Raidah and Maor’s goals are the same?

Debrief of Course (15 minutes)

What parts of this course do you think have been particularly successful or effective? Why do you think that was?

What parts did not go as you intended? Why do you think this was?

What would you encourage Raidah and Maor to do differently when they teach this course next year?

LIST TOPICS COVERED THIS YEAR – IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, DECLINE OF EUROPEAN MONARCHIES, ???

Narrative Definition

How do you define “narrative.”

How do narratives differ from historian’s accounts of events?

Dual-Narrative Issues (15 minutes)

There are different ways to teach students to consider different perspectives and to have empathy for the experiences of “the Other.” For example, you could introduce a single narrative that tried to reconcile both narratives (create a third narrative) and to look forward? Or you do what history education reformers in the U.S. often do, use primary sources from different perspectives (like letters, speeches, official documents, newspaper accounts, etc.) to explore specific events in national history from different perspectives with students, although these “contested” events are usually couched within an overarching narrative of progress.

From your vantage point, what are the **advantages** for students of learning the Palestinian and Jewish historical narratives side by side the way it is done here?

From your vantage point, what are the **challenges** for students of learning two historical narratives side by side?

From your vantage point, what are the **advantages** for teachers of teaching the Palestinian and Jewish historical narratives together instead of learning just one or the other?

From your vantage point, what are the **challenges** for teachers of teaching the two historical narratives side by side?

Raidah and Maor described times earlier in the year when they asked students to consider the different perspectives of people in the past using original sources (for ex., Egypt and Napoleon, African Chief and British government).

Do you think asking students to consider the perspectives of people **in the past** helps students empathize with people **today** with different historical perspectives?

If so, how or why? What is the connection between these two kinds of perspective taking?

Debriefing Previous Lesson (10 minutes)

How did you feel the Cohen lesson – 2 narratives went? What went right? What would you change?

Competing Responsibilities – Heritage vs. Disciplinary History Goals (10 minutes)

Besides promoting students' identities and encouraging them to understand and respect each other's narratives, with your help, Raidah and Maor are also trying to teach their students to think clearly and to use evidence to support their ideas.

From your vantage point as an observer in this class, please tell me about an instance you observed where a student's narrative – their beliefs about their history - contradicted the historical evidence that Raidah and Maor presented in class.

What advice did you give them regarding how to balance respect for each student's and group's historical narrative with teaching students to critique their narrative and to use historical evidence to support their ideas?

And again, from your vantage point as an observer in this class, have you observed any occasions where a student became defensive or angry or distressed or sad when discussing a historical event in class?

Can you describe this experience?

How did you encourage them to manage it?

How do you advise them to prepare students to discuss emotionally difficult topics that will challenge their incoming beliefs?

Can you tell me more about how Edward de Bono's *Six Hats of Thinking* is used here?

Did the idea to use this model come from you?

How is it helpful when teaching material that challenges the narratives of one or more students?

How might tools like timelines that could sequence events and maps that represent geographical realities be used in this classroom help to depersonalize and facilitate critical discussions of the narratives?

Do you encourage H and O to be transparent about when the goal is to understand and respect and when it is to critique either or both narratives? If so, why? How does this help?

They have two goals: respect/empathy and critical thinking. How can they signal to students when the goal is respect vs. critique based on evidence?

Identity Issues (15 minutes)

I understand that Hand in Hand tries to support each child's identity.

How do you define identity?

From your vantage point, what do you see as Raidah and Maor's role in supporting Jewish students' identities in their classrooms?

From your vantage point, what do you see as Raidah and Maor's role in supporting Palestinian students' identities in their classrooms?

I know there are a number of students who are of mixed parents or who are neither Palestinian nor Jewish?

What new challenges has this created?

How have you encouraged them to approach this new diversity in students' backgrounds?

From your perspective, what is their role in supporting these students?

Do you encourage Raidah and Maor to mix up their roles with Raidah representing the Jewish narrative view and Maor the Palestinian or is it preferable for each teacher to represent his/her group's narrative?

Why or why not?

If a Palestinian-only or a Jewish-only school tried to teach both narratives in the inquiry manner that you are helping to facilitate here, how do you believe it would affect the outcomes? Would they be the same?

Why or why not?

How would not having a "representative" of each narrative in the classroom, or students from each identity group, affect the outcomes?

Can you tell me more about the "Roots" curriculum that you mentioned last time? Who developed it? Where?

Emotional Issues (15 minutes)

I'd like to ask you a bit about the emotional issues that teachers must manage in the classroom.

Do the students act as if they feel responsible or embarrassed by the actions of their ancestors?

What advice do you give Raidah and Maor on handling this?

What advice do you give to Raidah and Maor about how to keep their students from judging the actions of their ancestors before trying to understand them?

Wrap-Up

Thank him.

Protocol for Raidah Interview 3

Debrief of Course (10 minutes):

In our first interview, you said that you have two goals: promoting the identity of the Palestinian students and helping Palestinian students to become more informed about the facts pertaining to their narrative?

Did I represent your goals correctly?

Do you feel you have been successful this year specifically in relation to these two goals?

More generally:

What parts of this course do you think were particularly successful or effective? Why do you think that was?

What parts did not go as you intended? Why do you think this was?

What would you do differently when you teach this course next year?

Perspective Taking (10 minutes):

I was very interested in what you were saying last time about how you used the two texts from Efrat Ben-Ze'ev.

What did you hope they would learn or remember from reading these two different accounts of the same events?

What did you ask them to do as they read?

Where did you find the materials?

When you use primary or original texts, what kinds of questions do you ask them about the author before reading the text or what kind of information do you give them before reading the text?

You mentioned an assignment you gave where P students had to write how they felt as a Jewish person when they first heard the Declaration and vice versa.

Can you tell me more about that assignment? What information were the P students drawing upon to justify or explain their feelings as a Jew?

What kinds of answers did they give?

*You gave examples where you asked students to consider the perspectives of people **in the past**.*

Do you feel this prepares your students to empathize with people **today** with different historical perspectives?

If so, how or why? What is the connection between these two kinds of perspective taking?

Emotions (5 minutes):

Have you found that your students act as if they feel responsible or embarrassed by the actions of their ancestors?

How do you handle this?

How are you able to keep them from judging the actions of their ancestors before trying to understand them?

When things happen outside the classroom, like killings, or kidnappings, or land confiscations, how do you address those events here in your classroom?

Support (10 minutes)

This work sounds extremely difficult.

How have you learned to do this work?

Where do you still feel you need more guidance or need to learn more?

What are the emotional challenges of doing this work for you?

Where do you get emotional support for this work?

Wrap-Up

Thank her and discuss administration of remaining tasks.

Dr. Eyal Naveh – Interview Protocol – 5/11/15

Same as protocol for Dr. Sami Adwan above.

Dr. Inas Deeb – Protocol for Final Interview – 5/12/15

When will these 9th graders take the history Bagrut?

What were your goals for this year's curriculum?

Background on Curricular Change (10 minutes)

Who was on the committee that rewrote the 7-9 curriculum that was completed in 2007?

What is the Focus Group – is this the committee with the historian who spoke to students, HinH principal and assistant principal, Maor, yourself, and Raidah that oversees the 9th grade curriculum? What is it's role?

GET COPY OF 7-9 CURRICULUM GUIDE – PREFERABLY IN ENGLISH

Who is working on the 10-12 curriculum now? Same group?

Curriculum Goals and Challenges

What are the goals of the 9th grade curriculum to you?

What do you want students to remember or take away from their study?

Do you believe that these goals were met this year?

Narrative Issues

What do you mean by “narrative” when you say that Hand in Hand teaches students to respect both narratives?

How does it differ from a historian's account of events? If so, how?

There are different ways to teach students to consider different perspectives and to have empathy for the experiences of “the Other.” For example, you could introduce a single narrative that tried to reconcile both narratives (create a third narrative) and to look forward? Or you do what history education reformers in the U.S. often do, use primary sources from different perspectives (like letters, speeches, official documents, newspaper accounts, etc.) to explore specific events in national history from different perspectives with students, although these “contested” events are usually couched within an overarching narrative of progress.

What do you think are the **advantages** for students of learning the Palestinian and Jewish historical narratives together instead of learning just one or the other?

What is **challenging or difficult** for students about learning the Jewish and Palestinian narratives together?

What do you think are the **advantages** for teachers of teaching the Palestinian and Jewish historical narratives together instead of teaching just one or the other?

What **challenging or difficult** for teachers about teaching the Jewish and Palestinian narratives together?

Role of Language

What role does language play in this process of teaching two narratives?

Is it important that teachers be fluent in both languages in order to teach both narratives?

Challenges of Teaching Two Narratives

How can the school balance respecting each student's and group's historical narrative with teaching them to critique their narrative and to use historical evidence to support their ideas?

How can the school teach students' to question or judge historical information that they are told by their families or the media or other students or that they read in books?

Identity Issues:

I was told that the X H in H school no longer accepts kids from mixed families. The Jerusalem School on the other hand encourages them and pays careful attention to them.

Is this true and if so, why is this? (Different beliefs about whether a third identity is possible yet?)

How does having mixed kids change the learning environment and teaching challenges?

Where do these kids fit in the two narratives?

How do you define identity?

What do you see as the school's role in supporting or promoting Jewish students' identities?

What do you see as the school's role in supporting or promoting Palestinian students' identities?

Could a single teacher teach both narratives fairly?

Do you have to have a representative of each primary identity group in the classroom to make this work?

A Third Narrative?

Is a third narrative that integrates historical evidence yet also looks forward possible? If so, what would it look like?

Is it the school's role to introduce such a narrative?

Wrap-Up

Thank her and next steps re: providing feedback to the school on my findings, getting their input on my findings before proceeding to finalize them, and administration of outstanding tasks.

APPENDIX C

Student Tasks 1-5

Task One

Part A

Please list **what you believe** are the 5 most important events, people/organizations, or ideas in the history of this land that every person living here should know. Then, write one sentence explaining why you choose **each** event, person, or idea.

Please answer the next questions as if you were the “Other.”

Part B

Now I am asking you to think how another student in your class from a different background might answer this question. For example, if you are Jewish, think about the 5 events, or people/organizations, or ideas that a Palestinian student in your class might choose. Then write a sentence explaining why you chose each event, person, or idea.

Task Two

Part A

(A) From the following lists, please circle **what you believe** are the 5 most significant concepts, people/organizations, and events in the history of this land from 1900-1949. **(Please choose 5 from each column.)**

Concepts	People/Organizations	Events
Nationalism	Ze'ev Jabotinsky	Balfour Declaration 1917
Anti-Semitism	Ezzedine al-Qassam	The 1948 War
Yeshuv	Jewish Agency	World War I
Colonialism	Chaim Weizmann	The Holocaust
Waqf	Haj Amin al-Husseini	Tel Hai
Aliyah/immigration	Haganah	World War II
Self-Determination	United Nations	Deir Yassin Massacre
Palestinian Right of Return	Palmach	Pogroms
Israeli Law of Return	Arab countries	1947 UN Partition Plan
Palestine/Eretz Israel	David Ben Gurion	Arab General Strike (1936-1939)
Zionism	Hitler	UN Resolution 194
Imperialism	Ottoman Empire	Sykes-Picot Agreement
Al-Nazihun	The British Government	Al-Nakba
		Destroyed Palestinian villages (examples: Lifta, Zir'in)

(B) Next, briefly explain why you selected these concepts, people/organizations, and events:

Now, please answer these questions as if you are “the Other.”

Part B

Now think about how another student in your class from a different background might answer this question. For example, if you are Jewish, think about which events, concepts, and people/organizations a Palestinian student in your class might choose. Circle the 5 most significant concepts, people/organizations, and events in the history of this land from 1900-1949 that you believe **he or she** might choose. **(Please choose 5 from each column.)**

Concepts	People/Organizations	Events
Nationalism	Ze'ev Jabotinsky	Balfour Declaration 1917

Anti-Semitism	Ezzedine al-Qassam	The 1948 War
Yeshuv	Jewish Agency	World War I
Colonialism	Chaim Weizmann	The Holocaust
Waqf	Haj Amin al-Husseini	Tel Hai
Aliyah/immigration	Haganah	World War II
Self-Determination	United Nations	Deir Yassin Massacre
Palestinian Right of Return	Palmach	Pogroms
Israeli Law of Return	Arab countries	1947 UN Partition Plan
Palestine/Eretz Israel	David Ben Gurion	Arab General Strike (1936-1939)
Zionism	Hitler	UN Resolution 194
Imperialism	Ottoman Empire	Sykes-Picot Agreement
Al-Nazihun	The British Government	Al-Nakba
		Destroyed Palestinian Villages (examples: Lifta, Zir'in)

(B) Next, briefly explain why you selected these concepts, people/organizations, and events:

Task Three

Part 1

Please think back to what you studied in class about the 1947 Partition Plan and respond to the following questions. (Be sure to provide evidence to support your responses.)

Why did many Palestinians reject the Partition Plan proposed by the United Nations in 1947?

Why did many Jews accept the Partition Plan proposed by the United Nations in 1947?

Part 2

You are the experts. Please read the following excerpt from an international source describing the 1947 Partition Plan and subsequent war and respond to the questions below.

“On Nov. 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling for Palestine to be partitioned between Arabs and Jews, allowing for the formation of the Jewish state of Israel.

Since 1917, Palestine had been under the control of Britain, which supported the creation of a Jewish state in the holy land. Sympathy for the Jewish cause grew during the genocide of European Jews during the Holocaust. In 1946, the Palestine issue was brought before the newly created United Nations, which drafted a partition plan.

The plan, which organized Palestine into three Jewish sections, four Arab sections and the internationally-administered city of Jerusalem, had strong support in Western nations as well as the Soviet Union. It was opposed by Arab nations.

The General Assembly voted, 33-13, in favor of partition, with 10 members, including Britain, abstaining. The six Arab nations in the General Assembly staged a walkout in protest...Six months later, on May 14, 1948, Jewish leaders in the region formed the state of Israel. British troops left, thousands of Palestinian Arabs fled and Arab armies invaded Israel. In the Arab-Israeli War, Israel defeated its enemies. It was the first of several wars fought between Israel and its neighbors.”

From - The Learning Network (Nov. 29, 2011). *Nov. 29, 1947: U.N. Partitions Palestine, Allowing for Creation of Israel*. Retrieved from <http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/11/29/nov-29-1947-united-nations-partitions-palestine-allowing-for-creation-of-israel/>.

