

1-1-2017

# The Influence of Innate Behavioral Predispositions on Conflict Stakeholder Interactions in Mediation: The Camp David Accords of 1978

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The Influence of Innate Behavioral Predispositions on Conflict Stakeholder Interactions  
in Mediation: The Camp David Accords of 1978

by

Stephen David Merson

A Dissertation Presented to the  
College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences of Nova Southeastern University  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Nova Southeastern University  
2017

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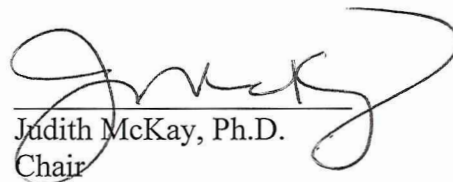
Stephen David Merson  
July 2016

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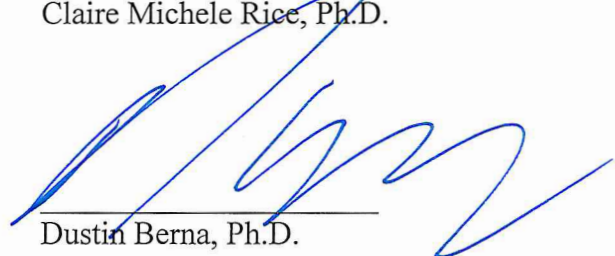
This dissertation was submitted by Stephen David Merson under the direction of the chair of the dissertation committee listed below. It was submitted to the College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences and approved in partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Nova Southeastern University.


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July 13, 2016  
Date of Defense

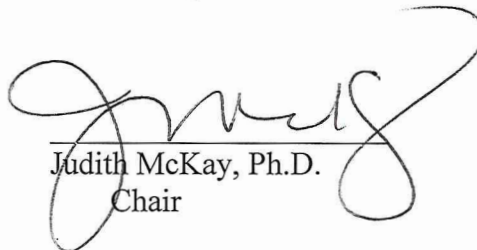
  
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## Dedication

As is always the case of a lecturer, I would like this dedication to be presented in three parts. Without question this work is dedicated to my family without whose support, it would never be possible. My wife Nikki has always pushed me to achieve greatness and made me aspire to be the man I could be. She is my inner voice that tells me never quit, always move forward, I will always be proud regardless.

The second part of my dedication goes to all the adjunct professors who serve as the backbone of so many colleges and universities but receive little recognition for their efforts and little compensation for their sacrifices. This dissertation is a testament to their casting off obstacles and reaching for a higher level of achievement that ultimately benefits their students to whom they pledge their professional lives. Rarely mentioned in political speeches within the class of teachers, it is the adjunct that probably provided a significant amount of training and knowledge to that politician, who has forgotten from whom the knowledge came. Fight on my colleagues, better times are ahead.

Finally, to the Bethlehem Starbucks on Shoenersville Road that provided a quiet place for me to work, and a staff that tended to my every need for iced tea and cookies. My completion of this research and my nutrition was their investment in my future. They receive little credit for all those writers and researchers they take care of, but their enthusiasm also played a part in this dissertation. Thank you all!

## Acknowledgments

This research and the resulting dissertation would not have been possible without the continued support, and friendship, of the members of my committee. To my chair Dr. Judith McKay who has provided a continued source of strength and somehow knew how to handle the emotional misgivings and shadows of this 'seasoned' student. Her steady hand and advice kept me moving forward not allowing him to fall into the abyss of doubt and academic fear.

Dr. Dustin Berna has been a source of many things over these years from teacher, to colleague to friend. He was full of surprises during class, and sometimes outside of class that kept this academic adventure fresh and challenging. To those on the outside who were witness to some of our exchanges, I think we really do like each other despite what you may have perceived. He has always been there when I was fearful.

Dr. Jason Campbell. A new comer while I had been at Nova for a while, your classes and advice gave me new perspectives from which to view not only this work, but also my own lectures given over my past twenty five years as an educator. Your embracing of your topic encourages students to achieve their best and to see things from many other perspectives leading to a more informed society.

Dr. Michele Rice, how many discussions have we had about this work and just our lives in general. Your help on this project deserves more appreciation than can be written on a single page, and as you know in my case a single page is an impossibility anyway. You taught me how to present things in a way that others can understand, you brought me out of academic shell that tends to insulate us from our students and lessens

their capacity to absorb what we offer to them in the classroom.

Finally, Dean Yang. How many years has it been since we first met and you told me you thought my work was 'interesting.' Your simple word made my academic life at Nova meaningful and productive. We have shared many ideas and many possibilities and I hope that those can somehow be realized bringing research in the field to the forefront for anyone it touches.

Thank you all. Now it's time for this old guy to go off into the sunset and do the great things you have trusted me to do. I hope I can make you all proud.

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## Abstract

This constructivist grounded theory study explored the possibility that early socio-cultural experience, in concert with innate cognitive mechanisms, are essential components of a dual process of decision-making. Each element may influence conflict actors toward predictable predispositional behaviors that manifest as bias. Specifically, we are concerned that these biases will influence the perceived and actual neutrality of the principle mediator thus compromising a mediation success. The presence of these predispositions in both mediators and conflict stakeholder challenges the validity of the conclusions in other research that does not consider the true impact of cultural dissonance on more than a superficial insinuation of social facts. This was accomplished through interrogating data yielded through content analysis of the actors' use of language both spoken and written utilizing the techniques used in grounded theory studies.

## Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

### **Background**

The impetus for this study followed a theme observed consistently during my studies in conflict analysis that cheered the success of mediation in bringing resolution to many different types of disputes both large and small. These same authors were adherents to the traditional methodologies used in addressing the dynamics assumed to be inherent to any conflict. Initially, the methods seemed reasonable within my understanding of social interactions gained from more than a quarter of a century teaching social science, particularly as it regards social theory, the sociology of war and the sociology of deviance. I was certain that the study of resolution would serve the role as a dedicated servant to those disciplines.

As a sociologist, I had always viewed ones' cultural environment as an external interactive variable, a Durkheimian "social fact," framed in the same way as did historic members of the Chicago School like Cooley and Meade. Culture was studied as some "thing" that could be detached from the individual, quantifiable and manipulable; something external to the social actor that played upon and defined our understanding of the social world. Reading the works of anthropologists like Franz Boas, A. L. Kroeber, Ruth Benedict, and Edward Sapir, who focused their attention on the uniqueness of different cultural groups throughout the world, or parsing the anthropological arena into material and non-material elements, each also treated their respective "culture" as a thing that impacted the individual from the outside. To them, it was this culture that contributed to how a human actor "defined" or "perceived" their world and, as we will see below, caused the actor to establish evolving semiotic principles for sociolinguistics.



In effect, these scientists remained on the outside looking in, prioritizing and anthropomorphizing externalities as a comprehensive explanation for observed behavior. While admittedly their experimental lens was ground during an era of minimal technology that may have served to clarify their theoretical positions, their work only paid scarce attention to evolved human capacities in terms of the actions they observed. Ironically, early cognitive scientists like Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg, who described a stage-like evolution of cognitive development in their schema (Kohlberg, 1969; Kohlberg, Tooby, & Cosmides, 2001; Piaget, 1952), addressed those definitional variables again as externalities. Kohlberg and Piaget began to conceptualize the notion that outside influences were interacting with certain cognitive machinery inherent to the actor. In effect they were positing that these external influences have little to no value without the innate perceptions of the individual embedded within them.

My own “abductive moment” (Peirce, 1931-5, 1958; Walton, 2005) occurred following the consecutive readings of three disciplines, done one day to pass the time sitting in a café in Annapolis, Maryland. I had been reading a text on critical theory by Held (1980) who promoted a notion similar to Rohner (1969). First, that a prerequisite to the acquisition and understanding of knowledge is tradition and history; second, that history cannot escape the burdens of tradition; third, since individuals are products of their resident history and tradition, and since history is a constantly changing context, that the act of understanding is also ever-changing; fourth, the act of an individual understanding history and tradition is the mechanism by which it moves forward; fifth, the act of understanding is therefore never complete, that is, we are always learning new things as we experience new things. Finally, understanding is not exclusively a method of

approaching a social subject, new or historic, but is a prerequisite to being in the world (Held, 1980).

Prior to becoming a social scientist, my academic focus was biological science. I took great pleasure in reading about the physiology and mechanical mechanisms in humans, how they moved but most importantly, the systems that allowed them to think and process experiences neurologically that led to certain behaviors. This, in conjunction with a senior thesis on the dysfunctions evident of Alzheimer's disease and subsequently reading the anthology of Phineas Gage (Damasio, Grabowski, Frank, Galaburda, & Damasio, 1994; Harlow, 1948) whose brain injury led to miraculous advances in the neurosciences, I was fascinated (and thankful) watching my own children and how they were able to take so few words and formulate massive amounts of abstractions in storytelling. Equally as fascinating was their capacity for considering the importance of certain words in the forming of weighted concepts that may serve to convince, fool or manipulate their father! How was it possible for such a small child with limited experience and exposure to the social environment already know the value of conceptual abstractions while having a grasp on so few linguistic elements?

This played well when they had a desire for something they knew logically they could not have, or to transform a scenario to their advantage by "bending" their perceived truths. I was increasingly captivated by how they reacted in ways predicted by Piaget and Kohlberg decades before since my kids were growing up in the times of progressive childrearing of the 1970's. But at the same time, they seemed to have an innate capacity, or a neurologically hardwired understanding of what was right and wrong. It was important that I understood how these things happened, what the process was beyond

what early researchers had theorized. Indeed, new methods of evaluation were availing themselves each day and it was incumbent upon me as a scientist to test the limits of traditional theory.

Indeed, how those little developing brains processed what they had heard, and what appeared to be an inherent sense of how to respond to certain people positively or negatively, but more importantly, how they expressed those thoughts and feelings through language became a great passion of observation. To satisfy my own curiosity, and perhaps in an academically nostalgic moment, I was also reading Noam Chomsky's work on Universal Grammar (1965, 1975) and gleefully discovered that in fact, my children and by evolutionary design, all humans regardless of geography, were born with an evolved innate neural machinery that allows for the acquisition, interpretation and utilization of language; some neural capacity that is activated and edited through social interactions (West-Eberhard, 2003; Grice, 1989).

Finally, in preparation for a class, I was reading a study by the late Jacob Bercovitch and his student Berend Beber (2010), now a professor at NYU. While examining various forms of mediation strategies, they made the off-handed comment that for all of its positive influences and historic utilization, mediation remained rather lackluster in its measurable long-term success in the international peace-making arena; something repeated in other mediation research findings (Beber, 2010; Grieg & Diehl, 2012; Salem, 1993). This was a conclusion reached in more than only international mediation research but also in the organizational conflict literature (Bielby & Bielby, 1999; Perrow, 1986). They reviewed the problems inherent to cross-cultural mediations as had Augsburger (1992) and others (Avruch & Black, 1993; Beber, 2012; Bercovitch &

Oishi, 2010; Cohen, 1997; Ting-Toomey, 2001), as well as the assumptions made by Allport (1954) in his classic study of contact theory. It was then that the “abductive moment” that Charles Sanders Peirce (1931-5, 1958) had discussed in his work in pragmatism availed itself.

Knowing that there is an innate neurological machinery resident to all human beings that allows them to capture, process and assign some level of behavior mitigating value to external stimuli relative to their perception of the world (Bigler et al., 2007; Cáceda, James, Ely, Snarey, & Kilts, 2011; Grice, 1989; Laitin, 1977; West-Eberhard, 2003), and having read that this machinery served to promote and prioritize social interaction (Churchland, 2011; Haidt & Joseph, 2004; Robertson, et al., 2007; Tomasello, 2008) and finally, that people, like my own children seemed to instinctually “react” to certain people and situations without thinking, I wondered if a combination of these factors could somehow impact the way in which mediations progress. In short, I wondered if there was something in a mediator’s or a conflict stakeholder’s experience that would preclude their constructive participation in a mediation leading to the Bercovitch observations. Further, is this “thing”: something that can be identified and acted upon reminiscent of early considerations of culture?

Perhaps they simply did not like each other or like the schoolyard relationships in our past, liked one more than the other. But the question then followed, what is it about a person we have never met that causes us to like or dislike them immediately and how might this impact future interactions with that individual or someone who might remind us of that individual; a phenomenon we have all been subject to. Mediators today, often have not had previous experience with other conflict stakeholders, so is there something

that they inherently and unconsciously sense about the people across the table upon their first face-to-face meeting or perhaps acquired during their preparation for the mediation that triggers some unexplainable sense of moral judgement of the other stakeholders, and if so, how does that impact the proceedings and the outcome of the mediation event? A logical follow-up question is where does that feeling come from without the experience necessary to construct an experience-based opinion?

This study applies these preliminary observations to the field of mediation. In order to make explicit the presumed interplay between evolved innate cognitive mechanisms and outside socio-cultural influences, I interrogated information that describes the interaction of world leaders in pursuit of a lasting peace between two Biblically historical disputants, Israel and Egypt. Specifically, this study examines the interactions between Jimmy Carter, the U.S. President and the Accord's "neutral" mediator, Anwar al-Sadat, the President of Egypt, and Menachem Begin, the Prime Minister of Israel: the latter two serving as the conflict disputants during the 1978 Camp David Accords. The study pays close attention to the similarities and differences between the personal and social evolution of these three men, the situation they found themselves in and how these may have led to the innate cognitive processes of each, creating predispositional behaviors that subsequently impacted interpersonal dynamics and ultimately the mediation event.

The study demonstrated a conceptual bridge between innate cognitive processes and the impact of external influences as manifest by certain behaviors or more importantly, behavioral predispositions as biases and how they are expressed, it then allowed for the construction of a procedure to select mediators in a 'best-match' scenario,

thus increasing mediation efficacy. Initially then, the study posed the following research questions that will guide its inquiry:

1. Is there an observable difference in situational responses between conflict stakeholders that can be attributed to differences in their socio-cultural history?
2. Are these differences in situational responses a result of individual perceptions whose value is grounded in socio-cultural experiences?
3. Are these perceptions a result of the interplay between evolved cognitive mechanisms and the socio-cultural experiences unique to the individual?
4. Is the result of this interplay manifest in particular situational preferences important to social interactions and therefore to mediation events?

### **Context of the Study**

Earlier research efforts by conflict researchers have identified important operational elements that provide a foundation on which to build different strategies for mediation. However, even though these findings have been operationalized, significant improvements in outcome efficacy have not been shown through several significant meta-studies on mediation (Bercovitch & Diehl, 1997; Greig & Diehl, 2012). In some cases, results showing the positive effects of several strategies were regarded as spurious (Bercovitch & Houston, 2000; Bercovitch & Chafin, 2011; Bercovitch & Houston, 1993). What this grounded theory study provides is a theoretical framework that transcends traditional socio-cultural parameters currently limiting the application of acceptable strategies that often appear derivative (Rifkin, Millen, & Cobb, 1991) and misinformed.

The study focuses on the primary actors of the Camp David Accords that unsuccessfully sought to create a comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict

during the Carter administration in 1978. Specifically, we examined the individual personalities and interactions between U.S. President Jimmy Carter, Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin. As a foundation for establishing similarities and differences in their perceptions of the world, early biographical data was examined in order to develop a socio-cultural profile of each actor. These profiles yield insight into the environmental influences that shaped what will later be referred to as a “symbolic use-value” that serves to shape individual sensitivities and eventual interactions.

The data were interrogated within the framework of symbolic interactionism, and yielded clues to how those external socio-cultural stimuli impacted the perceptions of a conflict stakeholder; of himself and of his mediation constituents. Since past scientific research has established a common neuro-cognitive machinery shared by all human beings we can assert that the mechanics of cognition allow us to infer a certain level of universality and reliability to our findings. What was shown are the primary causes of interpersonal and intrapersonal influences on perceptions that can lead to conflict due to what might be regarded as predispositional behaviors that are manifestations of those influences, what Peirce might consider his best set of circumstances that explain the phenomenon observed (Peirce, 1931-5, 1958).

However, instead of looking at these socio-cultural inputs as an independent external factor, or just regarded as a tool of strategy, this study examines the inherent forces in the individual stakeholders as an element of individual cognition and their being responsible for predispositional behaviors such as bias, acceptance and/or rejection of another actor operating inside of or as part of the resolution process. External

environmental elements in the context of the Camp David case serve as conscious or unconscious triggers in a complex decision-making process that Joseph Paxton and Josh Greene (2010) of Harvard refers to in his dual-process theory; the interaction between unconscious evolved predisposition and the conscious cognition toward external situations, in terms of manifest actions and the constant editing of those unconscious elements with the introduction of ongoing environmental variables.

The cultural stimuli that serve to edit evolved cognitive capacities (Aquino & Reed, 2002; Dehaene et al., 1998; Gazzaniga, 2005; Paxton & Greene, 2010; Haidt & Joseph, 2004) also define and provide identity to the conflict stakeholders, manifesting themselves in their diplomatic behaviors. It is the impact that experiential history has on the shaping of the individual's outlook translated into particular social interactions and the method through which the decision-making process proceeds that is found most intriguing and this was examined with an eye toward both innate and external characteristics; *a priori* knowledge versus *a posteriori* knowledge, and how the interaction between these two elements serves as a source of symbolic use-value to environmental externalities.

The human species is not without hope in recognizing its frequent inability to resolve conflicts between its members. It has often surrendered to the necessity of a third party to resolve the dispute by reshaping the dynamics of social interaction between parties and reframing the conflict in an effort to create a foundation of common understanding and encouraged cooperation (Avruch, 1998; Bercovitch, 2002a; Bush & Folger, 2005). The concept of a mediator is almost as old as human conflict and establishes itself in the vast realm of social interaction as a key component of conflict



management transforming it into a positive social development (Augsburger, 1992; Kleiboer, 1996).

Studies surrounding mediation focus on two primary themes, the importance of the mediator's neutrality (Beber, 2012; Bercovitch & Gartner, 2009) and how mediators determine which mediation format to engage (Touval, 1985; Zartman & Touval, 2007). Ancillary themes focus primarily on environmental characteristics of the conflict arena and the resources brought to the table by each party (Bercovitch & Chalfin, 2011). This grounded theory research examined both primary themes, being motivated by the observation that for all of its considerations and historical experiences, mediation remains at best a tool showing mediocre results (Bercovitch, 2002b; Beber, 2010) when comparing tangible and intangible causalities (Bercovitch & Chalfin, 2011; Hubbard, 1999). It asks what the principle reason(s) is behind this historically consistent mediocrity in mediation success, given its ascribed importance both historically and practically. As yet, there seems to be little research that explains this disparity particularly in regards to human perceptions that mitigate action.

The study began from the premise that perhaps this mediocrity is not in fact a procedural problem nor a problem of simple cultural dissonance, but perhaps it might be found in the characteristics and actions of the mediators themselves in more of an ego-contextual frame. Perhaps at its core, the reason lies as a characteristic of all human beings. While we understand that dissonant culture can be a significant obstacle to understanding and success (Abu-Nimir, 1996; Lederach, 1995; Rouhana & Bar Tal, 1998) as has been discussed in numerous works, we also note that "how" it impacts human interaction from a more basic cognitive level eludes researchers' inquiries (Jervis,

1976; Volkan, Montville, & Julius, 1991) and could explain many of the disparities and failings of Allport's (1954) contact hypotheses (Bercovitch & Chalfin, 2011; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994; Tal-Or, Boninger, Glenicher, 2002). How this is important will be explained more thoroughly in the chapters that follow.

### **Mediation as a Social Role**

A meta-study of interstate disputes occurring between 1816 and 1995 repeatedly demonstrate the modest success of mediation outcomes. Northedge and Donelan (1971) found a success rate of 23% in 50 major international conflicts between 1945 and 1970. Levine (1971) examined 388 disputes occurring between 1816 and 1960 and found a success rate for third party intervention of only 29% over that 145 year period. Zacher (1979), who concentrated on regional disputes with third party intervention found a success rate of 52.5%. Butterworth (1977) who provided the most comprehensive data on 310 disputes between 1945 and 1974 prior to the Bercovitch International Conflict Data set, saw a success rate of only 23.1%. Finally, the Bercovitch and Regan (1999) data set that examined 268 interstate conflicts between 1945 and 1990 shows a modest 27% rate of success for mediation efforts.

While these and other researchers have offered explanations for the modest performance afforded international peace mediations and have offered procedural strategies to improve the long-term outcomes of those efforts, the results always seem to remain operatively longitudinal, and less than comprehensively extraordinary (Gartner & Bercovitch, 2006). However, each study neglects to regard the mediator as a primary participant in a specific social interaction between conflicting parties as part of a dynamic cognitive calculus between disputants and mediator.

The complex processes of human interaction that includes the innate capacities of the mediation participants and their individual culturally mitigated interactions with coercive social facts (Bendix, 1977; Bourdieu, 1977; Brubaker, 1985; Alpert, 1941) are generally addressed as a collapsed independent variable (Burt, 2000); a corollary that addresses discordant and unique cultural value systems and neglecting this basic but crucial interactional human dynamic. The studies appear to treat only superficially the notion that mediation is actually a battle to control the human mind, and how this is largely played out through encodements found within culturally specific systems of communication (Brewer, 2007; Burton, 1969; Castells, 2007; Cohen, 1990; Dik, 1989; Gilovich, Keltner, & Nisbett, 2010). Communication stands as the expression of a conflict stakeholder's thoughts and personal history; the consciously calculative and emotionally qualifying unconscious amalgamation of efficient cognitive decision-making processes (Greene, 2004; Grenfell, 2011; Habermas, 1990; Harman, 2000; Hynes, 2007). It is also ego-contextual (Forbes & Grafman, 2010) and reflective of symbolic use-value constructs also mitigated by individually perceived cultural constructs.

