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Sew It Seams: Wearing the Symbols of Distant Neighbors

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SEW IT SEAMS: WEARING THE SYMBOLS OF DISTANT NEIGHBORS

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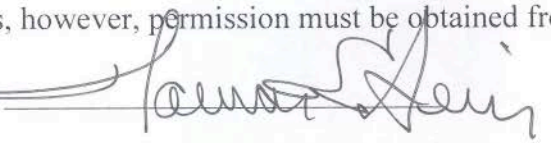
SIGNED: 

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

ABSTRACT

This art-based expressive therapy study investigated opinions and feelings about cultures in the city of Jerusalem and the country of Israel at large. A coat, designed and sewn by the researcher, was covered with symbols that were identified with peoples who have been victims of violence, discrimination, dehumanization, and conflict within and across cultural groups in Jerusalem. The symbols of the cultures in Jerusalem were placed on the coat so that they touched each other at the seams. Following Phase 1 of the study, which included 24 participants, Phase 2 of the study included 4 additional participants who were selected based on being described by others as "visionary leaders." All 28 participants were asked to try on the coat and responded in writing to the research question: "What is the experience of wearing a coat sewn of multicultural symbols that are identified with cultures in Jerusalem?" Each participant was photographed wearing the coat. The 4 participants in Phase 2 were interviewed after wearing the coat.

Nineteen themes emerged from the statements, interviews, and portraits in each phase. Paintings and poems were created by the researcher in response to the interviews and photo-portraits as art-based research in Phase 3. The results of Phases 1 and 2 revealed that the 28 participants connected deeply to their own cultural identities and those of others while wearing the coat, and were able to explore and express information about cultural conflict. Based on the findings, the researcher concluded that the arts can be used as an important language and tool that has not been fully realized in cultural training, conflict resolution, peacemaking, and social activism either in Israel or globally in expressive arts therapy and related fields.

Keywords: Expressive therapy training, art-based multicultural research and education, conflict transformation and arts, multicultural coat, conflict, prejudice, culture, Jerusalem

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Since 1987, my professional journey as an expressive arts therapist has allowed me to cross borders and seams within the complex weave of neighborhoods, communities, and cultures in Jerusalem, Israel. These seams and borders in Jerusalem can be visible or invisible, and can be argued about as existent or nonexistent in the realms of politics and diplomacy. Cultural, national, and religious separatism exist in Jerusalem, and Jerusalem's inhabitants usually live in divided societies or conflicted cultures in a delicately woven web.

Life in Jerusalem can be experienced as a surprising combination of parallel lives, invisible national divides, visible cultural clashes, and overlapping religious and secular lifestyles. The fabric of the city is woven of shared violence, sociopolitical conflict, intense religious beliefs, and astounding beauty, and its dwellers are connected by threads that are both thousands of years old and also modern. These threads provide strength and flexibility and keep the diverse cultures and inhabitants connected in an unseen web.

Jerusalem has been built over time, and can be torn apart within seconds when violence erupts. The mending of this intricate weave is a continual process and includes many kinds of weavers, such as my interviewees and myself. This is a small snapshot of a much larger picture of the diversity of Israel's inhabitants. This parallel existence is the backdrop for the professional training of creative arts therapists in Israel.

The experience of living simultaneously distant from and close to perceived enemies was addressed by Lederach (2010):

> Conflicting groups live in close geographic proximity. They have direct experience of violent trauma that they associate with their perceived enemies and that is sometimes linked to a history of grievance and enmity that has accumulated over generations. Paradoxically, they live as neighbors and yet are locked in long-standing cycles of hostile interaction. The conflicts are characterized by deep-rooted, intense animosity; fear; and severe stereotyping. (p. 23)

This research is an art-based study that explored opinions and feelings about cultures in Jerusalem, Israel. The decision to do this particular study was made after practicing expressive arts therapy in the shadow of group conflict in Jerusalem for over two decades. No literature was found about cultural attitudes and feelings situated specifically in Jerusalem and in expressive arts therapy.

In this process of inquiry I designed and sewed a coat. The coat, a piece of art and a research tool, was then used to study other people's feelings and attitudes about culture. To engage in this scholarly process in any way but through the arts would have meant distancing my learning from the wellspring of creative imagination from whence it originated: the expressive arts therapies.

The coat was originally intended to fulfill an assignment for the course "Arts Apprenticeship" in which students were asked to create something directly related to a research topic. However, in the process of creating the coat, which was impacted by the experience of breaking both of my wrists just after attending residency, the coat acquired more meaning and deeper thought was given to the coat beyond it being an artistic piece. After creating the coat, which is made of symbols identified with peoples who have been

victims of violence, discrimination, dehumanization, and conflict within and across groups in Jerusalem, I invited others to try it on, to be photographed wearing it, and to respond briefly to the experience of wearing it. That proved to be a very powerful experience and drew me into what became a qualitative research process for the first phase of this study and the additional research that followed.

This research consisted of two parts, a study of 24 participants and in-depth interviews with four additional participants who were leaders in the fields of theology, pedagogy, reconciliation, and higher education, and were recognized by me as having high multicultural awareness. In both phases of the research important themes arose pertaining to the participants' cultural identities and cultural attitudes and feelings.

This artistic inquiry addressed the research question, "What is the experience of wearing a coat sewn of multicultural symbols that are identified with cultures in Jerusalem?"

The Two-Phase Research Study

The focus of this research developed from the initial study in which photographs were taken of 24 participants who wore the coat. The participants' written responses to the experience of wearing the coat were collected and analyzed. Based on the informative emergent themes and the rich results of the first phase of the study, I sought to deepen the inquiry and four additional participants wore the coat, were interviewed, and were photographed for the dissertation research. Additionally, I engaged in art-based inquiry throughout the entire dissertation process, creating paintings and poetry that were inspired and informed by the new data collected.

The 24 participants' written responses about the experience of wearing the coat in the first phase uncovered 19 themes; one of the main themes was that of duality and interrelationships. For example, one participant, who had a mixed reaction to wearing the coat, wrote: "I wanted to wear it forever and at the same time throw it off and run away from its weight and fire." He then wrote about being pulled in two directions by the experience of living in Israel, relating to the "sense of belonging, life force, creativity, and energy of the physical beauty and social experiment of Israel" then comparing it to "the burden of injustice, unsettled conflict, 'primitivity,' and struggle on so many levels." These complicated feelings were echoed by another participant who described feeling "terribly small within this complex world."

Another theme that emerged in the initial study was props; some participants felt that they needed props in order to wear the coat and in order to be able to hold those complexities. One participant responded to the overwhelming emotional weight of the symbols on the coat by donning dark glasses. She felt better able to bear the weight with the help of the prop.

Another participant chose to hold the coat in lieu of wearing it. "I wore the coat partially," he said, feeling uneasy about wearing the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) pride flag. He found an anchor in religious objects he had just brought from Mecca, remarking, "I was photographed next to a stand with the Kaaba and Koran." These props and the act of holding the coat in lieu of wearing it allowed him to participate although the GLBT pride flag was a religious and moral challenge for him. Only the one participant mentioned above chose not to wear the coat in the study, although his flexibility and creative response to the challenge were enlightening and

informative about cultural attitudes and feelings. These examples from the initial study illustrate the potential that was seen in the data and why the research was continued and deepened by adding four participants who, in addition to trying on the coat and writing brief responses, participated in oral interviews that I conducted.

Though impossible to address in detail here it is important to say that many of the 19 themes that emerged in the initial study and the other 19 themes that emerged from the research that followed were connected to the participants' feelings and thoughts about identity. In the four in-depth interviews, as opposed to the initial study responses, the participants could explore identity issues in a deeper manner, including their childhood and upbringing and its possible effect on their cultural feelings and attitudes.

The symbols used in the coat were: a *tallit* (Jewish prayer shawl), a *keffiyeh* (Arab headdress), the GLBT pride flag, the Palestinian flag, the Israeli flag, and additional fabrics that held personal meaning. For example, the neckties of a supportive family member were included as symbols of wings and renewed flight in response to the healing of my two broken wrists, and fabrics that had belonged to other close relatives were incorporated as symbols of connection and rootedness and sewn on the coat.

Descriptions of the Coat Symbols

The Israeli and Palestinian flags carry historical, religious, nationalistic, and cultural meanings. The blue and white Israeli flag is based on the Jewish prayer shawl (*tallit*) and the Star of David, which is a historical, Biblical, Jewish symbol. A *tallit* is a large, four-cornered scarf with fringes and special knots at the edges. *Tallits* are worn during Jewish morning prayers and the fringes, according to Jewish tradition, are supposed to remind the worshipper of God's commandments (Judaica Guide, n.d.). The

Israeli flag has been used officially since 1948; an earlier version of it was called "the flag of Judah," and was shown first in Brookline, Massachusetts, in 1891 (Smith, n.d.-a).

The colors of the Palestinian flag—red, black, white, and green—represent Arab dynasties. These colors are considered traditional Muslim colors, and are used in some format in the predominance of Middle Eastern flags. The order of stripes in the Palestinian flag was changed in 1922 and has stayed the same since: black, white, green. A red triangle also appears on the flag. It was officially adopted as the Palestinian flag in 1948 (Smith, n.d.-b).

The *keffiyeh,* also known as *kaffiyeh, keffieh, kafiya,* and other spellings, is defined as an "Arab headdress consisting of a square of cloth folded to form a triangle and held on by a cord" and the origin of the word is listed as "Arabic *kūfīya, kaffīya,* from Al-Kufa, a town in Iraq" (Kaffiyeh, n.d.). The *keffiyeh* is traditionally red and white or black and white.

According to Romesburg (1998) the first GLBT pride or rainbow flag was designed and made by an artist named Gilbert Baker, and was unveiled for the first time in 1978 in San Francisco, California. The colored rainbow stripes have different meanings: sexuality is symbolized by hot pink, life by red, healing by orange, the sun by yellow, nature by green, art by blue, harmony by indigo, and spirit by violet (Romesburg, 1998, p. 1).

These diverse cultural symbols were chosen to illuminate biases and stereotypes when the coat was designed. These definitions in no way convey all of the ways in which these cultural symbols can be defined and described.

The Coat

The coat can be considered an embodiment or metaphor of the complex weave of life in Jerusalem. For example, connecting the diverse cultural symbols on the coat by sewing them together formed seams and represented the fact that these cultural connections are actually possible in Jerusalem, not just symbolically on the coat.

The size and shape of the coat was partially dictated by the garment it was based on: an original classic Bedouin dress. Such an indigenous design situated the coat in the tradition of handcrafted and hand sewn regional clothing, and this specific design offered enough space to sew all of the symbols onto the coat.

Connecting diverse cultural symbols by sewing them together and forming connective seams is an expression of how I experience these symbols and the peoples they symbolize. Therefore the coat may embody information that would otherwise remain unspoken, such as the concept that diverse peoples and cultures can live closely, even overlapping one another, as the symbolic fabrics on the coat do.

Embodiment is defined here as a tangible or visible form of an idea, quality, or feeling (Embodiment, n.d.), and as to make concrete and perceptible (Embody, n.d.). When the coat was first sewn the act of wearing the coat was referred to as embodiment. As the study progressed the term embodiment was outgrown and I created a new term, "onbodiment."

Onbodiment

I was interested in the idea that trying on the culture of the "other" or the invisible neighbor could provide a visceral opportunity to get in touch with one's feelings, beliefs, constructs, and stereotypes about one's own cultural as well as that of the other. The

experience of wearing the coat, then, is not embodiment but rather the unique experience of what I termed "onbodiment." This refers to literally and physically carrying the cultural symbols of one's own culture and the culture of the other.

Onbodiment pertains specifically to wearing symbols of one's own culture and the culture of the other. I embodied ideas and feelings in the tangible form of the coat. The participants in this study onbodied the coat.

In Figures 1 and 2, one can see the symbols that were sewn onto the front and back of the coat: the Israeli flag, the Palestinian flag, *tallit* and *keffiyeh* fabrics on the sleeves, neckties sewn into the seam of the sleeves, and family fabrics at the edges—on the inside of the sleeves, the collar, and the hem of the coat.

Figure 1. The Front of the Coat

Other coats were studied while this coat was sewn. Two were made by the Israeli artist Avraham Ofek (Omer, 1998) and one by art therapist Lynn Kapitan (2003). Though none of these coats were directly connected to the study of culture, it was informative to read and research the use of coat making by others as a way to inform, explore, and express ideas and feelings.

Figure 2. The Back of the Coat

Photographing the participants was done as artistic documentation in the first phase of the study; only afterwards were the photos used as visual data, and the process of inquiry continued in the dissertation. The photographs and responses were exhibited at a gallery show at Lesley University. I also choreographed and performed a dance inspired by the coat. The music for the dance included recorded sounds from Jerusalem, including church bells, Jewish prayers, Muslim calls to prayer, and random people speaking to one another on the street and in marketplaces. These sounds inspired me to improvise Jewish, Muslim, and Christian prayer positions while dancing (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Dancing in the Coat

At one point in the creative, reflective process I realized that the coat would have to represent the diversity of Jerusalem's inhabitants. The coat would have to convey my recognition of the seams of Jerusalem, metaphoric and real, that have been torn and mended cyclically over thousands of years. While living most of my life in Jerusalem I realized that the city is complex in terms of which different communities are connected or divided by visible and invisible seams. These seams have often been the places where I worked as an expressive arts therapist. While designing and sewing the coat, I became acutely aware of the seams and fringes and how they represented both the meeting points and the margins of the fabric of Jerusalem. The concept of the fringe as the place of movement, both literally on actual fabric and metaphorically in the fabric of society, intrigued me.

Assumptions

One assumption that is made in this study is that biases and opinions can change. Additionally it is assumed that changing biases, opinions, preconceived notions, and prejudices is challenging and can seem impossible. It is assumed, based on observation of changes and growth in nature and based on artistic inquiry in expressive arts therapy, that change often happens in the dark, and that new roots and growth begin in deep soil that is fertile but unseen. This metaphor can serve as a reminder when working and living in conflicted cultures that change is not easy or simple and that it includes cycles of cold dormancy along with surprising growth spurts.

Vision, Visionaries, and Peacemaking

One of the purposes of this dissertation was to closely observe and witness people who are actively pursuing their vision of a different way of living in Israel's conflicted society. This vision of difference lies in the rejection of the accepted social norms that separate cultures in Israeli society. This different way of living could possibly refer to a lifestyle that acts upon and creates new, more tolerant and inclusive social norms. This different vision is capable of seeing beyond mere parallel existence, and is focused on coexistence.

The four participants who were interviewed in the second phase of research were cultural pioneers, innovators, and leaders in the fields of education, religion, higher education, and social change. These visionaries have not accepted the violence and the cultural separation and borders that the socio-religio-political situation offers; these are people who are imagining a different way of Israelis, Palestinians, Christians, Jews, and Muslims living together. Sowell (2007) has said:

> Social visions are important in a number of ways. The most obvious is that policies based on a certain vision of the world have consequences that spread through society and reverberate across the years or even across generations or centuries. Visions set the agenda for both thought and action. (p. 7)

The participants' leadership roles and visions are connected to peace work; these people are border crossers and peace seekers. Peace work goes by many names, including mediation (Bowling & Hoffman, 2003), conflict resolution (Liebmann, 2004), coexistence (Minow & Chaves, 2003), conflict transformation and reconciliation (Lederach, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2010), and social change (E. G. Levine & Levine, 2011). In Israel there are people, like the participants in this study, who are creating and participating in grassroots or peripheral peace work that is often unnoticed. An example of this work is encounter groups.

Working toward peace in Israeli–Palestinian encounter groups provides face-to-face peace work for participants who are in conflict with one another. Abu-Nimer and Lazarus (2007) discussed the dilemmas of such work:

> In deep rooted cycles of conflict, making peace means more than negotiating cease-fire agreements between armed forces. Where conflict has stratified the social order and shaped the collective consciousness, making peace requires complementary social and psychological transformation—and you can't have one without working for the other. This is the grassroots peace-builder's "Catch-22." (p. 19)

The coat was a product of an artistic endeavor that became the basis of the two-phased art-based inquiry. The experience of wearing the coat is an experience that might

facilitate the exploration of working toward peace in a grassroots manner. Lederach (2010) discussed peace building resources in divided societies, recognizing the importance of nonprofessional peace workers: “In other words, citizen-based peacemaking must be seen as instrumental and integral, not peripheral, to sustaining change” (p. 94). These people are referred to as “middle range actors” (Lederach, 2010, p. 94). “Middle range actors” are pivotal actors and bridge conflict because of their positioning.

> Middle range actors are positioned such that they are connected to, and often have the trust of, both top-level and grassroots actors. They have more flexibility of thought and movement than top-level leaders, and are far less vulnerable in terms of daily survival than those at the grassroots. (Lederach, 2010, p. 94)

As a therapist, group facilitator, educator, student, client, or health-care worker in Israel, one might experience close contact with a client, colleague, supervisor, teacher, participant, or classmate who will challenge and stretch one’s habitual, perhaps biased cultural worldview, belief system, and perhaps even ingrained ethical, or moral worldview.

This research explores the concept that one can prepare for and reflect upon those cultural meetings in nonverbal ways; for example, by trying on and wearing the symbols of the perceived “other.” Allport’s (1958) words still resonate today:

> The question before us is whether progress towards tolerance will continue, or whether, as in many regions of the world, a fatal retrogression will set in. The whole world watches to see whether the democratic ideal in human relationship is

> viable. Can citizens learn to seek their own welfare and growth not at the expense of their fellow men, but in concert with them? (p. 480)

The purpose of this study was to explore cultural attitudes and feelings in Jerusalem by wearing a coat made of cultural symbols.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

This review will examine the following topics: definitions of culture, multicultural training and creative arts therapy, multicultural training in related fields, culture in Israel, multicultural training and creative arts therapy in Israel, and multicultural training in related fields in Israel. Art and change will be explored, along with the role of artists as creative innovators. The use of the arts in peace work, conflict resolution and transformation, and social action will be considered, as will the specific use of fabric arts and crafts as social commentary and art-based change.

According to Hocoy (2006), awareness of cultural differences may be found early in life and may permeate many aspects of our personal and professional development. In a personal account that explores the experience of cultural difference, Hocoy pointed out: "I, like many people, was programmed very early in life to think of difference as something lesser and to be removed" (2006, p. 132). He explained that this was learned partially from games that asked children to remove one object out of four that did not belong. This is an intriguing observation of how such seemingly benign games permeate a child's way of seeing sameness and differentness; how messages about belonging and not belonging are presented and engrained early on in life.

A focus on the cultural training and education of therapists is found in the literature of many related professions, including counseling (Bieschke, Gehlert, Wilson, Matthews, & Wade, 2003), nursing (Campinha-Bacote, 2008), psychology (Masalha, 1999), psychiatry (Littlewood, 1984), psychotherapy (Adams, 2010), social work

(Congress, 2004), teacher education (Merry, 2005), occupational therapy (Munoz, 2007), and creative arts therapy (Cherry, 2002).

Defining the Concept of Culture

The term *culture* is popular in professional literature. To use a less academic term, it is "hot." Culture, though, is hot in another way: Like the hot potato of the childhood game it is passed around the circle of the helping professions, and is held by none for very long. Culture is hard to hold, difficult to grasp, and in need of clarification in its relationship to therapy. Culture has different contextual meanings and etymology, all of which seem fitting for the field of expressive arts therapy. According to Hoagwood and Jensen (1997), "A more slippery term than *culture* is hard to imagine" (p. 108). The authors go so far as to ask, "Given such disparities and ambiguity [in the definition of this term], where is a scientist to begin? How can the notions of culture be applied meaningfully to the study of human behavior?" (Hoagwood & Jensen, 1997, p. 108). One beginning point is in the hard sciences. The organic sciences definition of "culture" is "the act or process of cultivating living material (as in bacteria or viruses) in prepared nutrient media" (Culture, n.d.). Another definition for culture is the act or art of cultivating or tilling. The Latin root of the word *cultural,* from the word *colere,* means to till, or to cultivate. The origin of this word is from the mid–17th century, from medieval Latin *cultivat-* ("prepared for crops"), from the verb *cultivare,* from *cultiva* ("arable" as in *cultiva terra,* arable land), from *colere* ("cultivate, inhabit"; Culture, n.d.).

The American Psychological Association's (2003) guidelines on multicultural education, training, research practice, and change for psychologists offer this description of culture:

> Culture has been described as the embodiment of a worldview through learned and transmitted beliefs, values, and practices, including religious and spiritual traditions. It also encompasses a way of living informed by the historical, economic, ecological, and political forces on a group. These definitions suggest that culture is fluid and dynamic and that there are both cultural universal phenomena and culturally specific or relative constructs. (p. 380)

As we move from the hard sciences to the social sciences, we see that the concept of culture within the world of therapy continues to unearth a myriad of definitions and related terminologies. The following are some of the terms found in the literature: cultural sensitivity (White, Gibbons, & Schamberger, 2006), intercultural communication (Broome, 1991), cultural empathy (Dyche & Zayas, 2001), cultural contact (Samuels, 1968), embodying nationhood (Meer, Dwyer, & Modood, 2010), cultural coherence (Merry, 2005), unlearning racism (Cochran-Smith, 2000), cultural identity (Miville, Koonce, Darlington, & Whitlock, 2000), cultural diversity (Doby-Copeland, 2006), cultural universals (Goetz, Keltner, & Simon-Thomas, 2010), cultural relativism (Henley, 1999), cultural literacy (Dambekains, 1994), multinarrative perspectives (Estrella & Forinash, 2007), cross-cultural adaptation (Anderson, 1994), prejudice (Marx, Brown, & Steele, 1999), cultural humility (Tervalon & Murray-Garcia, 1998), cultural consciousness (Gay & Kirkland, 2003), cultural competency (Lo & Stacey, 2008), marginalization (Erhard & Erhard-Weiss, 2007), and ethnocultural resistance (Jackson, 1999). Additional terms found in the literature include ethnocentric multiculturalism (Moodley, 2007), monoculturalism (Sue, 2004), enculturation (Walsh, Este, & Krieg,

2008), cultural desire (Campinha-Bacote, 2008), and cultural unawareness (Mohring, 1989).

Whaley (2008) attempted to clarify definitions of culture in cross-cultural counseling and psychotherapy and found 10 frequently used cultural terms in the electronic database PsycInfo. These terms are "cultural sensitivity, cross-cultural competence, cross-cultural expertise, cross-cultural effectiveness, cultural responsiveness, cultural awareness, culturally skilled, cultural competence, culturally relevant, and multicultural competence" (Whaley, 2008, p. 217).

Two significant terms, *cultural competence* and *cultural sensitivity,* are stated as being the terms of choice in training, and as linked together. "The nature of the relationship between the two terms suggests that training could follow a two-stage process whereby the first stage focuses on increasing cultural sensitivity and the second stage addresses cultural competence" (Whaley, 2008, p. 221).

The ethical aspects of working with diverse cultures also have been identified as important in this field and the literature has addressed issues related to negotiating cultural ethical dilemmas (Sadeghi, Fischer, & House, 2003), becoming ethically responsible (Bradt, 1997), and embracing virtue ethics (Fowers & Davidov, 2006).

Using the Multicultural Counseling Ethical Dilemma Survey, Sadeghi et al. (2003) identified eight relevant types of multicultural ethical dilemmas in a study of 256 counselors experienced in working with people from marginalized cultures that aimed to answer three research questions. The research questions focused on the frequency of multicultural dilemmas, rating the significance of multicultural ethical dilemmas for training, and defining the multicultural ethical challenges of diverse professional settings.

Focusing on cultural dilemmas, the researchers suggest that the results of their study imply that:

> Providing in-service training, workshops, and continuing education opportunities for practicing counselors with these multicultural ethical dilemmas as the basis for open discussions, analysis, and clarification would enhance the delivery of counseling services to the expanding diverse population of the United States. (Sadeghi et al., p. 189)

The researchers also commented that more research on the effect of multicultural ethical conflicts on training and treatment is needed in other professions in order to better understand how these ethical and cultural differences color the care of clients.

Bradt (1997) recognized cultural and multicultural changes in society and discussed the influence this has on music therapists. According to Bradt, if such therapists are "unaware of the importance of cultural differences, they may engage in cultural oppression, using unethical practices" (1997, p. 137). Fowers and Davidov (2006) discussed a reconceptualization of multicultural competence, viewing it as "the virtue of openness to others" (p. 593). The authors continued this line of thought by suggesting that in order to be "open to others" it is not enough to be well learned, informed, or to behave differently; rather, "it requires being or becoming the kind of person who seeks intercultural contact and is committed to the goods of multiculturalism" (Fowers & Davidov, 2006, p. 593).

The term "openness to others," which is used to describe an acceptance of someone different, a basic ethical tenet, has also been criticized: "While the idea of 'openness to others' sounds very positive, I wonder whether the harm done by defining

our fellow humans as ‘others’ outdoes the subsequent call for ‘openness’ (Islam, 2007, p. 705).

This criticism can serve as a warning to therapists; the road to understanding culture and cultural competency is a rocky one with minute details that can cause the most experienced traveler to trip over unseen stumbling stones. Constant questioning and rigorous examination of the cultural terrain are necessary at all stages of training and practice. How language is used, even in the research of culture and therapy, needs as much attention as how it is used in a therapy session.

Culture in Israel

The modern state of Israel, which was founded in 1948 as a homeland for Jews in the shadow of the Holocaust and as fruition of a 2,000-year-old collective dream of a homeland, was heralded in with a Declaration of Independence. In this historic document are words that few may know, and may be relevant to understanding the purpose of this paper:

> The State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion; will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice and peace taught by the Hebrew Prophets; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of the shrines and Holy Places of all religions; and will dedicate itself to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. (Declaration of Israel’s Independence 1948, n.d.)

In the above paragraph one can already see the beginnings of the sociopolitical and religious complexities that have plagued this small country since the inception of this declaration over 60 years ago. In the decades that have passed, Israel has been enveloped in a cloud of war, violence, and terrorism alongside extraordinary economic, agricultural, and academic growth and attempts at peacemaking. This juxtaposition of energetic construction and violent destruction continues to characterize the stormy climate of Israel today. It might be true that Israel is known for its conflicts as much as it is recognized for its rapid growth and development in various fields.

What is referred to as the Jewish–Arab conflict is perhaps the most obvious of the challenges in Israel. The declaration of a Jewish state was the celebrated beginning of a safe new home for the Jews, and the end of a safe home for the Arab inhabitants. As Tyler (2011) explained, "while for Jewish Israelis May 14 is celebrated and commemorated annually as the Day of Independence (Yom Ha'atzmaut), for Palestinian Arabs it is grieved every year as The Catastrophe (an-Naqba)" (p. 73). One person's celebration was another's mourning; one group's happiness another group's tragedy. This dichotomy still exists and can be recognized in events that occur in Israel and in the West Bank daily.

Alongside the Jewish–Arab complexities in Israel are other cultural, ethnic, and religious differences that come into play on different fields. Immigrants from diverse countries still continue to flow into Israel in large and small waves, each wave of these immigrants bringing new indigenous traditions, even if all are Jewish. This is referred to as the "Ingathering of the Exiles" (Middle East Resources, 2001). For example, Ethiopian, Yemenite, Moroccan, Polish, German, Russian, and Iraqi Jews may share a

religion but little else. Within and between groups there are differences in cultural traditions, rituals, and even languages.

According to a report by the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs published at the end of 2010, there were 7.6 million people living in Israel, 75.5% of whom were Jews, 20.2 % of whom were Arabs (mostly Muslim), and the remaining 4.3 % of whom were Druze, Circassians, and others not classified by religion (para. 1).

Jews and Arabs have separate school systems, except for a few bilingual schools that have been developing slowly (Al-Haj, 2002; Amara, Azaiza, Hertz-Lazarowitz, & Mor-Sommerfeld, 2009; Bekerman, 2004, 2009; Glazier, 2003). Secular Jews and Orthodox Jews learn separately as well. Thus, it is possible that for adults in Israel, the first meeting with someone of a different religion or ethnicity would be in an institute of higher education, such as university or college.

Multiculturalism in Creative Arts Therapy

The term *creative arts therapy* is used in this section as the umbrella term for art therapy, bibliotherapy, dance movement therapy, drama therapy, expressive arts therapy, music therapy, poetry therapy, and psychodrama.

Multiculturalism and the creative arts in therapy have been studied and explored from various angles (Coseo, 1997; Estrella, 2001; Gerber, 2006; Henderson & Gladding, 1998; Lewis, 1997; Linesch & Carnay, 2005; Valentino, 2006; Young, 2009). Developing cultural awareness and supporting cultural competencies have been researched in creative arts therapy training, supervision, and practice, as well as in self-reflective writing.

Creative arts therapists are taught that imagination is at the crux of their therapy training and practice (Knill, Barba, & Fuchs, 1995; S. K. Levine, 1992). The literature on the inclusion of culture in the training of creative arts therapists is creative and imaginative in its span and depth. It has been said, "As art therapists, we never work in a culturally homogeneous situation. Rather, we are constantly confronted with a vast variety of cultures and subcultures" (Cattaneo, 1994, p. 185). In this diversity, each person can be accepted as unique and worthy. Nonetheless, the recognition that art therapists are practicing in a culturally heterogeneous environment could be amplified in their training. McNiff (2009) stated:

> Cross-cultural communication simply makes the perception of differences more explicit. Within cross-cultural therapeutic relationships and art therapy training groups differences tend to increase curiosity and interest. Barring serious depression and thought disorder, people generally want to learn about others and themselves. (p. 104)

Creative arts therapy training allows students to reflect on their own process and that of others in a safe space. Within this training, culture needs to be constantly explored. It has been stated:

> We have the responsibility of teaching students the process of acquiring knowledge, as well as of using that knowledge to promote diversity in human development. Diversity is a gift to be cherished and not a fear to be destroyed because of lack of knowledge. (Vasquez, 1997, p. 179)

There are still no clear guidelines in any of the creative arts therapy fields pertaining to how to implement courses on culture into training programs, or what to

include in them. Acton (2001) discussed the concept of "color blindness" in the training of therapists and counselors. This relates to the problems that can arise when therapists overlook important, meaningful differences of culture in an attempt to treat all clients equally. Being a "color blind therapist," Acton said, has to do with choosing to ignore important information including one's own biases (2001, p. 111). Instead of reading glasses, it may be a good idea to have a large mirror on hand; perhaps taking a good long look at oneself would be a good way to begin to make real changes in this special cultural blindness. Acton also offered the reminder that such training varies greatly: "Many programs have only one course focusing on the differences between cultures, whereas other programs emphasize self-awareness to eradicate those covert racist beliefs within the therapist" (Acton, 2001, p. 111).

When is someone trained enough to be considered culturally competent as a therapist? In an article on music therapy, Bradt (1997) noted that "becoming a culturally skilled therapist is an ongoing process that never ends" (p. 141). Bradt also suggested the inclusion of ethics classes with culture classes in order to fully learn about "cultural problem situations" (1997, p. 142).

Echoing the theme of cultural learning being a lifelong process, Cherry (2002) conducted a pilot study on ethnic identity in a graduate level art therapy program. Using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure and student evaluations of a 14-week elective course addressing cultural identity, race, and feelings and attitudes about culture and race, Cherry studied eight graduate level art therapy students' ethnic identities and the changes in attitudes of these students. She concluded, among other things, that:

> The results of this pilot study within a graduate art therapy program indicated that, although attitudinal change is a life-long process, the seeds of change could indeed be planted during a 14-week course. The results indicate that the student participants became more aware of their ethnicities. (Cherry, 2002, p. 161)

Cherry postulated that self-examination pertaining to cultural identity can directly color the cultural attitudes, opinions, and actions of art therapists.

A creative, bold, and unusual way to include bicultural and bilingual cultural competency training is an immersion model (Linesch & Carnay, 2005). Immersion, when possible, introduces students to issues of culture outside the sterile bubble of the classroom. This mirrors the process that occurs in training wherein the students take what they have learned in the classroom out into the real world.

Based on comprehensive research, a weeklong course in multicultural competencies was offered to graduate art therapy students and Mexican and U.S. mental health professionals (Linesch & Carnay, 2005). The Multicultural Competence Inventory was used as a tool of cultural self-awareness assessment by 10 graduate level art therapy students following a weeklong course in Mexico focusing on multicultural competencies. Some of the topics covered in the course were cultural differences, identities, and competencies. The course was art-based and in it the researchers addressed the unique, positive, and transformative power that the art had. Linesch and Carnay commented that it was the explorative immersion in the arts that offered new ways to dialogue with cultural biases, feelings, and challenges (2005, p. 393). They concluded:

> We are profoundly aware that we are only at the beginning of a long and complex process, the development of comprehensive multicultural training for art

> therapists. Having discerned the importance of immersive and experiential learning as the basis for increased multicultural competency, we are convinced of the importance of stretching our curriculum over borders and languages and between diverse peoples. (Linesch & Carnay, 2005, p. 393)

The researchers found that cultural and linguistic immersion paired with art making were important in providing a basis for multicultural awareness and competency for the art therapy students (Linesch & Carnay, 2005, p. 393).

Becoming aware of one's own cultural identity or hybrid identity is certainly another piece in the puzzle of what to include in the curricula of the cultural training of creative arts therapists. In an article focused on the cultural self of creative arts therapists, Dosamantes-Beaudry (1999) compared two dance movement therapy workshops conducted in Zurich and Taipei. The author found that there were "individualist" and "collectivist" types of "self construal" among the participants. It was also recognized that in the wake of globalization, cultures are more apt to meet and be in contact:

> Such contacts and exchanges, in turn, have increased the possibilities for the hybridization of cultural self construals to occur. The term "hybridization" refers to those intercultural processes that lead to the recombination of existing forms and practices into new forms and practices. (Dosamantes-Beaudry, 1999, p. 229)

This concept of *cultural hybridism* (Bolatagici, 2004; Marotta, 2008) is one that might replace the concept of multiculturalism in the near future as more people identify with being of mixed heritage and origins.

