Towards 'Peace Writ Large'?

Use of Evaluation in Assessing the Impact of Israeli/Palestinian Peace Education

Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy Thesis

Submitted by Karen Ross

April 2004

http://fletcher.tufts.edu

THE FLETCHER SCHOOL

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"There are no borders or boundaries for [our son] when he is at school. Every moment of his day, he is being prepared to live as an equal member of Israeli society."

"In a rather unexpected twist, it is the Arab women who come to help out my wife when I am called to military reserve duty… These personal connections are "the essence of true peace. They prove that we can walk in the path that our children have paved."

Hand in Hand website, at www.handinhand12.org

****

For thousands of years, the area of land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River has been the scene of conflict: religious, ethnic, and political. More recently, in the nearly twelve years since the signing of the Declaration of Principles between Israel and the PLO on the White House lawn in September 1993, this area has been the scene of numerous attempts to create 'peace on the ground.' At all levels, educators and civil society actors have engaged in activities designed to further respect and understanding between members of different groups within Israeli and Palestinian society.

While many of these activities target adults, no small number of organizations engage in 'peace education' – specifically, activities designed to further youngsters' understanding and tolerance of "the Other." Some of these activities are based on well-founded and accepted theories of how tolerance is increased. Other organizations act out of sheer ideology and a passion for the creation of two equal nations, in which the

citizens of each live peacefully in coexistence, and in which military incursions and suicide bombs are a dream rather than reality.

<center>************</center>

This paper examines the way in which organizations engaged in peace education evaluate the impact of their programs at both the micro- and macro-level. Looking at three organizations engaged in peace education work in Israel/Palestine, I will focus on the organizations' capacity to assess the impact of their work, in particular examining the ability of peace education programs to contribute to the larger goal of conflict transformation.

Organizations engaged in peace education function under the assumption that their programs can have an impact on transforming protracted conflict. However, these assumptions are just that – assumptions – and not always based on a true understanding of what is most effective in creating change in individuals and in groups. Moreover, effectiveness of these programs is diminished when organizations do not engage in a thorough evaluation process, which allows for an understanding both of the program's effectiveness at the micro-level and its ability to feed into the larger peace-building process in the Middle East. Thus, an understanding of evaluation methods useful for conflict resolution interventions is critical for the creation of effective programs that can have a societal-wide impact. Also essential is an awareness of how evaluations are conducted *currently*, as this provides a baseline upon which recommendations can be made.

Although evaluation for conflict resolution interventions has become a widely discussed topic in the past few years, most studies on the subject have focused on one of

two things: relief and/or development projects with peace-building components or conducted in conflict situations;[1] or on the impact of large-scale conflict resolution initiatives (often "Track II" activities) conducted with high-level decision-makers or other persons of influence in conflict societies.[2] Few studies have focused on methods used to assess the impact of conflict resolution interventions;[3] even fewer have examined the impact of peace education initiatives and the way in which they are assessed. Through this study, therefore, I hope to contribute to greater awareness of the tools organizations can use to understand the impact of their work.

<div align="center">************</div>

This paper is organized into the following sections: **CHAPTER II** will examine the role peace education can play in creating a more peaceful society. To this end, I will define the key elements that create a peaceful society and the ways in which education can contribute to the fulfillment of these necessary elements. My research will then define peace education in the context of these possible roles. **CHAPTER III** will set out the methodology for the remainder of the paper, examining the underlying theory behind each case study and the similarities and differences between the organizations I focus on

---

[1] For example, see: Alex Austin, Martina Fischer, and Oliver Wils, Eds., Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment: Critical Views on Theory and Practice. Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series, Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management. Accessed February 28, 2005. Available at http://www.berghof-handbook.net

[2] The potential positive impact of conflict resolution interventions has been a major subject of study in the field of social psychology, particularly as evidenced through the work of Herbert Kelman on *problem solving workshops* between Palestinians and Israelis. For more information on these workshops and on studies examining the impact of conflict resolution interventions, see: Karen Ross, The Impact of Unofficial Interventions on Protracted Conflict. Unpublished document: The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, May 2004.

[3] The major exceptions to this are the two studies conducted by Cheyanne Church and Julie Shouldice for INCORE. See: Cheyanne Church and Julie Shouldice, "The Evaluation of Conflict Resolution Interventions: Framing the State of Play." Londonderry: INCORE International Conflict Research, October 2002. See also: Cheyanne Church and Julie Shouldice, "The Evaluation of Conflict Resolution Interventions: Part II: Emerging Practice & Theory." Londonderry: INCORE International Conflict Research, March 2003.

in my research. This section will also lay out the research methods used in these case studies.

Having established this, **CHAPTER IV** will examine three peace education programs/organizations being implemented in the education systems of Israel/Palestine. Case studies will focus on programs geared both towards Jewish and Arab students separately, as well as joint programs involving dialogue between the two groups. **CHAPTER V** will analyze the evaluation methods used by these organizations in impact assessment, leading directly into the recommendations for future evaluation studies described in **CHAPTER VI**.

CHAPTER II

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION FOR PEACE

Education for peace can play an important role in creating a peaceful society. To understand the role of education for peace, however, it is necessary to define what is meant by the concept of a peaceful society. Moreover, clarifying this concept first involves understanding the main sources of intractable conflict and how they must be addressed in order to create a more peaceful society. This chapter will examine the sources of conflict, and, once these have been defined, will outline the integral characteristics that must be present for a society to be considered peaceful. I will then examine the role of education as a whole in contributing to the transformation of society, delineating the importance of peace education in contributing to the creation of a peaceful society.

Sources of Intractable Conflict

Before attempting to define elements of a peaceful society, it is first necessary to understand what constitutes a society in conflict; in other words, the sources of conflict which must be addressed in order for a peaceful society to exist.

Intractable conflicts (used interchangeably in this study with the term **protracted conflicts**) can be defined as conflicts that persist over a prolonged period of time, and in which participants and outside intermediaries make unsuccessful attempts at transformation.[4] Moreover, these conflicts are often characterized by irreconcilable

---

[4] Louis Kriesberg, "Nature of Intractability." Accessed December 5, 2004. Available at: http://www.beyondintractability.org/m/nature_intractability.jsp. Peter T. Coleman, "Intractable Conflict,"

moral differences or "high stakes distributional issues": conflicts over who receives what when the cause of contention is valuable and limited[5] (such as land).

Literature addressing protracted conflict indicates that these contexts are complicated by the need to address underlying psychological dimensions.[6] One of these dimensions, and a major source of conflict, is the deprivation of basic human needs. The 'human needs theory' of conflict, developed by John Burton, states that "human needs are universal,"[7] and that that society functions well not as a result of coercion or shared values, but through the fulfillment of these fundamental human needs, which include physical security, access to political and social institutions, and acceptance of communal identities.[8] Moreover, when these needs are not fulfilled, violent conflict may erupt. Specifically, when individuals or groups are denied certain needs, but have sufficient strength to mobilize, conditions are rife for protest, which can turn violent if not heeded.[9]

Denial of basic human needs can lead to coalescence around identity groups or collective identities, particularly when the legitimacy of this collective identity is denied. The strength of these group identities depends on both the severity of collective disadvantages experienced by a particular group, and the extent of cultural differences between this group and those with which it is in competition.[10] Collective disadvantage reflects denial of basic needs; thus, it is the pursuit of these human needs that constitutes

in M. Deutsch and P.T. Coleman, Eds., The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2000: 428-433.
[5] Heidi Burgess and Guy M. Burgess, "What are Intractable Conflicts?" Accessed April 3, 2005. Available at: http://www.beyondintractability.org/m/meaning_intractability.jsp
[6] See: Daniel Bar-Tal, "Psychological Dynamics of Intractable Conflicts." Accessed December 5, 2004. Available at: http://www.beyondintractability.org/m/psychological_dynamics.jsp
[7] John Burton, Conflict: Resolution and Prevention. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990: 42.
[8] E. E. Azar, The Management of Protracted Social Conflict. Hampshire, UK: Dartmouth, 1990: 2.
[9] Burton, Conflict: Resolution and Prevention, pp. 49.
[10] T. R. Gurr, "Minorities, nationalists, and ethnopolitical conflict," in C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall, Eds., Managing Global Chaos. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1996: 66.

the reason for increased strength of identity groups[11] – suggesting that basic human need

denial is experienced subjectively and influenced by relative deprivation. Furthermore,

denial or lack of acceptance of the legitimacy of a group's identity constitutes basic need

deprivation in and of itself: for example, Edward Azar states that among "those elements

required in the development of all people and societies," are distinctive identity, social

recognition of identity, and effective participation in processes determining conditions of

security and identity.[12]

      The recognition of needs and identity factors as contributing to protracted conflict

is manifest in a number of studies of social-psychological aspects of conflict. For

example, Peter Coleman states that intractable conflicts tend to "involve needs or values

that the disputants experience as critical to their own…survival."[13] With this statement,

Coleman emphasizes the role of human needs – in particular, lack of their fulfillment – as

a source of protracted conflict. His statement is echoed by Herbert Kelman, who has

stated that needs are driving forces in conflict, and that these are "needs of individuals

articulated through important identity groups."[14] Kelman's assertion is especially

important in linking the concept of human needs to that of collective identities: he states

that "The link of needs to groups – their collective aspect – is indeed an important and

almost ubiquitous feature of human needs."[15] This demonstrates the strong connection

between human needs and group identities as a source – and perpetuator – of social

conflict. Since denial of human needs often occurs at the group level, those groups

---

[11] Burton, Conflict: Resolution and Provention, pp. 37.
[12] E. E. Azar, "Protracted International Conflicts: Ten Propositions," in J. Burton and F. Dukes, Eds., Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990: 146.
[13] Peter T. Coleman, "Intractable Conflict," pp. 430.
[14] Herbert C. Kelman, "Social-psychological Dimensions of International Conflict," in I. W. Zartman and L. Rasmusen, Eds., Peacemaking in International Conflict. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1997: 195.
[15] Ibid.

denied their needs have a tendency to form strong collective identities. As Lewis Coser explains, conflict affirms group identities, with the distinction between the 'in-group' (us) and the 'out-group' (them) growing stronger as conflict is established and perpetuated.[16] Likewise, Ervin Staub argues that "frustration of basic needs instigate conditions that lead group members to turn to groups for identity and 'give themselves over' to an identity group."[17] In other words, membership in any particular identity group may not be significant for an individual whose basic needs are all met. However, when deprivation of human needs occurs, individuals are likely to define themselves as part of an identity group whose needs are collectively deprived, and which collectively mobilizes along identity lines to ensure that needs are realized.

A number of elements of collective identity factor in to issues causing protracted conflict. First, Ted Gurr states that societies in which minority groups rebel are characterized by strong cultural identities – those identities based on common heritage, language, and belief.[18] Furthermore, what is important in determining whether violent conflict will erupt is the strength of minority and/or ethnic identities, as opposed to strong national identities. The strength of these identities, as stated above, often depends on the extent of collective deprivation. For example, blacks in apartheid South Africa were characterized by strong cultural identity as well as severe collective disadvantages; this combination led to a weak sense of civic identity (identification with the state) and facilitated mobilization against the apartheid government. In situations where civic identity is strong, on the other hand, individual citizens demonstrate political loyalty to

---

[16] Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict. New York: The Free Press, 1956: 35.
[17] Ervin Staub, "Individual and Group Identities in Genocide and Mass Killing," in R.D. Ashmore, L. Jussim, and D. Wilder, Eds., Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Resolution. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001: 162.
[18] Gurr, T. R. "Minorities, nationalists, and ethnopolitical conflict," pp. 63.

the government in power or to the nation as a whole, rather than coalescing around ethnically-based identity groups. This minimizes the potential for mobilization on the basis of ethnic or other sub-national group grievances.

The inability of states to channel groups towards national loyalty and identity is in large part a result of ignoring their communal grievances. In fact, as Edward Azar points out, conflicts activated by lack of accommodation of grievances are often characterized not simply by a passive response to demands (e.g. not accommodating them), but by actively repressing grievances expressed by identity groups whose basic needs are not satisfied.[19] Repression of collective grievances can also manifest itself through dehumanization: a "mechanism that enables the individuals of one group to view the individuals of another group as subhuman or even nonhuman,"[20] and which often leads to victimization of those in the out-group. Overt conflict can occur when identity groups realize the extent of victimization.

Sources of collective grievances

Two main struggles characterize protracted conflict: struggles over political power, and struggles over economic resources, both of which are closely tied to issues of identity and human needs. Struggles over political power tend to be identity-based conflicts: e.g. struggles between different ethnic or other identity groups for ranking or dominance within a state structure,[21] or for complete separation from the state. In this

---

[19] Azar, The Management of Protracted Social Conflict, pp. 14.
[20] Demetrios A. Julius, "The Genesis and Perpetuation of Aggression in International Conflicts," in Volkan, Vamik D., Demetrios A. Julius and Joseph V. Montville, Eds. The Psychodynamics of International Relationships. Volume 1: Concepts and Theories. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990: 101.
[21] Coleman, "Intractable Conflict."

context, the relative power of all parties in the system affects the likelihood of conflicts erupting: according to Louis Kriesberg, "In a system dominated by one actor, weak potential adversaries tend not to become contentious…In a system of many actors with relatively equal power, conflicts are more likely to occur."[22] In other words, where there is clearly one group with established political dominance, it is less likely that overt conflict will erupt over the distribution of power than in a situation where a number of equally-powered groups are struggling for control, because a clearly dominant group is likely to have more absolute power than its rivals and greater ability to maintain authority.

Along the same lines, Ted Gurr states that highly salient group cohesion causing minorities to rebel is often caused by collective disadvantages of the minority group vis-à-vis society as a whole. In nation-building, the objective of consolidating and expanding state powers dictates that the interests of ethnic groups are subordinate to the state elites' conception of identity and interest;[23] thus, in state-building contexts, minority grievances are likely to be ignored as the group in power seeks to maintain and expand control. As elites' power expands at the expense of minority needs, these groups are likely to consolidate and mobilize against those in power. Consolidation often happens along ethnic lines: "In countries where politics are…polarized along ethnic lines, the competition for favorable roles and allocations by government virtually ensures that

---

[22] Louis Kriesberg, Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998: 40.
[23] Gurr, "Minorities, nationalists, and ethnopolitical conflict," pp. 62.

ethnicity will remain an important criterion for political organization and that ethnically based claims will maintain a prominent place."[24]

Differing from these more conventional views of conflict is the theory developed by Paul Collier, which focuses entirely on economic elements and attaches little importance to objective ethnic grievances.[25] Instead, Collier argues that although power differences and majority/minority relations within society may *sustain* conflict once it has already begun, the issues of power that drive conflict to begin are fundamentally about control of resources, especially primary exports.   Collier also states that objective grievances are usually generated by rebels to legitimize conflicts fueled by a desire to control resources. Thus, relations between minority and majority groups and power differentials are insignificant in causing conflict.

In Collier's view, potential sources of conflict (a lust for power and perceived identity-based grievances) are found in all societies, but the existence of war is predicated upon what he calls the *feasibility of predation* (the ability to use force to extort goods or money from their primary owners).[26] Thus, issues such as political inequality and power imbalances don't matter: rather, what is important in determining whether overt conflict will erupt is the ability of rebel groups to 'do good by war' and gain additional economic power through use of violence.

---

[24] Milton J. Esman, "Political and Psychological Factors in Ethnic Conflict," in Montville, Joseph V., Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies. New York: Macmillan, Inc., 1991: 60.
[25] Paul Collier, Economic Causes of Conflict and their Implications for Policy. Washington DC: World Bank, 2000.
[26] Ibid., pp. 4.

An important element of conflict sources is the way in which violence is directed at certain groups within society. Groups may be victims of direct violence in the form of physical attacks, kidnappings, military bombardments, and so forth. Direct violence often is the cause of mass mobilization and conflict, however, identity-based conflicts also result from what Peter Uvin terms structural violence, which is characterized by unequal life chances, "usually caused by great inequality, injustice, discrimination, and exclusion and needlessly limiting people's physical, social, and psychological well-being."[27] Structural violence need not then involve physical harm, although its effects are often as bad as, if not worse than, direct violence. Structural violence, moreover, plays a central role in causing protracted conflict to emerge.

What is a Peaceful Society?

Defining Peace

Having described societal characteristics that may make it prone to conflict, it is now possible to examine elements of a peaceful society. First, however, it is useful to define the concept of *peace*. Johan Galtung distinguishes between two types of peace: negative peace, which "can simply be understood as the absence of direct, personal violence," and positive peace, which is the absence of structural violence.[28] Another way of distinguishing between these two elements is by defining negative peace solely by absence: that is to say, by the lack of war or overt violence in society. Positive peace, on

---

[27] Peter Uvin, Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda. West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1998: 105.

[28] Conrad G. Brunk, "Shaping a Vision: The Nature of Peace Studies," in Fisk, Larry and John Schellenberg. Patterns of Conflict, Paths to Peace. Ontario: Broadview Press, 2000: 23.

the other hand, may be defined as occurring in societies where groups cooperate and as a whole where greater equality exists.

Michael Lund's definitions of peace are similar to those of Galtung. The equivalent of *negative peace* for Lund is *cold peace,* which he emphasizes as reflecting "a relationship of wary communication and limited cooperation (e.g. trade) within an overall context of basic order or national stability" in which no military cooperation exists, but in which disputes are generally worked out through non-violent means.[29] From a domestic point of view, this type peace reflects political compacts between competing and occasionally hostile factions, for example as existed in South Africa immediately after the removal of the apartheid regime in 1994.[30] What is most important to understand about this concept of *cold peace* is that in situations where it exists, while violence may not erupt, levels of reciprocity and desire for cooperation are generally low. Thus it is the absolute minimum to which a peaceful society should strive in order to transform conflict.

A truly peaceful society, however, aspires beyond stable peace to what Lund defines as *durable peace* or *warm peace,* which

> …involves a high level of reciprocity and cooperation, and the virtual absence of self-defense measures among parties, although it may include their military alliance against a common threat. A "positive peace" prevails based on shared values, goals and institutions…The domestic form of this stage ranges from processes of national reconciliation to a legitimate constitutional democracy, within which there are shifting political allegiances and a sense of social justice. The possibility of conflict or repression is virtually nil.[31]

Warm or positive peace can also be described as a context in which the advancement of democracy, preservation of human rights, and economic growth are prevalent; this

---

[29] Michael Lund, <u>Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy</u>. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996: 39.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.

contrasts sharply with a society in which one finds negative peace, where the focus is primarily on preservation of basic security and stability.[32]

Characteristics of a peaceful society

A **peaceful society** is one in which the root causes of conflict (as described above) are at least minimally addressed, to the extent that conflict can be solved by diplomatic means. However, this definition of a peaceful society produces an image corresponding only with elements of a stable, or cold, peace. A true peaceful society is one in which positive peace exists; therefore, it must inevitably contain certain elements that allow for warm peace to prevail.