Most researchers consider the neutrality of the mediator subjectively (Gent & Shannon, 2011; Kydd, 2003; Savun, 2008) without considering the deeper cognitive elements that create intrapersonal and interpersonal perceptions among and between stakeholders regarding not only their conflict counterparts, but about such things as the morality of the conflict itself. Researchers have not considered the mediator's historic interface with the conflict elements either first hand or through public media as an aspect of a larger social performance. Here, the mediator enters with distinct interests that center, dramaturgically, on his or her successful performance and self-image framed by

self-interest (Gerring, 2007; Kleiboer, 1996) or the impact of prior knowledge on perception and predispositional judgements relative to his or her view of the conflict being morally just or unjust. A good example is Jimmy Carter's preparation for his first meeting with Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat, made possible by CIA dossiers of all Camp David participants (Carter, 1982).

Carter's first impression of Sadat following a review of written and media footage, was that he was a "warm and passionate leader, courageous and gregarious" (Carter, 1982). After viewing an interview on the news program *Issues and Answers*, and seeing the aggressive vitriolic responses by Menachem Begin to his interviewer, Carter described his first impression of the Israeli Prime Minister as being "Frightening," and one that could "very well become an obstacle to peace" (Quandt, 1986b, p. 158). Later, we will investigate how this first impression shaded Carter's future interaction with Begin, and how this predisposition was facilitated by evolved capacities in the President's unconscious cognition that were stimulated by both Begin's vitriol, his self-identification as a victim and his seeming disregard for the human rights of Arab citizens, all traceable back to events in Carter's early life.

To assume that a mediator is completely neutral and objective when first entering the conflict resolution role would be to also assume their total lack of knowledge and emotional processing of the situation or its representatives that symbolize a particular pogrom (Leng & Regan, 2003). It also fails to assess how the innate predispositions toward such emotions as revulsion or a sense of injustice might manifest itself in the resolution proceedings on the part of the mediator and other stakeholders (Barash & Webel, 2009; Bechara, Damasio, H., Tranel, & Damasio, A. R., 1997; Brewer, 2007;

Casebeer & Churchland, 2003; Cropanzano, Goldman, & Folger, 2003). In other words, by not considering the innate processes of these actors in any research makes its findings superficial at best and in its most severe iteration, spurious.

Earlier work has established that the role of a mediator is to change the interactional dynamics between disputants by establishing communication through common definitions, reducing tensions by encouraging de-commitments and offering face-saving alternatives (Augsburger, 1992; Bush & Folger, 2005; Calvert, 1985; Lederach, 1995). This can only be accomplished if the mediator possesses the trust of each party involved in the mediation and the skill of serving as a semiotic translator between them or their representatives. The mediator must understand the value and meaning of the symbolism that is encoded within the language or other cultural representations and subsequently transmitted not only between the same sides but between each side either directly or indirectly through him/her (Favretto, 2009; Goldthorpe, 2007; Grenfell, 2011; Gurr, 2000).

We will see later that there are two specific uses of language in communicating between parties, and a misstep in either one of them could count as a prime reason for non-resolution or even the intensification of ill feelings resultant of the perception of distrust toward the mediator of between the disputants, “the dialog of the deaf” (Cohen, 1990, 1997). The Quaker mediator Elmore Jackson (1952), in the 1947 Zionist/Palestinian Arab dispute said, “It would be difficult if not impossible for a single mediator who was distrusted by one of the parties to carry out any useful function” (p. 29). Indeed, trust is not necessarily a product of actions as much as one of clear understanding in communication and the ascribed trust of its sender.

The perception of mediator neutrality by disputants is a recurring theme in mediation research. Princen (1992) and Kaufman and Duncan (1992) have stressed the importance of the selection of a neutral mediator by disputants as has Bercovitch (2007) and Beber (2010, 2012). Another perspective by Zartman and Faure (2006) and others (Kressel & Pruitt, 1989; Smith, 1995; Touval, 1985; Zartman & Touval, 2007) examines a more political-economic perspective in the disputants' consideration of mediator selection, that is, their perceived ability to influence, protect and extend the interests of each party and their possession of resources that either party sees as valuable (Brookmire & Sistrunk, 1980; Zartman & Touval, 2007). Kydd (2003) has contrasted this position suggesting that biased mediators tend to reflect higher success rates. Beber (2010; 2012) and others maintain that these "success rates" are based upon short-term outcomes and rest primarily on the mediator's capacity to gather information relative to strategy. A comprehensive evaluation of the effect of bias has yet to be completed (Beber, 2010).

The ability of the mediator to provide valued resources or a way of giving a preferred "edge" to one or the other party appears to outweigh the importance of neutrality in these studies (Beber, 2012; Savun, 2008). However, whatever conclusions any of these research efforts reach appears by the data to be futile in their attempt at constructing a methodology that extends the success rates of the mediation process despite best intentions for the perception of neutrality. Indeed, it appears the efforts to increase the efficacy of mediation is stuck in 19<sup>th</sup> century thinking and does not utilize tools offered in a post-modern era such as I am suggesting here. Finding the answer and constructing a useful tool that will facilitate greater success will not come from one discipline but from multidisciplinary and collaborative research like this. The creation of

a useful and comprehensive tool that can be used to increase mediation efficacy, can only be gotten by considering the predispositional behaviors of the human species inherent to their evolution, and the technology available to assess them.

Certain clues to ending this methodological impasse are offered by the studies that provide what would be considered by other disciplines as a “scratch-the-surface” explanation. These studies show a higher rate of success in disputes where the mediator is from the same cultural bloc as are the disputants (Avruch & Black, 2001; Barash & Webel, 2009; Bercovitch, 2003; Fisher, 1997). It is suggested that cultural consonance provides for a deeper understanding of the value and process inherent to all mediation for the practitioner relative to the cultural frame in which the conflict occurred. But why is this so? Is there some evolved human capacity that provides for or is successful at explaining these conclusions?

The chance that a mediator will appear neutral is greater if she shares some background characteristics with the conflict parties (Amir, 1998; Avruch, 1998; Lederach, 1995). While much of the research is anecdotal, it does provide a platform from which to center further inquiry. The question has now become one of combined perspectives, the neutrality of the mediator, the interpersonal and intrapersonal perceptions of the stakeholders and the explanation for the value of cultural consonance between stakeholders. This study asks which variables collectively impact these questions and how they are manifest in mediator behaviors toward and between the disputants and vice versa but also explores the genesis of these perceptions both innately and environmentally. To begin to establish a basis for examination we briefly turn to an aspect of the cognitive sciences.

## **Evolved Human Capacities: The Neuroscience of Perception and Morality**

The origin of the human paradox of cruelty and kindness lay at the intersection of innate human characteristics and environmental interaction. Work by Greene (Greene, 2004; Greene & Haidt, 2002; Paxton & Greene, 2010) and others (Boehm, 1999; Bouchard, 2004; Casebeer & Churchland, 2003; Damasio et al., 1994; Forbes & Grafman, 2010; LeDoux, 1996; Lieberman, 2000; West-Eberhard, 2003) tell us that as a result of human evolution, our brain provides us with the genetically manufactured tools necessary to sense and interpret our environment, providing a methodology to immediately flee from danger and holding onto tools and behaviors that provide individual and group longevity. It provides a bridge between sensory input, the construction and evaluation of abstract symbols that will be interpreted consciously and unconsciously and the manifestation of appropriate or inappropriate responses (Gilovich et al., 2010; Trivers, 1971; Turiel, 1983). Examining how this genetic machinery creates or provides an evaluative system for these interpretations provided unique insight into how a mediator might form an impression of conflict stakeholders based on external inputs that are valued through an innate unconscious and later a participative conscious calculative process. How one's first impression of someone is premised upon unconscious processes, influences subsequent mediator behavior provides a key to the development of strategic theoretical principles and tools that apply to any conflict resolution strategy or conflict theater.

The brain does not have the physical capacity to process the multitude of incoming environment stimuli all at once. Young, Cushman, Hauser, and Saxe (2007) tell us that the human brain can only process quantities of about 64 bytes of information per



second in its working memory while it is actually exposed to and passively records in excess of 1,500 bytes per second (Paxton & Greene, 2010; Rosen, 2005). Consider, for example, that as you are reading this research, you are focused on seeing and interpreting the writing on the page. However, all around you are colors, sounds and activity that you do not consciously process but is all the same observed and unconsciously evaluated by a lower, primal brain that has evolved to be ever vigilant in protecting its host from danger (Cáceda et al., 2011; Cahill, Babinsky, Markowitsch, & McGaugh, 1995).

These observations are never simply discarded, but filed in logical, retrievable bundles for future comparison and use by higher “executive” functions. The bundles are attached to what Rosen (2005) refers to as “emotional flags” that serve as file folder markers, identified by a part of the brain called the amygdala in the process of constructing conscious thought. Sometimes we refer to this stimulation soup as “white noise.” Another example could serve an illustrative point as well. When we listen to music, we are processing within the brain’s working memory limit. We hear individual notes of harmony, able to focus upon and identify certain musical phrases, instruments or voices. However, as the frequency of that beautiful sound is increased beyond our 64 byte processor, we begin to hear only a single cacophonous tone.

So our brain catalogs and groups this collection of external stimuli into similar subcategories to be retrieved later as a preferred response to unfamiliar situations (Rosen, 2005), particularly those patterns of stimuli that appear familiar to the brain. In short, it needs to provide rapid access to important data and constructs innate, unconscious shortcuts so we can survive potential life-threatening situations (de Waal, 1996; Flack & de Waal, 2000). These shortcuts allow us to respond without our conscious recognition such

as the “fight or flight” scenario. It does this by “chunking” data that are marked with what are known as emotional flags (Churchland, 2011; Damasio et al., 1994; Paxton & Greene, 2010; Rosen, 2005) so as not to require the analysis of each and every datum sequentially which would take too much time to formulate an appropriate solution in a situation demanding an instantaneous response (Greene, Nystrom, Engell, Darley, & Cohen, 2004; Rosen, 2005).

While this was of obvious benefit in the earlier days of human evolution, D’Andrade’s (1995) research in cognitive anthropology has made the point that this capacity has evolved from simple avoidance of predators to conscious and unconscious dread of post-modern environmental elements such as homelessness, war, terrorism or economic ruin. Rosen (2005) has referred to this as the all too familiar “gut feeling” or “*de ja vous*.” What is at play is the interface between what has been referred to in the cognitive sciences as the “lazy brain” that does not like to inefficiently use available energy, and the necessity for non-linear cognition in the act of escaping perceived or unrecognized threats (Kihlstrom, 1987; Lieberman, 2000; Marcus, 2004; Miller, 2011; Nakayama & Joseph, 1998). But this phenomenon of pattern recognition also begins to paint an interesting picture closer to our primary research question of a mediator’s dispositional preferences toward one person or another. It points to a notion of assigning some unconscious value to a person or situation that might predispose us to accepting more readily one thing over another, (i.e., a “use-value,” based on early evolutionary development, which has manifested itself as conscious choice).

Humans do not, as determinists like Marcus Aurelius, Thomas Hobbes, Baruch Spinoza, Gottfried Leibniz, David Hume, and Arthur Schopenhauer would have us

believe, that humans innately possess every response necessary for any type of environmental interaction nor does every situation demanding a specific response exist in linear time (Baron-Cohen, 1991; Damasio et al., 1994; Wynn, 2008; Yamada et al., 2012). This would certainly limit our ability for moving society in a positive and creative direction and certainly clutter our brain with significant amounts of unusable data that would at least prevent any level of spontaneity or creativity.

Parenthetically, this would also stand to challenge the rigor of some religious dogma that assumes everything that could ever be said has already been said by God (Abu-Nimir, 1996). Greene (2007) and Haidt, Koller, and Dias (1993) take us further into the science of mind and reassure us by asserting we are not simply a collection of neurochemicals and synapses that offer preprogrammed responses to every situation. Rather they admit that there still remains the thread of metaphysics and mysticism in the field of neuroscience where new situations and the almost magical human responses to challenges are always arising.

In his “dual process theory” Greene (2007) and others (Bouchard, 2004; Dehaene et al., 1998; Elman et al., 1996; Forbes & Grafman, 2010; Gazzaniga, 2005; Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009) posit that in any new situation we possess an unconscious predisposition favoring evolved behavioral responses based on innate insights that have, over time, assured our species’ continuance. This is facilitated by not having to think about reacting to perceived or unrecognized threats (both conscious and unconscious). But, in a parallel operation he asserts that we also possess the neurological machinery to over-ride those unconscious (reactive) behavioral antecedents through a process of conscious linear cognition, weighing what might prove best, or most strategic, for us to

achieve a certain goal and overriding that initial motivation. We are, in effect, assigning a value to certain elements of those things experienced or simply, we learn. Interestingly, these two competing processes occur primarily in different parts of the human brain and come together in yet another, very specific neuroanatomical location, being transmitted to other parts that facilitate appropriate or inappropriate responses often mitigated by emotional influences, also often evolved as will be discussed in the work of Graham, Nosek, and Haidt (2012).

He qualifies this in his research findings saying that although we can act independently of many of our hardwired responses to the environment, the “preferred” decision, the one our unconscious brain perceives to be the most obvious, will continue to overshadow our eventual manifest decision; this is the phenomenon of a dual process ideation, a combination of conscious and unconscious interactive processes coupled with currently observed and historically retained data (Bechara et al., 1997; Casebeer & Churchland, 2003; Dehaene et al., 1998; Rosen, 2005). Dual process ideation will become important in answering the primary research question that explores mediator/disputant behavior. But it also allows us to study the (human) symbolism that demonstrates these unconscious predispositions.

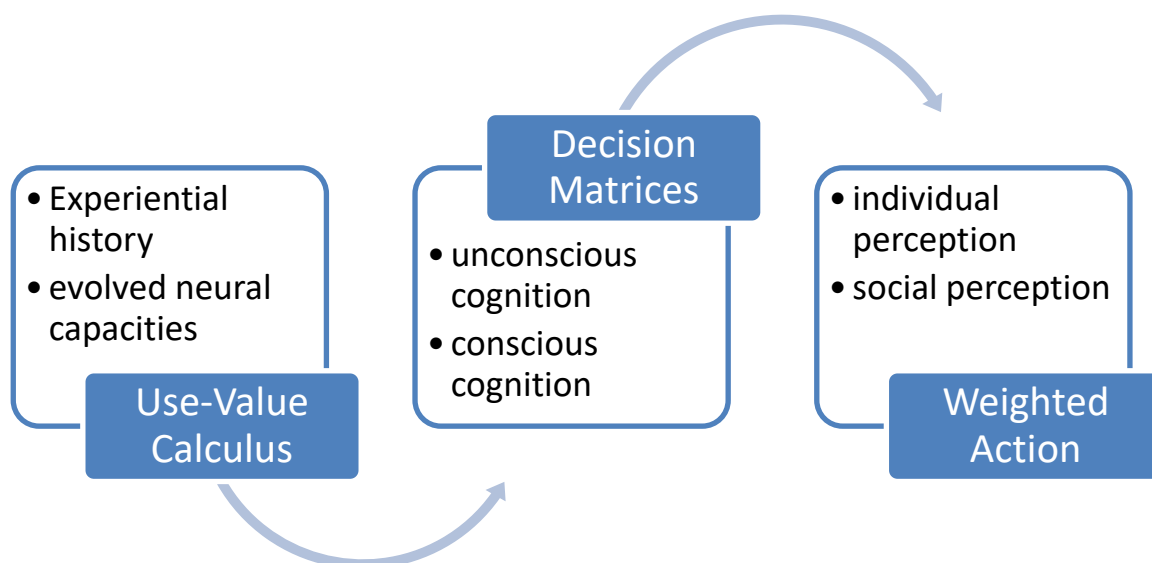


Figure 1. Elements of Greene's (2010) Dual Process Theory

Dual process cognition will have broad application in our exploration of mediator/disputant interaction. It insinuates a degree of scientific validity to discussions of cultural discordance between actors as will be evidenced in the later discussion of the Szalay model of structural linguistics and its role in the Arab/Israeli mediations and the Cohen (1997) discussion of "negotiation of the deaf." It demonstrably played an important role in the construction and execution of mediation strategies during those Arab/Israeli talks that took place intermittently between 1947 and 1978 that sought a lasting peace, but again resulted in marginally successful and short-lived agreements.

Two examples serve to demonstrate Greene's theory. First, we have all had the experience of thinking we have been in a new place before, a feeling of familiarity with a situation or new environment, Re., *déjà vous*. Our conscious mind knows we have never been there before, but our unconscious, shortcut pattern searching brain tells us we have. In a more applied example, we have all met someone that we immediately have taken a liking or a disliking to. Something about the person just felt wrong or right and our consequent behavior toward that person reflects that initial impression. I hear these

feelings being expressed repeatedly by my own students after they have met someone at a college party or a new roommate. The phrase “love at first sight” or “something about them just didn’t feel right” are apt descriptors of a cognitive dual-process.

In both of these scenarios we are experiencing our brain searching for and recognizing a pattern that is similar (albeit not exactly like) to something we have experienced in the past. The brain “fills in the blanks,” of what we certainly could not already have known; a familiarity with a new place or a new acquaintance. Significant research has been done in cognitive and abnormal psychology that describes how uncomfortable most people are with change. Given our brain’s inherent need to assign value to things quickly using a “closest match” method in identifying something unfamiliar and assigning appropriate actions, change to the completely unfamiliar and its associated discomfort is less difficult to understand. Fortunately our more recently evolved “higher executive” neuro-functioning can override that discomfort through conscious cognition, lest we still be reading by candlelight.

In clinical studies by Haidt et al. (1993), and supported by later work done by Greene and Haidt (2002), it was demonstrated that the reaction/decision-making times of subjects presented with examples of moral dilemmas that required their personal involvement was longer than the times shown where their involvement was either exclusively observational or indirect. Under close examination, D’Andrade (1995), Rosen (2005), and Haidt and Joseph (2004) showed that in the first example of personal investment in the dilemma, utilizing many more areas of the brain, specifically those dealing with emotion, were employed in the decision-making process. In non-invested examples, those emotional centers did not activate. Later, citing the work of the neuro-

linguists Schaefer, Heinze, Rotte, and Denke (2013) the study shows how this same neurological, cognitive process is insinuated into the way we communicate with each other, something Jürgen Habermas (1984) called “communicative and strategic rationality” (p. 675 in his first instance reflecting an emotional investment by the speaker, and the non-emotional manipulation in the latter.

Although always a part of the behavioral calculus, the unconscious side of our ideations is not always predominant, we have the capability to modify or “edit” our reaction to what our evolved brain is telling us. Particularly in dealing with a direct social interaction, we can give a person whom we do not initially “like” a second chance to disprove our first impression or gut feeling, to give them the benefit of the doubt. This second chance is the second half of the dual process; linear cognition based on additional data received from or communicated by that person (Cahill et al., 1995; Gazzaniga, 2005; Sheppard & Young, 2007). This was a significant component of this study that examined personal interaction and communication between conflict stakeholders. It asked if the initial impression of the parties involved in mediation dominates future social interactions and which factors serve to “consciously modify” it or are those first impressions validated by actor behaviors. In effect, are they truly guided by the present environmental inputs or act on what their gut is telling them? However, we must keep in mind Greene and Rosen’s observations that even though the conscious side of cognition may be able to modify the behavioral outcome of the dual process, we tend to favor, or overshadow the eventual outcome more toward or initial unconscious directive.

Since “trust” and “perception” are ideational (Emirbayer, 1997; Gazzaniga, 2005; Haidt & Graham, 2007), we can infer a direct interaction between the mediators’ genetic

cognitive machinery, and her interaction with environmental inputs that constitute experience over time that could serve to mitigate unconscious predispositions. This serves as the key to unlock the interactive influences and manifestations between mediators and conflict stakeholders. It begged the question as to whether or not a person's experience, which is framed by the values placed on it by culturally based normative systems, significantly shaped how an individual will formulate a decision concerning interactions with another actor when interacting with innate mechanisms and predispositions. Can we truly teach an old evolutionary dog new tricks?

One piece of the puzzle remains however. In order to make the "right" choice, either conscious or unconscious given our discussion of dual process decision-making, there needs to be some common "ideal" standard upon which to compare our decisions and how they might be manifest in behavior. Generally, our outward behaviors are equated against normative social rules, associated with an actor's role or situation and are often culturally specific. Depending upon the outcome of those behaviors, we receive either reward or punishment and take away from that experience knowledge that will be employed in subsequent situations (Bashkow, 2004; Boehm, 1999; Bunzl, 2004; Elman et al., 1996; Flack & de Waal, 2000; Rosenblatt, 2004). Conscious choice is then weighed against consciously perceived environmental stimuli. But, how do we compare and contrast unconsciously those situations we encounter and against what are the variables compared in accordance with our evolutionary motivations toward survival? This question lies at the heart of the seminal work of Jon Haidt and Jesse Graham (2007) in their discussion of Moral Foundations Theory (MFT).