Teaching a class called "Intercultural Concerns of the Art Therapist" was identified by Gerity (2000) as one of the focal points in embracing cultural diversity in

the art room. Gerity reminded all art therapists that the culture of art is one to be honored and respected in cultural work. Being an artist comes with a set of values: "As artists we value accommodation, inclusiveness, and flexibility in our artwork. Could we use these artistic values in our relationships with others?" (Gerity, 2000, p. 205). Gerity continued and clarified what this means by remarking:

> Our search for greater clarity, sharper detail, subtler nuance, and an overall integrity in our work is a strength. The ability to create something new out of the materials at hand is something artists also do well. It is exactly those strengths that provide us with the needed flexibility to work and teach in intercultural settings. (2000, p. 205)

If learning about oneself and about others is seen as one part of cultural learning for creative arts therapists, then the relationship between the two can be seen as a point of cultural interaction. In an article about doctoral level education of arts therapists, Gerber (2006) discussed this meeting point:

> The interaction of self-knowledge and knowledge of the other expressed through the dynamic art process as it emerges within the interpersonal matrix is not only necessary for clinical art therapy, but also is an essential component of an epistemology for art therapy. (p. 106)

Gerber's qualitative research involved deriving themes from interviews with five informants who were considered experts in creative arts therapy, as well as collecting data from 62 sources and 13 curricula from doctoral programs in related fields. All of these data were analyzed and seven themes were identified as essential components for doctoral arts therapy studies. These themes were: learning culture, epistemologies,

rationale and competencies, interdisciplinarity, research, knowledge of self and other, and pedagogy (Gerber, 2006, p. 98). The self/other theme was one of the important themes generated in the study.

The idea that cultural self-definition happens in multicultural encounters with others was explored in an article written in personal narrative format by George, Greene, and Blackwell (2005). The authors focused on reflective writing as a pedagogical tool in training art therapists in the classroom, explaining: "We have chosen to focus on the classroom as the environment for self-exploration, keeping in mind that it will impact the clinical situation in more ways than one" (George et al., 2005, p. 137). The way in which training serves as a laboratory for cultural learning and unlearning is paramount to the entire pedagogy of multicultural and cultural teaching.

Providing a safe space for students to improvise, play, explore, and discuss their own feelings and ideas about cultures that are perceived as familiar or foreign to them is the responsibility of creative arts therapy programs. "This discussion needs to begin in the classroom where the study of multiculturalism is a palimpsest on which fresh narratives about equality can take shape—*before* students go out to work with clients" (George et al., 2005, p. 137).

Talwar, Iyer, and Doby-Copeland (2004) tackled the masking or veiling of prejudices in creative arts therapy education in an article that examined "how our collective biases, beliefs, and values have been masked and how they continue to impact our educational programs" (p. 44). The idea that art therapists should take more cultural responsibility arises as well. "In our view, lifting the veil implies that art therapists become change agents for transcending our legacy of ethnocentric monoculturalism"

(Talwar et al., 2004, p. 47). Assuming that taking responsibility, and even social action, may be part of becoming culturally aware art therapists, it will be interesting to see how cultural curricula prepare or fail to prepare students for jobs in the field.

Multiculturalism in Creative Arts Therapy Supervision

One of the places in which culture can be addressed is during the process of supervision. Estrella (2001) comprehensively covered the topic of multicultural approaches to music therapy supervision. Within the discussion on multicultural training, priorities, competencies, approaches, racial issues, and stage models are discussed in relation to music therapy supervision and multiculturalism, as well as in relation to counseling and multicultural issues.

In part focused on philosophical assumptions within multiculturalism, Estrella (2001) stated: "As the multicultural movement within counseling and psychology has developed, there has been an explosion of literature, with a multiplicity of approaches to understanding the importance of race, and ethnicity, each offering a different set of assumptions and priorities" (p. 44). Estrella connected this to music therapy and advocated that supervisors needed to be leaders in advancing the profession. Supervisors must first examine their own culture and then follow that by helping students understand their cultural perspectives and how those perspectives impact the therapy relationship.

There are other parts of multicultural sensitivity that are minefields and art therapists can find themselves stepping into potentially explosive cultural and ethical situations. Henley (1999) discussed the importance of self reflective supervision in creative arts therapy practice, and admitted:

> In my practice as a clinician and art therapy educator, I still find this postmodern ethic of cultural relativism difficult to negotiate. If we buy into the idea that there are behaviors that are specific to race or gender, is that racial stereotyping? Does it become stereotyping only when the dominant culture is doing the generalizing?" (p. 141)

One could imagine asking such questions in supervision as they come up in therapy practice and training. Social expectations such as being politically correct could hypothetically cause therapy students and practitioners to hide uncomfortable culture-related feelings that would otherwise arise within the supervision sessions.

Multiculturalism in the Practice of Creative Arts Therapy

After the initial training process, creative arts therapists continue to be exposed to culture in their clinical practice. Depending on where they live and work, culture may influence their practice differently.

From South Africa, Pavlicevic (2005) discussed the role and influence of talking in creative arts therapy practice in multilingual settings. In this multilingual part of the world, therapists and clients often do not speak the same language. Although not sharing a language may seem hopeless in the provision of therapy, the author believed that "Multi-lingual and multi-cultural contexts often result in everyone negotiating language and meaning, and in this sense, all are co-performing themselves as foreign persons, through a collectively created foreign tongue" (Pavlicevic, 2005, p. 355).

The unique focus on language and meaning making furthers the discussion on language and culture in the practice of creative arts therapy. In each part of the world, different challenges continue to present themselves as individuals and their languages

migrate from their original countries to new ones. This poses new questions about how far cultural courses can stretch. Should creative arts therapists be taught new languages as part of their training? Are culturally competent therapists expected to be multilingual?

Some authors believe that therapists should be trained in a more visceral manner in order to prepare them for multicultural meetings in therapy. In an exercise based on "the Controlled Approach" (Antinori & Moore, 1997), clinicians are provided with a body-oriented way to develop consciousness about how we respond to the approach of another. This idea adds another layer to the way in which trainees can learn about their awareness of culture and its affect on them, even bodily.

> In the laboratory setting of the workshop, practitioners begin to develop a tool for monitoring and utilizing information from the body (not just the mind) to track the countertransferential stream for minimization of the possibility of acting out surreptitiously with a client of difference. (Antinori & Moore, 1997, p. 182)

Including all of the senses in the training of art therapists seems to fit the multiple ways in which art therapists are capable of understanding and creating in the world.

Gender-related bias as a form of cultural bias in therapy was reflected upon in an article by Barbee (2002) in which the author discussed transsexuality. Gender is certainly an important part of a person, or even a community's identity and culture. Barbee used photographs to explore a visual narrative approach to understanding gender identity. Barbee specifically looked at photography as a tool in this process of meaning making in therapy and commented: "Photographs—and other images—do more than record; they mediate the cultural, sociological, and gender contexts in which transsexual clients are working out their identities" (2002, p. 61).

The Importance of Self-Reflection in Multiculturalism

There are times when even the best trained therapists are faced with cultural challenges beyond their training and perceived cultural self-awareness. The literature revealed personal accounts of creative arts therapists faced with such cultural dilemmas.

Buck (2002), an Arab American art therapist who described herself as "a cross-cultural being and therapist" (p. 164), talked about rebuilding bridges after the trauma of September 11, 2001:

> When one has a multiple sense of belonging, one's very existence requires a constant effort to explore, understand, and adapt to many different ways of viewing the world. Thus we have a responsibility to use that understanding to help create more bridges in a fast changing world. (p. 166)

This personal and professional story exposed yet another reason why culture must be part of the training of art therapists. There are many therapists who may identify with being cross-cultural or cultural hybrids. The understanding of these combined, culturally rich identities may benefit clients in times of turmoil. Being cross-cultural can be seen as a blessing in disguise; a complicated gift. Buck began and ended her article with quotes by Maalouf:

> A person's identity is not an assemblage of separate affiliations, nor a kind of loose patchwork; it is like a pattern drawn on a tightly stretched parchment. Touch just one part of it, just one allegiance, and the whole person will react; the whole drum will sound. (Maalouf, as cited in Buck, 2002, p. 26)

In a personal, intimate article, Coseo (1997) openly discussed her own cultural misconceptions and the art-based work she did to express, explore, and change cultural

stereotypes that emerged in bicultural art therapy sessions. Coseo reflected on this self-explorative process, writing:

> It is important to realize that stereotypes and prejudices are learned and reinforced over a lifetime. Confronting and challenging these beliefs requires courage, honesty, patience and a non-judgmental approach. It is not an easy or comfortable task, but it is necessary. (1997, p. 155)

Courage is needed even to write such an honest article and should serve as an example of the straightforward way that therapists should be trained, albeit in a safe setting that offers a holding environment in which such inner reflective explorations can be done. Coseo, referring to this inner cultural journey, stated:

> The challenge is to look within and greet whatever lies there, in hope of gaining awareness and understanding. Although there are no easy answers or quick-fix solutions to working within a culturally diverse therapeutic relationship, gaining recognition and understanding of cultural issues in treatment is an important contribution to the solution. For through greater awareness and understanding comes growth, and through growth comes change. (1997, p. 156)

The poet Rumi (1996) also referred to this in a poem titled "The Guest House," which begins, "This being human is a guest house, every morning a new arrival," and ends with "Be grateful for whoever comes, because each has been sent as a guide from beyond" (p. 109). To welcome and greet one's inner, perhaps embarrassing, biases is the first step toward changing them. Acceptance preempts change.

Although gender was mentioned before in this literature review, another angle of including gender in cultural training was discussed by Kim (2007), who poignantly raised

the question, “Why then, are there so few men in the field?” (p. 37). As a male art therapist, Kim came to the conclusion that recruiting men into programs was not enough. “The active recruitment of men will mean little if programs cannot take steps to truly include them, by providing the elements necessary for nurturing men” (2007, p. 38). Kim discussed the predominantly white, female, heterosexual personality of the art therapy field. He referred to the art therapy training curriculum as “gender-centric” (Kim, 2007, p. 38). This discussion on gender inclusion and possible marginalization is an important one to keep in mind when creating cultural curricula. Within the complex multicultural world in which therapists are trained, all members of the community should be treated as equally as possible.

The multicultural history of the American Art Therapy Association was briefly documented in a reflective article by Potash (2005) that integrated two works, one by Maxine Borowsky Junge and one by Lucille Venture. This integration was presented as a more inclusive way of looking at the development of the association’s history. Potash (2005) concluded,

> What we need now is not only a discussion of history and “facts,” but also an examination of how we all fit into this diverse history, how we can preserve it, and how we can use it as a foundation from which to move into the future. (p. 188)

This optimistic comment comes at the end of an article intended to bring marginalized art therapists of color, specifically Venture, into the light. The shadows in which marginalized art therapists have lived and worked need to be lit up so that all professionals can learn and teach respectively, whatever their race, ethnicity, or culture.

Multicultural Training in Related Fields

The tenets on which creative arts therapy fields are based have their roots and origins embedded in more than just the arts. Thus it is helpful to explore the literature on multicultural training in related fields. Some of the related fields in which culture and multicultural training appear in the literature are psychology (Renner, 2006; Wohl, 1989), counseling (Fukuyama & Reid, 1996; Ridley, Mendoza, Kanitz, Angermeier, & Zenk, 1994; Roysircar Sodowsky, Taffe, Gutkin, & Wise, 1994), social work (Isralowitz, Straussner, Vogt, & Chtenguelov, 2002; Lu, Dane, & Gellman, 2005; Straussner, 2001), and nursing (Campinha-Bacote, 2008; Furnham, 1983).

Researchers agree that culture pervades all therapies and that awareness of culture—of the self or of the other—can help or hinder the process of psychotherapy. Wohl (1989) stated two assumptions: first, "any psychotherapy is necessarily a creature of the culture in which it was born and nurtured," and second, "all psychotherapy is 'cross-cultural' in that no two people have internalized identical constructions of their cultural worlds" (p. 354).

Wonder and curiosity are stipulated to be important concepts in learning (Binson, 2009; Dillon, 2009; Fabris, 2010; Zachry, 1985). A kind of curiosity that could enhance cultural learning in therapy training and practice is *social curiosity*. Social curiosity has been defined as "an interest in how other people behave, think, and feel" (Renner, 2006, p. 305). Generally, it is curiosity about people. Renner (2006) referred to Swann, Stephenson, and Pittman's (1981) research on curiosity and control and summarized: "One important function of social curiosity may be a reflection of the need to live in a predictable and controllable world" (Renner, 2006, p. 314).

In the training of counselors, the use of poetry as a tool in multicultural education also has been explored. This creative form of expression was discussed beyond being an art form:

> Poetry is a particularly powerful medium for personal expression and political statements. Part of the power in poetry comes from its unusual or unexpected juxtaposition of words and from its brevity. It is also a way to disrupt the dominant culture's language patterns, which often do not include the experiences of culturally diverse peoples. (Fukuyama & Reid, 1996, p. 2)

Measuring, assessing, and integrating cultural awareness have been suggested as ways to further study and understand the meeting of culture and counseling. "With the need to be multiculturally competent comes the need to have an instrument that assesses multicultural counseling competencies" (Roysircar Sodowsky et al., 1994, p. 139). Clinicians are still searching for a way to serve the rapidly changing societies in which they practice and to measure and assess this multicultural clinical work.

A perceptual schema model was offered by Ridley et al. (1994) as way of better understanding, researching, training people in, and applying cultural sensitivity in multicultural counseling. As the authors put it:

> Our application of schema theory as a theoretical foundation for cultural sensitivity narrows the scope of the construct considerably, limiting it to a prebehavioral stage of information processing. From this perspective, cultural sensitivity involves a process in which counselors seek out, perceive, and interpret incoming interpersonal cultural information. (Ridley et al., 1994, p. 130)

This process of seeking out could be a stage in the aforementioned concept of cultural curiosity. Ridley et al. stated: “The accurate processing of cultural information by means of perceptual schemata increases the likelihood of, but does not guarantee, counselors’ overall effectiveness with culturally different clients” (1994, p. 130).

The loss of curiosity was lamented in the realm of medical education in a comparative study of physicians and psychotherapists by Roman and Kay (2007). Teachers in both fields were implored to motivate students by inviting them to ask questions, modeling question asking themselves, and inviting reflective dialogue. Curiosity is considered to be a crucial but overlooked part of education. “A good teacher, like a therapist, will attempt to discover the roadblocks to learning through instilling curiosity” (Roman & Kay, 2007, p. 205). Instilling curiosity about culture into the training of therapists, educators of therapists, and supervisors of therapists may turn some of the cultural roadblocks in therapy into gates of personal, meaningful change.

Multicultural Training and Creative Arts Therapy in Israel

Although the society in Israel is culturally diverse, a search through the literature revealed that the concept of culture in the training of creative arts therapists in Israel is poorly documented. In fact, not a single English language article on this topic was found. It is possible that creative arts therapy training programs in Israel do not include courses on culture and multiculturalism in their curricula as standard procedure. This is worth examining in future research.

Literature about the multicultural training of creative arts therapists in Israel comes almost solely from foreign therapists who gave workshops, trained local professionals, or participated in international conferences in Israel (Al-Ajarma &

Barzilay-Schechter, 2007; Byers, 1996; Byers & Gere, 2007; Estrella & Forinash, 2007; Kouttab, 2007; McNiff, 2007; Serlin, Roskin-Berger, & Bar-Sinai, 2007).

McNiff (2007) reframed the importance of recognizing and working with "empathy with the shadow" (p. 392) in a studio art therapy workshop in Israel that focused on sociopolitical conflicts and their transformation through the arts. McNiff stated: "Participants desired to do something with the anger, fear, and contradictory feelings that they held towards life-threatening experiences, violence, and the deep and intractable disagreements that continue to separate people in regions afflicted by war and political conflict" (2007, p. 392). This offers an example of art-based work in group transformation in culturally conflicted areas.

Serlin et al. (2007) described a workshop taught in Israel based in movement and conflict resolution. The participants were Israeli Jews and Arabs. Commenting on the workshop, one Israeli student said, "It gave us quality time together, time to know each other deeply and build a central base in our development and relationships for the coming four years" (Serlin et al., 2007, p. 374).

Joubran and Schwartz (2007), a Palestinian and an Israeli, discussed their personal friendship as a possible bridge to conflict resolution. From their initial connection at a conference hosted by Lesley University's Israeli extension, where Schwartz is the associate director, the two reported on the development of this friendship, reflecting:

> The authors believe that they have greatly personally benefited from their association, which has already been transformative in their own lives. However, they are aware that, at this point, the societal changes derived from their

> individual friendship have been infinitesimal. Still they continue their collaboration with the aim of influencing others. They hope that in the future it will be possible to see that their friendship constituted but one node in a virtuous network forming the basis for more comprehensive resolution. (Joubran & Schwartz, 2007, p. 349)

This hope was echoed in an article by Kouttab (2007), a drama therapist, who stated: "The question persisted, 'How would the conference ultimately impact the lives of the participants and the larger conflict?' Much of the time, as therapists and healers, we do not fully know the impact of our interventions" (p. 360). Kouttab continued, "With the continued effort of many groups on both sides of the conflict, perhaps a critical mass will be reached, tipping the scales toward peace and collectively demanding an end to violence" (2007, p. 360). Kouttab wrote this after co-presenting a workshop in Israel on healing the wounds of history with Armand Volkas, who developed a multidisciplinary six stage model of healing described below. "Healing the wounds of history is an action based-oriented method drawing on a variety of disciplines, most notably drama therapy, psychology, psychodrama, and playback theatre" (Kouttab, 2007, p. 352). According to Volkas, the six stages of healing are: (a) "breaking the taboo against speaking to each other," (b) "humanizing the other through telling stories," (c) "exploring and owning the perpetrator within," (d) "moving deeply into grief," (e) "creating rituals of remembrance," and (f) "making commitments to acts of service or acts of creation" (as cited in Kouttab, 2007, p. 355).

Al-Ajarma and Barzilay-Shechter (2007) found a way to take their shared personal experience as Palestinian Muslim and Israeli Jew into the public arena after

meeting in expressive arts therapy doctoral studies. This was accomplished by creating an interactive theatre performance/workshop based on their experiences. Turning to the arts and breaking stereotypes were part of the process of building this professional and personal friendship in the bubble of U.S. academia. The authors reflected:

> We learned to speak from the heart with each other rather than from labels and from stereotypes. Immersing ourselves with the arts, we had painfully blended historical facts, political ideas, personal hardships, and national anger until this workshop emerged and started to have a life of its own. (Al-Ajarma & Barzilay-Shechter, 2007, p. 332)

Multicultural Training in Related Disciplines in Israel

As pointed out earlier, the literature on culture and related aspects in Israel is not grounded in creative arts therapy. The literature is usually based on research in counseling, psychology, conflict resolution, and group dynamics (Erhard & Erhard-Weiss, 2007; Rubenstein, 1994; Sonnenschein, Bekerman, & Horenczyk, 2010; Witztum, Greenberg, & Buchbinder, 1990). There is also literature on multicultural training in social work, as well as in education, which will be mentioned later in this section.

Erhard and Erhard-Weiss (2007) discussed school counseling with two Israeli minority groups: Ultra-Orthodox Jews and Israeli Arabs. The authors discussed a change within these traditional communities' views of the counseling field, reporting on acceptance of counselors into the schools. One of the many questions asked in this article was: "How should counselors treat issues that may go against cultural practices or values that affect the individual's well being?" (Erhard & Erhard-Weiss, 2007, p. 157). It seems

that the bridging of culture, tradition, and counseling is a challenge, but not an insurmountable one.

In a study conducted by Rubenstein (1994) the researcher examined the political attitudes and religiosity levels of 632 Israeli psychotherapy practitioners and students. The participants were questioned about their demographics; were asked to self-rate their political attitudes, and were asked to define themselves and parental lineage by religious levels. The results of this study showed that the participants leaned strongly toward both secularism and the political left in Israel.

In another article from Israel the authors focused on the "majority–minority relations in conflict ridden societies" (Sonnenschein et al., 2010), focusing on group dynamics and peace education. Cultural conflict and threat to cultural identity were studied in an elective course titled "The Jewish-Arab Conflict as Reflected in Theory and Practice." It was reported that "the ability to see things from the Palestinian point of view helped the Jewish participants to cope with their fears and with the feeling of being threatened, and especially helped them to take back their own humanity" (Sonnenschein et al., 2010, p. 60). The connection between threat and prejudice was discussed along with the connection between threat and power. It seems that the saying "strength in numbers" does not hold true when real and perceived interethnic threat are possible; members of majority groups are fearful of members of minority groups and may feel threatened by them.

Other professions in Israel, the most obvious among them being education, have explored innovative pedagogical concepts for teaching culture, such as using online learning (Hoter, Shonfeld, & Ganayim, 2009) and workshops based on conflict resolution

theories (Serlin et al., 2007). Social workers and counselors have suggested using supervision as the place for multicultural observation and learning (Haj-Yahia & Roer-Strier, 1999).

To look at culture in Israel without looking at the relations and stereotypes within and between groups in the region would be an incomplete view of the multicultural vista. The results of one study pointed to "the importance of knowledge about the political background of intergroup relations and the major events that are taking place in order to understand the stereotypes, contents and their changes" (Bar-Tal & Labin, 2001, p. 278). The need for "political receptivity" (Baum, 2007, p. 586) was introduced as a concept that is necessary in clinical social work training in high conflict areas such as Israel.

Defining groups and subgroups in Israel is a first step toward inclusion of information about these groups in a culturally sensitive manner in multicultural training and curricula. "Israel is a natural laboratory for examining the consequences of cultural diversity" (Schiff & Katz, 2007, p. 794). This rich cultural diversity has been addressed, from multiple perspectives, in research about teacher training in Israel (Ezer, Millet, & Patkin, 2006; Shamai & Paul-Binyamin, 2004; Winter, 2009). These studies share a common call for better preparation of teachers in multicultural education and proactive cultural pedagogy, as well as the furthering of research of multiculturalism. These concepts could be connected to create teacher training that is steeped in equality, pluralism, and mutual respect.

Hoter et al. (2009) explored an "online inter-group contact hypothesis" (p. 1). The authors, based in Israel, stated:

> In our global reality, living together and accepting differences while building on commonalities has become crucial to everyday life. Yet in many places in the world, galloping globalization is accompanied by a growing trend toward cultural, national, and religious individuation and separation. In Israel, which is beset by inter-cultural tensions and political enmities, differences, rather than similarities, are often in the forefront of public discourse and in the minds of many Israelis. (Hoter et al., 2009, p. 1)

The use of computer-mediated communication in a multicultural course was documented specifically as it applied to intergroup online contact. The idea of using distance as opposed to face-to-face meetings as a way of teaching multicultural contact was unique in the literature. This surprising approach, opposite to the usual concept of physically meeting in multicultural courses, showed that "structured ICT (information and communication technology) intervention can reduce bias, stigmas, and ethnic prejudice among prospective teachers" (Hoter et al., 2009, p. 11). The conclusions also point toward the need for future research and implementation of this learning model in Israeli schools. In this manner the new multicultural perspectives and the new technology skills would reach more Israelis "so the project can have a significant social ripple effect" (Hoter et al., 2009, p. 11). The authors were Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs, and modeled these communications for Jewish and Arab students who are otherwise separated throughout their education. "The goal is to build bridges among secular and religious Arabs and Jews in Israel based on small multicultural groups and collaborative learning through effective use of the Internet and other cutting-edge information technologies" (Hoter et al., 2009, p. 1).

Although using distance to promote contact and dialogue may seem ironic, according to some of the participants' responses after the conclusion of the course, the effects were positive. One student remarked:

> It is precisely because of the enmity between Jews and Arabs . . . that the Internet can serve as an effective means for multi-cultural exchange. . . . It obviates face-to face friction . . . barriers fall away, enabling a productive discussion." (Hoter et al., 2009, p. 9)

It is possible that in parts of the world in which conflict and cultural misconceptions are rampant, and members of groups who are at odds feel threatened by face-to-face contact, this creative idea could be a useful tool in multicultural course curricula. One needs to remember that changing cultural concepts and constructs is a long-term process. Therefore, as one step of cultural education, online courses or communications might make sense. Hoter et al. (2009) remarked:

> As the course progressed, many participants emphasized the importance of initial contact through the Internet, rather than face-to-face meetings, as this allowed them to feel less threatened, imbued them with a sense of equal status, and enabled them to be more open and frank with each other. (p. 9)

The complexities of culture in therapy training and cultural sensitivity have been studied in Israel (Al-Krenawi, 1999; Erhard & Erhard-Weiss, 2007; Haj-Yahia, 1995; Haj-Yahia & Roer-Strier, 1999). These studies revealed a lack in cultural sensitivity in training, supervision, and the practice of therapists, therapy educators, and decision makers.

Researchers looked at issues of cultural diversity in Israel in cross-cultural supervisory situations (Haj-Yahia & Roer-Strier, 1999), in the training of Ultra-Orthodox and Arab counseling students (Erhard & Erhard-Weiss, 2007), in culturally sensitive intervention with Arab families (Haj-Yahia, 1995), and in the use of rituals in Western and cross-cultural therapies (Al-Krenawi, 1999). The Israeli researchers call for a better and deeper understanding of how to educate and inform diverse Israeli social work and counseling practitioners and students about the cultures in Israel. "The postmodern world is a heterogeneous, multicultural mosaic of groups that differ in religions, cultures, values, beliefs, and lifestyles" (Erhard & Erhard-Weiss, 2007, p. 149).

The diverse cultural backdrop of Israel serves as a challenging place to cultivate intercultural dialogue. Some of the attempts at cultural cross-pollination occur in conflict resolution and interreligious peace-building groups. Although these may seem disconnected from professional training, it is possible that therapy training could be positively influenced and informed by the knowledge that these groups have acquired (Abu-Nimer, 2001; Hirschfield, 2007; Kalman, 2011).

This discussion on adaptation seems rich in topics that pertain to any culturally inclusive learning. "The adaptation stage described by Bennet does not involve assimilation into another culture, but rather temporarily and initially shifting one's cultural frame of reference (empathy) or adopting multiple permanent frames of reference (pluralism)" (Abu-Nimer, 2001, p. 700). The confusion in understanding the difference between assimilation and empathy is apparent in both individual and intergroup mistrust in Israel. Cultural reframing is another way of accepting one's own culture and accepting the culture of others.

Teaching multiculturalism in Israel cannot be disconnected from history. In a content analysis of new history textbooks used in Jewish schools in Israel, Al-Haj (2005) brought to light the imbalance and cultural indifference that may be learned from these books:

> The books' attention—or lack of attention—to the Arab population in Israel is a classic expression of the political culture of Israeli society, which sees the Arab citizens as adjunct members and as part of a group that stands outside the state's legitimate political boundaries, which include the Jewish majority only. (p. 66)

One could take this into consideration when choosing texts for multicultural courses for creative arts therapists in Israel. A deeper digging into literature cross-culturally in Israel would unearth different opinions and ideas that could contribute to a more democratic pedagogical practice in such curricula.

To change and create new textbooks in Israel—or anywhere—one might have to face painful facts about oneself, about one's own cultural history, and of course about neighboring peoples' pain as part of the learning process. Wohl (1989) advised: "Appreciate your own racism, take it in hand, and face the issue squarely" (p. 353).

Serlin et al. (2007) reported that the David Yellen School of Education in Jerusalem offered classes to the Jewish and Arab students with culture in mind:

> There are 40 different courses, for example, about "the other," who is usually the Jew or the Arab, like the image of the Arab in Hebrew literature. . . . There is a coexistence course lasting two semesters that is a mixed group where participants learn about each other's cultures, traditions, and religion and meet each other's children. (p. 373)

The authors did not state if these courses were mandatory and if they were open to any of the art therapy, dance therapy, music therapy, bibliotherapy, or drama therapy students at the school. There seem to be many professions in Israel that are conducting dialogues around cultural issues within their training. Ironically, these ventures seem to be happening separately, without cross-cultural pollination within and across the diverse fields or professional cultures.

Art and Change

Understanding Art as a Special Language

In looking at the literature, peacemaking, conflict resolution, conflict transformation, and reconciliation have usually relied on verbal communication and expression as primary tools. Aharoni (1998) suggested looking at different ways of enabling change, specifically looking toward the arts as a language of change because "during the past forty-five years, the political and diplomatic approaches towards the Arab-Israeli conflict have proved to be insufficient. All efforts should be exerted today to research, explore, and utilize other various possible approaches" (p. 1). The arts as an innovative language for change are seldom written about in the literature. Aharoni encouraged the use of the arts in peacemaking and reconciliation in the Middle East. As Aharoni stated:

> The conflict in the Middle East is not only a question of policies; it is also one of deep emotion and feeling. Art and literature can convey what no political speech can convey. As a vehicle of feelings, it is particularly suited for reflecting, creating, and spreading the atmosphere of peace, which we all yearn for." (1998, p. 2)

Informed by literature and films and anchored in political theory, Negash (2004) suggested that the arts can help inform and make sense of politics. He wrote: "Those essentials of artistic communication such as imagery, metaphor, and the artist's chosen mode of representation make artistic power indispensible to the understanding and constitution of shared meanings and political ideas" (Negash, 2004, p. 197).

Turning to artists as modern day court jesters for their strangeness and artistic license was suggested by Metzger (2011) in an article on the inclusion of artists in planning:

> Just as the court jester of medieval times had a granted mandate to tell the truth to the king in a manner that no one else at the court would have the privilege to, the artist in today's society has a mandate to act in ways that no other agents of governance could themselves afford to. (p. 222)

The idea that artists can contribute by seeing differently or strangely is also explored by Metzger:

> In fact, with regard to the social role attributed to artists in (post)modern societies today, most of the time, nothing less is expected of them. Where planners are generally expected to be prosaic, that is—literally—to be straight forward and to make sense, no such thing is expected of artists, who are granted an 'artistic license,' a license to *priem ostranenie*—'make strange.' (2011, p. 223)

In an article about the artist Teri Jo Summer, Benesh (2004) referred to artists as visionaries, as those who "have the creative power to lend form to their ideas, drawing from the wellspring known as the Beyond" (p. 44). Benesh believed that people can learn how to "transform and integrate [their] lives into a more harmonious, peaceful,

transcendent state" (2004, p. 44). As previously mentioned, the artist as visionary is described as that person who is capable of seeing beyond what is presented in reality, or sees strangely. Benesh mentioned that among other things, "these visionary few are stimulating discourse and behavioral modifications that encourage building flexible new humanitarian structures for preventing and resolving conflict" (2004, p. 43).

The arts and artistic expression can be conceptualized as a language that communicates, according to Hause (2006–2007), specifically as "aesthetic communication" (p. 8). Hause described the way in which art informs and makes one more aware: "The arts employ surprise, reversal and unexpected contrast; they blur boundaries and juxtapose disparate elements in ways that may at first seem incongruous, but upon further examination reveal connections of which we were previously unaware" (2006–2007, p. 9).

The qualities of the arts that enhance awareness have been researched in connection to learning tolerance and recognizing diversity (Connors, 1998). Connors (1998), an educator of graduate level elementary school teachers, asked, "Can learning through the arts increase tolerance and increase our abilities to resolve conflict?" (p. 281). Connors researched this question through a series of art-based experiential workshops in which participants were asked to create four metaphoric imaginary cultures from diverse art materials. In these workshops all aspects of culture were utilized to imagine and create these new worlds. The students were then asked to imagine what would ensue when the worlds as they knew and created them underwent a dramatic environmental change, forcing all inhabitants to have to live together. The results of this assignment surprised Connors, when many of the students could not imagine nonviolent cooperation in such a

situation. Connors concluded that the arts do embody special ways of affecting people, including “heightened consciousness and reflectiveness” (1998, p. 281).

At the end of these workshops Connors (1998) suggested that art-based conflict resolution classes be implemented in schools and remarked that “art has a way of awakening people to their personal modes of existence and their responsibility as individuals in a changing and problematic world (1998, p. 281).

Artists and Expression of Change

The artists researched in this section of the review engaged in diverse modalities of the arts, including painting, landscape architecture, architecture, photography, performance art, and installation art. All of these artists focused on art as social commentary, change, and activism. These are examples from the literature, and in no way cover all of the facets of art and activism or social change. This literature is a general backdrop for the specific topics in the field of fashion and activism, and women and crafts in activism and change that follows.

Regarding architecture, the idea to design and build an art, science, and peace center in Cyprus was proposed in the 1960s (Hetzler, 1984). The main goal of the center was to provide a place where people could address questions of peace and meaning steeped in the arts. Ironically, this innovative idea never came about because of the war between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The proposed center was based on ancient philosophical beliefs that date back to Plato. This belief system revered the arts as crucial in all realms of life.

> Speech often goes only as far as thought and reason can reach. It is then that logic and reason must allow art, poetry, myth, imagination, and mystery to take over.

> Plato recognized this when he progressed from argument to myth to elucidate his teachings. (Hetzler, 1984, p. 100)

The imagined center was divided into five parts, or spheres, each of which would have artists present. The spheres were the *logosphere,* focused on information input; the *cybersphere,* where scientists would process that information; the *psychosphere,* focused on the expansion of the unconscious and conscious and involving those interested in psychology and myth; the *androsphere,* involving space theorists and futurists; and the *agapeshhere,* where philosophers and humanists could connect all of the explorations and learning (Hetzler, 1984, p. 103).

Baptist and Nassar (2008) studied memorial landscape planning from the stance of peace pedagogy in a landscape architecture studio. In their paper, the authors stated that they were investigating "the potential of the landscape architecture studio as a vehicle for cultivating awareness of diversity, tolerance, and peace" (Baptist & Nassar, 2008, p. 92). Incorporating the concept of peace into the studio experience was done by assigning design projects for a peace park in New York, New York, as a memorial to victims of violence, and by asking the landscape architecture students to delve into the "historical, social, economic, political, cultural, and symbolic and environmental aspects of the site" (Baptist & Nassar, 2008, p. 96). A discussion about the group dynamics of the students, including thoughts on action inquiry versus passive inquiry in the studio, concluded that "for some students the studio episode was indeed transformative, and the exposure to the social, political, conceptual and special complexity of landscape architecture was, in the afterglow of the jury experience, significant" (Baptist & Nassar, 2008, p. 101). Baptist and Nassar concluded that focusing on peace in the landscape

architecture studio experience was fruitful, and said: “The use of the memorial aspect of the project, combined with the complex aspects of the site, did indeed cultivate an awareness of diversity, tolerance, and peace” (2008, p. 102).