At the most fundamental level, creating a peaceful society requires finding ways to transform conflict: solutions must "satisfy the fundamental needs and allay the deepest fears of affected populations."[33] A peaceful society, then, is one whose characteristics allow this transformation to take place. These characteristics mirror the definition of *warm* or *positive peace*: furthermore, they are the characteristics to which the organizations examined in this study aspire.

Characteristics of a peaceful society can be grouped into three categories: structural elements, cultural elements, and inter-group elements. At a structural level, a peaceful society must implement norms of equal rights and opportunities for all groups in society, as well as accepting and embracing collective identities. To do this, society must be based on legitimate political institutions. The need for such institutions is paramount given their use as major instruments for conflict management: "Insofar as these

---

[32] Ibid., pp. 155.
[33] Kelman, "Social-psychological Dimensions of International Conflict," pp. 197.

institutions are regarded as legitimate by society members, matters that might otherwise become the subject of violent conflict do not."[34] However, if political and legal institutions are perceived as not legitimate (or if they are lacking altogether), differences within society are significantly more likely to become contentious and erupt into violence. The promotion of legitimate institutions can be taken one step further: Edward Azar postulates that institutions should not only be legitimate, but also decentralized, as this permits local authorities control over social concerns and allows them to "increase the sense of identity, participation, and security [of individuals] in the broadest sense of these terms."[35]

Peaceful societies must also contain non-violent systems and institutions for the prevention and mitigation of conflict.[36] This may seem obvious; however, traditional methods of resolving conflict often focus on the use of force (think, for example, of the stationing of armed National Guardsmen to "keep the peace" when schools were desegregated in Little Rock, Arkansas in the 1950s) and thus, paradoxically, may create violence as part of the prevention of or end to conflict. Therefore, a peaceful society should have at its core alternative dispute resolution methods. For example, in addition to (or instead of) traditional legal litigation, methods such as mediation or arbitration should be available for solving disputes. Furthermore, it is not enough that these methods exist: society should whenever possible emphasize using these methods rather than utilizing military force or other traditional, more violent means of handling conflict, both within society and in conflicts with other states. When these methods are used, moreover,

---

[34] Kriesberg, Constructive Conflicts, pp. 39.
[35] Azar, The Management of Protracted Social Conflict, pp. 151.
[36] Douglas P. Fry and C. Brooks Fry, "Culture and Conflict-Resolution Models: Exploring Alternatives to Violence," in Douglas P. Fry and Jaj Björkqvist, eds. Cultural Variation in Conflict Resolution. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1997: (9-23).

they must have the capability of fostering what Peter Coleman terms an "authentic

commitment to the de-escalation of conflict."[37]

Finally, a society in which there is positive peace should be able to reconcile the

demands of state-making with demands for democratization and human rights. Although

in many cases the trajectories of these demands may seem irreconcilable, ideally they

should become

> …mutually legitimizing agents, with democratization legitimizing the greater
> concentration of authority in the hands of the state and the concentration of power
> legitimizing and facilitating the loosening of political controls and the guaranteeing of
> political and civil rights to the citizenry.[38]

In other words, in a peaceful society, state authority exists in tandem with structural

institutions that promote equal rights to all living within it.

At a cultural level, peaceful societies are characterized by minimal group

cohesion at a sub-national level, or by accessibility of membership in cross-cutting plural

associations. Cross-cutting bonds within a community create stability, because conflicts

between individuals or groups can be held in check by bonds they or their friends have

with each other on different levels.[39] Whether through assimilation or membership in

cross-cutting plural associations, group identity is often rendered less salient. For

example, in the United States, where intense rivalry once existed between the South and

the North, cross-cutting along religious, professional, and economic lines has minimized

the strength of the North/South identity of American citizens.[40] Although this specific

identity cleavage still exists, it is less relevant to political or everyday interactions.

---

[37] Coleman, "Intractable Conflict," pp. 437.
[38] M. Ayoob, "State making, state breaking and state failure," in C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall,
Eds., Managing Global Chaos. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1996: 48.
[39] Dean G. Pruitt and Sung Hee Kim, Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate, and Settlement, Third Edition.
New York: McGraw Hill, 2004: 140.
[40] Ibid, pp. 141.

Furthermore, in a society characterized as one in which there is a positive peace, relationships between groups, as well as between individuals, are both encouraged and valued.[41] Valued relationships are important in a number of ways. By promoting a culture in which inter-group relations are valued, peaceful societies create opportunities for cross-cutting group memberships, thus minimizing strong group identity based on a single shared characteristic. Individuals living in a society that values cross-cutting relationships are also more likely to have contact with members of groups different than their own, allowing for perceptions of these other groups to improve and thus to mitigate possible conflicts.

From the point of view of inter-group relations and elements thereof, in a peaceful society it is imperative that human needs be recognized in ways other than only through structural institutions: in particular, through mutual respect between individuals of different backgrounds. At the inter-group level, needs of different groups should be understood as having equal importance as one's own individual and group needs. When this occurs, it is possible for processes to take place at individual or group levels. For example, in a peaceful society where the equal recognition of all human needs occurs, psychological space exists which may allow people to engage in empathy, the process of taking the perspective of the other.[42] Emphasizing the importance of empathy allows for individuals or groups in conflict to understand the underlying grievances and fears of other individuals/groups, facilitating the possibility of reaching resolutions that address all needs. Furthermore, empathy allows for movement away from dehumanization of members of groups with which one is in conflict, which can "help change the climate in

---

[41] Burton, Conflict: Resolution and Provention, pp. 47.
[42] Kelman, "Social-psychological Dimensions of International Conflict," pp. 199.

18

which communication takes place and thus improve the chances of resolving, or at least mitigating, such a conflict."[43]

Finally, a peaceful society should be characterized by equality between all groups, providing equal opportunity to all in both professional and personal life. This includes racial, ethnic, and religious equality.

The main characteristics of a peaceful society are summarized in the table below. The following section will examine the role education can play in creating positive peace in society.

Definition of Peace	Characteristics
Negative (Galtung) *Cold* (Lund)	- Absence of direct, personal violence - Wary/minimal cooperation - Usually restricted to political compacts without cooperation at the inter-group or personal level
Positive (Galtung) *Warm* (Lund)	- Structural: existence of legitimate political institutions and institutionally-mandated protection of human rights - Existence and use of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms - Cultural: membership in cross-cutting plural associations - High levels of cooperation among members from all groups in society - Understanding and respect for needs of different groups

---

[43] Rafael Moses, "On Dehumanizing the Enemy," in Vamik D. Volkan, Demetrios A. Julius and Joseph V. Montville, eds. The Psychodynamics of International Relationships. Volume 1: Concepts and Theories. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990: 116.

Education for Peace: Using Education to Create a Peaceful Society

In order to create a peaceful society, it is necessary to change the values and attitudes of all members of society from those espousing violent means to ones that promote the characteristics of a peaceful society. Although structural inequalities rather than individual attitudes may be the cause of overt violent conflict, individual recognition of human needs can play a large role in changing structural institutions that favor one identity group over others. Thus, the importance of shifting attitudes towards respect of human needs and away from the status quo of a violent society is critical. One way through which this shift can occur is through education, which can be defined as "a series of actions of procedures which, whether by design or otherwise, encourages learning in a group of citizens."[44] In fact, education is often the primary means through which peaceful societies develop: according to Kenneth Boulding, "the development of stable peace is fundamentally a learning process."[45] Education by this definition goes beyond the skills taught in a formal classroom atmosphere. Rather, the permeable boundary between school and society implies that education occurs not only within the classroom but as part of familial and other institutions, as well as in non-formal or extra-curricular programs. The breadth of what is considered education is especially important when one considers that attitudes and relationships form at an early age.[46] Thus, it is important to instill the values of open-mindedness and inclusion in young children even before they enter a schoolroom. This can occur in the context of familial interactions and through the

---

[44] Larry J. Fisk, "Shaping Visionaries: Nurturing Peace Through Education," in Larry Fisk and John Schellenberg. Patterns of Conflict, Paths to Peace. Ontario: Broadview Press, 2000: 159.
[45] Quoted in Mark Sommers, "Peace Education and Refugee Youth." In Learning for a Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries. Geneva: UNHCR (2001): 169.
[46] David A. Hamburg and Beatrix A. Hamburg, Learning to Live Together: Preventing Hatred and Violence in Child and Adolescent Development. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004: 23.

development of positive relationships within society as a whole. As much as any classroom interaction, this may be considered a central component of education.

While education – in its broadest definition – is essential for the creation of a peaceful society, it is important to remember that "education on its own will not create world peace."[47] Rather, this is only one element within the complex framework necessary for creating positive peace. Furthermore, if used in negative ways, education, rather than helping promote a society characterized by peace, may serve to perpetuate social conflicts. For example, in schools education may legitimize and create acceptance of violent culture or structural inequalities, through:

- Curriculum and textbooks that emphasize differences and reinforce the superiority of certain groups and cultures over others, or that "simply fail to represent reality" by not examining differences at all;[48]

- Differences in resources available to students from different identity groups, creating superior quality schools for certain segments of the population while reinforcing the inferiority of others;

- Restrictions placed on who can teach, or creation of arbitrary limitations on teacher certification or promotion opportunities for members of certain identity groups.

Even educational settings using positive educational tools may inadvertently promote negative concepts. For example, a curriculum reflecting multiculturalism still may emphasize *otherness*, raising awareness of the differences between groups in society without also identifying similarities; thus, it is imperative that multicultural education

[47] Davies, <u>Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos</u>, pp. 223.
[48] Ibid., pp. 118.

avoid stereotyped portrayals, focusing instead on "the acknowledgement of ambiguity, complexity, and hybridity within an individual self."[49] Otherwise, reinforcement of differences through education may lead to hatred and violence, as for example in Nazi Germany. This education system focused on indoctrinating students in the (racist) idealism of the Nazi state and strongly emphasized war imagery.[50] Its ability to reinforce superiority of the Aryan race bred thousands of students wed to the Nazi cause and collaborators in the horrific acts of the Nazi regime.

Even when formal educational systems promote a culture of peace, it is important to keep in mind the broader education children receive from their families and societal institutions to which they are exposed. These people and institutions may work against the ability of education to promote a culture of peace: for example, children exposed to racist ideologies by their parents may find it difficult to embrace a notion of equality for all.

Notwithstanding its possible negative effects, education can play a large role in promoting a peaceful society, precisely because of its broad impact. To emphasize: Bush and Saltarelli state that "schooling is to be viewed as an investment in a social contract the benefits of which are believed to accrue not only to the individual who experiences schooling but also, and perhaps more importantly, to the wider society."[51] Education can do this in a number of ways.[52] From the point of view of structural characteristics: when availability of education is unequal and reflects structural violence against certain identity

---

[49] Ibid., pp. 82.
[50] Hamburg, Learning to Live Together: Preventing Hatred and Violence in Child and Adolescent Development, pp. 51.
[51] Kenneth D. Bush and Diana Saltarelli., Eds, The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict. Florence: United Nations Children's Fund Innocenti Research Centre, 2000: 4.
[52] These possibilities are described in detail in Bush and Saltarelli, The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict, pp. 16-20.

groups, the simple creation of new educational opportunities (for example, by making schools previously only for an elite group open to the society as a whole) leads to greater levels of civic equality. Greater equality of provision of education can thus lessen grievances and address certain needs of groups previously discriminated against, thus mitigating possible conflicts, for example as demonstrated by opportunities created as a result of the civil rights movement in the United States during the 1960s. The civil rights movement and its repercussions also demonstrate an additional method through which education can promote a more peaceful society (particularly in societies where identity groups are separated), which is through desegregation and the creation of inclusive, integrated schools.

Education also encourages the creation of a (more) structurally peaceful society by promoting equality of differences, which is an essential element of addressing fundamental human needs. For example, in multi-ethnic societies, education can play a key role in creating linguistic tolerance by teaching minority languages to all students or by establishing schools where students can study in their native tongue. This not only addresses the need for structural equality, but is a way through which students can gain appreciation and respect for the different languages and cultures of their peers. Moreover, promoting linguistic diversity is in no way mutually exclusive of creating a sense of over-arching nationhood: according to Bush and Saltarelli, "There is no evidence that teaching of minority languages necessarily diminishes a sense of political unity."[53] In fact, when children's languages and cultures are made an integral part of the education process, it is difficult for them to feel marginalized, and they actually may feel more a part of the nation as a whole; on the other hand, requiring ethnic groups to accept the

---

[53] Ibid., pp. 18.

linguistic dominance of the majority can be a major source of tension. However, it is important to keep in mind that establishing minority schools where students are educated in their own tongue may reinforce segregation in pluralistic societies where inter-group relationships are weak. In situations where linguistic diversity is a priority, care must be taken to ensure that it does not come at the expense of possibilities for promoting unity and/or favorable attitude change.

Slightly distinct from education that fosters peace through greater accessibility and inclusiveness is that characterized by educational content promoting understanding and acceptances of differences – this is what is traditionally referred to as *education for peace* or *peace education*. This type of education focuses primarily on individual rather than structural change. An example of this type of education is the *Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU)* curriculum, included by mandate in all schools in Northern Ireland by the Education Reform order of 1989. This curriculum is "about self-respect, and respect for others, and the improvement of relationships between people of differing cultural traditions."[54] Studies of the curriculum show that EMU has been pivotal in its ability to 'de-segregate the mind,' creating a critical mass of interest in fundamental societal change, as well as enabling individuals to transcend sectarian divisions.[55]

Education for peace "seeks to initiate or support an educational process that allows students to articulate, accommodate and accept differences between and within groups, particularly (though not exclusively) in regions characterized by latent or manifest

---

[54] Quoted in Alan Smith and Alan Robinson, Education for Mutual Understanding: The Initial Statutory Years. Coleraine: University of Ulster, 1996. Accessed November 27, 2004. Available at: http://www.ccruni.gov.uk/research/csc/mutual.htm
[55] Bush and Saltarelli, The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict, pp. 17.

violence."[56] It emphasizes the articulation of alternatives as well as discussion of controversial issues, and focuses on altering interactions between groups in conflict: in particular, through re-humanization of groups dehumanized as a part of the conflict process. Other objectives of education for peace include fostering tolerance, mutual respect, empathy, communication between and among conflict groups, nuanced understanding of the conflict, and recognition of equality of all – all of which are necessary structural and inter-group characteristics of peaceful societies.

One of the most important components of education for peace is its focus on creating empathy for others. The promotion of empathy is an integral component of education for peace: research indicates that even following only brief periods wherein empathy has been exercised, positive attitude change can occur[57] (for example, as evidenced in greater acceptance of others' viewpoints). As attitude change caused by experiences of empathy is integral in the creation of a culture of peace, the focus on empathy in education for peace is a key method through which this type of education can create a peaceful society.

Education for peace also helps foster a culture of peace through its creation of a more nuanced understanding of conflicts, which occurs in part by "disarming" history. This entails moving away from presenting history in a militaristic way and/or manipulating history for political ends through the delineation of only one, generally narrow, view. Rather, within education for peace, history focuses on including multiple versions of events, so that all children are able to see how their own history and that of the culture from which they come are part of a larger framework. Often, this occurs

---

[56] Ibid., pp. 23.
[57] Ibid, pp. 68.

within a broader movement towards curriculum change as a whole, thus delineating the necessary interaction between elements of education focusing on individuals and those attempting to create structural change.

This interaction is evidenced further by the fact that for education for peace to provide an opening for conflict transformation, the method through which concepts are delivered must reflect their content. In the words of David Hicks, "If one is concerned about developing self-respect, appreciation of others, concepts of justice and non-violence, they must also be part of the process of learning itself."[58] Thus, education for peace entails creating educational settings that reflect respect for and tolerance of all students – in other words, creating the structural elements of a peaceful society. This entails existence of a context wherein all groups are equal: that is, where there is a balance of power between groups.

When this occurs, the experience becomes what Larry Fisk terms *peace through education*.[59] This element of education programs is a key characteristic of education for peace. Within formal educational settings, it occurs primarily through a method called cooperative learning. In this method, students work together in mixed groups to complete assignments or jointly solve problems. Research has shown that through joint work in groups, competition is reduced. Additionally, as a result of mutual encouragement and students' need to utilize one another's skills and knowledge, inter-group relations improve as well.[60] Thus, through cooperative learning students develop

---

[58] David Hicks, "Understanding the Field," in Education for Peace: Issues, Principles, and Practice in the Classroom. New York: Routledge (1988): 17.
[59] Larry J. Fisk, "Shaping Visionaries: Nurturing Peace Through Education," in Fisk, Larry and John Schellenberg. Patterns of Conflict, Paths to Peace. Ontario: Broadview Press, 2000: 185.
[60] Hamburg, Learning to Live Together, pp. 115.

the personal characteristics needed in a peaceful society: characteristics that can then be used to influence others as well.

It is important to remember, however, that just as with education as a whole, education for peace does not occur solely within the arena of formal schooling. Education for peace can also occur through informal, though structured, non-school based programs. For example, students from different groups in conflict may participate in joint projects; they may also be participants in formal contact workshops, the point of which are structured dialogue between conflict groups. When they are set up properly, so as to ensure equality between all groups, these workshops present opportunities for youth from conflict groups to meet each other on equal footing and discover their similarities as well as better understand their differences. They are also means by which youth are able to develop mutual respect and empathy, both of which are needed to transform conflict.

The mere existence of a contact workshop, however, is insufficient to create an environment conducive to peace-building. When workshops occur randomly, without follow-up or continued interaction, they have little chance of promoting long-standing attitude change. Furthermore, without a super-ordinate goal, mere contact between two conflict groups may exacerbate tensions rather than reduce them.[61] Finally, "the chance for success for such efforts increases to the extent that they are supported by parallel structures that foster understanding, and, more importantly, empathy between groups."[62] In other words, when education for peace occurs through these non-formal methods, it is imperative that formal education structures are in place to support and build upon the transformation which can occur through dialogue. Through the combination of non-

---

[61] Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958.
[62] Bush and Saltarelli, The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict, pp. 26.

formal dialogue and formal, peace-building education methods, it is possible to reach a critical mass for conflict transformation.

Education for peace can take a number of forms, each of which can play a role in the process of creating a peaceful society. Specifically, elements through which education helps in the creation of positive peace include:

- ➢ Creation of inclusive schooling and equal access to education;
- ➢ Promotion of equality in linguistic and cultural differences;
- ➢ Encouraging acceptance and tolerance of others; and
- ➢ Promoting mutual understanding and respect.

Although theory and anecdotal evidence suggest that these forms of peace education programs are important for the creation of positive peace, this must be backed up by measurable evidence that indeed this is the case. Thus, critical in delineating the ability of peace education programs to influence the creation of a peaceful society is the ability of organizations implementing these programs to evaluate peace education, using tools that can measure the impact of specific programs in transforming societies. The remainder of this paper will focus on use of these tools and ability to assess impact.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The remainder of this paper is devoted to examining three peace education programs currently being implemented in Israel/Palestine. In particular, the purpose of this analysis is to determine how these organizations assess their impact on '**peace writ large**,' which I define as fulfilling the criteria set forth above as necessary for creating a positive culture of peace.