**Moral Foundations Theory: Something is telling me I don't like that**

MFT incorporates the necessities of individual and group survival. Discussed below, it considers a set of evolutionary behaviors that provide a set of primitive value scales that serve to facilitate particular themed behaviors. Haidt and Graham (2007) have divided these “moral foundations” into two groups, individualistic and collective each serving as antecedents to the behaviors providing for the survival of the individual and the social group respectively. A brief example will serve to help one’s understanding of the principle behind each grouping. The individualist foundation of “Harm/Care” has evolved from the need for a mother to care for and assure the survival of her child. It has evolved to include harm and care to others’ children as well as one’s self, the child being an expression of self (Gilligan, 1982; Haidt & Joseph, 2004; Haidt et al., 1993). This would explain why, when we see a commercial that focuses on the needs of an abandoned child, we get a feeling of sympathy and an innate need of having to do “something.” Harm/Care serves as the facilitator of gentleness, nurturance and kindness; a strong behavioral antecedent.

A representative example of a “collective” foundation would be Authority/Subversion. This has evolved from our long primate history of hierarchical interactions. It serves as the antecedent of leadership and being a follower. These two things alone are essential to group harmony and survival and are precursors to the establishment of social roles and the rules that define them. Haidt and Graham (2007) go on to describe how adherence to one or the other group in the (unconscious) decision-making context defines us as being more conservative or liberal. They contend that these moral foundations, the scale upon which behaviors are initiated or compared during the

dual-process, have been incorporated into our genetic machinery over the period of human development. Work by Paxton and Greene (2010), Hynes (2007) Lieberman (2000) and others have in fact identified specific brain regions in which these calculations occur in both adults and in pre-verbal infants, lending scientific validity to Haidt and Graham's findings.

In summary then, it is acceptable to look at the Paxton and Greene (2010) dual process of decision-making and consider the Haidt and Graham (2007) moral foundations as the comparative scale which the brain utilizes to arrive at a best or "most obvious" decision culminating in acceptable or unacceptable behaviors. In essence, this process allows for the assignment of a use-value to every stimulus experienced by the actor, both conscious and unconscious. It is essential to our discussion however, to remind the reader that humans do not, according to the proponents of the Chicago School, interact with an object or word *per se*, but with its symbolic representation, hence our label of symbolic use-value given to external stimuli perceived by an actor's sensory net. However, having observed that these "evolved capacities" can be edited through the experiential history of the actor, we must explore how this can impact conflict stakeholder behaviors.

It is at this point that we leave the strictly neuro-scientific aspect of human behavior and subsume the dual process of cognitive decision-making as it relates to stakeholder interactions. This study recognized its importance, but concentrated more on what forms and modifies those underlying behavioral predispositions and how these are manifest in (mediation) behavior. We gave credit where credit is due, to a magnificent example of evolution that allows the human being to process sensory inputs, to place a value on each within a socio-cultural frame, and to provide the tools necessary to

formulate a response that is appropriate to his or her social environment albeit mitigated by evolved moral ascriptions. But we paid particularly close attention to how the conscious portion of this cognitive process that is grounded in experiential history (Damasio et al., 1994; Dehaene et al., 1998; Forbes & Grafman, 2010; Greene, 2007; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Haidt & Hersh, 2001; Haidt & Joseph, 2004) edits the unconscious element of cognition, manifesting itself in mediator behavior. In short, we already know through earlier research that discordant culture, both tangible and intangible aspects of it, impacts mediation in a negative way, but we need to answer “why” this is so.

### **Culture and Language**

The cognitivists’ assertion of a dual process decision-making mechanism allows us to explore mediation outcomes from a different perspective. It allows us to examine the reasons why some mediation appears to be doomed to failure before they even begin and why others might have a higher probability of success. In his seminal study underlying contact theory, Allport (1954) posits that if disputants could come together in a neutral environment and “see each other as people,” the probability of cooperative resolutions would increase. This is very similar to the methodology of Quaker mediation (Gallagher, 2002) that most often operates outside of the Westphalian System of Established States which focuses on the political, legal, military and territorial issues as opposed to the cultural aspects or the unmet human needs upon which many, including Lederach (1995) and Augsburger (1992), claim to be at the heart of most human conflicts. In the case under study, contact theory does not explain why, during the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel where the US President Jimmy Carter had to

keep Sadat and Begin away from each other because of their personal enmity (Quandt, 1986a).

While a neutral environment was provided as well as the engagement of constructive exercises toward a peace agreement as outlined in the Allport (1954) work was facilitated, the overwhelming distrust and hatred expressed between the Israeli and Egyptian leaders was not overcome. Personal accounts from Camp David attendees describe in detail the animosity between Begin and Sadat as well as between Begin and Carter, but also point out a budding and deep friendship between the American and the Egyptian presidents, which parenthetically added to the distrust of the principles by Begin and his lack of investment in the Camp David process as a whole. On more than one occasion, this dynamic of personal animosity and palpable friendship threatened the collapse of the peace talks. While various commentaries have attempted to explain this perception, none have gone so far as to look at the innate human processes that might have first predicted such dysfunction and second provided a means by which to mitigate it (Quandt, 1986b).

Bercovitch and Houston (2000) and others (Beber, 2012; Gaertner et al., 1994; Jervis, 1976; Kaufman and Duncan, 1992) disagree with Allport's assertions of 'contact theory' and its position that bringing disputants together in a safe environment will lead to the development of personal and binding relationships; that the conflict partners will see each other not as opponents, but as people (Allport, 1954). Contradictory positions assert that direct contact between disputants to be more often than not detrimental to the process as it can reaffirm disputants' feelings of asymmetry in power and status. The "feelings" perceived by disputants while in the presence of another provides us an

opportunity to begin to develop an understanding of this difficulty from the perspective of the current research.

It has already been established through earlier studies that cultural dissonance can serve both as a significant cause to a conflict and as an important element of resolution through common understanding, particularly as regards mediation processes. Perhaps each side sees mediation differently (Fisher, 1997); perhaps each has their own traditions prior to a process such as prayer that is discordant to the traditions and normative systems of behavior to the other side (Hubbard, 1999; Irani, 2000; Kahneman & Tversky, 2000). Perhaps the perceptions gleaned from the examination of third party information like the media are truly misperceptions but drive the overt animosity between conflict partners (Quandt, 1986b). What is important however is how these relationships are structured through the use of language which stands as both a symbol of an individuals' inner self and as a representation of the cultural library accessed by each disputant. The power that language has over party dissonance cannot be simply written off as an intervening variable, but should be considered a major causal factor. We will discuss later how important different linguistic systems are in structuring relationships between cultural constituents, but a small example will serve to underlie its importance.

In a former life, I had occasion to make many trips to the northern parts of Alaska and down the peninsula. There I met many of the local Inuit and Yupik people whose ancestors had come across the land-bridge from Russia millennia ago. On one particular trip, I was in Nome and was speaking to an older native fisherman. As is often the case, it was snowing. I made a simple comment, "it's snowing!" The man looked at me oddly as if I had said something quite amusing and answered back, "What do you mean?" I

thought and said again, “it’s snowing.” Apparently, I had said something “only a naïve child would say.” In the Inuit language, prefixes are added to words, whose roots are often comparable to English words, to add a depth of meaning. Generalizations are not always considered important to a discussion, but in this case it became apparent how many misperceptions could result of such a simple misstep. Jon Owens (2001) and Barbara Johnstone (1983) described a similar phenomenon while studying Arab rhetoric as did David Laitin (1977) in his discussion of the meaning of rice among Americans and Koreans, each study being culturally specific. Imagine how misperceptions could arise in a mediation if languages had to go through several non-native speakers each the product of their own unique cultural environments.

The case under study here, the Camp David Accords, demonstrates this difficulty of misperception clearly in the relationship between the Egyptian President Sadat and the Israeli Prime Minister Begin. In the ten days of carefully scripted proceedings reminiscent of Allport’s (1954) contact paradigm, the principle disputants had only very few personal contacts because of their mutual and visceral animosity toward each other; a fact that was made apparent in their first meeting (Carter, 1982; Perlmutter, 1987; Quandt, 1986a).

Evidence suggests that mediating between disputants from a similar (group) block, has a greater likelihood of success than those from dissimilar ones (Bercovitch & Chalfin, 2011). Clearly, the delineating factors between these two groups is the cultural system from which they come and shapes their various perceptions of the world, consequently defining and conceptualizing the conflict in which they find themselves. The uniqueness of their respective historic experience that provides a certain use-value to

symbols shared and individual to each culture/disputant will subsequently define elements of the conflict; its causality, its costs and the elements of its resolution. Is the answer to assessing the compatibility of mediators and disputants purely one of group identity or does it lie at a deeper level of cognitive analysis? Perhaps it is the combination of experiences and interactions within respective cultural contexts that shape the course of a conflict and its mediation through contrasting belief systems and the language in which this belief system and use-value is encoded. It is imperative to understand the interplay between those experiences, how culture shapes them, the cognitive processes at play in the individual, and the way these experiences are communicated during a dual; cognitive process that will allow us to develop a functional model of mediation and hopefully increasing the sustainability of successful outcomes.

We begin by asserting that the tangible and intangible social forces influencing a social actor are embedded within the actions of other forces both local and universal (Augsburger, 1992; Avruch & Black, 2003; Leng & Regan, 2003). Further, these forces exist within the confines of relative social definitions of value, both local and in some instances universal that have been established through both historic individual and group experiences. Interaction with them is defined through a set of values and normative systems both local and universal. These rules stipulate what reaction to or interaction with these elements by the agent is acceptable and which are less than acceptable and are, over time, internalized by both the individual and the social collective (D'Andrade, 1995) as rules, laws and traditions, that is, they serve largely as the conscious portion of Greene's (2004) theory and can "overwrite" unconscious predispositions. An important corollary to the system of norms and values are their serving as the basis for group and

individual identities relative to acceptance of and compliance with those parameters for acceptable behavior (Brewer, 2007; Gilovich et al., 2010; Kubota, Banaji, & Phelps, 2012).

The process by which the agent learns the value-scale or use-value inherent to her respective culture is socialization. The innate standard of comparison as discussed earlier are the five moral foundations described by Haidt, et al. (Graham et al., 2009). It is this lifelong process that takes the interactions with environmental stimuli embedded within a cultural context and streamlines her brain's ability to recall them both consciously and unconsciously through a process of categorization and emotional "tagging" that allows the individual to react quickly to external inputs both historic and new (Patterson, Nestor, & Rogers, 2007; Rosen, 2005). However, as will be discussed, these recalled experiences play into a larger decision-making equation that incorporates innate capacities of individual and group survival facilitated by cognitive mechanisms of human evolution largely invisible to the individual and conscious calculations (Gilligan, 1982; Forbes & Grafman, 2010; Kohlberg, 1963). How well the agent is able to utilize this system to define, perceive, interact with and internalize these use-value scales serves as a basis for his or her social identity, which too exists within the frame of the larger group that recognizes the presence of both local and universal group identity.

The existence of external stimuli militated by a set of collectively accepted rules within a social group that defines acceptable interaction comprising the essence of the 150 definitions of culture (D'Andrade, 1995). The definitions of culture must take into account the post-modern influences that place them relative to other cultures in a global schema. There are few, if any, cultures that exist as isolates as was the case for the early



anthropologists. As well, the scale of use-value, historically seen as culturally specific, now must be taken with consideration given to larger global forces evidenced by digital communications and social media. Helferich (2004) has stated however, that even with these global influences, the probability of a “global culture” is small, as people retain an identity that incorporates the uniqueness of their respective group norms and values and traditions, and echo of earlier studies by Humboldt (1854) and Boaz (1997).

The more in depth discussion of what constitutes a culture will be addressed below, gleaned from a collection of the current 150 definitions described by Kluckhohn (1951) and elaborated upon by Nanda and Warms (2011). Two general considerations were be raised. First, that culture is represented by commonly accepted definitions of substance and behaviors, and second that these definitions are perceived at both local and universal levels which are not necessarily mutually exclusive, that is, what might be commonly perceived and acceptable at a local cultural level may be contrary to the values of other societies. At the same time, there are commonly recognized cultural universals such as family, religion, governance, etc. (Bashkow, 2004; Bayart, 2005). Further, we can assert that the language inherent to any particular culture is a product and reflection of those unique social facts, but may not be “language equivalent” between cultural groups as seen in the work by Laitin (1977).

We can also assert, based on the findings of Cahill et al. (1995), Gazzaniga (2005) and Rosen (2005), that certain human emotions can be impacted by these strong cultural forces in support of Greene’s (2004) dual process theory; they become incorporated as an important variable in the agent’s formulation of a response to a new or routine situation. This becomes evident in Augsburger’s (1992) discussion of anger where he shows the

impact of local norms governing responses to defined situations that in some social groups invokes antagonism and anxiety, where in others these emotions are minimized through devaluation.

Clearly, anger and anxiety responses are somewhat governed by the use-value a group places upon a particular social fact or cultural artifact and serves as the conscious mitigator to unconscious cognitive reactions. However, according to research in the cognitive sciences, the underlying and initial disposition of individual ire cannot be completely erased and will avail itself at some level and in some direct or unrelated form less than if governing norms were not in play (Hynes, 2007; Kagan, 1984; Kihlstrom, 1987). Research has shown for instance that although outward signs of anger can be suppressed in accordance with local norms, somatic responses will still be in evidence (Greene et al., 2004; Moll, de Oliveira Sousa, Bramati, & Grafman, 2002). The same results can be used to scale responses to tangible and intangible stimuli and will become important in our discussion of conflict stakeholder behavior. More specific to this study, the reaction to the “land” as a visceral and internal aspect of symbolic use-value internalized by Sadat, versus the motivation of victim entitlement demonstrated by Begin as an example of predispositional behavioral triggers.

**Language and the Importance of Communicating Culturally: What did you say versus what did you mean?**

In order for any group to remain interactive, members need to effectively communicate in some way with their constituents. Castells (2007) elaborates by adding that “communication, the one that exists in the public realm, provides support for the social production of meaning” (p. 289), a position first promoted by Sapir (1936) and

Whorf, Campbell, and Karttunen (1993), later supported by Bourdieu (1989), Habermas (1984) and others. This is accomplished through the employment of language; that intangible that allows the process of “psychology and culture to make each other up” (Bunzl, 2004; Shweder & Haidt, 1993).

Culture becomes relevant to the agent through language which Sapir (1936) and Whorf et al. (1993) determined to be the manifestation of our ability to bridge sensory input and symbolic representation, that is, language determines how we perceive and describe our world and defines how the agent consequentially interacts with its elements. Language is the ego-contextual tool necessary to transmit abstract and complex ideas among and between social agents by labeling social and cultural phenomenon and providing a quantifiable element to their presence (D’Andrade, 1995), e.g., the value of a dollar, or how much do you like or dislike someone based on your knowledge of them. That “knowledge” is what insinuates individual use-values. How humans communicate is quite complex if we consider the endless abstract constructs we create and evaluate. For example, without communicating through speech or written language, how would it be possible to explain to an audience of children, the presence and function of a black hole, or its event horizon so popular in astrophysics?

Communication does however, rest on certain innate assumptions by both speaker and listener as described by Habermas (1984, 1990) and a genetically defined machinery necessary for its expression as described by Chomsky (1972, 1975) that if violated can serve as the primary source of conflict (Bouchard, 2004; Burton, 1969; Cohen, 1990; Dik, 1989).

The speaker labors under an assumption that each message she transmits will be unpacked and interpreted exactly as she had intended (Grenfell, 2011; Habermas, 1990; Laitin, 1977), a sort of communicative rationality. This presumes similar lexicon, semiotics and syntax. Without belaboring the point here, the probability of misinterpreting messages between members of a culturally similar group is low in comparison to communicators from dissimilar cultures (Cohen, 1997) that might assign perhaps a different or even competing use-value to the same lexiconic symbol. This would help to explain observations of low mediation success rates between discordant cultures (Van Valin, 2012), e.g., how does a “New Yorker” see the “city” and “traffic” as opposed to how someone from Appalachia might view the same things? Both are from a “western” culture but have different interpretations of the city as well as use-values ascribed to each of its components whose representations are mitigated by unique experiential histories.

Two points are important in our discussion of language both spoken and written, as a method for social interaction. First, according to Chomsky’s (1965, 1975) theory of universal grammar, humans are endowed with an unfolding genetic program that allows them to construct a metaphorical bridge between sensory input and symbolic abstraction. While his earlier work focused exclusively upon spoken language, later research draws a strong parallel between Chomsky’s concepts as they apply to written communication as well. His point was that as humans we are equally capable of developing communicative capacities regardless of which (local) language we use and that this language serves to shape our perceptions of and interaction with our sensory world.

Pairing this to the Sapir (1936) and Whorf et al. (1993) hypothesis, the symbolism in the equation is what is susceptible to cultural influence in terms of constructing definitions and perceptions, that is, the unpacking of the message which adds “noise” to the process as seen in Szalay’s (1981) model in figure two when addressing the dissonance between dissimilar cultures. It is the noise that this study focuses upon as a primary source of human conflict, predicated upon the influence of unconscious predispositions founded in learned and unlearned (or “instinctual”) use-values, as a result of the editing of evolved programming.

We would be remiss not to point out that this noise, while generally assumed to be an intercultural phenomenon, can also exist intra-culturally. For example, in my criminology classes I have many police officers as students. They often relate stories concerning how it is sometimes difficult to understand victims and offenders that come from different areas of the city, since a meaning or symbol in one part may not be applicable to another. They express misunderstanding and frustration that more often than not leads to an escalation of the situation at hand. Clearly, interpretive noise can be considered a volatile factor in human conflict.

Second, and no less important, is recognizing that the theories describing the use of language and interpretation of environmental symbols were not developed in the post-modern society of 24 hour international news cycles and Castells’ (2007) notion of socially horizontal, “self-constructed” media. Where many definitions of environmental phenomenon were limited to local nuance, they are now undergoing an epistemic communicative process that often challenges what was once regarded locally as an indisputable fact with its associated use-value. This could severely impact the process of

(socio-cultural) definition, perception and interaction with environmental elements and the consequent impact on mediators' first impressions and strategic constructs. However, research in cognitive psychology and developmental anthropology informs us that regardless of the use-value assigned during the later stages of socialization, the unconscious behavioral predispositions acquired during the early stages of socialization have the overall greatest impact on the dual process of decision-making (D'Andrade, 1995; Kohlberg, 1969; Paxton & Greene, 2010; Piaget, 1952; Purves, et al, 2008; Sinnott-Armstrong, 2008).

The potential for conflict increases significantly, as does the inverse probability for its resolution if we consider not only the misinterpretation inherent to two already discordant cultures and their respective linguistic structures but even more so on two other occasions. First, in many mediations, a common single non-native language is often utilized to facilitate a "common understanding." This non-native language is typically necessary in third party mediations, sometimes referred to as the language of diplomacy which inherently desensitizes most culturally defined nuance (Colarosi, Rasler, & Thompson, 2008; Greig & Diehl, 2005; Zartman, 1994).

Second, where a common language is not possible, there will often be interpreters employed to convey the elements of negotiation. Finally, at times a third level of interpretation is employed to facilitate translations between speakers, translators and listeners. The basic assumption of speakers, translators and listeners or in the utilization of a common language between all conflict parties is one of communicative rationality. This presumes common definitions and more important, individual and group

use-values, obviously more elusive with each level of interpretation. This was the focus of Laitin (1977) in his work on “language equivalency.”

Clearly then, conflicts can often be more ones of perceptual misunderstanding as opposed to other identified conflict elements or these misunderstandings could actually serve as the foundation for other non-related conflict elements. Important is the way in which these spoken or written symbols influence the innate mechanisms of cognition to each communicative party. For instance, if I know I am meeting a serial killer for the first time, and having read the media descriptions of this person as a monster, what are the chances I will give this person a fair chance at anything, or will I have already created an “image” of this person that prejudices my future and actual interactions. The same dissonant process explains the dynamic of the first Carter/Begin meeting following Carter’s declaration in his personal diary that he found Begin’s behavior and adherence to dogma “frightening” after seeing an interview on a news program (Carter, 1982, 2010; Perlmutter, 1987; Quandt, 1986a). Applying the research findings of Rosen (2005), Greene (2004) and Haidt (2008), Carter’s opinion had been directly influenced by an external sensory input that touched an emotional flag in the unconscious portion of his cognitive process.

In international mediation this is particularly important as one disputant’s perception of another or a mediator’s perception of the conflict parties before actually meeting them or directly following the initial meeting could quickly produce a predisposition toward liking or disliking different members of the conflict; for example Carter’s reaction to Begin’s interview. How will the mediator then manifest this predisposed feeling while trying to promote an air of neutrality, or will the cognitive

predispositions acquired from research or interaction overtly or even subtly influence the mediator to show bias toward one party or another based upon her “understanding” of who the parties are, or what they represent? How have the conscious and unconscious cognitive processes been affected? Again, how well does the mediator actually understand these things as defined by her own use-values and can her behavior be edited in the best interest of both parties. Indeed, while experienced elements of the sensory environment serve to prime the evolved emotion-based reactions to tangible and intangible stimuli, communication serves as the trigger to its expression.