Commemorating loss is at the nexus of two performance art pieces done by an Israeli artist that refer to the “Israel–Lebanese and Israel–Syrian borders between the years 1967–2000” (Ortal, 2009, p. 657). Reflecting on land, no-man’s-land, violence, loss, and borders through film, photography, installation art, and wordplay, the artist explored painful aspects of the political atmosphere. Ortal (2009) concluded:

> The importance of the individual in a state of emergency renders the body a biopolitical entity; a situation in which the political, or sovereign rule is imprinted on the body of the individual, a distortion of the individual intimacy, a suspension between life and death. (p. 668)

Using art to study and reflect on war and peace seems to be a powerful and informative tool, based on this literature.

An artist from China developed an unusual form of art making for his art-based reflections on war and peace. Artist Guo-Qiang and coauthor Jindong (1988) state that Guo-Qiang “places special emphasis on his thoughts about the history of human struggle throughout life and, through his paintings, pursues such themes as humanity versus nature, creation versus destruction, and war versus peace” (Guo-Qiang & Jindong, 1988, p. 251). Guo-Qiang paints with natural materials and also gunpowder, which is ignited on the canvas. One of his paintings, for example, is described as follows:

> The Atomic bombing in World War II is depicted as a struggle of opposites. The raiding aircraft in the upper left corner casts a vast shadow as the artist, shown in

> a self-portrait, contemplates both the devastation of the war and the dove praying for peace. (Guo-Qiang & Jindong, 1988, p. 255)

Guo-Qiang had this to say about what he wished to express through his art: "I do not seek to preach or to give advice; rather, I wish to make people think, to have them view current matters from the perspective of history and meditate upon history and life" (Guo-Qiang & Jindong, 1988, p. 254). Using a destructive force such as explosives to construct or create art is certainly a rare form of reflective art making in the literature on art and social commentary.

Using art as activism can also fail. Encouraging future generations of activist artists is explored by Naidus (2007), an educator who teaches art with societal critique and activism in such courses as "Art in a Time of War"; "Cultural Identity"; "Fear of Difference in Art"; and "Globalization and Art." One example of a controversial art-based project from the Art in a Time of War course was:

> A chain-link fence into which was woven all the students' attitudes about war. It was quite controversial because the students, some of whom were veterans, decided to use actual U.S. flags as part of the weaving, which included some red paint spattered dolls. (Naidus, 2007, p. 143)

According to Naidus on-campus veterans were upset by the flag being used in the art. The students in the course attempted to find a platform for a dialogue about this matter but a dialogue never happened.

Fashion, Clothes, and Activism

Fashion and clothing have attracted curiosity and scholarship, and have invoked reflection in diverse realms of interest. Bond (2009) said that "much of our interaction

with the world and others around us is mediated through fabric" (p. 44). Where do politics, fabric, fashion, and activism meet?

The connection between democracy and fashion is explored by Miller (2005), who stated: "Fashion can provoke dialogue about social and political matters, and that dialogue is democratic. When fashion manifests creativity, respect, allegiance, or membership, the relationships that it fosters are potentially democratic" (p. 3). In a discussion on such topics as fashion and multiculturalism, gender, and regulation of dress, Miller focused on what he referred to as "two slightly different political themes embedded in fashion, namely equality and democratic relationships" (2005, p. 5). In this focus he touched upon the use of fashion as potential dialogue when he wrote: "Although communication by clothing messages is not a substitute for genuine political debate, the fact that many people use clothes to express their outlooks on life makes fashion a potentially democratic medium in its implicit invitation to dialogue" (Miller, 2005, p. 19).

This dialogue is seen in the research on Jamaican dancehall culture by Bakare-Yusuf (2006), who asserted: "Black women in Jamaica use fashion to fabricate a space for the presentation of self-identity and assertion of agency. Through adornment, dancehall women have been able to address creatively the anxiety, violence, and joy of daily life" (p. 1). According to Stanley-Niaah (2009):

> Dancehall is a musical genre, a specific volume, a social movement, a space, a profile, an institution, a language, an attitude, a profession, and much more. It first flourished in the 1950s around the consumption of the emerging popular music especially in Kingston and its name derives from the exclusive yards/halls/lawns in which dance events were mainly held. It is first to be understood as the space in

> which adults meet to consume, celebrate, entertain and affirm group identity (p. 759).

Bakare-Yusuf (2006) asserted that dancehall women use their imagination, through fashion, to survive. "I have indicated that dancehall styling is ultimately a question of survival; an excessively imaginative response to the class, race and gender-based normative violence of the hegemonic morality of the uptown elite" (Bakare-Yusuf, 2006, p. 12).

Far from being merely body adornment, the clothes of the dancehall women are mirrors of their lives. Bakare-Yusuf (2006) wrote that "the violence, anxiety, and vulnerability of daily life are stitched into the designs of the fabric" (p. 9) and that "prosperity, crisis, and social upheaval are stitched into the fabric of every epoch" (p. 2). Certainly, Bakare-Yusuf's paper shows a connection between political expression and fashion.

At two different exhibitions at the Museum On the Seam, artists exhibited fashion designs that were sociopolitical statements. As the museum's website describes:

> The Museum on the Seam is a socio-political contemporary art museum located in Jerusalem. The Museum in its unique way, presents art as a language with no boundaries in order to raise controversial social issues for public discussion. At the center of the changing exhibitions in the Museum stand the national, ethnic, and economic seam lines in their local and universal contexts. (Museum On the Seam, n.d.-c, para. 1)

The first artist, Paulina Wallenberg-Olsson, designed the piece *Bulletproof Evening Gown,* a golden, glamorous, thickly padded gown that explores terrorism and

war and is sewn together by the same threads that are used in sewing military flak jackets. A statement about the coat offers the reflection that "the armored party dress is transformed into the phantom ache endured by persons whose traumas are scarred into their flesh" (Museum On the Seam, n.d.-b, para. 4). This garment is a political, activist, fashion design.

The second artist, Jana Gunstheimer, sewed a coat with many pockets of different shapes and sizes and exhibited it next to a historical letter from 1944 that was the inspiration for the coat design (Museum On the Seam, n.d.-a). The coat is called *The Coat of Werner Hofbichler,* named after the man who penned the letter, which speaks of deep feelings of guilt connected to wartime behavior in Vienna. The coat's pockets, meant for stashing provisions, become filled with voices of blame and admonishment on a cold winter night.

Women, Textile and Fabric Arts, Crafts, and Peace Activism

Sewing, knitting, embroidering, quilting, and crocheting have been called textile arts, fiber arts, and handicrafts, and in the past were connected to female domesticity and to being old-fashioned (Futterman Collier, 2011, p. 104). These soft, touchable forms of artistic expression have been explored more and more in antiwar and peace activism. Robertson (2006) has referred to the use of soft fabric arts in social commentary on the hard facts of violent war as "a juxtaposition of the apparently feminine arts, such as knitting, with the masculine world of war" (p. 30). Crafts, textile, and fabric arts are given new meaning in the literature. A group of people who called themselves "craftivists" stated this as their manifesto: "To expose the scandal of global poverty, and human injustices through the power of craft and public art. This will be done through

provocative, non-violent creative actions" (Corbett & Housley, 2011, p. 345). In the literature, knitting, feminism, and activism are researched by Pentney (2008), who covered such areas as third wave feminism and fiber arts and online feminist craft activism. Some examples of such feminist knitting practices are Knitters Without Borders, a charity that "combines advocacy and craftwork" (Pentney, 2008, p. 6), and Tit-Bits, hand-knitted breast prostheses designed by a breast cancer survivor "when breast cancer and radical mastectomy left her searching for a suitable replacement" (Pentney, 2008, p. 6). Pentney stated that "there are numerous examples of people engaged in political protest through the use of craft and in different online forums, which is alternately called craftivism or, for knitting, knitivism" (2008, p. 7).

In an article on craft culture, another craft-centered concept, Bratich and Brush (2011) aptly coined the term "fabriculture" (p. 233). They stated: "Ultimately, we conceptualize craft as power, the ability or capacity to act, as a way of understanding current activist possibilities" (Bratich & Brush, 2011, p. 233). Pentney (2008) described other knitivist work; for example, the artist Marriane Jorgensen, who covered a tank with thousands of knitted pink squares as an antiwar protest in Denmark in 2006 (p. 9), and a protest against restricting abortion called "Wombs On Washington," which was a project that called on women to "create knitted wombs to drop on the Supreme Court steps" in Washington, DC (p. 10).

Another expression of knitting activism is a website called TikkunKnits (http://tikkunknits.wordpress.com), espousing support of peace builders, Tikkun Olam, and intercultural and interfaith projects. The pattern for a conjoined knitted Palestinian and Israeli flag is featured on the site. Pentney (2008) concluded her article with these

words: “It is time to seriously analyze the potential for traditional popular craft to be used as a vehicle for academic and mainstream conversation about gender, art, cultural products, and work, and capital” (p. 12). This call for seeing textiles and crafts as a serious form of expression is echoed by Perron (1998), who stated: “Textile practices have been treated with disregard for so long it is almost inconceivable for some critics and artists to acknowledge them as discursive formations from which meaning can emerge” (p. 124).

Craft-based antiwar commentary and activism by women appears in the literature as early as the 1980s. In a review of a book called *The Ribbon Around the Pentagon: Peace by Piecemakers,* Kalaf (1997) reported on an anti–nuclear war project created by Justine Merritt in 1985 to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. *The Ribbon Around the Pentagon* had 2,500 panels, was observed by 20,000 people, and encircled the Pentagon, the Capital, the Lincoln Memorial, and the Washington Monument, according to Kalaf (1997, p. 441); yet it was poorly covered in the media. The author of the book, Pershing, shone some light on “the relationship between the traditional fiber arts and political policy, the effect on those involved in creating folk art with political message, and the impact on those who are meant to be the recipients of the message” (as cited in Kalaf, 1997, p. 441).

In a more modern version of women and antiwar demonstrations, performance art is studied by Kutz-Flamenbaum (2007). Although one could argue that performance art is not craft-centered, this study is included here because costumes are used by all three of the groups in the study. The three “feminist performance activism” groups studied were

Code Pink, Raging Grannies, and The Missile Dick Chicks (Kutz-Flamenbaum, 2007, p. 88); all three perform antiwar pieces in mass groups consisting almost only of women.

Women, Textile and Fabric Arts, Crafts, and Peace Activism in the Middle East

In "Thread by Thread" the poet Serri (1998) wrote, "thread by thread, piece by piece, knitting embroidering sewing decorating, thread by thread, we weave the map of conciliation" (p. 74). The use of these handicrafts as bridges between women in the Middle East has been mentioned little in the literature. Afshar (2003) explored feminist peace and women's roles in times of war, and at the very end of her article stated that "women across the Palestine/Israel divide have linked hands physically both by keeping vigils as mothers on public squares and by sewing shared patchwork quilts across the length and breadth of the two nations" (p. 187). Bemoaning the possible lack of such projects, she says:

> These and other symbolic gestures may as yet be too few and far between, but feminism has a vital contribution to make to peace building and post war reconstruction around the world. The first halting steps have been taken; the bigger strides are yet to come. (p. 188)

Another mention of craft-based connections and peace-seeking activism between Middle Eastern women is shared by Cohen (1994). Cohen wrote about an exhibition that "displayed the stories of eight Jewish and Palestinian women then living in Eastern Massachusetts, along with objects of folk expression, such as baskets, embroidered dresses, family photographs, and cooking utensils" (1994, p. 197). The women involved with connecting to these crafts "were looking for modes of expression that would invite people in conflict to reach beneath their defenses and their fears" (Cohen, 1994, p. 197).

One example of a meaningful connection made through the crafts occurred when Cohen (1994) and her Palestinian co-presenter, Feryal, were presenting at someone's home. Both women, without planning ahead, used the folk art symbol of a bird to convey stories of hope for peace in their talk. Feryal's bird was a dove that held a letter with a message of peace in its beak and was woven into a tapestry. Cohen's was a bird from the autobiography of a woman named Kovaly, a Holocaust survivor. During the Holocaust, according to Cohen's retelling of the story, the bird kept Kovaly alive to tell her story after the Holocaust (Cohen, 1994, p. 230). Cohen wrote: "When I finished reading Kovaly's words, Feryal leaned over and pointed to the dove in her tapestry 'You see' she whispered, 'it's the same bird'" (1994, p. 231).

The Arts and Conflict Resolution, Transformation, and Peace Building

The field of conflict resolution has often depended on the use of verbal communication in reconciliation and mediation; the arts are rarely documented in the literature as prominent and important. Ramsbothan, Woodhouse, and Miall (2011) have said that "dimensions of feeling, emotion, imagery, and imagination, which are stimulated when peace and conflict are the subjects of the visual and other arts, are clearly important but underutilized reservoirs and motivators for conflict resolution" (p. 349).

Shank and Schirch (2008) stated that "according to communication experts 65-93 percent of all communicated meaning is nonverbal" (p. 235) and asked, based on these findings, why peacemakers do not spend more time engaging the arts and focused on the other vital senses that "carry important information about emotions, energy, and thought" (p. 235) in peace-building practices. The researchers concur that "art-based peace

building recognizes the limitations of verbal communication and suggests practitioners use the arts to elicit information and convey meaning difficult to communicate" (Shank & Schirch, 2008, p. 235).

Shank and Schirch (2008) explored the history of the nexus of the arts, conflict resolution, and peace building from the literature, and then focused on the strategies of art and peace building. To clarify and help understand "what approach is most suitable when using the arts" (Shank & Schirch, 2008, p. 220), four categories are presented: "waging conflict nonviolently, reducing direct violence, transforming relationships, and building capacity" (p. 220). Shank and Schirch presented a wide lens of art forms that might be implemented in peacebuilding, including mural making, dance and movement, photography, filmmaking, theatre, music, and poetry, for example, and when and how one might use them. In conclusion Shank and Schrich called on peacebuilders to participate in "articulating the reasons why and how the arts are powerful vehicles for peacebulding" (2008, p. 238) and to join artists in continuing "this shared journey of art-based peacebuilding together" (p. 239).

In a book titled *Imagine Coexistence: Restoring Humanity After Violent Ethnic Conflict* (Minow & Chaves, 2003), the arts are explored as one of many answers to the question "How can people build peace after violent ethnic conflict?" (p. xvii). Visual arts, poetry, and drama are described as methods that can be used in fostering coexistence in areas of conflict (Afzali & Colleton, 2003). The authors stated that "the arts can facilitate greater understanding as well as fruitful expression of both serious and lighthearted themes" (Afzali & Colleton, 2003, p. 10).

This statement is further clarified by Cohen (2003), who wrote that "understanding an enemy is like understanding a poem" (p. 267), referring to the French philosopher Bachelard. Cohen said that "to apprehend something poetically means to be receptive to it, to open ourselves to the reverberations it creates in our beings" (2003, p. 267) and that as Bachelard would have said, " Our attention shimmers back and forth between our own response and the image, constructing new meanings out of those reverberations" (Cohen, 2003, p. 268).

The arts, according to Cohen (2003), can help override some of the challenges of traditional coexistence education and reach people: "The educational work of coexistence much reach beneath people's defenses but do so in respectful and gentle ways that support people to configure new patterns of meaning as old patterns become obsolete" (p. 271). She lists these as reasons that the arts "can support movement toward coexistence" (Cohen, 2003, p. 271): (a) "art is pleasurable and enlivening"; (b) "art invites reciprocity"; (c) "art invites creativity"; and (d) "artists can serve as mediators . . . [using] the qualities of receptivity to facilitate expression, healing, and reciprocal understanding" (Cohen, 2003, p. 272). Cohen also covers many global art-based coexistence projects in diverse areas of the world including Sri Lanka, Israel, and the United States, and reflects on the role of ritual, folk arts, music, visual arts, drama, and oral narratives in coexistence work in places of post ethnic violence (2003, pp. 267–293).

J. P. Lederach (1995, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2010; Lederach & Lederach, 2010), an author and experienced conflict manager who has written extensively on conflict transformation, reconciliation, and peace building, specifically studied the role of the arts and imagination in building peace. Lederach (2005) discussed creativity and moral

imagination, writing, “Stated simply, the moral imagination requires the capacity to imagine ourselves in a web of relationships that includes our enemy” (p. 5). Lederach looked toward artists for what he understands as artists’ ability to act creatively and to see and move “beyond”; for example he writes, “We stand before the inquiry of what makes possible the movement beyond ingrained patterns of protracted, destructive conflict” (2005, p. 5). Turning to conflict transformers and peace builders, Lederach stated

> We must explore the creative process itself, not as tangential inquiry, but as the wellspring that feeds the building of peace. In other words, we must venture into the mostly unchartered territory of the artist’s way as applied to social change, the canvases and poetics of human relationships, imagination and discovery, and ultimately the mystery of vocation for those who take up such a journey. (2005, p. 5)

Lederach used metaphor to discuss the cycles of change of “fits and starts” (2005, p. 162) that are apparent in the arts and in social change:

> The greatest movements forward, when you look really closely, often germinated from something that collapsed, that fell to the ground, and then sprouted something that moved beyond what was known. These seeds, like the artistic process itself, touched the moral imagination. To believe in healing is to believe in the creative act. (Lederach, 2005, p. 162)

In a chapter titled “Conflict Resolution in Art and Popular Culture” Ramsbothan et al. (2011) discussed various art-based conflict resolution initiatives, including museums, visual arts, music, and theatre. The inception and rationale behind peace museums is discussed. “Peace museums provide spaces in which art and other media are

used to present and project the value of peace and conflict resolution" (Ramsbothan et al., 2011, p. 348). Cooperative music projects with musicians from conflicted groups, such as the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra organized by Daniel Barenboim and the late Edward Said, are proposed as musically based resolution possibilities. This orchestra is also studied from the perspective of national identity and the paradoxical fact that the musicians from the Middle East are situated in Europe. Riiser (2010) stated, "We might well end up with a conflict transformation amongst some Middle Eastern musicians, but without any links to the political situation from which the Divan draws its legacy" (p. 35). Other examples of music-based conflict interventions are cited. In a chapter aptly titled "Unpeaceful Music," Kent (2007) challenged the idea that music is always good:

> Some music may help to make some kinds of peace some of the time, but, like many other good things, music has a dark side as well. There is music that celebrates war, viciousness, hate, and humiliation. Music does have the power to heal, but we need to see that it also has the power to hurt. Music can bring us together, and it can also divide us. (p. 112)

The article presents examples of diverse types of music such as repellent music, nationalistic music, insurrectionary music, hateful music, and capitalist music. Kent said in summary that the book in which his chapter is published "demonstrates one path of resistance, the use of music in the cause of peace" (2007, p. 118).

Ramsbothan et al. (2011) also explored music therapy, specifically describing a network named "Music Therapists for Peace" (p. 350). Examples of this organization's peace work are given, in Chechnya and Russia. Case studies about community theatre as

social intervention are presented from "Northern Ireland, the UK, the USA, South Africa, Ethiopia, South Asia, and India" (Ramsbothan et al., 2011, p. 351).

Morgan (2002) studied humorous songs in relation to the context of the historical conflict in Ireland. Morgan explored the "combination of music with humor in the songs of Tommy and Colum Sands" (2002, p. 2). Morgan's concept is that this combination can reduce mistrust, overcome bigotry, and promote better understanding, stating: "Both singer-songwriters have used humour in their music as a medium to reach out to people and to create an open space to explore the commonality inherent in humanity" (2002, p. 2). The importance of playfulness, humour, laughter, and empathy are proposed as highly important parts of the reconciliation process (Morgan, 2002, p. 6).

Though situated in conflicted Ireland, according to Morgan (2002) the humorous songs resonate with audiences in other conflicted areas such as "Germany, Bosnia, Israel, Palestine, and Afghanistan" (p. 11). Morgan concluded the discussion about the humourous songs of Tommy and Colum Sands with the hope "that their songs have created a foundation of mutual understanding and respect between divided communities and also have reflected their understanding of the role of art, song, and humour as a vehicle for peace" (2002, p. 12).

The concept of "peace culture," including "cultural programmes and arts based initiatives often sponsored by international organizations to promote recovery at grassroots level after conflict" (Ramsbothan et al., 2011, p. 357) and the United Nations declaration of the year 2000 as "the International Year of the Culture of Peace" (Ramsbothan et al., 2011, p. 356), are included in this study of the role of the arts in conflict resolution.

Alongside the many areas of the world mentioned in the literature as places that potentially could utilize the arts in conflict is war torn Bosnia-Herzegovina (Zelizer, 2003). Zelizer (2003) focused on the use of the arts in war and post war community processes in conflict resolution and social reconstruction. The leading question "To what purpose is the activity being carried out"? (p. 4) is raised, and a detailed account of the specific challenges of working in Bosnia-Herzegovina is presented. A list of possible art-based approaches is offered, including category, description, and examples of the art-based activities. The activities in post war Bosnia were also studied and categorized by type of activity, purpose, and level of focus in the activity. The activities studied were youth programs, creative arts therapy programs, arts and peacebuilding programs, conflict resolution programs, short-term programs, and elite arts. (Zelizer, 2003, p. 9).

Art-based activities during and after the war were studied, including an international film festival, youth art projects, large scale concerts, and theatre performances attended by conflicted sides, as well as the use of creative arts therapy. The conclusions of Zelizer's (2003) study showed that "arts-based processes assisted people within the country keep their humanity, and also helped keep the war on the world's consciousness" (p. 9). Moreover, Zelizer concluded, "A central argument that needs to be emphasized in post-conflict reconstruction efforts is that more creative artistic processes need to be included" (2003, p. 10).

Expressive Arts Therapists as Change Agents, Social Commentators, and Activists

In the literature the connection between expressive arts therapists and social activism is not covered widely. This is reflected in Kapitan's (1997) question, "I wonder why it is that art therapists have not consciously expanded their role from clinician to

activist or peacemaker" (p. 255). She went on to ask directly, "Why aren't art therapists contributing more deliberately to advocacy for transforming our violent culture into one that is compatible with life?" (Kapitan, 1997, p. 255). Kapitan mentioned art therapists who have taken on the role of peacemaker, and suggested that all art therapists might "expand their thinking beyond traditional categories or roles of counseling and psychology, and embrace the extensive knowledge base that exists in the fields of social justice, mediation, and conflict resolution" (1997, p. 257).

Kapitan (1997) explored how and what expressive arts therapists learn from violent conflict. Kapitan stated: "When we choose to learn from conflict, rather than react out of protection, we open ourselves to a shift in perception and its subsequent body/mind shift" (1997, p. 259). The possibility of seeing conflict resolution as an exploratory process, not a product, is studied by Kapitan, who referred to conflict resolution as "a search for new understanding of the conflict that gives respect and dignity to the behavior" (1997, p. 259). This philosophical paper was written by Kapitan as the result of "a heuristic study of the relationship between artmaking and peacemaking" (1997, p. 255).

Further exploration of the role of expressive arts therapists and art therapists and social change continues to be studied and presented (Brooks, Campbell, Jones, Liebmann, & Ward, 2004; Kaplan, 2009; Leibmann, 2004; E. G. Levine & Levine, 2011; Schwartz, Marcow Speiser, Speiser, & Kossak, 2012). Each of these books offered a wide range of examples of practice-based personal experiences that connect social change and expressive arts therapy in diverse ways—some therapeutic, some educational,

and some activist; all of the literature mentioned related directly to the theme of "artist-therapist-activists" (Kaplan, 2009, p. 15). Hocoy (2009) further described this theme:

> Because the work of art therapy always has social repercussions, what makes the art therapist also a social activist is an awareness of the interconnectivity between the individual and collective, between a person's suffering and social imbalance, as well as an active commitment to personal and social transformation through advocacy for those aspects of individuals and society that are disenfranchised. (p. 31)

In a personal memoir, Ellen Levine told her own story of being an artist-therapist-activist, highlighting moments of work with Palestinian and Israeli students (E. G. Levine, 2011, p. 40). The interpersonal and transpersonal conflicts, transformations, and challenges of these groups of students are described and Levine concluded:

> Even as the problems of the world seem so intractable, I am convinced that we need to maintain our spirit of play and possibility. Perhaps this will continue to allow us to live in uncertain times without retreating into the safety of our own private concerns, and to keep us attuned to what we find in front of us as materials for transformation. (E. G. Levine, 2011, p. 41)

Schwartz et al. (2012) presented examples of arts and social action in expressive arts therapy in Israel with both Israelis and Palestinians. Kossak (2012b) wrote about teaching during war in Israel and the challenges and surprises of such art-based teaching. Kossak discussed the resiliency he observed in the art and lives of the Israeli students and said:

> The arts in general always have at the core the intent to define the human condition. This goal of awakening and illuminating the human condition is always embedded in the teaching and training of expressive arts therapists. In Israel this sense of awakening is always present. Maybe one day the artists and educators will prevail and we will find lasting peace. (2012b, p. 75)

Leibmann (2004), an art therapist, called on readers by saying, "Conflict is an increasing feature of modern life, and very often it has disastrous and destructive outcomes. We need to understand much more thoroughly how conflict arises, and how we can work with it creatively" (p. 1).

The current proliferation of literature on creative arts therapy and social action can continue to shed light on the role of the artist-therapist-activist; to enlighten therapists and light up the darker corners and shadows of the profession.

> The institutional powers of the arts in therapy need to keep a careful eye and ear to our shadows, making sure we do not repress and curb the creative process that we hold out to the world as a way of healing and change. The arts in therapy need an internal activism for art making by therapists who practice what they advocate for others and stay closely attuned to the intelligence of imagination. (McNiff, 2012, p. 50)

Summary

This literature review has focused on the concept of culture, its various definitions, and the relationships between culture and expressive arts therapy. The connection between expressive arts therapists and social activism, peace building and art as activism, and social commentary also has been explored in the literature. The use of

fabric, textile, and craft-based activism has been focused on specifically from within the larger world of art-based activism.

Although the literature on multiculturalism is growing in the creative arts therapy field (Cattaneo, 1994; Estrella, 2001; Linesch & Carnay, 2005; Talwar et al., 2004) and related fields in many countries (Fukuyama & Reid, 1996; Henderson & Gladding, 1998; Littlewood, 1984; Renner, 2006; Roysircar, 2004), the sparseness of literature on this topic in Israel is glaring. Due to a lack of literature on this topic, research, studies, and reflections on multiculturalism from other professions in Israel can provide some guidance. Perhaps multicultural education and training for creative arts therapists in Israel can move forward as the stumbling blocks of racism, stereotyping, and cultural separatism are exposed and turned to stepping stones leading to a culturally rich education and a sustained culturally inclusive practice.

A common thread weaves in and out of the literature on art-based social activism in expressive arts therapy, in related fields, and in the arts: the thread of imagination. According to the literature the ability of the artist to imagine, and to see beyond, seems to be the ability that the postmodern, multicultural, conflicted world is lacking.

Greene (1995) recognized the transformative power of the arts and imagination: "To tap into imagination is to become able to break with what is supposedly fixed and finished, objectively and independently real" (p. 19). Though changing or breaking patterns of behavior that are inhumane, violate others, and are based on fear and prejudice may seem impossible at times, it seems that one could begin by imagining new patterns of behavior. According to Hirschberger and Pyszczynski (2011), "deep-seated existential concerns lie at the heart of violent conflicts and render them resistant to change" (p. 311);

this resistance, especially in long-term conflicts, probably challenges one's capability to imagine a reality beyond the conflict.

The arts have survived many historical storms and human traumas, serving as witnesses, expressions, and mirrors of society and individuals during violent times. As Bell and Desai (2011) stated: "The arts can help us imagine, create, and transform the practices that sustain oppression as it endures across history and locality" (p. 288). This ability to imagine in the face of oppression is addressed by S. K. Levine (2009), who discussed a "traumatic imagination" (p. 18): an imagination that takes into consideration the arts that are created from trauma and takes into account past suffering and future creative life (p. 20).

This concept might shed light on and help one understand the arts that have been created during wars, during the Holocaust, in the shadow of terrorism, and in the aftermath of violent conflicts. For example, based on observations and reflections on the creative process and art created by three Holocaust survivors, Corley (2010) concluded that "their collective works contribute toward understanding survivorship, resilience, healing from trauma, and promoting global awareness of the long-term impact of genocide" (p. 273).

Read (1945), an educator who believed that "art should be the basis of all education" (p. 1), also embraced the staying power of the arts in society. Read stated:

> States rise, flourish for a while, and fall. Religions, if they do not altogether disappear, are transformed beyond their recognition by their founders and apostles. But art remains—permanent and indestructible, accumulative but ever free—ever, on its immediate fringes, active and expansive. (1945, p. 301)

The literature, though sparse, about the arts, imagination, and social change is rich with detailed accounts of the sustained and transformative power and potential of the arts as a new language. The arts could serve as a welcome language at a time when the many languages of the world, transmitted globally through what is referred to as communication, have failed to produce real communication, especially during times of violent conflict. A question that needs further exploration is how the arts can be better utilized in the multicultural training of expressive arts therapists and of practitioners in related fields; and if one way could be the wearing of a cultural coat.

CHAPTER 3

Method

An art-based method was used for this three-phased study that focused on a coat that I sewed. The coat was covered with diverse cultural symbols. The coat was originally envisioned in an arts apprenticeship course during the first year of my doctoral studies. The assignment was an academic invitation to explore the doctoral research in an art-based manner, preferably in an art form that was new; therefore, an arts apprenticeship was needed. The process of sewing the coat included months of immersion in an art-based experience, including sifting through, discarding, and choosing fabrics, as well as being mentored in the art of sewing. This chapter covers the method for each of the three phases of the research: Phase 1, the initial study; Phase 2, the interviews; and Phase 3, the art-based research.

Art-Based Research

Art-based research has developed over the years in creative arts therapy, in expressive arts therapy, and in related fields. The literature on art-based research continues to grow (Austin & Forinash, 2005; Bagley & Cancienne, 2002; Barone & Eisner, 2011; Four Arrows, 2008; Hervey, 2000; Kapitan, 2010; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Hoffman Davis, 1997; Leavy, 2009; S. K. Levine, 2009; McNiff, 1998a, 2009).

According to McNiff (1998a), art-based research develops from trusting art as a way of knowing: “Art-based research grows from a trust in the intelligence of the creative process and a desire for relationships with the images that emerge from it. These two focal points are the basis for a new tradition of inquiry” (p. 37). This creative art-based inquiry can be explored through all art forms. S. K. Levine (2009) distilled this by saying:

> To base our research in the arts means to engage the imagination in the forming of our concepts and in the carrying out of the project itself. Not only may the initial inspiration come in the encounter with an image, but also the conduct of research may itself be imaginative. We must have faith that the imagination can inform us, that art is not non-cognitive, but that it binds together both feeling and form in a way that can reveal the truth. (p. 159)

Making the coat as art-based inquiry into cultural attitudes and feelings was situated in expressive arts therapy, in academic study, and in artistic sensibility. Artists have often harvested wisdom, among other gifts, from their art making; for example, Flam (1995) quoted Matisse speaking about how art enlightens in a radio interview: "Since the earliest times (from the cave artists to the modern painters), artists have enriched the common plastic vocabulary and each generation of man has seen through the eyes of the artists of the preceding generation" (as cited in Flam, 1995, p. 144). Art-based research is indigenous to artists and to expressive arts therapists. Art-based research, as the subtitle of Kossak's (2012a) article on art-based inquiry so poignantly proclaimed, "is what we do!"

Phase 1 Method

The Process of Fabricating the Coat

The process of choosing fabrics for the coat was long, colorful, and informative. For over 3 months I searched for, sifted through, and chose fabrics for the coat. There were times when my research area and studio were covered in overlapping layers of juxtaposed fabrics; these juxtapositions were insightful and informed the process of sewing and my thoughts about the cultures of Jerusalem.

These were layers and overlaps of cultures that may not really occur in the reality of Jerusalem but could happen symbolically in a safe, exploratory space. This was an art-based laboratory, a studio of multicultural layering. The entire creative process was documented through photography; two examples of the coat-making process follow.

In the early stages of making the coat, before the fabrics were pinned and sewn; I improvised with placing different symbols on top of one another. In Figure 4 the Palestinian flag is placed over the Israeli flag. Due to the sheerness and closeness of the fabrics an illusion of transparency was created, causing the Israeli flag to be seen through the Palestinian flag. This image raised questions for me about how the Palestinians and Israelis see themselves, each other, their flags, and each other's flags; thus the title *Overlapping Realities*.

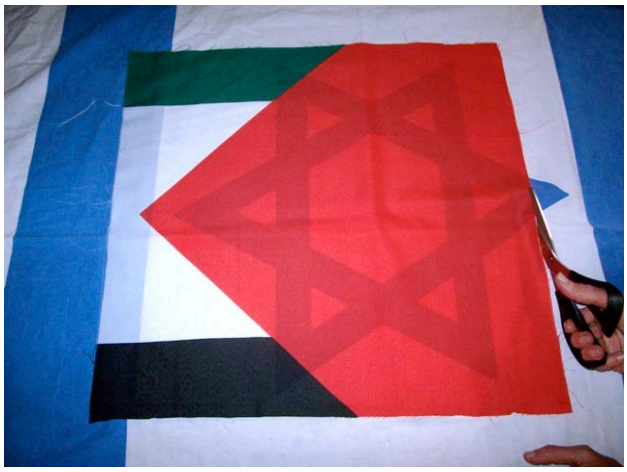

Figure 4. Overlapping Realities: See Through Seeing Through

Once fabrics were found, I left them out in the creative space and moved them around regularly. This playing with the fabrics created connections that were surprising and unusual at times. Figure 5 is one of many photographs taken of the

Figure 5. Fabricating Connections: Softening the Edges

juxtapositions of fabrics. The soft edges of these symbolic cloths and the draping of the fabrics created a complex cacophony of color. This image influenced my decision to closely connect cultural symbols on the coat once finally sewn.

The symbols on the coat that were finally used were identified with groups that had suffered violence in Jerusalem based on the cultural identities of their members. For example, the Israeli flag, the Palestinian flag, and the GLBT pride flag were incorporated into the coat. Part of the methodology in this art-based process included finding these flags; the Palestinian and GLBT flags are not openly sold in Jerusalem.

