Arab and Jewish Students Creating Identity Drawing Map (IDM) of Peace and Coexistence

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Abstract

During the last decade we conducted a set of studies following our methodology developed for the analysis of drawings to assess identity. We gathered interviews and asked for Identity Drawing Maps IDM from 184 students aged 20-30 years. This study is based on qualitative analysis of eight IDM representing the main groups in the Israeli society: Arabs; Christian, Muslim, Druze and Jews (2 maps for each group). We aim to examine the way in which students from different background use hyphenated identities and express messages of peace and co-existence. The findings give some hope that despite the ongoing conflict, Students from different cultural, national and religious backgrounds wish to live in pluralistic society that respects all the members and encourages values of equality, partnership and co-existence.

Keywords: hyphenated identity; University of Haifa; Jews; Arabs; identity drawing map

1. Introduction

The historical deep-rooted conflict between the Arabs and Jews began with the establishment of the state of Israel in the year of 1948, which immediately led to tense relations between the two groups until the present time. Nowadays, Jews form the majority of the Israeli society while the Palestinian-Arabs form the minority. This division is reflected in institutions, national identity, culture, socioeconomic status, and stances on fundamental issues (Smooha, 2010). At the present time, Arabs constitute 20% of the Israeli population, (CBS, 2014; Khamaisi, 2011, p.88-99). However, they are also divided into religions such as Muslims, Christians and Druze.

Throughout the last decade, we conducted serial of studies examining the identity definitions and relations among Arab and Jew students on the campus of Haifa University (Hertz-Lazarowitz, Azaiza, Peretz, Kupermintz, & Sharabany, 2007a; Hertz-Lazarowitz, Farah, & Zelniker, 2013). Life on campus was measured by student's attitudes, and the results showed some negative aspects such as: discrimination and racism, but also showed positive aspects such as feeling of equality, friendship and motivation for integration, these findings encouraged us to work toward creating a co-existence campus (Zelniker, Hertz-Lazarowitz, Peretz, Azaiza, & Sharabany, 2009).

1.1. Identity Definitions: The Case of Israeli Society

The concept of Identity has been extensively studied over the years. A groundbreaking theories of identity were developed by researchers in the field of social psychology such as a “Dynamic Field Theory” (Lewin, 1935), “Social Identity Theory” (Tajfel, 1978), “Self-Categorization theory” (Turner, 1985). There is a consensus that identity is formed as a result of continuous interaction between the individual and his environment.

In order to understand the ways in which identities are constructed we should focus on everyday interactions and the social context. Identities don't work in a vacuum, they are explained as being produced within specific social, cultural, economic and historical contexts and people have differential access to identity resources because of power relations (Hall, 2000).

Bhabha (1994) claimed that identities changes as result of a broader social change. They are constantly in a continuous process of formation and change. As Grossberg (1996) put it in words: "Identities are always relational and incomplete, in process. Any identity depends upon its difference from, its negation of some other term even as the identity of the latter term depends upon its difference from, its negation of, the former" (Grossberg, 1996, p.89).

Constructing an identity definition is a complex task, especially for young people who define themselves through national, ethnic and religious identities and sub-identities which might create conflict with each other. The conflict among identities exists when social identity is contested by challenging situations caused by global and local political events (i.e.; immigration, wars). Such conflicts are reflected in the behavior of official institutions which are effecting the social relations (Hertz-Lazarowitz, Yosef-Meitav, Farah, & Zoabi, 2010).

Over time, identity definitions in Israel changed, moving from simple or binary to multiple and more complex identities (Ghanem, 2001; Maoz, Steinberg, Bar-On, & Fakhereldeen, 2002). Identities are shaped within socio-cultural environments, where domination and oppression play a role in shaping identity structures. According to Taylor (1995), campus “wars” have become a stage for political activism, and thus entailing issues of identity. Legitimacy of opposing collective narratives can be expressed with violent and sometimes non-violent conflicts.