Within the frame of culture we can see, according to Bourdieu (1989, 1990) and others (Collet, 2009; Dumais, 2002; Emirbayer, 1997; Emirbayer & Goldberg, 2005) the existence of interactional opportunities inherent and specific to a particular social setting in which an actor is embedded. These opportunities are referred to as one’s “habitus,” and tend to individualize the forces shaping an agent’s identity and position within that social context. It might be instructive to say that a person’s use-values are somewhat defined within the context of the actor’s particular habitus. It helps to define and redefine how an actor perceives the world and the strategies used to maximize their benefits of interactions by providing tangible and intangible elements with which the brain may label with both innate (episodic memory) and learned definitions (semantic memory).

Again, this habitus does not exist independently of the multitude of social elements within a local or universal cultural frame but is reliant upon and exists within the interaction of other socio-cultural elements both tangible and intangible (Fowler, 1997). It is the shaping of this world perception and the tools learned in dealing with it that is important to our study of mediation as it is specifically these forces that can serve



to over-ride the remnants of a mediator's behavioral predispositions; of the short-cut behavior seen in the human brain and described by dual process theory. The question is to what degree they are overwritten and how that manifests in mediator behaviors.

Mediation has a long history in which disputants realize they are for whatever reason incapable of reaching joint decisions that might facilitate some form of peaceful coexistence. Researchers have primarily examined the timing of intervention, the history of mediator and disputant interactions, the sources of conflict and the motivations of the mediator (Bercovitch & Diehl, 1997; Gartner & Bercovitch, 2006), but have yet to reach any definitive cause and effect explanation for successful mediation beyond the superficial considerations of 'cultural dissonance.' (Augsburger, 1992; Avruch & Black, 1993; Lederach, 1995).

There have been many uses of the Bercovitch International Conflict database where information was compiled on 190 international conflicts occurring between 1945 and 1995. While not going beyond some preliminary characteristics of the conflict mediator descriptors that might give more validity to his findings, one variable is of particular interest and lends itself to this study. The data shows a significant difference in success rates between conflicts based on tangible issues such as borders and trade restrictions than conflicts that were premised upon intangibles like ideologies and religious elements that Greene (2007) and others (Baron-Cohen, 1991; Bercovitch & Houston, 1993; Botvinick, Braver, Barch, Carter, & Cohen, 2001; DiMaggio & Useem, 1978; Haidt & Joseph, 2004) have shown to have significant capacity for editing the machinery of cognitive processing and decision-making. Their data shows that tangible issues have a much higher rate of success in mediation than intangible ones shown to

trigger innate use-value patterns forcing us to look beyond elements that share universal definitions overall such as borders, trade, and material.

The Bercovitch (2007) research shows us that tangible assets are easier to deal with as they are clear and relatively easy to define and not necessarily open to many conflicting core definitions and not necessarily time sensitive; A border is a border (although its line may be under scrutiny) and a trade embargo is still a trade embargo regardless of the State to which it applies. No matter where you ask the question it is likely you would receive a similar if not identical definition of those tangible concepts. On the other hand, defining the elements or driving force of an ideology (intangible), or understanding the volatility of a religious premise for law is cognitively quite different than a border dispute although sometimes, as in the case of the Camp David Accords an excellent example of ideological and use-value disagreement, these things can be conflated. Relative to this study, there is an interesting theme that revolves around the disputants' concept, and motivational capacity of the "land," where one party declares a spiritual affinity that transcends earthly conceptualizations and the other regards it as a thing of entitled acquisition.

The intangible elements of conflict are dependent mostly upon local definitions of understanding, ascribed use-value and individual experiential history embedded within respective cultures (D'Andrade, 1995; Geertz, 1983). Intangible issues also serve to symbolize both individual and group identities and more than vicariously impact social interactions (Aquino & Reed, 2002; Brewer, 2007; Daloz, 2010; Emirbayer, 1997; Fineman, 2000; Hynes, 2007; Jervis, 1976). Here, cultural and interpretive discordance would be in its highest representation (Burton, 1969; Grice, 1989; Leng & Regan, 2003).

Reviews of the Bercovitch IDC show a distinctly higher almost tautological success rate for tangible conflict elements as opposed to the distinctly lower success rate for intangible ones indicating some inconclusive, nuanced as yet unidentified cause and effect leading to the less than stellar overall long-term success rates for mediation events.

**The Purpose of the Study:**

This grounded theory study sought to establish a link between predispositional behaviors arising from evolved cognitive processes common to human beings and the relationships between conflict stakeholders. Specially, the study looked at observed bias exhibited by a mediator following first contact with a particular stakeholder both positive and negative. It examined the relationships between Jimmy Carter, Anwar al-Sadat and Menachem Begin before, during and following the Camp David Accords in September of 1977. It was contextualized by the widely held public opinion that Carter did not like Begin and considered Sadat “like a brother” (Perlmutter, 1987; Quandt, 1986a; Wright, 2014) asking how Carter’s apparent personal bias toward Sadat impacted the overall mediation process and its outcome.

The theory that was generated from this study builds a bridge between cognitive and social sciences within the field of conflict analysis, and informs the development of an effective procedure that allows mediators to make a knowledgeable choice as to the conflicts they wish to engage and the guiding perceptions of stakeholders to that conflict that might impact their neutrality. The dual process of cognitive decision-making described by Greene (Greene, 2004; Greene & Haidt, 2002), Gazzaniga (2005) and others and the assignment of use-values to cultural and communicative symbols in that process mitigated by the Moral Foundations described by Greene and Haidt (2002); and Haidt

and Graham (2007), while impacted by experiential history, is also susceptible to a cognitive dialectic through education and informed familiarity (Haidt & Graham, 2007; Kurzban, Tooby, & Cosmides, 2001; LeDoux, 1996; Margolis, 1987; Miller, 2011). In short, biases incurred through unconscious priming can be edited through education. This is not a new concept in substance as a similar observation was made by Auguste Comte who maintained that whoever controlled the distribution of knowledge, would control everyone (Mill, 1865).

In building a bridge by combining the findings of research in the neurosciences, developmental anthropology, cognitive psychology and sociology this study provided practitioners insight into how external socio-environmental factors can have a decided effect on how they and their conflict constituents form first impressions of each other; first impressions that could very well determine the course of the mediation and its outcome. More important is possessing the knowledge of how these first impressions which are precursors to predispositional behaviors, impact the true nature of the mediation process and its eventual outcome. The premise is a simple one, if I do not like an actor from the first time I meet or receive information about him and I form an opinion of him prior to the first face to face meeting, can I truly be neutral in my dealing with him regardless of how professional I consider myself? Conversely, if I form an opinion upon a first meeting of another conflict actor and truly care for or sympathize with her or perceive her represented situation to be unjust, will I manufacture a process that will unilaterally benefit her to the detriment of the other parties?

Knowing that these behavioral predispositions exist and also knowing that they can be influenced by the simple knowledge of their influences it becomes possible to

change elements leading to and effecting developing mediation processes. First, the way in which mediations is chosen by mediators or other parties. Practitioners will be able to select a better “fit” for the projects they choose. For example, if I find a particular conflict abhorrent, and I identify one of the disputants as particularly repugnant, what is the probability of my conducting a truly equitable mediation, much less setting an outcome goal that benefits everyone in a way that everyone accepts? On the other hand, if I find a conflict intellectually challenging as opposed to being emotionally paralyzing and am able to view both disputants with a degree of professional neutrality, the outcome of acceptability and long-term settlement becomes a more probable consequence. The second, more obvious outcome of this project is the prospect of informing mediators of this cognitive phenomenon. This knowledge will allow them to “check” their previously unrecognized feelings. Knowing this, they will be able to conduct a better, more informed mediation, leading to increased numbers of long-term, successful outcomes. In effect, they are giving more weight to the experiential, conscious portion of their cognitive process in making a decision for action and/or strategy.

**Outline of the Study:**

At its core this project sought to understand how external environmental factors impact and subsequently modify the evolved cognitive processes of human beings and what impact this might have on mediation events. It is informed by the research of Greene (2007), Paxton and Greene (2010), Casebeer et al. (2003), and Churchland (2011) who describe the model of a dual cognitive process of conscious and unconscious mechanisms that result in decision-making. It is also inspired by the work of Haidt and his collaborators (Haidt & Hersh, 2001; Haidt & Joseph, 2004; Haidt & Joseph, 2007)

who developed the notion of innate moral capacities, or Moral Foundations Theory (MFT). In this description human behavior is mitigated by a set of innate values evolved to assure the survival of individuals and human groups. Specifically, we were concerned with how these findings can be employed to understand the variables inherent to the mediation process which is fundamentally a human interactive phenomenon.

This grounded theory study employed content analysis (Creswell, 2013; Krippendorff, 2012) to abstract themes that described predispositional behaviors of the study subjects President Jimmy Carter of the United States, President Anwar Al-Sadat from Egypt and Prime Minister Menachem Begin from Israel. These are the principles who participated in the Camp David Accords that were conducted in pursuit of peace agreement between Egypt and Israel in 1978. While originally slated as a summit aimed toward the larger subject of a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace settlement, encompassing a larger portion of the Arab world and the plight of Palestinian people, it became focused upon the two principle countries, Egypt and Israel.

It has already been established in the findings of cognitive and linguistic research (Chomsky 1965, 1972, 1975; Cook & Newson, 1996; Habermas, 1984; 1990; Nieme, 2011; Schaefer et al., 2013) that language, both written and spoken, is ego-contextual and represents the inner thoughts and evolved predispositions of the speaker. Knowing this, and utilizing the written materials available concerning the communication between the study subjects both publically and privately, we showed how early life-factors and situations directly impacted their cognitive processes, both conscious and unconscious, and formed the social interactions between them through the communicative medium.

Phase one: Socio-cultural profiling. To accomplish this, the study gathered data in four phases. First was the development of socio-cultural profiles for the study subjects. This phase sought to identify significant themes of influence that have been incorporated into the subjects' cognitive processes by abstracting significant elements within their experiential histories and how these might be mitigated by the subjects' evolved moral antecedents (Graham et al., 2009). The combination of these innate capacities and the interfacing with experiential influences has been shown to be powerful forces throughout one's lifetime in acting as behavioral determinants.

Longitudinally, the innate perceptions impacting the decision-making processes of a person will be modified with the accumulation of social interactions and other external environmental stimuli. According to Haidt (2008), these experiences are placed into a value hierarchy seen through the lens of the subject's evolved moral foundations, a kind of standard to which experiences are compared. The applicable metaphor in the natural sciences would be the conducting of chemistry experiments within the context of standard temperature and pressure (STP) or in the behavioral sciences where we refer to an "ideal" type from which to compare observable data. The latter has been referred to in the works of Emile Durkheim. The outcome of this process assigns a certain importance to each experiential element, a kind of use-value within the context of dual process decision making. This use-value is employed at various levels in both conscious and unconscious components of the decision-making calculus.

Phase two: Third party Camp David observations. The second phase of the project collected and interrogated data concerning Camp David and its principle participants. This was third party data found in public documents, biographies (authorized and

unauthorized), and media sources. This phase will established both the publically perceived tenor of the Accords as well as the perception of the relationship between Carter, Sadat and Begin. Note, this study was not necessarily concerned with the political face that the principles put on for the sake of political expediency, but more in terms of how observers saw or perceived the personal elements of the relationship between the three men. This phase also explored the public record of the mediation outcomes as reported in government and media reports and therefore allowed the comparison between the revealed themes of these research findings and those reported outcomes. It is understood that the reported results were subject to the politics and perceptions of the time, 1977-78, and reflect the political goals of the period. They also serve as a fairly accurate predictor of future Arab/Israeli relations in the region.

Phase three: Principles' thoughts and observations. In the study's third phase, data was gathered from two principle sources that reflect the private feelings of each subject. Namely, autobiographies, personal letters and diaries were interrogated to establish the profile of private feelings individually and between the study subjects. These were relatively uncensored reflections of emotions and the influences of the experiential histories of each man but understandably at times, "politically correct." This phase developed a comparison between subjects' individual cognitive reflections and perceived public observations. Essentially, two blocks of comparative data with concomitant major (behavioral) themes were established, one of private cognition and one of public perception.

Finally, these blocks of thematic information were evaluated against the outcomes of that peace process. It is not at this point a declaration of success or failure is important,



but more the perceptions of each participant that might yield an indicator of perceived bias on one or more their parts: Carter's in particular.

I understand that more of an in-depth understanding may have been gained from examining this Arab/Israeli conflict in other frames such as the involvement of Quaker mediators like Elmore Jackson (1952) and Clarence Pickett (1999) directly prior to and following the establishment of the Israeli State by the Balfour Declaration (1917) and the UN Resolution 181 for the partitioning of Palestine (1947) effectively ending the British mandate in 1948. This was a time of violence and protest on the parts of both parties to the agreements. The Quaker mediators in fact had no power to coerce participants to the mediation table, only their reputation for honesty and fairness long established by the "Society of Friends."

We could have also examine the involvement of the Qatari Emir Hamad Al-Thani (Barakat, 2012; El-Effendi, 2012; Woodward, 2006; Wittes, 2005), who reinforced the concept of "checkbook diplomacy" in the mediation field (Wittes, 2005). But the distribution of resources, political gamesmanship and the utilization of economic or military power was not the intent of this study.

What was important to this project, and to the development of more long-term efficacy in the field of mediation and conflict resolution, was the deeper understanding of human dynamics in the terms of innate decision-making systems, socio-cultural influences that have significant effects on those mechanisms and their representative behaviors. Using the proceedings of and the principle actors to the Camp David Accords in September of 1978 provided a clear example of conflicting human positions and how they impacted a mediation process. Since these decision-making constructs are universal

characteristics of human evolution and social interaction, the results can easily be applied to a wider field of conflict analysis and resolution.

### **Chapter Summary**

Framed within the context of the Camp David Accords the following chapters first described past research that addresses the evolved cognitive capacities of human beings within the framework of an innate dual process cognitive system; unconscious processes that ascribe a value to those environmental stimuli we interact with, conscious processes that allow us to calculate a most strategic path to our resultant actions and third, the interaction between those two components that have been shown to lead to predispositions that impact manifest behaviors.

We posit that our innate cognitive processes are a result of human evolution and serve to assure species survival on a grand scale, but also individual survival as a consequence of socio-environmental interactions. Further, using the findings from cognitive psychology and developmental anthropology and supported by more recent clinical data from fMRI research by Greene and others, this study as well asserts that evolved cognitive processes are not possessing of any predetermined solutions to interactions within an individual's environment, but rather provide a "first edition" of primal unconscious responses to perceived threats. The content of that first edition serves to identify a much broader capacity for interaction based upon its modification through experiential history.

These modifications are indicative of a valuation process of experiences that accumulate to form a library of patterns used by the brain to facilitate the best response to new and recurring situations. In short, the accumulation of socio-cultural experiences by

an individual lends itself to what Sapir-Whorf eludes to as the individual's perception of reality expressed through language. This study extends that assertion to frame a set of predispositional behaviors that in the arena of mediation as bias, positing that there is in fact, no possible way for a mediator to attain neutrality.

Finally, the following chapters will discuss this absence in neutrality as a consequence of differing cultural socialization between disputants and between disputants and mediators within the context of the Camp David Accords. This study uses constructivist grounded theory described by Charmaz (2014) utilizing content analysis to interrogate data found in the private and public histories of each of the three major conflict stakeholders at Camp David; Carter, Sadat and Begin. Abduction lead us to the 'best explanation' for the study's observations and served as the bridge between the cognitive and social sciences that inform this research.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### **Introduction to the Study**

Informed by both the sociological and cognitive sciences, this research investigated the relationship between disputants from widely dissonant cultures in an effort to demonstrate the impact of socio-cultural influences on a) the stakeholders' perception of both the conflict environment and the world in general and b) the stakeholders' perceptions of each other within the context of a well-documented conflict resolution setting. The over-arching question though is whether or not the mediator in this situation is and perceived by disputants as being truly neutral, or are there innate and predictable behavioral predispositions on the part of the mediator that precludes a genuine atmosphere of objectivity. By extension, these same questions may be applied to disputants who react to the mediators and other disputants as well, ultimately influencing the outcome of the resolution process.

The Camp David Accords of 1978 was an attempt by the U.S. President Jimmy Carter to bring together the leaders of two historically belligerent countries, Egypt and Israel; that enmity exacerbated by the ending of the British mandate creating the State of Israel in 1948. The former was represented by President Anwar al-Sadat, the latter by Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Carter was to serve as the neutral mediator between the two disputants. The literature is replete with descriptions of the relationships between the three men. However, these perceptions are divided into two camps, one by participants to the negotiations present at Camp David and the other as a collective observation by the media prior to and following the Accords as they were not permitted access to any participant during the event.

There are also numerous historical and political commentaries describing the conflict history between Egypt and Israel that often disregards the hybrid conflict between these two countries and confounds this with the generic title of the “Arab-Israeli Conflict.” Analyses of the relationships between the three men appear limited in their ability to give a truly comprehensive picture of the human dynamic influencing their individual and collective decision-making processes. This research interrogated data yielded through a content analysis of the principles’ own words relative to personal impressions of their conflict counterparts and be contrasted against public (media) perceptions as well as third party observers to the Camp David events. This analysis was done within the context of the cognitive processes demonstrated through linguistic constructs.

### **The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Elements of Predisposition**

We have seen that the cognitive and moral development of humans rests on the innate capacities of evolved neural machinery coupled with the social interactions that serve as both an initiator of that machinery’s function and the data input that is factored into the dual calculus of the decision-making system (Baron-Cohen, 1991; Casebeer & Churchland, 2003). These environmental stimuli play a primary role in conscious cognition, but are also internalized over time regardless of their being directly experiential or passively absorbed through social-sensory contact to become equally as important in unconscious processes that overshadow behavioral outcomes (Dehaene et al., 1998; Kohlberg, 1969; Paxton & Greene, 2010). All of this happens within the context of a cultural nexus, be it direct or indirect through socialization.

So, if we are to comprehensively examine relationships between Begin, Sadat and Carter and the predispositions that may have influenced their interaction, it was necessary to investigate the historic events that have been woven into the cultural tapestry upon which so many determinant actions are premised, specifically, the conflict under investigation; the Arab-Israeli conflict. By examining the history of the conflict, and understanding that its social actions become part of both Arab and Jewish folklore, tradition, ceremony, etc., and most importantly transmitted ill-feelings that may or may not be premised on fact or myth or simple misunderstanding, we discovered those elements that point to important actor predispositions. The most reductionist inquiry concerning the principle actors is what caused them to act the way they did towards each other? Traditional social and behavioral research would more focus on that cultural tapestry as merely an “influence.” But that label devalues the power it has on the neuro-psychological makeup of the actors: in brief then, the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Before proceeding we must point out a specific methodological point concerning this study. The primary outcome of the Camp David Accords, while being implicated by association, was not as much about a comprehensive settlement between all Arabs and Israeli States, but more of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. According to Quandt (1986a), Wright (2014), Pappé (2006) and others, a comprehensive settlement was never a true consideration. The plight of the Palestinians, while used as leverage in early conferences, was discarded by Sadat and by Carter as a strategy to finalizing the peace agreement, much to the displeasure of other Arab States, although their consternation was more cosmetic than actual. According to K. W. Stein (1999), the Saudi Foreign minister, when asked about the exclusion of the Palestinians from the negotiations said, “Why

should we worry about them?” The true discontent with the Camp David accords was that Sadat unilaterally bargained with the Israelis (Quandt, 1999). This study will then focus on the real purpose of the Accords and not refer to a comprehensive Arab-Israeli settlement.

### **The Elements of Ownership**

The basis for the protracted conflict that led to the Camp David Accords in 1978 can be described in a single word, land. Who actually “owns” the land in dispute, historically, legally or by virtue of some vague and contested religious doctrine, is the fuel that drives the conflict between Arabs and Jews. Possession, victimology and entitlement are the thematic children of the conflict whose parents play on a stage of politics and manipulation. The original motivation for the conflict is so far removed from present motivations that have built upon elements of revenge and religious mysticism, hearsay and changing political definitions that it is often difficult to evaluate the veracity of each party’s claim to rightful ownership of the land known to the Arabs as Palestine and to the Israelis as Judea and Samaria or “Eretz Israel.” If we try and follow the logic of each conflict group’s justification for land acquisition, we find it to be convoluted and premised upon at best, selective history that favors each group exclusively (Hooker, 1999; Zeitlin, 1947).

According to Jewish history, in the Pentateuch God promised, by covenant to the Jewish patriarchs, that their children would inherit the land of Judea as long as they accepted him as their God. Then, the God of Israel was regarded as the God of the land. The Jews were then exiled from their promised land as they became more secular, neglecting basic religious norms. The covenant had been broken and they were cast out

(Brenner, 2003; Gilbert, 1998; Wood, 1986) Here the history of the twelve tribes begins and so the Kingdom of Israel.

There was for a relatively short time a Jewish Kingdom, the Kingdom of Israel, around 2000 years ago. But many other Kingdoms had subsequently claimed the land of Eretz Israel over time. In over 7000 years of history, Jewish rule only amounted to a mere 200 years (Brenner, 2003; Hooker, 1999; Zeitlin, 1947). Zionists point to the unsubstantiated existence of the Biblical King David as the revered ruler of Israel inferring a sense of historic ownership. Archeological evidence suggests however, that even if King David did exist, his reign was more over a chiefdom as opposed to the magnificent lands of Biblical fame (Cleveland, 2004; Zeitlin, 1947). He also would not have been considered a Jew as he was apparently, according to Brenner (2003), not a monotheist. While many Jewish leaders, based on at best less than reliable Biblical translation and revisionist history (Brenner, 2003; Zeitlin, 1947), may lay claim to the land of Palestine, of Judea and Samaria, their claim is pragmatically without substance since historically they only possessed it by rule for a short time and effectively lost its title repeatedly during many pogroms and occupations.