Participants

Phase 1 of the study had 24 participants. The 24 participants in this initial study (*n* = 24) were identified as male and female; Jewish, Muslim, and Christian; secular and traditional; and of a diverse age range. Additionally, some participants self-identified as straight or gay on the demographics page of the survey. Of these 24 initial research participants, 20 resided in Jerusalem, 3 in Tel Aviv, and 1 in Germany. Some participants were born in Israel and others were born in other countries, such as the United States, Uruguay, Canada, England, and Germany.

All of the 24 participants were known by me, with different levels of prior acquaintance. The participants were engaged in a spectrum of professions and activities such as expressive arts therapy, psychotherapy, music therapy doctoral research, social work, teaching, art, architecture, high school, law school, private business, administration, mediating, personal training, Jewish education, and as clergy. Two participants were retired but active and still involved in their professions.

The Coat Portraits

In total, 24 photographed portraits of 24 people wearing the coat were taken, 22 in Jerusalem and 2 in Tel Aviv. These portrait photo shoots were scheduled ahead of time and took place in diverse settings including Arab villages and Jewish neighborhoods; the portrait shoots were done in office buildings, back yards, a trauma center, an expressive arts therapy clinic, and a juvenile probation government office, for example. Usually the photo sessions took place at the homes of the participants, although some participants were photographed at work and two photographs were taken at my home. It was important to me that each participant felt comfortable in the photo shoot environment. At the beginning of each photo shoot each participant was asked to read and sign two consent forms (see Appendices A and B). Before donning the coat the participants were told that the coat was sewn from symbols of peoples who had suffered violence in Jerusalem.

After wearing the coat and being photographed in it each participant was asked to respond briefly in writing to the experience of wearing the coat. Some chose to remove the coat for the writing part, others left it on while writing. The participants were given ample time both to get used to wearing the coat and its symbols and to write about it at their own pace immediately following the photo shoot. I attempted to be attentive to each participant's rhythm and to respect the pace of the process of wearing the coat. Some of the participants chose to have the portrait taken while holding props, which became a theme of its own.

After developing the 24 portraits the next step in the research process was to begin looking for themes in each written response, which involved reading and rereading

the responses many times. A mobile of miniature versions of the photo portraits hung over my computer during the coding and analysis process. I employed manual color coding in order to discover and highlight the themes. As themes emerged, I chose colored pencils, selecting one color for each theme. I then manually underlined the themes in colors, forming an artistic–scientific color-coded set of data. The responses became colorful and informative as the coding process progressed. There were themes that repeated themselves many times, and others that were rare but probably important. Once a saturation point was reached in the themes that emerged, the analysis of the data could begin. From the participants' written responses, 19 themes emerged, which will be discussed later and appear in Table 1.

This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board at Lesley University. All of the participants gave written consent for their portraits and responses to be used in this study and agreed to have their names and demographics such as religion, gender, age, profession, and description of identity used openly in this research.

The data referred to in this study were the written responses of the participants who wore the coat. In the results section of Phase 1 the participants will be referred to and quoted by last name. Parental consent/assent was obtained for Bregman, who was a minor, as well as for Bashir's son, who wandered into the photo frame during the photo shoot.

Phase 2 Method

Phase 2 of the study had four participants who were interviewed to gain deeper understanding of themes that had emerged in the initial study. All were identified by me as leaders in their fields based on prior information about their vocations; each was

working toward cultural acceptance and tolerance in schools, universities, churches, and interfaith platforms. In an article about a political activist portrait project titled *Americans Who Tell the Truth,* Beem (2011) quoted the artist Shetterly, who discussed how he chose his portrait subjects, saying, "I'm painting role models of courage and trying to tell people that anyone can become one" (p. 46). The words of this artist resonate with my feelings about the four participants in this study.

The four participants were engaged in a spectrum of professions and activities such as social work, parenting, teaching, mediating, women's empowerment, Jewish education, higher education, and as clergy. All of the participants were known by me, with different levels of prior acquaintance.

The four interviews were recorded and transcribed. Each interview contained four parts: the participant trying on the coat, being photographed wearing the coat, writing a brief response about the experience of wearing the coat, and engaging in an open-ended interview (for the interview questions, written coat responses, and transcribed interview examples, see Appendices G, H, and I). I introduced the coat by saying that it was made of symbols of peoples who have suffered violence in Jerusalem.

I processed my experience of the interviews by painting images inspired and informed by the interviews. After each painting was finished, I reflected on the painting, photographed portrait, and interview. Each reflection culminated in a poem. At the end of this art-based process, there was a painting and a poem for each of the four interviews. The next stage of the art-based research was the analysis. I read the interviews numerous times with the intention of searching for emerging themes. Manual color coding was used to discover and highlight the themes, and then the themes were analyzed. As themes

emerged, I again chose a different colored pencil for each theme and underlined themes in colors, forming an artistic–scientific color-coded set of data. The data became colorful and informative as the coding process progressed. As in Phase 1, there were themes that repeated themselves many times, and others that were rare but probably important. For example, the themes Family, Family Values, Childhood, and Upbringing; Cultural Diversity, Cultural Identity, and Multiculturalism; and Normal-Abnormal, and Traditional-Nontraditional were more prevalent in the data, whereas the two themes Men and Wearing Religious Garb were less prevalent in the data.

Phase 3 Method

In the third phase of this study, the art-based inquiry phase, I returned to the four coat portraits and interviews from Phase 2. As mentioned earlier, each of the four participants was photographed while wearing the coat; these are referred to as coat portraits. Looking carefully at these photographed images after the interviews gave me a different lens for looking; both the act of photographing the participants and studying the photos afterwards offered me deeper and more meaningful reflection in the art-based research process that followed while painting and writing poems.

After each photo shoot and interview I meditated on sentences in the interviews that seemed to pop out and be more meaningful from the start. I thought about each sentence or image deeply and when I was ready, I began to paint on a large canvas (120 cm x 90 cm). Wide brushes were used in order to enhance the improvisational aspect of the painting process and to attempt avoiding masterful manipulation based on prior painting skills. This process took a few weeks. When each painting was finished, I sat before it and looked at the painted image carefully, remembering things from the

photographs and interviews as well. This intense reflection culminated in writing a poem for each image. The art that was created in the art-based research appears in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

Results

This chapter includes a brief detailed description of some of the participants of Phase 1 of the study and all of the participants of Phase 2, a table of the emergent themes from each of the three phases, and a discussion of the themes that emerged from the research. This results section also includes the paintings and poems that were a vital part of the research process: the results of the art-based inquiry. This chapter covers the results for each of the three phases of the research: Phase 1, the initial study; Phase 2, the interviews; and Phase 3, the art-based research.

Phase 1 Participants

In the study's first phase, 24 participants participated in trying on the coat, being photographed wearing the coat, and responding in writing to the experience of wearing the coat. What follows are four examples of photo portraits, a brief description of the participants, self-reported demographics and identity descriptions, and participants' written responses to wearing the coat (the coat responses). The remaining 20 photo portraits, demographics, identity descriptions, discussion, and coat responses can be found in Appendices C, D, E, and F.

Egbaria

Egbaria is a senior social worker and the director of juvenile probation in East Jerusalem. Figure 6 was taken in his office in Wadi Joz, East Jerusalem. He is standing next to objects that he brought back from Mecca. Egbaria described himself as being a Muslim-Arab-Palestinian who lives in Jerusalem, Israel.

Figure 6. Egbaria

"I wore the coat partially. It was important for me to hide the part that symbolizes the homosexual community," Egbaria wrote in his coat response, continuing:

> Reversely, I was photographed next to a stand with the Kaaba and Koran. The coat was no less heavy, in my experience, than the day-to-day reality of my life. That the two symbols of Palestine and Israel were next to each other, and that in reality I am an Arab Palestinian who lives in Israel [and] am forced to carry this complex combination of identities that for years, symbolizes the fighting and the wars.

Binder

Binder is a 62-year-old Jewish artist and calligrapher. Figure 7 was taken in her studio in Jerusalem. She is standing near some of her art supplies and in front of her art work. When asked to describe her identity Binder said, “I am a designer, creator of calligraphy with illustration. I am a mother and grandmother.”

Figure 7. Binder

In her coat response, Binder wrote:

I loved when I put on the coat and moved with it; it made these joyful sounds. But when I realized that I would also be wearing the Palestinian flag it dampened my excitement. Their flag represents a group who do not recognize the Israeli flag, my people, and that we belong to this land. But maybe I can wear it on my right

arm (If I forget thee Oh Jerusalem) and they will wear our flag on their left—a body needs both arms to function properly.

When I took off the coat I noticed the wonderful circular icons which represent all women to me, so maybe there is HOPE.

Eid

Eid is a 47-year-old Christian social worker who described her identity as "Arabic, Palestinian woman living in Israel." Figure 8 was taken of her as she tried the coat on in her home in Beit Tzafafa, Jerusalem. A Christian prayer embroidered in Arabic hangs on the wall and the keyboard is covered with indigenous Palestinian embroidery.

Figure 8. Eid

"I felt heaviness; the weight is big and falls on the shoulders. The colors are beautiful and awaken feelings of optimism," wrote Eid in her coat response, continuing:

> It was important for me to embrace both of the flags, the Israeli and the Palestinian, and to make them stand out on my shoulders. Within myself there was an acceptance of each and every part of the garment, but on different levels and not in the same way. In addition I felt pride, responsibility, and optimism.

Rose

Rose is a Jewish 46-year-old lecturer and senior educator. He is photographed in his home surrounded by objects that he has collected (Figure 9). Rose described his identity with the words "Jewish, gay, artist, educator, foodie, movie/art/theatre lover, jewelry and junk collector, games player (Scrabble-Mah-Jongg)," and went on to say, "I am also a husband, parent-wannabe, friend, colleague, community member, [and] creative pain in the rear."

Figure 9. Rose

In his coat response, Rose wrote:

> The heaviness of the coat, along with its sense of regal splendor made me feel both elevated and burdened. This accurately reflects my sense of living in Israel, a life I perpetually choose to continue. The sense of belonging, life force, creativity, and energy of the physical beauty and social experiment of Israel leaves me in a state of euphoria. The burden of injustice, unsettled conflict, "primitivity" and struggle on so many levels, sits on my soul like an unbearable weight. This is the duality I have and still choose to live in. The coat for me embodies this. I want to wear it forever and at the same time throw it off and run away from its weight and fire.

Phase 1 Emergent Themes

In the first phase of this study a total of 19 emergent themes were identified, which are discussed below and summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Phase 1 Emergent Themes

Theme
Bearing the weight,
Jewish, Arab, Israeli, and Palestinian national identities
On being in the coat
The back of the coat
Temperature
Size
Ceremony and ritual
Feelings
Duality, balance, combinations, interrelationships: Identity and hybrid identity

Props
Religious symbols
Associations
Memories
Colors and sounds
Heightened awareness
Social action
Flags
How the coat was worn
Generations

When engaging in qualitative, art-based research one must have open eyes and a flexible mind. Keen observation and repeated exposure to the data is part of the data analysis process. The results of Phase 1 are the themes that emerged from the participants' written responses.

Bearing the Weight

While designing and sewing the coat, many issues such as colors, shape, texture, and size were taken into consideration in the creative process. The weight of the coat was never considered as the sewing proceeded even though I tried on the coat at each step of the process. There were many surprising themes that emerged from the participants' responses and weight is one of them. Of the 24 people who tried the coat on during Phase 1 of the study, 12 wrote about weight, heaviness, and burden. This weight was experienced in three general ways: overwhelmingly hard to bear, surprisingly optimistic, and in incredible contradictions.

This theme was mentioned both literally and metaphorically. "It felt literally and symbolically heavy," said Kelman. Some felt the weight of the coat as oppressive and

overwhelming. Hava reported on “a feeling of heaviness, to carry the entire cloak and the symbols on me,” and “the feeling that I am terribly small within this complex world. I am so small and the cloak is so heavy.”

These comments are remarkably close to another participant’s, Frank-Shwebel, who said that “the coat was heavy, busy, and a burden. It was big on me and that is how I feel about the things it symbolizes: the weight of the traditions and religions, the weight of feelings, and the difficulty to bear all of this on a daily basis, this is too big on me. I felt that I was tiny and swallowed up by the coat.” Rose added, “The burden of injustice, unsettled conflict, primitivity and struggle on so many levels, sits on my soul like an unbearable weight.”

At the other end of the spectrum, the perceived heaviness of the coat was felt in optimistic terms by some. Wattad said that “the coat was heavier than I had imagined which reminds me of our lives, the diversity there is and the beauty it has from all the colors.” This way of feeling the weight was reiterated by Kiewe, who stated, “I felt the weight of the coat as something that gave me safety.”

Between these two interesting themes relating to heaviness were participants who wrote about feelings of contradiction that emerged when wearing the coat. Rose wrote that “the heaviness of the coat, along with its sense of regal splendor made me feel both elevated and burdened. . . . I want to wear it forever and at the same time throw it off and run away from its weight and fire.” Wattad added that “all of this beauty can be seen from one point of view—that is its heaviness.”Another contrasting view was Canneti’s: “I was aware of the fact that the Israeli flag, the Palestinian flag, and the Pride flag have been sewn in this coat, however, when I was wearing it, it didn’t weigh on me.” In this

comment one can almost hear the participant's surprise that the three flags, symbols of three cultures, could be worn together without them bearing down.

Two other comments referring to the visceral and visual weight of the coat were brief but deep in meaning. Egbaria said, "The coat was no less heavy, in my experience, than the day-to-day reality of my life," and Stern remarked, "The embroideries on the coat show me the daily difficulties of those who live here."

Jewish, Arab, Israeli, and Palestinian National Identities

As mentioned earlier, some of the symbols sewn on the coat were flags. Flags represent nations and wearing them seemed to directly connect the participants to their national identities. The theme of national identity emerged as the words *Jewish, Arab, Israeli,* and *Palestinian* repeated themselves within the responses. Some intriguing ideas were explored here. Rose mentioned the sense of living in Israel, saying, "The sense of belonging, life force, creativity, and energy of the physical beauty and social experiment of Israel leaves me in a state of euphoria." Glass responded to the change that can occur on a personal level between Jews and Arabs, "because they remind me of Fayrouz and Ayat and Suheir, Arab women I've grown to love who live in Hebron." Bregman also discussed the breaking of the regular, separatist mold, "But then I see the life I'm living in an Arab-Jewish school with Arab friends." Stern asked difficult questions about Israeli identity:

> Now especially, as an Israeli, it is hard for me to identify with the flag that represents the country in which I live and am considered to be a citizen of. This is due to what is happening here, how we behave as a society, but also outside. Is this what represents me?

For some, wearing the coat was a complex, challenging moment. Binder actually felt a change in emotion when donning the coat: “But when I realized that I would also be wearing the Palestinian flag it dampened my excitement.”

I was surprised to find that politics were not discussed directly by many participants, but they were alluded to by some. The placement of the Israeli flag on the left arm of the coat became a symbol of left and right wing politics for Wattad, who reflected on “just how much this word *left* has meaning in my life.”

Throughout these responses the thread of identity is represented in diverse ways. It seems that the coat and the direct bodily contact with the coat connected the participants to their identities and to the identities of others in a very direct manner. For example, when Glass discussed Arab women she has come to know through her therapy practice, she was describing a unique experience: a cross-cultural meeting in which, according to her, she became culturally richer and did not assimilate into another’s culture. Her identity remains although she has touched the “other.”

On Being in the Coat

The participants used different words to describe the act of wearing of the coat. These words refer to the visceral feelings of being in the coat, of being enrobed. The coat, being long, almost completely covered the participants’ bodies while they tried it on. One word that came up three times was *embrace*. Weiman said, “I felt embraced and respected”; the robe feeling “like a graduation robe.” In this comment Weiman responded to the association of the coat with a ritual robe, one connected to ceremony.

Another person, Yinon, discussed the embracing as pleasant: “The coat is very pleasant, embracing, and wrapping.” This comment seems to focus more on the physical

aspects of wearing the garment. From a different angle, Eid stated that "it was important for me to embrace both of the flags, the Israeli and the Palestinian, and to make them stand out on my shoulders." This last quote refers directly to the symbols on the coat, whereas the other two do not.

The last participant quoted, Eid, was a Christian, Israeli Arab. It is possible that being enrobed brought this cultural, ethnic combination out more clearly. Her referring to the importance of both flags and both identities is powerful. She also spoke of her "embracing of," as an act, as opposed to being embraced by, or feeling the coat as embracing, more passive ways of being in the coat.

There were participants who stated that being enrobed caused them to feel differently. Saposnik said, "The only word I can think of is *envelop.* I feel totally covered, sheltered, decorated." The coat, sewn from diverse conflicting symbols, could be worn and allowed her to feel sheltered. Kiewe reported, "When I wrapped myself in Tammy's coat I felt grounded." Participants were able to feel a change when wearing the coat, a change in feeling and a change in focus.

Besides *embraced, covered, sheltered, decorated, wrapped,* and *grounded,* another word that was used was *engulfed*. "The length and the body of the coat engulfed me," Glass commented. Again, this word connotes a being in something, as in being embraced by the coat.

Two other participants used words to describe wearing the coat that had to do with having the coat on them and less about them being in the coat. Kelman said, "Many generations were draped over my shoulders" whereas Stern stated, "The coat covers me

on a pleasant Jerusalem morning." These two comments relay the physical feeling of the fabric of the coat being on the body or specifically, for one, on the shoulders.

The Back of the Coat

Of the 24 participants who wore the coat, only two remarked on the back of the coat. The coat had different patterns on the back than on the front. Although most of the people who tried it on did not mention the back of the coat, this does not mean that they did not notice it. Binder related to the coat at the end of her written response. She had this to say: "When I took off the coat I noticed the wonderful circular icons which represent all women to me." It is interesting to note that her identification with the women she saw represented by the circles came after feeling uneasy about wearing a Palestinian flag. There was a connection to hope at the end of wearing the coat; she noticed and connected to these feelings at the end, after the coat was already off.

The other participant who remarked on the back of the coat, Wattad, said, "On the back I saw the spectrum of colors of the Italian peace flag." The flag referred to was the GLBT pride flag, which in certain European countries is also a peace flag. This is an interesting double use of one symbol. In this case Wattad was reminded of a peace ceremony in Italy when she saw the rainbow flag. Symbols, especially those used universally and based on shared icons (such as a rainbow), can mean different things to different people. Wattad may have reacted differently if she had specifically matched the rainbow flag to the gay community as opposed to the peace organizations in Italy. The participants were told about the meanings of the symbols prior to trying the coat on, although many did not directly connect to what they were told.

Temperature

The weather in Israel was seasonably hot when the participants were asked to try the coat on. Three participants used words that connected the coat to temperature, specifically warmer temperatures. Two reported that there was a bearable or even positive feeling of heat present when trying on the coat. Canetti said, “This coat was very warm, but I didn’t feel hot inside it, actually protected,” and Bashir stated, “It is a little hot outside, but good.” The third participant, Rose, found it simultaneously bearable and unbearable to try the coat on: “I want to wear it forever and at the same time throw it off and run away from its weight and fire.” These different reactions to feeling hot in the coat range from protection to oppression; these two concepts, literal and metaphorical, could be further researched when learning about cultures in Israel.

Size

How a garment fits is a subjective experience. The coat was designed to be comfortable to wear and move in. In retrospect, a “one size fits all” garment, worn by many, can have political implications and associations in the Middle East, especially in Jerusalem. This was apparent in the responses.

Another theme that emerged from the responses was that of size. Four participants related to size; three of them used words that connote bigness. For example, Frank-Schwebel poignantly commented, “This is too big on me. I felt that I was tiny and swallowed up by the coat.” She then analyzed this and continued, “It was big on me and that is how I feel about the things it symbolizes.” The connection between the perceived physical bigness of the coat and the emotional bigness of the symbols was made here. Another participant resonated with the emotional bigness. Canetti said, “I felt it was a

huge responsibility," referring to wearing the coat, but perhaps also relating to the wearing of the diverse symbols on the coat and what they represented to her.

One participant had an association based on size connected to the film *The Last Emperor*. Crystal remembered that the emperor, who was a mere child, had to wear a large coat: "In the film there is a boy who is chosen to become emperor and has to wear a coat that is too big on him by a few sizes." The enormity of the coat in comparison to the size of the emperor child could be a metaphor for the bigness of the coat's symbols, what they symbolize in Israel, and how small one feels compared to them. It is also interesting that a child is mentioned here, as if perhaps one is made to feel so small that one returns to being a child when the symbols loom so large. The last participant to mention size responded in a personal manner to my own work, saying, "I feel that this coat represents the broad and yet small world of [Tammy]."

Ceremony and Ritual

Walking through Jerusalem, one might notice the spectrum and diversity in how people are dressed. Religious and ceremonial garb is worn openly alongside secular dress. Ceremony and ritual are not necessarily kept behind closed doors, and often happen in public spaces. Wearing the coat was in itself a kind of ritual, a special occasion. The shape and color of the coat could be experienced as reminiscent of robes worn by figures of power, such as priests and judges, as well as by figures of transformation and change, such as magicians and actors, for example. Ceremonies and rituals often combine power and change.

Judging by the following responses, wearing the coat reminded the participants of ceremonies and rituals. Weiman said "it was like a graduation robe," referring to the

traditional garb worn at academic graduation ceremonies in certain countries. Yinnon stated, “I felt that I was participating in a ritual. . . . There is something religious and shamanic about it.” This was also the general feeling of Reshef’s poetic response. She wrote, “A deep hidden root, protected by ceremony,” as a response to wearing the coat. For all of these participants the coat seemed to have transported them momentarily to other imaginary places; past experiences like graduations; or rituals and ceremonies they had seen, imagined, or actually participated in. Canetti was reminded of the latest film she had made about a spiritual journey in which she filmed diverse religious rituals and ceremonies in Jerusalem.

Feelings

Wearing the coat brought the symbols and feelings connected to the cultural challenges of living in Jerusalem close to the participants, so close that these feelings were experienced viscerally. There was a big difference, it seems, between wearing and touching these symbols so closely and looking at them from afar on a television screen, on a computer, or in a newspaper. When people are moved by an experience and feelings arise they often use the words “That was a touching experience.” It seems that some of the participants were touched by the experience of wearing the coat.

The range of feelings that wearing the coat elicited was broad and rich. This spectrum of feelings ranged from negative (“It dampened my excitement,” said Binder), to positive (“I felt pride, responsibility, and optimism,” said Eid). Other responses related to feelings included descriptive words such as “embraced and respected” (Weiman), “balance and comfort” (Yinnon), “safe and important” (West), and sentences such as “It feels nice; it gives the feeling of a home” (Stern).

Some participants focused on feelings that were connected to a sense of being grounded. “I felt grounded, grounded in the good sense of the word; to reality, to senses and feelings, to the present tense, and to the ground. I felt the coat as something that gave me safety,” reflected Kiewe. Glass mentioned feeling awakened, and connecting to “a feeling of something basic, of earth.”

Two people reported feeling different about themselves, a change in their feelings of self-awareness and self-image while wearing the coat. Glass said, “Wearing the coat, I felt grand at first,” and Bashir said, “I felt good when I wore it, like a model.”

The colors and sounds of the coat also had an effect on how the participants felt. “The colors are beautiful and awaken feelings of optimism,” Eid said. One participant, Binder, went as far as to say, “I loved when I put on the coat and moved with it.”

One participant had mixed feelings when the coat was tried on. “When I put the coat on I felt a few things,” said Bregman. This last response, of mixed feelings, or duality, combinations, or interrelationship, is a theme that repeated itself throughout the responses in Phase 1 of this study. In fact, it was so prevalent that it became a theme in and of itself.

Duality, Balance, Combinations, Interrelationships: Identity and Hybrid Identities

From social juxtapositions to personal reflections, many of the participants responded to wearing the coat with reflections on interrelationships, connectivity, hybrid identity, and the complexities of self and social identity in Israel. The reflections on social complexities were colorfully described by Glass: “Here in Israel, especially in my Tel-Aviv, the earth is made of a combination of homeless people sleeping in the street next to high-heeled women going out on the town.” The overlapping yet parallel

existence of the people in Tel Aviv is punctuated as Glass, who continued, “Arab workers in work dust–covered clothes next to polished high-tech people who are shaved bald.”

Rose wrote about being pulled in two directions by the experience of living in Israel, relating to the “sense of belonging, life force, creativity, and energy of the physical beauty and social experiment of Israel,” then comparing it to “the burden of injustice, unsettled conflict, primitivity, and struggle on so many levels.” These complicated feelings are echoed by Hava, who described “feeling terribly small within this complex world.”

A feeling of being caught in the middle of these sociopolitical complexities while wearing the coat was described by Bregman. “When I put on the coat I felt a few things. On one side I felt like I was in the middle of all the bad things happening with wars between Arabs and Jews, and [I] remembered the violent demonstrations against the gay community.” This is one side of the perceived two-sided or split existence that Bregman described. Afterwards he wrote, “But then I see the life I am living in an Arab Jewish school with Arab friends.” This divided and juxtaposed daily life reality is summarized by Bregman in this poignant remark: “So I cannot really decide if the coat is showing peace, like what I am living, or what is going on outside of my bubble.”

Other participants in the study’s first phase reported that wearing the coat highlighted their hybrid identities. Shoshan commented that “wearing the coat was a permission to integrate the parts of me that live in tension,” and Eid similarly wrote, “Within me there was an acceptance of each and every part of the garment,” explaining that the acceptance levels and qualities of symbols on the coat differed in her experience.

Another response, by Canetti, reiterated this theme: “Somehow this coat is part of my many faces.”

A more political focus on split identity arose for a few participants when wearing the coat. Two referred to the placement of the symbols and flags on the coat. Wattad said, “I saw in it my identity, Palestine on the right and the state of Israel whose wings I live under on the left.” Egbaria focused on the “complicated combination” of the fact that “the two symbols of Palestine and Israel were next to each other,” reflecting that “in reality I am an Arab and a Palestinian who lives in Israel; [I] am forced to carry this complex combination for years.”

The last participant who related directly to the meeting of the two identities on the coat and in life was Bashir, who resonated with the potential connectivity when wearing the coat:

> I didn’t have time to dig deeper but the issues of the reality in which we live, between two peoples, who are fragile, enters; and everything changes. So then there is the human connection and person-to-person meeting that enable and allow everything

Some of the other identities that emerged throughout the responses to wearing the coat were: daughter, father, German, artist, monk, Temple High Priest, secular, religious, European, Middle Eastern, analysand, therapist, lesbian, gay, homosexual, lawyer, Muslim, and mom.

Props

The participants were told that they could wear the coat or not wear the coat in any way that they chose. Objects appeared in some of the photo portraits; they will be

referred to as props. These props appeared in different ways, some were deemed as necessary in order to wear the coat, and some were found on the spot for comfort or used to prepare for wearing the coat. It seems that the props made the participants feel more comfortable while being photographed. Many props appear in the portraits and not in the written responses. In this section only the props mentioned by the participants in their responses are included.

Glass prepared for the photo shoot by putting on special makeup and jewelry: "pink lipstick for the pink bells on the coat, and my hoop earrings." When asked where she wanted to be while wearing the coat she responded, "leaning on the ficus tree I love." Wardi found it comfortable to be inside the coat and took a stuffed animal in with him: "I took my lamb in too and peeped out like out of a cave."

Both felt that they needed their props in order to wear the coat. Egbaria found an anchor in religious objects he had just brought from Mecca: "I was photographed next to a stand with the Kaaba and Koran." These props, along with holding the coat in lieu of wearing it, allowed him to participate although the GLBT pride flag was a religious and moral challenge for him. Frank-Schwebel's response to the overwhelming emotional weight of the symbols on the coat was to don dark glasses. She was able to bear the weight with the help of the prop.

Religious symbols

Religious symbols are shown, worn, and prevalent in Jerusalem, both personally and publicly. Symbols of religious life are far from hidden in both the old and modern city of Jerusalem. It is possible that I might have included or removed other religious

symbols from the coat if I had known originally that the coat and responses were going to become the data for my doctoral study.

Wearing the coat reminded people of religions and religious symbols. Kelman spoke of his father's *tefillin,* the Hebrew word for phylactery, which are traditionally worn on the forehead and left arm in Jewish religious practice in morning prayers. The phylacteries worn by Jews were referred to in Late Hebrew as *tĕphīlīn,* from the Aramaic for attachments (Tefillin, n.d.).

Shoshan was reminded of "the Temple High Priest. Whose clothes contain pomegranate bells." Weiman did not want to remove the coat and reported feeling "like a monk of a new religion," as opposed to Frank-Schwebel, who felt "the weight of the traditions and religions." As mentioned before, Egbaria stood next to two important symbols in Islam, the Kaaba and the Koran. The Kaaba is a small stone building in the court of the Great Mosque at Mecca that contains a sacred black stone and is the goal of Islamic pilgrimage and the point toward which Muslims turn in praying (Kaaba, n.d.). The Koran, or Quran, is the Muslim holy book of sacred scriptures, the book composed of sacred writings accepted by Muslims as revelations made to Muhammad by Allah through the angel Gabriel (Koran, n.d.). Wattad also referred to Islam, in a contemplative manner, reflecting upon the meanings of left and right in Islam.

Associations

Something about wearing the coat in a mindful manner allowed the participants to connect to their more unconscious and associative side. Many participants conveyed highly detailed illustrations of these associations in their responses. These associations were diverse and rich; they ranged from Biblical characters, like Joseph, to films such as

The Last Emperor; there were also associations that had to do with professions—for example, lawyer, magician, and Temple High Priest.

Glass had associations connected to the fabrics and colors of the coat. She reflected on "the different fabrics of the coat, different colors that awaken the black, and that represent beliefs and stances that are dialoguing with each other," noting the symbolic conversation that the colors were having as she wore the coat. Another powerful image that was an association was that of Einstein, who imagined himself going in the coat to "the fantasized land of questions, and just to set the tempo of my breathing to the movement of the imagined 'growings' in my image." He was able to deeply connect to images inspired by the coat and the wearing of it.

Reshef was also transported to images and responded in writing to wearing the coat: "Deep and hidden, rooted, separate, protected, ceremonious, strong." Stern commented that "it feels nice; it gives the feeling of a home, yes with all of the symbols and meanings both obvious and hidden." This feeling of a safe space was mentioned by Wardi, who compared the coat to a cave. Some of the associations were directly connected to memories, which will be the next theme explored.

Memories

Memories can surface and be triggered by different experiences. These triggers can be connected to all of the senses. In the case of wearing the coat, memories arose that were triggered by the visceral experience of wearing the coat and by the visual experience of looking at the coat. Participants were reminded of personal memories and of collective memories.

Memories surfaced when the participants responded to wearing the coat. Stern was reminded of a future dream: “The ties hanging from the sleeves reminded me that I want to go to work one day in a tie and suit.” She was also reminded of childhood fights about what clothes she would or wouldn’t wear. Wattad was reminded of a peace ceremony in Italy by the rainbow flag, which is a peace flag in Europe, and Weller remembered his university days in Germany: “After the students’ rebellion at the end of the ’60s we abolished all the traditional stuff [that] had a smell of authority, class borders, and dust of history.” Some were reminded of distant lands—Crystal wrote, “It reminds me very much of the Far East,” and others remembered their work and their own homes. “It was as natural . . . as living in my apartment in Jerusalem or filming religious ceremonies for my last film,” wrote Canetti.

Colors and Sounds

We experience the world around us through the senses of touch, sound, taste, sight, and hearing. At different times and for different reasons, certain senses are heightened or dimmed. According to the following responses, the colors and sounds of the coat were noticed by some of the participants.

The coat was sewn from colorful fabrics and placed on a black background. The sleeves had ties that were accentuated with bells sewn on the end of each tie. Participants responded positively to the colors and sounds of wearing the coat. “The colors are beautiful and awaken feelings of optimism,” said Eid. Einstein said that he “felt the life-giving force of the coat’s color.” Binder responded to the sound of the bells, saying that “it made these joyful sounds.” Wardi summed up the whole experience by saying that it was “like a big mise-en-scène of colors, shapes, sounds . . .”

Heightened Awareness

In the same way that costumes or special clothes can affect or change one's mood, the coat seemed to have a similar effect on some of the participants who wore the coat. Perhaps the size of the coat or the mindful, focused way in which the coat was tried on invited the muse of heightened awareness to visit some of the participants. The fact is that more than one participant mentioned feeling more conscious, or having a clearer sense of awareness while wearing the coat. The reasons for this heightened awareness are elusive and intangible. Einstein described "a sense of being elsewhere." The change in consciousness was described by Glass in this way: "The senses became clearer. More than usual I was aware of the green plants."

Another participant in the study described a spiritual experience while wearing the coat. Shoshan responded that "the coat also gave notice to the person and those around the feeling of 'the Presence'—a presence which is sacred," and Kiewe wrote about being inspired and connecting to intuition.

Social Action

The premise on which the coat was designed is one of art-based inquiry and learning. Although unintentional, the coat was sometimes perceived by others as being a form of art-based social action. The coat was sewn to explore the cultural weave of Jerusalem; if the outcome of this research stimulated or inspired social action in any way, this was not intended from the outset. The coat, like other forms of metaphoric art, had the potential to awaken the mind and spirit, potentially moving people to act on those thoughts and feelings.

The coat was sewn from symbols that could be directly identified with diverse cultural or social groups in Israel. Some felt a connection to social action or change while wearing the coat. Weller was reminded of social action in the past: "After the students' rebellion at the end of the '60s we abolished all the traditional stuff [that] had a smell of authority, class borders, and dust of history." Stern felt a call to action when trying the coat on. She stated:

> It tells me most importantly, that the time has come to take the symbols out: to language, to dialogue, to creation, and to face up as an individual and society if I want a life of peace and brotherhood/sisterhood here.

Flags

Different flags are hoisted and flown in different parts of the Middle East. These flags are symbols of identity, struggles, pride, and nationalism. These same flags are also lowered to half-mast and used in funeral rituals, ceremonies and processions, and covering the dead, who at times have died because of their identities. The Israeli, Palestinian, and GLBT pride flags were used in the design of the coat in this study. The first two choices seemed obvious, whereas the last was added when a violent shooting at a GLBT youth center in Tel Aviv left one gay young man dead and another in a wheelchair.