(1) Do you think this account of the 1947 Partition Plan is accurate? Explain why or why not in a paragraph below.

(2) **Circle** parts of the account that you agree with.

(3) **Underline** parts of the account that you think should be changed.

Part 3

Please think about these events from your perspective today and complete the following sentences.

I think many Jews made the right/wrong **(circle one)** decision in accepting the Partition Plan because....

I think many Palestinians made the right/wrong decision **(circle one)** in rejecting the 1947 Partition Plan because....

Task Four

Please answer the following questions.

Part A

What does Yom HaZikaron (Memorial Day) mean **to you**?

What does Al Nakba Day mean **to you**?

Now, please answer these questions as if you are “the Other.”

Part B

Think about how another student in your class from a different background might answer these questions.

For example, if you are Palestinian, think about how a Jewish student in your class might answer these questions.

What would **he or she say** Yom HaZikaron (Memorial Day) means **to him or her**?

What would **he or she say** Al Nakba Day means **to him or her**?

Task Five

Where were you born?

Where were your parents born?

Where do you live now (which neighborhood)?

How long have you lived in this country?

How long have you been a student in this school?

How would you describe your identity? **(Please choose at least 3-5 words that you believe describe your identity.)**

APPENDIX D

Short Coding Protocol

RQ1

Goals

Critical Thinking

Accurate knowledge/facts
Active learning
Articulating own perspective
Justifying one's opinions
Questioning attitude

Empathy

Dialogue
Listening to all voices
Respecting the Other

Identity

Empowerment
Equity/fairness of representation
National rights
Promoting individual/group identity

How Reconciled

Dual Narrative Curriculum - why?

Nature of conflict
Narratives have power
Multi-ethnic school
Equity
Balance biases
Dual-Narrative text – why?
Provides significance

Disciplinary approach to instruction – why?

How history is done/beliefs
There are facts/not reifying narratives
Preparing students for discussion of the conflict
Disciplinary approach to instruction – how?
Selecting/adapting sources

Employing evidence
Historical reading
Facilitating discussion
Historical research
Historical concepts
Historical context
Connecting to personal/cultural experiences

Two Teachers – why?

Balance biases
Students' need for role models

Two Languages – why?

Because language is narrative
Equity/equal accessibility

Successes/Needs for Improvement

Successes
Needs for improvement

RQ2

Logistical teaching challenges

Time
Curricular incongruity
Shortage of Arab historians
Lack of prepared curriculum to use

Socio-political teaching challenges

Not replicating power inequities
Co-planning challenges
Balancing affirmation of identity without reifying identity differences/over-equating narratives with identity
Balance/ equity/ fairness in representation

Emotional Teaching Challenges

“Charged” emotional nature of the subject matter
Maintaining a tone of respect when disagreeing about evidence/facts
Personalizing vs. depersonalizing
Not causing resistance/blockage
Suppression of identity by others

Learning challenges

Self-suppression of identity
Students want to avoid discussions
Hard to be critical of own narrative or narrative of Other
Developmental capacity

Other challenges

Includes need for teachers to be on board

Need of teachers to work through own feelings of loss/anger/threat

RQ3

Appendix E

Excerpt of a Coded Interview Transcript

Interview Two

Raidah

5/3/15

Let's start right where we left off last time. So how does the textbook help students with basic comprehension/understanding of what is on the page?

The textbook is written in a way that there are simple facts that you can easily differentiate. So it's built in a way that makes it really easy for me to prepare a worksheet.

It sounds like you're saying it's also easy for students to see the comparisons, the way it's written?

[Yes], because the textbook was originally written for students. It's a student's textbook.

And do you think it helps them to have empathy for the other side, to see the other side?

When we ask them in the worksheet to write the different narratives, in certain situations I do feel they have empathy for the others.

And does the textbook help that?

Sometimes, for certain students it does so, while for others it creates more conflict within. So it depends on the [ir] background, what perspective the student has in relationship with the textbook.

So I want to make sure I'm understanding this. So it's 100% good in getting the basic facts and information, but it's good and bad, depending on the student, for supporting empathy?

Exactly.

Comment [WU1]: How reconciled?

→Dual-narrative curriculum - why?

→→Dual-narrative text - why?

RC2

Learning challenges

→→Hard to be critical of own narrative or →narrative of

Other

Emotional teaching challenges

→→Charged emotional nature of the subject matter

A third question is, we call it in English critical thinking...

Yes.

What are the pros and cons of this textbook in helping with that?

Yes, of course. The students, so many times, they criticize the text and this is shown through the different contrasts that they are making with the examples. They would bring in examples that would show this discrepancy or contrast.

And are these examples from other texts or from their own experience?

Most of the examples are brought by the student from the text that he or she is concerned about or interested in.

But did they get the information from another text to support their criticism?

No, there are two narratives. Same topic for example. Even the topic for the text itself might be a source for criticism. For example, the Buraq Revolution, in Hebrew they don't recognize as Buraq Wall, they consider it as the Wailing Wall. And so the conflict starts.

I guess my question is, when a student is criticizing the text, are they, for example, if it said something they disagreed with about the Buraq Revolution, would their criticism come from their own experience, like their family and what they learned at home, or would they talk about another text you had read in class?

Both ways. A student might bring in his own ideas based on his own background, or he might make a citation or quotation from the Palestinian narrative or the Israeli narrative, to support his ideas from the text itself.

And when you say "the text", do you use other texts?

I mean the book [the textbook].

Oh, ok, ok, so they are using the narrative in the book, let's say a Palestinian student, is using information in the Palestinian narrative in the book to criticize information about...[the Jewish narrative in the book]?

Exactly.

Ok, now I understand. Thank you.

And do you use other, for the two narratives, do you use other texts? I know you read the Balfour Declaration – you read the original text – do you use other original texts as well?

Many texts I bring them from a primary source. For example, the Balfour Declaration, or the Partition Resolution, or I might bring statistics.

And just a tiny question. In the lesson before X came, you asked students to look up something on their phones, Fawzi. What was that?

X is a lecturer. He asked us to prepare students by giving them two texts. One is about the Palestinian narrative and the other is about the Israeli narrative. The Palestinian narrative includes the name Fawzi Cawupchi, and since I did not even reach or cover this character yet, I asked the students during their reading to look for on their mobiles about the personality of the figure, Fawzi C., to get information on him from their mobiles.

Ah, I thought so. A completely different question. So what do you see, as a Palestinian teacher in the room, as your role in supporting or promoting the identities of the Jewish students?

I said that many times I am very cautious about the ideas and perspectives since I represent the Other narrative. And I support them by making them express their views,

Comment [WU2]: RQ1
How reconciled?
→Dual-narrative curriculum - why?
→→Dual-narrative text - why?

Comment [WU3]: RQ1
How reconciled?
→Dual-narrative curriculum - why?
→→Dual-narrative text - why?

Comment [WU4]: RQ1
How reconciled?
→Disciplinary approach to instruction –why?
→→How history is done/beliefs
→→→Disciplinary approach to instruction –
how?→→→Employing evidence
→→→→Selecting/adapting sources

Comment [WU5]: RQ1
Goals
→Empathy →→Listening to all voices→→Respecting the Other
How reconciled?
→Disciplinary approach to instruction –
why?→→Disciplinary approach to instruction –
how?→→→Employing evidence→→→Facilitating discussion→→→Historical reading

even if it is in a form of criticism. And I taught them a way - the thought that for [of] Edward de Bono. She taught them this approach. She used it a lot. I felt that it is the ideal way to give each student his own right, whether he is Palestinian or Jewish. Because this approach talks about the hat for emotions, for criticism, and facts, also it is creativity, and also for optimism. These different hats made me every time to get to each and every student, whether he is Palestinian or Jewish.

And can you give me an example of a time when you had a student in class and you were teaching something that went very much against what they believed, and they were very upset and how this Edward de Bono idea helped you present the facts or the different information but also respect their opinion?

For example, once I displayed a slide with a title "How the Conflict Started." It was clear for the Jewish students that the language was Arabic and the time axis involved events that relate to the Palestinian people, although the information was neutral and most of them [it] included historical facts. At that moment, some Jewish students objected to what I was talking about. Practically, I stopped the lesson and asked them to use Edward de Bono approach in order to express their views. And it was very successful.

And how did they do that? What did it look like?

Most students who objected used the facts hat and the black hat, which is criticism, and they started to support their views. And also on the other side, the Arab students were able to use the same hats in order to prove the opposite.)

[was going to ask you about your role in supporting Palestinian students' identities, but last time we talked a lot about that so I think we're good. What do you see as your role when you're dealing with a student who is Palestinian and Jewish or Ethiopian or Druze?

Sometimes, when we are talking about Palestinian and Jewish narratives, some students who come from different backgrounds, for example, a student whose father is an Arab and whose mother is Jewish, or an Armenian or a Druze student, sometimes those

students will take sides with their friends. Undoubtedly, they are kind of lost. And I try to attract them to the human side of the issue. For example, when the rituals for the Yom HaZikaron, and which is Al Nakba Day at the same time, a student came to me and said, "I don't know where to go." I answered her, "We don't force you to be in either side, but eventually there is a unified ceremony and you could join that if you like it." And actually she joined that.)

Continued...

Comment [WU6]: RQ1

Goals

->Identity

->->Promoting individual/group identity->->Empowerment

->Empathy->->Listening to all voices->->Respecting the

Other

How Reconciled?

Successes/needs for improvement

RQ2

Emotional Teaching Challenges

->Charged emotional nature of the subject

matter->Maintaining a tone of respect when disagreeing

about evidence/facts->Personalizing vs. depersonalizing

Comment [WU7]: RQ1

Goals

->Identity

->->Promoting individual/group identity->->Empowerment

->Empathy

->Listening to all voices->Respecting the Other

Successes/needs for improvement

RQ2

Emotional Teaching Challenges

->Charged emotional nature of the subject matter

Socio-political Teaching Challenges

->Balancing affirmation of identity without reifying

identity differences/overequating narratives with identity

APPENDIX F

Analytical Spreadsheet for Teaching Data with Excerpts Supporting Each Finding

Column1	Column2	Column3	Column4	Column5
	School	Maor	Raidah	Gil
Critical Thinking				
Accurate knowledge/facts	X	Maor 4-26-15 p. 221		Gil 5-10-15 p. 187; Gil 5-1-15 p. 245
Active learning	X		Raidah 5-10-15 p. 327; Raidah 4-30-15 p. 343 (successes - PBL); also instructional examples of investigations and sourcing card	Gil 5-10-15 p. 187; Gil 5-1-15 p. 210; Gil 5-1-15 p. 333
Articulating own perspective	X	Maor 4-28-15 p. 239; Maor 5-3-15 p. 242; Maor 4-28-15 (instructional examples of dialogues)		Gil 5-10-15 p. 187; Gil 5-1-15 p. 245; Gil 5-10-15 p. 331; Gil 5-1-15 p. 333
Justifying one's opinions	X			Gil - instructional guidance to H and O; Gil 5-1-15 p. 333; Gil 5-1-15 p. 245
Questioning attitude	X	Maor 4-28-15 p. 239; Maor 5-3-15 p. 242; Maor 4-28-15 (instructional examples of dialogues)		Gil 5-1-15 p. 333
Empathy				
Dialogue	X			Gil 5-1-15 p. 210; Gil 5-1-15 p. 245; Gil 5-1-15 p. 334
Listening to all voices	X	Maor 4-28-15 p. 239; Maor 5-3-15 p. 242; Maor 4-28-15 (instructional examples of dialogues)		Gil 5-1-15 p. 210; Gil 5-1-15 p. 245
Respecting the Other	X			
Knowing narrative of self and Other	X	Maor 4-26-15 p. 221	Raidah 4-30-15 p. 229; Raidah 5-10-15 p. 245 (example from Efrat Ben Zeev example)	Gil 5-10-15 p. 187; Gil 5-1-15 p. 245 (collective ID part of long passage)
Identity				
Empowerment	X		Raidah 4-30-15 p. 229; Raidah 5-10-15 p. 247; Raidah 4-30-15 p. 267; Raidah 5-10-15 p. 306	
Equity/fairness of representation	X		Raidah 4-30-15 p. 265; Raidah 4-30-15 p. 267	
National rights			Raidah 4-30-15 p. 229; Raidah 4-30-15 p. 267	
Promoting individual/group identity	X	Maor 4-28-15 p. 270	Raidah 4-30-15 p. 229; Raidah 4-30-15 p. 267	Gil 5-1-15 p. 213

APPENDIX G

Disciplinary Teaching Practices Tally Table and Examples

Core Practice	Raidah	Maor	Gil	Examples
	Number of times that practice came up in our interviews			
Historical Questions	3	2	1	<p><u>Raidah</u>: “What I really cared about, whenever they read these two excerpts, to be able to see the contrast and the comparison between these two narratives...They had specific tasks for each excerpt. For example, they were supposed to determine the sequence of events that had really taken place [in the village of Ijzim in 1948] without being biased to the Palestinian [villagers’ accounts] or the Israeli [Palmach soldiers’] account...Then they were asked to bring in citations of peoples’ feelings through the readings.” [from: Transcript_Raidah_Interview 3_5-10-15.docx, p. 2]</p> <p><u>Maor</u>: “I always give them, ‘Why did the Palestinians decline the Partition [of 1947]?’” [from: Transcript_Maor_Interview 3_5-03-15.docx, p. 24]</p> <p><u>Gil</u>: “What do you think about the issue that the Palestinians were against [the Partition of 1947]? If you were there, what would you have done?” [from: Transcript_Gil_Interview 2_5-10-15.docx, p. 6]</p>
Sources	3	2	3	<p><u>Raidah</u>: excerpts from Efrat Ben-Zeev. 2011. <i>Remembering Palestine in 1948: Beyond National Narratives</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.</p> <p><u>Raidah, Maor, Gil</u>: excerpts from 19th c. letters from South African Chief Lobengula to British Monarch Queen Victoria; Balfour Declaration</p> <p><u>Maor</u>: TV, news excerpts on 2013 uproar over inclusion of two Muslim soccer players from Chechnya on Jerusalem team</p> <p><u>Gil</u>: We saw that the most important thing was to take the primary sources and translate them, because that’s the main pedagogical way to teach this history... Like if you are talking about what happened in the chauvinism in the Middle Ages, you have to think about sources.” <i>Gil</i> - “<i>We saw that the most important thing was to take the primary sources and translate them, because that’s the main pedagogical way to teach this history...It’s very important to talk about the facts. So we are dealing with primary sources, like the Balfour Declaration... We thought that we have to take all, there were more than 100, of the canon of the primary sources, to translate them. So Raidah and me, we took them from the Hebrew textbooks and the Palestinian textbook from Israel and from the Palestinian textbooks from the Authority...</i> /Excerpt - [from: Document:</p>