In the following sections, therefore, I will analyze the evaluation methods of three peace education programs. To begin with, I will describe each of the programs and examine the way in which they are evaluated: who conducts the evaluation, what are the quantitative or qualitative methods used, and so forth. I will then analyze these methods in order to determine the ability of each program to assess the broader impact of peace education, based on the evaluation methods utilized: that is, its ability to evaluate effects on 'peace writ large.'

As previously noted, education for peace/peace education can take a number of forms, ranging from formal educational programs presented as part of school curriculum to informal meetings and extra-curricular activities. Moreover, the content of peace education may vary, from skill building in conflict resolution to education about human rights and social justice. The variety in tools and methods used to implement peace education programs, as well as the difference in contexts, means that impacts may occur at different levels. In order to ensure that there is some level of commonality among the educational programs analyzed, I will examine three programs which are all formal

educational programs. That is, they are all part of (or constitute) curricula in formally recognized state schools. Moreover, as stated above, all three programs are implemented in the same geographic region: Israel/Palestine. Although the programs differ in their target groups among the Israeli/Palestinian student population, the location of programming in the same regional context ensures that each program is working to address a component of the same broader picture, e.g. attempting to impact the same 'peace writ large.'

Despite these similarities, the programs examined differ considerably in their content and underlying methodologies. One program brings Jewish and Arab students within Israel together to learn in a bilingual, bicultural environment: this program addresses structural issues within the education system as well as value systems. Another program, conducted uni-nationally (separately in Arab and Jewish classrooms), aims to have students internalize basic concepts and principles of democracy. The third program examined combines elements of both of the first two, utilizing uni-national classroom time to present curricula encouraging mutual recognition, universal values and critical thinking; then facilitating bi-national encounters between Palestinian and Jewish-Israeli students whose classes have adopted this curriculum.   Thus, although all three of the organizations examined focus on educational components necessary for creating a culture of peace, not all utilize the same methods. The chart below presents the organizations' similarities and differences in visual form:

Organization	Target Population			Target Age		Objectives: Values Imparted				
	Jewish	Arab	Both	Primary School	High School	Tolerance	Respect for Equality[63]	Empathy/ Respect	Awareness/ Understanding[64]	Bi-lingualism and structural equality
IPCRI	x	x	(x)[65]		x	x	x		x	
Adam Institute[66]	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	
Hand in Hand			x	x			x		x	x

These programs are also based on complementary but ultimately significantly different ideologies and theories of change:

Hand in Hand is based on theories of bilingual education, which over the past few decades has been shown to be effective in helping eliminate social and cultural tensions[67] by providing opportunities for cooperative interactions between students of different backgrounds and cultures. Although programs differ in their conceptual methods, nearly all effective bilingual or bicultural education projects produce the same set of benefits, as articulated by Skutnabb-Kangas[68]:

---

[63] "Equality" refers to recognition of equal rights between all citizens of Israel and the Palestinian Authority

[64] "Awareness/Understanding" refers to a nuanced understanding of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and the broader regional context.

[65] The parenthetical notation in this column refers to the fact that bi-national encounters occur as a one-time, end of program event, rather than as a regular part of program activities.

[66] The *Adam Institute's* programs differ from other peace education programs examined in that they attempt to create awareness and understanding primarily through the teaching of democratic concepts rather than through encounters/dialogues.

[67] Robert E. Slavin and Robert Cooper, "Improving Intergroup Relations: Lessons Learned from Cooperative Learning Programs," *Journal of Social Issues,* vol. 55, no. 4 (1999): 647-663.

[68] Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, "Introduction," in Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Ed., <u>Multilingualism for All</u>. The Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger B.V. (1995): 7-20.

- High levels of multilingualism;

- Equal opportunity for academic achievement; and

- Strong, positive multicultural identities including positive attitudes towards
  self and others.

Supporters of this type of educational initiative posit that bilingual education, in addition to enabling higher achievements in academic subjects, allows students to develop a deeper understanding of "the Other" (members of different national groups), thus enabling the creation of positive relations between groups. According to educational theory, bilingual education programs bringing together students from different groups in a conflict setting should be able to create positive relationships among students that override or mitigate negative stereotypes and perceptions these students might have of each other as members of the other side of the ongoing conflict in Israel/Palestine.

Building positive relationships between groups is also the aim of **The Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI)'s** joint Palestinian-Israeli student encounters, although these do not occur as part of a bilingual education program. Rather, these events are based on a socio-psychological theory known as the *intergroup contact hypothesis*. Developed by Gordon Allport in the 1950s, this hypothesis states that when two groups in conflict work together to achieve a super-ordinate goal, each group will achieve positive attitude changes towards the disliked group.[69] Over the years, studies have shown that certain conditions must be in place for the hypothesis to work. The most important ones, summarized by Thomas Pettigrew, are as follows: There must be (a) equal status between the groups, (b) sustained interaction between participants, (c)

---

[69] Allport, The Nature of Prejudice.

interdependence in carrying out a common task, (d) support from authorities, and (e) potential for the development of friendships.[70]   IPCRI's program meets all these conditions; thus, its initiators have reason to believe that the program will fulfill the objectives articulated in the contact hypothesis.

Finally, in uni-national programs such as those of the ***Adam Institute***, a different theoretical foundation provides the basis for educational rationale. Here, efforts are made to provide students with a cognitive understanding of concepts such as equal rights, tolerance, and critical thinking. In particular, educational methods attempt to heighten the ability to differentiate between different viewpoints and recognize the rights of those holding conflicting opinions from one's own.[71] Moreover, by challenging students to recognize and accept conflicting opinions, it is hoped that they will recognize and respect the equality of individuals from different identity groups.

Because the case studies I analyze are based on different underlying methodologies and program designs, differences emerge in their attempts at impact evaluation, as well. For example, a uni-national program cannot examine its impact on 'peace writ large' in terms of the immediate mutual understanding and respect between Jewish and Palestinian Israeli students, because the program does not bring students from both groups together. However, this type of program can evaluate students' understanding of the concept of democracy and examine how program participants use

[70] Thomas F. Pettigrew and Linda R. Tropp, "Does Intergroup Contact Reduce Prejudice? Recent Meta-Analytic Findings," in Stuart Oskamp, Ed., Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers (2000): 93-114.
[71] Uki Maroshek-Klarman, "The Educational Process in Adam Institute Workshops." Adam Institute: 1999. Accessed January 17, 2005. Available at: http://www.adaminstitute.org.il/E_Process.pdf

these concepts in their own lives or how they influence others to do the same (thus broadening the impact of the program beyond the micro-level to begin to have an impact on 'peace writ large'). Likewise, a program that brings students together in a dialogue workshop over a limited period of time may try to evaluate the effect of that workshop on students' attitudes towards members of other identity groups, but has little basis on which to examine changes in students' cognitive understanding of conflict or related concepts.

In the next chapter, I describe the three case study programs, first presenting an overview of each of their designs and objectives, then delineating what methods are used (or have been used) to evaluate the program and what questions these evaluations are meant to answer. I will focus specifically on the methods used in *impact evaluations* of each of these programs: in other words, the ways through which each of these organizations assesses its impact at the micro-level (short-term changes among program participants) and if and how the organizations have assessed the impact on 'peace writ large'.

The information upon which I base my analysis comes from existing literature on each of these programs as well as personal written and telephone correspondence with researchers and staff members at each of the organizations examined. I have also read extensively in the literature dealing with educational evaluation methods as well as socio-psychological research methods, in the hope to better understand the theoretical underpinnings of evaluative research work.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDIES

Hand in Hand Bilingual Education Program

Program Description:

Hand in Hand was established in 1997 by a Jewish and an Arab educator, Lee Gordon and Amin Khalaf. The organization is a pioneer in the field of bilingual education in Israel: outside of this organization, there is only one school in the country (at the Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salaam village near Jerusalem) using a model of bilingual education. To date, the organization has opened three elementary schools: one in Jerusalem, one in the northern Galilee region of Israel (in the town of Misgav), and most recently, a school in Jaffa, near Tel Aviv. According to the organization's website, "well over 200 students are enrolled in Hand in Hand schools, with at least one new class added every year in each school."[72] The two original schools (in Jerusalem and Misgav) began as schools serving only kindergarten, first and second grades;[73] they now enroll students up through the sixth grade (after which point students in the Israeli school system enter junior high school). The *Hand in Hand* schools are recognized as 'state schools' supported by the Israeli Ministry of Education and for the most part teach according to the regular curriculum of the state school system, although they use both Hebrew and Arabic as languages of instruction (rather than just one or the other).

---

[72] "The Hand in Hand Schools." Accessed January 10, 2005. Available at: http://www.handinhand12.org/TheSchoo/Schools.html
[73] Zvi Bekerman and Gabriel Horenczyk, <u>Bilingual Education in Israel</u>. Final Report Submitted to the Ford Foundation and the Center for Bilingual Education in Israel, November 2001: 4.

The mission of *Hand in Hand* is twofold: the organization anticipates that its schools will serve as a model for academic excellence while simultaneously catalyzing social change, "breaking down the walls between Arab and Jewish populations by bringing families and communities into cooperative and mutually supportive relationships."[74] In its attempt to foster academic excellence, *Hand in Hand* schools promote specific educational values:[75]

- Bilingual education

- Progressive teaching methods, including a low student/teacher ratio

- A multicultural approach to learning; and

- Parental involvement in students' education

As a catalyst for social change, *Hand in Hand* hopes to "have a measurable impact at five levels":[76]

- The classroom, where the program hopes to foster mutual respect and understanding among students;

- Parents and families: Parental involvement in the school will create forums for Arab-Jewish cooperation among adults;

- The wider community, including public organizations and local municipalities;

- The national level: *Hand in Hand* hopes to influence the educational structure in Israel as a whole, serving as a model which can be replicated by community activists and educators; and

---

[74] "The Hand in Hand Mission." Accessed January 10, 2005. Available at: http://www.handinhand12.org/TheCente/TheCente.html
[75] "The Hand in Hand Schools."
[76] "The Hand in Hand Mission."

36

- The wider Arab world: "Hand in Hand hopes to teach and inspire its students to reach out to the wider Arab world, acting as ambassadors for dialogue and exchange."

It is telling that although *Hand in Hand* attempts to foster mutual respect and understanding, serving as a self-defined model for peace and reconciliation, curriculum in the schools is structured in a way that allows students to sustain and strengthen their own cultural traditions while better understanding those of their classmates.[77] The founders of the organization clearly envision a need for appreciation of self-identity as a component of creating peace.

Evaluation Methods

Evaluation of *Hand in Hand's* programs in bilingual education was carried out over the course of two years as part of an evaluative research project funded by the Ford Foundation, with the purpose of assessing "a variety of school practices, mainly those connected to bilingual and bi-cultural education."[78] The research was conducted primarily by Zvi Bekerman, a Jewish-Israeli researcher and instructor at the School of Education and the Melton Center for Jewish Education at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Israel. Gabriel Horenczyk (also at Hebrew University's School of Education) was involved in evaluation research, along with Aziz Haider of the Truman Center at the Hebrew University, who served as the Arab Culture Consultant for the duration of the evaluation project, and Nader Schhade, the project's research assistant.

---

[77] Zvi Bekerman, "Potentials and Limitations of Multi-cultural Education in Conflict-Ridden Areas: Bilingual Palestinian-Jewish Schools in Israel," *Teacher's College Record*, vol. 106, no. 3 (March 2004): 581.

[78] Zvi Bekerman, "Never Free of Suspicion," *Cultural Studies: New Methodologies*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2003): 137.

The study's format is indicative of the research carried out to evaluate *Hand in Hand*: although the study was commissioned by the Center for Arab-Jewish Education in Israel, it was carried out by educational researchers independently interested in studying bilingual education. As an external evaluation, therefore, the research was free from some of the elements of subjectivity that tend to characterize evaluations conducted by internal staff.[79] However, the evaluation was undertaken as a means of learning about bilingual and bicultural education from a variety of different aspects (one of Bekerman's central questions was whether a bicultural education program can simultaneously encourage students to take pride in their own heritage while experiencing and developing respect for the heritage of "the Other."), rather than specifically assessing the impact of this particular bilingual/bicultural education program on creating peace at either the micro- or macro-level (e.g. on 'peace writ large').

Over the course of the two year evaluation project, Bekerman and his colleagues used primarily qualitative methods, relying on semi-structured and informal interviews with parents, teachers, and students at *Hand in Hand's* schools, as well as formal and informal classroom observation. In addition to these methods, two structured questionnaires were given to parents of students in the schools. Hebrew questionnaires were given to Jewish parents, and Arab parents were given the choice of answering the questionnaire in either Hebrew or Arabic (whichever language made them feel more comfortable).[80]

The first questionnaire provided to parents dealt with values and was intended to gauge the way parents viewed the importance of different values in their own and other

---

[79] Carol Weiss, <u>Evaluation</u>. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1998: 37.
[80] Bekerman, "Never Free of Suspicion," pp. 8.

societies within Israel.[81] The questionnaire asked parents to rank 41 different values on an ordinal scale from -1 to 7 (where -1 represented a value in complete opposition to those guiding one's way of life and 7 represented the value of utmost importance to an individual). The questionnaire also listed a number of groups and asked respondents to rank the importance of these values for each of the groups, which included:

- Oneself

- Christian Arab society in Israel

- Muslim Arab society in Israel

- Jewish Israeli society

- Western society as a whole

Thus, respondents were asked to provide 205 responses in all (5 ratings – corresponding to the five groups listed above – for each of the 41 values given).

The values listed among the 41 provided refer primarily to personal attributes, including values such as "feeling of significance in life," "privacy," and "variety in life." Only a few of the values referred to social values that might reflect respondents' attitudes towards Israel's social structure or towards members of social groups different from their own. These values are: "#1 - equality (defined as equality of opportunity for all)," "#17 - neighborliness (good relations with neighbors)," "#23 - moderation (lack of extremism in words or deeds," and "#31 - aid (working for the good of others)." Even among these four attributes, only "equality" and "moderation" might be used as proxy indicators of respondents' beliefs towards society at large.

---

[81] "Values Questionnaire." Unpublished document (Hebrew) provided directly by Zvi Bekerman. References based on my own translation.

Ultimately, published findings of the program's evaluation did not utilize the results of this questionnaire. However, as part of the overall evaluation methodology, one can speculate that this questionnaire might have been used to determine existing perceptions of parents towards their own and other social groups in Israel. Specifically, if given at the start of participation in *Hand in Hand* schools, this could provide a baseline against which attitude change could be measured.

The second questionnaire, distributed to parents at the end of the two-year research project, touched much more specifically on aspects of the bi-lingual/bi-cultural element of the school that differentiate it from other educational opportunities in Israel.[82] Like the previous questionnaire, this one used an ordinal scale (from 1 to 5, with each number on the scale representing different things depending on the question asked). Both parents of each student were asked to fill out the questionnaire when it was distributed, so as to address questions of gender differences in the viewpoints of the parents.

This survey began with questions based on a poll distributed earlier in the research project which had examined parents' expectations and fears in sending children to *Hand in Hand* schools. Parents in this questionnaire were asked how, after their children had been a student in the school for a period of time, they viewed the likelihood of these fears and expectations being realized. A number of questions touched on parent's visions of *Hand in Hand's* academic success. More importantly, several of these questions addressed issues of coexistence and inter-group relations between Jews and Arabs. For example, parents were asked whether they anticipated that the following might occur as a result of attendance in the *Hand in Hand* schools:

- That their child would contribute to a better society in Israel

---

[82] "Questionnaire No. 2." Unpublished document (Hebrew) provided by Zvi Bekerman.

- That children would learn positive aspects of 'the other' culture

- That children would grow up to be sensitive to others' pain and suffering

Parents were also asked about their fears, specifically whether as a result of the program they feared that:

- Their child might develop undesirable romantic ties with someone from 'the other' group

- The school might make differences between Jews and Arabs in Israel unclear

- Tensions between the two groups might continue to exist despite efforts taken to the contrary.

In addition to questions relating to parents' fears and expectations, the survey dealt specifically with parents' happiness with aspects of *Hand in Hand's* program as they experienced it through their child's attendance. Again, these questions dealt both with the academic and social aspirations of the school, touching on elements of coexistence and positive relations between Jewish and Palestinian-Arab children. For example, in addition to asking parents to rank their pleasure with the schools' level of academic quality, physical structure, equipment and administration, the questionnaire addressed parents' level of happiness with students' visits to children of other national groups and with students' interaction among and between national groups in class and during breaks. These questions are particularly important in that they provided researchers with an opportunity to measure how well – in parents' eyes – *Hand in Hand* fulfilled its objectives of creating a school of superior academic quality while providing opportunities for bi-cultural interaction among students.

The questionnaire also addressed a number of questions dealing with parents' future aspirations and fears regarding the schools' programs. For example, parents were asked to rate to what degree certain scenarios might cause them to remove their students from the program. These questions, like the previous ones, touched both on academic elements as well as situations such as inadequate happiness in the level of social interactions between students and parents of different societal groups. Parents were also asked about the importance of various characteristics they hoped their child would have as a result of attending this school through the end of 12th grade (if the program were to grow so as to make this feasible). They were asked to rate the importance of their child having various attributes, including:

- Being active in political activities contributing to coexistence;

- Being open to romantic connections with individuals from 'the other' group;

- Having friends from another cultural or national group;

- Not paying attention to the national identity of others in his/her interaction with them

These questions highlight the ability of this questionnaire to assess adult aspirations for their children's involvement in building a peaceful society in Israel and coexistence between Jews and Arabs there. However, the questions focus exclusively on what parent's *would hope* for their children: in other words, it is an assessment of parental ideology rather than of the ability or actions of themselves or their children in contributing to a wider peace as a result of participation in *Hand in Hand* educational programs.

In fact, only one set of questions in this evaluation goes beyond the immediate academic and social impacts of *Hand in Hand* on children involved with the program to assess if the organization's work had a broader effect. Within the questionnaire, one set of questions dealt specifically with inter-group visits in the houses of children/parents from the other group (e.g. visits of Jewish children or parents in the homes of Arabs, and vice-versa), asking how many times parents and their children visited or received visitors in their home over the past academic school year.