Wearing the same flag awakened opposite levels of comfort in two of the participants' responses. Binder, who seemed almost disappointed by discovering the Palestinian flag on the garment, stated, "When I realized that I would also be wearing the Palestinian flag it dampened my excitement," whereas Bashir felt safer, writing:

> In the beginning there was an uncertainty about wearing the coat or not, and that was connected to the flag; then I saw the Palestinian flag and I calmed down a bit and decided that, yes I am wearing it.

For some the Palestinian flag was a challenge; to others, it was an anchor.

The sense of belonging, of cultural identification or lack of it, was apparent in some of the responses. Stern stated that "from the other side, I don't belong to the other flag, today I do not speak the language, I don't truly know the culture." Identification with more than one flag was another aspect of this theme. Eid said that "it was important for me to embrace both of the flags, the Israeli and the Palestinian, and to make them stand out on my shoulders."

Awareness of the complex combination of flags was mentioned by Canetti. "I was aware of the fact the Israeli flag, Palestinian flag, and the Pride flag have been sewn in this coat, however, when I was wearing it, it didn't weigh on me," Canetti said, seeming almost surprised that it wasn't a heavy feeling.

One flag was referred to as having multiple meanings. The rainbow flag was called both the pride flag, referring to the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender community, and was also called a peace flag. Wattad stated, "I saw the spectrum of colors of the Italian peace flag."

Preconceived notions of people's belief systems were expressed in connection to a flag. "Their flag represents a group who do not recognize the Israeli flag, my people, and that we belong to this land," wrote Binder. Again, identification and cultural identity are present in this comment.

The flags and what they symbolize were so powerful that they had an effect on how the participants wore the coat.

How the Coat Was Worn

When I asked the participants to try the coat on and then to write a response to wearing the garment, I had no idea that the way or manner in which they wore the coat could be so meaningful. The awareness that the participants had as to how they donned and wore the coat seemed directly connected to the symbols on the coat.

While wearing the coat participants in this study became aware of the manner in which they wore it. Some were aware of wanting something else while wearing the coat. Hava said, "I wish I could see myself in the coat." Stern commented, "At home I had wanted to be photographed in the *Shuk.* Maybe that will still happen."

Keeping the coat on and taking it off were addressed by two participants. Weiman admitted "I didn't want to take it off," as opposed to Rose who, as mentioned before, had a mixed reaction, saying, "I wanted to wear it forever and at the same time throw it off and run away from its weight and fire."

Wearing the coat for some was easy. Stern trusted the process and slipped right into it, responding, "Suddenly I am thinking about the ease with which I entered the coat, without asking who wore it before, or how many." She contemplated this moment and asked, "As one who does not like secondhand clothes, or at least that is what I think, what does this mean?" The sharing of the coat with others—known and unknown, people who had it on before and with those who will have it on afterward—could be a powerful metaphor for the sharing of the history-burdened land in Jerusalem.

From a different angle, Egbaria held the coat in lieu of wearing it. “I wore the coat partially,” he said, feeling uneasy about wearing the GLBT pride flag. The consent form offered both wearing and not wearing the coat as possible ways to participate in the study. Egbaria was the only one to not wear it, though his flexibility and creative response to the challenge were enlightening and informing. Weller wore the coat inside out; the flags and symbols became the lining. He said, “I tried to bring the magician to life.”

Two participants mentioned the Israeli and Palestinian flags in connection to how they wore the coat. Binder said, “Maybe I can wear it on my right arm (If I forget thee Oh Jerusalem) and they will wear our flag on their left—a body needs both arms to function properly.” Eid spoke about the placement of the flags and the importance she felt in having both worn equally: “It was important for me to embrace both of the flags, the Israeli and the Palestinian, and to make them stand out on my shoulders.”

Generations

While wearing the coat some participants were reminded of family members and generations in their families. These generational links show up in the responses in different ways. Some participants were taken back in time to parents or grandparents who are no longer alive, whereas some connected to relatives who are still alive. Within the responses to wearing the coat, words that denote generations were found. These words were *grandfather* (Kelman), *father* (Einsten), *mom* (Bregman), *mother* (Stern), *grandmother* (Stern), and *son* (Bashir). Participants referred to family members via memories and associations that came up while wearing the coat.

It is not surprising that generations were commented on in the responses. The coat's symbols and the fact that the coat was tried on in Israel can be strongly connected to associations of family ties and origins. Familial, geographical, and national histories are linked by communal loss and hope in Israel.

Phase 2 Participants

Four participants were interviewed in the second phase of the study. Two participants were female and two were male. The participants will be referred to by their first names as agreed upon in the consent forms that were approved by the Lesley University Institutional Review Board. Beginning with the women, Nadia is 41 years old and a Muslim. She is one of the principals of a bilingual elementary school in Jerusalem. When asked to describe her identity, Nadia wrote, "I am a Palestinian woman who lives in Israel. I am a mother of three girls. I believe that the situation in this country should change and we should have the chance to live in peace." Elana is 69 years old. She is Jewish and is a social worker and the director of a Jewish–Arab women's organization. She is a professional mediator and negotiator. Elana wrote, "woman, Jewish, mother, grandmother, wife, friend, and facilitator of dialogue" as the description of her identity.

Sam, a 42-year-old Jewish man, is the educational director of a U.S. university's extension program in Israel. Sam scribed, "I am a Jew, born in the U.S., who came on *Aliyah* to Israel about 15 years ago," and added to the description of his identity that he is a husband, a son, and the proud father of three children. David is 49 years of age. He is a Roman Catholic, a Jesuit priest, and an educator. David answered the identity question with these words: "I am a Roman Catholic, Jesuit priest from a Jewish family that fled

Germany in the 1930s to South Africa (where I was born), and now live in Jerusalem as an Israeli citizen [and a] Hebrew- and Arabic-speaking Catholic."

Phase 2 Emergent Themes

In the second phase of this study I identified a total of 19 emergent themes, which are discussed below and summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Phase 2 Emergent Themes

Themes
Family, family values, childhood, and upbringing
Women
God and the word of God
National and religious identities
Borders and margins
Languages and translation
Ethnicity and race
Neighborhood, community, and society
Men
Stereotypes
Symbols
Documenting and witnessing
Wearing religious garb
Purpose, calling, and vocation
Normal–abnormal and traditional–nontraditional
Violence, suffering, and conflict
The coat
Cultural diversity, cultural identity, and multiculturalism
Other countries and cities

Family, Family Values, Childhood, and Upbringing

The four participants in the second phase of this study were brought up in different parts of the world. All four reported on childhoods with pluralistic awareness, in which they were exposed to diverse cultures, races, and ethnic groups that differed from their own. Elana, who grew up in the United States, said, "My parents were very unusual in that they moved beyond the Jewish circles that we were all involved with and they had friends who were not Jewish and friends from different races." She then added, "They just gave me the example of treating everyone the same and liking and appreciating, being interested in people from different cultures and different backgrounds, really seeing that it enriched their life and our life." In a very similar vein, Sam spoke about a "Jewish cultural upbringing," in the United States, and spoke about his parents, saying, "It was very important to them that we didn't ghettoize ourselves as children. Me and my brothers went out and were influenced by other cultures. We were very encouraged and rewarded to do that."

David spoke about his unusual upbringing in South Africa, saying:

> I was involved in an educational project with Black people. It was the first time that I met Black people. . . . I came from the only family I knew where there were no Black servants, which made us also marginal.

Nadia spoke about her family as "traditional-liberal"; giving this example:

> I didn't fast or pray. The family respected those who chose to fast and those who chose not to. It should be noted that this is unusual since it wasn't the norm that in a family that fasted during Ramadan someone should eat.

Nadia grew up in Nazareth, Israel, far away from South Africa and the United States. She summed up the influence of her unique childhood on her open-mindedness when she said, "Many of the things I was taught I still carry with me, and while I lost or gave up many others, my basic structure still follows the teachings of my parents about respecting the other, tolerance, patience, and liberalism."

A common thread of pluralistic family education runs through the personal childhood histories of all four participants. It would seem that the tolerant behavior that their parents modeled provided the basis for the cultural bridging that all four are involved in today.

Women

Of the four participants, the two women emphasized women in their interviews. It is interesting to note that the men did not mention or specify women in their interviews as a theme or topic. When asked about having a personal ideology or life philosophy, Nadia spoke about her identity, stating, "I define myself as a Palestinian woman." She continued on strongly, saying,

> As a woman who grew up in a traditional society, a society that largely defines itself as traditional, I'm a woman who believes in giving opportunities to women, empowering women and women's rights to decide and determine their own destiny, to see what suits them and what doesn't, to be independent financially, which is no less important, and to choose; simply to be able to choose what's good for her and not only what's good for society."

Elana reiterated these thoughts about women voicing opinions. Talking about the thoughts she had during the years of her son's recuperation after a near fatal terrorist

attack, she said, “what was happening demonstrated that men were not doing a great job, that what was missing were women. The women’s voice, the women’s power, the women’s contribution, the women’s energy, the women’s suffering.”

Elana noticed that the main place that women’s voices were heard was at funerals, where in the Middle East women often scream, moan, and wail. “That is the time that you hear the women’s voices and it’s accepted, nobody tries to shut them up, and everyone allows the women to express the pain that everyone is feeling.” She felt that there needed to be other venues to speak out, explaining, “for me it was very clear that what was missing was women and connecting women, so I just started looking for other women who were longing, thirsting, to have normal relationships with the other, and it wasn’t that hard.”

Both women mentioned the connections between violence and women in their interviews. Elana focused on what she referred to as “this sisterhood of suffering”: the shared suffering and collective loss that all women in the area endure and carry due to the political violence here. Nadia wondered about the differences and similarities between the violence that Arab and Jewish women experience.

As leaders and educators, both of these women have dedicated themselves to bettering the lives of women and girls, and to modeling a different way of being women leaders for men. They have both made substantial changes in their personal lives that have affected changes in other’s lives; changes that make the vision of living together in a nonviolent manner a real possibility.

God and the Word of God

Each of the interviewees spoke about religion, faith, and belief systems. God and sacred texts were directly mentioned by David and Sam. David discussed challenging "ethnic–cultural boundaries," and asked a priest he knew,

> All the borders that govern your thought or movement, your being in the world, are those the boundaries you want? Do you own them? Can you make them sacred? You inherited those sacred boundaries, but are they sacred in the sense that you can stand before God and say "Yes these are the boundaries I want in places"?

Sam spoke about his pluralistic belief system: "My worldview proposes or supposes that we are all here for a purpose regardless of our culture, we all have a mission in life, and that mission somehow involves bettering ourselves and our neighbors." He then connected this idea to faith in God and discussed the concept of *Kabbalat Ol Malchut Shamayim,* which translated from the Hebrew means "accepting the Yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven." In a simplified manner, this means to accept and observe God's commandments. Sam stated,

> We are all in some way equal under God in a sense that we all have a mission to do, that the mission is to better the world, better ourselves and through observing God's commandments, and that in the end our work will be properly recognized.

In Israel religion and the state are not separate, nor is discussing God and religion a social taboo. The idea that one may perceive rules as God-given, and challenge these tenets, is bold. The participants have shown that one can be a believer, have faith in God, and still ask challenging questions about culturally accepted standards and norms.

National and Religious Identities

Religious and national identities and affiliations were discussed by all four participants. Data analysis indicates that for these participants cultural belonging is multilayered and complex.

Sam described his primary identity as Jewish. He said that being Jewish "is the main identification of my culture, and it's had very practical and concrete, significant consequences." Some of these consequences, according to Sam, included leaving America and moving to Israel (making *Aliyah*). On a personal level Sam discussed his being Jewish, saying that "being a Jew isn't something you turn on or off, it's not something that doesn't have responsibilities—I believe that it has very serious and meaningful responsibilities that require certain actions." He considers making *Aliyah* to be one of those responsibilities as a Jew, although he also mentioned seeing himself as "a son of America." Sam also explored his Jewish identity in his response, which he did immediately after wearing the cultural coat. He noticed that although there were other cultural symbols, he responded almost solely to "my culture's native ritual prayer object." Sam went on to talk about his self-identification as a Jew, and how it is juxtaposed against other cultural–national identities.

Professionally, Sam spoke about a unique culturally mixed course that he documented in a film: "Of course there are programs where Jews and Arabs mix, but what was special about this group of Arabs and Jews was that they were found in almost equal numbers in their group." The fact that this was considered so unusual is a reminder of how religious and national identity often separate groups even in higher education settings in Israel.

Nadia's sense of self definition was clear: "I define myself as a Palestinian more than an Arab, since that is what feels stronger within my emotions and identity." Her identity as an empowered, independent-minded Palestinian-Arab-Muslim woman was challenged at her first teaching position in East Jerusalem. Nadia told the story of how she arrived for the first day of school on the first day of Ramadan to find that "there was no coffee pot, coffee, sugar, or anything" in the teacher's lounge. After inquiring, she was informed that there would be no eating or drinking by anyone in the school for that month, including non-Muslim teachers. Her reaction was strong: "It was a tremendous shock for me. I give you respect and accept you, but when do you respect me? It can't be one-sided; respect is a two-way street."

Nadia was not used to religion being imposed on her and reported that she ate and drank in an open manner, not hiding, for the years she taught there: "I made a habit of sitting down to eat at every break, not to hide, and to show people that this is what I need, what I want, that this is my Ramadan, and what I choose." Her daughter now fasts on Ramadan at home, and Nadia respects and invests time and effort in the ritual fully at home, but does not fast herself. Her interest in cultural, national, and religious identity is deep. She posed an interesting twofold question to me: "During your work on your doctorate, did you really find evidence that multicultural gatherings can undercut the personal identities of both sides? Did you meet someone whom it hurt, instead of empowered?"

Elana spoke about being raised as a Reformed Jew and about being made aware of other facets of her identity when she met her husband, an Israeli, in Chicago, Illinois, during the Six-Day War, saying, "it was a real awakening for me." She then spoke about

how Israel being threatened made her realize, “I have never thought about my Jewish identity.” Her commitment to Israel grew thereafter. Elana’s work as the director of an organization called *Trust Emun Thikkah* is based on the idea that Israeli Jews can “live the truth of our religion, which is to love thy neighbor as thyself and treat thy neighbor with respect.”

David began his interview with a seemingly simple sentence about his origins and identity: “I was born into a family of refugees who arrived from Nazi Germany in the 1930s to South Africa. They established themselves and I was born in the early ’60s within a Jewish community.” Later he shared that he has since moved to Israel and become a Jesuit Catholic priest. David told a wonderful story about a visiting Lebanese, Jesuit, Maronite student priest whom he took to meet a special family in East Jerusalem. “The family in Jerusalem I call my family,” David said, explaining that it is “a family of Muslims, Palestinians, Arabs, a family that has been really my adopted family in Jerusalem for tens of years.” The young visiting priest was challenged and confused on many levels at this family’s home. First he was surprised that they were Muslim, then, when he reprimanded David, saying, “Father, why didn’t you tell me you were a Muslim?” David answered, “I am not a Muslim, I am a Jew.” This may be as confusing at first for the reader as it was for the young priest. To clarify, David was born Jewish in South Africa, and then became a Catholic priest who lives in Jerusalem. He simply wanted to introduce the visiting younger priest to his adopted Jerusalem family who happen to be Muslim. It turns out that this was not simple at all for the Christian, Lebanese student. The student priest had never met a Jew, nor spoken to a Muslim. He went on to become active in connecting Muslims and Christians in Lebanon.

David also mentioned the children's camp that he runs during the summer as a place where religious, cultural, sociopolitical, and lingual identities are diverse and complex. He said that there is cultural connecting there: "At the end of the *kaytanna* [camp], there were friendships, not between all and all, but between some and some, which was enough to show that it's possible."

Each person carries the identity they were given at birth, their cultural origins, and the cultural layers they have added and/or discarded throughout their life. Cultural awareness then is not only of others but is first an awareness of one's own culture and the many ways it colors one's life. Owning one's cultural identity, in all its transformations and processes, is probably the first step toward being tolerant and accepting of other cultural identities.

Borders and Margins

In Israel, and in the participants' interviews, borders, divides, and all things that separate peoples and places are prominent. For some the barriers were more concrete and for others more conceptual.

Sam spoke about the literal border crossing that participants made in order to be part of a professional conference. "In 2006 we organized a conference called 'Imagine: An expression in the service of humanity'; there were many components to it, and one of them was that we brought Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza to participate." In another reference to the experience of the conference he remembered feelings of fear toward a Muslim participant, which affected how he felt. One could understand this fear as a barrier: "Somewhere underneath the active consciousness, I was aware and mindful

of some discomfort coming from our different backgrounds, and I think my fear—I don't know why I would particularly fear her, but there was a cultural fact there."

Elana spoke about a childhood in which set boundaries were challenged by her family: "My parents were very unusual in that they moved beyond the Jewish circles that we were all involved with." This might have affected her, because she reported that when she moved to Israel later on in life, "From the time I got here I wanted to relate to the Arabs that were here and somehow work to do something to impact this horrible conflict." In a similar vein, she talked in her interview about her belief that crossing cultural divides can be done person to person:

> In my experience what I've seen is how people to people works and that the deepening of relationships changes a person's life, changes everything, the way they look at things, the way they relate to their family, to their friends, to the conflict.

Elana reiterated this point and spoke about people being able to cross over the divides, with a vision that "it won't be such a unique thing that only a few are doing, but universal and that's what everyone is doing." As part of her work of repairing the gap between groups in Jerusalem she stated, "We do basic work to build trust and understanding among people." This trust and understanding are the foundations of building a society less divided and separated.

David spoke at length about margins. His deep self-awareness of originating from the margins and the effect this had on his entire path is intriguing—from his childhood ("It was a childhood of growing up with a great awareness of being marginal, marginal

because we were Jews, marginal because we were opponents of the apartheid regime") to his adult transformation that began on his first visit to Israel:

> The formative perspective of living on the margin was very foundational in coming to Israel. A few things happened when I came; I had my first encounter with Christianity, which changed my life, I had my first encounter with Palestinian Arabs, which changed my life too, so once again I found myself very much on the margins.

David concluded that his life now, as the head of the Hebrew-speaking Catholic community, is marginal as well. "Once I fully entered the Roman Catholic Church, I first of all belonged to a community that has a perspective on the margins, and that is the Hebrew-speaking community, which very much emphasizes continuity with Jewish tradition." David also referred to geographic and cultural borders that are perceived of as sacred and the "shock of discovering that those borders are not absolute, that there are those who refuse to submit to these borders."

Nadia spoke about her separate childhood in Nazareth, saying:

> When I grew up it was completely and only among Arabs, there were no Jewish people living in Nazareth, only Christian and Muslim Arabs. . . . I studied in an Arab school, and until I graduated, my direct contact with Jews was almost nonexistent. I mean I saw Jewish people around me, I heard them speak, but I had no contact with any Jew, man, woman, or child, a complete disconnection.

The ability to see boundaries and borders in divided societies as permeable is held by all of the participants in Phase 2 of this study. Each of them is building bridges across

such borders in different ways. The margins that were mentioned can be seen as seams; Jerusalem can be seen as a city whose seams connect and separate.

Ethnicity and Race

Race was not mentioned often, but when it was, it came up dramatically. In Israel race and racism are not exclusively connected to skin color, though that is one component of race. If one understands race as synonymous with ethnicity and nationality, then taking into consideration the complex ethno-religious and political aspects of race in Israel, one can perhaps begin to understand why the word can mean different things to different people in Israel.

David spoke about racism toward Black children in the Hebrew-speaking cross-cultural Catholic children's summer camps he directs in Israel. He told the story of White children who refused to swim in a pool with Black children. They finally admitted their reason for not cooling off on a hot summer day in Israel, and David's reply to them was, "If that's the reason, you don't need to swim, simply don't go into the swimming pool." Soon after speaking to them, the children jumped in the pool to swim. David explained that "they learned that even to be in the swimming pool with Black people is fine." They literally had to test the waters and see that this was a new possibility; the possibility of sharing space with people of another race.

Elana spoke about the pluralistic awareness of her upbringing in the United States; about sharing an unusual moment she had with her mother:

> My mother took me to peace marches and took me to march with Martin Luther King when he came to Chicago, and I wasn't thinking how no one else's mother

took them to these things, I was just thinking how wonderful it was going to these things with her.

Judging and holding opinions of people based solely on the color of their skin, the religious garb they wear, or their accents when they speak, for example, still exist in Israel and in other countries. One's biases can be carried secretly or openly. Research on education at an early age—the kind of pluralistic education cited by the participants—may hold important information as to how prejudice and stereotypes are challenged and transformed. The way in which these participants respond to cultural differences as adults may or may not have a direct connection to how they were educated as children. Welcoming or rejecting difference is possibly a process that can be molded and shaped by personal experience and internalized by education.

Languages and Translation

Translation can refer to language, but it can also refer to culture in multicultural and cross-cultural meetings. Cross-cultural interactions may be misunderstood and misconstrued due to lack of cultural translation.

Sam talked about academic courses in Israel that do not always cross cultures as smoothly as expected: "Some programs that we have imported from America, when presented to Israelis, are understood in totally different ways than they were intended, so we in this program are often in the position of cultural translators." Although Sam did not specify which course, courses that are culturally situated—for example, courses about biases, racism, and social justice—can be translated to the cultural and sociopolitical climate of the students. For example, the syllabus for a course on multiculturalism that is

taught in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, differs from the one taught in Jerusalem. Culture is complex to translate.

Nadia talked about how language skills do not always lead to communication. She remembered that as an Arab girl, "although we studied Hebrew in school from the third grade, we never really used it. We studied mostly literary language, reading and writing, but we never acquired conversational skills in the language." Continuing her story, Nadia remarked on the strong emotional aspects connected to Hebrew for her: "The language was connected to fear and alienation, so we didn't have the courage to use the language for anything beyond." As an adult, Nadia chose to have her own children learn in a bilingual nursery school, which is where the concept of the bilingual school and high school originated. She said, "I suddenly discovered the added value of that joint meeting when my daughters got to experience this something that I missed."

David chose to learn a new language as an adult after moving to Israel:

> I decided very early on to learn Arabic and then specialized in Arabic when I was in University. It was very important for me to be able to communicate, and that too, being formative in my first years in Israel, led me to another choice that put me on the margins.

David held the belief that languages can be vehicles of mutual exclusion and inclusion. He speaks many languages, and uses them. One example of this is that he teaches Judaism in Arabic, and teaches Christianity in Hebrew. David directs the only Hebrew-speaking Roman Catholic community in Israel.

Language is one way to cross cultural boundaries, though not the only way. Also, like all components of culture, if misused, language can be abusive and can impede

communication. Inclusive behaviors in divided societies can include, among other things, language sharing and language respecting. When working in multicultural settings, it seems pertinent to ask if learning a new language could be part of cultural learning. How far will people go to in the process of becoming culturally enlightened translators?

Neighborhood, Community, and Society

The results indicate that the participants were raised and strive to live today in diverse communities and neighborhoods. The way these places were referred to in the interviews was eye opening.

Sam spoke about his childhood in the United States, discussing his parents' influence by saying, "it was very important to them that we didn't ghettoize ourselves." David also used the word *ghetto,* referring to "a type of Christians who might prefer to live in a ghetto and our vocation is not to be a ghetto, but a very open place." Nadia alluded to the community-building potential that the bilingual school has offered from the start, saying, "When the children were born, we had a shared experience in kindergarten with the children, a first real, right, and interesting Jewish–Arab contact."

The word *ghetto* or references to separate neighborhoods can bring up associations of historical ethnic cleansing, racial divides, and horrific images. Moving out of a ghetto or ghetto mentality seems to be a shared vision of the four participants. Perhaps the creating of new communities is the antithesis to ghetto building. Each of the participants has referred to the building of new communities, pluralistic ones that are shared by many peoples. Communities, whether based in schools, universities, churches, synagogues, mosques, or community centers, for example, might provide a safe environment for people from diverse backgrounds to explore the sense of community

building while lessening the fear of cultural assimilation. Perhaps it is the unspoken ghettos that are the hardest to see and the ones people fear the most.

Men

Men were mentioned in diverse ways, though not often, in the interviews. Elana mentioned the influence on women of men being hurt or killed on both the Israeli and Palestinian sides. She also bemoaned inequality and the imbalance of power that men have in the Middle East in the political, military, economic, and religious realms: "it's men, men, men, men, men," she emphasized.

Nadia related to men in connection to violence, which was brought to the surface when she tried on the cultural coat. Her reaction was physical and emotional. David spoke about "not always looking at the world from the perspective of the center, the empowered masculine strong center."

Stereotypes

Stereotypes and how people are perceived came up in all four interviews. The concepts of breaking or challenging stereotypes ran through all of the interviews. Sam said that in his Jewish cultural upbringing "there was an aspect that stressed the need to accept everyone as equal, as not partaking of negative stereotypes."

Nadia did not speak directly about stereotypes, but being the principal of a school that is bilingual and multicultural in Jerusalem is stereotype-breaking and perception-bending in and of itself. She mentioned that "managing a bilingual school is not a standard affair," going on to say, "A lot of your activity is ideological activity and everything you do has an ideological aspect to it: what you teach, the partnerships, the first and second languages, how to conduct religious studies, and how to deal with

outside." It seems that the bilingual school has created a new ideology; one in which children, their parents, and teachers are accepted and respected for their cultural diversity.

David stated that children in the summer camps he directs can meet other children and perhaps break ingrained stereotypes, for example:

> Some of the Russian-speaking families are very right-wing, with a lot of racism at home and the children, because they're children and maybe aren't so language oriented yet, they can accept the children they're meeting without immediately thinking "But these children are part of certain categories I've learned."

David and the other three interviewees are determined to create situations in which diverse people can be in contact, therefore promoting tolerance and reducing fear.

Symbols

In the study's first phase, the meanings and influences of symbols were explored. In the four interviews in Phase 2 the symbols of the cultural coat served as a rich base for further exploration of symbols by the participants.

Elana was moved by the womanly shapes and symbols on the coat, but she also said, "I see the Israeli flag with the Palestinian flag, and it's very beautiful they're together and all." Elana connected to these nationalistic symbols, but added, "I just immediately connected with all of the mothers behind the symbols."

Sam mentioned, "It was interesting to me that the Palestinian flag woven into the coat did not prevent me from making a near total association of the coat with my culture's native, ritual prayer object." He was intrigued by this noninterference, and talked about wanting to deepen his understanding of this conscious and unconscious process in the future. He continued:

> I would like to check myself, to inquire whether this is indicative that I am comfortable with a Palestinian existence and it does not interfere with my self-identification as a Jew, or if my prism of experience filters out the symbols of Palestinian nationalism, or if there is another explanation for the phenomenon.

Nadia had very different things to say about symbols. She spoke at length about how symbols can control and lead people, discussing the role of symbols in national ceremonies. Nadia said, "We follow their rules, we get stuck in the symbols; and as long as I don't have the flexibility to change them according to my needs, I want nothing to do with them." Nadia also stated that universal symbols were not a problem, but religious ones were: "Religious symbols are frightening; they separate, and keep people apart. Like national symbols which do the same." Nadia sought cultural and religious connectivity; she mentioned wanting only symbols that connect.

David pointed out that in the Hebrew-speaking Catholic community certain symbols—and the connecting of Jewish and Christian symbols—can be offensive to some and accepted by others. He mentioned having to be delicate with symbols. "We do a lot of very delicate joining of symbols like what you did in the coat, which sometimes means we need to be careful not to offend others." The church in the Hebrew-speaking Catholic community is almost completely void of symbols—a tiny cross adorns on wall, and an icon hangs on another. This is a very different use of symbols than what most of the Catholic churches in Jerusalem practice.

How one experiences symbols is subjective. The chance to be close to an unfamiliar symbol or one that repulses or enrages a person might be the chance to

experience that symbol in new light. Such experiences and research offer possibilities for improvisation and change.

Documenting and Witnessing

Both David and Sam directly discussed the theme of documenting and witnessing in their interviews, and there are elements of both documentation and witnessing in Elana and Nadia's work too. Documenting, for these participants, can be understood as the seeing and telling of stories and experiences; the act of respecting life stories by holding them and passing them on. Witnessing can then be understood as seeing with eyes that are ready to document; holding and standing by what one has seen is witnessing. Witnesses are depended on to prove that something has really happened.

David discussed the connection between witnessing, language, and border crossing, reflecting,

> It's also the attempt to move back and forth in societies which are mutually exclusive, it's also an attempt to be a witness to a different kind of language, a more inclusive language, and so the borders are very clear, where the borders are, but there is almost a defiance, living life in defiance of these borders, insisting on crossing them back and forth and bearing witness.

David added that language is a constant witness to the crossing of borders. Knowing various languages in Israel can open up the understanding of unspoken stories. Knowing the stories that are not always spoken aloud can be a type of witnessing. Language then can serve as a witness by uncovering unknown information.

Sam spoke about a course at Lesley University in Israel in which Jewish and Arab students were enrolled, which he documented as a film. "A hybrid series of norms was

formed, and that affected how the group behaved, and how the individuals in the group behaved, and I felt we couldn't just let that go, it had to be documented." Witnessing and documenting important moments is a way of protecting, holding, and passing those moments on to others. Sometimes proof is needed to remind one that change is possible.

Wearing Religious Garb

Traditional garb of many kinds is worn in Jerusalem and one can see a veritable parade of diverse cultural clothing. For example, on a Friday afternoon outside the gates of the Old City, one might see Jews in different types of traditional clothes worn for Sabbath only walking toward the Western Wall passing Muslims dressed in special clothes for Holy Friday prayers walking back from the Mosque of Omar, while nuns and priests in diverse garb, depending on their order and culture, shop and prepare for the Sunday day of prayer and rest; at times all of these people wait side by side for the light to turn green at the crosswalk outside the New Gate. Each of these people can be wearing different head coverings, clothes, stockings, and shoes, all signs of belonging to different groups. Each can also be carrying signs of their identity: prayer books, prayer rugs, and rosary beads, for example. Although not mentioned directly in all of the interviews, there were several connections to traditional clothing.

For example, when I explained the interview steps to Elana, she went to cover her head, as traditional Jewish women do when seen in public, for the photo shoot. On Sam's desk I noticed a *tallit* resting in clear protective plastic, awaiting the next morning prayer time. David asked for his portrait to be taken in the church within his home, which gave the whole photo shoot a religious feeling, and the coat seemed more like religious garb than ever to me in that setting.

When Sam told his cultural story about the conference and sharing a ride with a Muslim woman, he described himself and the woman by their traditional head coverings. "I'm a *kippa*-wearing Jew, and she is a *hijab*-wearing Muslim." He also mentioned the symbols on the coat that reminded him of his own *tallit,* "which I don every day in prayer."

David was dressed in regular clothes during the interview. I had seen him at an interfaith event held by Pope Benedict XVI in 2009 in full priestly garb. When asked about wearing clerical clothing he explained that he changes from the most unfaithful clothing to the most formally traditional clothing as a priest, depending on where, when, and with whom he will be. He went on to say, "More complex than that is that some people always wear their faith, some never do." David added about garb and faith:

> That's also mediating, and mediating in terms of not what I would put on that is most comfortable, or something very personal, but again, where I am going to be, who I am going to be communicating with on any particular day.

Religious and traditional garb have crossed borders in this postmodern age of globalization. Living with and amongst people who wear their religion publicly in clothing and head coverings is an ever-growing challenge worldwide. Divulging or hiding one's religiosity can have cultural consequences of many kinds. Often in Jerusalem people literally wear their religion on their sleeves.

Purpose, Calling, and Vocation

Working with people in Israel with a focus on peacemaking, cultural inclusion, cultural empathy, and tolerance has been referred to in some of the interviews as a calling, vocation, or mission.

Elana began her work years as a member of the Peace Corps. She felt called to continue the work of her brother, who had been killed in Columbia. Later on, in Israel, after her son was nearly killed in a terrorist attack, Elana said, "I knew I had been called in some way through all that was going on, and the only response I could have was first of all to think what could I do to strengthen the energies of nonviolence."

While Elana was beginning her work toward tolerance in Israel with women from diverse religious backgrounds, the Dalai Lama came to Israel. She met with him and asked for a blessing. She said that his response was:

> I'll give you my blessing, but what difference does it make? The real blessing has to come by going deep inside yourself and getting all of your own power and energy, and coming out and doing what you have to do.

Sam related to the calling of the Jewish teachings about having a mission. He discussed the Jewish concept of accepting the "Yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven, *Kabbalat Ol Malchut Shamayim*." This refers to the accepting of responsibilities, of doing the mission that you are assigned to do to better the world. David spoke about the idea that his community's vocation "is not to be a ghetto, but a very open place." He also said that his marginal life could be seen as a calling: "All of this almost makes being on the margin almost what I understand is a vocation."

The participants in Phase 2 of this study hold in common a vocation of education—educating toward peace, cultural tolerance, and social change among those who have not necessarily felt called upon to live a tolerant life. One of the challenges of such a vocation includes stepping outside the comfort zone of teaching multiculturalism to those who are already open to it, and facing conflict in the places of conflict itself.

Preaching to the Pope, as the idiom goes, though uplifting and a good practice, is only a first step. The next step is to reach the people who spread hatred and see violence as a normal form of resistance. The challenge is to cross borders into uncharted territories, to take cultural learning on a more far-reaching journey. The challenge is to travel to places that are challenging.

Normal–Abnormal and Traditional–Nontraditional

There are many references in the interviews to what people and society consider normal and abnormal, or traditional and nontraditional. These are mentioned in other themes that emerged. The four participants have all, in some way, transformed or improvised on the traditions upon which they were raised. Accepted social, religious, or cultural norms in Israel are connected to cultural expectations and are subjective. What follows are direct statements that relate to the challenging of some accepted norms in Israel on behalf of the interviewees.

Sam said,

> My culture, my personality, and the things I like to do, the way I see the world are very much influenced by the education I received there and the cultural norms that I viewed in the time I spent in America.

Moving from one culture to another often highlights and illuminates what we have taken with us and what we have left behind. In all their diversity, American Jewish culture and Israeli Jewish culture are radically different. Elana spoke about breaking accepted norms, and creating new ones, by planning a conference. “We started planning a big conference that we held a few months later in Nazareth for 80 women—20 Muslims, 20 Christians,

20 Jews, and 20 Druze," she recollected, continuing, "We started working with a whole core of women who really wanted to have normal relationships."