				Transcript_Gil_Interview 2_5-10-15.docx, p. 5] [Also, HinH Curriculum Guide for 7-9 pages listing all the sources to be used to teach the 9 th grade topics such as: Suez Canal Position According to the Koshta Treaty 1888, The German Colony in Haifa Through the Eyes of a Jewish Resident in Israel, 1908, and Sharif Hussein-Sir McMahon Letters on Status of Lands of the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916]
Historical Writing	0	0	0	
Historical Reading	2	1	0	<u>Raidah</u> : If I bring a text from a primary source, I would give the students a card, which is an analysis of the text. This card contains questions...about the author himself, about the time period, about the central idea of the text, and the year of publication of the text...If you asked one of your students - 'Why do they have to do this card when they read a primary source? - what do you think they would say? First, they ask me, 'Why should we do this?' The answer that you would benefit in an idea way through reading your text. But what I really care about is not only reading the text. Also, it's important to know the background of the writer of the text, his political affiliations for example. And in this way, the student will be able to distinguish what kind of text he has in his hands...So we have developed the idea of criticism among students." [from: Transcript_Raidah_Interview 3_5-10-15.docx, p. 4] <u>Maor</u> : "Did you guys discuss that day [the day they read excerpts on the 1948 war provided by Dr. Hillel Cohen] who actually wrote the texts? Like do the students know that a Jewish soldier and an Arab diplomat wrote those two texts? Yeah. So you talked about it? Yeah, it tells itself. Oh okay, so it's in the text." [from: Transcript_Maor_Interview 2_4-28-15.docx, p. 21-22]
Evidence	4	0	1	<u>Raidah</u> : "...each side was looking – the Arab/Palestinian and the Jewish – through the text excerpts for facts that would authorize them to achieve the winning position in court." [from: Transcript_Raidah_Interview 1_4-30-15.docx, p. 20] <u>Gil</u> : "What's important is that I can say something which is based on the text, which is based in the good way." which is based on the text, which is based in the good way." [from: Document: Transcript_Gil_Interview 1_5-1-15.docx, p. 11]
Facilitation of Discussion	2	3	2	<u>Raidah</u> : "In the court itself [the mock UN tribunal hearing evidence on the events in Ijzim in 1948]..., the end [goal] of the task was not to show who is a winner and who is a loser. But what I really cared about was the kind of discussion that took place." [from: Document: Transcript_Raidah_Interview 1_4-30-15.docx, p. 20] <u>Raidah, Maor, Gil</u> : "We started demanding that everyone, the Jews also, to try to read and answer questions that were written in Arabic. That's all! Only half the questions...In the beginning, some of them really liked it but some of them, maybe 10 Jewish students...went crazy about this. 'What are you doing? You're trying to fail us. This is unfair'...The Arabs said, 'Look guys we have to deal with Hebrew much more than you guys have to deal with Arabic'...And it started a discussion about this...So when we started to demand that thing, it created a discussion that was much more interesting and emotional than any discussion we had on the political issues.' [from:

				<p>Transcript_Maor_Interview 1-4-26-15.docx]</p> <p><u>Maor</u>: “Last year when I taught civics in year 9, somehow we got to a conversation about appearance and there was a big fight about how to dress up to school...I felt obliged to have – even if I don’t agree with this voice, the conservative voice about this. I said, ‘It’s a voice and it should be heard and let’s see how you can deal with this opinion which is, maybe it’s a minority in this school but it’s a much bigger voice outside in the community, in the country, in the world...That was a dialogue that you had with the students? Yes, it was a multi-classroom dialogue.” [from: Document: Transcript_Maor_Interview 2_4-28-15.docx, p. 22]</p> <p><u>Gil</u>: “So I asked them first of all to explore one of the stories of their families and then to understand the idea of the nation, to build the narratives. But while they their explorations...they saw things that surprised them...[One student] came to understand that there was a massacre in their village...and she was crying in the class...I had to deal with this. We [the class] were sitting together and we thought what to tell her [to say to her] about it. And the Jews tell her something and the Palestinians tell her something.” [from: Transcript_Gil-Interview 2_5-10-15.docx]</p>
Assessing Students’ Historical Thinking	2	1	1	<p><u>Raidah</u>: Assignment to write how respond to Balfour Declaration as “the Other”</p> <p><u>Raidah, Maor, Gil</u>: [Over the course of the year] they have written five different stories like this this year where they have had to imagine what life was like for ordinary people in a specific time and place, using facts and evidence to support their fictional account.” [from: Field Notes_4th Class Observation_5-10-15.docx]</p>
Historical Investigations	3	0	1	<p><u>Raidah</u>: Investigation of events of 1948 in Ijzim</p> <p><u>Raidah, Maor, Gil</u>: Investigation of life in, and history of, Jerusalem in 19th and early 20th century</p> <p><u>Gil</u>: Investigation of students’ personal family histories</p>
Historical Context	3	1	1	<p><u>Raidah, Maor, Gil</u>: joint decision to start year investigating Jerusalem in Ottoman Period. For example, Gil said, “<i>We chose to start off 500 years ago and not 50 years ago. Why did we choose that? It was important for us to show first of all the roots of this and also to show that there were other times, different times when Jews and Arabs could live together peacefully and not have to kill each other. To see that it was possible in the past but things went on in a certain way that led to this, but not to start now because then you don’t have the perspective. Now I don’t know if it was the right choice because we had to compromise on the details of the conflict. But it had its reasons that we chose it that way.</i>” [from: Document: Transcript_Maor_Interview 1_4-26-15.docx, p. 18]</p>
Historical Concepts	3	0	5	<p><u>Raidah</u>: imperialism, colonialism, bias/perspective, primary sources</p> <p><u>Gil</u>: same, also significance, reliability of sources</p>
Personal/Cultural Connections	4	1	3	<p><u>Raidah</u>: “I don’t prefer to use texts that have political views. And I think that most of the texts that have a very good effect on the students are the real, the authentic texts, that have narratives of people who witnessed the events and talked about their feelings and problems. For example, on Land Day, I brought a film that was directed by a Palestinian director. He went to each and every family of the martyrs [six unarmed</p>

			<p>Palestinian men who were shot by the army/police during demonstrations]. He met their parents. He did not bring in any politicians to talk. Just interviews full of emotions and feelings.” [from: Document: Transcript_Raidah_Interview 2_5-3-15.docx, p. 18]</p> <p><u>Maor: Soccer example, 4/28 interview</u></p> <p><u>Gil:</u> “One of the ideas was to speak about Eretz Israel/Palestine from the time of Jesus...Not to speak about the history of the nation or the history of the people, but the history of the place...So we understand who take this place and who lived here, and it connects children to the place where they are living.” [from: Document: Transcript_Gil_Interview 1_5-1-15.docx, p. 14]</p> <p><u>Gil:</u> “<i>At the end of our last interview, you were talking about changes you wanted to make in the 10-12 curriculum, and you spoke about wanting to personalize the narratives more. ...I’m just curious if you could tell me more about what you meant by personalizing the narratives?</i></p> <p><i>It means that you have to make these narratives much more familiar to the children. If you talk about the political issues by phrases like Nakba, war, and things like that, it’s not relevant for the children. You cannot understand or have empathy for a narrative while it is just facts in history. You have to make it a story and to make a story based on people. It’s supposed to be something personal. What happened to someone there? What happened to the narrative? How it changed. Like a person. How it changed. A narrative cannot be based on the political facts or the official facts. It’s supposed to be based on stories that you are telling. It’s supposed to be something that makes it much more personal... The narrative is not something that comes from up. It’s something that’s supposed...If you want them to be tolerant to the other narrative, this narrative is supposed to be built on persons. Not on the whole Palestinians. We hate the Palestinians or we hate the Jews.” [from: Document: Transcript_Gil_Interview 2_5-10-15.docx, p. 142]</i></p>
Historical Empathy/Perspective Taking	6	4	3 <p><u>Raidah:</u> “...I gave them international examples before I start with the issue of the Occupation and the Arab-Israeli conflict. I give them examples from the imperialism in Africa. I brought them caricatures. And we looked at them with different perspectives. We even used European eyes to look at them and African eyes...Here I did a reversal of tasks. I asked them to write about their reaction as an African citizen or a European citizen. And did they also read primary sources – European and African? Yes, European and African texts. For example, the African text was written by a tribal chief. His name is Lobengula and he wrote a complaint letter to the British monarch, the Queen, explaining that he was deceived by the Europeans who asked him to sign a document. Eventually, he found out that it was a concession document that he is giving up his land.” [from: Document: Transcript_Raidah_Interview 2_5-3-15.docx, p. 16]</p> <p>Raidah: “For example, if I give the script of the Balfour Declaration to students...I might ask an Arab student to write about his feelings as a Jew the moment they heard about the Declaration and vice versa. Of course, this is not an easy mission.” [From: Document: Transcript_Raidah_Interview 1_4-</p>

			<p>30-15.docx, p. 28 Dedoose]</p> <p><u>Maor</u>: [Referring to how he teaches in his other school] “Like now the 1948 War, I always give them, ‘Why did the Palestinians decline the Partition?’ So they have to tell me what were their reasons. Their [the Palestinians’] rationale... We do that a lot... I think not all teachers do it the same as me. Some teachers don’t want to show the rationale of this, Napoleon, the Arabs. Like I would even, when I teach about the Nazis and the Holocaust, ALL the time, I ask them, ‘Explain the rationale of the Nazis.’ Now this is what some teachers would NEVER do. Always would teach how it was mere cruelty, mere, all that... They were crazy people.”[from: Document: Transcript_Maor_Interview 3_5-03-15.docx, p. 24]</p> <p><u>Gil</u>: Through his personal connections with Efrat Ben-Zeev, he worked with Raidah to put together the investigation of events in Ijzim. He spoke about the importance of going out to Jerusalem to see the real walls. Example of geography curriculum?</p> <p><u>Raidah, Maor, Gil</u>: Gave mentioned using sources to explore Napoleon’s and Egyptians’ perspectives on his attempt to conquer Egypt in late 18th century</p>
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Appendix H

Spreadsheet of Unedited Responses of the 22 Students in the Sample to the Five Tasks

Pseudonym	Identity reference:	Task 1 - 5 FW (1)	Task 1 - 5 FW (2)	Task 2 - 5 Lists (1)	Task 2 - 5 Lists (2)	Pseudonym2	Task 3 - 1947 (1)* notes that students had a second opportunity to complete this task. Therefore, some students have two entries for Task 3	Task 3 -1947 (2)	Task 3 - 1947 (3)	Task 4 - YHZ AND (1)	Task 4 - YHZ AND (2)	Survey
							Task 3 - 1947 (1)* notes that students had a second opportunity to complete this task. Therefore, some students have two entries for Task 3					

terms of interest to both sides (the Arab and Jewish).

sad.

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1.The Ottoman Empire.
2. The British settleme nt/coloni zation, 3. The creation of the state, 4. Ben-Gurion

1. Nakbah, 2. 1967 War, 3. 1948 War, 4. Yasser Arafat

In my opinion, they are important and that's why I picked them and they are the most important events in the world, to my knowledge let's say: the right of return, it's very important the refugees that are now in Syria and have no place to sleep. World War I is very important to the world in that troubles happened between all countries.

Because that's how they were thinking , the Holocau st is one of the most importa nt things that happene d to the Jews, and they will not forget, Hitler is the most brutal human being and they will not forget because he started the Holocau st.

(a) [1] Beca use Pales tine was here befor e the Jews but they woul d get more land than the Arab s. [2] Beca use most of the plan was for Israel ; Israel is were given more land., (b) [1] Beca use

[2] No, becaus e the Palesti nians were there first, and should have gotten more.

(a) [2] Wron g - The state was for the Palesti nians, and they had no right to come and take it from them. (b) [2] Wron g - They should have accept ed and all of this would not have happe ned.

(a) Yom HaZik aron in it they reme mber the soldier s and citizen s that were killed ... (b) Yom HaZik aron to the Arabs and a day in which the Arabs migrat ed from Palesti ne to other countr ies (refug ees)

(a) That this is a very impor tant day and, durin g it, they reme mber their paren ts and their famili es. (b) That too is a day of comm emora tion and sad.

Muslim, Arab, Palestin ian

they had more land in the Partition Plan. [2] Because they had more lands in the Plan.