According to Bekerman, one other section of the questionnaire also addressed intergroup relations: specifically, the preferred nature of intergroup contact. "Four modes of interaction were presented, and the respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they would like teach to characterize the intergroup relations in the school. The four types of interaction were: harmonious contact between two national groups, contact between children without reference to their nationalities, forgetting nationalities, and as 'Israelis.'"[83]

These questions enabled an assessment of the extent to which *Hand in Hand* was able to create an impact at a slightly broader level than that of students themselves. The first set of questions, dealing with parental visitation to households of members of the other national group, allowed for an initial investigation of how *Hand in Hand* created opportunities for Arab-Jewish cooperation and friendship beyond the classroom, while the questions asking about the preferred nature of inter-group contact between the children provided a measure of parents' desires for a broader impact. Overall, the questionnaires provided insight into the organizations' ability to create impact at the immediate (children) and family levels. However, one should note that the organization

---

[83] Bekerman and Horenczyk, <u>Bilingual Education in Israel</u>, pp. 21.

explicitly aims to "have a measurable impact at five levels,"[84] including at the national

level, or within the societal context within which the program exists, yet this project

measured impact only at two of those (and primarily only at the immediate level of

participant students).

Berkerman and his colleagues' qualitative methodologies, like the questionnaires,

did not assess the program's influence on 'peace writ large.' A description of the

interviews, which along with observational evaluation constituted the qualitative research

methods, states that the cross-sectional study was "designed to allow us to become

acquainted with the children's conceptions of issues regarding their own Jewish and

Palestinian cultural identity, as these are shaped through the interaction in school and the

larger communal context and how they envision the conflict and their present and future

relations with 'the Other.'"[85] In those semi-structured interviews, Bekerman and his

colleagues used a set of photographs to elicit comments and reactions by children, thus

allowing for a broader conversation on related issues to develop. The 51 photographs

included pictures of historical and political figures and events, pictures of public cultural

and religious sites, and photos of ceremonial events and daily life in class and generally

at the *Hand in Hand* school. These photographs were arranged in a specific order

common to all interviews so as to allow for comparative information to be compiled on

students' perceptions. 32 students in the bilingual school were interviewed, along with

---

[84] Remember that the Hand in Hand Mission defines these levels as: 1. The classroom; 2. Parents and Families; 3. The wider community, including public organizations and local municipalities; 4. The national level; and 5. The wider Arab world.
[85] Zvi Bekerman and Nader Schhade, "Palestinian-Jewish Bilingual Education in Israel: Its Influence on Cultural Identities and its Impact on Intergroup Conflict," *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, vol. 24, no. 6 (2003): 476.

22 from nearby Palestinian and Jewish schools (both monolingual state schools recognized by the Israeli Ministry of Education).[86]

The methodology used to conduct these interviews provided a useful tool for assessing students' beliefs and views regarding socio-cultural and political issues and comparing the views of students at the *Hand in Hand* school to those in monolingual schools nearby. Use of a comparative study group (those students not enrolled in the *Hand in Hand* school) was particularly informative with regards to the influence of the school on students' perceptions. Thus, the interviews were useful in demonstrating causality with respect to the impact of enrollment at a *Hand in Hand* school on perception of socio-political issues. However, the study afforded no possibility to measure the effect of the school program on children's actions or, more broadly, the beliefs and actions of those outside the school building. In other words, there was no assessment of the link between this attitude change and behavioral changes both inside and outside the classroom.

Likewise, semi-structured interviews with parents provided little if any data on elements of *Hand in Hand's* impact at a broader level. According to Zvi Bekerman, questions in these interviews focused primarily on the decision of parents to send their children to a bilingual school: for example, how they found out about the program, what problems (opposition of friends and/or family members) arose out of the decision to send children to the school, what elements of the program worried them, and how they finally made the decision to have their children participate. Other questions related to parent's views of their children's' participation over the 2 years in which this study was

---

[86] Ibid., pp. 477-478.

conducted.[87] Thus, the interviews primarily afforded the researchers an opportunity to gauge the political and ideological views of participating families (and their extended families) at the start of the program; no aspects of the questionnaire related to changes resulting in the family or beyond as a result of attendance at a *Hand in Hand* school.

Overall, *Hand in Hand's* evaluation study reflects the immediate need of the organization to provide answers to questions regarding its mission and ability to fulfill its goals. That is to say, this research provided insight into the school's academic quality (through questions to parents regarding their view of academic possibilities at the school in comparison to others) as well as a measure of the program's success in creating an impact at the classroom level.

The research was less successful in its ability to measure expanding levels of impact, despite the fact that these are explicitly stated as a goal of the organization's mission for creating social change. Only one section in the questionnaire given to parents asked questions about inter-group contact in a way allowing for measurement of impact beyond the level of the classroom, and even this was limited to measurement at the familial level (only the second out of five impact levels). Overall, therefore, it is clear that assessment of the program's impact on peace writ large is entirely non-existent.

Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace, Democracy Education Program

Program Description:

The *Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace* was founded in 1986 in memory of an Israeli peace activist who was killed while marching in a demonstration against Israel's war in Lebanon. After his death, a number of educators in Israel founded the

---

[87] Zvi Bekerman, Personal communication, January 12, 2005.

organization as a way to prevent replication of this tragedy. As a non-profit organization, the *Adam Institute* seeks to "break down stereotypes and teach non-violent methods of conflict resolution."[88] Specifically, the Institute "develops and implements programs that promote education for democracy and peace, civic education and methods of conflict resolution."[89] Programs at the *Adam Institute* range from one-day workshops to three-year projects, and are geared towards students of all ages as well as new immigrants, women's groups, police officers, soldiers, and inmates in Israeli correctional institutions.

The *Adam Institute* works in government-recognized schools throughout the State of Israel,[90] adapting its programs to meet the needs and wants of the schools and programs with which it partners. According to Noa Mor, a staff member at the organization, the *Adam Institute* usually creates partnerships at the initiative of partner organizations, unless donor funds are restricted to working with particular schools. When the Institute has a choice, preference is for working with marginalized groups/schools or those in economic and geographically peripheral areas.[91]

Within schools, the *Adam Institute* develops and implements curricula relating to concepts of democracy, peace, minority rights, equality, and concepts forming the foundations for a democratic society. The Institute's approach focuses on presenting "questions raised by democratic thinking" and highlighting competing tendencies for and against democratic principles, so that participants internalize dilemmas and better understand how different principles come into conflict in democracies. Students in the

---

[88] "Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace." Accessed January 11, 2005. Available at: http://www.adaminstitute.org.il/english/
[89] Ibid.
[90] For the purposes of this study, the "State of Israel" refers to territory located *inside* the 1967 "Green Line" boundaries; in other words, it excludes contested territory of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem.
[91] Noa Mor, Personal Interview, January 19, 2005.

program then use democratic principles to attempt to seek solutions to these conflicts.[92]

"The primary objective of the educational process in Adam Institute workshops is to educate participants to an active recognition of freedom as an equal right of all people."[93]

Evaluation Methods

The *Adam Institute* has no formal evaluation department, nor are outcome or impact evaluations carried out systematically throughout the organization.[94] When they do occur formally, outcome evaluations are conducted by external consultants and are primarily a direct result of obligations to program funders. Furthermore, even formal evaluations are rarely quantitative, but are primarily carried out as open-ended dialogue with project participants (both students and teachers). Written evaluations consist of open-ended questionnaires or exercises, the answers to which are then coded for analysis.

The *Adam Institute's* lack of systematic evaluation methodology is based on ideological grounds: as an organization, the Institute feels that it is statistically impossible to measure the effects of a program; moreover, it can often take months or years for people to realize how their attitudes have changed as a result of the program, therefore evaluating project impacts on the basis of quantitative (or qualitative) measures immediately prior to or following a program's end may not be indicative of actual effects.

Despite this ideology, the *Adam Institute* engages in formative, process evaluations, which are conducted primarily as a means of improving programs for the future and shaping current programs to reflect the needs of students whose teachers use curricula or activities designed by the Institute. Specifically, evaluations are designed to

---

[92] "Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace."
[93] Uki Maroshek-Klarman, "The Education Process in Adam Institute Workshops." Israel: The Adam Institute, June 1999: 1.
[94] All information on The *Adam Institute's* evaluation ideology and methodologies was obtained in a personal telephone interview with Noa Mor, staff member at the *Adam Institute,* December 23, 2004.

test which concepts participants understand and don't understand. Those concepts that are less well understood as a whole by a given class become focus of the following year's program. For example, students participating in an education for democracy program run by the *Adam Institute* may easily internalize the concept of equality, but may not simultaneously grasp the concept of addressing individual needs

These evaluations occur primarily through open dialogue sessions between program evaluators and participants which usually take place in the middle and end of the program (or, in a multi-year program, at the middle and end of each year). The dialogue sessions are opportunities for teachers and students to express what they feel are the benefits and shortcomings of the program, and constitute the primary method through which the *Adam Institute* knows if changes must be made in the curriculum to increase effectiveness. In addition to oral dialogues, internal evaluations are also often conducted in the form of a written statement prepared by teachers and students. These statements and discussions focus on: the purpose of the program, what is happening in the program, and what participants understand, as well as what concepts participants have not yet internalized. Facilitators also attempt to solicit feedback from participants on how the program has affected participants' worldviews as well as creating attitude change and, as much as possible, behavioral change that can be attributed to *Adam Institute* programs. However, as per the Institute's ideology, this feedback is gathered informally.

The *Adam Institute* has developed a formal evaluation tool used for 5th grade classes taking part in a 2-year program on education for democracy.[95] The evaluation

---

[95] "Purim Party." Unpublished document (Hebrew) provided by Noa Mor. It is important to note that this program does not focus directly on conflict resolution (although one learning module does touch on methods of resolving conflicts); however, this two-year program, as one that teaches students about individual rights and needs, as well as the concepts of equality and justice, easily fits under the framework

tool is designed as an in-class exercise in which students are presented with a hypothetical situation and asked to respond to a number of questions. The situation deals with a party celebrating the Jewish holiday of Purim, for which students have been asked to come up with a costume theme. In the given scenario, one student has suggested that everyone come to the party dressed as a television superhero; another group of students would prefer that costume decisions be left up to each individual.

The exercise asks students to answer a number of questions related to this situation. For example, students are requested to give two to three justifications for either having all students dress as superheroes or allowing everyone to dress up using their own costume idea; they are then asked how to solve the problem raised in this situation and asked why they feel their solution will work. Students are also asked to write the advantages and disadvantages of making a decision regarding the costumes on the basis of a majority vote.

The second part of the questionnaire focuses on a different aspect of the hypothetical Purim party, stating that students in the class have collectively decided to divide necessary party planning tasks equally among all students. Two questions are then asked: first, students are requested to come up with other possible options for how to divide up tasks for the party's organization. The questionnaire then asks if the decision to give each student a task is an equitable decision; and why.

The *Adam Institute* has created a coding system through which it is possible to 'grade' each student's responses to the questionnaire, thus allowing for an assessment of

---

of education for peace: that is, educational programs supporting the understanding of peaceful concepts and their implementation in Israeli society.

the student's understanding of different elements of democracy.[96] Since the

questionnaire is designed to measure cognitive understanding of democratic concepts,

that is, their internalization and subsequent use by students, the coding system is based

on grading of language, which serves as a proxy indicator for the concepts examined.

Among these concepts are: mutual respect and understanding, equality, freedom of

choice, majority rule, and freedom. In the coding system, different possible answers are

listed for each question, each of which is given a number of points based on how close

the answer corresponds to the 'ideal' as envisioned by *Adam Institute* evaluators of how

well students are able to express possibilities using democratic principles. The answer

key also allows for the possibility of students giving answers that are entirely unrelated

to democratic concepts or show a complete lack of understanding of what is expected.

(Answers such as these, of course, receive few, if any, points).   Answers are rated on a

scale from 0-3, with 3 being the highest number of points students can receive on any

given question. Thus, staff at the *Adam Institute* can see not only how well students

understand democracy as a whole, but are able to assess how well each one of the

various concepts related to democracy is understood at both individual and classroom

levels.

A stated cognitive underpinning for the questions used in the evaluation tool (in

particular the first two[97]) is "justifying a specific idea through the ability to see

advantages of an opinion different from one's own,"[98] which correlates not only with the

---

[96] "Purim Party – Answer Key." Unpublished document (Hebrew) provided by Noa Mor.
[97] The first two questions asked in the survey request the following: 1. Write 2-3 justifications each for Dana's suggestion that all students dress up as superheroes for the Purim party and for Roni and Dan's proposition that each student dress up however he/she likes; 2. How do you think it is possible to solve the problem raised in this example, and how will this suggestion solve the problem?
[98] "Purim Party – Exercise in Democracy." Unpublished document (Hebrew) provided by Noa Mor.

ability to see the world through the lens of democratic principles, but also with the concept of mutual respect and understanding of difference, an integral component of a peaceful society. In a sense, therefore, this questionnaire touches on evaluation of student's value and belief systems regarding tolerance and coexistence.

In keeping with the Institute's ideology, however, this tool serves as a process evaluation (that is, demonstrating how well the program is working to meet its stated objectives) rather than an evaluation of impact. No aspect of the evaluation tool measures <u>change</u> in student's beliefs or attitudes, nor is behavioral change assessed at any point. Any of these might be considered indicators of micro-level impact. Moreover, absolutely no attempt is made to measure macro-level impact in the form of wider-spread behavior or attitude change, or actions undertaken by those not directly involved in the program that might contribute to 'peace writ large.' Even measurement of micro-level impact occurs only during and immediately following the end of the *Adam Institute's* programs, through dialogue and informal assessment of students' grasp of the concepts of democracy. That is, no formal assessment takes place of longer-term impacts or ability of students to retain concepts learned during the course of a program once several months or years have passed. Those indicators of longer-term or broader change, such as stories of how teachers and/or students have changed their behavior as a result of concepts learned in the program, are purely anecdotal and not systematically measured.

According to the *Adam Institute* website, for those who participate in the organization's programs, "Democracy…becomes an investment in their future, and a

reflection of the kind of society they would like to create."[99] Given this statement, it is interesting that evaluation of the organization's programs does not measure how democratic principles become a part of individuals' lives outside the scope of the classroom or the program setting. An assessment of this impact is necessary to truly understand even the short-term effects of this organization's programs, let alone longer-term impact on 'peace writ large.'

IPCRI Pathways to Reconciliation Program

Program Description

       Founded in 1988, the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI) is a joint Palestinian-Israeli think tank, "devoted to developing practical solutions for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict."[100] While the organization is committed to both the process and final outcome of dilemmas facing Israelis and Palestinians, it does not promote a specific outcome, but encourages solutions to problems that entail equality between parties, cooperation, reciprocity of obligations and benefits for all parties involved.[101]

       IPCRI's Peace Education program is the largest program within the organization, with over 4500 students and 70 schools participating as of the 2000-2001 academic school year.[102] The program's activities are geared towards students in high school (10th, 11th, and 12th grades) in the Israeli and Palestinian formal educational systems. Participating students are of Jewish, Palestinian-Israeli, and Palestinian backgrounds.

---

[99] "Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace."
[100] "Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information." Accessed January 14, 2005. Available at: http://www.ipcri.org/index1.html
[101] Ibid.
[102] http://groups.yahoo.com/group/IPCRI-ELIST/message/4. Accessed January 14, 2005.

While participants in IPCRI's programs are students, the organization targets teachers as major agents of change in the promotion of cooperation, understanding, and conflict resolution. Thus, programs in the schools are preceded and complemented by extended teacher training and teacher encounters. According to the IPCRI website,

> The project's fundamental idea was based on the decision that Israelis and Palestinians together develop model lessons for 10th grade students (15-16 year olds). The tenth grade was selected because of the belief that these students have the cognitive abilities to confront the subject materials and are not yet under the pressure of matriculation exams. The curricula, designed by professionals from the communities involved, was first tested on a small sample of classes (the "ambassadors"), and after a process of trial and correction, implemented during the 1997/8 academic year.[103]

Following successful testing of the pilot program, IPCRI's curriculum has been implemented in additional schools, including schools in the Palestinian Authority and schools in poorer communities and development towns within Israel.

Unlike programs where extra-curricular or additional classroom modules are developed for conflict resolution, IPCRI's peace education curricula is based on existing subjects taught in the classroom. To create the program, "curricula teams took the materials in sociology/social sciences, literature, history and English and infused this material with new concepts and activities and added a new text."[104] Thus, the texts and activities serve a dual purpose of expanding knowledge of the subject matter while highlighting peace education concepts. By using this text as part of traditional subject matter, teachers are able to present an integrated, holistic approach to peace education.

In addition to the curriculum presented in classrooms, student workshops – which bring Palestinian and Israeli students together for an intensive, 2-day encounter – form a key component of IPCRI's peace education program. In this sense, IPCRI is different

---

[103] "Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information."
[104] Ibid.

than the other programs examined, since it promotes change through both uni-national and bi-national components of the program. The entire program, from the time IPCRI's curricula begin to be used in the classroom, lasts approximately 6-8 months out of the academic school year.

The primary goals of IPCRI's peace education program are to create change among its participants: change in awareness of the conflict, change in the behavior of all involved in the educational process, and change in the way Israeli/Palestinian society is structured. Its objectives include creating mutual respect and understanding, tolerance, imparting the values of social justice and equality as well as skills in negotiation and conflict resolution.[105] According to Gavriel Salomon,

> IPCRI's "Pathways to Reconciliation" program "addresses three spheres concerning 'the Other': "The other inside me" – to facilitate self awareness; "The other near me" – to facilitate understanding and awareness of, and tolerance for others in one's immediate surrounding; and "The distant other"- to cultivate tolerance for Palestinians (or Jews). The latter sphere includes face-to-face meetings between Israelis and Palestinians to afford the opportunity to listen to the other side, its narrative and participants' personal experiences. Each such sphere focuses on the values one chooses to live by, knowledge of the conflict and the "other", and skills of reconciliatory behaviors.[106]

Evaluation Methods

Possibly because of its unique nature as a joint Israeli-Palestinian endeavor with a long and well-established history, as well as its pioneer role in the field, IPCRI's peace education program has been the subject of a number of academic studies and research projects, a number of which focus on various aspects of evaluation. IPCRI's website refers to a comprehensive external evaluation that should have occurred in 2000-2001, encompassing all aspects of the program (including teacher training and staff feedback as well as impact on students); however, no material is available indicating that this

---

[105] Ibid.
[106] Gavriel Salomon, Unpublished document, Center for Research on Peace Education, 2004.

evaluation has taken place. As a result, IPCRI's evaluation material is the result of externally funded studies conducted under the auspices of university researchers.

The first evaluation of IPCRI's peace education program was carried out by Ifat Maoz, of the Hebrew University Department of Communications in the spring of 1998. In addition to being the first study, this evaluation is also, as far as I can determine, the only study of IPCRI's peace education program to have been conducted as part of the wishes of the organization. According to a report of the evaluation, this study attempted to address the following questions: "Can a transformative encounter take place in a situation of acute conflict and harsh asymmetry? Could it have any effects of improving inter-group attitudes or will it only cause an escalation of hostility?"[107] Conducted in the spring of 1998, the evaluation focused on the encounter aspect of the "Pathways to Reconciliation" program, using quantitative and qualitative research methods to examine the effects occurring as a result of a dialogue event between Palestinian and Israeli high school students.   Specifically, four facets of the encounter were examined[108]:

> (1) The structure of activities and the practices of transformative dialogue used in the encounter events.
> (2) Attitudes and mutual stereotypes held by youth from both sides prior to the beginning of the workshops.
> (3) Mutual perceptions and attitudes expressed by participants during the encounter.
> (4) Effects of participation in the workshops on stereotypes held by the Israeli and Palestinian youth.