1.2. The Theory of Hyphenated Identity

The theory of “Hyphenated Identity” (Fine, 1994) suggests that people who live in complex political-social situations, construct a “new identity” that include many identities depended on the socio-cultural and political contexts. Research had documented that young adults includes various sub-identities and “live on the hyphen”, between identities found in contrast vs. harmony (Fine et al., 2012).

Ali and Sonn (2010) described the act of hyphenation as an act of self-determination within the context of competing discourses. In their words:

Hyphenated identities are temporal and negotiated in the context of culture, history and politics. In situations where there are multiple identity choices, the act of hyphenation and the combinations
of identities and their meanings are shaped by power relations and discourses within a particular context (Ali & Sonn, 2010, p.432).

For a long time, the Arab population in Israel was referred as “the Arabs” as a way of distinction from “the Jews” (the majority). Throughout the years, definitions have changed and developed for and within each group. Arab minority in Israel added many hyphenated collective identities such as Palestinians, Arab-Palestinians, and Palestinian citizens of Israel (Yosef-Meitav, 2008). They go through a process of identity exploration and confront issues of subordination and hyphenation (hammack, 2010).

1.3. University of Haifa as a Site of Identity Construction

University of Haifa is a social and academic meeting place for students from different backgrounds. An outside observer to the campus see Arabs and Jews students either religious or secular, interact in various levels. Within this multifaceted context identities are constantly under reconstruction as young people live in a complex mixture of conflict and harmony (Hertz-Lazarowitz, 2003).

Longitudinal measuring student's attitudes toward the university indicated complex results; Arabs showed simultaneously both higher scores of positive and negative attitudes as well as higher scores of integration and segregation than Jews. However, both groups viewed political tension as crucial factor exerting negative impact on campus life. Arabs, mostly Muslims, who included the term Palestinian in their hyphenated identify, were more negative about the university than the Christians and Druzes and viewed the university as a space of racism and alienation (Hertz-Lazarowitz et al., 2007a).

These puzzling results led us to use qualitative analysis of eight Identity Drawings Maps - IDM’s (n=8) from the whole sample (n=184) drawn by students of the various ethnic-religious groups. We assume such analysis will provide more meaningful understanding of identity construction.

2. Method

2.1. Participants and Procedure

In the year of 2008, following the second Lebanon war, we conducted a study which included 184 participants: 76 Jews (27 from Ethiopia, 32 from Former Soviet Union, 17 born in Israel) and 109 Arabs (31 Druze, 35 Muslims and 43 Christian). All of them are Haifa University Students in their third year, who participated voluntarily in the study. After answering the questionnaire, students were asked to draw their identity map (IDM), and add a brief text related to their map (Yosef-Meitav, 2008; Hertz-Lazarowitz et al., 2010).

2.2. Measures

All of the 184 maps were documented and analyzed (Farah & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 2009). The coding of the IDM was based on Michelle Fine method (Fine, 1994). Coding in Israel was coordinated with the American team (Katsiaficas et al., 2008) and with some modification of the Israeli team (Hertz-Lazarowitz, Ashkar, & Farah, 2014).

2.2.1. Coding the Maps:

Three stages of coding IDM were performed for each map in the general sample (n=184):

(1) Categorization of objects to groups of symbols: First, all the objects in the drawing were counted. The total number of objects counted was 100. Then, we coded up to 3 most salient objects in the fitting category of symbols and entered later to the SPSS analysis (Hertz-Lazarowitz et al., 2010). The five categories were:
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a. Religious symbols: Mosque, Synagogue, and Cross
b. National symbols: geographical maps, Israel flag, Palestinian flag
c. Emotional symbols: Heart, family, sadness-tears
d. Secular and Cultural symbols: T.V, books, university, village
e. Nature and person figure: person, parts of body, animals, buildings, flowers

(2) The message of the maps: The coders defined the IDM according to the following distinctions:

A. Integrated maps: If symbols of identities (at least two) and text were blended in integration.
B. Conflicted maps: if symbols of identities (at least two) and text were depicted with high tension and intense rage.
C. Separated/parallel Maps: if symbols of identities (at least two) and text were separated or parallel.