Bar a	PM	A/ H	<p>• <u>The Occupation</u> is a fact that we live in our lives</p> <p>• 48 War: It was the beginning of the conflict (Arabs and Jews)</p> <p>• <u>Al-Aqsa</u>: Represents the Muslims (Arabs) in Jerusalem. And there are several disagreements [conflicts] about it.</p> <p>• <u>Al-Intifada</u>: One of the big disagreements [conflicts] that happened.</p> <p>• <u>Yasser Arafat</u>: One of the Arab leaders who encouraged the peace idea and almost</p>	<p>• <u>Yitzak Rabin</u>: A person who tried to make peace with Yasser Arafat</p> <p>• <u>Independence Day</u>: A pleasant day which marks the declaration of the state of Israel.</p> <p>• <u>Yom HaZikaron</u>: A sad day which symbolizes the death of the soldiers and those who were injured by the enemy's actions.</p> <p>• <u>David Ben-Gurion</u>: The first Prime Minister • <u>Balfour</u></p>	<p><u>Al-Nakbah, 1948 War, and the Holocaust</u> were very important events which happened in the past and changed the future we live in. <u>David Ben-Gurion</u> is the first prime minister and that's why I chose him. And for the <u>Palestinian Right of Return</u> it's a very important concept because our grandparents believe in it and believe one day they will go back to their land. (Hebrew)</p>	<p><u>David Ben-Gurion</u>: He was the first Israeli Prime Minister. <u>Hitler</u> created the Holocaust. <u>The Holocaust</u> was a very important event [incident] to the Jews. <u>World War II</u> included the Holocaust. 1948 War and in it the Jews won and the state of Israel was created. <u>Anti-Semitism</u> is a concept which describes hatred towards certain people. <u>Self-determination</u>. I chose self-determination because</p>	<p>(a) Because it's their land they are the losers. (b) Because it's not their land and they are the winners. (Arabic)</p>	<p>I don't know. (Arabic)</p>	<p>No response.</p>	<p>(a) A day in which Jews commemorate the death of their soldiers, and those wounded in action with the enemy, who sacrificed their lives for the state of Israel. It's considered a sad day. (Hebrew). (b) An important day for the Arabs. We remember the memory of taking the land, kicking the people</p> <p>(a) Very sad day. Remembrance of the soldiers and those wounded in action with the enemy and that died and sacrificed their lives. (Hebrew). (b) It's a very sad day for the Arabs. Suffered and fought to stay in their lands. (Arabic)</p>	<p>No response.</p>
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<p>accomplished it. (Arabic)</p>	<p><u>Declaration</u>: A declaration which decided that the Jews can live in the land of Israel and create a Jewish state in it. (Hebrew)</p>	<p>it is an important thing because everyone defines himself in a different way. (Hebrew)</p>	<p>out of their homes. And in this day we listen to stories from people who went through the events and lived the Nakba. (Arabic)</p>
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<p><u>World Wars</u>. In order to try everything possible to prevent death of human beings and tragic events. <u>Holocaust, Nakba and the establishment of the state</u> [of Israel]; to try to have each side understand the other side and to try to eliminate racism on both sides and that there will be friendship.</p>	<p>The same events, because the events that I chose are mutual or similar events for both sides. I mentioned those events to explain to both sides that death of one side is death of a human being. Nobody wants this. Maybe then [illegible] less among human beings.</p>	<p>To same thing because it changes his ideas/opinions. These are the factors that had the greatest impact on the country, even if in his opinion it is for the good, and in the opinion of another it is bad.</p>	<p>(a) [1] Many Palestinians rejected the Partition because the lands belonged to them, they made their living from [the lands], and they were not ready or willing to give it [them] up. [2] Because they would lose a lot of</p>	<p>Soldiers of a different nation that died defending their nation or defending human beings. (b) Land and lives of people that were uprooted in order to establish a state for another nation. I believe that it was not necessary to fight so</p>	<p>(a) no response. (b) no response. Human being, gamer (English)</p>
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No response. Circled/underlined. No response.

land that belongs to them. (b) [1] They had nothing to lose. In this Partition, they will [would] only win. [2] The Jews only get land because they just immigrated to the country.

much for a nation, it would have been possible to live together if both sides would have cooperated with each other so that no side... [illegible].

Munira	PM	A/H	<u>The Occupation, 1948 War, Al-Aqsa, The Intifada, Yasser Arafat. The Intifada: One of the big conflicts that happened. Occupation: The reality that we live in our daily lives. 1948 War: It is the beginning of the conflicts (Arabs-Jews).</u>	<u>Yitzak Rabin, Independence Day, Yom HaZikaron, David Ben Gurion, Balfour Declaration.</u> Yitzak Rabin: Tried to make peace with cooperation of Yasser Arafat. Independence Day: Happy day that marks the declarat	<u>Al Nakbah, 1948 War, and the Holocaust</u> are very significant wars [events] that happened because they changed so many things in the past and affected to a great degree the future and our present life. <u>David Ben Gurion</u> was the first prime minister and that is why, in	<u>David Ben Gurion</u> was the first Israeli prime minister. <u>Hitler</u> was the initiator of the Holocaust, and the <u>Holocaust</u> was a catastrophe for the Jews. <u>WWII</u> , in addition to the Holocaust, also changed the world. <u>In the 1948</u>	Munira	paper: "I	(a) Because it's their land; they are the losers. (b) Because it's not their land and they are the winners. Wrote in Arabic at the top of the paper: "I	(a) A day in which Jews commemorate the death of their soldiers, and those wounded in action with the enemy, who sacrificed their lives for the state of Israel. It's considered a sad	(a) Very sad day. Remembrance of the soldiers and those wounded in action with the enemy and that died and sacrificed their lives. (Hebrew). (b) It's a very sad day to	Arab Nazarene Palestinian. I like singing and basketball. A calm human [person]. I don't like lying. I respect the other side [others] and different opinions.
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<p>Al-Aqsa: Represents Muslims in Jerusalem (Arabs), and Jerusalem is the capital, and there is where some conflicts happened. Yasser Arafat: the most important Arab leader who encouraged the idea of peace and he almost achieved it.</p>	<p>ion of the creation of the state of Israel. Yom HaZikaron: Sad day that symbolizes the death of the soldiers and those who were injured by enemy actions and who sacrificed their lives for the state. David Ben-Gurion: The first Israeli prime minister . Balfour Declaration: Declaration that determined that the Jews can live in the land of Israel and create a Jewish state in it. (Hebrew)</p>	<p>my opinion, he was an important person. The <u>Right of Return of the Palestinians</u> is also a significant concept, because this is a right which is not fulfilled for certain reasons [and] this is a very symbolic event.</p>	<p><u>War</u> the Jews won and the state of Israel was created. <u>Anti-Semitism</u> because this is something against them, against their identity. <u>Self-determination</u> because it defines their real identity.</p>	<p>don't know anything about politics.”</p>	<p>day. (Hebrew). (b) An important day for the Arabs. We remember the memory of taking the land, kicking the people out of their homes . And in this day we listen to stories from people who went through the events and lived the Nakbah. (Arabic)</p>	<p>the Arabs . Suffered and fought to stay in their lands. (Arabic)</p>
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<p><u>Al-Nakbah (1948 War), Independence Day, 1967 War, the First and Second Intifada, and Land Day. I picked those events after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire because those events were and still are turning points and important events in the history of the country and in every one of those events, harm and sorrow happened to one of the two peoples or they lost loved ones. For me, these dates and events are one of the most important things that have happened on this earth because it [they] either</u></p>	<p><u>The Holocaust, the first and second immigration, and Independence Day, 1967 War.</u> These events are the most important events that had happened to the Jewish people. These events stirred sorrows or joy. These represent the Jews in different ways (weak, strong, heroes). Each event was a turning point for the Jewish people from the Holocaust to Independence Day. They went through a lot of troubles as well as victory. The Jews were treated unjustly, and in return, the Jews themselves</p>	<p><u>Colonialism:</u> This action [step] is what stole our country and homeland from us., <u>Alivah/im migration:</u> The Jewish immigrants on the state was the first step to create the state and that's why I picked it., <u>The Palestine n Right of Return:</u> Our right of return is one of the most important things because this is our request and dream until today. And that is the biggest problem that we face now and always., <u>Palestine/Israel [Arabic]:</u> The name of the state after the occupation and before the bitter fact appeared., <u>Zionism:</u> It is one of the most important concepts. Because of it this happened in our homeland</p>	<p>Because all of the concepts I picked were concepts implicated in [pointing to] the creation of the state of Israel and concepts that show the many rights of Jews., Because all of the persons/ organizations I picked were the biggest contributors to the creation of the state and from it affected the Jewish people or their dreams and were for or against them and most of them, in the point of view of Jews, are heroes and they brought back their state and freedom., The events I picked</p>	<p>(a) The reason for their rejection was because this land is their land and even they are the majority. So [why] would they divide the country and the homeland into two parts? This is not logical just. Beca use this plan benefited them and in their eyes it is just. So this plan is only to the advantage of the Jews and</p>	<p>The beginning of the narrative is correct but there are several wrong points. In my opinion, first Palestinian Arabs did not run away but were forced to run or escape at the hands of the Israeli and Zionist armies and became refugees. Secondly, the Arab armies didn't attack the Israeli armies but started to demonstrate [protest] and then after the wars were ignited between them and not because of the Arabs/ Arab armies.</p>	<p><u>Right</u> - Yes the Jews made the right decision by agreeing because it was only to their advantage. But so far as [regarding] the Palestinians, this is an unjust decision. They even have no feeling and logic. That's why I'm against the decision they took. <u>Right</u> - I think the Palestinians made the right decision in rejecting the Partition Plan because this land is theirs. They own it. They lived</p>	<p>(a) Yom HaZikaron stirs in me several thoughts and feelings. It means a lot to me. First, it is those soldiers who fought in order to defend our homeland; however, it is a source of pride since we gained victory and became stronger. This day is one of the most important days in the history of the Jewish people; we will not forget our heroes who sacrificed themselves for us and</p>	<p>(a) It is a day of sorrow and pride at the same time. We are sad for our soldiers who fought in order to defend our homeland; however, it is a source of pride since we gained victory and we became stronger. This day is one of the most important days in the history of the Jewish people; we will not forget our heroes who sacrificed themselves for us and</p>
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<p>negatively or positively affected us. It is [They are] like a spark[s] that was lit and burned those people surrounding it [them] and maybe innocent individuals. So my people have suffered and become saddened a lot on those dates.</p>	<p>we were unjust towards another people!</p>	<p>and if it wasn't for this oppressive [or tyrannical] concept we would have been in a better situation now., <u>UN: Factor</u> or element that tried to solve our problem in an "equal" way but to no avail., <u>The Arab countries:</u> The closest countries to us. Our family and refuge., <u>David Ben-Gurion:</u> Person who caused so much sorrow and sadness to my people., <u>The Ottoman Empire:</u> The Ottoman Empire ruled our country for a long time and it suppressed our history., <u>The British Government:</u> It was the reason that we lost our country and it is the state that caused this sorrow., <u>Balfour</u></p>	<p>were events that inspired the creation of the state and justified it as just and not oppressive in any way and without hurting anybody. The events that I picked affected the Jewish people like the Holocaust.... And they are events that led to the creation of the state. In my view, these are the events that are significant or important to the Jewish people, events which try to deny the Occupation and the brutal way by which the state of Israel was created.</p>	<p>they see it as their right.</p>	<p>on it for thousands of years and it was known that it's theirs in spite of the Ottoman and British occupations. They were impatiently waiting for the day when they would be free. That's why Jews had no right to come and demand the partition of the land which doesn't belong to them [they don't own].</p>	<p>s. But in the end they are still humans like us, even if they were soldiers. (b) It is a sad day. To me, it means sorrow and sadness for my family, my people, my land. This day means a lot to me. I feel solidarity and I feel united with my people. I feel strength because despite everything that has happened to us, we are still demanding to have our land, rights and of course peace.</p>	<p>the homeland. (b) It is a day of sorrow for the other side. I have different feelings; feelings of sorrow for them and happiness for us; however, they are humans like us, so we feel sorrow for them.</p>
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Declaration: Promise that defeated our dream. Oppressing promise., 1948 War: War that we lost and during which we failed to protect our homeland., Deir Yassin Massacre: Event which provoked all of the Palestinian people., Al-Nakbah: Event that has destroyed our lives, dreams, and our homeland and left an existing sadness in every Palestinian's mind and heart.

The existence of this day is very important to me, my people and my family since it is an opportunity to recall our regretful memories, although we never and would never forget.
..

			<u>1. Yitzak Rabin's death, 2. How the Jews arrived from German v... Holocaust [she wrote this latter word in English], 3. Independence Day, 4. Balfour Declaration, 5. Rothschild</u>	I chose these concepts and events as if I'm playing like a Jewish girl and my choices match since they are important for the state of Israel. (Hebrew)		(a) A lot refused because there is no right for another human being to interfere in partitioning their land and home	In my opinion the description of the 1947 Partition is not correct because in my opinion no one has the right to get someone else's home by force and without permission of	Yom HaZikaron is a day I remember those who were attacked and those who fought against the Jewish army. (Hebrew) Al Nakbah is a very impor	He will say that this day is very important because the army wanted to defend its people and even to the death. Therefore, he will always	I'm an Arab Muslim Palestinian girl [who] lives in Israel and holds an Israeli ID. (Arabic)	
Sumaya	PM	A/H	<u>1. Yassir Arafat's death, 2. How the Arabs were disposed from here, or how they were occupied in Al-Nakbah (1948), 3. Al-Buraq Revolution, 4. War (Arabic)</u>	I chose these events/concepts because they have affected the country for many years and will affect the future even more. (Hebrew)	Sumaya	home	se.	Wron g - no response, (b) Right - no response.	very impor	will always	ID. (Arabic)

			<u>family</u> <u>(Hebrew)</u>	A lot of Jews agreed so they will take the lands which will be left. (Arabic)	the homeowner. (Hebrew)	tant day and I reminded the students of this. On this day, I remember my people who were kicked out of their homes. (Hebrew)	s remember this day. (Hebrew) He will treat it with respect if he understands what happened. (Hebrew)		
			1. <u>The 1948 War</u> – this is the event that started everything and decided everything, 2. <u>Oslo Accords 1993</u> – this event in my opinion shows that peace is possible between both peoples, 3. <u>The Second Intifada (2000)</u> – this event was a big disaster and brought total destruction and the death of thousands of people on both sides, 4. <u>Yitzhak</u>		(a) Because they wanted the whole country for themselves. They were here first, that's why they have the right to the land. (b) Because they wanted a country for themselves and were willing to settle for [were satisfied with] a small		[1] No response [2] It's a day in which they remember the people who were killed to defend their state. [1] No response [2] A day of a big disaster for the Palestinian people because their land was taken from them and they were kicked out of their birthplace.	[1] No response [2] In this day we respect and remember all those who died to create Eretz Israel. [1] No response [2] A day in which the Arab lands were taken.	Human being, female
Asma	PM	H							

Rabin – I think everyone should know Rabin – his ideology – that Arabs and Jews can manage. This is our school's foundation.

er piece than the Palestinians.

1. Nakba

h: That is the beginning event which led to what is happening now.,

2. War on Gaza:

It is a big catastrophe that destroyed everything that was there. Destroyed the lives of everyone who was in Gaza.,

3. Burning the body of Muhammed

Abu-Khadar: I feel the Jews are taking revenge on the Arabs the same way Hitler was killing them, burning, checkpoints, torture

...

1. Holocaust: Big disaster, 2. They came to the country:

Because for everything [I chose] there is an effect on what is happening now or in the past.

Because those things effected the Jews and helped them.

Ran a

(a) Because they didn't want another country to occupy them. (b) Because they had no place to live in and as it's written in the Torah that God promised them this state.

no response.

no response.

(a) The Jews who died. (b) Taking Arabs' houses and lands. Arabs were forced to leave and they had no place to go. They were refugees in other Arab states.

(a) For this killing soldiers who wanted to defend their people and to live in their land in peace. (b) A day Israel was created.