To examine the different elements of IPCRI's program, Maoz administered pre- and post-test questionnaires to both the Israeli and Palestinian participants in the dialogue encounter which measured attitudes and stereotypes: "Each respondent received a booklet

---

[107] Ifat Maoz, "An Experiment in Peace: Reconciliation-Aimed Workshops of Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian Youth," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 37, no. 6 (2000): 723.
[108] Ibid., pp. 724.

that examined the extent to which respondents experienced contact with people from the other nation prior to their participation in the workshop, their motivation to participate in the encounter, their stereotypic perceptions of the other national group, and various demographic questions."[109] Questions in the pre- and post-test questionnaires asked both Palestinian and Israeli students to rate their perception of members of the other side on the following attributes: Willing to sacrifice for peace, open to changes, tolerant, promises, honest, intelligent, broad minded, considerate, good hearted, generous, and friendly.   The pre-test questionnaire asked students to respond to the following statements:

- I have met the other side before
- I have friends of the other side
- I want to participate in the Israeli-Palestinian encounter

These questionnaires enabled Maoz to measure the change in perceptions of the other side occurring as a result of the encounter. This change can be seen as a proxy indicator of awareness and of mutual understanding: the ability to move beyond stereotypes of the other side delineates an ability to understand the complexities and nuances of the conflict as well as comprehend the other side. Changes in perceptions were further examined by observing discussions occurring as part of the 2-day encounter.

In addition to observing the proceedings and administering questionnaires, Maoz conducted two sets of follow-up interviews with students who had participated in this encounter: at six months and at one year following the event. This follow-up allowed for

---

[109] Ibid., pp. 725.

the evaluation of longer-term effects of the dialogue on students,[110] a crucial component

for understanding the program's overall wider impact.

Maoz's evaluation methodology enabled her to successfully examine attitudes and

stereotypes held by Palestinian and Israeli youth of each other successfully. Moreover,

because pre- and post-test questionnaires were administered at the place of the dialogue

encounter (which was isolated, in the sense that participants ate and lodged there for the

duration of the program), it was possible to determine causality in apparent changes in

attitude and perceptions. In other words, one can be fairly certain that these initial

changes were a result of participation in IPCRI's peace education program. Causality

related to continued attitude change as measured in the follow-up studies, however, is

less clear.

Moreover, this evaluation examined only the attitude (and to some degree,

behavioral) changes in participating students. No study was made of the effect this

program might have had on those surrounding the students, such as classmates, parents,

or other family members.

In the wake of Maoz's evaluation, a similar study of IPCRI's peace education

encounter was conducted by David Bargal of the Program on Conflict Study and

Resolution at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.[111] This study, conducted in May

2000, utilized the method of observing the workshop: two graduate students and former

workshop participants (one Israeli Jew, one Israeli Arab) were present throughout the

---

[110] In fact, according to Maoz, these follow-up interviews indicated that students were participating in joint activities both 6 months and 1 year after the dialogue encounter, suggesting that the peace education program affected not only attitudinal but behavioral change among participants, who previously had not been engaged in joint endeavors.

[111] David Bargal, "Education for Peace: Description, Conceptualization, and Evaluation of a Workshop for Palestinian and Jewish-Israeli Youth." Unpublished document. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Faculty of Social Sciences.

encounter as observers. Additionally, interviews were also conducted with a number of

Jewish and Palestinian workshop participants approximately two weeks after the

workshop ended. During these interviews, participants were asked the following

questions[112]:

- What did you know about the workshop ahead of time?
- What kind of preparations were made prior to the workshop?
- Regarding the process and content of the workshop: Did the workshop leave you with any outstanding positive or negative experiences? What did you learn about yourself? About your ethnic group? About the other group?
- Did you establish personal relationships with someone from the other group?
- How will you continue this relationship?

Like Maoz's evaluation, this study allowed Bargal to examine the impact of the

workshop on students' views of themselves and others, both through observation of

students' reactions over the course of the workshop, and through use of post-test

interviews. Unlike the Maoz study, however, Bargal's research was limited to immediate

post-workshop changes, thus minimizing the ability to measure longer-term attitude or

behavioral changes on the part of participants.

A later evaluation of IPCRI's work, conducted by Yifat Biton in 2000-2001,

examined specifically the effects of this peace education program on students'

perceptions of the concept of peace. Specifically, the study set out to examine students'

perceptions of peace in their societies before and immediately after participating in the

classroom portion of IPCRI's peace education program.[113]

[112] Adapted from Bargal, pp. 9.

[113] Note: during the time of this evaluation, the *Al-Aqsa Intifada* prevented encounters between Palestinian and Israeli students from taking place as part of the peace education program.

Pre- and post-test questionnaires administered to students measured their conception of peace as negative, positive, or structural.[114] This evaluation was based on the idea that for societies in conflict, perceptions of peace (and other similar semantic constructs) reflect collective narratives, which "are accounts of a community's collective experiences, embodied in its belief system and represent the collective's symbolically constructed shared identity."[115] Identifying the way students define peace served as a proxy for understanding the way they conceptualized their own understanding of the conflict and of those on the other side. This rested on the assumption that the program familiarized participants with other side's views, thus creating a less monolithic and more complex view which took other perspectives into account.[116] By evaluating perceptions of the concept of peace, moreover, Biton was able to examine how IPCRI's peace education program created similarities in students' understanding of the term. This was a crucial element of the program, as "It is often argued that reconciliation requires a common outlook on the past, reflecting a less dissimilar narrative…Attaining a similar way of viewing as central a concept as "peace", may well be a step in the right direction."[117]

Biton's study took the form of a controlled experiment, in which questionnaires were given immediately before the start and immediately after the completion of IPCRI's peace education curriculum. Questionnaires were distributed to students in two 10th

---

[114] The definitions of these concepts, derived from John Galtung, are as follows: Negative peace pertains to the absence of violence; positive peace pertains to cooperation, harmony, commerce and mutuality; structural peace pertains to issues of equality, independence and sovereignty as they are structurally built into society.

[115] Yifat Biton and Gavriel Salomon, "'Peace' in the Eyes of Israeli and Palestinian Youths as a Function of Collective Narratives and Participation in a Peace Education Program," University of Haifa: Center for Research on Peace Education, May 2004: 4.

[116] Ibid., pp. 18.

[117] Ibid., pp. 19.

grade classes each in one Jewish-Israeli and one Palestinian school: in each of the

schools, one class took part in IPCRI's program and one did not. Pre- and post-test data

was obtained for a total of 564 students – 320 Israelis (186 experimental, 134 control)

and 244 Palestinians (150 experimental, 184 control).

The questionnaire started with 5 open-ended questions:

- What is the first thing that comes into your head when you hear the term 'peace'?
- Explain the term 'peace'
- How would you explain 'peace' to a 5-year old child?
- If there will be peace, what will be its primary utility in your opinion?
- If it were up to you, what would be the main thing you would be willing to do so that there would be peace between Israelis and Palestinians?[118]

The first four questions were scored nominally from 1-4, with the following scale:

1 – mentions of negative peace elements
2 – mentions of positive peace
3 – measures of structural peace
4 – measures of freedom

The final open-ended question, regarding what students would do to attain peace, was

coded and given a nominal score from 1-6:

1 – nothing
2 – only talks
3 – some concessions
4 – major concessions
5 – don't know
6 – war

The remaining questions were multiple choice, with four possibilities each. These

questions were closely related to the open-ended ones, asking about the importance,

utility, and strategies for achieving peace between Israelis and Palestinians. A few of

these questions asked students about their desire or willingness to either personally make

concessions or proactively participate in creating peace.

---

[118] "Questionnaire: Understanding the Concept of Peace." Unpublished document (Hebrew) obtained from Yifat Biton.

Both the open-ended questions and the multiple choice ones were designed so as to provide information on the way students understood the concept of peace: this information allowed Yifat Biton to establish how IPCRI's peace education program affected students' perception of the concept and thus indirectly their understanding of the conflict, its complexities and nuances. Because the questionnaire was administered to both students participating in the program and to a control group in a similar social setting (two classes in the same school), it was possible to determine how these perceptions of peace changed due to the program rather than external circumstances.

These questionnaires also provided Biton with the ability to see if and how students came to see the concept of peace in a similar light as a result of IPCRI's curriculum. This was the only element of the evaluation that can speak to a larger impact, as in a sense it determined if this program is able to create the foundation among participating students for other, broader peace initiatives. Overall, however, the evaluation (like other evaluations of IPCRI's program) did not in any way attempt to assess the of impact "Pathways to Reconciliation" on peace writ large in the Israeli/Palestinian context.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS

Although each of the organizations identified conducts or has in the past conducted evaluations of its peace education programs, it is clear that none of them examine the impact of these programs on the broader context of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict; in other words, the ability of these programs to have an impact on ''peace writ large'' in the Middle East. Given that these programs function within the context of a conflict area, and that their implementation rests on an assumption that they can help create change in this context, evaluation of broader impact is a crucial variable in program assessment. The fact that this variable is not included in any of the evaluations, therefore, necessitates close examination.

Before analyzing the reasons for this gap in evaluation data, however, it is important to revisit some of the similarities and differences between the programs examined, as this may shed light on reasons for use of specific evaluation methods or results. One significant difference is in the goals of each of the peace education programs, as well as the organizations themselves. The programs also are geared towards different age groups: while *Hand in Hand* and the *Adam Institute* programs are geared towards primary school students, IPCRI's peace education program is utilized in Israeli and Palestinian high schools (10th, 11th, and 12th grades).   Moreover, although *Hand in Hand* and IPCRI both create opportunities for contact between Israeli and Palestinian students, the former is an immersion program in which students are constantly together; IPCRI, on the other hand, utilizes one-time joint workshops to complement a curriculum designed for use in

uni-national schools. These similarities and differences are noted in the chart presented

in the **Methodology** section and below:

Organization	Target Population			Target Age		Objectives: Values Imparted				
	Jewish	Arab	Both	Primary School	High School	Tolerance	Respect for Equality[119]	Empathy/ Respect	Awareness/ Understanding[120]	Bi-lingualism and structural equality
IPCRI	x	x	(x)[121]		x	x	x		x	
Adam Institute[122]	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	
Hand in Hand			x	x			x		x	x

The variety in program design points to possible significant differences in the effects

of these programs. For example, the *Adam Institute's* focus on uni- rather than bi-

national programs negates the possibility of attitude change through communication with

"the Other." This difference may also be relevant to the organizations' assessment

methods: the two organizations focusing on group encounters may expect to see greater

attitude change among participants than an organization conducting uni-national

programming, and as a result devote more resources into assessing program impact at

various levels. As the case study descriptions delineate, the *Adam Institute* indeed has

devoted almost no energy to impact assessment. Studies of IPCRI and *Hand in Hand*

---

[119] "Equality" refers to recognition of equal rights between all citizens of Israel and the Palestinian Authority

[120] "Awareness/Understanding" refers to a nuanced understanding of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and the broader regional context.

[121] The parenthetical notation in this column refers to the fact that bi-national encounters occur as a one-time, end of program event, rather than as a regular part of program activities.

[122] The *Adam Institute's* programs differ from other peace education programs examined in that they attempt to create awareness and understanding primarily through the teaching of democratic concepts rather than through encounters/dialogues.

programming have occurred to varying degrees, although impact assessment has been assessed only through independent research rather than organizational evaluations.

More salient than program differences in understanding the reasons behind the lack of broader impact evaluation, however, are the differences in the objectives and structure of each of these organizations' *evaluation frameworks,* as described below:

Internal vs. External Evaluations:

While the *Adam Institute* utilizes internal methodologies and its own staff as evaluators, both *Hand in Hand* and IPCRI were evaluated by external, independently funded researchers (with the exception of the Maoz study in IPCRI's peace education program, which was commissioned by the organization). The use of external vs. internal evaluation is often a key issue in determining the validity and objectivity of evaluation work; however, the problematic aspects of internal evaluations are somewhat mitigated in the case of the *Adam Institute* due to the fact that its evaluations are constantly utilized as a tool for program improvement, rather than as documents written to please donors and continue to receive program funding. As pertains to the extent of impact evaluation, there is no difference between internal and external evaluations. However, externally conducted *research* differs significantly from impact evaluations; thus, the studies conducted on *Hand in Hand* and IPCRI programs differ significantly from what external *evaluations* conducted might look like.

Time frame and consistency of evaluations:

The *Adam Institute* generally carries out evaluations of its programs once, occasionally twice, over the course of their duration, and implements no longitudinal studies. The evaluation tool described in this case study is used once: 6 months into a

year-long project. In contrast, *Hand in Hand's* evaluation study took place over a period of two years, with the same researchers constantly looking at questions of effectiveness in terms of fulfilling the school's stated academic and social objectives. Likewise, evaluation of IPCRI's programs occurred over a significant period of time. Unlike the *Hand in Hand* evaluation, however, research on IPCRI was conducted by a number of different researchers, each of whom focused on a different aspect of the peace education program in his or her work.

Long-term studies are essential to assessing the ultimate effectiveness of any program; thus, the lack of long-term evaluation time frames in the *Adam Institute* and *Hand in Hand* programs clearly factors in to their inability to gauge impact on 'peace writ large'. In the case of IPCRI evaluations, one of the studies carried out did include a follow-up; however, insufficient follow-ups were conducted on the other research studies of the program.

Objectives of the evaluation:

Most crucial to understanding the lack of broader impact evaluation is examining the actual objectives of each of the evaluations conducted, which differ within each of these programs. For example, the *Adam Institute* evaluations focus solely on determining how well students have gained a cognitive understanding of democratic concepts, so as to understand what changes need to be made to make the program more effective for the duration of its implementation or for future implementation. These evaluations involve documenting "the degree to which the program operates as expected"[123] rather than whether the program has had an affect on how students behave towards others in a

---

[123] Emil J. Posavac and Raymond G. Carey, Program Evaluation: Methods and Case Studies. New Jersey: Prentice Hall (2003): 7.

pluralistic society.   In other words, evaluations of the program make no attempt to go beyond assessment of individual, internal *understanding* and examine whether that understanding results in *outwardly-directed change*.

Evaluations of IPCRI's programs, on the other hand, all examined the impact of the program on student's attitudes.   While the evaluations conducted differed in some of the questions asked, they went beyond the type of research conducted on *Adam Institute* programs to ask how these programs affected participants' perceptions of the conflict and attitudes towards 'the Other.' IPCRI's evaluations can therefore be classified as outcome evaluations, which attempt to show how "receiving a program's services cause…a change for the better in the condition of those participating in the program."[124]

Like the research conducted on IPCRI's programs, evaluations of *Hand in Hand* went beyond process evaluation, attempting instead to discover the impact of attendance at bilingual/bicultural schools on awareness of and attitude towards 'others' in society and the conflict in general. However, in contrast to IPCRI's evaluation studies, the research conducted by Zvi Bekerman and his associates focused on this aspect of the program as only one small component in assessing the school's success. Because of the dual mission of *Hand in Hand* in fostering both academic excellence and social change, the objectives of research on this organization were significantly broader than that conducted on IPCRI's peace education program.   These broader assessment objectives minimized the extent to which social impact could be evaluated.

The evaluation designs and objectives of each of these organizations clarify why assessment of broad program impact has not taken place. However, since these organizations all have stated objectives of creating positive change in a conflict-ridden

---

[124] Ibid., pp. 8.

context, intuitively the lack of broader impact evaluation does not makes sense. Thus,

one must explain not only how methodologies used prevent this assessment, but why

attempts are not made to evaluate the broad impact of peace education program. This is

important not only in these three organizations, but in the evaluation of conflict resolution

interventions overall.

To begin with, impact evaluation may not occur because of the needs and

assumptions of evaluators or of the program designers and implementers. For example,

the *Adam Institute* is explicit in stating that evaluations are conducted purely for internal

needs.[125] Since research focuses exclusively on informing the organization's staff how

well students participating in its programs have internalized the concepts covered, and

since the objectives of the Institute are primarily to educate students about the elements

of a democratic society, conducting process evaluations on how well students understand

the concepts raised is sufficient to examine whether the organization's programs are

fulfilling their primary objective.

The ideology behind the *Adam Institute's* use of evaluation – and lack of a broader

impact evaluation methodology – mirrors the generally tendency of project mangers "to

be less interested in global assessments of the program's effectiveness"[126] than whether

the program is simply doing what it sets out to do. This is distinct from the broader

concerns of policy makers, who care more about overall effects of a program than the

strategies utilized to make the current project work as well as possible. Moreover, as an

organization intending to use evaluations to make ongoing, useful changes in its

programming, the *Adam Institute's* ideology reflects the concern that externally-driven

---

[125] Noa Mor, Personal Interview, December 23, 2004.
[126] Weiss, Evaluation, pp. 29.

outcome evaluations are often unused or disregarded once complete, and thus an unnecessary waste of time and resources.

In the case of *Hand in Hand* and IPCRI evaluations, it is not so much ideology of the organization that has prevented comprehensive evaluations from occurring (in fact, IPCRI's website indicates that it planned an evaluation of the entire peace education program, including an examination of the program's potential to strengthen the 'people-to-people' level of the peace process as a whole[127]). Rather, these evaluations were constrained by the goals and specific questions of the researchers examining the programs. The information available makes it impossible to determine whether the researchers' lack of a focus on the broad impact of these programs was due to ideological reasons; however, given the fact that evaluations were carried out externally and with independent sources of funding, one can speculate that interest lay in answering specific questions – the ones their research addressed – rather than determining whether these programs have been able to create an impact on ''peace writ large'' in the Israeli/Palestinian context.