2.2.2. Selection of Sample:
In the first stage we looked for maps that had integrated messages (about 30% of the sample) we ignored the maps with conflicted or separated messages. From the sample integrated IDM's we chose eight maps that had clear messages of peace and co-existence, the reliability of this choice by three judges was .90

2.3. Reliability
Reliability was conducted for the whole sample. The coders were three students of psychology and education on their B.A and M.A degree. They were trained 12 hours by the main researcher. Each coder received an identity map, read the text written beside the identity map and described it. They start working individually and then rotated in pairs. At the same time they wrote a protocol which provides a basis for testing the reliability, the coders came to 90% agreement about the three stages of coding of the IDM (Hertz-Lazarowitz, Yosef-Meitav, & Zoabi, 2007b).

3. Results:
3.1. Statistical Analysis
We first conducted statistical tests to confirm that Jews and Arabs were no different in integrated messages. In order to compare the integrated IDM's of the two groups we calculated t test. No significant differences were found; (M=2.00, SD=0.91) for Arabs and (M=1.85, SD=0.84) for Jews. Moreover, to examine the differences among the different religions: (Muslims, Christians, Druze and Jews) a one-way ANOVA was conducted and no significant differences were found as well, \( F(3, 180) = 0.67, p = .57. \)

3.2. Qualitative Analysis:
We chose eight Identity Drawing Maps (IDM) representing the four main groups of students: Arabs, all born in Israel (Muslims, Christians, and Druzes), and Jews (Born in Israel). We presents for each student: name, background, text, description of the drawings and analysis (See Table 1.) Following the table we present the full eight IDM.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student’s name</th>
<th>Text, description of the IDM and Analysis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nadine</td>
<td>The text near the map: “I feel like a bird flying above Israel, which is a lovely and warm country. All citizens get their rights and live among a warm and supportive family”. Map analysis and summary: Nadine’ drew an Israeli flag as a national symbol, a Nature and person figure symbols such as sea, bird and ship. The national symbol considered as collective, and the others are personal. The emotions expressed are satisfaction, happiness and pride. See Figure 1.</td>
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<td>2. Ali</td>
<td>The text near the map: “I am an Israeli Druze living at Israel; I have good relationships with the different groups”. He wrote besides drawing of two persons holding hands: “in order to have peace, citizens should be together all the time”. Near the Druze flag he wrote: “my blood is Druze blood”, and beside the smiley face: “I love to smile that’s make me feel alive”. Map analysis and summary: Ali’ drew two religious symbols: Star of David and the Druze flag; two national symbols: figure of Arab and figure of person from other nationality, he also drew a smiley face as an emotional symbol. The religious symbols are collective, and the other symbols are personal. The map expresses an integration message, and positive emotions such as happiness and hope. He emphasizes his Druze identity besides the strong affiliation to the Israeli country, and expresses his desire to be happy and live in peace and coexistence with the different groups. See Figure 2.</td>
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<td>3. Lina</td>
<td>The text near the map: “I am in the middle, the peace is possible, I hope that one day I will live in peace and coexistence”. Map analysis and Summary: Lina’ drew herself and wrote “I’m in the middle” wearing a Christian cross, the text reads: “my religion”, to her left an Israeli flag, the text reads: “my citizenship”, and the text reads: “my nation”. See Figure 3.</td>
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<td>4. Nizar</td>
<td>The text near the map: “people from different groups are sitting and talking together: heterogeneous, positivity and coexistence”. Map analysis and Summary: Nizar’ drew a group of people with different ethnic and social backgrounds. They are sitting, talking and having fun together. The drawing shows his desire for peace and co-existence among all groups in the country. The drawing of the sun and the sky reflects a positive and optimistic attitude. See Figure 4.</td>
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<td>5. Rami</td>
<td>The text near the map: “Religions equality in the country”. Map analysis and summary: The drawing includes three symbols - Star of David, cross and Hilal. The religious symbols are collective; Rami’ drew the three symbols in the same size without preference to the symbol of his religious group, which is emphasizing an integral message of equality and respect. See Figure 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Fawzi</td>
<td>The text near the map: Fawzi’ described himself as an Arab – Israeli - Palestinian who dreams of peace between the two nations, equal rights and equal opportunities, and strives for a peaceful and better life in the country. Map analysis and summary: The drawing includes a big tree. On the trunk Fawzi’ wrote “Arab”. From the trunk evolves five branches presenting the terms: “Palestinian” – “Israeli” – “peace” – “equality” and on the top “peaceful life”. The overall message of the drawing is a message of peace, co-existence and equality between the two nations. See Figure 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Shlomit</td>
<td>The text near the map: “since I’ve been breathing coexistence, since I was born with the Israeli Arabs who live in the county, so I drew myself with a Druze friend and a Christian friend”. Map analysis and summary: The drawing expresses an integrated message of partnership and coexistence. In addition, it expresses feelings of love, friendship and hope. She emphasized that her friends are belonging to different ethnic-religious groups, but it doesn’t impact their friendship negatively. See Figure 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sara</td>
<td>The text near the map: “I am a Jewish women, have a left political orientation, live in Israel, I believe that it should be equality between Arabs and Jews, to have peace and live peacefully together.” Above the two women she writes: “love is all we need”. Map analysis and summary: Sara’ drew national symbols: Israeli and Palestinian flag and she wrote the words ”Arabs” and ”Jews”, these symbols are collective symbols. Also, she drew two happy women so we categorized it in nature and person symbol. The map expresses an integral message, and expresses positive emotions such as happiness, hope and elevation. The two women are smiling and holding hands, Sara’ desires for achieving peace between the two nations and to live peacefully together. See Figure 8.</td>
</tr>
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The IDMs of the students:

**Figure 1.** Produced by Nadine - Arab Druze Female

**Figure 2.** Produced by Ali - Arab Druze Male
Figure 3. Produced by Lina- Arab Christian Female

Figure 4. Produced by Nizar’- Arab Christian male
Figure 5. Produced by Rami’-Arab Muslim Male

Figure 6. Produced by Fawzi’: Arab Muslim male
4. Discussion
The IDM s chosen for this study present the main groups of the Israeli society - Arab students: Christian, Muslim, Druze; and Jewish students born in Israel. In previous study, we found that Arab students differ from Jewish in their IDM construction (Hertz-Lazarowitz et al., 2013). Given that the Arabs belong to a deprived and discriminated minority, differences are expected. However, the
surprising findings were in the similarities of integrated messages of peace and co-existence by a part of the students. Therefore, we aim in this paper to focus on these similarities between the Arabs and Jews in general and specifically among the four different religions.

First, the statistical analysis showed two important results: 1) Arabs and Jews did not differ in the integrated messages of peace and co-existence in their IDM; 2) no differences were found in the integrated messages among the four religion groups as well (See results section). These results led us to focus on qualitative analysis using eight student's maps; two maps for each religion.

We begin the qualitative analysis with the Druze IDM; Figure 1 and 2 demonstrated a strong desire for integration into the Israeli society. This is consistent with other studies, which repeatedly found that the Druze as being most integrated into the Israel society. Druze students are using more often Israeli symbols in their Identity Map Drawings; such as Star of David and the Israeli Flag (Hertz-Lazarowitz et al., 2007) it can be noticed also in the two Druze IDM of the current study.

The fact that Druze people have a strong affiliation toward the state of Israel and toward their religion is not surprising. Nisan (2010) claimed that for the Druze, the Israeli identity is not just the formal citizenship, but a special communal badge. Other study found that Druze assign high priority to their religious identity as well as to their citizenship in Israel (Amara & Schnell, 2004). However, recently there is a Druze movement of young people who create a hyphenated Druze-Palestinian identity. Part of these youngsters emphasizes their Palestinian sub-identity and refuses army recruitment (Israel Social TV, 2014).