I am a Muslim Arab girl that lives in a state (Palestine) occupied by Jews

Ran a

PM H

1. 1948 <u>War (Al-Nakbah)</u> : I chose this event because it has to do with my family's history and it affects my present and future., 2. 1967 <u>War</u> : I chose this because in this war a lot of my people's rights were stolen., 3. <u>Oslo Accords</u> : This accord changed the whole historical course for the Palestini an people., 4. <u>Arafat</u> : Was a big leader for the Palestini an people and I chose him because he had big influence on us and the Palestini an people., 5. <u>The Second Intifada</u> : I chose it because I	1. <u>Yom HaZika ron</u> : It is because of the killing of the Jewish people., 2. <u>Independence Day</u> : The Jews have a city., 3. <u>Lebano n War</u> : It is one of the most difficult wars ever waged by the Jewish people., 4. <u>Rabin</u> : He was assassinated in an ugly way., 5. <u>Perez</u> : The presiden t of the state.	<u>Al Nakba Day</u> : I chose it since it means for me a lot about the harsh past which is influencin g us now., <u>The British Governme nt</u> : I chose it because of the causes which led to the loss of the state., <u>Immigrati on</u> : It is because the Palestinia n people immigrate d and left their houses and some did not return., <u>Balfour Declaratio n</u> : It was one of the causes for the approval of Balfour to establish an Israeli state., <u>Hitler</u> : It is because he was a big leader; he led to the Holocaust and killing of the Jewish people., <u>Zionism</u> : It is one of the causes for stealing the land, and it was the start of the movement .	<u>1948 War</u> : Because the Israeli people won in this war., <u>UN Partitio n Plan</u> : Thanks to it the state of Israel was created., <u>Palmac h</u> : The first army that was in the beginni ng and occupie d the state of Palestin e., <u>United Nations</u> : Approv ed the building [creatio n] of the state., <u>Alivah</u> : Because of the Aliyah of the Jews the state came into existenc e., <u>Eretz Israel</u> : The country of the Jews.	(a) [1] Becau se they want ed their land and didn' t want to share it with other s. The Pales tinia ns want ed their lands and count ry only for them selves . [2] Many Pales tinia ns reject ed this plan becau se the Partit ion was ½ [50/5 0]. They didn' t agree becau se this is their land and they didn' t want half all. They didn'	[1] Yes and no becaus e for every narrati ve there are many stories. [2] I believe that this narrati ve is right since this was the partitio n plan for Palesti ne; that's why Palesti nians) did not agree to it while the Jews did. I believe that it is true since evidenc es are happen ing [are provide d] inside it, and this gives us the assuranc e that it is true. I also know the partitio n; this , is the partitio n and this is the plan.	(a) [1] No respon se. [2] <u>Wron g</u> - Becau se they caused the killing of a lot of people and made people witho ut homes and dispossed a lot of people and made a lot of orphans. (b) <u>Right</u> - [1] No respon se. [2] Becau se this is their right. Becau se this is their countr y and they decide , not people who don't know the meani ng of the land. They had the right becaus e they defend ed their land	(a) Yom HaZika ron means to me [com mation of] the soldier s who wante d to kill my people and means the deaths of the person s who stole my land. (b) Al-Nakba h means to me the day when my land was stolen and my people were killed and displac ed. Al-Nakba h is a very sad day and we don't forget this day. (Arabi c)	(a) It is a very sad day. In this day, I lost one of my relatives and I rember every Yom HaZikaron . [She is saying it as if she's Jewis h.] (b) Doesn 't mean much because in this day we won and took the lands. (Arabi c)	1. Pa lestinian , 2. Arab, 3. Muslim, (someon e from Beit Safafa), 5. I love peace. (Arabi c)
Sun dus	A/ PM H								

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Yasi n	PC	E/ A/ H	<p>1. <u>Mt Hertzal,</u> 2. <u>Yom Hazma'ot (Israeli Independence Day,</u> 3. <u>Benjamin Netanyahu,</u> 4. <u>The Government (English and Hebrew)</u></p>	<p>1. I think they would write about <u>Yasser Arafat and the PLO,</u> 2. Talk about the <u>2014 War in Gaza</u> (Souk Eitan), 3. <u>The border between the West Bank [and Israel],</u> 4. <u>Low salary (English and Hebrew)</u></p>	<p>I chose these concepts because they talk about the Palestinians and the people and my nation. (Hebrew)</p>	No respon se.	Yasi n	<p>[1] no respo nse, [2] Beca use it was a free state and want ed to settle down .[1] no respo nse. [2] Beca use they had no place to live in. (Ara bic)</p>	<p>[1] No respons e. [2] No, becaus e Palesti ne didn't agree on the partitio n of the Palesti ne state becaus e it wanted to stay indepe ndent. (Arabic) <u>Circled</u> <u>/underl</u> <u>ined</u></p>	<p>[2] <u>Wron</u> g - becaus e the Palesti nians didn't want to partiti on or divide the state. (Arabi c) [2] No respon se.</p>	<p>a) Nothi ng but I respec t the other side. B) It means a lot since I am a Palesti nian becaus e my grand pa was there and it was very tragic for all the Palesti nians out there. (Engli sh)</p>	<p>a)The y will say that you are not forced to join but at least respec t. b) They will say that you are not forced to join but at least respec t. (Engli sh)</p>	Arab
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Isa	PC	H	<p><u>1948 War.</u> Since in this war the Jews got a state, <u>1967 War.</u> Since in this war the Jews occupied many states, <u>1976 War.</u> The Nakba Day is very important and affected the Arabs, <u>Oslo Accords.</u> Because in this agreement/accord the Palestinians lost that which they had, <u>The Second Intifada.</u> Because that caused the building of the Wall around Part/Section A.</p>	<p><u>1948 War:</u> Because the Jews got a state, <u>1967 War:</u> Because the Jews occupied many states, <u>Oslo Accords:</u> Because Israel became a state, <u>Attacks:</u> Because this is a lot of people.</p>	<p>Because everything I chose is connected to history, and everything is a reason for my opinion, this is important because this affects history.</p>	<p>Because those people and organizations affected history and caused change in the Zionist history.</p>	<p>Isa</p>	<p>(a) Because in the Partition Plan the UN suggested that the Zionists will get part of the state of Palestine - something that was not accepted (by the Palestinians) because they will take part. That's why they didn't agree. (b) Because they didn't have a state, and the UN suggested they take part of Palestine so they were</p>	<p><u>Right</u> - And finally they will have an independent state and have territories and houses and rights. <u>Right</u> - It can't be for someone to come from outside (the country) and say this state is shared and they give us truthful facts that it's impossible to argue with and this is a thing that is true.</p>	<p>(a) Yom HaZikaron: It's a day in which many Jews got killed in the '48 War. This concept doesn't say anything to me, except that people died. (b) It's an important day in which the Palestinians lost their state and turned into a people without a state.</p>	<p>(a) That this is a very important day that many people died, and that people fought for the state and equality and independence. (b) responsibility.</p>	<p>Arab Palestinian that lives in Israel</p>
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happy and agreed.

1. Balfour Declaration – The first time that an official written document was written, which “giving”[gives] the country to the Jews, 2. 1948 War – establishment of the state [of Israel] and the Nakba, this changed the balance of power and authority/governance in the country, 3. Hertzel – the visionary of the state [of Israel], led to its founding /creation in Israel, 4. David Ben-Gurion – the first prime minister [of Israel]

1. 1948 War, the Nakba, and creation of the state – beginning of the Occupation, 2. Arafat – leader of the Palestinian Authority for a consider time, 3. I don’t know what else

No response. She wrote, “I will not fill in this task because I don’t think it covers the school curriculum.”

No response

Mar iel

(a) Since according to the Partition Plan, the Zionists got half the land. As far as the Pales-tinian point of view, the land before that belonged to them and that didn’t weigh in right that they would take half the land which all was theirs before. (b) Since according to the

Yes, because it describes the objective and in a detached way what has occurred without leaning to any side. [Note on side of page: I don’t “agree” and I am opposed to what is written [in the questions] because those are facts, and I cannot agree or not agree with facts.]

Right - It improved their situation compared to before, and they got the lands according to that. In addition to that, the Partition Plan was more fair than today’s situations or reality. Wrong - Even though the Plan was not that fair towards them, in the end, their situation got worse and today they

(a) The day in which to remember which they remember?] the people who died in wars and got injured from terrorist acts. On this day, there are ceremonies and a siren for one minute of quiet. (b) A day in which to remember?] the people who escaped [ran away] from

(a) A day in which they remember the Jewish soldiers who died in the wars. (b) A day in which they remember the family stories, about our grandpa and grandma lost their homes, the Jews killed some of them, they became refugees and the Jews settled in their homes.

Israeli, woman, Jewish (in terms of culture)

Mar iel J H

and the one who declared establishment of the state, 5. 1967 War – the war in which Israel conquered many territories, such as the West Bank, and Jerusalem became one “united” city

Partition Plan, half of the land was for the Jews, before that they had less land. They got more than what they had and that’s why they accepted the Partition Plan.

have less land, less rights and they have no state. their homes in the 1948 War, all of the villages which were left empty, and the people who got killed in the war.

1. Holocaust – event in which the Jewish people were butchered in a brutal way, 2. Independence Day – war between the Jewish people and the Palestinians in which the state of Israel got its independence, 3. Hertzel – the man who founded the Zionist idea, 4.

I picked Hitler, WWII, and the Holocaust because the Jewish people’s history is based on the Holocaust.

Because these are connected to the history of the Palestinian people.

(a) [1] no response [2] Because the Jews were a minority in the country and they gave them a big part of the country. (b) [1] no response [2] Same reason, they were a minority

(a) Right - [1] no response, [2] This was then a really good plan for them. (b) [1] They should have accepted the Partition then, even though this wasn’t logical towards them, since this was the best plan

(a) A sad day that marks the sacrifices of people exactly like me for my security and for the security of the state. (b) A day which commemorates the loss of the Palestinians’ lands.

(a) Yom HaZikaron is for the IDF martyrs and those injured as a result of enemy actions. (b) The day which signifies the loss and the Occupation. Israeli Jew

Mir a J H

Mir a

David Ben-Gurion – the first prime minister

rity and they were given a big part of the country.

they have gotten. [2] Wrong - I understand why they didn't accept the decision then but ??? this was the best decision they have gotten.

1. 1948 War (from both sides) – it's the war that caused the creation of Israel and Al-Nakbah, 2. 1967 War (from both sides) – it's the war that defined the borders of the state of Israel and caused Al-Nakbah, 3. The First Intifada – it was caused by the Occupation and even affected the situation in the country, 4. The

I think what my classmates would write depends on their own personality, and family and I don't want to put words in their mouths.

I chose the events, incidents, and concepts because I think they are the most important ones on the list with regard to establishing the state of Israel and Israel's Occupation of Palestine.

I don't feel comfortable answering in national stereotypes and don't identify with anyone in the narratives. That's why I prefer to not put words in anybody's mouth.

(a) The Palesinians reject the UN Partition Plan because it gave the state of Israel lands that legally belong to Palesinians and the Palesinians lived on them. Many Jews accepted the Partition

In my opinion, the text presents facts and that's why I cannot express support or objections. It is possible that the text might be hiding certain facts, that one of the sides could have been against, but I am not familiar enough with the subject to know. Circled/underlined.

Right - The Partition Plan could have solved many problems and perhaps could have contributed to us not being in the situation that we are in today. Wrong - It is a fact that the situation in the country today is worse than at any time. I

(a) The concept of "Yom HaZikaron" symbolizes for me a sad day for women/men, and personally, I feel no connection to it at all since I don't believe in militarism and [illegible], but I respect all human sorrow and loss. (b) The concept of Al-

(a) I think my classmates will write depends on their personality or nature, their community, and their family and I don't want to put words in their mouths. (b) Same as above.

Irit – me!!!, human being, woman

Irit J H

Second Intifada
 – it was caused by the Occupation and even affected the situation in the country, 5.
Yitzhak Rabin – Tried to find a solution to the conflict

Plan because it gave them land and a state for them.

don't know if the Partition Plan was going to resolve the situation but no doubt it would have changed the state of affairs as we know it today.

Nakbah says to me a day in which we all respect women/men who lost their homes as a result of war and Occupation.

(a) Because the Jews controlled the country and the Plan gave most of the territory to the Jews.

Right - no response. Wrong - Because in my opinion if they accepted the Partition Plan they would have been in a better situation than now.

(a) Yom HaZikaron is for the IDF's martyrs and those injured by the enemy's action. (b) Yom Al-Nakbah is a sad day for my friend's. (a) I don't know. Maybe they will not identify with the fallen soldiers. (b) National sad day.

Independence Day, Yom HaZikaron, Holocaust, The Liberation War [1948 War]

Yom Al-Nakbah, Independence Day

I think that the Holocaust is important because the history of the Jews and of state of Israel is founded/based on it.

Because those are answers to the Palestinian history.

Chanah

Correct. Circled/underlined

Chanah J H

Israeli Jew

the effects of this rule on our country, 5. Yitzak Rabin: Tried to carry out peace and was murdered while he was trying – if he wasn't murdered, we could have been living today in peace with some of our neighbors

1. The expulsion from Gush Qatif [block of Jewish settlements in southern Gaza) – because, in my opinion, this was a mistake which should be recognized as such, 2. Six Days War] – most of the physically nearby states tried to kill us but we defeated them in six days, 3. Establishment of the state

The expulsion day – I think, I really don't know.

All of them concern the Jewish people and its ways.

Because they characterize the Other.

Shimon

(a) Most Palestinians rejected because it wasn't to their advantage and they gave them [the Jews] more territory. (b) Because this was to their advantage ; more territory to the Jews.

Yes and in my opinion they were right and this is my opinion , primitive or not, it's my opinion . Circled/underlined.

(a) Right = Because they worried about themselves. (b) Wrong - They are egotistic.

(a) Custom to visit other schools. (b) Hard day?

(a) Hard day? (b) Important

Handsome

Shimon J H

of Israel
[by Ben
Gurion
May
1948] – a
historic
and
moving
moment

1. The war of 1948 – because this was the war that led to the creation of the State (Israel),

2. Forming /creation of the State of Israel: Independence Day – important day that every state remembers, 3. Yitzhak Rabin – started peace processes, 4. The first Intifada – , 5. Yom HaZikaron – to remember all of the soldiers who sacrificed their lives

1. 1948,
2. The taking of Palestine – an important time and every Palestini an remembers, old or young,
3. - Land Day, 4. - The Nakba, 5. - Yassir Arafat – leader that fought for peace

I chose what I chose because these events/people/organi zations I know about a little more in depth.