Nonetheless, it is possible that the evaluators – as well as the organizations – would have preferred to carry out a more comprehensive impact evaluation, but were constrained by finite resources – another significant factor affecting the extent of evaluation, particularly in the context of non-profit organizations struggling to generate revenue for program funding. As Francis Caro states, "Given the often intangible and uncertain contribution of evaluative research, requests for evaluation funds may be the

---

[127] "IPCRI Peace Education 2003-2004: Evaluation." Accessed February 14, 2005. Available at: http://www.ipcri.org/

first to suffer in times of budget curtailment."[128] It is quite possible that funds allotted for

evaluation – either within the program budget, as in the case of the *Adam Institute*, or

externally to evaluators of the *Hand in Hand* and IPCRI programs – were simply

insufficient to conduct the extensive type of research needed to gauge the broad impact of

these peace education programs on 'peace writ large'.   This is particularly likely given

the fact that true attempts to measure long-term impact require lengthy, long-term studies,

which "could easily exceed the cost of the entire project."[129]

A final possibility for the dearth of broader impact assessments of these programs is

lack of knowledge on the part of the evaluators on how to evaluate the impact of peace

education programs on 'peace writ large'. This is not unique to evaluators of these

programs in particular: the issue of accurately assessing the impact of peace education

programs or other conflict resolution interventions on 'peace writ large' is one with

which the field as a whole struggles. Finding appropriate indicators and methodologies is

extremely difficult: as educator Ian Harris says, "Teachers can not follow their students

around to see whether they initiate efforts to bring peace to the world."[130] Even in the

larger field of conflict resolution, impact on the broader societal context is mostly

shunned: in their review of evaluation methodologies used for conflict resolution

interventions, Cheyanne Church and Julie Shouldice exclude any notion of determining

impacts on ''peace writ large',' stating that attempting to do so raises the bar too high for

---

[128] Francis G. Caro, "Issues in the Evaluation of Social Programs," *Review of Educational Research*, vol. 41, no. 2 (1971): 95.
[129] Ken Menkhaus, Measuring Impact: Issues and Dilemmas – A Discussion Paper. Davidson College: Paper Commission by WSP International (no date): 7.
[130] Ian Harris, "The Promises and Pitfalls of Peace Education Evaluation." Unpublished document (2004): 18.

most organizations and requires substantial, often unavailable, resources.[131] Given this, it

is not surprising that broad impact assessment has not taken place of *Hand in Hand,*

IPCRI, and *Adam Institute* programs.

Still, upon examination of these three programs – and more generally of the peace

education field – it is clear that there are possibilities for assessment of impact which

have not been taken advantage of in the organizations discussed above. For example,

evaluation research conducted on *Hand in Hand* schools utilized quantitative and

qualitative methods to determine the attitudes towards the conflict and towards 'the

Other' of students and parents of students participating in the program; however, no

assessment took place of the <u>change</u> in attitudes resulting from attendance at a *Hand in*

Hand school or exposure to members of other communities. Likewise, the *Adam*

Institute evaluations focused solely on the ability of participating students to understand

the concepts of democracy, without regard to whether internalization of these concepts

made any difference in the way students or teachers interact with members of minority

groups in Israel or how they respond to possible conflict situations. IPCRI's evaluations

are the only ones that touch on attitude change resulting from participation in dialogue

workshops or exposure to the peace education curriculum; however, little research has

been done to determine how participation creates change in the behavior of students or

how attitude changes in program participants affects people and structures surrounding

them.

In sum, the research on these case studies as well as on peace education

programming overall has resulted in a number of key realizations:

---

[131] Cheyanne Church and Julie Shouldice, "The Evaluation of Conflict Resolution Interventions: Framing the State of Play," pp. 39.

➢ First, evaluation *per se* still needs to be reinforced as a learning mechanism. None of these organizations have conducted any sort of summative evaluation, let alone one that focuses on impact of the programs. Only one of these organizations, the *Adam Institute*, has a clear justification for why evaluation does not occur: in the eyes of organization staff, impact just can't be assessed in the time frames and with the resources available. Since this is the case, the organization feels it makes more sense not to conduct impact assessment at all, rather than attempt to do so in a way that won't contribute to the field.

➢ Second, even those evaluations that do occur – in the case of IPCRI and *Hand in Hand* specifically, but also generally in the realm of conflict resolution/education programs – focus almost entirely on short-term change using indicators for attitude and behavioral change on the part of participants. None of these programs look at the long-term change in these participants or the effect that programs might have beyond the realm of direct beneficiaries (e.g. 'spillover,' in cost/benefit analysis terms, into other groups of people).

➢ Finally, there seems to be a lack of explicit understanding of why change *should* occur as a result of peace education. That is to say, peace education programs may be premised on valid theories, but these theories are rarely articulated in a way that makes the assumptions behind these programs clear. At the very least, it is necessary to understand why one *thinks* a program can have an impact before evaluating it; only when there is explicit of assumptions can their validity be assessed.

As demonstrated in their evaluation methods thus far, IPCRI, *Hand in Hand,* and the

Adam Institute currently lack the capacity for understanding program impact on 'peace

writ large.' However, this does not have to remain the case: Potential exists for each of

the organizations to shift its evaluation methodologies in a way that will allow future

assessments to gauge, at least in part, the broader impact of peace education programs.

The methods through which this can be done are the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding analysis demonstrates that assessment of impact on 'peace writ large' is entirely lacking from evaluations of the *Adam Institute, Hand in Hand,* and IPCRI peace education programs. In fact, evaluation as a whole seems to be missing from the peace education work of these organizations. Thus, the following discussion will incorporate both general recommendations for evaluation as well as specific suggestions for impact assessment. In particular, it will include discussion of appropriate evaluation design and articulation of theories underlying work, use of appropriate indicators, and some existing methodologies for making the connection between micro- and macro-levels of conflict; in other words, methodologies looking at the affect of conflict interventions on 'peace writ large'.

Evaluation Design

The first thing that must be considered is that the organizations examined, with the exception of the *Adam Institute,* have not undertaken any true evaluations of their work. Research conducted occurred independently by social science academics interested in various aspects of *Hand in Hand* and IPCRI's peace education programs. While this research is useful to the organizations, the framework in which social science research occurs differs significantly from that of practice-driven evaluations.

The reasons why organizations do not conduct evaluations are many and varied, and it is beyond the scope of this research to discuss them in any detail. However, it must be

stated that, in my eyes at least, the benefits of evaluation far outweigh their costs, particularly when organizations wish to have far-reaching impacts on society. Thus, the first recommendation is for the introduction of evaluation into the program framework of these three organizations, as a means of:

➢ Demonstrating accountability to funders and program beneficiaries;

➢ Assessing whether programs have met any or all of their stated objectives; and

➢ Creating concrete methods for sharing lessons learned and best practices with other organizations involved in similar work.

When evaluations are integrated into program design, the following should be kept in mind as general guidelines for conducting valid assessments:

➢ Generalizing from the project level to a national, regional, or even program level is difficult without sampling from a representative sample of the population. **Random sampling** allows for generalization to the entire population from which participants are drawn,[132] since the different ethnic/religious/cultural groups are reflected in the participant sample. Doing so is difficult considering the 'self-selected' groups involved, especially in *Hand in Hand's* programs. However, if it is not possible to interview or survey the entire group of program participants, random sampling can play a role in indicating beliefs or attitudes among different participant groups (males/females, Jews/Muslims/Arabs, etc). With respect to IPCRI and the *Adam Institute,* as long as the organizations attempt as much as possible to assure that participants reflect the diversity of the population, random sampling is significantly easier. Since both programs operate nation-wide, drawing a representative sample of the population should not be problematic.

---

[132] Weiss, Evaluation, pp. 165.

➤ Along with random sampling, **control groups** play a critical role in effective evaluation, as they provide a comparison and therefore "strengthen the extent to which…studies' results can lead to clear inference.[133] Although there are ethical questions surrounding the use of control groups in programs such as the ones examined, it is possible, at least in the short-term, to avoid moral dilemmas by evaluating entire classes participating in these organization's programs in comparison to similar classes which do not, but which may participate at a later date. (In the case of *Hand in Hand,* classes may be compared with similar classes in mainstream Israeli schools).

➤ In order to ensure the most effective analysis, **evaluation planning should occur when programs are designed**. This means not only writing evaluations into long-term project plans, but working with evaluators to build monitoring and evaluation elements into the project design and throughout its implementation. Moreover, this entails the creation of actual evaluation plans, rather than the independent research conducted thus far on IPCRI and *Hand in Hand* programs. For an organization such as the *Adam Institute,* which on principle does not conduct evaluation, a change in organizational culture may be necessary before this is possible; likewise, dramatic shifts may have to occur at IPCRI and the *Adam Institute.*

➤ **Time-frame** is a critical element for conducting effective impact evaluations. As Marc Sommers and John Paul Lederach point out, behavior change takes time to

---
[133] Maoz, "An Experiment in Peace: Reconciliation-Aimed Workshops of Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian Youth," pp. 733.

see.[134] It is therefore imperative that these organizations conduct longitudinal studies that examine attitude and behavior change, not only during and immediately following participants' exposure to programs, but also assess these changes at time intervals once the program ends. The length of time necessary to determine a program's effect on 'peace writ large' may vary, depending on how organizations define this effect. For an organization that wants to understand how exposure to and mutual respect for 'the Other' affects political reality, the time frame for evaluation may require ten or twenty years: time enough for those students participating in these programs to enter into political life and assert authority. On the other hand, for an organization such as *Hand in Hand*, which initially aims to have impact on parents and families of participating students, impact evaluation might be conducted over two or three years, through tracking incremental change in parental attitudes or openings for cross-community interaction. Given time, personnel, and resource limitations of any organization working in this field, one way through which long-term studies may occur is through collaboration with other peace-building organizations. This will at minimum allow organizations to see the cumulative effect of interventions over time; it may also allow tracking of the individual effects of different programs, with sufficiently sophisticated monitoring tools.

➢ **Technique** is likewise important in designing appropriate long-term evaluations. Several options are possible: for example, Marc Sommers suggests that case studies might be developed to examine how people struggle to solve problems

---

[134] Sommers, "Peace Education and Refugee Youth," pp. 131.

before and after receiving conflict resolution training.[135] This method might be

most applicable for the *Adam Institute*, whose programs are most geared to the

introduction of conflict resolution skills and understanding of democratic

concepts, rather than exposure to different groups in the conflict. Other

possibilities include the use of focus groups or interviews, as well as surveys.

No matter what method used, it is important that multiple sources are used,

allowing for *triangulation*, or verification of the validity of information.[136] This is

particularly important in conflict settings, where the 'facts' of the situation are

often in and of themselves in dispute, and multiple sources of information may be

necessary to gain a full understanding of the context.

Articulation of Appropriate Theories

For evaluations to be effective, organizations must clearly state both program

objectives and the theories underlying them; only in this way can they understand how

program assumptions complement (or contradict) underlying goals. As it currently

stands, "Little is known about the effectiveness of programmes for children and

adolescents to prevent intergroup conflict and promote positive human relations,"

primarily because little research has been conducted into the theory behind how these

programs work.[137] Evaluation of these types of programs should be closely linked to and

---

[135] Sommers, pp. 205.

[136] Conflict-Sensitive Approaches to Development, Humanitarian Assistance and Peacebuilding: Tools for Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment, Chapter 3, Module 3. International Alert, 2004. Accessed February 15, 2005. Available at: http://www.conflictsensitivity.org/resource_pack.html

[137] Lynn Hickey Schultz, Dennis J. Barr & Robert L. Selman, "The Value of a Developmental Approach to Evaluating Character Development Programmes: an outcome study of *Facing History and Ourselves*," *Journal of Moral Education*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2001): 4.

grounded in theories of human development that can link program effectiveness to the developmental process.[138]

The three peace education programs examined are, in fact, grounded in well-developed theories. However, these theories are implicit rather than explicit. *Hand in Hand* and IPCRI programs need to explicitly articulate the link between program objectives and the contact hypothesis, in particular focusing on how it is correctly applied in these programs according to the conditions established by Thomas Pettigrew.[139] The *Adam Institute* should articulate how internalization of democratic concepts is hypothesized to occur from cognitive, psycho-social, and moral points of view. Articulating this link will allow for assessment of whether all theory conditions are met and therefore whether the theories 'hold up' under given conditions.

It should be noted that these programs all function based on widely accepted theories of change; thus articulating how program objectives fit into underlying theoretical frameworks is a fairly easy first step for conducting effective evaluations. More difficult is making the link between long-term objectives of peace-building and theories of broad societal change. Part of this difficulty lies in the fact that these theories in and of themselves are not well-articulated: no common understanding exists of how to answer the question "What creates peace?" Nonetheless, organizations and programs that have an explicit objective of impacting 'peace writ large' should understand how this goal fits into the political and social context and in what ways the organizations may be able to affect change.

---

[138] Ibid.

[139] Pettigrew and Tropp, "Does Intergroup Contact Reduce Prejudice? Recent Meta-Analytic Findings," pp. 93-114.

This need reinforces the necessity for evaluation to be built into project design from the conceptualization stage. In particular, as part of program conceptualization, organizations should seek to understand the underlying dynamics of conflict in the region and plan programs strategically where they can have an impact. One method through which this can be done is through a process Simon Fisher and his colleagues call "Mapping for entry points," wherein organizations place themselves within the conflict dynamic and look for strategic possibilities for interventions that can create positive change.[140] A peace-building organization, for example, might find areas where communication between different sides in the conflict is blocked and realize that its programs are best suited to an intervention that attempts to renew or build relationships. Likewise, John Paul Lederach suggests mapping the "biggest picture possible" from which one can establish a baseline or point of entry.[141] In other words, he suggests that it is important to have a broad view of the conflict situation in order to understand how interventions might create change in the short- and long-term. It is possible that IPCRI, *Hand in Hand*, and the *Adam Institute* carry out this or other similar techniques before designing and implementing the programs examined. However, these strategies are not clearly articulated, thus weakening the validity of their overall program objectives. In future projects aiming to influence 'peace writ large', objectives should be clearly tied to strategic entry points for change as well as underlying theories of how this change will occur.

---

[140] Simon Fisher, Dekha Ibrahim Abdi, Jawed Ludin, Richard Smith, Steve Williams, and Sue Williams, Working With Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action. London: Zed Books, 2000: 63.
[141] Lederach, pp. 137-138.

Indicators and Methodologies

The past several years have seen a significant rise in interest in assessing the impact of both peace-building activities and of development activities in peace-building (to illustrate this, see the Berghof Handbook's Dialogue Series <u>Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment: Critical Views on Theory and Practice</u>, which draws together a number of scholars and practitioners on a debate over what has become a new buzzword in international work[142]). Particularly interesting and difficult has been the attempt to create verifiable indicators and general frameworks that can be used universally for assessing the way in which projects have either positive or negative impacts. Creating *project-specific* indicators of impact, however, is more viable; thus, for each of the programs examined in this study, it is possible, and important, to articulate verifiable measures of change.

From a psychological/developmental frame of reference, verifiable indicators need to be articulated at three levels: short-, medium-, and long-term change. Short-term indicators are the easiest to measure: these include immediate attitude and behavioral change on the part of program participants towards 'the Other' (particularly in the IPCRI and *Hand in Hand* programs), or, in the case of the *Adam Institute*, comprehension and internalization of those democratic concepts taught. In addition to research methods already utilized by these organizations, numerous measures exist for evaluating attitude and behavioral change. For example, the Center for Disease Control has published a

---

[142] Alex Austin, Martina Fischer, and Oliver Wils, Eds, <u>Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment: Critical Views on Theory and Practice</u>. Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series, Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management. Accessed February 28, 2005. Available at <u>http://www.berghof-handbook.net</u>

compendium of tools that can be used to asses changes in attitude related to violence.[143]

This publication contains over 100 survey tools and questionnaires that can be used to

examine changes in attitude resulting from participation in conflict resolution or peace

education interventions, such as those offered by IPCRI, the *Adam Institute*, or *Hand in*

Hand. Another possibility for examining short-term change is the "Relationship

Questionnaire," or "Rel-Q," developed by Robert Selman and Lynn Schultz at Harvard

University.[144] The Rel-Q is designed to assess psychosocial development in students

from grade 4 through grade 12 resulting from character education programs. Although

character education by definition is a rather nebulous term, the three peace education

programs examined fit into generally accepted usage of the phrase.[145] Thus, the Rel-Q

can be useful for IPCRI, *Hand in Hand,* or the *Adam Institute,* as well as other peace

education programs, as a way of assessing capacity for creating changed attitudes and

beliefs.

Medium-term change is indicated by sustained attitude and behavioral change on

the part of program participants or others indirectly affected by the program, as well as

(possible) initial spill-over effects to other individuals or groups of people. Again, the

time frame for measuring 'medium-term' change is variable. Under some circumstances,

six months may be considered enough time for participants to be sufficiently removed

---

[143] Linda L. Dahlberg, Susan B. Toal, and Christopher B. Behrens, Eds, Measuring Violence-Related Attitudes, Beliefs, and Behaviors Among Youth: A Compendium of Assessment Tools. Atlanta: Division of Violence Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Center for Disease Control, 1998.
[144] See: Schultz, Barr & Selman, "The Value of a Developmental Approach to Evaluating Character Development Programmes: an outcome study of *Facing History and Ourselves*," pp. 3-27. See also: Lynn Hickey Schultz, Robert L. Selman and Maria D. LaRusso, "The Assessment of Psychosocial Maturity in Children and Adolescents," *Journal of Research in Character Education,* vol. 1, no. 2 (2003): 67-87.
[145] The Character Education Partnership, for example, defines the phrase as "the deliberate effort by schools, families, and communities to help young people understand, care about, and act upon core ethical values." (http://www.emc.cmich.edu/CharacterEd/WhatIsIt.htm).

from program participation so that impacts are no longer considered immediate effects.

For example, Ifat Maoz's study of the IPCRI program included a follow-up survey at six months, designed to show medium-term program impact.[146] Each organization should establish at the time of program conceptualization the length and type – direct and spillover – of impact hoped to occur and a standard understanding of how long 'immediate' effects might last. With this understanding in hand, organizations can know at what time intervals follow-up studies should be conducted to evaluate medium-term change. These studies may include surveys (like those administered by Maoz) or other tools measuring continued effects on program participants as well as indirect effects on others.

Most difficult to articulate are long-term indicators, as they require resources to be invested in tracking program participants over considerable periods of time – resources often unavailable to small non-governmental organizations. This is not to say that long-term longitudinal studies are not possible; however, organizations must commit time and funding for these studies from the outset if they are serious about establishing institutional capacity to create long-term positive effects on participants. A further difficulty associated with long-term indicators is that they measure the effect of the program not only on participating individuals, but also the effect of changes in these individuals on people and societal structures surrounding them. However, verifiable measures do exist which can be used to assess this. For example, *Hand in Hand* might look at changed interaction among the parents of its students (as in, increased interaction between Jewish and Arab families) as a measure of societal change caused by

---

[146] Maoz, "An Experiment in Peace: Reconciliation-Aimed Workshops of Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian Youth," pp. 721-736.

participation in the program. Another long-term indicator for *Hand in Hand* participants might also be whether graduates of the schools send their own children to the same or similar programs. IPCRI can track its participants' activism in activities attempting to change structural institutions in Israeli or Palestinian society, as can the *Adam Institute*. Continued participation in such activities over time suggests that the programs have fulfilled the objective of creating a young population respecting the needs of others in their midst.

The difficulty with these and other long-term measures, however, is attribution: knowing whether participation in one of these programs is the cause of long-term behavioral change. For this reason, longitudinal studies using control groups are critical. If program participants are tracked over time and periodically, systematically surveyed alongside similar individuals who had no involvement with these organizations, it may be possible to know to some degree whether participation in *Hand in Hand*, IPCRI, or *Adam Institute* programs has had a long term effect. Given the number of events that can influence one's life and behavior, however, even this method is limited in its ability to comprehensively assess long-term program effectiveness.