At contest as well is the (historic) legal status of Palestinian possession relative to the conquest of the Jews by the Romans prior to and following the first Roman-Jewish war with the destruction of the two temples in 586 BCE and 70 CE. This destruction was a Roman effort to destroy Judaism and Christianity in one act, their position being that Christianity sprang from Judaism based within the prevailing belief of Messianic times (Cleveland, 2004; Wood, 1986). Parenthetically, this was an act of religious dominance, showing the Roman God Jupiter prevailing over the Jewish/Christian God furthering the



notion that Jews were not considered by Rome to be a sovereign State, but rather a religious congregation to be converted.

Depending in which camp one chooses to settle, the historic legal possession of Palestine is open for interpretation. One group holds that the claim to Palestine by the Jews was made mute after Roman conquest and its annexation into the empire as an Imperial Procuratorial Province (Zeitlin, 1947). The opposing camp states that the Romans never legally transitioned ownership to the Empire and Palestine (to include Judea and its surrounding real estate) and remained as a mere occupied territory of the Roman Empire and the personal possession of its conquerors Vespasian and his son Titus (Brenner, 2003; Zeitlin, 1947).

Neither Titus nor his father appended their own titles with “Judacious” since at the time Judaism was regarded only as a religion and Vespasian, soon to become Emperor left his son Titus to conclude the successful Jewish-Roman war in Jerusalem. Some accounts say that Vespasian regarded Judea as his personal possession according to the Roman historian Josephus. From this position it might be inferred that Rome did not regard Jews as legal title holders to the land at all and only as citizens of Syria in the north or Babylonia in the south. This would explain why Jews continued to live in Judea and not labeled *peregrini dediticii*; people whose country had been destroyed and have no country (Zeitlin, 1947).

Emperor Caracalla eventually conferred Roman citizenship on the Jews (*civitas*), commanding the rights of Roman citizens. This infers the abdication of any past membership in a former State, had one existed at all. The Jews were allowed to live under their own administration, an Ethnarch, in Judea that reported to the Roman council. As

*socii populi Romani*, associate people of the Romans, they were allowed to hold public office, something placed into Roman law in 231 C.E. While these titles are sometimes challenged, they do indicate the erasure of any previous State loyalties by design. These privileges were not enjoyed by the *peregrine dediticii*, people without a country (Brenner, 2003).

This situation parallels the Jews of the Diaspora many years later. Having left their native “land” they dispersed throughout Europe and Russia, developing unique cultures and languages specific to the ethno-culture they lived in proximity to. Jews occupied specific areas within these countries and concentrated their populations, identifying their group through religious practice and history. Eventually, and as was seen throughout Russia and Poland during WWI and again in WWII, the Jews were given choices of how they might coexist within their resident countries. One of those choices, reminiscent of the Roman offer, was one of assimilation (Cleveland, 2004).

In the Roman war against Persia, the Persian King Sapor declared that he never had killed a Jew during the war, only Roman citizens. This was received by the Babylonian King of Jews Samuel, not as the killing of thousands of Judean Jews, but of Romans. Indeed, the Jews of Judea had been politically assimilated into the Roman populous, living in a Roman Imperial province. By tacit acceptance of the rights bestowed upon them by the now Emperor Vespasian, Jews had become Roman citizens and separated themselves from any inherent ownership of Judea and its surrounding lands (Jolowicz, 1965).

Many Jewish scholars had and continue to interpret the alleged “uninterrupted” presence of Jews throughout Judean history as a legal precedent that implies continued

ownership of Judea and Palestine, Eretz Israel, by the Jews since transfer to Roman ownership never took place in their view. This would indeed contradict the tenants of Roman law thought to be rooted in the Etruscan *Disciplina* (Jolowicz, 1965; Nicholas, 2008). What is apparent here is that the semantics of the historical records they cite are without the proper interpretations and are not based in historic and archaeological fact.

Vespasian was a Roman Senator soon to be emperor and his son Titus a General of the Roman Legion. Both were regarded then as they would be now, considered a representative of the Roman State as any Senator today is an officer of the U.S. government or an attorney an officer of the court. Any actions on their part reflect upon or is representative of their country and its legal system (Schulz, 1946; Stein, P., 1999). Their decisions, to regard Palestine as a personal possession, if true, would need authorization from the Emperor, which is not ever considered in conservative Hebrew interpretations. In addition, Vespasian became Emperor of Rome during his son Titus' vanquishing of Jerusalem, one of the last battles of the first Roman-Jewish war. The Emperor is Rome and therefore, Judea is Rome, even considered as a personal possession of the then Emperor, was *de facto* possessed by Rome (Stein, P., 1999).

Unless Palestine was titled to Vespasian by the Emperor during the early years of the war, it would stand as a Roman holding, given the historical epic and the actions of the Roman Emperor Nero (Schulz, 1946; Stein, P., 1999; Zeitlin, 1947). The fact that the Jews were never labeled as a conquered people in "their own land" so described by Roman legal title, validates their position as non-title holders. So, the religious record stands as archeologically questionable, the historic record contradicts many of the Zionist

claims of perpetual sovereignty as does the legal record of Roman and the subsequent holding to Palestinian title.

One common thread is the remaining of a very few Jews in Palestine, typically described as those who did not challenge whichever occupier happened to be in power and considered citizens of the conquering authority. Regardless, this land of Eretz Israel has only been religiously connected to the Jews from their earliest historical accounts to present day. Their less than established connection to the soil of Palestine was so fervent that any attempts at geographical relocation of the Holy land such as that proposed for upstate New York by Mordecai Manuel Noah, was ultimately doomed to failure before its inception (Hooker, 1999; Zeitlin, 1947).

But, modern arguments in favor of Jewish possession of Palestine remain premised on this selected history and misinterpreted legal precedent and stands as the root of their demonstrated sense of entitlement. The themes that have emerged relative to what has driven subsequent political and conflict history, group identity and the conflict under study are deeply rooted in unsupported and sometimes unsupportable assumptions. The notion of historic possession became woven into the cultural fabric of not only religious, but political Zionism as well and drove its subsequent leadership and activities. It became an ideal type, the standard upon which the use-value of interactive symbolism became entrenched.

Reflecting back on our earlier discussions, these principles would be part of the culturally and emotionally based editorial and socializing processes of decision-making by the Jewish populace; a foundation for social and individual identity. But of course, the counter-position to Palestinian ownership is the Arab population. There is not the

religious foundation for Palestine proper as found in Judaism as most of Islamic history centers around Mecca and other parts of Arabia. Ironically, the Arabs fall to the same argument of continual possession as do their Jewish counterparts (Sharon, 2003; Wheeler, 2002).

Conservative Jewish historians point to the shallowness of the Arab influence in Palestine. They maintain the position that in twelve hundred years they had only built one town. Ramallah was the local (sub) provincial Arab Palestinian capital in the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Brenner, 2003). Robinson, an early nineteenth century Middle East Scholar, showed that many seemingly Arabic names for villages and other sites were actually Arabic renderings of Jewish names. They further point out that the name "Palestine" is not an Arabic name but a rendering of the Roman name "Filastin," given to it in an effort to eliminate any history of Jewish influence.

However, without comparison in Jewish law, Islamic law provided one fundamental rule concerning territory. This rule, found in the Holy Koran, was unequivocal and considered the word of Allah. It states that any territory that comes under Islamic rule cannot be "de-Islamized," even if at any time a non-Muslim conquers an Islamic ruled land, the land remains Islamic territory in perpetuity (Sharon, 2003). This is a primary element of conflict between the two actors. Palestinian Muslims believe that they have both a legal and religious claim to Palestine. Jews believe the same religious and legal favor. They have and will continue to fight for the land as will their opponents in Israel. There are of course many shades and sub-conflicts involved but the land serves as the foundation of the dispute, what drove the original Zionist politics and opposition by the Arabs and continues to do so today. It is simplified as a sense of

entitlement by the Zionists, and one of a visceral and functional connection on the part of the Arabs, specifically the Egyptians. But unlike their Arab counterparts who recognized the presence of their Jewish neighbors and for many years lived in coexistence, the Zionist movement ignored the indigenous, Arab population who considered the land under Islamic rule.

### **The Inherent Need for Recognition and Personhood**

There is a significant theme found throughout the Jew's claim to Palestine in their historic lack of consideration, or even recognition of the indigenous Arab population. In his novel *Mikdamot* (Preliminaries), Samuel Yizhar (2007) gave artistic expression to a notion that was prevalent among Jews planning to immigrate to Palestine; that the land was devoid of human occupation.

Who knew anything about Arabs? No one had ever mentioned them, in all of those speeches, lectures and debates in the Volhynian forests at the banks of the Styr, which flowed along lazily in the comfortable carefree twilight and with almost apathetic tranquility listened to the boldest songs of home and the most conclusive evidence that we would only find a home in our own land, they, the Arabs, never came up, not in any discussion or other deliberations, and most assuredly not in the songs; they simply did not exist. (p. 49).

The migrants would soon learn that they were not as welcome as the Zionist leader Theodor Herzl had imagined in his novel *Altneuland* (Old New Land, Herzl, 2009) where immigrant Jews and the historic resident Arab population would live in harmony. The indigenous Arabs did indeed turn against their new neighbors in many recorded instances during the latter part of the 1800's; the Jews were considered intruders and

occupiers illegally settling on Arab land and displacing formerly Arab labor. But Herzl publically promoted the idea that the Promised Land was without its occupants; “Palestine, is the land without a people for a people without a land” (Brenner, 2003; Hooker, 1999).

### **Modern Jewish History**

Modern post-diaspora Jewish History and the power it has in defining Jewish identity and motivations, according to Ben-Zion Dinur (Morgenstern, 2008) is exemplified in the work of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Jewish poet Yehuda Halevi. One of the most exalted Jewish Poets, he chronicled his pilgrimage between his home in Toledo, Spain, through Alexandria, Egypt and then on to Jerusalem where he died. His work highlighted both the traditional and religious justifications for Jewish manifest destiny toward Palestine. Reading his work helps the non-Jew to perhaps understand at a more personal level the relationship of modern Jews to the land of their ancestors.

Culturally, this “living” connection has been transmitted through the centuries by prayers, poems, art, language and some creative revisionist history that sought to validate the Jews’ and the Zionist movement’s continued campaign of ownership and occupation of Palestine at the expense of the indigenous population of Palestinian Arabs. The indigent population believed in their own sovereignty according to Islamic tradition, the law of the Koran and long-term possession. So, from the very beginning, this protracted dispute has been mostly focused upon territory, on the land.

This same theme is seen in the dispute between Egypt and Israel regarding Israel’s occupation of historic Egyptian territory in the Sinai Peninsula following the Six Day War in 1967; entitlement felt by the occupiers versus an almost genetic attachment

to the land by the indigent population of Egyptians. The point to be made is the schism between seeing the land as a tangible right to possession by the Zionists as opposed to its intangible ethno-cultural and historic possession supported by Islamic law of the resident population. The latter sentiment is made clear by Sadat's revered Grandmother when she told a young Anwar, "Nothing is as significant as your being a child of this land. Land is immortal as it harbors the mysteries of creation" (Sadat, 1978, p. 8). Her words reflected not only the sentiment, but the historic view of Egypt being the greatest benefactor of the Nile River economically, culturally and ultimately the cradle of humankind (Midant-Reynes, 2000).

Turkey's Ottoman Empire, from 1517-1917 controlled the land that today is known as Lebanon, Syria and Palestine. During the second half of the 1880's, the first Zionists arrived in Palestine driven by the religious belief and the perceived political necessity that an independent Jewish homeland was the only thing that could offer a continuous safe-haven from anti-Semitism. The success or failure of the embryonic Zionist movement to 'take back' the ancestral lands they considered Eretz Israel (Palestine and beyond) was dependent upon the Ottoman leaders in Istanbul (Cleveland, 2004).

From the very beginning, the (Ottoman) Empire's leader Sultan Abd al Hamid II, also the last ruler of the Ottoman Dynasty, regarded the Zionists with suspicion. Hamid believed that the Zionist movement was just another attempt by the Europeans to undermine the Empire's position in the Middle East. Brenner (2003) asserts that since most of the Zionists hailed from Russia, the Sultan believed that they would, in times of



conflict, side with their former Russian Empire who stood as a threat to the Ottomans in the Balkans and regions of Anatolia (Hooker, 1999; Wood, 1986).

When the early Jewish settlers attempted to purchase land and begin an agricultural economy, they soon realized the presence of indigenous Palestinian Arabs. In the 1880s information concerning disputes over water rights, pastoral territory, harvesting and labor began to emerge from several Jewish settlements. Tahir al-Husayni, the Mufti of Jerusalem and the leader of the Muslim community in Palestine, considered the attempts by Jews to buy land in and around Palestine and to enlarge their numbers by increased immigration a direct threat to the Arab community, a feeling that spread throughout the Palestinian community (Brenner, 2003). Regardless, through relentless persuasion and bribery, the Zionist leaders convinced land owners to sell, effectively circumventing the opposition of the Ottoman government who loudly opposed the influx of Jews to Palestine (Kochavi, 1998).

### **Herzl vs. Jabotinsky: Assimilation or Conquest**

Theodor Herzl, a formerly “assimilated” Jew from Vienna and considered one of the Founders of modern Zionism, who repeatedly denied the presence of significant numbers of Arabs in the Promised Land, had a socialist vision of cooperation between the settlers and the locals. His was not a dream of confrontation but of cooperation. His model was very similar to the political structures he had left behind, that the rights of any Palestinian Arabs, Muslim or Christian, would be protected, as would their religious practices, but they would be assimilated into the growing Jewish infrastructure, a process he was intimately familiar with (Pappé, 2006). The immediate failure of that cooperation and the subsequent clashes between civilizations would lead to an internal conflict

between Herzl and the more radical revisionists led by Vladimir Jabotinsky who would later stand as the symbolic harbinger of current Arab-Israeli conflict and the ideological hero of the young Menachem Begin (Pappé, 2006).

Herzl took the ethnocentric position that the indigenous Arab population would benefit greatly from the cultural and developmental advantages offered by the growing population of immigrant European Jews with their supposed technological and organizational superiority. Ironically, in later reporting it was shown that the interests of Arabs really had no role in Herzl's model; his was more of a political manipulation than an actual socialist ideological system. His was heavily influenced, outwardly, by his former environment of European liberalism that espoused equality for all faiths and nationalities (Brenner, 2003; Hooker, 1999; Zaar, 1954).

The more religious foundations of Zionism's move toward Israel were held by Mizrahi. His argument was predicated on Biblical dogma on God's covenant with Abraham, where the land of Canaan was promised to Abraham's descendants. This served as the foundation for an unbroken, yet contested, covenant of continuous Jewish claims to Eretz Israel, re, a "God-given" claim (Brenner, 2003; Cleveland, 2004). But there were detractors within the Zionists, one prominent voice being Ahad Ha'am. He maintained that the Jews would not be welcomed in Palestine by the Arabs. He witnessed the group of influential Arabs who signed a formal protest to Istanbul concerning Jewish immigration and land purchases (Brenner, 2003; Gilbert, 1998).

Ze'ev Jabotinsky grew up in an assimilated Jewish family in Odessa, part of the Russian empire (now Ukraine). He was witness to the anti-Semitic pogroms of the time which stood as the motivation for his more radical militant positions, leading to his

recognition as the eventual leader of the more radical right-wing Zionists. He saw the most effective solution to perceived discrimination toward the Jews in Palestine as being primarily a militaristic one, having been fascinated by the strength and projected power of the Russian armed forces (Pappé, 2006).

His was not the solution of realpolitik forwarded by Herzl, but of conquest and domination. His more militant Zionist position saw Eretz Israel on both sides of the Jordan River. His position was that if the resident Arab population adapted to the tenants of the Jewish states then they could remain. If not, they would be moved to the neighboring Arab States. To Jabotinsky, the Arabs who lived in Palestine were opponents and obstacles to the Zionists' historic right to possession (Jabotinsky, 2011). They could only be approached from a position of strength, a perception that was reminiscent of the ancient massacre at Masada in 73 C.E., considered an act of heroic resistance to the Romans by the last Jewish stronghold (Yadin, 1966). Indeed, the story of Masada, a staple of Jewish historical DNA certainly could have served as an unconscious primer for Jabotinsky's radicalism, fueled by his witness to growing European anti-Semitism, something not as prominent in his counterpart Herzl.

While Jabotinsky had respect for the Arabs' position he was more driven by the moral dissonance of anti-Semitism occurring in Europe at the time. His moral claim was based on a political reality, not the Herzl hope of cooperation and equality held by the Socialists. Also, the Arabs had fought and conquered, and possessed, many other States in the neighborhood where the Jews were fighting for a single home, a haven from persecution promised in Biblical and encompassed in their narrowly interpreted historic records (Pappé, 2006). This militaristic position is seen in the many defenses against

Arab attacks on the new settlers since 1881. They were fighting back after centuries of uncontested and little resisted persecution, displacement and abuse while in the Diaspora. They were fighting for what many Jews perceived to be their rightful home. A symbol of their determination is seen in immigrant recruiting posters of the time that depicted a Jewish sentry, shovel in one hand, a rifle in the other (Brenner, 2003); they would fight to the death for their home in Palestine. This outlines a very powerful kind of victimology (LeDoux, 1996; Robertson et al, 2007).

The year 1911 saw an increased conflict over employment. With the increasing migration of Jews fleeing from mounting violent anti-Semitism in both eastern and western Europe, immigrants were replacing Arab labor in Arab towns. “Hebrew Work” became a driving mantra to immigrants and as well a battle cry for the resident Arab population. There was increasing pressure to replace Arab farm labor with immigrant Jewish workers in pursuit of the Zionist economic transition from being a community whose livelihood depended on donations from the diaspora to one of agriculturally based self-sufficiency. As the Jewish presence became greater, so did the demand for more Arab land and an increased demand for Hebrew Work (Brenner, 2003; Hooker, 1999; Kochavi, 1998).

### **The Transition to Legitimate Statehood and bilateral Betrayal**

Modern Zionism could never have taken place were it not for the occasion of European nationalism and its associated anti-Semitism, (i.e., the Balkans and formerly Polish sections of Prussia). The “Great War” provided an even further impetus for mass Jewish migration to escape persecution in Europe and the Orient. During the First World War, Turkey supported Germany and with the German defeat also came the downfall of

the Ottoman Empire and its subsequent partition and Mandate to Great Britain and France through the Sykes-Picot agreement in 1916. Arab regions were divided into “zones of influence;” Lebanon and Syria were assigned to France and “Palestine,” today’s Jordan, Israel and the West Bank, were given to Great Britain. The purpose was to assist the former Ottoman provinces to become independent States (Brenner, 2003; Pappé, 2006; Wood, 1986).

A second document, the Balfour Declaration, signed November 2, 1917 became the primary source of Modern Zionism’s “legal” claim to Palestine and a diplomatic breakthrough in pursuit of Eretz Israel for the Zionists. The Declaration was a one page letter between then British Foreign Secretary A.J. Balfour to Lord Rothschild that the “government of his majesty was favorably inclined to the establishment of a national home of the Jewish people in Palestine and would facilitate the realization of this goal (Appendix A).” The declaration came out in support of immigrants building their permanent homes in Palestine (Friedman, 2000; Fromkin, 1989).

These two documents could represent a primary cause for the escalation of tensions between immigrants and Arabs. Both sides to the draft of the Balfour letter, assumed preferred status with Britain (Fromkin, 1989; Pappé, 2006). The mandate as set forth by the Sykes-Picot agreement, by its intent, seemed to point to the establishment of a consolidated Arab State. But the Balfour communique quickly drew attention to a perceived preference toward the Zionists. In Britain, Chaim Weizmann, who founded the Palestine Land Development Company and later became Israel’s first President, had discussions with the Rothschilds and convinced them of the necessity in forming a Jewish National home (Litvinoff, 1982). The Balfour Declaration became the official first volley

with a British seal that served as a betrayal to the resident Arab population (Schneer, 2014).

The declaration was vague in its wording in terms of the scope of what “Palestine” actually comprised from a perspective of recognized geographical borders; “National home” was not a legally defined phrase and ‘views with favor’ cannot be contractually binding in any court. Weizmann considered this however, the advertisement necessary for the validation of and veracity for the Jewish home State. He maintained that the pursuit of Palestinian legitimacy could only be accomplished with British cooperation and a Zionist commitment to the Mandate power (Litvinoff, 1982). The British felt that with the massive immigration from the diaspora to Palestine and the work already accomplished in remaking the area into a habitable and tillable site by the early Jewish settlers coupled with the concomitant employment opportunities earned British favor. Their position was that nobody had ever established a national homeland in Palestine since the Jews had done it 2000 years before. This position alone reflected the sentiment of Zionist leaders that the Arabs simply did not exist relative to Palestine and the Jews goal of colonization (Pappé, 2006; Schneer, 2014).