I chose what I chose because I think my choices are more connected to the Palestini ans.

Hani a

No response. Because even if they divide the state, it will still be a Jewish state – the State of Israel . Note added to bottom of page: Part 1 – I don't remember that we learned about the Partit ion Plan which the UN suggested in 1947. Therefore, I can't answer.

I don't know if this is true or not because I never learned about this. Therefore, I have no other version .

(a) Right – As of now there is a state. It's the state of Israel. (b) Right - They want a state of their own.

(a) A day to remember the heroes who sacrificed their lives for us to have a state. (b) A day in which Arab' s lands were taken from them.

(a) A day in which they took Palestine from him and his people. (b) A sad day in which his people, his family and him were uprooted from their homes .

No response.

Hania

A/J

H

Ta mar	Eth iopi an J	H	5 events or people or their ideas which in my opinion are important in the history of the country: <u>Ben-Gurion</u> – He was the man who made the first step towards the creation of the state; <u>Yitzhak Rabin</u> – in my opinion this man is important because he wanted to make peace; <u>Holocaust Day</u> – A day that, in my opinion, the whole world should commemorate as a way to	<u>1. Al-Nakbah,</u> <u>2. Holocaust</u> <u>st. 3. Land Day, 4. Yitzhak Rabin,</u> <u>5. Intifada.</u> I chose Nakbah Day because this is a very significant day for the Palestini ans. I chose Holocaust Day because they are also in my class and they are aware of it and it should never happen again. I chose Land Day because we learned about it not long ago. It is awful what they did to the Palestini	What I chose: <u>the Holocaust, UN, David Ben-Gurion, Alivah</u> - I chose those because I think every event or human being or organization did something and changed one thing in the state which is for me very important. For example, the UN – without it more wars would've been against us (Israel) boycott and many bad things...	I think that is what another student in my class who came from a different background would choose because those events are very important and very sensitive like Al-Nakbah. It is a very important event like the Holocaust for the Jews... and also the demolished villages of the Palestini ans, also this is a painful issue. That's why I think the student	Tam ar	(a) [1] The Palestini ns reject ed the Partit ion Plan because they lived in the count ry and they didn't want to share with the Jews. [2] Since the count ry Palesti ne all was their count ry. Why woul d they give half of belov ed Palest	Partly correct. It doesn't tell both narrati ves. This text is as if it's looking from the side... <u>(circled and underlined)</u>	(a) <u>Right</u> - Today the situati on is not good. There are always wars for who will rule the countr y in the end... I think an Arab-Jewish state is the solutio n. Beside s, they pursu ed he Jews in the world so it's clear the Jews will agree on a solutio n. (b) <u>Wrong</u> - They didn't make	(a) A day in which they reme mber who were injure d or fell in the war. They respect them. (b) This reminds me of Yom HaZik aron except it's on the Palesti nian side. They reme mber those who were injure d or died in the war. They respect them.	(a) I think they say the same thing I said on the other side of the paper. That this is Yom Al-Nakbah except for the Jews. (b) I think the same student will name' s meani ng (Yom Al-Nakbah) will be import ant in his eyes because after all he's Palest	I am a 15 ½ year old girl. Ethiopi an. I like to draw and read books.
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remember and prevent it from ever happening again.; Yom Al-Nakbah – No need that this goes back again. Violence brings violence. I chose these things or people that are significant and everyone should know them.

ans in the country. And I chose Yitzhak Rabin because he made a peace treaty with Yasser Arafat.

would choose what I circled.

tine to a strange people if they can get all of it? (b) [1] Because they were chased all over the world, and finally they have the opportunity to get a state, even though this is half a state but in spite of that they agreed. [2] Many Jews accepted the Partition Plan the UN suggested since they were pursued in all of Europe and finally

a correct decision because the situation is very hard and if they accepted then we would be living in the country, although not in peace and quiet but there would n't be refugees at this magnitude... And all would not be willing... But they cannot be blamed. They couldn't prophesize the future... They were [here] first so why should they give their lands to a strange people

inian and this is his people who were injured there.... So it makes sense that the meaning of the name is significant for him, and if not, he will identify.

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Oz	A/J	H/ A	1. <u>1948</u> – the first war in the country between Palestine and Israel, 2. <u>2000</u> – Intifada in Israel between Palestini an Arabs and Jews, 3. <u>First Lebanon War – 1982</u> – First Lebanon	1. <u>1948</u> <u>War</u> – between the Palestini ans and Israel about the land, 2. <u>1991</u> <u>Intifada</u> – the first Intifada in the country Palestini ans/Isra el, 3. <u>2000</u> <u>Intifada</u>	I picked those events because they are in my opinion the most interesting and important in the history of Palestine/I srael. Since all of those events concern war between Palestine and Israel	Because those events are the most importa nt and interesti ng to the Palestini an people. Those events are wars of Palestin e and solution s to the Palestini an	Oz	(a) Beca use the Pales tinia ns didn't want to, unde r any circu msta nces, divid e Pales tine two, half	In my opinion , this descrip tion is correct becaus e they suggest ed to partitio n Palesti ne into three Jewish parts and four Arab parts and they	(a) <u>Right</u> – This plan was very good and it should have been imple mente d from the Jewish point of view. <u>Wron</u> <u>g</u> - Becau se the	(a) The conce pt of “Yom HaZik aron” says to me that in Yom HaZik aron all of those are reme mbere d who were killed, injure d, or	(a) In my opinio n, a Palest inian stude nt will show respec t but will not be sad becau se [wher eas] on the Nakb a Day he will	My identity is half Jewish and half Arab Muslim. My father is Muslim, my mother is Jewish, most of my family are Palestin ians that live in Israel (the
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War, 4. <u>Sinai</u> War – war between Israel, France and England against Egyptian s for Sinai	– the second Intifada in the country Palestini ans vs. Israel, 4. <u>Al-</u> <u>Nakba</u> <u>(Arabic)</u> – massacr e and expulsio n of almost 70,000 Palestini an resident s from their homes during the Indepen dence War.	and solutions to the conflict.	Israeli conflict.	Israel and half Pales tine, and after that, the war starte d and the state of Israel was creat ed. (b) Beca use the Jews care if they divid ed the land into two states (Israe l and Pales tine) and they want ed to live in peace .	holy city of Jerusal em as an interna tional city for the three peoples Jews, Muslim s, and Christi ans. This descrip tion is very correct. <u>Circled</u> <u>/underl</u> <u>ined.</u>	Palesti nians didn't want to partiti on or divide Palesti ne into two states. They wante d Palesti ne as one and only one.	died (Holoc aust, wars, murde r of Rabin ...) in the land of Israel. (b) The conce pt of Al- Nakba h says to me that this is a day in which the Palesti nian Arabs (Israel i Arabs) reme mber the almost 700,00 0 Palesti nian Arabs who were expell ed and left.	be more sad since this is his house [illegi ble]. (b) In my opinio n, a Jewis h stude nt will show respec t but also he will not be sad like on Yom HaZi karon .	Territor ies)
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Appendix I

Scoring Rubrics for Cognitive Empathy, Affective Empathy, and Degree of Affiliation with Ascribed Identity Group(s)

EMPATHY	2	1	0
<p><u>Cognitive Empathy – Task 1, Part 2</u> – Students were asked to write (free write) the 5 most important events, people, organizations, or ideas in the history of this land that they believe a classmate from a background different than his/her own might choose and to write a sentence explaining why they chose each event, person, or idea.</p>	<p>The student provided <u>4 or more</u> events, persons, etc. likely to be chosen by the Other</p> <p><u>AND</u></p> <p>Provided an <u>explanation for each</u> choice.</p> <p><i>Ex., “<u>Yitzhak Rabin</u>: A person who tried to make peace with Yasser Arafat; <u>Independence Day</u>: A pleasant day which marks the declaration of the creation of the state of Israel; <u>Yom HaZikaron</u>: a sad day which symbolizes the death of the soldiers and those who were injured by the enemy’s actions; <u>David Ben Gurion</u>: the first Prime Minister (Palestinian student, Bara).”</i></p>	<p>The student provided <u>4 or more</u> events, persons, etc. likely to be chosen by the Other</p> <p><u>AND</u></p> <p>Provided an <u>explanation for at least 2</u> of his/her choices.</p> <p><i>Ex., “1) <u>1948 War, the Nakba, and creation of the state</u> – beginning of the Occupation; 2) <u>Arafat</u> – was the leader of the Palestinian Authority for a considerable time; 3) I don’t know what else (Jewish student, Mariel).”</i></p>	<p>No response</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Explained his/her refusal to respond</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Did not provide <u>4 or more</u> events, etc. likely to be chosen by the Other</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Provided 4 or more events, etc. likely to be chosen by the Other but did not provide an <u>explanation for at least 2</u> of his/her choices</p>

<p>Cognitive Empathy – Task 2, Part 2 – Students were asked to select from a chart of options the 5 most significant concepts, people/organizations, and events in the history of this land from 1900-1949 that they believe a classmate from a background different than his/her own might choose and to write a brief explanation for their choices. (Students were asked to select 5 from each column – events, concepts, and people/organizations – but most appeared to misunderstand this part of the directions, so I looked for 5 overall rather than 15.)</p>	<p>The student selected <u>5 or more</u> events, persons, etc. likely to be chosen by the Other</p> <p><u>AND</u></p> <p>Provided an <u>explanation for each choice</u>.</p> <p><i>Ex., “1948 War: Because the Israeli people won in this war; UN Partition Plan: Thanks to it the state of Israel was created; Palmach: The first army that was in the beginning and occupied the state of Palestine; United Nations: Approved the building [creation] of the state; Aliyah: Because of the Aliyah of the Jews the state came into existence; Eretz Israel: The country of the Jews (Palestinian student, Sundus)”</i></p>	<p>The student selected <u>5 or more</u> events, persons, etc. likely to be chosen by the “Other”</p> <p><u>AND</u></p> <p>Provided an <u>explanation for at least 2</u> of his/her choices</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Provided a <u>generic rationale</u> for his/her choices that referenced the identity of the Other. An example of the latter is below.</p> <p><i>Ex., Student selected Palestinian Right of Return, Al Nazihun, Al-Nakba, 1948 War, United Nations, and several other events, persons, etc., and explained her choices with this generic rationale referencing the identity of the Other “Because these are connected to the history of the Palestinian people (Jewish student, Mira).”</i></p>	<p>No response</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Explained his/her refusal to respond</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Did not provide <u>5 or more</u> events likely to be chosen by the Other</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Did not provide an <u>explanation for at least 2</u> of his/her choices</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Did not provide a <u>generic rationale</u> for his/her choices that referenced the identity of the Other</p>
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<p>Cognitive Empathy – Task 4, Part 1 or 2 Students were asked to describe the meaning of the respective remembrance day of the Other <i>to the Other</i>. Therefore, for Jewish students, pay attention to responses re: Al Nakba Day; for Palestinian students, pay attention to responses re: Yom HaZikaron; for students from a different background, pay attention to either.</p> <p>(Although the intent of this task was that students would demonstrate this understanding in Part 2, many students responded to this task in ways that demonstrated this understanding across Parts 1 and 2. Therefore, give credit for an appropriate response appearing in either Part 1 or 2.)</p>	<p>Provided a complete response re: the <u>historical</u> meaning of the remembrance day of the Other. Complete historically accurate responses will include <u>both</u>:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Reference to the day as one of commemoration or remembrance <p><u>AND</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2) To loss of lands or homes or becoming refugees (re: Al Nakba Day) or to deaths/injuries of soldiers (re: Yom HaZikaron). <p><i>Ex. 's, "A day in which the Jews commemorate the deaths of their soldiers, and those wounded in action with the enemy, who sacrificed their lives for the state of Israel. (Palestinian student, Bara, describing meaning of Yom HaZikaron to Jews)"</i></p> <p>OR</p> <p><i>"A day in which to remember the people who escaped from their homes in the 1948 War, all of the villages which</i></p>	<p>Provided an incomplete response re: <u>historical</u> meaning of the remembrance day of the Other. Incomplete responses must include <u>either</u>:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Reference to the day as one of commemoration or remembrance <p><u>OR</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (2) To loss of lands or homes or becoming refugees (re: Al Nakba Day) or to deaths/injuries of soldiers (re: Yom HaZikaron). <p><i>Ex's, "[Yom HaZikaron means] Soldiers of a different nation that died defending their nation or defending human beings (Palestinian student , Darius)"</i></p> <p>OR</p> <p><i>"This reminds me of Yom HaZikaron except it's on the Palestinian side. They remember those who were injured or died in the war. They respect them and mourn them (Student from different background, Tamar)."</i></p>	<p>No response</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Explained his/her refusal to respond</p> <p>OR</p> <p>His/her response was unrelated to the <u>historical</u> meaning of the day because it did not include either 1) or 2) – see left.</p> <p><i>Ex., "They will say that you are not forced to join but at least respect (Palestinian student, Yasin, describing meaning of YomHaZikaron to Jews)."</i></p>
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	<p><i>were left empty, and the people who got killed in the war (Jewish student, Mariel, describing meaning of Al Nakba Day to Palestinians)."</i></p>		
<p><u>Affective Empathy – Task 1, Part 2</u> – Students were asked to write (free write) the 5 most important events, people, organizations, or ideas in the history of this land that they believe a classmate from a background different than his/her own might choose and to write a sentence explaining why they chose each event, person, or idea.</p> <p>Student’s explanation demonstrated understanding of the <u>emotional</u> meanings to the “Other” of the events, persons, etc. chosen.</p>	<p>Used <u>2 or more</u> evaluative or emotive words or phrases indicating the emotional meaning or value of the chosen events, persons, etc. to the Other. Examples include use of:</p> <p><i>Qualitative modifying words such as “sad, pleasant, or difficult”</i></p> <p>OR</p> <p><i>Active verbs indicating that the Other “remembers” or “will not forget” or “respects”</i></p> <p>OR</p> <p><i>“Loaded” terms such as “massacre” or “brutal” when referring to Holocaust (when used by a Palestinian student), or to “Occupation” when referring to situation of Israeli control of West Bank/Gaza (when used by a Jewish student)</i></p>	<p>Used <u>1</u> evaluative or emotive word or phrase indicating the emotional meaning or value of the selected events, persons, etc. to the Other.</p> <p><i>See examples to the left.</i></p>	<p>No response</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Explained his/her refusal to respond</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Did not include any evaluative or emotive words or phrases in his/her explanation</p>