The Christian IDMs reflected a message of integration and aspiration for peace. The female student (See Figure 3) used political concrete symbols (two flags), while the second male Christian IDM (See Figure 4) presented a general idea of co-existence. In Figure 3 a Christian female drew herself in the middle of two flags describing a special liminal situation of being “in-between”. On one hand her Palestinian nationality and on the other hand her Israeli citizenship. Tsimhoni (2002) referred to this special status of the Arab Christian as an ethno-religious group of “minority within a minority’. Another description for Christians was a "double minority"; one within the majority of Jews and the second within the minority of Arabs (Rossing, 1999). Despite of this confusing message, her map expresses an ambition for peace and co-existence.

Looking at Muslim identity drawing maps we recognize the significance of religion symbols that are distinctly presented to emphasize the message of equality among religions (See figure 5). The other Muslim map (See figure 6) emphasize the importance of nationality, he put it on page in graphical form of imaginary tree, which in words present the idea of co-existence (not symbols).

Nowadays, Muslims are facing a growing trend of Islamic phobia, and a tendency to associate the Islam with terrorism. In the context of Israeli society, Smooha (2013) found that it’s especially challenging for Muslims to accept a minority status, let alone in Palestine, a Muslim home land, and under Jewish rule. Therefore it is expected that Muslims will express messages of conflict. However, despite the problematic reference to Muslims as a group, we found many examples of Muslim’s IDMs that expresses integration. In the light of discrimination and racism against Muslims nowadays, they are seeking for recognition and respect for their religion – we can see it in the student drawing with the three symbols all in the same size (See Figure 5).

With regard to the Jewish identity drawing maps, the two maps present only female figures (see figure 7 & 8) and drawn by females students. There is no expression of religious symbols, but to personal-emotional symbols and issues, such as girls holding hands symbolizing friendship. On the last IDM (See Figure 8), there is a message summarized by the words “love is all we need”, means that despite of the complicated relations, conflicts, different narratives and the differences of identity definitions, people can achieve peace and co-existence by encouraging values of friendship, tolerance and respect. The drawings and the texts express a belief in the power of emotion to create peace and co-existence.
The eight maps of the study showed that Arab from the three religions used more often religious symbols compared to Jews. It's seems that religious affiliations have a special psychological function within minority students (M. H. Abu-Rayya & H. M. Abu-Rayya, 2009).

The definition of identity is fluid, dynamic and changing according to socio-political events and circumstances of each period. At some point the person should define an identity, but certainly this definition may change due to social and political changes at the local and global levels. Israel represents a model of society that is easily subjected to changes at various levels especially at the political one, which affects the definition of identity (Hertz-Lazarowitz et al., 2010).

It seems that the Arab - Palestinian identity regardless of religion, does not necessarily conflict with their desire to live in peace and partnership with the Jewish majority. Fearing from the word “Palestinian” or ignoring their roots, are not inevitably the path of life for partnership and co-existence. There is a considerable part of Arab Palestinians that highly value justice and acceptance of different narratives; despite the complicated reality of their life and the deep-rooted conflict between the loyalty to their Palestinian nation and their Israeli citizenship.

In conclusion, despite of the dramatic changes of the socio-political situation in Israel, aspiration for peaceful life and co-existence hopefully is still evident in everyday life in campus. Harré (1979), Hertz-Lazarowitz (2003), perceive the campus as a site of "social drama" that continuously redefine power, status and majority-minority relations, which leads to the reconstruction of identity.

Understanding and accepting hyphenated identities within the heterogeneous body of students is an obligation for the university, as it facilitates a space for justice, non-racism, integration for young student on their critical stage of life. This study reflects the reality of the years 2007-2008, no doubt that the present time is more conflicted and troublesome. However, it’s important to document the years under study. More annual continuing research is needed in order to have a better understanding of the Arab-Jewish relations and the identities definitions trough this conflicted society.

References