Long-term change for program participants differs from program impact on society. Still, at the level of broader conflict resolution interventions, a number of methodologies exist for measuring the success of programs in positively impacting 'peace writ large'. With some modifications, several of these can be utilized for evaluating the peace education programs examined. To begin with, Marc Howard Ross uses a methodology entitled "Good Enough Conflict Management" as a way of measuring success of peace-building programs in affecting the context in which they

exist. For him, criteria for success include *duration* of change as well as shifts in language use.[147] Duration of change is an important measure of the strength of an intervention's impact, since increased time-frames allow for spill-over effects from program participants onto other individuals or groups. Language is important as well: according to Ross, one can gauge change "by being alert to specific changes in word choice and metaphors that are often detectable in the evolution of ethnic conflict."[148] This indicator can be used to gauge change at the individual as well as group level.

It is not difficult to see how these indicators can be adapted for use in peace education programs. In particular, observation of language shifts through interviews or focused questionnaires can be used to measure the program's success. What is necessary, however, is reaching beyond the immediate scope of program participants to see if changes have occurred more broadly. Thus, in addition to examining language or attitude shifts among students participating in these programs, it is necessary to distribute questionnaires or conduct interviews with family and community members: individuals who may be directly affected by program participants, thus indirectly affected by the program. Furthermore, these studies must be conducted over sufficient periods of time to determine how and if political or other events negate or reinforce positive changes caused by the programs.

The difficulty, as stated before, is determining causality: in other words, determining that the change is caused by the program itself and not by other factors. Still, careful observation or well-worded questions should be able to target the impact of particular programs in causing change, thus indicating the effects of these peace education

---

[147] Ross, pp. 35.
[148] Ross, pp. 38.

programs, as opposed to other factors. The questionnaires used by Zvi Bekerman to evaluate parental satisfaction with *Hand in Hand* schools, for example, asked specifically about parental happiness with children's friendships and visits to members of other national groups <u>resulting from their participation in the program</u>. Other questionnaires might ask participants what *they* see as the cause of change (in any) in their attitudes or behavior.

In order to address the larger questions of the impact of these programs on 'peace writ large', one methodology that seems extremely useful is that developed by Mary Anderson and Laura Olson as part of their publication <u>Confronting War: Critical Lessons for Peace Practitioners.</u> Anderson and Olson state that in order for an intervention to have an impact, it must affect both *key people* and *more people*, as well as causing not only *individual change*, but also change at the *socio-political* level (see Figure 1).[149] For example, a program that creates change only at the level of individual perceptions and attitudes will not really be able to impact 'peace writ large'. Nor will a program that targets large numbers of people, but not key decision-makers who can facilitate structural change. In order to be successful, programs must affect both the individual and socio-political (structural-institutional) level; they must also affect key stakeholders as well as a critical mass of the population.

---

[149] Mary B. Anderson and Lara Olsen, <u>Confronting War: Critical Lessons for Peace Practitioners.</u> Cambridge: The Collaborative for Development Action, Inc., 2003: 56.

FIGURE 1: Approaches to and Levels of Peace-Building[150]

	More People	Key People
Individual / Personal Level		
Socio-Political Level		
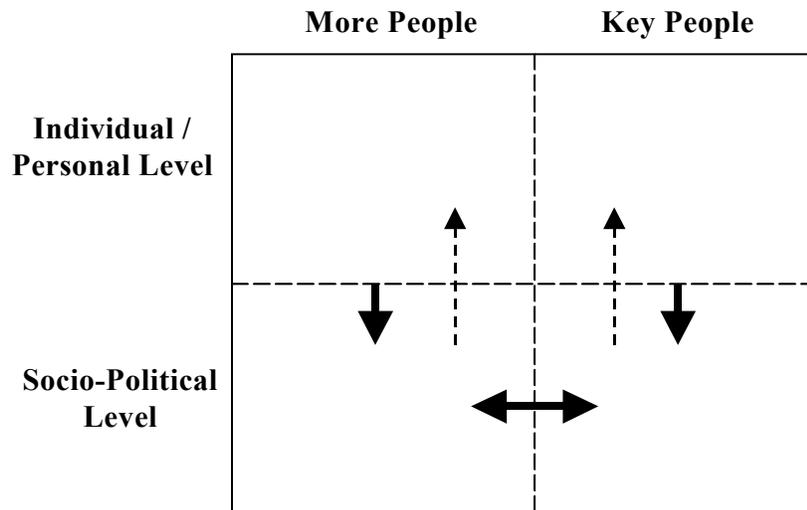
In order to evaluate their ability to affect 'peace writ large', peace education programs such as those implemented by IPCRI, the *Adam Institute,* and *Hand in Hand* can use the matrix depicted in Figure 1 as a basis for assessment. This will not create an understanding of *what* the impact of their programs are, but instead will demonstrate to the organizations whether the programs are designed in such a way that they affect all levels necessary and therefore will assess *whether* impact can occur. Questions that can be asked include:

➢ Are these programs having an impact on any individuals other than the children and adolescents participating? (For example, teachers, community members, families of those children involved)

---

[150] The bold arrows in this figure indicate the importance of creating programming that moves from the *individual/personal level* to the *socio-political level*, and from *more people* to *key people*. The dotted arrows indicate that a reciprocal move from the *socio-political level* to the *individual level* is sometimes, but not always, necessary.

- Through these programs, are any structural changes occurring in communities or at a regional or national level? (For example, in curriculum implemented through the Ministry of Education, or in the schools children in a particular community attend)

- Do these programs target decision-makers who might be able to have a 'multiplier' effect on the program's impact? (In this case, since the programs are youth-oriented, they may not target national or even community-level leaders. However, it is possible to examine whether they target leaders within the school and/or students who are active and well-respected within their own communities, who are likely to hold leadership roles later in life).

Mary Anderson lists other criteria of effectiveness for peace-building programs, some of which are applicable to the peace education programs examined. According to Anderson, a program is effective if[151]:

- It causes participants to take up initiatives for peace work on their own

- It contributes to reform/building of institutions that address grievances underlying conflict

- It enables people to resist violence or manipulation to violence

- It increases security of people and/or perceptions of security

Once peace education programs have been evaluated for their ability to affect change, these criteria can be used as a means of establishing whether they are successful in this endeavor. In the case of these programs, the criterion most applicable is the indicator mentioned earlier of participants taking up initiatives/becoming activists for peace in

---

[151] Mary Anderson, Experiences with Impact Assessment: Can We Know What Good We Do? Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management. Accessed February 28, 2005. Available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.net

Israel/Palestine. This is also most easily demonstrated in the short-term. However, it is possible that participant's perceptions of security and/or ability to resist violence personally may also be affected by the IPCRI, *Hand in Hand*, or *Adam Institute* programs. Thus, evaluations should focus on establishing whether this has occurred. Assessment can occur through either follow-up interviews or surveys distributed in the months and years following participation. Furthermore, this type of evaluation does not require a control group, as the focus is on what the program as a whole has accomplished in the creation of 'peace writ large', rather than on changes which have occurred in individual participants.

An evaluation model similar to that developed by Anderson and Olson is that used by the international NGO Search for Common Ground in its recent evaluation of the *Nashe Maalo* television program in Macedonia.[152] This television show, in which a series of characters from different ethnic backgrounds must manage their daily lives as residents in the same apartment building, was developed by Search for Common Ground with the intention of creating more positive attitudes among children towards members of different ethnic groups. Thus, the program's objectives in many ways mirror those of the peace education programs examined, particularly those of *Hand in Hand* and IPCRI.

Using a representative survey sample and a series of 16 focus group discussions, the *Nashe Maalo* evaluation attempted to assess changes in attitudes, knowledge, and behavior of children watching the television program, as well as mapping links between project outcomes and changes in social relations in Macedonia. According to the evaluation, this was done "by defining the extent to which new social models have been

---

[152] Emery Brusset and Ralf Otto (lead writers), <u>Evaluation of Nashe Maalo: Design, Implementation, and Outcomes – Social Transformation through the Media</u> (unpublished document). Search for Common Ground, December 2004.

assimilated; the extent to which new forms of interaction have taken place; and the extent

to which opportunities have been created for better relations, should the conflict escalate

once more."[153] In particular, the second component of the evaluation was based on a set

of priority areas which (through a conflict assessment) were viewed as areas the

television program might be able to influence.[154]

In order to assess the broader impact of the *Nashe Maalo* television series (a

process described in the evaluation as "Mapping the Conflict"), four evaluative questions

were utilized:[155]

➢ Strength: How influential is this program in society compared to other actors?

Which trends does it influence?

➢ Short-term impact: Has this program created new social models which are

reproduced or emulated further in society?

➢ Medium-term impact: As a result of this program, have new modes of interaction

occurred (e.g. discussion between groups that previously didn't talk to each

other)? Do significant numbers of people see these as important new contacts?

➢ Long-term impact: capacity building. As a result of this program what

institutions have been created or personnel trained, and what skills have been

improved upon that will allow for mitigation of new upsurges of violence? How

sustainable are the new capacities?

Through semi-structured interviews and research on the Macedonian context, the *Nashe*

Maalo evaluation examined each of these four areas, thus providing an assessment of the

program's ability to affect societal change, or in other words, impact 'peace writ large.'

---

[153] SFCG evaluation, pp. 4-5.
[154] Ibid., pp. 9.
[155] Ibid., pp. 30.

For example, the evaluation demonstrated that *Nashe Maalo* was able to build capacity

by supporting and training individuals working as producers, actors, and script-writers for

the program: individuals who "continue to work on related issues,"[156] despite the end of

this program.   Likewise, IPCRI, *Hand in Hand*, and the *Adam Institute* can use these

questions to evaluate in what areas and to what extent peace education programs have an

impact on the society in which they take place.

Other Issues to Consider

Although various methods and indicators have been presented for possible use by

the three case study organizations, as well as other peace education programs, some

outstanding issues remain.

First, it is important to remember that no one program or organization can on its

own create 'peace writ large' in a society or nation ravaged by conflict. For impact to

truly occur, many organizations must work strategically together, sharing best practices

and lessons learned, and each contributing in the areas where ability to create change is

greatest. In terms of evaluation, this means that a critical area to assess is an

organization's connection to other programs and organizations. Although the existence

of these connections does not necessarily indicate success in creating impact, it mitigates

the possibility of 're-inventing the wheel' and ensures that organizations are coordinating

in an attempt to address gaps in existing programming.

The need for connections reflects a larger issue, which is what kind of impacts

organizations have in mind when designing programs. Some organizations, such as the

Adam Institute, do not conduct impact evaluations on principle, instead focusing solely

---

[156] Ibid., pp. 63.

on monitoring frameworks that feed back into program design. This may indicate that the organization cannot have a measurable impact on 'peace writ large', or that it feels this impact cannot be measured. Rather, the organization may anticipate remaining in the realm of micro-level change. It may also see itself creating micro-level change that *eventually* will have a broader impact, but that in the immediate future is not measurable and therefore not worth attempting to assess. A question that has not been addressed in the course of this research, but that is important to consider, is whether a decision not to evaluate impact is acceptable, particularly given the ever-increasing need for accountability and demonstration of impact among non-profit organizations overall.

Finally, it is necessary to articulate some of the big picture questions remaining as a result of this study. Although the frameworks discussed above provide a method through which peace-building interventions can be integrated strategically into local and national contexts so that they have the *potential* to affect 'peace writ large,' universal indicators for examining *whether* they are able to are at a much lower level of development. Thus, this is one of the big questions still facing the field: particularly, how is it possible – or is it possible – to create indicators of change that span the spectrum of global conflicts? Are there universal indicators, or are indicators completely context-specific?

Other questions remaining include the following:

➢ How can broad-level change (or even change at a smaller, individual, short-term level) be attributed to a particular intervention?

- Where can we find with the financial and logistical resources for conducting long-term longitudinal studies that are able to track change in program participants, regardless of attribution abilities?

- How do individual changes expand to affect groups or structures in society in ways that can have a positive effect on peace writ large?

- How is it possible to convince organizations of the necessity for thorough analysis of conflict dimensions and strategic project implementation within a larger framework?

- Is there a role for community-based participation methods in evaluation techniques? Specifically, are there already existing indicators of interventions' impact on 'peace writ large,' but ones that can only be articulated by members of the community in which projects take place? If this is the case, how is it possible to get communities involved in project/evaluation design in a way that measures these indicators?

These questions lay the groundwork for further research, raising some of the issues that must still be addressed in order to understand what is necessary to evaluate the impact of conflict resolution interventions – particularly, peace education programs – on 'peace writ large.'

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis began with the wonderfully naïve and optimistic objective of understanding how organizations measure the impact of peace education programs on peace writ large, and with the aim of creating a model that could be used to do so. Several months and tens of pages later, I have been disappointed to find that not only is impact evaluation missing from peace education, but that evaluation overall is often lacking as a component of peace-building programs.

Although my research has not born out the existence of evaluation in the peace education programs examined, I have come away with a stronger belief than before that evaluations are integral to effective programming, and that the benefits of conducting well-designed evaluations greatly outweigh their costs. Granted, 'costs' from a financial point of view are what often limit or prevent evaluations from occurring. But from a larger point of view, the ability to understand and share lessons learned from intervention are a contribution to peace-building and development organizations working in the region – a great contribution. Failures need to be shared as much as do successes, so that organizations know what *not* to do in the future.

It is interesting to note that since I began this research, IPCRI has shifted the focus of its programming away from implementation of peace education activities towards the creation of a resource center for curriculum development and research.[157] In doing so, it has acknowledged that prior programming did not meet the organization's goals and aspirations. This acknowledgment, while disappointing in its own right, also

---

[157] See www.ipcri.org. Accessed April 3, 2005.

creates optimism: it demonstrates IPCRI's commitment to organizational learning and the Center's ability to learn from its mistakes. Moreover, it raises the hope that, having failed in its attempt to impact 'peace writ large' through one method, IPCRI will monitor and evaluate this new program in order to assess how well it meets the organization's goals.

<div align="center">***</div>

Given what I've learned through my research, it seems quite possible that at this stage, evaluating programs' impact on 'peace writ large' may not be feasible. For now, perhaps it is enough that organizations assess their work in a way ensuring that programs fit into a larger strategy for *enabling* 'peace writ large,' so that when administrations, governments, or contexts change, programs will not have been for naught. This still entails significantly more evaluation than what generally occurs, particularly evaluation of the three programs examined in detail here. It requires detailed, thorough assessments of the conflict dynamic and a complete understanding of how, theoretically, a program seeks to affect change. It also requires post-evaluations of how time-limited programs fit into the framework laid out before implementation. By doing this, organizations will be able to begin to understand how they can have an impact, so that future programs build on the lessons learned – and so that, eventually, 'peace writ large' might be achieved.

APPENDIX I:

USEFUL EVALUATION RESOURCES

<u>*On evaluation generally*</u>:

McNamara, Carter. "Basic Guide to Program Evaluation." Available at:
http://www.mapnp.org/library/evaluatn/fnl_eval.htm

McNamara, Carter. "Basic Guide to Outcomes-Based Evaluation." Available at:
http://www.mapnp.org/library/evaluatn/outcomes.htm

Posavac, Emil J. and Raymond G. Carey. <u>Program Evaluation: Methods and Case
Studies.</u> New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2003.

Weiss, Carol. <u>Evaluation: Second Edition.</u>   Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1998.

World Bank evaluation site. Available at:
http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/impact/overview/whatisie.htm
http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/impact/methods/designs.htm

<u>*On evaluation of conflict resolution interventions*</u>:

Austin, Alex, Martina Fischer, and Oliver Wils, Eds. <u>Peace and Conflict Impact
Assessment: Critical Views on Theory and Practice</u>. Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series,
Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management. Accessed February 28,
2005. Available at http://www.berghof-handbook.net

Church, Cheyanne and Julie Shouldice. "The Evaluation of Conflict Resolution
Interventions: Part II: Emerging Practice & Theory." Londonderry: INCORE
International Conflict Research, March 2003.

Dahlberg, Linda L., Susan B. Toal, and Christopher B. Behrens, Eds. <u>Measuring
Violence-Related Attitudes, Beliefs, and Behaviors Among Youth: A Compendium of
Assessment Tools.</u> Atlanta: Division of Violence Prevention, National Center for Injury
Prevention and Control, Center for Disease Control, 1998.

Harris, Ian. "Evaluating Peace Education." In *Journal for the Study of Peace and
Conflict* (2004): 18-32.

REFERENCES

Aber, J. Lawrence, Joshua L. Brown and Stephanie M. Jones. "Developmental Trajectories Toward Violence in Middle Childhood: Course, Demographic Differences, and Response to School-Based Intervention." In *Developmental Psychology*, vol. 39, no. 2 (2003): 324-348.

Abu-Nimer, M. "Education for Coexistence in Israel." *In* Abu-Nimer, M. Ed. Reconciliation, Justice and Coexistence: Theory and Practice. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books (2001): 235-254.

"Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace." Accessed January 11, 2005. Available at: http://www.adaminstitute.org.il/english/

Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace. "Purim Party" (Hebrew). Unpublished document.

Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace. "Purim Party – Answer Key" (Hebrew). Unpublished document.

Adam Institute for Democracy and Peace. "Purim Party – Exercise in Democracy" (Hebrew). Unpublished document.

Allport, Gordon W. The Nature of Prejudice. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958.

Anderson, Mary. Experiences with Impact Assessment: Can We Know What Good We Do? Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management. Accessed February 28, 2005. Available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.net

Anderson, Mary B. and Lara Olsen. Confronting War: Critical Lessons for Peace Practitioners. Cambridge: The Collaborative for Development Action, Inc., 2003.

Austin, Alex, Martina Fischer, and Oliver Wils, Eds. Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment: Critical Views on Theory and Practice. Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series, Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management. Accessed February 28, 2005. Available at http://www.berghof-handbook.net

Azar, E. E. The Management of Protracted Social Conflict. Hampshire, UK: Dartmouth, 1990.

Azar, E. E. "Protracted International Conflicts: Ten Propositions." In J. Burton and F. Dukes, Eds., Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990 (145-155).

Azar, Edward E., Paul Jureidini and Ronald McLaurin. "Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Practice in the Middle East." In *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1978): 41-60.

Ayoob, M. "State making, state breaking and state failure." In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall, Eds., <u>Managing Global Chaos</u>. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1996 (37-51).

Babbitt, Eileen F. "Evaluating Coexistence: Insights and Challenges." In Antonia Chayes and Martha Minow, Eds., <u>Imagine Coexistence: Restoring Humanity After Violent Ethnic Conflict</u>. Cambridge: Jossey-Bass, 2003 (102-127).

Bargal, David. "Education for Peace: Description, Conceptualization, and Evaluation of a Workshop for Palestinian and Jewish-Israeli Youth." Unpublished document. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Faculty of Social Sciences.