Nadia spoke a lot about the traditional–nontraditional fusion that her family and home offered. She said that now as an adult, "Many things I was taught I still carry with me, and while I lost or gave up many others, my basic structure still follows the teaching of my parents about respecting the other, tolerance, patience, and liberalism." Seeing beyond what is perceived as normal or accepted by the majority characterizes the participants' beliefs and actions. This seeing beyond is the imagining of rituals and traditions—both those that are written in stone and those that are flexible.

Violence, Suffering, and Conflict

The Middle East is known throughout the world for its conflicts. Although the emphasis of this study was on attitudes about cultures, the shadows and echoes of the conflict, with their underlying violence and pain, appeared in quite a few places in the interviews.

In a culturally bound story that Sam told the shadow of possible violence emerged. The story was about sharing a car ride with a Muslim woman in Israel. When Sam noticed the woman taking a sharp pin out of her traditional headdress his unconscious fear of violence arose. Although he processed this in more than one way, including the thought that she was grooming herself, he was aware that as a Jewish man he also felt fearful and threatened.

Nadia spoke about violence by men. In the written response to the coat she mentioned feeling actual traces of physical violence while donning the coat. Nadia

connected the ties that were sewn into the sleeves of the coat to "violence by men who actually seemed nonviolent."

Elana had strong associations to suffering and the conflict when she wore the coat, reflecting afterwards in the interview, "That's really what I felt, and wearing it [made me feel] so self-conscious of the suffering of so many women as a result of our conflict." Associative memories she had of violence were those of her brother being killed in the Peace Corps in the 1960s and, more recently, of her son's near death in Jerusalem in the 1980s: "My son was almost killed in a Palestinian suicide bombing."

Elana also spoke about the underlying mistrust and fear of violence that came up when she was rooming with an Arab woman at an interfaith conference. Before going to sleep in the beds that were next to each other, both she and her roommate shared what they thought their families would say if they knew about the close sleeping conditions. Elana remembered her roommate, Ibtisam, saying, "You know, if my family back in Faradis knew I was going to sleep in a room with a strange Jewish woman, they would say 'Wow, aren't you afraid she's going to knife you, to kill you?'" Elana's immediate response was, "Knife you! You Arabs are the ones that knife us." According to Elana, they both burst out laughing, after realizing that they had quickly reached a level of primal fear. They have since been working together and are dear friends, but that initial shadow of fear was there.

David connected the wearing of the coat to violence in a different manner. He imagined dreams. "Can I decipher the dreams of those abused and wounded—Dreams of healing, wholeness, happiness, freedom . . ." he wrote in his written response to the coat. Later on, in the interview, David discussed the effect of the violent Nazi period on his

Jewish family's awareness and behavior toward other cultures. The shadow of that violence continued to influence the family during the apartheid period in South Africa. David reported that the violence, the unrest, and the murder of a prominent activist during his teenage years in South Africa resulted in his being sent off to Israel. Years later, when he was already a Catholic priest, David learned that the previously mentioned visiting Lebanese priest who initially reacted with prejudice to a Muslim family had a violent shadow in his own family history too. David explained, "He grew up in a very closed Christian ghetto, in fact I learned afterwards that his father had been kidnapped by Muslims and murdered."

These reflections on experiences of close contact with other cultures in conflict-ridden societies are rich in authentic learning. This kind of learning is not theoretical; it is based on close cross-cultural exchanges of an intimate nature. The expectation that violence and conflict can only separate is challenged by the experiences and stories shared by the participants.

The Coat

The reactions to the experience of wearing the coat of cultural symbols were as diverse as the symbols included in the design of the coat. The range of emotions felt and expressed went from joy, to fear, to deep sorrow, and included associations of prayer.

David connected to joy when he tried the coat on:

> I immediately thought of the Isaiah text that described the casting off of clothes of mourning and putting on a new robe of joy—joyful dancing, new life, the coat itself in its colours and its bells sings and dances a hymn of new life.

Another aspect of wearing the coat for David was that he connected to the story of Joseph and the multicoloured coat in the Bible: “Not only a multicoloured coat, but also a coat that is made up of dreams—each symbol evoking dreams of individuals and peoples.”

At one point Elana was overwhelmed and began to sob. She related, “As I enveloped myself in the coat, I was overwhelmed with feelings of pain and started to shake and cry for all the sorrows of the mothers represented in the symbols sewn on the coat.” Her strong resonance was with the symbols on the back of the coat, the more amorphic shapes that she described in these words: “I saw a womb there and I saw all of these lovely curves, I mean there is something enormously feminine about it.” Elana discussed what she spontaneously named “the sisterhood of suffering.”

Sam was surprised by how quickly wearing the coat connected him to issues and insights:

> I didn’t make the conclusions, but putting on the coat raised some questions, which is the kind of process that usually takes place over months and years, and here in a couple of seconds I noticed, for instance, there were some symbols on the coat I just didn’t process, that I didn’t see at all, and what does that say about the way I see the world?

He then spoke about the coat being a metaphor for life, that there is a lot going on in the coat, as in life. He spoke about seeing and processing, saying, “I think it’s a lot about cultural background that determines what we see, but here in just a couple of seconds I was given a report about what is processed and isn’t processed by my consciousness.”

Sam connected strongly to Jewish prayer when he tried the coat on. He reflected, "When putting the coat on I found myself *shukling,* moving rhythmically back and forth as I do in the Jewish prayer service."

Nadia spoke and wrote about her physical and emotional feelings of repulsion toward the coat. When trying it on she reported having "goose bumps," and wrote, "I had chills and a feeling of repulsion, that the fabric of the coat should not touch my body," and, "I felt like someone was touching me in a very personal manner, like it was penetrating my body," finally admitting, "I wanted to get it away from me." Nadia also stated that the violence mentioned in my introduction prior to the actual wearing of the coat (when I stated that the coat was sewn from symbols of peoples who have been victims of violence due to cultural identity) came up for her when the coat was on her body. Elana also mentioned being influenced by the statement, which was made to all four participants.

Nadia noted that it felt strange to connect in this powerful way to the feelings that the wearing of the coat evoked. She was able to then connect to another layer of the experience that occurred while her photo portrait was being taken: "When I took the picture I thought for a moment: What if this happened to me, what if someone acted violently towards me, what would I feel?"

Each of the participants had ideas about how the coat could be used in their work. Nadia imagined each student from first to ninth grade having special time to make their own unique coat: "Each student can make [a] coat the way they see fit, and then you could see the great diversity of people who we think are the same."

David spoke about the cross-cultural children's camp he runs in the summers when asked about using the coat. He explained that the children are a rich and complex mixture of Christian Arabs; Russian, Filipino, African, Palestinian Arabs; children of former South Lebanese Army collaborators; and families who live in Jewish Israeli neighborhoods. David said:

> Bringing all these children together, very often language is insufficient, so that's what came to mind when you asked, "Do you think you could use this coat?" and on two levels something like the coat or a similar type of coat, because what you explained was here you're bringing many symbols together, sewing them together maybe in a way language can't say yet, but the ability to sew them together gives the impression of one garment, which is the garment that the Hebrew-speaking Catholic church wear, because we bring all this together in ways that work, but are hard to formulate.

Sam spoke about using the coat by saying:

> I'm not going to get into a monologue on how art changes, but we all know that's how it works. I think it would be very useful both in raising topics and overcoming barriers and obstacles that people might have that might prevent them from talking about these otherwise very important issues.

Elana saw a use for the coat in her work as well, talking about tools that "get us beyond the usual dialogue." She continued:

> But anything like that immediately enables people to transcend their own reality and to connect to a larger reality, or maybe just go into very deep personal feelings. . . . It's something that is a real tool or vehicle for expression that could

be very beneficial in having everyone take a turn putting it on and express[ing] how they feel when they wear the coat.

Cultural Diversity, Cultural Identity, and Multiculturalism

The multicultural coat and the interviews that followed the process of trying it on were interwoven with multiculturalism and cultural diversity. The nature of the symbols on the coat, their juxtaposition, and the act of wearing the coat on the body connected the participants to multiculturalism in a direct, visceral manner.

Sam spoke about culture from an educator's perspective, stating that at Lesley University in Israel cultural issues, multiculturalism, and cultural identities are covered from many angles in the programs there. Nadia also discussed these topics of culture as an educator and as the principal of a bilingual school. She talked about one of the goals of this multicultural educational setting: "At least we can give the 500 students who attend this school a chance to experience a multicultural environment." Nadia talked about how daily life at the school strengthens her and finally said, "I think that if you bring children from all sorts of different cultures and backgrounds and bring them together, they can bridge the great gaps between them and find things in common."

Elana was transported back in time and remembered the diversity of her childhood, when her parents sold encyclopedias. "They had people working for them who were Black and worked in the Black neighborhoods, and Chinese who worked in the Chinese neighborhoods," she shared. "All kinds of people that were in and out of our home and that were really friends of my parents." Elana herself showed a great ability to accept other cultures. She spoke about "Catholic Colombians who became like family to me" during her time in the Peace Corps in the '60s.

Other Countries and Cities

Besides Israel and Jerusalem, many other places around the world were mentioned in the interviews. Some were mentioned in the participants' personal accounts of their childhoods and familial origins. For example, Nazi Germany and South Africa were mentioned by David, whereas America was spoken about by both Sam and Elana. The other countries, cities, and areas that were mentioned in the interviews were Palestine, Chicago, Colombia, Faradis, Daliat El Carmel, East Berlin, Nazareth, Natanya, Cambridge, the West Bank, Gaza, the Philippines, Russia, Africa, Galilee, Lebanon, South Africa, Rosh Hanikra, and Beirut. It seems that the participants interviewed share a globally rich life.

The active cultural bridging and stretching that the participants engage in is perhaps practiced each time they come in contact with new countries, peoples, and cultures. The stories and images shared in the four interviews in Phase 2 of this study can be seen as cultural research micro-laboratories. Each participant has moved beyond the walls of the imagined lab to the larger (macro) world to educate and influence others with the wisdom they have acquired through richly lived reflective inquiry.

Phase 3 Art-Based Research Process

Each of the four participants was photographed while wearing the coat; these are referred to as coat portraits. Looking carefully at these photographed images after the interviews gave me a different lens for looking; both the act of photographing the participants and studying the photos afterward offered me deeper and more meaningful reflection in the art-based research process that followed while painting and writing poems.

After each photo shoot and interview I meditated on sentences in the interviews that seemed to pop out and be more meaningful from the start. I thought about each sentence or image deeply and when I was ready, I began to paint on a large (120 cm x 90 cm) canvas, using wide brushes in order to enhance the improvisational aspect of the painting process and to attempt to avoid masterful manipulation based on prior painting skills. This process took a few weeks. When each painting was finished, I sat before it and looked at the painted image carefully, remembering things from the photographs and the interviews as well. This intense reflection culminated in writing a poem for each image.

Phase 3 Art-Based Results

The art-based results are organized based on the participant that inspired each element and are presented in this order: Elana, Nadia, David, and Sam. The order of the art-based results is similar to the one that I experienced during the research: first the photo portrait of the participant, then the image I painted that was informed by a meaningful statement made by the participant, and finally the poem I wrote that synthesized the entire process.

Elana

In Figure 10 Elana is captured crying immediately after putting on the coat. What cannot be seen in the photo is that her hands were shaking as well. After developing the photograph, the hand-embroidered wall hanging saying *peace* in Arabic, Hebrew, and English was seen clearly over her head, although I did not initially conciously notice it when the photograph was taken. The photo was taken in Elana's home-based office.

Figure 10. Elana

Elana used the term “the sisterhood of suffering” when she spoke about the intense emotional and physical response she had to wearing the coat. After the interview I was deeply moved by these words and began to paint an image that reflected what the term “sisterhood of suffering” could look like (Figure 11). I used acrylic paints and oil pastels in layers. Some of thoughts and feelings that informed the painting process were that the red blood could simultaneously symbolize the loss of life-giving menstrual blood,

the blood lost during birth, and the blood lost in terrorist attacks and war—all of these being bloody losses that affect women and cause them to suffer.

Figure 11. The Sisterhood of Suffering

When the painting was finished I wrote two poems in response to reflecting on the painted image, the term "sisterhood of suffering," and the photo portrait. The choice of printing these poems in red ink was another art-informed decision.

“The Sisterhood of Suffering (I)”

From within

the wallpapered womb

of the sisterhood of suffering,

Women wail,

Women chant,

Women pray,

Women beg,

Women cry out,

In pain,

Lamenting the loss

of their connecting,

communal blood.

From within

the wallpapered womb

of the sisterhood of suffering,

this red-garbed sorority

seeks placental peace.

“The Sisterhood of Suffering (II)”

We are all members of

The sisterhood of suffering

With bruised souls

That need a place to heal,

For the black and blue

To change colors

And

Fade away.

Nadia

Figure 12. Nadia

Figure 12 portrays Nadia standing against the background of the wall of her office at the bilingual school where she is the principal. The artwork in the background was created by Jewish and Arab pupils in the school. I had no idea that Nadia was repulsed by wearing the coat while she posed for the portrait; this information arose afterwards in the written response and recorded interview. At first glance one might notice the beginning of a smile on Nadia's face, thus implying that she is happy in the coat; the interpretation of images can be tricky and often misleading.

In the interview following the coat wearing Nadia spoke about teaching Jewish and Arab children to be culturally accepting and tolerant in Israel. She called this process "a drop in the ocean."

Figure 13. A Drop in the Ocean

Though previously faced with such feelings personally, I ruminated over these few powerful words for days before the images began to appear on the canvas (Figure 13). The black and gold egg shape at the center of the canvas was painted over and over for weeks, with many layers of paint, before the painting was concluded. It was important to me to illuminate the black with gold paint, to be able to discern the drop at the bottom of the ocean. On the left side of the canvas is a white space that is not painted; it became necessary while painting for me to leave a place untouched, perhaps symbolizing a place where something new can appear—a place that represents the "unfinishedness" of what teaching tolerance can feel like in Israel.

While reflecting on the painting, the portrait, and the interview, I was struck by images of change that happen unseen, that are perceived as being small, like a drop in the ocean. Thoughts and feelings about how and why growth and change can be both small and powerful were expressed in the following poem.

"A Drop in the Ocean"

A drop in the ocean
Once dropped
Will probably
Dissipate
Into the tear-flavored waters
And become one
With the other
Drops

In an alchemy of

Blueness

That only the deep waters know

A drop in the ocean

Once dropped

Could be as potent

As a tiny spice pod

Which once bitten

Releases fragrant flavor with

Enormous surprise

A drop in the ocean

May be as rare as

An onyx egg enwrapped in golden mist

Can be as fertile as

The white cottony soft egg sac

Of the patient spider

One thing I know:

A drop in the ocean like a seed in the earth

Or a sperm reaching an egg

Needs to be immersed

In the darkest corners of

The deepest waters

In order to

Begin

To grow

A drop in the ocean

Must be elusive

In order to survive.

David

Figure 14. David

The photo portrait of David (Figure 14) was photographed in the chapel of the historic building in Jerusalem that is his home, his community's home, and houses his place of worship inside. David is standing under a handmade icon. Other than this icon and one other by the same artist, there is next to no decoration in the chapel. After developing the photograph I noticed that the names of the figures on the Christian icon were in Hebrew, which is unusual in iconography, but fits the Hebrew-speaking Catholic community that David leads. It was at David's request that the photo be taken in the chapel.

David's interview was done two different times due to technical challenges; this meant that I was given two chances to listen to David's ideas and feelings about culture. Something that really stayed with me when I left the community were the words David had said about cultural margins and borders. He discussed the crossing of margins and borders physically, spiritually, and through language.

The first strokes of the painting *At the Margins and Borders* (Figure 15) were those that delineated black from white, a large black solid square framed by a wide black frame. This canvas stayed only black and white for at least a week before I was able to create growth on the margins and borders of the painting. I painted the image of the tree trunk in diverse shades of flesh tones. Small patches of gold leaf were placed on the far-reaching branches, illuminating them and their reaching. While painting this image I became aware that the brown earth in the background was central to the growth of the tree, the roots of which were entwined in the margin, and that borders and margins—though usually portrayed as separators and divides—can become fertile places for growth.

Figure 15. At the Margins and Borders

These thoughts about growth at the borders and margins, or seams, moved me to write the following poem.

"At the Margins and Borders"

Plant a seed

near the cold edge

of the hardened

border.

Sow a sapling

on the margin

of no-man's-land.

Roots

will begin to reach below

branches

will begin to reach across

these sharp desolate divides

growing

and

blooming

in due time.

Gilded miracles

at the stark

sharp

separators

reminding us

to

plant a seed

near the edge

and

sow a sapling

on the margin.

reminding us

to reach and grow.

Sam

The photo portrait of Sam (Figure 16) was taken in his office. The position he assumed for the photo conveyed a feeling of inwardness and self-reflection to me as I took the photograph. It almost felt as if he were meditating or praying and, similar to Elana's photo shoot, this felt almost too intimate to photograph. The cramped quarters colored the photo shoot and interview with a kind of intimate closeness; in order to take this photo I had to back myself into a corner.

Figure 16. Sam

In the interviews the participants were asked to tell me a meaningful story about a memorable cultural meeting they had experienced. Sam told a story that stayed with me far after the interview ended. His story about giving an Arab woman a ride at a professional conference, and the emotions that came up for him when she pulled a long hairpin out of her headdress during the ride, poignantly illustrated the deeply embedded mistrust that Jews and Arabs carry for each other in Israel. I was touched by Sam's brave honesty in telling this story and learned from his detailed description of his emotional and cognitive responses to that moment.

Figure 17. Trust Mistrust

In my response painting (Figure 17), the entire canvas was originally orange; it almost looked as if it were on fire. Slowly two sides appeared, one of mistrust on the

right, the other of trust on the left. The mistrust side became more and more crowded, with sharp pin-like shapes appearing alongside primitive black animals. Along with the acrylic paints I also drew with a metallic marker. It did not feel good to touch that side of the canvas while working on it. It felt important to frame the large open orange space of trust with a border that would not allow the mistrust colors and shapes to enter.

The thin black lines that I had drawn began to seem like threads that were trying to embroider something, which then became important in the response poem that followed. It was with great appreciation and thanks to Sam that I created this poem; the bringing forth of the shadow, of the mistrust, and of the embarrassing biases we are all capable of owning was the foundation upon which this poem could be written. The image of a traditional Jewish man giving a ride to a traditional Muslim woman was powerful. The images of people being somehow connected by threads of mistrust were strangely comforting. The poem was titled "Mistrust."

"Mistrust"
Mistrust
have you arrived
to protect him
from the dark shadow of shared harm?
Or
have you visited suddenly
to remind him
that although a scarf pin is long and sharp

it can also

connect

mend

and repair

like the sewing needles

that both of your grandmothers

probably held

between their fingers

as they artfully

created connections

as you do now

by telling the story

of the scarf pin

that momentarily

scared you

with mistrust

and the mutual smiles

that forever embroidered

TRUST

On you and your passenger's

Future.

All of our souls

Need a thimble.

Results Summary

The above poem concludes the results section, which included the different 19 emergent themes from Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the study, the discussion about those themes, and the art-based results. The process and products of the art-based results were described and illustrated by photographs, paintings, and poetry that were inspired and informed by the emergent themes data gleaned from the interviews with the four participants in Phase 2.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

This study, "Sew it Seams: Wearing the Symbols of Distant Neighbors," was based in the arts and was built upon the foundations of expressive arts therapy. Cultural attitudes and feelings in Jerusalem were studied through the sewing of a coat of cultural symbols and inviting participants to try on the coat, to be photographed wearing it, then to respond to the experience of wearing the coat in writing and in interviews. These portraits, written responses, and interviews (the data) were then analyzed and emergent themes were found. Four paintings and four poems were created in response to the data.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the literature was reviewed on the multicultural training of creative arts therapists, expressive therapists, and connected professionals in Israel and in other countries; art and social activism; art therapy and social change; art-based conflict transformation; expressive arts therapy and social action; and art as social commentary, specifically fabric art and crafts.

The study findings showed that trying on the coat evoked emotional, informative, and authentic responses about cultural attitudes and feelings about diverse peoples in Israel. According to some of the participants this "onbodiment," or wearing of the symbols on the body, connected them to unconscious, visceral cultural knowledge in a surprisingly fast and deep manner.

The coat, which can be viewed as a metaphor, enabled the participants to connect directly to powerful associations and emotions about cultures in Israel. Metaphors can often offer direct pathways to otherwise unconscious ideas and hidden feelings. Moon (2007) has written about metaphors and likened them to vessels or carriers in the arts. He

added, “Metaphors in language are also carriers; they hold information that hides meaning in symbolic form” (Moon, 2007, p. 3). The coat made of symbols unearthed hidden feelings in the participants who tried it on.

For example, when trying on the coat, Elana began to shake and cry and Sam was surprised at how quickly the coat “raised certain issues and allowed me to get insight about myself.” David had an association of the casting off of a robe of mourning and Nadia experienced chills that she connected to physical violence. The participants reported that these responses were connected to the direct physical contact with the coat, the “onbodiment.”

On the other hand, the literature has shown that long-distance learning about and with another culture can be successful when experienced online. Hoter et al. (2009) said that utilizing online computer technology in courses with Israeli and Arab participants in Israel “allowed them to feel less threatened” (p. 9).

However, when one considers the insight of Shank and Schirch (2008), who stated, “According to communication experts 65-93 percent of all communicated meaning is nonverbal” (p. 235), one could assume that all multicultural, peace-building, and conflict transformation training should be based on face-to-face, nonverbal, art-based contact. Though this may solve translation and language differences in theory, even if we were sure that this was the most productive way to educate toward peace and diversity, the reality of the sociopolitical climate in Jerusalem is not one in which diverse peoples can always meet in person. Face-to-face contact is not always a realistic possibility. Therefore, a combination of engaging in online, face-to-face, and immersion learning

(Linesch & Carnay, 2005) would be the way to reach the most participants and be sensitive to the rhythm and pace of each participant's learning process.

Maalouf (2011) commented on the way in which humans share the world today, writing that "there are no longer strangers in this century; there are only travelling companions" (p. 160). The sharing of this world, he concurs, must be done in order to promote coexistence and diversity: "It is no longer enough to know others in an approximate, superficial, crude way. We need to know them subtly, up close; I would go as far as to say intimately" (Maalouf, 2011, p. 160). The depth and quality of knowing others can be influenced by the way in which the travelling is shared.

Implications for Further Research and Education

Taking into account this balance of intimate close contact and distant online contact, I am thinking about designing and implementing courses, workshops, and projects that could use the coat actively to further this research. I may explore the continuation and expansion of this research by asking others to wear the coat and respond, although because of concerns of volatility, who to include in such research is still an open question. It also might be possible to do part of this research online (as mentioned earlier), thus allowing distance. It would be informative to invite the participation of artists, leaders, policy makers, and renowned people as well as unknown citizens who live the daily life of cultural richness and unusual diversity that Jerusalem offers.

I would like to explore three possibilities in future work: online distance contact, close face-to-face contact, and a combination method. When face-to-face contact is not possible at all, a photograph of the coat could be uploaded to an interactive computer

program such as VoiceThread (http://voicethread.com). Participants in the course could first view the coat, then at a later time digitally insert their image into the coat using software such as Adobe Photoshop. Even later on in the course participants could be asked to alter the image of the coat in a way that felt like the right fit culturally, and could then post this image for all to see and respond to. Participants could then write about how it felt to "wear" the coat in cyberspace, and could respond online to each other's feelings and attitudes about wearing the coat.

A final project could include projecting the image of the coat on a white wall and physically entering the image, being photographed as part of the projected image, and reflecting upon this image in writing. In a longer, yearlong course, the final project could include creating a coat or any other wearable item made from cultural symbols. This could be a pair of shoes, a hat, gloves, socks, a dress, a cape, and so on. The student would be encouraged to ask other people to wear the item. Reflection and self-reflection would be an integral part of the course. The instructor would post comments and feedback at all stages of the course to all of the students.

When face-to-face contact is possible the coat could be tried on in workshops, courses, and presentations and the people who tried it on would respond to the experience of wearing the coat. These responses could be spoken, written, painted, danced, played musically, photographed, acted out, and sculpted. The breadth and depth of immersion into the art-based response projects would depend on the length of time available for the course or workshop. For some this could be an initial warm-up for a deeper learning process later on, whereas others might see this as a long-term project. The design of such a course or workshop would have to take the sociopolitical and geopolitical situation into

consideration as much as possible; in other words, ample time and effort would need to be taken to research the place and the participants.

The third possibility that I'd like to explore would be a combination course or workshop, implemented when the participants either could not be in face-to-face contact on a regular basis, when it was deemed appropriate to first let participants warm up to one another online before meeting face-to-face, or to use the online meeting first as a diagnostic tool to test out the face-to-face possibility.

These three models are by no means the only way to design workshops, courses, or projects based on the coat. I have also considered the idea that innovative people from diverse professional backgrounds, internationally, could translate the concept of this coat to many creative, productive, and pioneering projects about cultural attitudes and feelings to fit their needs. The population focus could widen and children and elders might also be involved in such projects, as could entire communities, thus expanding the scope of such art-based cultural work.

In addition to the three models above, I have imagined a fourth type of meeting in which all of the participants from Phase 1 and Phase 2 of this study would be invited to an event together. This would be the culmination of a 3-year study process that would enable all 28 people to view each other's photo portraits, read each other's responses, and connect in a relaxed gallery setting. I would briefly present my art-based research and results and introduce the participants aloud. My paintings and poems would be on the gallery walls alongside the photo portraits. The dance that I choreographed and performed, inspired by the coat, would be screened in a loop on a flat screen with earphones. Finally, the coat would be there for attendees to try on.

I have also seriously considered the possibility of such a gallery event being interactive. For example, there could be ways to respond to each portrait in diverse art-based modalities such as writing, drawing, collage, sculpture, and perhaps fabric arts. I have imagined a closing discussion in which people could share their thoughts and feelings about being a part of this pioneering art-based research. Without these 28 participants the research could not have developed.

Wearing the Coat

An important aspect of trying on the coat is that wearing the coat had an effect on how the participants experienced the symbols on the coat. According to Cohen (2006):

> Engaging with the arts can generate, for both individuals and collectivities, for creators and spectators, special qualities of attention and response—such as disinterestedness, committed participation, metacognitive alertness, receptivity, and blissful serenity. These qualities of attention and response afford unique opportunities for learning, empathy, reflexivity, creativity, innovation, and experimentation. The engagement with a work of art or cultural form that gives rise to these special qualities of attention and response can best be understood within the framework of aesthetic experience. (p. 71)

For example, Sam became aware that he had not processed some of the symbols on the coat, and wondered, “what does that say about how I see the world?” whereas Elana became acutely aware of the symbols but focused immediately on mothers. Nadia spoke about both religious and national symbols as separators: “They keep people apart.” She saw symbols as problems.

In the first phase of the study, wearing the symbols that were incorporated into the coat reminded people of religious symbols at times. Kelman was reminded of his father's *tefillin;* Shoshan was reminded of "the Temple High Priest, whose clothes contain pomegranate bells"; and Weiman did not want to remove the coat and reported feeling "like a monk of a new religion," as opposed to Frank-Schwebel, who felt oppressed by the "weight of the traditions and religions."

In addition to religious associations, the symbols on the coat were often connected to identity and belonging by participants in both phases of the study. A theme that could be seen as central to the entire body of data generated from all three phases of the study was that of identity and hybrid identity. The complexities of identity in Israel were addressed from diverse angels. Rose wrote about being pulled in two directions by the experience of living in Israel; relating to the "sense of belonging, life force, creativity, and energy of the physical beauty and social experiment of Israel" then comparing it to "the burden of injustice, unsettled conflict, 'primitivity', and struggle on so many levels." In contrast, Shoshan said, "Wearing the coat was a permission to integrate the parts of me that live in tension." Maalouf (2000) explored the concepts of "multiple affiliations and allegiances" (p. 30), saying that they are more common than one might assume. He went on to give examples from divided societies, for instance, Jews and Arabs, writing:

> Wherever there is a divided society, there are men and women bearing within them contradictory allegiances, people who live on the frontier between opposed communities and those whose very being might be said to be traversed by ethnic or religious or other fault lines. (Maalouf, 2000, p. 30)

In the first phase of the study a few participants referred to the physical heaviness of the coat and to the heaviness of bearing the weight of complex identities that are at times literally at war with one another in Israel. The image of a continuous tug of war that takes into account the complex identities of the peoples in Jerusalem, and the powerful image of the fault line above, could serve as artistic metaphors like the coat in multicultural training.

The fact that all of the symbols were physically sewn onto the coat allowed the participants to explore the plethora of diverse feelings that wearing the coat brought up for them. Attention was paid to certain parts of the coat and not to others throughout the research. For example, Sam reported that he unconsciously paid less attention to the Palestinian flag while wearing the coat and focused on the Jewish symbols. In a similar vein, in the first phase of the study, none of the gay- or lesbian-identified participants mentioned identification with the GLBT pride flag; rather, they focused on the Israeli flag and the Jewish–Arab conflict. This could be an important key to teaching cultural courses if, as it seems here in this study, people block out and/or illuminate certain cultural symbols. From these results it can be postulated that educators and researchers need to pay attention to what holds students' attention and what they avoid when studying cultures, as well as paying attention to the qualities of attention that arise in the learning and art making.

Childhood and Upbringing

The research also showed that there was a common thread of a pluralistic upbringing in the childhoods of all four participants from Phase 2 of the study. All four reported that their homes were traditional and open to other ways of following those

traditions. Also, it was clear from the interviews that the participants' families' modeled acceptance and that as children the participants were encouraged to seek out and make contact with people who were different than them.

Conversely, Hocoy's (2006) childhood differed, in that he "was programmed very early in life to think of difference as something lesser and to be removed" (p. 132). My research has focused on the training of adults and did not cover the developmental aspects of diversity and peace education from childhood. Judging from Hocoy's comment and the stories shared by the participants, childhood experiences about difference and sameness and about how these are presented at home can be considered important factors in cultural and identity awareness that carry through adulthood. It seems that beyond learning about cultural attitudes and feelings, there is some unlearning that needs to be done as well.

Swann et al. (1981) suggested that what motivates people to be curious about others is not always clear and that "people are often curious about the persons they encounter" (p. 635). The participants in the second phase of this study were brought up in environments that encouraged cultural curiosity, and they are still curious about others today and act upon this by reaching out to people who might even be considered their perceived enemies in Israel. Lederach (2005), who embraces this reaching out to others, wrote, "Reach out to those you fear. Touch the heart of complexity. Imagine beyond what is seen. Risk vulnerability one step at a time" (p. 177).

The Arts and Cultural Attitudes and Feelings in the Middle East: Using the Coat

Studying cultural attitudes and feelings in the shadow of the continuing culturally related violence in the Middle East has been challenging. Often it has been almost

impossible to imagine beyond or to see beyond the bloodshed and hatred, to connect to hope and envision a safer future. At the core of expressive arts therapy lies imagination (Knill et al., 1995; S. K. Levine, 1992) and imagination is the main ingredient needed to envision new things, to change what is already known. McNiff (1998b) addressed this issue when he wrote:

> When I listen to people describe their feelings of powerlessness in relation to the movements of mass society, I perversely consider the places where everyone has power. Lasting changes and improvements are made through the cumulative effects of individual actions. (p. 93)

The deep immersion into the literature and the arts has provided me with a safe place to explore and study the complex spectrum of feelings and attitudes that have emerged from this study about Jerusalem.

The arts can be seen as an island of sanity during chaotic, violent times. Kossak (2012b) referred to this saying, "it is our refuge from the madness" (p. 69). According to the literature, the arts, besides being a refuge, have been used—though certainly not enough—as a knowledge base for social change, education, exploration, expression, and transformation in cultural conflicts and cultural diversity (Afzali & Colleton, 2003; Cohen, 2003; Minow & Chaves, 2003; Ramsbothan et al., 2011; Shank & Schirch, 2008; Zelizer, 2003).

All four of the participants in Phase 2 of this study were enthusiastic about incorporating the coat, or similar art-based tools, into their practice. They could all imagine and understand the power of utilizing the arts in peace work, conflict transformation, cultural studies, and for self-reflection. Nadia proposed that students in

her bilingual school could design their own cultural coats. Elana imagined using the coat in her Palestinian–Israeli women's groups, saying that, "it could be very beneficial in having everyone take a turn putting it on and express[ing] how they feel when they wear the coat." Sam saw a use for the coat in teaching: "I think it would be very useful both in raising topics and overcoming barriers and obstacles that people might have that might prevent them from talking about these otherwise very important issues."

David had two main reasons for thinking that the coat could be used in the multicultural summer camps he directs in Israel for children of diverse identities. The first was that the coat transcends language, and the children in the camp speak different languages; the second was that the bringing together of the symbols on the coat resonated with David as a metaphor for the bringing together of the children at the summer camp.

The coat in this study can be situated in the realm of textile and fabric arts (Bratich & Brush, 2011; Corbett & Housley, 2011; Pentney, 2008; Perron, 1998). Artists have been mentioned in the literature as possessing certain characteristics and qualities that are different, unique, or special such as having artistic license (Metzger, 2011); as possessing "aesthetic communication" (Hause, 2006–2007), and the ability to "see strangely," Benesh (2004). It is these abilities that artists and the arts offer that can enrich and move beyond verbal understanding in conflict-ridden areas, in cultural studies, and in the training of therapists in the cultural aspects of therapy. Within the art world, though still somewhat marginalized, fabric arts and crafts are receiving more attention as they are being used for social change and activism. Textile and fabric artists could hold a powerful tool for peace work and multicultural studies based on the outcomes of this study.

By now, 28 participants have experienced wearing and responding to the cultural coat between the first and second phases of the study. The few times when others tried on the coat at public research presentations and conferences, their responses were as powerful as those of participants in the study. One woman, of American, Lebanese, and Palestinian descent, was moved to tears by being so close to an Israeli flag. She mentioned feeling a sense of hope and closeness. In another instance, a man who is involved in conflict resolution in Ireland and globally wore the coat for the entire hour we shared stories. He admitted that he really did not want to remove the coat. He spoke of his excitement about perhaps creating such art-based tools for his own work.