Arabs hoped that what they perceived to be a pro-Arab British foreign office would repudiate the Balfour declaration and pursue the underlying assumption of the Sykes-Picot Accord; a unified Arab State. Realizing that they had been given over to the successes of Weizmann who had earlier petitioned the Rothschilds for a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, the Arab delegations ceased to participate or overtly rejected most of the settlement options since 1930 (Cleveland, 2004; Ma’oz, 2007 Pappé, 2006). The Jews in Palestine under David Ben-Gurion’s leadership were active participants in most

settlement mediations since the participants attested directly or indirectly to recognizing the ‘right’ of the Jews to a homeland.

This of course did not go unnoticed by the indigenous population in 1926 when a new wave of Jewish immigration came from Poland to flee the pogroms of 1924. They began to purchase wide tracts of land from the Arabs to accommodate the rising Jewish population (Brenner, 2003; Kochavi, 1998; Pappé, 2006; Zaar, 1954). This land grab served to promote an increase in the attacks on the new settlers’ villages by those Arabs who regarded them as invaders who not only took their land, but by now given the displacement of Arab workers in favor of “Hebrew Labor,” took their livelihoods as well; a repeat of the Arabs earlier 1890 dissatisfaction with the influx of Jewish workers. The Arabs did not, under Islamic law, recognize any of the British decisions relative to Arab occupied lands and the Jews de facto, had no claim of ownership or entitlement either legally or otherwise.

The influx of Jewish immigrants during the 1930’s became even more intense with the prominence of Fascism and the Nazis in Europe. The growing sense of Arab displacement and an increasing number of immigrant Jews culminated in the Arab revolt of 1936-1939 (Pappé, 2006). These began as guerilla attacks and soon became outward aggression against British military and government installations. Talks with Arab leaders persuaded the British to reconsider their position in Palestine regarding the Arabs, and culminated in the White Paper of 1939 that seemed to provide the specter of relief to Arabs who perceived a loss of their ancestral land.

This paper stands as a primary source of Zionist action against the British Mandate as it stood to repudiate the Balfour declaration and even more important, it

placed significant restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchases in Palestine culminating in actions by the U.S. and Britain to actively restrict Jewish immigration through political and military action such as the Exodus and Aliyah incidents (Brenner, 2003; Kochavi, 1998; Zaar, 1954; Zeitlin, 1947) to which Menachem Begin was either an observer or direct participant. It was the perception of the Jewish communities that the diversion or refusal to accept these ships full of Jewish migrants to Palestine, served as another emblem of victimhood and isolation.

But this Jewish immigration was only a part of a protracted larger dynamic of betrayal perceived by the Arabs toward the United Kingdom. During the period 1915-1916 during WWI, the British, represented by the High Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon corresponded with the Sharif of Mecca, Husayn bin Ali. In that correspondence, McMahon stated that: “Subject to the modifications stated above, Great Britain is prepared to recognize and uphold the independence of the Arabs in all the regions lying within the frontiers proposed by the Sharif of Mecca” (Cleveland, 2004, pp. 157-163).

The purpose of the McMahon correspondence was to assure the Arabs’ participation with Britain in fighting the Ottoman Empire occupying the region. This was a significant motivator for Arab participation, but following the war, the Sykes-Picot agreement partitioned Palestine and represented an act of betrayal to the Arabs followed by the subsequent British Mandate of 1920. Together, these acts of betrayal founded the stage of conflict between the Arabs, British and Jews. We can directly apply this to the Haidt work on moral foundations, as two of these foundations, “Loyalty/Betrayal” and



“Fairness/Cheating” are primary motivators to individual and group survival; significant motivators for ‘fight or flight’ at both individual and community levels.

The Mandate (Appendix B) provided no agreement that the land of indigenous Palestinians should be handed over to European Jewish immigrants given that the population of the region of the time was 95% non-Jewish, as self-determination and innate human rights were recognized back then, it is doubtful as to whether or not the ignoring of the Arabs desire for a unified state in favor of the immigrating minority bear any legal significance at all. It is of note that the Zionists, when interpreting the Mandate, focused on the language that favored European Jews over indigenous Arabs, ignoring the verbiage that protects the rights of the majority; something they had ironically been subject to already in the Diaspora (Hooker, 1999).

At the time of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the Jewish population was only 7% of the total 700,000 residents. The majority were Muslim and Christian Arabs. At the time of the 1947 partitioning by Britain there only 650,000 Jews in Palestine while there were 1.3 million indigenous Arabs both Muslim and Christian. Under the British partition plan, 56% of Palestine was given to the Jews for an independent Zionist State to a minority that was only 33% of the population and owned only 6% of the land (Lilienthal, 1982; Wood, 1986).

The conflict in Palestine had developed since the entry of the first Jewish immigrants from Europe. Increasing immigration in pursuit of Zionist ambitions served only to intensify already existing ill-feelings over land, water rights, labor and an Arab feeling of incursion by these perceived outsiders. To the Arabs, this was historically their land, and since Islamized, was not going to be sacrificed. Following the Ottomans, the

British agreements, interpreted under specific colonial and persecution-based motivations caused a three-way conflict between the Jews, the Arabs and the British. These misunderstandings by the principle parties, emanated from different camps of intentions and conflicting cultural systems of perceptions, British, Zionist and Arab. It is from these camps that violence under the guidance of important players that later influenced the Camp David players rose to prominence.

Following a period of Arab insurgency in 1936, the MacDonal Whitepaper was published in 1938. The paper proposed severe restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchases seen in the Exodus incident where Britain actively turned back a Jewish refugee ship to Europe. Of particular significance, was the vast increase in the Jewish population in Palestine following the events of holocaust and the emotional juggernaut that moved the world to side with the Jews and provide for a safe and secure Jewish Homeland (Brenner, 2003; Kochavi, 1998; Pappé, 2006; Zaar, 1954)?

This attempt by the British to deny Jewish immigrants access to their “rightful home,” led to the violent campaign conducted by the Jewish underground, most notably the Irgun founded by Ze’ev Jabotinsky. Menachem Begin who later became the Israeli prime Minister, became the leader of this militant group and was responsible for the deadly bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. The Stern Gang led by Yitzhak Shamir, latter to become the seventh Prime Minister of Israel, assassinated Lord Moyne the British Secretary of State in Cairo (Pappé, 2006). Eventually, a political and pragmatic spilt occurred between the moderate Zionists of Hagenah headed by David Ben-Gurion and the more radical Jabotinsky Irgun (Kochavi, 1998; Pappé, 2006). While

both opposed British restrictions on immigration, the former believed in appeasement to some degree while the latter adhered to a mandate for violent resistance.

Moyne had declared that the Jews were not the descendants of ancient Hebrews and therefore had no legitimate claim to the Holy Land. He proposed severe curtailing of Jewish immigration from Europe to Palestine following the war. He was declared to be “an implacable enemy of Hebrew independence” (Zaar, 1954, p. 574. This was not the first assassination by the Stern Gang ordered by Shamir. Count Folke Bernadotte who had saved thousands from German concentration camps and served as the head of the Swedish Red Cross and the mediator between Zionist settlers and Arabs in 1948, was ordered killed by Shamir in what was regarded as his being too much in favor of an independent Arab state in the three state solution. From the point of the Jewish underground resistance actions, it was becoming apparent that the world was looking at the Zionists with a more discerning attitude seeing perhaps too colonial and ethnic cleansing actions of the Israelis, truly a bitter irony.

The United Nations, who had proposed the partition plan following the end of the British mandate period, passed Security Council Resolution 93 and General Assembly Resolution 194 that compelled Israelis to allow Palestinians to return to their homes; something not yet realized and has only been ignored and mocked with the continued expansion of Israeli settlements even to this day (Hooker, 1999; Pappé, 2006). Even as late as 1967 and 1973 prior to the Camp David Accords following Israel’s complete occupation of Palestine, the Security Council voted (Resolutions 237, 242, 338) to return to the borders of 1967 (prior to the Arab-Israeli war) and allow refugees to return to their homes. These were never heeded by the Israeli government. So overt were the actions of

the Jews against the Arabs of Palestine that in 1975, the United Nations declared that Zionism was a “racist ideology.” That designation has since been repealed but remains to be indicative of world opinion (Pappé, 2006).

The first reading of the documents that establish a Jewish State points to some very important conflict triggers relative to cultural dissonance; not only between the two principles, but also between the principles and the British whose task was to establish a lasting peace through a partitioned agreement (Pappé, 2006). First is the flawed assumption by the British that the Jews and Arabs would accede to the intention of the plan. Here they display both a complete neglect of the socio-cultural elements of the conflict and an attempt to assuage their own guilt born of their own prejudices that placed obstacles in the way of pre- and post-holocaust immigration. They are too enabling a sense of entitlement exacted by the Zionists coupled to an acceptance of revisionist history and at best, vague religious dogma. In addition, the wording of the document, by neglecting the human rights of the Arabs, establishes a hierarchy on power not yet diminished in today’s current conflicts.

From this discussion we can begin to see three themes emerging, that the Jews lay historic claim to Palestine based on Biblical record, a legal claim that Palestine was never under the rule of transferred ownership to Rome and that because of their neglect in working the land the indigenous Arab population have no recognized religious, practical or legal right to ownership. Parenthetically, during the Camp David Accords, a primary consideration in the negotiations was the returning of land to Egypt taken by Israel to the pre 1967 war borders; that land acquired through war is not land possessed by the victor as outlined in UN Resolution 242 (Appendix C). It is of interest that the Jews’ legal claim

to Palestine and subsequently to Egypt, is premised upon a concept that suits their aspired purpose based on Roman law, but one that they denied in order to retain the land established as belonging to Egypt.

From our understanding of cognitive and developmental psychology supported by the validation of cited neuroscience, this historic backdrop explains future actions by Jewish, as well as Arab leaders. The select historical recollections became part of Jewish identity and were internalized by generations as normative. Conversely, the image of Jewish immigrants as intruders, and their later identity as violent, land grabbing occupiers were woven into Arab moral hardwiring, cognitive editing, as well as subsequent political outrage. These images, then, become part of the dual cognitive process contributing to the use-value of socially manifest symbolic interactions. Theories of secondary deviance inform us that those Jews who have over decades of political influence internalized this victimhood/aggressor identity coupled with a need for self or collective defense that stands as part of our human hard-wiring, adopt the character of the victim and predicate their decision-making calculus on those role ascriptions.

### **Biographies of Principle Actors**

#### **The Necessity of Personal Histories**

This study has posited that all human beings have an evolved cognitive machinery that in some respects exhibits what some call *a priori* knowledge, (E.g., the feelings one has when we witness an injustice, the need for community, the feelings we have for our own child, etc.). Haidt (2008) and others (Baron-Cohen, 1991; Casebeer & Churchland, 2003; Cáceda et al., 2011; Cropanzano et al., 2003; Forbes & Grafman, 2010) have determined that these “feelings” or as

others would have it, “instincts” are what allows us to be human, to be moral. Others have maintained that these “moral foundations” are necessary antecedents to the formation of cooperative groups and the maintenance of a certain productive and defined labor within a social group. Rawls (1971) refers to this as the foundation of (moral) justice and the primary binding principle of human relationships. Studies in cognitive neuroscience do in fact identify these moral centers, not so much as a single locus, but more like a collaboration between areas that determine emotion, calculation and social economics.

This study accepts the presence of this cognitive machinery in support of Greene’s assertion that it serves only as a “first edition” of cognitive functioning and that much of its facilitative actions remain in the background as unconscious behavioral dispositions that influence the conscious part of a dual-process of decision-making (Greene & Haidt, 2002; Paxton & Greene, 2010). The editing of those predispositions is seen in what we have labeled the use-value of environmental symbols, both material and non-material, and will allow the conscious portion of the dual process to override the unconscious component.

The editing itself comprises the evolved system of neural machinery coupled with environmental input provided by the individual’s cultural position (Bouchard, 2004; Casebeer & Churchland, 2003; Gross, 2010). While the integration of consciously realized experience into an unconscious experiential library may seem circuitous, it is accepted as normative in the cognitive and neurosciences.

As we endeavor to understand not simply the process of mediation, which by and large is the combination and execution of recognized methodologies and the ad hoc creation of mediation methods in often volatile environments by practitioners, we must also consider the cognitive processes, most importantly the creation and utilization of stakeholders' use-values that are attached to the symbols relevant to that methodology and subsequent interactions between those stakeholders; what are their likes and dislikes, what do they hold in higher and lesser regard in comparison to their counterparts and might they have an inherent but as yet unexplainable dislike for their opponent at a level that would challenge the veracity of the mediation event?

Finally, while in the realm of diplomatic interactions, we investigated how stakeholders express themselves through language, as we have established through the work of Chomsky, Habermas and others, that language is a reflection of the inner self; a representative of the cognitive processes. Structural linguistics can indicate a position, something favored, something upsetting to an individual and can, through semiotic analysis, be a harbinger of a mediation outcome. Indeed, language is purely ego-textual and reveals much of the inner workings of emotional use-values put into play while constructing a communicative transmission, regardless of its method of expression, spoken or written.

In order to determine how these behavioral predispositions are established, we must go back to the source. We identified major sources of influence on the disputant, the mediator and the project, through expressed semiotics and syntax,

the potential positions that this person(s) might hold. Through their own representations, positions and likely outcomes may emerge.

To establish a causal relationship between an individual's experiential history, the cognitive editing of pre-dispositional behaviors of biases and observed behaviors, we explored the elements that served as the major influences on the subject's external perceptions. In effect, we examined how the individual describes him or herself and the environment in which they find themselves by interrogating their own written descriptions as writing is decidedly egotextualized. Looking at the subject's own reporting gives us insight into how they defined the symbols resident to their socio-cultural environment, the use-value of material and non-material interactions and finally their perceptions of those interactions relative to a dual process decision-making formula.

Piaget (1952), Kohlberg (1981), and then Gilligan (1982) have shown that the cognitive development of a child is heavily dependent on early influences and manifest themselves in adulthood in some form or another. The most efficient way to establish or to make sense of these behavioral "editions," then is to examine the experiential history of the individual and then evaluate, through his or her own words, the link between childhood influences, major life events and the behavior demonstrated through an evaluation of written and spoken communication within the frame of conflict.

The end point was to determine whether or not a stakeholder's manifest behavioral predispositions prejudice their actions during a mediation; are they influenced by experiential history in the form of major life events or media influences to like or dislike their opponent based on ascribed use-value resultant



of a dual cognitive process and how does that impact the outcome of the mediation process. We will, for the sake of establishing a basis for predispositional assessment, provide biographical histories of each of the principle disputants and mediator under examination.

### **Menachem Begin**

Menachem Begin was the son of Zeev Dov and Hassia Biegun in the part of the Polish Russian Empire that would later be known as Belarus. Notably, Begin lived his early life in a rather well educated, middle class family by that time's standards. In terms of socialization, he was also in a rather closed environment as members of the Jewish diaspora tended to live in communities separated from the other indigent population (Brenner, 2003; Pappé, 2006). Often, these communities were relatively prosperous and were an easy target for suspicion and persecution by the lesser well-off non-Jewish surrounding communities. Therefore, the early editing of his moral machinery was sensitized to the more "binding" foundations outlined by Graham et al. (2009) and manifest later on in his ideological and political actions. According to Perlmutter (1987), Begin came to manhood during a period of high anti-Semitism in Poland, his father fanning the identity of victimhood and Eretz Israel.

This area was known for its population of Talmudic scholars as well as a meteoric rise in both religious and political anti-Semitism between 1900 and the Second World War. Begin's mother was descended from a line of revered rabbis while his father Zeev was a passionate Zionist and follower of Theodor Herzl. Herzl was considered one of the founders of political Zionism that promoted the

immigration of European Jews to Palestine in an effort to establish an independent Jewish State (Brenner, 2003).

Ironically, while Begin later followed the influences of the more radical revisionist Zionist Ze'ev Jabotinsky, his early influences were more of a Socialist Zionist nature. However, even Herzl who early had thought Jewish immigrants to Palestine might assimilate indigenous Arabs, later denied their existence in his published works, and placed the political necessity of a Jewish homeland around the threat of persecution, supporting Begin's father's strong influence of Jewish victimization (Perlmutter, 1987, p. 176)

Begin studied traditional (cheder) education for one year. Here, he was introduced to a more regimented study of Judaism and (modern) Hebrew. From there, his father moved him to a Tachemoni school (a school offering courses both in Judaic and general studies) that was closely associated with the Herzl Zionist movement. Herzl, having written of the collective anti-Semitism of all Jews worldwide, but particularly in Europe, advocated for their immigration to either Argentina or their Biblical homeland of Palestine which he was more inclined to advocate (Herzl, 2009).

In his 1895 book *Der Judenstaat*, Herzl advocated for this mass migration to a homeland in order that Jews could freely practice their own religion, culture and politics. Young Begin was a member of the Zionist Scouts movement, the Hashomer Hatzair which could be compared to the Boy Scouts of America, with a touch of Zionist influence: in all, not heavily ideological but focusing more on being outdoors, camping and the establishment of social skills. At the age of

fourteen, he attended the Polish Government School where he adopted a love of classical literature and a proficiency in Latin.

Dov, Begin's father, became disillusioned with Herzl's brand of political Zionism. He could not reconcile the fact that Herzl was promoting a Jewish immigration and independence to the Biblically defined Jewish Homeland that early accommodated Palestine's resident Arab population while advocating the Jews' assimilation and cooperation. This belied what Dov considered God's proclamation of an independent State for all Jews tainted by an almost palpable shade of revenge to vindicate and avenge the Jewish people (Cleveland, 2004).

He thought it better that his son be influenced toward his father's thought of an independent homogeneous State and found that satisfaction in the writing of and thought of Vladimir (his Hebrew name being Ze'ev) Jabotinsky. This may have been a bit confusing for young Begin, his father having always promoted revisionist Zionism while at the same time hearing the words of Herzl the socialist. However, social science has shown that the primary socializer, the family, has the greatest influence on children of that time in their moral and cognitive development (Kohlberg, 1981; Palmer & Palmer, 2002; Piaget, 1952). Also, Begin was inside the protective enclave of a Jewish community, which reinforced the victimology of anti-Semitic persecution at play in Europe. Jabotinsky and the revisionist ideology forwarded by his father had a more significant play in Begin's world (Kihlstrom, 1987; Margolis, 1987; Nanda & Warms, 2011).

Jabotinsky was the founder of the more radical Revisionist Zionism whose goal was to establish a Jewish Homeland of a homogeneous population that would encompass both sides of the Jordan River, “Eretz Israel” (Pappé, 2006). He considered this a historical destiny and a Biblical imperative that did not consider the presence or situation of the current Arab residents of any value other than an impediment to his goal. Revisionist Zionism served as the core of Begin’s commitment to Samaria and Judea (Perlmutter, 1987), those areas of the West Bank that were so often utilized in Begin’s political oratory and as a mechanism of rejection in the later “land for peace” mediations with Egypt, Jordan and Syria. While we examine the activities of Begin during his adulthood, Jabotinsky’s ideology clearly stood as the editor and chief of the use-value, moral foundations paradigm, focusing more on the group binding foundations than the individual ones (Graham et al., 2009). Begin adopted the Revisionist Zionist banner upon Jabotinsky’s death. He saw himself, as did Jabotinsky, as a representation of group values, philosophy and needs, almost a messianic personality type leading the wandering Jews of the Diaspora home (Aronoff, 2014; Perlmutter, 1987).

In addition to disregarding the resident population of Palestine, Jabotinsky’s model provided the impetus for radical Zionists, into which Begin evolved, to attack any presence of the British in Palestine and Algeria who were perceived as betrayers to the Jews following the White paper of 1939 which served to severely restrict Jewish immigration and land purchases in Palestine (Hooker, 1999; Zeitlin, 1947). A key factor in the evolution of future radical Jewish movements, who took up Jabotinsky’s quest, was his grand admiration for

everything military and the power it could provide in imposing one's manifest will on others; a predilection of watching the Russian military power from his home. So, at the age of sixteen and at the behest of his father, young Menachem Begin joined the youth group Betar, which was the ideological child of his future mentor, Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky.

It would be instructive at this point to point out a difference that will become clearer as we discuss the other antagonist in the Arab/Israeli conflict under study, Anwar el-Sadat, the future president of Egypt. These two men, although radically different in their views concerning the conflict addressed at Camp David, both fought to rid their respective areas of what each considered to be British colonialism. Both engaged in what would be considered revolutionary activities, Sadat through the use of the mainstream, State sponsored Egyptian military of which he was an officer, Begin through what was widely considered terrorist actions taken up by Irgun after it had split from the State recognized Jewish Defense Agency Haganah.

Begin's actions were the result of a break-away, more radical Zionist group that David Ben-Gurion, regarded as the founder of the Israeli State, demonized and labeled "anti-Israel" Ironically, both Sadat and Begin were reacting to a perceived betrayal on the part of the British mandate, the Arabs associating this betrayal with the Sykes-Picot agreement and the Balfour Declaration.

However, what is important to distinguish between the two men, are their motivations to engage the conflict. Sadat was fighting for his native homeland

where he had grown up, where his family had lived for millennia, where his grandmother had taught him the importance of the land and the village and where Egypt had its history as a world political, economic and cultural leader.

Begin's motivation was the mentality of the conqueror of a land he nor his ancestors had ever occupied for more than two millennia coupled with a messianic complex of leading his people back to the Promised Land. His was more of an ideological and victim-based battle defined and fueled by his primary socializers. Until his membership in the Polish military, he had never set foot in Palestine so there was more of an ancillary as opposed to a visceral pursuit to the land. But now it was property to which he felt he (and the Jews) were entitled to ideologically, and validated by religiously based assumptions that discounted the history of countless political outcomes and nation shaping wars waged there over thousands of years (Cleveland, 2004).