Bar-Tal, Daniel. "Psychological Dynamics of Intractable Conflicts." Accessed December 5, 2004. Available at: http://www.beyondintractability.org/m/psychological_dynamics.jsp

Baskin, Gershon and Zakaria al Qaq. <u>Creating a Culture of Peace</u>. Jerusalem: Israel/Palestine Centre for Research and Information, 1999.

Bekerman, Z., & G. Horenczyk. (unpublished). <u>Bilingual Education in Israel</u>. Interim Report, October 2000. School of Education Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Bekerman, Zvi and Gabriel Horenczyk. <u>Bilingual Education in Israel</u>. Final Report Submitted to the Ford Foundation and the Center for Bilingual Education in Israel, November 2001.

Bekerman, Zvi. "Never Free of Suspicion." In *Cultural Studies: New Methodologies*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2003): 136-147.

Bekerman, Zvi. "Potentials and Limitations of Multi-cultural Education in Conflict-Ridden Areas: Bilingual Palestinian-Jewish Schools in Israel." In *Teacher's College Record*, vol. 106, no. 3 (March 2004): 574-610.

Bekerman, Zvi and Nader Shhadi. "Palestinian-Jewish Bilingual Education in Israel: Its Influence on Cultural Identities and its Impact on Intergroup Conflict." In *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, vol. 24, no. 6 (2003): 473-484.

Bekerman, Zvi. "Values Questionnaire" (Hebrew). Unpublished document.

Bekerman, Zvi. "Questionnaire No. 2" (Hebrew). Unpublished document.

Bekerman, Zvi. *Personal communication*. January 12, 2005.

Bissell, R. "The resource dimension." In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall, Eds., <u>Managing Global Chaos.</u> Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1996 (141-153).

Biton, Yifat and Gavriel Salomon. ""Peace" in the Eyes of Israeli and Palestinian Youths as a Function of Collective Narratives and Participation in a Peace Education Program." University of Haifa: Center for Research on Peace Education, May 2004.

Biton, Yifat. "Questionnaire: Understanding the Concept of Peace" (Hebrew). Unpublished document.

Blalock, Hubert M. <u>Power and Conflict: Toward a General Theory</u>. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1989.

Bonisch, Alfred. "Elements of the Modern Concept of Peace." In *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 18, no. 2 (1981): 165-173.

Boulding, Kenneth E. "Stable Peace Among Nations: A Learning Process", in Elise Boulding, Clovis Brigagao and Kevin Clements, Eds., <u>Peace, Culture and Society: Transnational Research and Dialogue</u>. Boulder, CO, San Francisco and Oxford: Westview Press, 1991 (108–14).

Brunk, Conrad G. "Shaping a Vision: The Nature of Peace Studies." In Fisk, Larry and John Schellenberg, Eds., <u>Patterns of Conflict, Paths to Peace</u>. Ontario: Broadview Press, 2000 (11-33).

Brusset, Emery and Ralf Otto (lead writers). <u>Evaluation of Nashe Maalo: Design, Implementation, and Outcomes – Social Transformation through the Media</u> (unpublished document). Search for Common Ground, December 2004.

Burgess, Heidi and Guy M. Burgess. "What are Intractable Conflicts?" Accessed April 3, 2005. Available at: http://www.beyondintractability.org/m/meaning_intractability.jsp

Burton, J. <u>Conflict: Resolution and Provention</u>. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

Bush, Kenneth D. <u>A Measure of Peace: Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) Of Development Projects in Conflict Zones </u>(Working Paper No. 1). International Development Research Center: The Peacebuilding and Reconstruction Program Initiative & The Evaluation Unit, 1998.

Bush, Kenneth D. and Diana Saltarelli., Eds. <u>The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict</u>. Florence: United Nations Children's Fund Innocenti Research Centre, 2000.

Cain, Glen G. and Robinson G. Hollister. "The Methodology of Evaluating Social Action Programs." In Rossi, Peter H. and Walter Williams, Eds., Evaluating Social Programs: Theory, Practice, and Politics. New York and London: Seminar Press, 1972 (109-137).

Cairns, Ed and Miles Hewstone. "Northern Ireland: The Impact of Peacemaking in Northern Ireland on Intergroup Behavior." In Gavriel Salomon and Baruch Nevo, Eds., Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices Around the World. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002 (217-228).

Carment, David. "The International Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Concepts, Indicators and Theory." In *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1993): 137-150.

Caro, Francis G. "Issues in the Evaluation of Social Programs." In *Review of Educational Research*, vol. 41, no. 2 (April 1971): 87-114.

Church, Cheyanne and Julie Shouldice. "The Evaluation of Conflict Resolution Interventions: Framing the State of Play." Londonderry: INCORE International Conflict Research, October 2002.

Church, Cheyanne and Julie Shouldice. "The Evaluation of Conflict Resolution Interventions: Part II: Emerging Practice & Theory." Londonderry: INCORE International Conflict Research, March 2003.

Coleman, Peter T. "Intractable Conflict." In M. Deutsch and P.T. Coleman, Eds., The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2000 (428-450).

Conflict-Sensitive Approaches to Development, Humanitarian Assistance and Peacebuilding: Tools for Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment. International Alert, 2004. Accessed February 15, 2005. Available at: http://www.conflictsensitivity.org/resource_pack.html
Coser, Lewis. The Functions of Social Conflict. New York: The Free Press, 1956.

Davies, Lynn. Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos. London and New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004.

Dahlberg, Linda L., Susan B. Toal, and Christopher B. Behrens, Eds. Measuring Violence-Related Attitudes, Beliefs, and Behaviors Among Youth: A Compendium of Assessment Tools. Atlanta: Division of Violence Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Center for Disease Control, 1998.

DiFrancesca, James, Chris Soderquist and Rebecca Dale. "A Heuristic Model on the Role of Education in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies." Paper prepared for the *22nd Systems Dynamics Conference.* Keble College, Oxford: July 2004.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. "Ethnic Identity, National Identity, and Intergroup Conflict."
In R.D. Ashmore, L. Jussim, and D. Wilder, Eds., Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict,
and Conflict Resolution. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001 (42-67).

Esman, Milton J. "Political and Psychological Factors in Ethnic Conflict." In Joseph V.
Montville, Ed., Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies. New York:
Macmillan, Inc., 1991 (53-64).

Feuerverger, G. Oasis of Dreams: Teaching and Learning Peace in a Jewish-Palestinian
Village in Israel. New York: Routledge Falmer, 2001.

Fisher, Simon, Dekha Ibrahim Abdi, Jawed Ludin, Richard Smith, Steve Williams, and
Sue Williams. Working With Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action. London: Zed
Books, 2000.

Fisk, Larry J. "Shaping Visionaries: Nurturing Peace Through Education." In Larry Fisk
and John Schellenberg, Eds., Patterns of Conflict, Paths to Peace. Ontario: Broadview
Press, 2000 (159-193).

Flannery, Daniel J., Alexander T. Vazsonyi, Albert K. Liau, Shenyang Guo, Kenneth E.
Powell, Henry Atha, Wendy Vesterdal, and Dennis Embry. "Initial Behavior Outcomes
for the PeaceBuilders Universal School-Based Violence Prevention Program." In
Developmental Psychology, vol. 39, no. 2 (2003): 292-308.

Fry, Douglas P. and C. Brooks Fry. "Culture and Conflict-Resolution Models: Exploring
Alternatives to Violence." In Fry, Douglas P. and Jaj Björkqvist, Eds., Cultural Variation
in Conflict Resolution. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1997
(9-23).

Galtung, Johan. "Peace education: learning to hate war, love peace and to do something
about it". In *International Review of Education*, vol. 29, no. 3 (1983): 281–7.

Galtung, Johan. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research". In *Journal of Peace Research*,
vol. 6, no. 1 (1969): 167–91.

Glazier, Jocelyn Anne. "Collaborating with the "Other": Arab and Jewish Teachers
Teaching in Each Other's Company." In *Teacher's College Record*, vol. 106, no. 3
(March 2004): 611-633.

Gurr, T. R. "Minorities, nationalists, and ethnopolitical conflict." In C.A. Crocker, F.O.
Hampson, & P. Aall, Eds., Managing Global Chaos. Washington, D.C.: United States
Institute of Peace, 1996 (53-77).

Habicht, J.P., C.G. Victoria and J.P. Vaughan. "Evaluation designs for adequacy,
plausibility and probability of public health programme performance and impact." In
International Journal of Epidemiology, vol. 28 (1999): 10-18.

Hamburg, David A. and Beatrix A. Hamburg. <u>Learning to Live Together: Preventing Hatred and Violence in Child and Adolescent Development</u>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

"The Hand in Hand Mission." Accessed January 10, 2005. Available at: http://www.handinhand12.org/TheCente/TheCente.html

"The Hand in Hand Schools." Accessed January 10, 2005. Available at: http://www.handinhand12.org/TheSchoo/Schoos.html

Harkvoort, I. "Children's Conceptions of Peace and War: A Longitudinal Study." In *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, vol. 2 (1996): 1-15.

Harris, Ian. "Conceptual Underpinnings of Peace Education." In Gavriel Salomon and Baruch Nevo, Eds., <u>Peace Education.</u> New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates (2002): 15-26.

Harris, Ian. "Evaluating Peace Education." In *Journal for the Study of Peace and Conflict* (2004): 18-32.

Harris, Ian. "The Promises and Pitfalls of Peace Education Evaluation." Unpublished document, 2004.

Heyneman, Stephen P. "The Transition from Party/State to Open Democracy: The Role of Education."   In *International Journal of Educational Development,* Vol. 18, No. 1 (1998): 21-40.

Hicks, David. "Understanding the Field." In <u>Education for Peace: Issues, Principles, and Practice in the Classroom</u>. New York: Routledge (1988): 3-19.

Hoffman, Mark. "PCIA Methodology: Evolving Art Form or Practical Dead End?" In Austin, Alex, Martina Fischer, and Oliver Wils, Eds. <u>Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment: Critical Views on Theory and Practice</u>. Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series, Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management: 11-36. Accessed February 28, 2005. Available at http://www.berghof-handbook.net

House, Ernest R. <u>Professional Evaluation: Social Impact and Political Consequences</u>. Newbury Park: SAGE Publications, 1993.

"Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information." Accessed January 14, 2005. Available at: http://www.ipcri.org/index1.html

Johnson, Laurie and Sheelagh Murnaghan. <u>The Impact of Integrated Education on Students' Tolerance of Diversity: An Ethnographic Study</u>. Londonderry: INCORE, 2000.

Julius, Demetrios A. "The Genesis and Perpetuation of Aggression in International Conflicts." In Volkan, Vamik D., Demetrios A. Julius and Joseph V. Montville, Eds., The Psychodynamics of International Relationships. Volume 1: Concepts and Theories. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990 (97-109).

Kelman, Herbert C. "Social-psychological Dimensions of International Conflict." In I. W. Zartman and L. Rasmusen, Eds., Peacemaking in International Conflict. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1997 (191-237).

King, Bert T and Elliott McGinnies, eds. Attitudes, Conflict, and Social Change. New York and London: Academic Press, 1972.

Kriesberg, Louis. Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.

Kriesberg, Louis. "Nature of Intractability." Accessed December 5, 2004. Available at: http://www.beyondintractability.org/m/nature_intractability.jsp

Langston, Wyndham Reed. "Creating Peace in Schools: The Internal Struggle to Evaluate a Peacemaking Program" (unpublished document). Cambridge: Harvard Graduate School of Education, 2004.

Lederach, John Paul. Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2002.

Leming, James S. "The Influence of Contemporary Issues Curricula on School-Aged Youth." In *Review of Research in Education*, vol. 18 (1992): 111-161.

Levy, Jack. "Contending Theories of International Conflict: A levels-of analysis approach." In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, and P. Aall, Eds., Managing Global Chaos. Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1996 (3-24).

Lund, Michael. Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996.

Machel, Graça. Impact of Armed Conflict on Children: Report of the expert of the Secretary-General, Ms. Graça Machel, submitted pursuant to General Assembly resolution 48/157. UN General Assembly: A/51/306, 26 August 1996.

Maoz, Ifat. "An Experiment in Peace: Reconciliation-Aimed Workshops of Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian Youth." In *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 37, no. 6 (2000): 721-736.

Maoz, Ifat. "Conceptual Mapping and Evaluation of Peace Education Programs: The Case of Education for Coexistence Through Intergroup Encounters Between Jews and Arabs in Israel." In Gavriel Salomon and Baruch Nevo, Eds., Peace Education. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates (2002): 259-270.

Maroshek-Klarman, Uki. "The Education Process in Adam Institute Workshops." Israel: The Adam Institute, June 1999.

McEvoy, Siobhan. "Communities and Peace: Catholic Youth in Northern Ireland." In *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 37, no. 1 (January 2000): 85-103.

Menkhaus, David. "Measuring Impact: Issues and Dilemmas." Paper Commissioned by WSP International (no date).

Minow, Martha. "Education for Coexistence." In Antonia Chayes and Martha Minow, Eds., Imagine Coexistence: Restoring Humanity After Violent Ethnic Conflict. Cambridge: Jossey-Bass, 2003: 213-234.

Mohr, Lawrence B. Impact Analysis for Program Evaluation. Newbury Park: SAGE Publications, 1992.

Mor, Noa. *Personal communication*. December 23, 2004 and January 19, 2005.

Montville, Joseph V. Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies. New York: Macmillan, Inc., 1991.

Moses, Rafael. "On Dehumanizing the Enemy." In Volkan, Vamik D., Demetrios A. Julius and Joseph V. Montville, eds. The Psychodynamics of International Relationships. Volume 1: Concepts and Theories. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990 (111-118).

Nevo, Baruch and Iris Brem. "Peace Education Programs and the Evaluation of their Effectiveness." In Gavriel Salomon and Baruch Nevo, Eds., Peace Education. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates (2002): 271-282.

Paffenholtz, Thania. Designing Transformation and Intervention Processes. Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management. Accessed February 28, 2005. Available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.net

Pettigrew, Thomas F. "Intergroup Contact Theory." In *Annual Review of Psychology*, vol. 49 (1998): 65-85.

Pettigrew, Thomas F. and Linda R. Tropp. "Does Intergroup Contact Reduce Prejudice? Recent Meta-Analytic Findings." In Stuart Oskamp, Ed., Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers (2000): 93-114.

Porter, Jack Nusan and Ruth Taplin. <u>Conflict and Conflict Resolution</u>. Lanham, New York, and London: University Press of America, 1987.

Posavac, Emil J. and Raymond G. Carey. <u>Program Evaluation: Methods and Case Studies.</u> New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2003.

Pruitt, Dean G. and Sung Hee Kim. Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate, and Settlement, Third Edition. New York: McGraw Hill, 2004.

Ross, Karen. <u>The Impact of Unofficial Interventions on Protracted Conflict.</u> Unpublished document: The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, May 2004.

Ross, Marc Howard. "'Good Enough' Isn't So Bad: Thinking About Success and Failure in Ethnic Conflict Management." In *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology,* vol. 6, no. 1 (2000): 27-47.

Rossi, Peter H. and Walter Williams, Eds. <u>Evaluating Social Programs: Theory, Practice, and Politics</u>. New York and London: Seminar Press, 1972.

Salomon, Gavriel. "Does Peace Education Make a Difference in the Context of an Intractable Conflict?" In *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, vol. 10, no. 3 (2004): 257-274.

Salomon, Gavriel. Unpublished document, Center for Research on Peace Education, 2004.

Schultz, Lynn Hickey, Dennis J. Barr & Robert L. Selman. "The Value of a Developmental Approach to Evaluating Character Development Programmes: an outcome study of *Facing History and Ourselves*." In *Journal of Moral Education*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2001): 3-27.

Schultz, Lynn Hickey, Robert L. Selman and Maria D. LaRusso. "The Assessment of Psychosocial Maturity in Children and Adolescents." In *Journal of Research in Character Education,* vol. 1, no. 2 (2003): 67-87.

Sinclair, Margaret. <u>Learning to Live Together</u> (unpublished document). April 2004

Slavin, Robert E. and Robert Cooper. "Improving Intergroup Relations: Lessons Learned from Cooperative Learning Programs." In *Journal of Social Issues,* vol. 55, no. 4 (1999): 647-663.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove. "Introduction." In Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove, Ed., <u>Multilingualism for All</u>. The Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger B.V. (1995): 7-20.

Smith, Alan and Alan Robinson. <u>Education for Mutual Understanding: The Initial Statutory Years</u>. Coleraine: University of Ulster, 1996. Accessed November 27, 2004. Available at: http://www.ccruni.gov.uk/research/csc/mutual.htm

Sommers, Mark. "Peace Education and Refugee Youth." In <u>Learning for a Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries.</u> Geneva: UNHCR (2001): 163-216.

Splett, Patricia L. <u>The Practitioner's Guide to Cost-Effectiveness Analysis of Nutrition Interventions</u>. Arlington, VA: National Center for Education in Maternal and Child Health, 1996.

Summerfield, Derek. "The Nature of Conflict and the Implications for Appropriate Psychosocial Responses." Accessed October 26, 2004. Available from: http://earlybird.qeh.ox.ac.uk/rfgexp/rsp_tre/student/natconf/toc.htm

Staub, Ervin. "Individual and Group Identities in Genocide and Mass Killing." In R.D. Ashmore, L. Jussim, and D. Wilder, Eds., <u>Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Resolution.</u> Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001 (159-184).

Stewart, Frances. "The Root Causes of Humanitarian Emergencies" in: Nafziger, E.W., Frances Steward and Raimo Varynen, Eds., <u>War, Hunger and Displacement: The Origins of Humanitarian Emergencies</u>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000 (1-41).

Tal-Or, Nurit, David Boninger, and Faith Gleicher. "Understanding the Conditions and Processes Necessary for Intergroup Contact to Reduce Prejudice." In Gavriel Salomon and Baruch Nevo, Eds., <u>Peace Education.</u> New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates (2002): 89-108.

Taylor, Laurence. "Good Monitoring and Evaluation: Guidance Notes." Birmingham: *The Performance Assessment Resource Centre*, October 2001.

Triandis, Harry C. "The Impact of Social Change on Attitudes." In King, Bert T and Elliott McGinnies, Eds., <u>Attitudes, Conflict, and Social Change</u>. New York and London: Academic Press, 1972 (127-136).

Uvin, Peter. <u>Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda</u>. West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1998.

Vasquez, John A. "Toward a Unified Strategy for Peace Education: Resolving the Two Cultures Problem in the Classroom." In *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 20, no. 4 (December 1976): 707-728.

Volkan. Vamik D. "Psychoanalytic Aspects of Ethnic Conflicts." In Montville, Joseph V., Ed., <u>Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies</u>. New York: Macmillan, Inc., 1991 (81-92).

Volkan, Vamik D., Demetrios A. Julius and Joseph V. Montville, Eds. The Psychodynamics of International Relationships. Volume 1: Concepts and Theories. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990.

Weiss, Carol. Evaluation: Second Edition.   Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1998.