The Coat as a Container for Conflicted Feelings

Not all people who have had contact with the coat have felt as positive about it as the two aforementioned people. One of the Jewish Israeli participants in the first phase of the study felt a negative change in emotion upon donning the coat when she discovered a Palestinian flag was sewn onto the garment; she commented honestly, "When I realized that I would also be wearing the Palestinian flag it dampened my excitement." Wearing the coat, it seems, enabled people to directly access and express a range of emotions and attitudes about culture.

At an international conference in Israel the coat also brought up cultural attitudes and feelings that were conflict-laden and less pleasant for the conference goers to witness; these cultural attitudes and feelings were authentic and important to hear. At an expressive arts therapy and social change conference, after presenting the photo portraits and some of the written responses from Phase 1 in a panel presentation, I asked for

volunteers to try on the coat. A few people in the audience tried on the coat while the panel discussed various topics that were connected to culture and therapy.

After presenting a moving talk about cross-cultural art therapy in an Israeli hospital, an Israeli Jewish art therapist who was on the panel with me commented that she would never try on a coat that had such a culturally diverse combination of symbols sewn on it. She went on to say that she would only try on a coat that held the Israeli flag, which she identified as the symbol that best represented her. As she finished her sentence, a woman in the back of the auditorium yelled out angrily in response in Hebrew, "If you will not even wear my symbols how will you ever recognize my country?" It turned out that this woman was a Palestinian expressive arts therapy student.

This interaction caused a buzz in the entire room, and although the memory is a bit blurred, I have been told that the response that silenced and calmed the room were my own words that reminded everyone that the coat was there exactly for this purpose, which was to express all of these feelings and attitudes. The coat was able to hold the conflict in the room, no matter how deep and pain-ridden.

During the break following the loud interaction, the Israeli Jewish panel presenter was upset that she had appeared racist or bigoted; she had just finished presenting about her work with sick Arab children in a hospital. The Palestinian student was upset too. Both of these women had been able to begin to express, though perhaps unintentionally, feelings and attitudes about the symbols on the coat and the meanings of these symbols for them in a very personal and real way. The direct confrontation was held in a safe space in which their anger and fears could be expressed openly. The coat held the conflict. The act of wearing the coat ("onbodying" it) and its cultural symbols has

weathered being both embraced and repelled, which seems to mean that it can be a powerful tool in conflict-ridden situations—both one-on-one as in the interviews and also publicly at conferences, workshops, and presentations.

Limitations

Prior Familiarity With Participants

Interviews carried out by researchers with prior familiarity with the interviewees have been called "acquaintance interviews" by Garton and Copland (2010, p. 535): interviews that are semi-structured and where "the interviewer and interviewee have a prior relationship" (p. 535). Garton and Copland suggested that these prior relationships have an effect on the data that emerge from these interviews (2010, p. 548), specifically noting that "acquaintance interviews do allow researchers access to resources that are not always available in more traditional social sciences interviews" (2010, p. 548). Due to the culturally sensitive information that the coat embodied, this type of interview seemed to be the right fit for this research.

The role of the researcher, the interview strategies used in such interviews, and the setting can also influence the interviews. The interviews and photo shoots took place at the homes and workplaces of the participants, and once at my own home. I wonder if and how the results would have varied if the interviews had taken place in a less familiar setting and by an interviewer whose relationship to the participants was more distant. One of the participants directly addressed the effect of knowing me, stating, "I feel good with Tammy, I trust her," and "there is the human connection and person-to-person meeting that enables and allows everything."

Though rare, the literature does address the diverse characteristics of a "conversational space" (Pezalla, Pettigrew, & Miller-Day, 2012, p. 167) that is created in qualitative interviews by the interviewer. For conversation to flow freely in qualitative research interviews, whether a Rogerian or a feminist philosophy is used, the researcher must be an active participant and creator of a safe space for sharing life stories, what Pezalla et al. (2012) called being a "researcher-as-instrument" (p. 167).

Researcher as Therapist and Interviewer

I can also postulate that the fact that the researcher was a therapist who is experienced at creating safe spaces for the expression of authentic feelings might have impacted the quality of the interviews. This limitation can be explored in all studies wherein therapists are the interviewers, researchers, or scholarly scientists and especially in studies wherein the research environment is created by the artist-therapist-researcher.

In this art-based study that focused on a multicultural coat, I created an environment that had certain characteristics that seemed to relay empathy and comfort to the participants, who openly shared their attitudes and feelings about sensitive and volatile cultural issues. Wearing the coat in these interviews could also have influenced the data that were generated. Future research could compare interviews in which cultural attitudes and feelings were addressed both with and without the coat.

Sample Size

The sample size of four participants in Phase 2 can be seen as another potential limitation in this study. It is interesting to note that the 24 brief responses collected in Phase 1 of the study also provided important, pertinent information about cultural feelings and attitudes in Jerusalem. It is important to note that these 24 responses were

originally collected in fulfillment of an art-based assignment for a required course in my doctoral studies. In hindsight, if I had known originally that these participants were going to supply such informative, rich data, in-depth interviews could have been an integral part of their participation.

It is possible that the short, brief, associative responses to the experience of wearing the coat were limiting, and it is also possible that the longer, in-depth interviews were limiting. Both versions of the data generation unearthed fine material based on wearing the coat. I believe that in this case the combination of the data that were generated from all three phases of the study, as a continuum, is precisely what resulted in a well-rounded study of cultural attitudes and feelings in Jerusalem. This said, I do not see this study as having exhausted other future research possibilities based on the cultural coat. Also, as an artist, I see limitations as invitations for creative endeavors and not as constricting boundaries.

Conclusion

This research, which was developed in my expressive arts therapy doctoral studies and was originally focused on the multicultural training of creative arts therapists (Acton, 2001; Bradt, 1997; Cattaneo, 1994; Cherry, 2002; George et al., 2005; Gerity, 2000; Linesch & Carnay, 2005; McNiff, 2009; Talwar et al., 2004; Vasquez, 1997), has branched out to related fields but has stayed anchored in the field of creative arts therapy. Beyond the multicultural training of expressive arts therapists, the literature shows that a deep connection between expressive arts therapy practice and expressive arts therapy social action has been developing (Brooks et al., 2004; Kapitan, 1997; Kaplan, 2009; Leibmann, 2004; E. G. Levine & Levine, 2011; Schwartz et al., 2012). Engaging in this

study has been on the nexus or seams of where practice and social action meet; a seam that was magnified by the immersion into the arts as research.

The nexus of art and social commentary, activism, and cultural education needs to be further researched. This nexus is like the seams on the coat used in this research, which symbolize the seams of Jerusalem's neighborhoods, all of them meeting points that hold information about cultural connection, separation, and conflicts that might be useful as an era dawns that is characterized in part by large and small movements and travel—both physically and virtually—of people across cultures.

The art that was created throughout this research has served as a rich knowledge base alongside the literature review. There is much to be learned from both the process of creating the art and the products of that process. Leibmann (2004) said, "Involvement in the arts engages the whole person, 'speaking from the heart' and using their creativity and emotions. This can lead to learning and insights which can pave the way for the personal change needed to resolve many conflicts" (p. 2).

Though not revolutionary, art-based research is still in its pioneering stages in the literature, certainly in doctoral studies. The poet Boyer (2011) has written that "the history of revolution is the history of vague ideas" (para. 1), which resonates with the findings of this study. All change—social, educational, therapeutic, artistic, and political—must begin with some vague idea, with a rumination that might seem unclear at first, even invisible or hidden in the dark. One of the greatest lessons learned from this research is that change often occurs away from the light and in small steps, as expressed in the poem and painting *A Drop in the Ocean* and echoed in the interviews with the four participants in Phase 2 who were innovative leaders.

Though situated in expressive arts therapy, this research is open to interpretation and repetition by other scholars from different artistic and professional backgrounds; this research can move beyond the boundaries or seams of one professional therapeutic mindset to any others who see change as important in society. For example, this research could be duplicated in the fields of psychology, social work, leadership skills development, conflict transformation, and social action scholarship. This research has only begun and needs to keep developing and moving forward. In the words of Langer (2009), "The only way we can really envisage vital movement, the stirring and growth and passage of emotion, and ultimately the whole direct sense of human life, is in artistic terms" (p. 87).

Wearing the coat in this study, an art-based and art-informed process, has reached far beyond my expectations and shown that deeply rooted, complex conflicts can be addressed in an art-based manner. Forest (2009) illuminated this art-based capacity:

> It is an art to convey complex, nuanced ideas in such a way that diverse listeners with differing points of view can remain engaged. The capacity to embrace paradox, the willingness to explore, and a tolerance for ambiguity are some qualities artists embody and utilize to make art. These same qualities could be useful to leaders contemplating and creating coherent social change visions. (p. 80)

As the violence continues year after year, decade after decade, century after century, millennium after millennium in Jerusalem and the Middle East, the need to educate toward nonviolence, tolerance, multicultural acceptance, and cultural curiosity and to directly address all aspects of cultural identity and cultural crossings becomes

more acute. Incorporating the arts into this process should no longer be questioned; it should be stated loudly and as soon as possible, because as King (1986) so prophetically said, “We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny” (p. 290). This research will conclude with the following poem I wrote as a final reflection on my doctoral studies.

“Questions in the Wake of My Doctoral Studies: Cultural Attitudes and Feelings”

Is it in our DNA?
In the fruit of our family tree
Were they floating in our placental waters?
Those particles of hatred, love, acceptance, rejection,
Being absorbed by us unknowingly into
Our hearts, our blood, our lungs
Once born can we outgrow prejudice?
And which garment will be worn instead.
Are some of us allergic to diversity?
Immune to racism?
As our eyes and ears develop
Are some of us given tunnel vision, others perfect hindsight
Some the ability to hear only the sounds we already know
Others the capability to understand multiple languages
And as the heart develops
How many people can we fit

In each chamber

How many people

Can we hold in our hearts?

And our fingertips

With their unique prints

And delicate nerves

Can they touch untouchables?

Stroke enemies

Fondle the feuding

Can our heavy brains

Lighten the load of our heavy hearts?

Do we need physiotherapy to teach our feet

To walk over bridges

To cross invisible divides?

And as we grow

And become adults

And study for years and years

Will we recognize peace when we bump into it

In an overgrown garden

Someday

Or will it remain there

As always

Waiting to be cultivated and fertilized

And passed by again

And again…

Do we know what peace looks like?

Is it in our DNA?

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

29 Everett St., Cambridge, MA 02138

Doctoral Research Informed Consent

You are invited to participate in the research project titled "Sew it Seams, So it Seems: Wearing the Symbols of Distant Neighbors." The intent of this research study is to research cultural opinions and feelings in Israel cross-culturally through the experience of wearing a coat of symbols.

Your participation will entail trying on the coat of symbols that the researcher has sewn, being photographed wearing the coat, responding in writing to the experience of the wearing of the coat, and participating in a recorded interview with the researcher.

In addition:

Former knowledge about culture is not necessary.

You are free to choose not to participate in the research and to discontinue your participation in the research at any time.

Your name, photographed portrait image, words, and interview responses will appear in the doctoral dissertation, in art-based research, and may be shown in art galleries, publications, or films, responsibly, as part of this research in the future.

Any and all of your questions will be answered at any time and you are free to consult with anyone (e.g., friend, family) about your decision to participate in the research and/or to discontinue your participation.

Participation in this research poses minimal risk to the participants. The probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research are no greater in and of themselves than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.

If any problem in connection to the research arises, you can contact the researcher, Tamar Einstein, 0544-629844, 02-6735708, and by e-mail at tretamar@yahoo.com or Lesley University sponsoring faculty Dr. Robyn Flaum Cruz at (412) 401-1274, or tkeeney@lesley.edu.

The researcher may present the outcomes of this study for academic purposes (e.g., articles, teaching, conference presentations, supervision, etc.).

My agreement to participate has been given of my own free will and that I understand all of the stated above. In addition, I will receive a copy of this consent form.

_____	_____	_____	_____
Participant's signature	Date	Researcher's signature	Date

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM TO USE AND/OR DISPLAY ART

29 Everett St., Cambridge, MA 02138

Consent to Use and/or Display Art

CONSENT BETWEEN: Tamar Einstein_____ and _____.

Expressive Arts Therapy Doctoral Student **Artist/Participant's Name**

I, _____, agree to allow Tamar Einstein

Artist/participant's name **Expressive Arts Therapy Doctoral Student**

to use and/or display and/or photograph my artwork, for the following purpose(s):

- ☐ Reproduction and/or inclusion within the research currently being completed by the expressive arts therapy doctoral student.

- ☐ Reproduction and/or presentation at a professional conference.

- ☐ Reproduction, presentation, and/or inclusion within academic assignments including but not limited to a doctoral work, currently being completed by the expressive arts therapy doctoral student.

It is my understanding that my name, my image, and my responses may be revealed in any presentation or display of my artwork.

☐ I DO NOT wish to remain anonymous.

This consent to use or display my artwork may be revoked by me at any time. I also understand I'll receive a copy of this consent form for my personal records.

Signed _____ Date _____

I, _____, agree to the following conditions in connection with the use of artwork:

Expressive Arts Therapy Doctoral Student

I agree to keep your artwork safe, whether an original or reproduction, to the best of my ability and to notify you immediately of any loss or damage while your art is in my possession. I agree to return your artwork immediately if you decide to withdraw your consent at any time. I agree to safeguard your confidentiality.

Signed _____ Date _____

Expressive Arts Therapy Doctoral Student

Tamar Einstein: Phone: 0544629844; e-mail: tretamar@yahoo.com

APPENDIX C

PHASE 1 DEMOGRAPHICS SURVEY FORM

Demographics

~Religion-_____

~Gender- _____

~Age- _____

~Profession/s or occupation/s- _____

~Describe your identity-_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX D

PHASE 1 WRITTEN RESPONSE SURVEY FORM

Brief written response to the experience of the wearing of the coat:

APPENDIX E

ADDITIONAL PHASE 1 PHOTO PORTRAITS AND WRITTEN RESPONSES

Figure E1. Wardi

Wardi (Figure E1):

A bit weird for me to wear flags, I thought, I like them but not with very high value. I like them in the light, happy, playful way. Wearing flags felt for me beforehand as wearing a statement, so I looked to hide under the coat/cover from the act of wearing the statement itself; sheltering from the act I'm doing myself. So I took my lamb in too and peeped like out of a cave. . . . But in the end the coat felt much more of something else than flags; like a big mise-en-scène of color, shapes, sounds . . .

Figure E2. Weiman

Weiman (Figure E2):

I felt embraced and respected—[the robe was] like a graduation robe. Walking, I felt like a monk of a new religion. I didn't want to take it off, loved [its] weight and sound.

Figure E3. Kelman

Kelman (Figure E3):

It felt literally and symbolically heavy. Many generations were draped over my shoulders. Tammy's grandfather's ties and my father's *tefillin* . . . the peaceful setting of my garden with Jewish and Palestinian symbols around me.

Figure E4. Reshef

Reshef (Figure E4):

Deep & hidden,

Rooted,

Separate

Protected

Ceremonious

Strong

Figure E5. Schwebel

Schwebel (Figure E5):

The coat was heavy, busy, and a burden. It was big on me and that is how I feel about the things it symbolizes: the weight of the traditions and religions, the weight of the feelings, and the difficulty to bear all of this on a day-to-day basis, this is too big on me. I felt that I was tiny and swallowed up by the coat. It was not possible to see ME, my body, my existence; and therefore, maybe I also put on my sunglasses.

Figure E6. Einstein

Einstein (Figure E6):

A sense of being elsewhere, in the Far East, at another time and in my mind's eye imaging a scene of a broad expanse of fields of foods growing—trees lined up as protective hedges—a cacophony of colors coming together with the classical music that was playing on the radio and feeling a sense of great pride in what Tammy, my daughter, has been doing and creating. Chopin continues. I felt the texture of the coat's materials—felt the life-giving force of the coat's colors—and a desire to indeed go dressed in this Joseph's coat of many colors to the fantasized land of questions, and just to set the tempo of my breathing to the movement of the imagined "growings" in my image—wheat, barley, and in the distance grapes hanging almost fermented naturally—sensing a host of flying insects preparing to taste the inviting fermenteds. . . . A lovely image; an unusual garment—I feel blessed to be Tammy's father and to have been invited to wear a magic robe.

Figure E7. Chava

Chava (Figure E7):

A feeling of heaviness, to carry the entire cloak and the symbols on me. The feeling that I am terribly small within this complex world. It feels heavy to bear the weight of the cloak on my shoulders. . . . I am so small and the cloak so heavy.

Figure E8. Crystal

Crystal (Figure E8):

The first association I had was of the musical *Peter Pan,* with Chanoch Rosen. The sleeves with the ties are what created this association; there too they wore clothes of this style. The second association is double; that of the film *The Last Emperor* and the play *The Tiger*. Because the coat somehow carries the style of an emperor. It reminds me very much of the Far East. The association of *The Last Emperor* is connected to the coat being big on me, in the film there is a boy who is chosen to become emperor and has to wear a coat that is too big on him by a few sizes.

Figure E9. Stern

Stern (Figure E9):

The coat covers me on a pleasant Jerusalem morning. At home, I had wanted to be photographed in the *Shuk.* Maybe that will still happen. Yesterday when I saw it hanging I thought it was part of a costume. The embroideries on the coat show me the daily difficulties of those who live here. Now, especially, as an Israeli, it is hard for me to identify with the flag that represents the country in which I live and am considered to be a citizen of. This is due to what it happening here, how we behave as a society, but also outside. Is this what represents me? And from the other side, I don't belong to the other flag, today I do not speak the language, I don't truly know the culture. The ties hanging from the sleeves remind me of my wanting to go to work one day in a suit and tie. Exactly like one here, or those hanging in my father's closet. This reminds me of my childhood battles with my mother and my grandmother about what I wore, and more importantly, what I wouldn't wear. Suddenly I am thinking about the ease with which I entered the

coat, without asking who wore it before, or how many. . . . As one who does not like secondhand clothes, or at least that is what I think, what does this mean? It feels nice; it gives the feeling of a home, yes, with all of the symbols and meanings both obvious and hidden that it has. It tells me, most importantly, that the time has come to take the symbols out: to language, to dialogue, to creation, and to face up as an individual and society, if I want a life of peace and brotherhood/sisterhood here.

Figure E10. Bregman

Bregman (Figure E10):

When I put the coat on I felt a few things. On one side I felt like I was in the middle of all of the bad things happening with wars between Arabs and Jews, and remembered the violent demonstrations against the gay community. But then I see the life I'm living in an Arab Jewish school with Arab friends . . . and every Friday night friends of my mom coming over; some are gay and lesbian. So I cannot really decide if the coat is showing peace, like what I'm living, or what is going on outside of my bubble.

Figure E11. Bashir

Bashir (Figure E11):

In the beginning there was an uncertainty about wearing the coat or not, and that was connected to the flag; then I saw the Palestinian flag and I calmed down a bit and decided that, yes I am wearing it. I felt good when I wore it, like a model. I feel good with the colors, I feel good with Tammy, I trust her. It is a little hot outside but good. . . . The colors and sounds were fun, also my son joined in and was photographed. He had fun too and liked the colors. I didn't have time to dig deeper but the issue of the reality in which we live, between two peoples, who are fragile, enters; and everything changes. . . . So then there is the human connection and person-to-person meeting that enables and allows everything. Good luck Tammy . . .

Figure E12. Canetti

Canetti (Figure E12):

This coat was very warm, but I didn't feel hot inside it, actually protected. . . . I felt like a lawyer wearing the coat before an important trial; I felt it was a huge responsibility. I was aware of the fact that the Israeli flag, the Palestinian flag, and the Pride flag have been sewn in this coat, however, when I was wearing it, it didn't weigh on me. It was natural, as natural as living in my apartment in Jerusalem or filming religious ceremonies for my last film. Somehow this coat is part of my many faces.

Figure E13. Kiewe

Kiewe (Figure E13):

When I wrapped myself in Tammy's coat I felt grounded. Grounded, in the good sense of the word; to reality, to senses and feelings, to the present tense, and to the ground. I felt the weight of the coat as something that gave me safety, and the great creativity of the coat that inspired me to play and connect to intuition. It came into my life on a day when I was experiencing all of these feelings through the opening of Tarot cards that I had done for myself; now after I have been photographed with the Tarot cards around me I am thinking about the powerful connection between both elements; their colors, creativity, free play, and security that they gave me today.

Figure E14. Weller

Weller (Figure E14):

These gowns for the end of the study are strange to me as a German. After the students' rebellion at the end of the '60s we abolished all the traditional stuff [that] had a smell of authority, class borders, and dust of history. So I loved that [Tammy] made a magician's gown out of it. That is what you do in University, especially in Psychology—modern magic. And I tried to bring the magician to life.

Figure E15. Glass

Glass (Figure E15):

Shabbat morning. I prepared for Tammy's coat—put on pink lipstick for the pink of the bells on the coat, and my hoop earrings because they remind me of Fayrouz and Ayat and Suheir, Arab women I've grown to love who live in Hebron. Wearing the coat, I felt grand at first; the length and the body of the coat engulfed me. I went down the steps of my little backyard and then became aware of the diverse things around me. The meowing of tiny kittens, the cooing of the doves, the light and the shadows of the surrounding trees, the pleasant breeze of the morning. The senses became clearer. More than usual I was aware of the green plants that climb and awaken to life the dry branches in the yard; as if holding them in life. Like the different fabrics of the coat, different colors that awaken the black, and that represent beliefs and stances that are dialoguing with each other. The coat also awakened in me a feeling of something basic, of earth. I found myself wanting to walk in the dry leaves, and leaning on the ficus tree that I love.

And here in Israel, especially in my Tel-Aviv, the earth is made of a combination of homeless people sleeping in the street next to high-heeled women going out on the town; Chinese workers drinking beer on a work break next to soldiers returning from vacation; small children coming home from nursery school next to old folks sitting on benches across from the sea; couples of men and women, men and men, women and women next to people spending the Shabbat (Sabbath) alone; Arab workers in work dust–covered clothes next to polished high-tech people who are shaved bald. Yes, this is my earth, and Tammy's, and from it this coat grew and was sewn.

Figure E16. Wattad

Wattad (Figure E16):

The coat was heavier than I had imagined, which reminds me of our lives, the diversity there is and the beauty it has from all of the colors. And in contrast to that, all of this beauty can be seen from one point of view—that is its heaviness. I saw in it my identity, Palestine on the right and the state of Israel whose wings I live under on the left. That is good for me, even if Palestine is on the right. Then there is the meaning of this side in Islam, and Israel on the left, and just how much this word *left* has meaning in my life. . . . On the back I saw the spectrum of colors of the Italian peace flag, and was reminded of the peace festival I participated in twice in Terento.

Figure E17. West

West (Figure E17):

I feel that this coat represents the broad and yet small world of [Tammy]. The issues that she addresses are personal yet universally important. She stands as an example to me of a human being who chooses to tackle the hard places in life like discrimination, equal rights, religious plurality, gender issues, etc. As an artist, I admire her imagination and spirit. I wish I could see myself as I wear the coat. It made me feel safe and important!

Figure E18. Saposnik

Saposnik (Figure E18):

The only word I can think of is *envelop.* I feel totally covered, sheltered, decorated. I feel layers, colors, textures, weight. I like it.

Figure E19. Yinon

Yinon (Figure E19):

The coat is very pleasant, embracing and wrapping. I felt that I was participating in a ritual . . . there is something religious and shamanic about it. A lot of movement and color. I feel balance and comfort.

Figure E20. Shoshan

Shoshan (Figure E20):

Wearing the coat was a permission to integrate the parts of me that live in tension: Jewish–Arab, Secular–Religious, European–Middle Eastern, Analysand–Therapist. The bells, like the Temple High Priest, whose clothes contain pomegranate bells, the coat also gives notice to the person and those around the feeling of "the Presence"—a presence which is sacred, and whilst wonderful, is ultimately a container of something so much more sacred—the mundane body.

APPENDIX F

PHASE 1 DISCUSSION

Discussion

On a personal level, throughout the process of designing and sewing the coat, writing the literature review, and studying the data from Phase 1 of this study, I became aware of a heaviness, not unlike the theme of weight and heaviness that participants spoke of while wearing the coat. Direct prolonged exposure to the heaviness of the conflicted cultural situation was exhausting and bearing the weight of Israel's cultural complexities during this research was challenging. I also resonated with the creative inspiration that this challenging environment holds. Because of the multicultural focus of my work, I have been called a border crosser and a pioneer by colleagues, but through this study I have recognized that I am an improviser, as many creative arts therapists are. Nachmanovitch (1990) stated:

> Knowledge of the creative process cannot substitute for creativity, but it can save us from giving up on creativity when the challenges seem too intimidating and free play seems blocked. If we know that our inevitable setbacks and frustrations are phases of the natural cycle of creative processes, if we know our obstacles can become our ornaments, we can preserve and bring our desires to fruition. Such perseverance can be a real test, but there are ways through, there are guideposts. And the struggle, which is guaranteed to take a lifetime, is worth it. It is a struggle that generates incredible pleasure and joy. (p. 12)

The challenges and struggles of this so-called cultural border crossing have enabled me to reach people who would never have received expressive arts therapy, and indeed, the extra effort to cross the invisible and visible divides has been pleasurable and joyful.

The topic of multicultural training in the literature review was deemed relevant and directly connected to the coat portraits based on the idea that one of the ways in which identity and cultural identity could be explored in expressive arts therapy is through training. Reading through the plethora of literature on the multicultural training of therapists (e.g., Adams, 2010; Bieschke et al., 2003; Campinha-Bacote, 2008; Cherry, 2002; Congress, 2004; Masalha, 1999; Merry, 2005; Munoz, 2007), much of the research was highly informative but difficult to translate to the specific, indigenous cultural challenges of Israel and to creative arts therapy training, or art-based research. The cultural training of therapists in divided or conflicted regions, specifically Israel, is still rarely documented (Al-Ajarma & Barzilay-Shechter, 2007; Al-Haj, 2002). Future research on this topic would create a body of knowledge that could enhance and enrich the cultural pedagogy of therapists in the Middle East.

There is an awareness now that a cultural coat being tried on by participants who were known and unknown to one another and shared with ones who wore it before and with those who will wear it afterwards could be a powerful metaphor for the sharing of the history-burdened land in Jerusalem. If only sharing the land could be tried on for size, embodied, and experimented with as easily as it was to share the coat and its symbols. Although talking is an important part of communication, perhaps nonverbal forms of expression could be utilized in cultural learning and cultural bridging. Based on the results of this study, participants were willing to literally touch what they were unable to cognitively touch previously.

For example, the participant who would not wear the GLBT pride flag was willing to hold the coat and discuss the other flags. This can be seen as a denial of the

pride flag; but perhaps more importantly, the act of holding the coat can be seen as a step in the direction of dialogue. He could have refused to hold it or touch it at all. His ability to openly admit the difficulty was already a step toward cultural flexibility. Widening cultural horizons is a process; participants moved at their own pace while exploring the wearing of the coat and what it meant to them.

Looking back at the entire process of the first phase of the research I realized that that the coat was a metaphor for Jerusalem and that the innate qualities of this wearable metaphor allowed the participants to connect to the coat in a personal manner. Moon (2007) stated:

> Artistic metaphors invite us to look at, listen to, and respond to them, and wonder about their meanings. Rather than assigning fixed interpretations to artworks, we reflect upon them, enter into their stories, listen to what they want to tell us, and make sounds, move our bodies, and create poems in response to them. (p. 65)

Artistic metaphors open doors to possibilities that may otherwise remain shut. This study would not have been possible without the use of metaphor and imagination. The first image that became the trigger for the coat project was the image of the seams in Jerusalem.

Jerusalem's inhabitants are of diverse origins and rooted in many traditions, ancient and modern. Although some are easily identifiable by language or dress codes, many Jerusalemites have layers of origins that cannot be seen by the naked eye. The first phase of this study revealed that cultural identities in Israel are often hybrid. Hybrid identities have been studied (Bolatagici, 2004; Dosamantes-Beaudry, 1999; Marotta, 2008) yet, once again, the research found in the literature was not specifically about the

complex identity issues of the peoples in Israel and the region. The historical, political, cultural, and ethnic complexities of Israelis and Arabs are unique and potent.

The coat, an art-based experiment, can be seen as a tool amongst others found in the literature to be utilized in the pursuit of cultural education. Trying on the coat allowed participants in the study to become physically close to cultural symbols that are usually thought about cognitively or viewed from a safe distance. This can be referred to as embodiment.

Embodiment, or embodied thinking (Taylor, Lord, & Bond, 2009), which was not discussed in the literature review but is connected to Phase 1 of this study, has been described in this way:

> English and other languages make extensive use of bodily metaphors to convey abstract concepts. We *grasp* ideas, for instance, and also *walk* a fine line, *break out* of a daily routine, and try to *get around* regulations, get *boxed* in a corner or *bogged down, carry* a heavy work load, get *weighed down* by projects. (Taylor et al., 2009, p. 946)

The themes that arose from the participants' responses were often embodied metaphors, for example, the weight, heaviness, or burden felt while wearing the coat. The coat was created or crafted by me; it was tried on or embodied by the participants. Heracleous & Jacobs (2008) discussed crafted embodied metaphors:

> The term "embodied metaphors" encompasses two interrelated ideas: firstly, that emergent and iterative construction of a simultaneously physical as well as metaphorical object directly involves the body in this process; and secondly (and importantly), the resulting physical metaphors have a body—they are "metaphors

> in the flesh" that can be touched, moved, examined from different angles, and serve as engaging occasions for sense making. (p. 310)

The role of metaphors in multicultural studies could be expanded and researched more deeply based on the findings in this study, including embodied metaphors.

The results of this study point toward a physical understanding of culture in other themes that arose. The props that were sometimes needed in order to wear the coat are yet another metaphor of the anchoring that people need in order to face difficult, conflicting situations while still feeling safe. The props can even be looked at as amulets, in the sense that the use of charms and amulets is prevalent in the Middle East, and perhaps this was transferred to the participants in their use of props. Amulets in general are believed to provide protection and safety. The coat in and of itself could be seen as a prop or an amulet. Koltuv (2005) explained amulets and their uses:

> An amulet is anything worn as a charm against evil, disease, witchcraft, and misfortune. The word *amulet* can be derived either from the Arabic word *hamalat,* meaning "to hang," or from the Hebrew word *kame'a,* which has the root meaning "to bind." Hanging, or binding, or wearing an amulet upon oneself protects the wearer. (p. 9)

Fear is a powerful emotion and fear of persons of a different culture or subculture is not unusual in Israel. This fear feeds prejudice, cultural misconceptions, and creates distance between cultures. Bateson (1994) stated that "Middle Eastern cultures reek of envy," continuing, "Everywhere that you see charms against the evil eye—bright blue beads, the hand of Fatima, an eye painted on a house—you know that you are in a society where envy is a major source of anxiety" (p. 185). This envy is probably a layer that

covers fear. This study's first phase showed that fear of others is so strong in Israel that even wearing someone else's symbols can seem impossible. The anxiety mentioned by Bateson (1994) is cross-cultural and its source can be varied.

Some of the themes that emerged from the study were embodied. The research found that wearing culture can connect participants to unconscious feelings that symbols may embody. This research is by no means comprehensive; more research is needed in order to explore ways of broadening this study and studying embodied cultural metaphors in greater depth. Meanwhile, I can only hope that the brief encounter that each participant had with the coat, and the data that were the fruition of these encounters, can be informative to me and to others about multiculturalism in Israel. This information could serve as a basis for the creating of multicultural curricula in creative arts therapy programs.

Limitations

The potential limitations of Phase 1 of this study are similar to those for the study as a whole. One limitation could be that the participants all knew me, the researcher, which may have influenced the outcome of the responses; that the ever-changing political climate in Israel could have affected participant responses; that the language of the written responses (whether they were written in a participant's mother tongue or not) could have influenced the content and style of the responses; and that focusing on Jerusalem, as opposed to other geographic regions in Israel, could have had a direct influence on the outcome of the emerging themes of the responses. It is possible, however, that without prior familiarity with the researcher, participants would not have

agreed to do something as intimate as trying a cultural coat on and expressing their personal feelings in written response form.

Conclusions

The lack of documented cross-cultural creative arts therapy experiences may be due a few factors. First, the literature may be in Hebrew; second, Israeli creative arts therapists may have not begun publishing as widely as their U.S. counterparts; or third, multicultural creative arts therapy training and practice may be rare.

The metaphor of a cultural weave came up for me while sewing the coat, while reading the literature, and while reading the participants' responses to wearing the coat. I have surmised that there is a cultural richness in the coat and in Israel; that one could spend a few lifetimes trying to know all of the facets of all of the cultures here; yet many people live parallel lives not knowing the most basic things about each other's religions, ethnicities, rituals, or languages. The coat in many ways symbolizes a vision of accepting this cultural richness; a vision of getting close to one's unseen neighbors.

In conclusion, both trying on the coat and crossing cultural divides takes some cultural flexibility. Cultural flexibility is a concept that takes into account the intellectual and emotional stretching that humans engage in while becoming culturally curious, aware, and competent. Creative arts therapists have the capacity to become culturally enriched and culturally flexible in their training in Jerusalem and elsewhere.

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1986) wrote, "We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny" (p. 290). The sad brilliance of this insight seems to rings true in Jerusalem and in Israel at large. This indigenous mutuality could be recognized as a first step in cultural pedagogy and training here.

Notwithstanding the challenges of addressing cultural issues in conflicted or divided communities or countries like Israel, this study is a tiny drop in the vast ocean of research that needs to continue. There are those who believe that without shining a light on the darker, more unpleasant corners of cultural misunderstanding, on the misconceptions, prejudice, and shadows, change cannot occur (McNiff, 2007).

All change must begin somewhere. To quote Plato, “The beginning is the most important part of any work” (as cited in Stathes, 2004, p. 122). Perhaps this beginning will pave the path for more research on the multicultural training of creative arts therapists in Israel.