The diaspora occurred over two thousand years ago, and the occupation of Palestine by the Jews was driven by religious ideology that evolved and morphed into political entitlement, not uninterrupted occupation by history. Sadat felt betrayed by Egyptian leaders bought off by the British in a time of weakness, a lack of faith in their own history. Begin saw the British as an obstacle to his goal of acquiring Eretz Israel.

Already in Begin's early life we can see that he was destined to be reactionary by a culture that promoted first an encouragement of constant probative engagement by both his mother's rabbinical relatives embedded within a culture of Talmudic academia, and second a hatred of anti-Semitism that

yielded a particular victimology that directly played on his innate moral mechanisms. Earlier, it was shown that Talmudic discourse is one of intense questioning and logistics easily bridging the gap between being passive and one of emotional challenge. The use-values of the symbolism associated with such constant bombardment of scholarly discourse are apparent in his speeches, correspondence and other writings.

The identification with a need to flee from an environment framed by visceral religious and political anti-Semitism is easily established both culturally and through association with Haidt's moral foundations or simply the 'instinct' for survival. But perhaps not so much individual survival as group survival. It also constructs a rather predictable victimology in unconsciously placing himself and others like him in a position of forced minority or out-group status whose only recourse is fight or flee (Harré & van Lagenhove, 1999; Kihlstrom, 1987; Kubota et al., 2012; Milgram, 1974; Pettigrew, 1971; Robertson et al., 2007).

In a sense, Begin was primed to receive the influence of Jabotinsky's vision of an independent, homogenous Palestine, whose establishment would embrace any methodology for success, political or violent. His early use-values, the first editing of his moral machinery had been done in an atmosphere of acute inquiry by Begin's mother and the latent radicalism of his father. Coupled with his mentor's predilection for the use of military force and the motivations of religiously based radical nationalism a picture starts to emerge of Begin as a man guided by logic on the one hand, and haunted by a certain predation and vengeance on the other (Perlmutter, 1987). This serves as a prime example of

how experiential history serves as the editor of moral machinery and plays an important role in the assignment of use-value to environmental interactions both material and non-material.

In this case, other people become demonized as obstacles to a goal and a disregard for certain human rights in that pursuit. While Begin struck out mostly against non-Jews, the King David Hotel incident showed that generally, human rights were not important to him as both Jews and non-Jews were killed in the action against the British. During the Camp David Accords, this penchant for demonization of the Palestinians and Arabs in general manifested itself numerous times both in the general forum and as evidenced in his private conversations with his entourage (Carter, 1982; Dayan, 1981; Wright, 2014).

Begin studied law at the University of Warsaw while still being active in Betar becoming a disciple of its founder Jabotinsky. At University, he honed his skills in oratory and rhetoric that became his strength as a successful politician and Israeli leader. His style was authoritative coupled with an almost obsessive regard for the forms of legal and constitutional process. He was charismatic, autocratic and demonstrated a patriarchal style that bordered on a messianic personality. He has been referred to by Perlmutter (1987) and Pappé (2006) as a “maximalist.”

Experiencing harsh anti-Semitism on his Warsaw Law School campus, Begin organized an opposition group of Jewish students. Never practicing law, he achieved a meteoric rise in Betar in a vain attempt to smuggle 1500 Polish Jews to Palestine where Herzl had successfully negotiated a process of property



acquisition and control through the Jewish-Ottoman Land Company (Brenner, 2003; Hooker, 1999).

As a now well-known pre-World War Two Zionist in Poland, Begin was arrested and spent time in a Russian Gulag before being released as a Polish citizen by the 1941 Sikorski–Mayski Agreement following the German non-Aggression Agreement with the Soviet Union in 1939. Joining the new Free Polish Army, Begin was later sent to Palestine in 1942. As a Polish Jew in Palestine, he was given the choice by his commander to return to anti-Semitic Poland to fight the Nazis who had already killed his family or to remain in Palestine to help establish a Jewish State (Perlmutter, 1987). Here we see more evidence of use-value and victim-shaping that will influence future decision-making calculi most notably the foundation of liberty/oppression (Graham et al., 2009) that leads Begin to a preference for violent action through radicalism and terrorism.

He remained in Palestine and joined the paramilitary group Irgun, a group considered terroristic by critics like David Ben-Gurion, in its violent efforts to establish an independent State of Jewish homogeneity. The loss of his family in the horror of the holocaust only intensified Begin's hatred of anti-Semitism and his identity as a victim focusing his conscious decision-making in terms of one seeking personal vindication as a survivor and a leader radicalized by an ever-perceived hostile environment (Botvinick et al., 2001; Bowlby, 1969; Cahill et al., 1995; de Waal, 2008; Gilovich et al., 2010). A land of safety and rights was not a desire, it was a Kantian imperative.

The editing of Begin's moral machinery was complete and would always be reflected in his personal and political life. His morality and subsequent use-value was now premised on the foundation of victim and in-group loyalty, a general feeling of

paranoia of any out-group member (non-Jew) and to some extent revenge for the murder of two of the most important people in his life, his father Dov and his mother Hassia. The history of the Jews was now clear to him, one of pogrom and extermination by non-Jews that always lurked in the background. The Holocaust served as a potent metaphor for the historic and contemporary suffering of Jews worldwide. Begin was destined to assume the role of group protector and protagonist demanding at a minimum, loyalty to the Jewish and to his cause.

Begin's rise in Betar was a fast one. He used it as a platform to challenge the dominant Zionist leadership of Ben-Gurion, considering them passive and too tolerant of the Arabs and British mandate. He advocated armed resistance to the British presence and joined the Jewish underground splinter group Irgun (aka Etzel) in 1942. Irgun was a more radical and violent breakaway component in 1931 of the Jewish military organization Haganah. Begin led Irgun in 1944 and vowed to have British troops removed from Palestine. This was in response to the British blocking the immigration of thousands of European Jews to Palestine from the Displaced Persons Camps (DPC) following the Holocaust (Pappé, 2006).

Begin considered this another example of Britain's pro-Arab policy as well as another move towards British colonialism. So, between 1944 and 1948, Irgun undertook a violent campaign against the British in an effort to force their withdrawal from Mandate Palestine. Begin ordered the bombing of a night club popular with British officers and the bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem where 91 people, British, Arab, and Jewish, were killed. Being very adept at the use of symbolism, Begin ordered the kidnapping of two British Sergeants from Acre prison and hung them publically in

retaliation of the execution of several Irgun officials. He publically flogged British military personnel in an effort to persuade Jews to take up arms against what he considered British occupiers. It was at this point that Sir John Shaw, Britain's chief of security in Palestine, placed a bounty on Begin's head and declared Irgun a terrorist organization. Clearly, Irgun's motivations ejected any regard for human rights and could be a focused reflection of Begin's predispositions toward the darker side of moral maturity and environmentally influenced dual cognition (Haidt, 2008; Haidt & Nosek, 2012; Mikhail, 2011; Paxton & Greene, 2010).

The moral guideposts of Begin's behavior toward out-group members was becoming pronounced coupled to predispositions to prevent other Jewish pogroms as well as an early fascination of military power like his mentor Jabotinsky (Hooker, 1999; Pappé, 2006). When he regarded the more present Arab population as a whole, he perceived an amorphous ghost-like enemy waiting for an opportunity to strike. He appeared cold, insensitive and paranoid and showed a peculiar indifference to the suffering of others (Perlmutter, 1987). Some biographers correctly attribute this to his time spent in the Russian Gulags when he was younger and the loss of his family to the holocaust. The Jewish community that he grew up in, the Jewish world that he had regarded as his home was now all gone. His insularity and aggression is the result of these historic experiences.

A more contemporary example would be his testimony at the hearings on the Sabra and Shatila massacre in Lebanon where 3,500 people, mostly Palestinians, were killed by the Israeli Defense Forces who were attempting to destroy a suspected PLO stronghold. "He took the PLO threat to destroy Israel at face value and ruthlessly,

efficiently and methodically undertook to destroy it” (Perlmutter, 1987, p. 56. Begin had earlier staged a similar attack on the Palestinian village of Dir Yassin. It was rumored to be a staging area for Arab attacks on Jerusalem. This was also regarded by many investigators as a massacre and would be referenced later in the Sabra-Shatila investigations (Bregman, 2002; Harris, 1996). What is clear in these examples was his lack of moral justice when applied to non-Jews, all of who he viewed as a mortal threat to Eretz Israel and her citizens.

It was reported that Begin demonstrated an almost “Business-like” detachment at the massacre hearings. Perlmutter (1987) comments that the victims blurred into a single Arab body to which Begin was indifferent. If we refer back to the moral machinery discussed earlier, we can see a direct association between that demonstrative lack of empathy, and the binding foundation of revenge to out-groups (Haidt, 2008). We questioned if in fact, in Begin’s mind, the Arabs had taken the place of the Holocaust Nazis. This behavior went far beyond other author’s attributing this behavior to Revisionist Zionism’s ideology and ironically was deemed by the Kahan Commission in 1983 as a form of genocide, later to be labeled “racist” by the UN General Assembly although that label later repealed.

This aggression and indifference is a clear indicator of the manifestation of an experiential history of victimology as described by Gross (2010) and Mikhail (2011). Begin remained actively ignorant of Arab culture and customs; they were not relevant to him, that is, they possessed little if any use-value. Later, this same indifference and moral self-righteousness, coupled with a certain oratorical and semiotic aggression was manifest in his behavior toward President Anwar el-Sadat at Camp David. His primary

consistency was the viewing of his Arab neighbors as a significant threat that they posed to the State of Israel and an obstacle to the establishment of Eretz Israel.

Begin's controversies did not emanate only from the shadowy threat of the Palestinian Arabs or the lurking presence of the British. Indeed, a significant piece of opposition came from within his own Jewish constituency represented by the leader of some of the original settlers, David Ben-Gurion. Ben-Gurion and his group were part of the original pioneers who had emigrated to Palestine in the early 1900's and sought to shape the future of the independent Jewish State, but under the flag of Socialist Zionism. Begin represented the more radical revisionists and was part of the last diaspora population from Europe (Perlmutter, 1987).

Ben-Gurion was in stiff opposition to Irgun's independent agenda and saw it as a direct challenge to the representative authority of the Jewish community. He denounced Irgun publically as an 'enemy of the Jewish people,' and accused it of being a direct contributor to failure in the formation of a Jewish State. To that end, Ben-Gurion's Haganah pursued Irgun members, turning them over to British authorities during what was titled the "hunting season" (Gilbert, 1998; Pappé, 2006).

Begin, in wanting to prevent a Jewish civil war, instructed his membership to not engage in violent resistance to the JDL/Haganah. A similar outcome was present with Ben-Gurion's sinking of the supply ship *Atalena*, which was bringing weapons to Irgun to fight the British and the Palestinian Arabs. Again, instead of taking Jewish lives, Begin backed down (Pappé, 2006).

Ben-Gurion despised Begin, both personally and ideologically. Even in later years when Begin was a member of the Israeli Knesset, Ben-Gurion would contemptuously never refer to him by name, only as ‘that other member’ (Carter, 1997; Perlmutter, 1987) Ironically, Begin respected his conflict partner and it was said that he often imitated and emulated him in style and politics (Perlmutter, 1987). But Ben-Gurion was staunchly opposed to the revisionist’s methods, tainting their credibility with the pallor of terrorism and murder. This merely adds to Begin’s perceived isolation and victimology, the foundations of his sense of self (Gross, 2010). Indeed, Begin was a man haunted by the past, a past that quite manifestly defined his future and the future of Israel.

### **Anwar Sadat**

“I learned something that stayed with me the rest of my life; that wherever I go, wherever I happen to be, I shall always know where I am. I can never lose my way because I know that I have living roots there, deep down in the soil of my village, in that land in which I grew, like the trees and the plants.” (Anwar al-Sadat, 1981, p. 6).

In developing a “mediation profile” of Anwar Sadat we paid close attention to how he described his perceptions of those elements prominent in the historical epoch that contextualized his early life. Is there a “tone” to his writing, can we identify any sort of emotion that is attached to his narrative generally or with regards to specific themes, how he responds to obstacles or support manifest in human interactions, ideologies or historical events.

We have already described the early stages of cognitive and moral development in

keeping with Piaget and Kohlberg (1969), and how the phenomenon encountered through social interactions prove a significant impact on adult behavior, r.e., the editing of innate interactional capacities leading to identifiable behavioral predispositions. But to review, Greene, Churchland and others would describe this early influence as the evolution and editing of a cognitive foundation for dual process decision-making and lends significant validation to the notion of symbolic use-value. With those things in mind, we turn to Anwar Sadat.

Sadat was born in 1918, one of 13 children in the small Egyptian village of Mit Abul-Kum, close to the much larger urban center of Cairo and situated along the Nile River considered by many historians as the cradle of life. Sadat entered the world during a time of British occupation and colonialism in Egypt. His country had sold the navigation and mooring rights along the Suez Canal to the British in an attempt to mitigate its significant debt (Brenner, 2003). The controlling of this primary source of commerce allowed the British to exact significant political control over the region, resulting in Egypt being considered by its occupiers, a British colony which for the most part followed the traditional British rule by military occupation. As will be discussed below, it was the presence of “these aliens with bulging eyes and red faces,” (Sadat, 1978, p. 9) that provided a focus and eventual metaphor of Sadat’s hatred for anyone who came to “his” country in order to control “his land” or humiliate “his people.”

Sadat’s use of the possessive reveals a significant piece of his personality. Sadat considered himself, as described by Zahid Mahmood (1985), a father to the Egyptian people and the conservator of Egypt itself. In effect, Sadat believed he was Egypt, its father and protector, of its land and the people that lived there and the designate to deliver

his people from the current occupiers and all future interlopers. The descriptors in this brief abstract using Sadat's own words gives important clues to his predispositions relative to the British at that time, and his future regard for Israel's occupation of the Sinai.

In his written autobiography, Sadat (1978a) demonstrates the psycho-social foundations that lead to this messianic like attitude, a man whose very essence is intimately linked to the land and to its history, his sacred mission to return Egypt to its historic prominence in a post-modern world and a more than personal relationship with, justification from and an almost representational relationship with God.

Sadat paints an intimate picture of a 'small dark boy, barefooted and wearing a long Arab dress over a white calico shirt, my eyes fixed on the jar of delicious treacle' (1978a, p. 10). He was referring to a treat brought to him by his grandmother, who was one of the most important influences in his young life. She was a storyteller, and nightly engaged the young Sadat in the oral history of his family and of Egypt. His grandmother instilled in the future president a love of knowledge, history, of the land and his important connection to it. While his Grandmother was illiterate, he considered her a well-spring of knowledge and insight, a person everyone in the village respected and sought out for information, advice and care.

The use of language to describe his feelings for her only served as a measurable variable to validate what the tone of kindness, love and respect already depicted. This becomes a common thread in Sadat's writing. There is no difficulty in identifying which emotion he is feeling. He proves himself a skilled and gifted storyteller whose flourish for vivid emotional description becomes quickly evident to a reader. The same can be



said of watching any one of Sadat's (1978b) speeches regardless of the venue. His tones, his inflections, his body language all demonstrate the intensity and theme of his inner thought. This author, in listening to hours of Sadat's speeches, developed a sense of subjective evaluation, sensing whenever there was an inner conflict between what the president was feeling and what he was saying. I came to know certain "tells" he had when delivering political messages to his people and to other political audiences. While difficult to quantify, it does warrant parenthetical mention relative to the cognitive evaluation we give to every speaker we encounter.

The village was a metaphor that described Egypt as a whole, its land, its value system and its people. When Sadat (1978b) spoke of his village, he spoke of the place that made him happy, taught him about the value of hard work and volunteerism common to most everyone there and that the work of a good man is his duty in pursuance of the common good for the village. He describes working with the village men bringing water to the fields, moving from field to field using an Archimedean screw to raise water from the canal to the crops without a thought from anyone of reward, only of increased production and happiness for the entire village who benefited from their collective labor. Indeed, the presence of a mechanical solidarity (Durkheim, 1982) was in abundant evidence.

Everything in the village made me ineffably happy: going out to get carrots, not from the Green grocer but from the land itself. ...our boyish games in the village by moonlight...and the entertainment that took place on a rustic open stage in the heart of the land with nature all around us and the bare sky above. (Sadat, 1981, p. 10).

This collective labor made young Sadat (1982) feel as though he was a part of something greater than the village proper, it made him feel a part of the land, something he considered more significant, grander, vaster, greater than one's self. This sentiment provides a key to his possessiveness with anything having to do with Egypt and the concept of family which clearly transcends what westerners would regard as the functional definition. It also serves as a potent element in the development of his moral foundations.

He would recall that he could often hear the voice of his grandmother in his adulthood, echoes that became almost audible telling him that nothing was as important as his being a child of this land. She considered it the harbor of creation (Sadat, 1978a, 1978b). Indeed, how often have we heard the voice of someone in our past guiding us, teaching us or warning us to an action or inaction, or our "inner voice" directing us to a feeling? Indeed, our brain's manifestation of pattern recognition can take on many faces. Science would tell us that these "voices" are merely the reassembling of pieces of memories into a cogent recognizable thought as opposed to someone in absence or our "alter-ego" attempting to communicate with us directly (Baron-Cohen, 1991; Bashkow, 2004).

To Sadat, the land and everything that came from it, lived upon it or could be gained from it, was provided by God. This included the language he used to describe God's gifts. Many of his phrases are "matter-of-fact," and bore no place for questioning. God had said, through the Holy Koran, everything that needed to be said. Man's purpose was merely to communicate it to those that had not yet heard its guidance or its innate beauty. This supports the notion discussed earlier that an Arab speaker sees no benefit to

empirical inquiry relative to the state of affairs. So questioning or linguistic structures as used by Begin, would be considered pointless and almost nonsensical, and at some point blasphemous. God's plan is God's plan and is immutable.

This distinct contrast to Judaic inquiry thought to be encouraged by the Talmud and the patterns of Modern Hebrew that emerged from that premise are quite cacophonous to an Arab listener. From a young age then, Sadat knew that two knowing adults could settle great conflicts, if only placed within this presumed contextual understanding shown through God's language, Arabic and the Holy Koran.

That big shady tree was made by God. He decreed it and it came into being. These fresh green plants whose seeds that we ourselves had sown, could never had been there if God had not decreed it. This land on which I walked, this running water in the canal, indeed everything around me was made and overseen by God, a vast and mighty being that takes care of all, including me. (Sadat, 1981, p. 8).

But God had a way of challenging humankind by providing obstacles that had to be overcome. Sadat the child learned this obstacle was called the British and conceivably applied this early edited version of justice and in-group identification to the Israeli Prime Minister.

Sadat's grandmother informed her grandson of British colonialism from the time he was old enough to listen to her stories. As she was his primary caregiver during the frequent absences of his revered father during war and work, a man referred to by the village as "effendi," or "headman," due to his heroism and education, she would tell him stories of the evil the British had exacted upon the Egyptian people. She told him of the abuse perpetrated on his people for resisting British rule and painted them as "odious,

tomato skinned aliens with bulging eyes” (Sadat, 1978a, p. 9). Later, Sadat would describe the British in the same way, not fearing them, but simply hating them and knowing that if this ‘ugly alien’ ever entered his village, “he could never take a step” (p. 9).

Sadat’s hatred of the British at an early age was evident, and fanned by the stories of his grandmother. It is not a great conceptual leap to see the British as a generic term for occupier, with its eventual application to the Israeli occupation of the Sinai. These occupiers were in effect, trying to remove a visceral part of Sadat’s essence; the land he described as being a part of him, to run through his veins like blood. In the descriptions of his early life, we can see clear parallels to his attitudes toward anyone taking possession of something he considered sacred, and something that was a part of him, and he a part of it. He knew that fighting against the British occupation was dealt harshly by them, and his Grandmother recited the ballads of Mustafa Kamil, an Egyptian dissident and political leader who was poisoned by the British. Sadat universalized this crime to project the offense as having been committed against all Egyptians. Sadat (1978b) said, “I knew only, at that young age, that there were forces called the British that were alien to us, and they were evil because they poisoned people” (p. 5).

Coming from this travesty of occupation and abuse were Sadat’s heroes who would influence his decision-making processes well into political adulthood, and were often referred to his autobiography as part of his decision-making formulae. All four of Sadat’s champions, his moral editors, had one thing in common, a rabid disaffection for outsiders occupying or attempting to occupy their land; to take something away from his people that was part of them, part of God’s grand design, something that was equivalent

to their entire cultural history. Historically, practically and as destined by God, this was their land in perpetuity; something supported by Islamic law (Irani, 2000; Kamrava, 2011).

His grandmother paid particular homage to a man named Zahran whose ballad she recited nightly to the young Sadat. In Zahran's hometown of Denshway, British soldiers ignited a fire while randomly shooting at birds injuring several villagers. The villagers went after the soldiers who were responsible for the loss of property and the injuries killing one of them accidentally. Those who were accused of the killing of the soldier were summarily executed or put into prison for extended sentences by the British military with the collusion of the resident Egyptian legal system. This was all done without a proper trial in accordance with Egyptian law, but more for the patronizing of the occupiers.