<p><u>Affective Empathy – Task 2, Part 2</u> – Students were asked to select from a chart of options the 5 most significant concepts, people/organizations, and events in the history of this land from 1900-1949 that they believe a classmate from a background different than his/her own might choose and to write a brief explanation for their choices.</p> <p>Student’s explanation demonstrated understanding of the <u>emotional</u> meanings to the “Other” of the events, persons, etc. chosen.</p>	<p>Used <u>2 or more</u> evaluative or emotive words or phrases indicating the emotional meaning or value of the chosen events, persons, etc. to the Other. Examples include use of:</p> <p><i>Qualitative modifying words such as “sad, pleasant, or difficult”</i></p> <p>OR</p> <p><i>Active verbs indicating that the Other “remembers” or “will not forget” or “respects” or “mourns”</i></p> <p>OR</p> <p><i>“Loaded” terms such as “massacre” or “brutal” or “sacrifice” when referring to Holocaust (when used by a Palestinian student), or to “Occupation” when referring to situation of Israeli control of West Bank/Gaza (when used by a Jewish student)</i></p>	<p>Used <u>1</u> evaluative or emotive word or phrase indicating the emotional meaning or value of the selected events, persons, etc. to the Other.</p> <p><i>See examples to the left.</i></p>	<p>No response</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Explained his/her refusal to respond</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Did not include any evaluative or emotive words or phrases in his/her explanation</p>
<p><u>Affective Empathy – Task 4, Part 1 or 2</u> Students were asked to describe the meaning of the respective</p>	<p>Used <u>2 or more</u> evaluative or emotive words or phrases indicating the</p>	<p>Used <u>1</u> evaluative or emotive word or phrase indicating emotional meaning</p>	<p>No response</p> <p>OR</p>

<p>remembrance day of the Other to the Other. Therefore, for Jewish students, pay attention to responses re: Al Nakba Day; for Palestinian students, pay attention to responses re: Yom HaZikaron; for “Other” students pay attention to either.</p> <p>(Although the intent of this task was that students would demonstrate this understanding in Part 2, many students responded to this task in ways that demonstrated this understanding across Parts 1 and 2. Therefore, give credit for an appropriate response appearing in either Part 1 or 2.)</p> <p>Student’s response demonstrated understanding of the <u>emotional</u> meanings of Yom HaZikaron or Al-Nakba Day to the Other.</p>	<p>emotional meaning or value of the respective remembrance day of the Other to the Other. Examples include use of:</p> <p><i>Qualitative modifying words such as “sad, pleasant, or difficult”</i></p> <p>OR</p> <p><i>Active verbs indicating that the Other “remembers” or “will not forget” or “respects” or “mourns”</i></p> <p>OR</p> <p><i>References to family connections to events for the “Other.” An example of the latter is “I lost one of my relatives and I remember every Yom HaZikaron (Palestinian student describing what Yom HaZikaron might mean to a Jewish classmate).”</i></p> <p>OR</p> <p><i>“Loaded” terms such as “massacre” or “brutal” when referring to Holocaust (when used by a Palestinian student), or to “Occupation” when referring to situation of Israeli control of West Bank/Gaza (when used by a Jewish student) or to “sacrifice”(when used by a Palestinian student) re: deaths of soldiers.</i></p>	<p>or value of the selected events to the Other.</p> <p><i>See examples to the left.</i></p>	<p>Explained his/her refusal to respond</p> <p>OR</p> <p>Response did not include any evaluative or emotive words or phrases</p>
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IDENTITY	1	0
Used language of affiliation when referring to his/her ascribed identity group in Task 1 (Part 1 or 2)	Used one or more affiliative terms such as “me/we/us” when referring to his/her ascribed identity group	Such terms not used in this task
Used language of affiliation when referring to his/her ascribed identity group in Task 2 (Part 1 or 2)	Used one or more affiliative terms such as “me/we/us” when referring to his/her ascribed identity group	Such terms not used in this task
Used language of affiliation when referring to his/her ascribed identity group in Task 4 (Part 1 or 2)	Used one or more affiliative terms such as “me/we/us” when referring to his/her ascribed identity group	Such terms not used in this task
Self-identified by nationality in Survey	Identified self by nationality (e.g., Ethiopian, Israeli, Palestinian, Arab) in Survey	Did not identify self by nationality (e.g., Ethiopian, Israeli, Palestinian, Arab) in Survey
Self-identified by religion in Survey	Identified self by religion (e.g., Muslim, Jewish) in Survey	Did not identify self by religion (e.g., Muslim, Jewish) in Survey
Referred to a contemporary event (2000 to present) involving a specific person or persons from his/her ascribed identity group in Task 1, Part 1	Yes	No

Appendix J

Tally Tables for Task 2

Selections for Chart, Task 2, Part A, “most important.... To self....

Israeli Jewish (n=6)	Palestinian (Muslim) (n=10)	Palestinian Christian (n=2)	Different background (n=4)
<u>2</u> Nationalism Aliyah/immigration Zionism Haganah United Nations 1917 Balfour Declaration 1948 War Holocaust Al-Nakba	<u>7</u> 1948 War <u>5</u> Holocaust Al-Nakba Palestinian Right of Return <u>4</u> 1947 UN Partition Plan <u>3</u> Zionism Hitler David Ben Gurion 1917 Balfour Declaration <u>2</u> Aliyah/immigration Palestine/Eretz Israel British Government <u>1</u> World War I World War II Ezzedine al-Qassam Ottoman Empire Deir Yassin Destroyed Palestinian villages Nationalism Colonialism United Nations Arab countries Ottoman Empire	<u>2</u> Palestinian Right of Return Palestine/Eretz Israel 1948 War World War II <u>1</u> Nationalism Al-Nakba Yeshuv Colonialism Aliyah/immigration Arab countries David Ben Gurion Hitler Ottoman Empire British government Holocaust 1947 UN Partition Plan 1936 Arab General Strike	<u>3</u> Aliyah/immigration Holocaust <u>2</u> Israeli Law of Return Palestine/Eretz Israel Zionism Hitler Ottoman Empire 1948 War World War II Al-Nakba United Nations <u>1</u> Nationalism Anti-Semitism Colonialism Imperialism World War I Sykes-Picot Agreement David Ben Gurion Palestinian Right of Return Arab countries British government 1947 UN Partition Plan Destroyed Palestinian villages

Task 2, Part B. – what would a classmate from a different background choose.

Israeli Jewish (n=6)	Palestinian Muslim (n=10)	Palestinian Christian (n=2)	Different background (n=4)
<p>1</p> <p>Anti-Semitism Palestinian Right of Return Palestine/Eretz Israel Al-Nazihun Ezzedine al-Qassam Haj Amin al-Husseini Arab countries Hitler British government 1917 Balfour Declaration Holocaust Pogroms 1936 Arab General Strike UN Resolution 194 Sykes-Picot Agreement Al-Nakba Destroyed Palestinian villages</p>	<p>5</p> <p>Hitler 1948 War Holocaust</p> <p>4</p> <p>David Ben Gurion World War II</p> <p>3</p> <p>Zionism Anti-Semitism 1917 Balfour Declaration Israeli Law of Return</p> <p>2</p> <p>Jewish Agency British government Destroyed Palestinian villages Self-determination Aliyah/immigration Palestine/Eretz Israel ? United Nations Pogroms</p> <p>1</p> <p>Yeshuv UN Resolution 194 Nationalism Palmach World War I 1947 Partition Plan</p>	<p>2</p> <p>1948 War</p> <p>1</p> <p>Aliyah/immigration Israeli Law of Return Zionism Ze'ev Jabotinsky Jewish Agency David Ben Gurion British government Holocaust World War II</p>	<p>3</p> <p>Palestine/Eretz Israel 1948 War Al-Nakba Destroyed Palestinian villages</p> <p>2</p> <p>Palestinian Right of Return Ezzedine al-Qassam Haj Amin al-Husseini Arab countries David Ben Gurion</p> <p>1</p> <p>Nationalism Colonialism Waqf Aliyah/immigration Israeli Law of Return Zionism Imperialism Ze'ev Jabotinsky United Nations Palmach Hitler British government 1917 Balfour Declaration Holocaust Deir Yassin Pogroms 1947 UN Partition Plan 1936 Arab General Strike Sykes-Picot Agreement</p>

Appendix K

Task 3 Analytical Tables

Historical Empathy – Task 3, Part 1

Students were asked to explain why many Jews accepted and many Palestinians rejected the 1947 Partition Plan. The goal of task was: to accurately infer the motivations of people in the past in their context, without judging those actions from perspective of the present

Historical Empathy	2 (3 or more of the 6 historical factors; at least 1 from 2 of the 3 categories)	1 (1-2 of the historical factors)	0 (no historical factors or no response)
<p>Historical Factors:</p> <p>Many Palestinians against because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Palestinians had significantly more land than Jews in 1947 • Palestinians significantly outnumbered Jews in 1947 • Palestinians felt they were being forced to “pay” for a Holocaust they didn’t create • Plan was perceived as unfair by Palestinians – “someone from outside with no authority comes and divides your land against your will” • Any partition by an outside body that did not included them was perceived as violating the UN guaranteed right 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Darius (unfair, better than nothing, winners/losers) • Rawia (Palestinians majority, unfair, winners/losers, entitlement) • Rana (unfair, Jews had no state, entitlement) • Sundus (unfair, winners/losers Jews had no state, dream fulfillment) • Mariel (winners/losers, unfair, Palestinians had more land in 1947) • Tamar (unfair, Jews were being persecuted, Jews did not have a state) <p>4 Palestinians 1 Jew 1 Other (27%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Omar (winners/losers) • Bara (winners/losers) • Munira (winners/losers) • Sumaya (unfair) • Asma (unfair, better than nothing) • Yasin (Jews had no state) • Isa (unfair, Jews had no state) • Mira (winners/losers, Palestinians majority – Jews minority) • Irit (unfair, Jews did not have a state) • Chanah (winners/losers) • Yaffa (unfair) • Shimon (winners/losers) • Oz (unfair) • Jamila (unfair, Jews did not have a state) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Miriam • Hania <p>1 Palestinian 1 Other (9%)</p>

<p>of national self-determination to all peoples</p> <p>Many Jews approved because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jews did not have a state; better than nothing • The Jewish people had suffered Holocaust and needed a safe haven where they were the majority • The Plan was perceived by some Jews as a first step toward statehood and/or territorial gain. • The Plan was perceived by some Jews as a religious entitlement and/or as fulfillment of a spiritual dream <p>Both:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Partition Plan gave majority of the land to the Jews who were minority at the time (Jews winners, Palestinians losers) 		<p>7 Palestinians 5 Jews 2 Other</p> <p>(64%)</p>	
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Historical Empathy – Task 3, Part 3

Students were asked to answer each of the following prompts. The goal was to assess students’ abilities to judge the rightness/wrongness of Palestinians’/Jews’ decisions – historical empathy combined with judgment/evaluation. It was possible to evaluate the decision of each group two ways (though the task did not state that this was required):

I think many Jews made the right/wrong (circle one) decision in accepting the Partition Plan because....

1. Right/wrong in terms of their options then
2. Right/wrong in terms of hindsight – student’s perspective today

I think many Palestinians made the right/wrong decision (circle one) in rejecting the 1947 Partition Plan because....

3. Right/wrong in terms of their options then
4. Right/wrong in terms of hindsight – student’s perspective today

Did not answer or did not provide a written evaluation	Provided a written evaluation of rightness/wrongness of Palestinians’/Jews’ decisions	Types of Responses	Examples
Miriam Bara Darius Munira Sumaya Asma Rana			
	Omar (2, 4)	Both wrong	“(a) Wrong - The state was for the Palestinians, and they had no right to come and take it from them. <i>Evaluates decision made by Jews as wrong from his perspective as a Palestinian today, not from perspective of Jews then or now. Wasn't fair to Palestinians.</i> (b) Wrong - They should have accepted and all of this would not have happened (Omar).” <i>(Implies that Palestinians' decision at time made sense in first part of his answer) Evaluates' Palestinians' decision from perspective of hindsight only. In retrospect, would have been better to have accepted.</i>
	Rawia (1, 2, 3) Isa (1, 3) Hania (2, 3)	Both right	“Right - Yes the Jews made the right decision by agreeing because it was only to their advantage. But so far as [regarding] the Palestinians, this is an unjust decision. They even have no feelings and no logic. That’s why I’m against the decision they took. <i>Evaluates decision from Jews' perspective then and her perspective today. Is able to distinguish the two.</i> Right - I think the Palestinians made the right decision in rejecting the Partition Plan because this land is theirs. They own it. They lived on it for thousands of years and it was known that it’s theirs in spite of the Ottoman and British occupations. They were impatiently waiting for the day when they would be free. That’s why Jews had no right to come and demand the partition of the land which doesn’t belong to them [they don’t own]. <i>Palestinians' rejection also made sense at the time. Doesn't evaluate Palestinians' decision in hindsight, however.</i> (Rawia).” “Right - And finally they will have an independent state and to have territories and

			houses and rights. <i>Evaluates Jews' decision from their perspective then only.</i> Right - It can't be for someone to come from outside (the country) and say this state is a shared state and they have to divide their country with strange people. (Isa).” <i>Evaluates Palestinians' decision from their perspective then only.</i> “Right - As of now there is a state. It's the state of Israel. <i>Evaluates Jews' decision from hindsight only.</i> Right - They want a state of their own. <i>Evaluates Palestinians' decision from their perspective then only.</i> (Hania).”
	Sundus (2, 3)	Jews wrong, Palestinians right	Wrong - Because they caused the killing of a lot of people and made people without homes and dispossessed a lot of people and made a lot of kids orphans. <i>Evaluates Jews' decision from hindsight only. Judged Jewish acceptance as wrong in light of the consequences for Palestinians.</i> (b) Right - Because this is their right. Because this is their country and they decide, not people who don't know the meaning of the land. They had the right because they defended their land to the last soul. <i>Evaluated Palestinians' decision in light of their perspective then only.</i>
	Yasin (2)	Wrong, no response	Wrong - because the Palestinians didn't want to partition or divide the state. <i>Evaluated Jews' decision in light of unfairness toward Palestinians. Not in terms of benefits or costs from Jewish perspective then or now. Judged Jewish acceptance as wrong in light of the consequences for Palestinians. Lack of historical empathy for Jews.</i>
	<p> Mariel (1, 2, 3, 4) Mira (1, 3, 4) Irit (2, 4) Chanah (4) Yaffa (2, 4) Shimon (1) Tamar (1, 2, 3, 4) Oz (1,3) </p>	Jews right, Palestinians wrong	<p> “Right - It improved their situation compared to before, and they got lands according to that. In addition to that, the Partition Plan was more fair than today's situation or reality. <i>Evaluated Jews' decision both from their perspective then and her perspective today.</i> Wrong - Even though the Plan was not that fair towards them, in the end, their situation got worse and today they have less land, less rights and they have no state. <i>Evaluated Palestinians' rejection in their terms then and in hindsight today. Jewish acceptance made sense then and now, Palestinian rejection then made sense but in retrospect, would have been better to have accepted.</i>(Mariel).” “Right - This was then a really good plan for them. <i>Evaluated Jews' decision in light of their perspective then but not today.</i> Wrong - They should have accepted the Partition then, even though this wasn't logical towards them, since this was the best plan they have gotten. <i>Evaluated Palestinians' rejection in light of their perspective then and hers today.</i> (Mira)” “Right - The Partition Plan could have solved </p>