APPENDIX G

PHASE 2 INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Tamar Reva Einstein, September 2011

Hi, we will begin the interview now. I wanted to start by getting to know you, and then ask some questions about the coat you just tried on, so:

1. Could you please tell a bit me about yourself (where are you from, what languages do you speak, where do you live, in what cultures did you grow up)?
2. I would like to hear about you and your work.
3. Could you describe where we are, and what meaning this place has for you?
4. Do you think that your upbringing has affected your relationship to cultures, and if so, in what ways?
5. Do you have a personal belief system, philosophy, or mindset that you adhere to or live your daily life with in mind?
6. Can you tell me a story about a cultural meeting that you cannot forget that influenced you?
7. Name a mentor, teacher, or hero that you carry with you please.
8. What gives you hope?
9. What was your experience of wearing the coat?
10. What images arose while in the coat?
11. I call this project "Sew it Seams," referring to the seams on the coat and the seams in our cultures. When I say the word *seam,* what do you think of or imagine?
12. What symbols, if any, are important to you?

13. What purpose, if any, can you imagine for this coat now that you have worn it? In other words, “What would you do with this coat?”
14. As someone living in Israel, would you say that our society is culturally rich, culturally conflicted, both, or something different?
15. What are some of the obstacles that stand in the way of cultural sharing here?
16. What gives you hope and what doesn't for a less violent future for all cultures here?
17. Do you have a quote, saying, poem, song, or image that is dear to you, and would you share it?
18. Would you like to ask me something now?
19. Is there anything I haven’t asked, or that you would like to say now?

APPENDIX H

PHASE 2 WRITTEN COAT RESPONSES

Nadia Kinani:

The feeling was strange. The feeling that I am actually experiencing violence the moment the cloak touches my body.

I had chills and a feeling of rejection, that the fabric of the coat should not touch my body. On the other hand, for a moment, I resonated with the situation of how I would feel if this violence really happened to me.

The ties strengthened "this thing" of violence by men who actually seem nonviolent. A simple man, poor, would not wear a tie. That is more suitable for people who are well-to-do, wealthy, have status, and that repulsed me.

Elana Rozenman:

I felt enveloped, comforted, strengthened, and supported by the sisterhood of suffering—all of the mothers and wives who have lost children and husbands, sat in hospitals nursing them back to health and wholeness, sent them to war, carrying the sorrow and deep sacrifice of our womanhood.

I felt the need to cover myself, to hide, to protect myself from the outer world and to go inside the coat and myself—to go deep into my vulnerability in order to overcome it.

As I enveloped myself in the coat, I was overwhelmed with feelings of pain and started to shake and cry for all the sorrow of the mothers represented in the symbols sewn on the cloak.

David Neuhaus:

After looking at it and then putting the coat on it made me feel like Joseph—not only a multicolored coat but also a coat that is made up of dreams—each symbol

evoking dreams of individuals and peoples. Can I decipher the dreams of those abused and wounded—dreams of healing, wholeness, happiness, freedom . . .

Once the coat was on I noticed that it "speaks"—the bells that sing with movement . . . I immediately thought of the Isaiah text that describes the casting off of clothes of mourning and putting on a new robe of joy—joyful dancing, new life—the coat itself in its colors and its bells sings and dances a hymn of new life. Sam Schwartz:

The coat felt small on my shoulders. I was worried about tearing it and was reminded of Mayakovsky's poem about a cloud in trousers; sometimes our physical bodies are uncomfortable in the limited space we are given, physically, and metaphorically. The *Tzizit* hanging from the garment, together with the tie fringes and the blue and white of the Israeli flag, reminded me of the Jewish ritual *Talit,* which I don every day in prayer. It was interesting to me that the Palestinian flag woven into the coat did not prevent me from making a near total association of the coat with my culture's native ritual prayer object. I would like to check myself, to inquire whether this is indicative that I am comfortable with a Palestinian existence and it does not interfere with my self-identification as a Jew, or if my prism of experience filters out the symbols of Palestinian nationalism, or if there is another explanation for the phenomenon. Different answers to this question would require me to do different kinds of work on myself.

Two related thoughts: (a) When putting on the coat I found myself *shukling,* moving rhythmically back and forth as I do in the Jewish prayer service. It is interesting, in a Pavlovian way, how wearing the garment automatically

evoked a certain movement behavior. (b) While I noticed the garment's components that I interpreted as relating to Jewish symbols; and I noticed the Palestinian flag, all the other symbols on the garment went unexplored and even unprocessed by my consciousness. I will need to think about this in the context of my remarks [above].

APPENDIX I

PHASE 2 TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEW EXAMPLES

Nadia

Tammy: Okay Nadia, we are sitting here to talk for a little while on the subject of my doctorate, which is multiculturalism. My first question is, just so I can get to know you a little, is if you can tell me a little about yourself: Which languages do you speak, where you grew up and in which culture, or cultures?

Nadia: My name is Nadia; I am the principal of the bilingual school for two years now. I grew up in Nazareth, a city in the north of the country. When I finished school I went to study in Jerusalem, here. I never thought I could remain in Jerusalem and leave the city I grew up in, but the fact is that our plans and expectations don't always turn out the way we thought they would, and I've lived in Jerusalem for more than 22 years now. Of course Nazareth and Jerusalem are completely different places. In Nazareth, when I grew up, it was completely and only among Arabs, there were no Jewish people living in Nazareth, only Christian and Muslim Arabs. Nazareth is a very active city, politically, socially, and culturally. I studied in an Arab school, and until I graduated my direct contact with Jews was almost nonexistent. I mean, I saw Jewish people around me, I heard them speak, but I had no contact with any Jew—man, woman, or child—a complete disconnection. Although we studied Hebrew in school since the third grade we never really used it. We studied mostly literary language, reading and writing, but we never acquired conversational skills in the language, weren't really trained. I think this has an element of alienation to it. The language was connected with fear and alienation, so we didn't have the courage to use the language for anything beyond. I grew up in a traditional–liberal family. To this day I can't really define this . . .

Tammy: —combination?

Nadia: Yes. My parents were very open, very liberal people, and traditional too, of course. There were a lot of boundaries in my life as a child but on the other hand there was a very pleasant, open relationship between us that was based on sharing. I think I now see the results of this relationship, this combination of tradition and openness. Of course, there were some were some subjects that were taboo and were not to be discussed but there were also lot of subjects we got the chance to talk about and discuss. My parents followed the religious decrees *Kium Mitzvoth,* or keeping of the mitzvoth (deeds), ever since I can remember myself as a little girl.

Tammy: The Muslim decrees, *Mitzvoth.*

Nadia: Yes, the Muslim decrees. Though I myself can't ever remember doing the same—I didn't fast or pray. The family respected those who choose to fast and those who choose not to. It should be noted that this is unusual since it wasn't the norm that in a family that fasted during Ramadan someone would eat.

Tammy: It showed a great openness to someone else's opinions and choice of lifestyle.

Nadia: Yes, It was something that was unusual, not usually accepted. My uncles fasted and I and another sister who chose not to fast were not forced to, and no one asked any questions. We could each choose for ourselves.

Tammy: This brings us to the next two questions. I think it's related. I wanted to ask you about where we are now, about this place, where this place stands in your life, its meaning to you, what you do here and how you were received here.

Nadia: As you know, when the children were born we had a shared experience in kindergarten with the children, a first real, right, and interesting Jewish–Arab contact.

Tammy: Here in the bilingual school?

Nadia: Yes. We were at the YMCA in the beginning in nursery school, and from there the idea for a bilingual school grew. I suddenly discovered the added value of that joint meeting when my daughters got to experience this something that I missed, something that I was missing a great deal. Although many of the values I was taught at home still are reflected in my life today, it's not like I'm a different person, and what was then was then and today I'm something different. Many of things I was taught I still carry with me, and while I lost or gave up many others, my basic structure still follows the teaching of my parents about respecting the other, tolerance, patience, and liberalism.

Tammy: And what do you do here today?

Nadia: Today I am the principal of this school. Managing a bilingual school is not a standard affair. A lot of your activity is ideological activity and everything you do has an ideological aspect to it: what you teach, the partnership, the first and second languages, how to conduct religious studies, how do we deal with outside events within the school. There's always something to do. I call it the beehive, there is always movement and we have to deal with issues other schools don't necessarily address during everyday life. It's something very significant.

Tammy: You said "ideology," and one of my questions is do you have a personal ideology, some life philosophy that you take with you every day?

Nadia: There are a few lines I can address. First I should address the fact that I define myself as a Palestinian woman. I define myself as a Palestinian more than an Arab since that is what feels stronger within my emotions and identity. My connection with my Palestinian identity is much stronger compared to my Arab identity, which is lingual and

cultural, but less dominant. As a woman who grow in a traditional society, a society that still largely defines itself as traditional, I'm a woman who believes in giving opportunities to women, empowering women and women's right to decide and determine their own destiny, to see what suites them and what doesn't, to be independent financially—which is no less important—and to choose, simply to be able to choose what's good for her and not only what's good for society. To do what is good for me as a woman, an Arab Palestinian woman who lives in this country. In my opinion I believe and I think that there aren't a lot of women who can—I don't want to say rebel, but to say "this doesn't suit me." It's complex and difficult.

Tammy: You are talking about a social change?

Nadia: A social change in a direction of empowering especially women to where a woman isn't someone's shadow but can decide to lead and initiate and can object too if something doesn't suit her.

Tammy: Following what you said, I wanted to ask you if there is someone in your life that influenced your beliefs about change, about how things can for women and Arab and Jewish children who grow up together. Is there some persona, alive or otherwise, that guides you?

Nadia: There isn't any specific persona, but I do consider the education I got from my parents, my mother and father, as people who were flexible with my education. Neither of them had a university degree, my mother was a housewife and my father worked as a floor tiler, but they always saw the great importance in letting us acquire an education. From nothing, they gave us all the conditions necessary to study and encouraged us to study and achieve what we desired. They gave the opportunity to

choose even in basic matters such as if to fast or not, to go out or not, even when it concerned things that weren't acceptable in society around us, they let us do them. Even though they never considered those things to be anything more than basic trivialities, this education follows me wherever I go. There was always a lot of warmth, love, and support; family values were sacred to them. They raised us to respect and honor the family, our brothers and sisters, and this still accompanies me today, always did. Even though I live in Jerusalem and the rest of the family is elsewhere, if something happens we all come together and participant. Family is something very important to me, and I see the school as a kind of family to which the teachings of my nuclear family can be applied.

Tammy: Let's move on to the next question. What gives you hope? You spoke about how you were raised, and we know that a lot of unpleasant things happen outside the walls of this school…

Nadia: Quite a few.

Tammy: True enough. So what gives you hope in multiculturalism?

Nadia: Listen, sometimes I think I'm dealing with something unrealistic, the swimming against the flow. Then I say to myself, we might not be able to change the reality outside, to make connections between cultures and make them acknowledge each other, but at least we can give the 500 students who attend this school a chance to experience a multicultural environment. Even if it's a drop in the ocean, I think it's something that addresses a need. I always hope that we might grow bigger, that people around us will take note of what we do and see the added value of the of multicultural confluence, but what strengthens me is the everyday activity. The politics around me don't do much to encourage our expectations. We used to have greater ones, but today I

don't see any significant light at the end of the tunnel, and I don't think it's fair to lay the responsibility to finding a solution to such a significant conflict on the school, but I think that if you bring children from all sorts of different cultures and backgrounds and bring them together, they can bridge the great gaps between them and find things in common.

Tammy: Can you tell me a story about culture that you simply cannot forget or erase from your memory? Maybe something that happened to you?

Nadia: I'll tell you two things; I don't know if this answers the question but here goes. I remember a school I worked in, in East Jerusalem, on the first day of the month of Ramadan. It was also my first day teaching there. I arrive at the school, say good morning and "Ramadan Kareem," go into the teacher's lounge to make a cup of coffee, and see there is no coffee pot, coffee, sugar or anything. So I ask [the other teachers], "What's going on?" and they tell me, "It's Ramadan, there isn't any coffee. If you want to drink or eat you must hide away." I ask, "who decided this?" and they said, "we did, here, you can't drink." It was a tremendous shock for me. I give you respect and accept you, but when do you respect me? It can't be one-sided; respect is a two-way street. You disrespected me and two Christian teachers, won't allow us to drink a glass of water or cup of coffee for a month, and while I'm not saying I'll start drinking just because I enjoy doing so, if I'm parched and want a glass of water, I should be able to have one. Anyway, it was a major conflict and a great shock to me, and although I was unable to return the coffee pot to the teacher's lounge over the next 1, 2, and 3 years, I made a habit of sitting down to eat on every break, not to hide, and to show people that this is what I need, what I want, that this is my Ramadan, and what I choose. Sometimes when I tell this story to people they say that this is the wrong approach, but I replay that this might be the case for

them, but I think that if I respect others, they should respect me in return. It is a fact now that my daughter fasts on Ramadan, and while I still eat, I make sure she has everything she needs to fast and prepare her the meal to break her fast. She respects that I don't fast, and I respect her in return.

Tammy: And this all lives together?

Nadia: And without any clashes. I think it all depends on how you go about it. She loves me and I love her, she respects me not fasting and I respect her, I invest time and effort so she could have a comfortable time fasting, set a table, this is the message I send, and cook her meals to break her fast for an entire month.

Tammy: How old is she now, 15?

Nadia: 14. And I respect what she does. It's a part of my household, a part of my life, and that's the message I wish to pass on in this matter. What else . . . that's enough I think.

Tammy: That's a nice example. I'd like to move on to and ask you about the coat. How did wearing it feel? What did you experience when you wore it?

Nadia: Goosebumps. First, when I saw the ties, I felt like I was being wrapped in men, and when you told me about the violence I felt as if someone was touching my body. I wanted to take the photograph, get it over with, and remove the coat. I felt like someone was touching me in a very personal manner, like it was penetrating my body. [The coat] gave me little goose bumps and I wanted to get it away from me, but when I took the picture I thought for a moment: What if this happened to me, what if someone acted violently towards me, what would I feel? It was very strange.

Tammy: Yes, this coat has made people feel different things. Would you like to hear about the ties?

Nadia: I would love to.

Tammy: The ties, among all of the things over there, aren't really related to—

Nadia: The men?

Tammy: Yes. They are connected to one man in particular: my grandfather. When my mother passed away, rest her soul, I found a box at her house full of all of my grandfather's ties, that she took when he died. When I made the coat, it was after I broke my hands, I felt like I needed something that would serve as a metaphor for wings, and then I decided to use my grandfather's ties since, just like your parents, he raised us in a very pluralistic, accepting manner and I felt he had a place in this coat. I wasn't sure exactly where, but I knew it would be something symbolizing an anchor.

Speaking of symbols, I wanted to ask you if there are symbols, in the coat or otherwise, that are particularly important or unimportant to you?

Nadia: I'm a person who doesn't care much for symbols. I think symbols are one of the problems in our life. We feel committed to them and then they have control over us, and we are led by them. This is especially true for us at the school, when on memorial days we can't stand together. If it weren't for symbols we could stand together and remember what we wish.

Tammy: Even with all the things the school is willing to accept, there are still things like flags or symbols that people won't agree to stand next to or be a part of?

Nadia: And the other side won't agree to give up on.

Tammy: Look at how much power we give symbols.

Nadia: That's true. Even I, as a Palestinian, when people came and asked me to have a *Nakba* ceremony, I refused. I want to get away from ceremonies because we became slaves to the ceremonies instead of them serving us. We follow their rules, we get stuck in the symbols, and as long as I don't have the flexibility to change them according to my needs I want nothing to do with them.

Tammy: You raise an interesting point, since a part of this coat was… I didn't exactly know what I was doing when I was making this coat; I only knew I wanted to translate my doctorate into something physical and touchable, so I started playing with symbols, with flags, with things that have so much meaning.

Nadia: Yes, I saw a *tallit*. It was odd for me.

Tammy: There also a *keffiyeh,* all sort of things that mean a lot of different things to a lot of different people, but I changed the symbols in my coat to a form I found fitting. This is my next question: If you created something using art, can you imagine something you would have created using symbols or metaphors that would make you accept them?

Nadia: As long as they don't label groups of people. As long as they're universal symbols, I don't see a problem in that.

Tammy: What's that?

Nadia: Like religious symbols. Religious symbols are frightening, they separate and they keep people apart. Like national symbols, which do the same. Those kinds of symbols only serve to keep people apart, they accentuate our need to define "who am I and who are you." I know this need has some importance, but it's used to sever the ties between us, to create "it's you against me," a tool of separation instead of connection.

Tammy: When I sewed those symbols together in the coat it really bothered some people; there was a strong reaction. That there is a seam.

Nadia: I can understand that. It's people's desire not to change things. That is what they want, "you and us, us and you," with no connection. I'm fine with symbols as long as they lead to connection; I have no want for them if they don't connect.

Tammy: Now that you tried the coat on, can you imagine any kind of use for it? If I were to give you the coat, could you think of a way to use it?

Nadia: I would have taken a time unit in a major subject we teach in all the classes from the first to the ninth, and use it to give each student a chance to make his own coat.

Tammy: Maybe I can come and help you with that.

Nadia: Each student can make his coat the way they see fit, and then you could see the great diversity of people who we think are the same.

Tammy: It's a nice idea.

Tammy: Now what else did I want to ask you? We are almost done. Is there a saying, a poem, or something similar that you feel has cultural significance to you, something you take with you?

Nadia: I really love the poems of the poet Mahmud Darwish.

Tammy: The Palestinian poet.

Nadia: Yes, very much so, despite the all the criticism in this country towards his poems.

Tammy: Is there any specific line you particularly enjoy?

Nadia: [recites in Arabic first] “I miss my mother’s bread and my mother’s coffee.” In this line he relates to the longing he feels. He also says: “If only I could be a flame, to warm my mother’s home / If only I could be where my mother hangs her laundry.” He speaks of longing and of family relations as the highest of values.

Tammy: We are back to family.

Nadia: It always comes back to that. [Darwish] speaks out of distress at being exiled and at not being able to come back, and of course, of politics too, of longing and missing home; but mostly he just wants to be home again.

Tammy: I wanted to ask if you wanted to ask me something about this whole thing—are you curious about something?

Nadia: I would love ask what did you find out about the connection between the violence Arab and Jewish women experience, what differences or similarities did you find?

Tammy: I didn’t really focus on that subject, but now that you mention it, did you know that in my work as a therapist I did come into contact with those sorts of things and I can say that in the Arab side, despite the fact there are attempts to bring this whole subject into the light, there is still fierce resistance to talking about those things out loud. It’s interesting that you took this subject from the coat even though that wasn’t really my intention with it. It only goes to show you the benefits of metaphor.

Nadia: That I made this connection to the coat.

Tammy: It interests me to think about how we can think about metaphor connected with clothing, as things that cover and protect us—how we can use them in

group therapies with battered women who feel so unprotected. It's interesting that you brought this up in connection to wearing the coat.

Nadia: There's another thing. During your work on the doctorate, did you really find evidence that multicultural gatherings can undercut the personal identities of both sides? Did you meet someone it hurt instead of empowered?

Tammy: I must say, and it's my personal opinion, after working on the subject for 3 years as a part of my doctorate, and really ever since I was born and raised in a multicultural environment—I was raised, and raised my son on this principle—and as I sit here with you as a friend and colleague, as mothers in this great family of the school, I believe 100% that it can only empower. Every time I meet another culture, someone from it, and we could talk about this for hours, I see we aren't really just from one culture, and when I started sewing this coat I realized that I'm seeing a hybrid of cultures, that no one is just from a single culture because we originated from two parents. Without even touching on the topics of roots or origins. I can say that in my experience, both while researching and in general, I am becoming a much culturally richer person. There was a question I didn't ask you, in which I talk about a subject called cultural wealth, as opposed to multiculturalism. I feel that there's something we're missing, some cultural wealth we can't always tap into, and here at the school I feel you are able to bring this culturally diverse and rich meal to the students on one plate. I don't feel we are missing anything.

Is there something I didn't ask you? Something you want to talk about related to the subject of multiculturalism? Something else you want to say?

Nadia: I'm trying to see where we clash with religion in the identity issue, between multiculturalism and religion. The subject of religion really occupies my mind lately.

Tammy: You noticed there aren't any religious symbols on the coat . . . purposely there are no symbols, no cross, etc.

Nadia: No, none. You were smart to do that.

Elana

Tammy: Alright, so here I am, sitting with Elana—good morning, Elana—in your house, and I'm going to do something I don't usually do with these interviews. I usually start with a question about who you are and where are you from, but I feel like since you just tried the coat on, we need to start with the coat questions first since it's very real, and then we'll go backwards to the other stuff. So what was the experience of wearing this coat, something powerful happened to you?

Elana: Well because of your explanation about all of the powerful symbols in the coat I went way beyond the aesthetic beauty of it and took in, I mean, you said how the women whose son was killed was even studying in all of this, I mean, I just immediately connected with all of the mothers beyond these symbols. I mean I see the Israeli flag with the Palestinian flag and it's very beautiful they're together and all but, being focused on the mothers, I was just really aware of all the mothers in the Israeli army who have lost sons and husbands, how they were wounded and helping them recover, and all of the Israelis who have lost people in terrorist attacks or have wounded relatives that they continue to deal with, and the Palestinian women whose husbands and sons have been out there doing whatever they did and getting killed and getting jailed, I mean I just was

overwhelmed putting on the coat with the enormity of suffering and really connecting with it in terms of womanhood, of the mothers.

Tammy: Afterwards you said sisterhood and I thought wow that's powerful: womanhood, sisterhood, this connection of women, and when I tell people about the coat I don't always—you were interested in details, and the back being something very few people asked me about is interesting and it is very much, to me, it does something else to your torso, a symbol of some kind of womanly shape also.

Elana: Oh for sure. I mean I saw a womb there and I saw all of these lovely curves, I mean there is something enormously feminine about it, the heart of it and just even the combination of all of it, I mean I can't imagine, although it's my thing, maybe a man could put together such a thing, but looking at it, it just looks like the expression of a woman, and you mentioned your mother and I felt also my connection and my sorrow at her loss. I think I said the sisterhood of suffering.

Tammy: The sisterhood of suffering. It's very powerful.

Elana: That's really what I felt and wearing it was being so self-conscience of the suffering of so many women as the result of our conflict. I mean, women are suffering from breast cancer and a million other things too, but I mean what was so powerful to me was feeling the sisterhood of suffering of this conflict and what it does to the women.

Tammy: So, another question I asked you about the coat, and I usually ask it at the end but I'm turning it around a little, is that now that you wore the coat and you've seen it and I explained my work with it, can you imagine a purpose for this coat at your work—and now we're going to start talking about your work—but could you imagine purpose for this coat or a coat like it at your work?

Elana: Sure. Because I'm working with Palestinian and Israeli women I always feel that anything that gets us beyond the usual dialog—not that we have the usual dialog anymore because so many of us have been together for so long we're like sisters—but anything like that immediately enables people to transcend their own reality and to connect to a larger reality, or maybe just go into very deep personal feelings. I mean it's something that is a real tool or vehicle for expression that could be very beneficial in having everyone take a turn putting it on and express how they feel when they wear the coat.

Tammy: So let's go into who you are, go backwards now. First let's start at the beginning: Where are you from, which languages you grew up with, what cultures? You're here now, we're sitting now in Jerusalem but you came from somewhere else and so I'm interested in knowing about the past of how you got here.

Elana: I was born and raised in Chicago, lived in a nice Jewish community and was raised a reformed Jew and very involved and committed with all of that and then I had another important strain in all of this—strain sounds like a bad connotation—but another strain of direction and all of this. My parents were very unusual in that they moved beyond the Jewish circles that we were all involved with and they had friends who were not Jewish and friends who were of different races.

They worked selling World Book encyclopedias and they had a lot of people working for them. This wasn't like selling shoes or something, this was really selling a wonderful opportunity for children to advance in this world. They had people working for them who were Black and worked in the Black neighborhoods and Chinese who worked in the Chinese neighborhoods, all kinds of people that were in and out of our home and

that were really friends of my parents, so that was unusual and my parents never talked much about it, but they just gave me the example of treating everyone the same and liking and appreciating, being interested in people from different cultures and different backgrounds, really seeing that it enriched their life and our life.

It was something I wasn't so aware of growing up but I see much more, looking back, how unusual that was. As a result, my mother took me to peace marches and took me to march with Martin Luther King when he came to Chicago, and I wasn't thinking how no one else's mother took them to these things, I was just thinking how wonderful it was going to those things with her.

I think as a direct result my brother was one of the first people to go into the Peace Corps, was one of the first to be accepted and start training, and God forbid he was one of the first to be killed. A year after he went to the Peace Corps. It was an amazing shock and tragedy; however I, who has been interested in the Peace Corps myself all along, when I graduated from college a year later I joined the Peace Corps and went to Colombia, South America, where he had been killed in a plane crash with a bunch of Colombians, and really felt I could somehow fulfill my desire to continue his work or connect with him, and our younger brother, when he graduated from collage a few years later he joined the Peace Corps in Africa, so all of us ended up in the Peace Corps, and I really felt that was a very clear expression, I mean later on in life, of who my parents were and the path they set for us, because not everybody was joining the Peace Corps, and many people were telling my parents they were crazy for letting us go, especially after my brother died. So I mean, I don't know, that's a long answer . . .

Tammy: That was a very beautiful answer and so that leads me to the next question. The obvious thread is what your work is now. We're sitting here in a room in your house in your office and you do work that sounds like a continuation of your upbringing and everything like that. So what is it that you do now that is a continuation of that? Your organization, and if you want to tell about how you got to do this?

Elana: One other piece I should add is that during the Six-Day War, in Chicago, I met my husband who's an Israeli, and it was a real awakening for me because I was aware I have gone to Colombia, South America, and dedicated 2 years of my life to Catholic Colombians who became like family to me and all of a sudden when Israel was threatened during the Six-Day War I realized I have never thought about my Jewish identity, I mean, it was a part of me, but I never had thought that much about it, and I became very committed to want[ing] to be in Israel and to want[ing] to do something to help Israel, and of course I met my husband.

So, we meandered around but eventually we got here and, from the time I got here I felt like I wanted to relate to the Arabs that were here and somehow work to do something to impact this horrible conflict. On that point I was a trained, professional mediator and negotiator as well as a professional social worker, so I brought a lot of skills. I did some things and then, God forbid; my son was almost killed in a Palestinian suicide bombing. That kind of sidetracked me for several years from the time I was living in the hospital and lying on a mattress next to his bed for months in Hadassah and just trying to help him through all that and our family . . .

I became aware of many things: one was that any of the Arabs I have known or been involved with, nobody came to see us in the hospital, and I also became aware that

just living the life of an Orthodox Jew in the old city of Jerusalem, in the Jewish quarter with my children in yeshivas, that that wasn't enough to protect us from this horrible conflict and reality around us, and that I knew I have been called in some way through all that was going on, and the only response I could have was first of all to think what could I do to strengthen the energies of nonviolence, because otherwise I felt that by just continuing with my life I was polluting with the violence around me, of our government, of everyone around me, of the Palestinians, that just to sit in a bubble and pretend that all of this, whatever, I just couldn't any more. So I knew I had to do something to strengthen the nonviolence, and I also knew because I was working with women, and my successful work with women to start careers and business and couching them in life transition, many many things, that women I knew were not only my affinity but they were the answer, that they were the answer.

As I looked deeply, and I had a lot of time lying on the mattress night after night in the hospital and afterwards, because my son didn't go anywhere for 2 years, he stayed home recuperating and never went back to school, and that was a lot of time to think about all this, and I really saw how women were utterly absent in what was going on, on the political level, the military level, the economic level, in the religious realm—it's men men men men men, and what was going on was terrible, and so I felt that if the men are doing a good job fine, let's just forget about it, do other things, but what was happening demonstrated that men were not doing a great job, that what was missing were women.

The women's voice, the women's power, the women's contribution, the women's energy, the women's suffering. All we hear about women is in funerals, which, you know, in our region are very expressive and very emotional; you hear women screaming

and wailing and moaning. That is the time you hear the woman's voice and it's accepted and nobody tries to shut them up, everyone allows the women to express the pain that everyone's feeling. Other than that, we don't hear the women's voice, and for me it was very clear that what was missing was women and connecting women, so I just started looking for other women who were longing, thirsting, to have normal relationships with the other, and it wasn't that hard.

As soon as I started digging around and letting it be known and whatever, the women appeared, they were attracted to this, and of course to this day I can say what a sorrow it is that it isn't hundreds of thousands of women that are attracted to this and that when we have meetings 10, 50, 100 women come rather than thousands and thousands, but it works by attraction.

Tammy: I want to ask you something about that, and then I want you to tell the name of your organization and what its goal is. I have noticed in my other interviews when I talk about my work and also when I made the art that I was very interested in the seams, the margins, someone else mentioned margins, and you're talking about the numbers and it seems that a lot of the really important work is being done in the margins, on the seams and by small amounts of people, and many people say to me, "if only we could have more people," and maybe I'm starting to realize through my research that the good work has to happen in small groups and intimate places. What do you think about that?

Elana: Well, for sure. In my experience what I've seen is how people-to-people work and the deepening of relationships changes a person's life, changes everything: the way they look at things, the way they experience things, the way they relate to their

family, to their friends, to the conflict. It's a very deep process that takes place and maybe that takes time and intimacy. I'm also heartened by the fact that because of my work and being involved in so many organizations and forums and whatever I know so many people that are out there in their little organizations with their people doing what they are and I was very blessed that when I started all of this the Dalai Lama came to town and I had an opportunity to be with him. I asked him for a blessing when I was starting this work with Israeli and Palestinian women, Muslim, Christian, Jews, and Druze, and he looked at me with great surprise and he said: "I'll give you my blessing, but what difference does it make? The real blessing has to come by going deep inside yourself and getting all of your own power and energy and coming out and doing what you have to do."

Tammy: Wow.

Elana: That was in itself a powerful lesson, to see a very powerful spiritual leader really turning it upside down and saying: You don't need my power to help you or my wisdom to help you; you need to go deep inside and be truly who you are, and that is the real essence. Then he said: "Never feel bad that you are just one person in one place doing one thing because right now, all over the world many one persons in many one places are already changing the world."

Tammy: That was beautiful.

Elana: That was 10 years ago. I went out of there and didn't quite comprehend the depth of it at that time as much as over the years, as I'm bemoaning now about why don't we have many people and blah blah, and remembering that what he said wasn't that because of these people in different places eventually someday this will stop, he said that

right now, already, one people doing one thing all over the world is already changing the world. Its helps to put in perspective that every form of social change is a process and we are clearly the ones who are at the beginning of that process, or in the middle of the beginning. I think people began this a long time ago, but that we have yet to reach the tipping point, whatever one chooses to call it, where enough people are involved or as the Buddhists say sufficient means and the shift takes place, so I comfort myself and really feel blessed that I am part of the early innovators, you know, there's a whole theory about tipping points and jargon about it, but we are part of the early people who recognize this truth that we all have to live here in peace and stop killing each other.

Tammy: So is that what gives you hope? I was going to ask you but it sounds like it. Is it one of the things that give you hope within the craziness of everything that goes on here?

Elana: I wouldn't even call it hope. I always say when people ask me "What's your vision for peace or your blueprints, all this stuff?" and I say, "I don't think like that." Every day I have regular experiences and conversations with women that are Muslim, Christians, Jewish, Druze, whatever. We get together, we meet, and I experience the reality of peace and harmony, of trust and sisterhood, so I don't have to visualize what it will be like. It would be like with Ibtisam or Siha or Randa expanded, and when I'm sleeping in their homes in Faradis or Daliat El Carmel or they're here in my house or we're dancing in each other's children's weddings, that it won't be such a unique thing that only a few are doing but universal and that's what everyone's doing. So I say it doesn't even give me hope because hope is more like looking to the future, what it gives me is a deep sense of sanity to counteract the insanity around us and of satisfaction, of

just feeling grateful and blessed that I don't live in hatred and revenge and fear and suspicion, that I live in love.

Tammy: Can you tell me a little story that pertains to that love, like a cultural moment? You've mentioned some of these ladies' names, is there a picture or a moment that you shared with one of those women that is like a story you can never erase from your memory?

Elana: Yeah, and of course I tell it often because it's so seminal, but the first interfaith conference that I went to out of Israel was in Berlin, in East Berlin, and this was 10 years ago. At the conference was also a Palestinian woman, a woman who's an Israeli citizen living in the north of Israel. Her name is Ibtisam Mahameed, and she is very well-known in many circles for all of the peace work that she does. This was 10 years ago and both of us were just kind of new and getting started. We were in a room in this retreat center in East Berlin. It started to be nighttime and we were in this room together.

There were two beds next to each other and we learned the next day that most of the other people moved their beds to the opposite walls, but Ibtisam and I were of course with our beds together going to sleep nose to nose talking about our families, etc. We said good night and went to bed, and after a little silence Ibtisam said to me, "You know, if my family back at Faradis knew I was going to sleep in a room with a strange Jewish woman they would say 'wow, aren't you afraid she's going to knife you, to kill you!'" at which point I burst out "knife you! You Arabs are the ones that knife us!" I was astonished at what she said! And then we both burst out laughing, because we realized we had immediately gotten down to a primal level. What is it between us? It's both of us

being afraid the other one's going to kill us, a very primal fear, I will get killed, I can't trust this person.

So we recognized that and laughed about it and said that when we get back to Israel we're going to do some work together, and so when we came back we started planning a big conference that a few months later we held in Nazareth for 80 women—20 Muslim, 20 Christians, 20 Jewish, and 20 Druze—and we started working with a whole core of women who really wanted to have normal relationships together.

Tammy: So I feel like we're getting to the end of our interview but I wanted to know if there was anything else you wanted to say or ask or that's important to you. You've told me so many wonderful things; it's such a rich interview.

Elana: I didn't mention my organization, which is Trust, *Emun* in Hebrew, *Thikka* in Arabic. It's actually an Israeli organization that is Israeli Jews who've come together to live the truth of our religion, which is to love thy neighbor as thyself and treat thy neighbor with respect and treat the stranger in your land with dignity, all of the basic teaching of our religion, and because of our track record in working with so many people in so many ways we're able to be an Israeli Jewish organization that partners with Palestinian organizations, that work in cooperation with all kinds of other organizations. We have within our organization Trust Women, a women's interfaith network which has a Jewish coordinator and a Muslim coordinator. We do basic work to build trust and understanding among people.

Tammy: Wonderful. Thank you so much for this interview.

Elana: My pleasure.

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