		<p>many problems and perhaps could have contributed to us not being in the situation that we are in today. <i>Evaluated Jews decision from now but not then.</i> Wrong - It is a fact that the situation in the country today is worse than at any time. I don't know if the Partition Plan was going to resolve the situation but no doubt it would have changed the state of affairs as we know it today. <i>Evaluates Palestinians' rejection from present only. Doesn't comment on sensibility of Palestinians' rejection in the past. Just says in hindsight, we'd all be better off.</i> (Irit.)</p> <p>"Right - no response. Wrong - Because in my opinion if they accepted the Partition Plan they would have been in a better situation than now. <i>Evaluates Palestinians' rejection from present only. No other evaluation. No historical empathy.</i> (Chanah)" <i>It's their fault.</i></p> <p>"Right - Today we live in a Zionist Jewish state. <i>Evaluates Jews' acceptance from present only.</i> [Wrong] - It could have been that they would have been living under better conditions than today's [conditions]. <i>Evaluates Palestinians' rejection from present only. Same as Chanah.(Yaffa).</i>" <i>(You guys blew your chance. It's your fault. No historical empathy.)</i></p> <p>"Right - Because they worried about themselves. <i>Evaluates Jews' decision from past only.</i> Wrong - They are egotistic. <i>Evaluates Palestinians' decision with a judgment unrelated to events.</i> (Shimon)"</p> <p>"Right - Today the situation is not good. There are always wars for who will rule the country in the end...I think an Arab-Jewish state is the solution. Besides, they pursued the Jews in the world so it's clear the Jews will agree on a solution. <i>Evaluated Jews' decision from past and present perspectives.</i> Wrong - They didn't make a correct decision because the situation is very hard and if they accepted then we would be living in the country, although not in peace and quiet but there wouldn't be refugees at this magnitude...And all would not be willing...But they cannot be blamed. They couldn't prophesize the future...They were [here] first so why should they give their lands to a strange people? ... <i>Evaluated Palestinians' decision from past and present perspectives. Demonstrates historical empathy as well as ability to evaluate</i> (Tamar)." <i>"Right - This plan was very good and it should have been implemented from the Jewish point of view. Evaluated plan from Jews' perspective then but not now.</i> Wrong - Because the Palestinians didn't want to partition or divide Palestine into two states. They wanted Palestine as one and only one. <i>Evaluated plan from Palestinians'</i></p>
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			<i>perspective then only. His answer doesn't explain why they made the wrong decision. It seems like he's saying Palestinians made the right decision for themselves at the time and he doesn't evaluate that decision in hindsight. (Oz)."</i>
	Jamila (1, 2, 3, 4)	Right and wrong, right and wrong	Right and Wrong - For me both [right/wrong] are correct, each from a different way: Agree: Because they butchered them in Europe and they didn't have their own country. Don't Agree: Because they live at the expense of others and in their land. Right and Wrong - In this case, I also think they made both the right and wrong decision. Correct: Because they defended their land and fought in order to live in their homeland. Wrong: Because if they had cooperated with the Jews maybe they would live in two cities in peace and safety, but their greed led them to lose everything. <i>Evaluated both Jews' and Palestinians' choices from perspective of past and present. (Demonstrates historical empathy for both sides as well as ability to judge from perspective of present). (Jamila)"</i>

Historical Literacy – Task 3, Part 2

Students were asked to read a novel text about the events of 1947/1948 and to state what they thought was accurate/inaccurate in the text and why. Goal was – ability to recognize bias in a text, proclivity to look for authorship/bias, proclivity to take a critical approach to a text

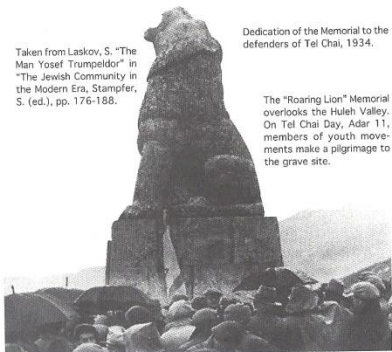
Did not answer or did not provide a written explanation	Provided a written explanation	Response Types	Examples
Miriam Darius Asma Rana Mira Chanah	Bara Munira Irit Hania Jamila	Did not feel capable of judgment.	"I don't know (Bara and Munira)." "... It is possible that the text might be hiding certain facts, that one of the sides could have been against, but I am not familiar enough with the subject to know (Irit)." "I don't know if this is true or not because I never learned about this. Therefore, I have no other version (Hania)." "I don't know because I wasn't there in that period and that's why I can't imagine if it is logical or not (Jamila)."
	Omar Sumaya Yasin	Evaluated fairness of the Plan, rather than critiquing accuracy of the text as called for	"No, because the Palestinians were there first, and should have gotten more (Omar)." "In my opinion the description of the 1947 Partition is not correct because in my opinion no one has the right to get someone else's home by force and without permission of the homeowner. (Sumaya)." "No, because Palestine did not agree on the partition

			of the Palestinian state because it wanted to stay independent (Yasin).”
Sundus Isa Mariel Irit Oz	Argued it was correct because evidence was provided to substantiate the claims		<p>“Yes and no because for every narrative there are many stories. I believe that this narrative is right since this was the partition plan for Palestine; that’s why Palestine (Palestinians) did not agree to it while the Jews did. I believe that it is true since evidences are happening [are provided] inside it, and this gives us the assurance that it is true...(Sundus).”</p> <p>“Correct, because they give us truthful facts that it’s impossible to argue with and this is a thing that is true (Isa).”</p> <p>“Yes, because it describes objectively and in a detached way what has occurred without leaning to any side. [Note on side of page: I don’t “agree” and I am opposed to what is written [in the questions] because those are facts, and I cannot agree or not agree with facts.] (Mariel).”</p> <p>“In my opinion, the text presents facts and that’s why I cannot express support or objections...(Irit).”</p> <p>“In my opinion, this description is correct because they suggested to partition Palestine into three Jewish parts and four Arab parts and they holy city of Jerusalem as an international city for the three peoples Jews, Muslims, and Christians. This description is very correct (Oz).”</p>
Sundus Yaffa Shimon	Said it was correct because it accorded with his/her opinion or prior knowledge		<p>“... I also know the partition; this, in short, is the partition and this is the plan. (Sundus).”</p> <p>“In my opinion, the description is correct because it describes my point of view, and the world view that I grew up with and according to which I was raised (Yaffa).”</p> <p>“Yes and in my opinion they were right and this is my opinion, primitive or not, it’s my opinion (Shimon).”</p>
Rawia Tamar	Critiqued accuracy of specific language/information in the text, but did not discuss authorship of the text (sourcing) as a possible reason for the biases, inaccuracies, perspectives		<p>“The beginning of the narrative is correct but there are several wrong points. In my opinion, first Palestinian Arabs did not run away but were forced to run or escape at the hands of the Israeli and Zionist armies and they became refugees. Secondly, the Arab armies didn’t attack the Israeli armies but started to demonstrate [protest] and then after that the wars were ignited between them and not because of the Arabs/Arab armies (Rawia).” (Underlined first parts, circled Arabs fled and Arab armies invaded)</p> <p>“Partly correct. It doesn’t tell both narratives. This text is as if it’s looking from the side...(Tamar).” (Underlined first parts, circled Arabs fled and Arab-Israeli War)</p>

ISRAELI NARRATIVE

In January 1920, Joseph Trumpeldor, already a living legend among the Jewish settlers, arrived with a group of guards to defend the isolated settlement. His fighting and courage in the Russian-Japanese War, as a soldier in the Russian army, had earned him the right to officer's rank and he became the first Jewish commissioned officer in the Czar's army. The fact that he had lost his left arm in that war accorded him a further heroic touch. He was one of the founders of the important Zionist organization in Russia - HeHalutz, while in Palestine he was known as an ideologist and Zionist-Socialist leader.

On March 1, the Arabs from the surrounding area wanted to go into the Tel Chai yard to see if there were any armed French there. The Tel Chai defenders allowed them in and, for a reason that is not clear, a shot was fired and an exchange of fire ensued in the yard. Some of the Tel Chai defenders were wounded and killed, among them Trumpeldor himself,



Taken from Laskov, S. "The Man Yosef Trumpeldor" in "The Jewish Community in the Modern Era, Stampfer, S. (ed.), pp. 176-188.

Dedication of the Memorial to the defenders of Tel Chai, 1934.

The "Roaring Lion" Memorial overlooks the Huleh Valley. On Tel Chai Day, Adar 11, members of youth movements make a pilgrimage to the grave site.

The Roaring Lion Statue was made by the sculptor Avraham Melnikov in 1932 and is in the Tel Chai area.

PALESTINIAN NARRATIVE

which could only be possible with the imposition of British rule in Palestine. This was perhaps the specific reason for publication of the Declaration, i.e., to prepare Palestine for British mandatory rule and to remove it from the arena of international rivalry. With the entry of the English into Jerusalem on December 9, 1917, Palestine was severed from the Ottoman Empire, as well as from Greater Syria and Iraq, following four centuries of Ottoman rule since 1516.²

In fact, British colonialism applied its full weight for realization of the "National Home for the Jews". The British welcomed the Zionist leader Weizmann and the delegation he headed when they arrived in Palestine on April 4, 1918. The delegation was accompanied by a British liaison officer, Captain Ormsby-Gore. Weizmann set up the first Zionist office in Jerusalem in August 1918. The Zionist commission toured Palestine and demanded that it be involved in the government and management of Palestine prior to establishment of the national home. The commission worked at the same time to mollify the fears of the Arabs as to the true intentions of Zionism.³ Weizmann held that "the lands of the Palestinians could be redeemed for money and they could be subdued with a little discipline as they did not constitute a national movement of purport". From his point of view, the Palestinians were not a factor worthy of consideration and did not constitute an obstacle to Zionist or British plans. In a letter to his son, Weizmann compares the Arabs of Palestine to "rocks in the area of Judea which are an obstacle that have to be removed from a difficult path". His theory became a cornerstone of the Zionist strategy. He denied the existence of an independent Palestinian nationality. The perception according to which the Palestinians had to leave the Jewish state and find themselves another homeland in the Arab world became the basis of the Zionist expulsion (transfer) plans in the Thirties and Forties."⁴

A series of horizontal lines for writing, consisting of 15 lines.

who died of his wounds during the evacuation. A physician who treated Trumpeldor testified later that his last words were: "Never mind, it is worth dying for one's country." The words "It is good to die for one's country" were deemed to have been his last became an educational motif and unifying ethos for words. This sentence, whether actually said or not, the Jewish community in the country on the first fifty years of its existence. The ethos that "one does not concede what has been built" became a cornerstone of the Zionist Movement and was tied to the earlier heroism of the Massada warriors.

The Roaring Lion Statue put up at Tel Chai became a pilgrimage site for youth. Tel Chai Day (Adar 11) was observed in schools with ceremonies and assemblies.

About a month after the Tel Chai incident, further clashes broke out in Jerusalem. An Arab crowd participating in the Nebi Mussa celebrations was influenced by false propaganda and led to believe that the Jews were about to take over Moslem holy places in Jerusalem. The mobs attacked Jews in the Jewish Quarter and went on to attack the Jewish neighborhoods outside the city walls. The disturbances also spread to the north of the country.

A personal impression of the disturbances in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem was recorded at the time by Zvi Nadav who had come to the defense of the Jews: "With Nechemia Rubin, I went down David Street which leads to the Jewish Quarter. A horrendous sight appeared in front of us - feathers flying in the air, shops broken into, plundered - a scene with which I was well familiar from the disturbances in Russia. I had had a sense of awe for the place, but its sanctity was now desecrated. There was the air of a pogrom. The [British] army and police had not prevented the rioters from rampaging." (From *The Haganah in Jerusalem*, edited by Rachel Yanait [Ben-Zvi] et al.).

The disturbances led to establishment of a defense organization for the Jewish community, called "The

Herbert Samuel's Policies, 1920-1925

As a supplementary step to British colonialist policy in support of the Jews and Zionist plans in Palestine, Britain revoked British military rule in Palestine in favor of a Civil Administration. In 1920, it appointed Sir Herbert Samuel, the former British minister of Jewish extraction, as the first High Commissioner in Palestine. This was the same Herbert Samuel who had published the well-known memorandum "The Future of Palestine" (the plan for a state containing 3 - 4 million Jews). This appointment of Herbert Samuel made no-one happier than Weizmann, who declared that "we have appointed him to this position because Samuel is one of ours, a product of his Jewishness."⁵

For starters, Samuel enacted the first immigration law on August 26, 1920, which permitted 16,500 Jews to enter the country in the first year. Contributions were collected from Jews to pay for the migration and acts of settlement through Hayesod Fund of Palestine (Hayesod Fund). In the first official population census, conducted in 1922, there were 752,048 inhabitants in Palestine, of whom 87.9% were Arabs and 11.1% were Jews. In order to execute Weizmann's plans to make Palestine Jewish as England was English and France was French, concessions were made for immigration to Palestine. Jewish immigration to Palestine between the years 1919 and 1923 totaled 36,761 Jews. Between 1924 and 1928, the number came to 64,629 and, in 1929, 5,249 Jews arrived.

The following table lists the number of Jewish immigrants between the years 1919 and 1930:

Year	Immigrants	Year	Immigrants
1919	1,643	1925	33,801
1920	15,079	1926	13,081
1921	4,784	1927	2,713
1922	7,834	1928	2,178
1923	7,421	1929	5,249
1924	12,856	1930	4,944

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