One of those to be executed, Zahran, refused to plead for his life. He went to the Gallows with his head held high in defiance of the British occupiers and in contempt for the Egyptians who had cooperated in his sentence. Sadat felt that Zahran felt "superior, since he possessed the most powerful and effective weapon; rejection of anyone or anything who sought to humiliate him or his people" (Sadat, 1978b, p. 5). He did not limit the presence of the British and their barbarity to any geography. Indeed, he blamed those Egyptians who participated in the 'trial' of his hero, Zahran, as British collaborators and no better than their overlords.

Here we see a distinct demonstration of Sadat's expression of betrayal and his zero-sum response to it. Also, he associates humiliation to outside actors, never people of kind. His grandmother's stories supported Sadat's view of humility, bravery, and

sacrifice all directed toward the preservation of the village and of the land upon which it sat, placed there ultimately by God.

Sadat (1978b) said later that he revered Zahran and wanted to be Zahran. In many references in his autobiography, Sadat reflected that he felt in many ways, that the image of Zahran guided him in his zeal to challenge and destroy anyone who invaded his country. He hoped that someday, a ballad similar to Zahran's would be sung about Sadat and his protection of his family, his village, his country.

Sadat's other heroes included Kemel Ataturk, who challenged the Ottoman Empire in establishing the modern state of Turkey. He was instrumental in thwarting colonialism and establishing admired civil service reforms. Mohandas Gandhi represented the symbol of justice and its attainment in a non-violent manner. Most important was Gandhi's dedication to justice and how it served as the foundational definition, or ideal type that Sadat aspired to in his political actions. He so admired Gandhi that he adopted his persona when he was a young man, wearing his clothing and meditating on a pallet atop the roof of his home (Mahmood, 1985).

An avid reader, Sadat emulated Napoleon Bonaparte while he was in exile in St. Helena. The tale was told of the British officer who was in charge of Napoleon, having the doors of the little general's house made shorter so that he would be forced to bend down, to lower his head every time he transited to another room where a picture of the King was hung, effectively making him bow and thus be humiliated in the presence of the British King. Like Zahran, Napoleon refused to lower his head and twisted his body through the door in a way such that he would be able to keep his head held high. While professed to be an "old wives' tale," Sadat focused on the refusal to submit to unjust

authority, a clear association to Haidt's Fairness/Cheating foundation (Haidt, 2012).

Finally, Sadat admired Adolf Hitler, but only in so much as he posed a definite threat to British authority and colonialism everywhere (he stresses that point in an effort not to appear in any way supportive of Hitler's extermination of the Jews). But in retrospect, if this was demonstrated in the security briefings given to Begin before ever meeting with Sadat, this direct association with the Holocaust probably served as a significant trigger in Begin's predisposition of dislike toward the Egyptian president. Sadat makes the point that through his grandmother's stories, he had learned already to despise the British at a very young age, even before he had ever seen one. "I can say that a certain feeling had struck root in me by the time I left school, a hatred of all aggressors and a love and admiration for anyone trying to liberate his land" (Sadat, 1978a, p. 15).

At a very early age, before any of his formal schooling, Sadat (1978a) had determined that he would be the one who would destroy the British and deliver the people from their rule. The key word in this thought is "deliver," which will give a clue to the origins of a messianic personality evolving and being edited in Anwar Sadat. He wished to be the living manifestation of heroism in the Egyptian mind, "...particularly was that this hero was a powerful enemy of the British...the people who occupied our land and whose presence we resisted in every possible way" (p. 27).

While desiring to eliminate the British threat and occupation, Sadat looked for a method in which to do it. He was well aware that Gandhi's methods, while admirable, only provided the moral justification for what had to be done. Looking for a way that would assure the execution of justice this he returned to one of his childhood heroes, Kamel Ataturk, the man who liberated and rebuilt his country. Sadat (1978b) says that he

first admired Ataturk's uniform in that it symbolized a common thought and something that would stand out among the people identifying his as commonly recognized leader, a reference to the commonality, and mechanical solidarity of the village. He also knew that Ataturk could not have planned nor executed his revolution, or have even considered his plan, had he not had a strong military. A certain irony is shown here in comparing Sadat and Begin, as Begin's mentor and hero, Jabotinsky (Shlaim, 2014), was also enamored of the military that served as not only a symbol of righteous and moral power, but a tool for Israeli security, a theme repeated again and again at Camp David.

These experiences, Sadat's socio-cultural history, serve as a foundation in the explanation of the path he chose, the way in which he reacted to threats to himself and to his country either directly or symbolically. Upon joining the military he began a revolutionary group of officers that culminated in the ousting of the British from Egypt. A key participant in this was Gamal Abdel Nasser, later the president who appointed Sadat his Vice President who would then succeed him upon Nasser's death. An important point to be made is that, unlike Begin who led a non-State sanctioned resistance group, Sadat established a group within the legitimate parameters of a State agency who was being burdened with out-group personnel and rules, (i.e., the British).

As president it was observed that Sadat behaved like the village headman, a position to which all young Egyptian boys aspired. Sadat was now the headman of Egypt (Perlmutter, 1982) and in this role, he had come to expect other village headmen, such as Begin in Israel, to speak to one another in a certain regard and be able to logically settle disagreements between themselves without the intrusion of others. He would also expect, in the tradition of Arab social traditions that if something was offered to another



headman, that something would be expected in return and in kind from his counterpart. This behavior will be seen repeatedly within the context of the Camp David Accords.

### **Jimmy Carter**

James Earl “Jimmy” Carter was born October 1, 1924 in the midst of the depression. His home was one of minimalist simplicity. In the Carter house, washing was done in a large iron pot and two fireplaces were used for heat, sometimes for cooking. One cannot help but to already draw a parallel between Carter’s humble beginnings and those of Anwar Sadat who relished his simple village home while hearing stories told as he lounged over the “old wood heater” (Carter, 2001, p. 32).

Carter lived in the ultra-segregationist rural Georgia in a town that had as its residents 25 black families and very few white families with whom the Carters had little contact. Illiteracy was rampant among the black families as they were denied an education in white schools. This hierarchy of resources was supplemented by an attitude of intimidation of the blacks by the whites, an attitude supported by business, government and many clergy. From an early age, by Carter’s own admission he recognized the injustices being directed towards a certain population group similar to how Sadat described the injustices meted out by the British on his village family (Bourne, 1997).

True, these abuses of justice were particular to the politics and geography of the period experienced, however as Boehm (1999) reminds us, the innate cognitive machinery of the brain does not early recognize politics or geography, only interactions resident to its own directly perceived environment. Still, while Sadat made a designation of his people, this is a manifestation of his conscious cultural

use-value in conjunction with the foundation of moral justice inherent to his unconscious cognition (Rawls, 1971; Tancredi, 2010). Carter, made these associations because of who served as his primary socializers when he was a child, thus establishing parallel use-values of human rights, truth, equality and empathy.

Jimmy's father, Earl Carter employed many of the black families in the town and provided rent free housing for those working on the farm or working in the warehouse. While maintaining an air of the common segregationist attitude, something necessary for political and business survival of the time, Earl leaned more toward the liberal outlook of his wife Lillian, both being discussed below (Bourne, 1997; Carter, 1982).

Jimmy's early life, or in the parlance of Kohlberg (1971), Piaget (1952) and others the "early stages of his moral development," was formed inside an environment where the influence of black individuals far outweighed others. His mother, who was a retired army nurse, continued to provide medical care to all families in the area, mostly black. To care for young Jimmy, Lillian hired Annie Mae Hollis, a 13 year old black girl who cared for the children and worked for the family for over 21 years. According to Carter (2001), Annie was frequently in trouble with the law for minor infractions, all punishable by jail, and was always eager to speak of her injustices to the young boy.

A significant influence in young Carter's life was a black woman named Rachael Clark, the wife of Earl's field hand. Jimmy described her as having a royal grace and with a "queen-like" demeanor. She cleaned the Carter home, but would take care of Jimmy when the need arose. When his parents were gone for any length

of time, Jimmy would stay at the Clark home, a “ramshackle” house near the farm. Jimmy described Rachael Clark as his “second mother” (Bourne, 1997), who taught him how to fish and most importantly that it was a man’s responsibility to nurture the land. It would not be a large leap of concept to insinuate the shadow of Sadat’s grandmother who taught the future president the same lesson. This appreciation and love for the land grew in young Carter under the influence of other major players in his early cognitive development.

Jimmy’s father Earl Carter was described as being energetic, the hardest working man in town, and an aggressive business man with a constant smile, something later emblematic of the Carter presidency. Many saw him also as shy and withdrawn whose outgoing personality masked a desperate need to be liked by everyone; a characteristic that would also be said to avail itself in the future president. His children saw their father as serious, self-disciplined and working from sun up to sun down. In his autobiography, Carter several times referred to his father as “the hardest working man on the farm.” While active in local politics and retail supply, Earl’s greatest passion was for the land (Carter, 1997). He considered the land God’s source of all things good and passed this on to his son in philosophy and actions, a direct parallel to the Sadat perception.

In this time of depression era ultra-segregation, Earl Carter was a man of contradictions. His role in local business and politics demanded an outward personage of prejudice toward the black population yet he would provide the ancillary costs of healthcare unaffordable to his wife’s black patients for medicine and health supplies. He was frugal and bought nothing on credit giving him the resource of ready cash, something few had at the time. However, when he heard of someone in extreme financial need, he

would (anonymously) provide money to help, regardless of the color of their skin. To avoid being identified as the benefactor for the purpose of racial politics or altruism, Earl would always use a trusted intermediary. Nobody ever knew where the assistance came from. At his passing, Earl forgave thousands of dollars in personal debt to the dismay of some family members (Bourne, 1997; Carter, 1997).

He was a man who did not like risking upsetting people and wanted to be liked. But in this era of clear lines of racial separation, Earl, in addition to providing free rent to the farm workers, also hosted a huge barbeque every fourth of July for his workers and their families usually totaling more than 400 people and would place his radio in the window of his home during the Joe Lewis versus Max Schmeling heavy-weight title fight so many of his 260 black workers could listen (Bourne, 1997).

A devout Baptist and Secretary of his local church, Earl defiantly took his family to the movies on Sunday after the clergy determined that this was prohibited. He supported the racist views of others in the community, but was tolerant if not supportive of Lillian's more liberal, egalitarian views. When Jimmy got older, his father put him in the fields working side by side with the black help picking cotton, something rarely done in the segregationist south and provided another editing force in the future president's cognition (Carter, 2001).

Jimmy's father was well known in town running a large farm and peanut warehouse. He was involved in the insurance business and various real estate endeavors but most important to him and his family, although sometimes controversial, always highly regarded and honest. Jimmy was identified with his father and appreciative of that.

He was proud of his Dad and like Sadat's effendi father, regarded often as the headman of his community to whom others would seek out for help and counsel (Sadat, 1978a).

To his children Earl passed on the importance of discipline and respect for authority. He was a purveyor of truth and would fast punish anyone he revealed as a liar. His wife Lillian said, "He hated a liar. He'd whip for lying faster than anything else," (Bourne, 1997, p. 45). This attitude clearly served to establish an early editing of young Jimmy's moral machinery. Jimmy would later say that, "my father was a very firm but understanding director of my life and habits" (Bourne, 1997, p. 34). It is clear that this moral foundation of betrayal plays an important role of Carter's feelings toward his stakeholders in the Camp David Accords (Carter, 2010; Zelizer, 2010). As will be shown below, he often saw Sadat as an "honorable and honest man," yet Begin often through his actions of establishing new settlements or changing his statements opportunistically during the Camp David negotiations, demonstrated a perceived betrayal that would inflame Carter as President in Begin's unspoken but clearly described actions of a liar.

Since his mother was absent frequently during his early years on her regional nursing rounds, Jimmy's father served as the primary source of emotional support. The boy would wake up at night when his mother was gone and often sneak into bed to sleep with his father. But Earl's affection came at the price of hard work and strict discipline to labor, business and moral control. After all, President Carter would often state that despite his strict adherence to truth and hard work, he "was always my best friend." Ironically, Carter grew up obedient to authority, but at the same time resentful of it (Bourne, 1997). This would reveal itself often during his years as a cadet at the U.S.

Naval Academy in Annapolis and again during his later presidency and his interactions with Congress (Carter, 2010).

Jimmy's mother Lillian showed a level of independence unusual for a woman of that time. Her deep concern for the black families was at some degree forgiven as a legitimate act of Christian charity, but on the other frowned upon by the resident whites. Clearly, she was unafraid of controversy and like Earl, instilled that in her son. Coupled with her husband's quiet philanthropy, their acts of brave volunteerism would be emulated and shape their son's moral philosophy (Bourne, 1997). She was a great reader and consumed academia as one would food and passed this love of learning on to her son as well, something he was noted for during his presidency; researching each topic of governance more than anyone else (Carter, 1997, 2010). His administration said of him as Plains had said of his father Earl, "He was the most hard-working of us all" (Quandt, 1986a).

That tenacity for knowledge was honed by his teacher, Julia Coleman. She was described by Carter as a woman of commanding presence with an air of academic aristocracy. She was once invited to tea with Eleanor Roosevelt in recognition of her teaching as the Plains school outperformed all others in the regions, no small feat in the deep south of the time. Her mantra was "readers make leaders," proven by her star student's acceptance to the U.S. Naval Academy and eventual presidency (Bourne, 1997; Carter, 1997, 2010).

Miss Coleman incorporated the memorization of Bible verses as representative of her sense of responsibility for grounding her students' philosophical foundations in Christian values, something important is establishing young Carter's moral editing and

use-value as it was in young Sadat and Begin as well; the force of religious symbolism. Carter has said that the relationship he had with his teacher was at least as important in shaping his moral foundations as was with his parents (Carter, 1997, 2010). We could draw similar conclusions in interrogating the Sadat autobiography where he attests to the same importance to his Grandmother in her teaching him through stories, ballads and the memorizing of the Holy Koran.

Carter's teacher had him memorize I Corinthians as an exercise in building a moral philosophy which focused on selfless love, the central pillar of the Christian faith. It was here that Carter recognizes the value and worth of his parents' acts of philanthropy and volunteerism that he had witnessed his entire early life (Carter, 1997). Those acts now took on a religious symbolism and high use-value that stuck with him the rest of his life and that he admits shaped his perception of the world as it could be.

Building upon that foundation, and recognizing Carter as an avid reader yet a shy student, Coleman enlisted the future president into the school debate club where he learned the value of research, preparation and presentation. He most notably learned to firmly articulate his positions in the face of conflict during those debate matches. It was in this environment that Jimmy overcame his natural shyness and perfected the projection of calm during conflict to his repertoire (Carter, 1997).

One of young Carter's favorite books was one assigned by his Miss Coleman, Tolstoy's "War and Peace." It showed him "that the course of human events, even great historical ones, is determined ultimately not by the leaders, but by the common ordinary people. Their hopes and dreams, their doubts and fears, their courage and tenacity, their quiet commitments to determine the destiny of the world" (Carter, 1997, p. 174). This

would leave the imprint in the way that Jimmy Carter the president of the United States would see the relationship between the government and the people. It no doubt guided him toward the topic of his high school commencement speech he presented at the behest of his teacher, Miss Coleman, “The Building of a Community.”

Clearly, many parallels of experiences in the early lives of the future presidents Carter and Sadat can be drawn, particularly with respect to the socio-environmental context that provided symbolic use-value to their perception of the world. In this last section describing Carter, an even stronger association can be drawn between the two men. Specifically, their path toward attending respective military academies that would not only highlight their personal moral underpinnings, but also serve as a harbinger of their future performance in respective political arenas, especially the Arab-Israeli conflict at Camp David.

At a very early age, Carter had decided that he wanted to attend the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. Similar to the case of Sadat’s pursuit of admittance into the Egyptian military Academy, both required a political appointment. Both of the men’s fathers, with some tenacity, secured those appointments, although with a deferred start-date of about a year. During that year, they both attended other colleges that would aid in their Academy studies. Carter, was always at the top of his class during that interim period and finished in the top 5% of the academy class. Here however, their histories diverge somewhat, as Sadat becomes involved with a group of officers in the Academy who wish to rebel against British colonialism and Carter goes on to become a respected officer and nuclear engineer in uncontested service to his country.



Acquiescing to the discipline of the Navy, Carter the plebe suffered at the hands of his upper classmen (a hazing tradition in military academies) but dealt with the conflict quietly and internalized his anger and feelings of injustice (Bourne, 1997). His sensitivity to injustice was well developed early in life as he witnessed the ultra-segregationalism of the Deep South. Similar to the concepts used by John Rawls in his “A Theory of Justice” (1971), Carter based his perception on the equal distribution of social capital such as education and access to a “healthy life,” and an opportunity for relevant employment.

He had at an early age seen the injustice of ultra-segregationalism toward blacks in the South who had played a significant part in his growing up invoking the names of Annie Hollis and Rachael Clark or his best friend as a child, A.D. Carter has written extensively on the feelings of anger and moral outrage this caused him in his autobiography (1997, 2010); something we will see indicative of his interactions later during the Camp David Accord. These feelings should not be confused with the often cited presumption of a Southern boy in the USNA Yankee environment. In reality, at the time of his attendance, US military academies were often populated by Southern men in the majority. Even though he was shielded from the desperate ravages of the depression by his father’s relative success and business sense, he was still witness to its horrors and this served as a moral delineator in his future interactions.

But we must ask; did the young cadet perceive a deeper sense of injustice than would his mostly privileged white classmates, and would this cause him to act in the way he did towards his inner and external conflicts? Consider, at the early stages of his “moral editing,” his primary social influences were Southern Blacks, one of which he considered his best friend, and another he considered his second mother, who by all estimates spent

more time with him than his mother Lillian while she controversially provided primary health care to underserved black families throughout the region. These people most loved and admired by Carter, were also subject to the prejudice and injustices prevalent at the time, all of which was observed by or related to Carter through constant contact.

He was taught to fish and to appreciate the land and his “village” family by black socializers and witnessed at some level a part of his father’s necessity to politically cooperate with white segregationists, although not being a direct participant. While at the academy, he would respond to the abuse of the upper classman first by smiling at those he perceived to be larger and more powerful than he was; something learned by Annie Hollis and her stories of her own coping mechanisms. Failing to realize a solution, after a period of time he used the tactic of being invisible and anonymous, something social psychologists attribute the survival methodology of someone feeling weaker and impotent in the face of conflict and overwhelming domination. Bourne (1997) describes Carter as “an introvert and a loner” (p. 165), again a method used by southern blacks that has been widely examined by social scientists and depicted countless times in the media.

Another interesting parallel can be made between Carter and Sadat that predicts their future relationship. Carter is described as being secure in his identity he did not make close friendships at the academy. Sadat was described as having the same character (Charles River Editors, 2014). The reasons for this are the ones that are most intriguing. Carter’s identity, he writes, is rooted in his “family” in Plains. “The way he carried himself was devout, in the alien environment of the Naval Academy represented a piece of his home environment that he would rely on for his emotional support (Carter, 1997). The similarity between the two men can be summarized in Sadat’s own words, “...I knew

that wherever I am, I am never lost because my roots are in the village and my family there,” (Sadat, 1978, p. 12).

Parenthetically, after leaving the Navy, Carter and his wife Rosalyn returned to his home village of Plains and instead of living in his parents modest but comparatively well-appointed home, he moved his family into public housing, surrounded by those persecuted and lacking in social capital as he had seen and lived as a child with his earlier moral editing and experiential history. Much to the displeasure of his new wife, in this environment of poverty and asymmetric justice Carter said to Rosalyn, “we are home!” (Carter, 1997).

Carter’s self-imposed isolation allowed him to pursue those lessons learned from his mother Lillian and his teacher Miss Coleman, to read extensively, the mastery of every subject as it presents itself and to be precise in its execution. This would emerge as a major descriptor of Carter’s personality at the academy and later as President. These would both become an asset and a liability.

His focus and mastery of engineering by constant study attracted the attention of another major personality in his life, Admiral Hyman Rickover, father of the naval nuclear submarine program. Like Begin’s relationship with Jabotinsky and Ben-Gurion, Carter had relatively little direct interaction with Rickover who was described as having influence in his life almost as much as his parents. Carter compared Rickover to his father, “he scared me. He demanded everyone be as he was, hardworking and competent. I feared and respected him....no comment was his greatest compliment” (Carter, 1997, p. 142).

In his interview with Rickover, perhaps one of the greater influences on Carter's philosophical development, his moral coding, or at the least an extension of what he had learned from his teacher Miss Coleman, was revealed. Carter finished in the top one percent of his graduating class at Annapolis (Carter, 1997). The admiral asked him if he had done his best. Carter thought for a moment and answered, "No sir. I could have done better." The interview was over, but Carter was accepted into the nuclear program with Rickover his direct report. From Rickover, he gained insight into what was truly important in organizational development, being surrounded by dedicated experts who shared his vision and personal morality, rather than trying to build an organizational legacy; it was the goal, not the glory. Carter made this philosophy of Rickover his own (Carter, 1997).

### **Mediation**

The theme of this research centers on the observed behaviors of conflict stakeholders participating in the 1978 Camp David Accords. Specifically, it examines the behaviors of Carter, Sadat and Begin positing that socio-cultural influences during early socialization impacted innate cognitive decision-making processes that may have influenced both their perceptions of the conflict itself and of each other, thus impacting the mediation outcome. Understanding those processes within the frame of a mediation event then is key to demonstrating these proposed predispositional behaviors and the importance of their behavior-forming antecedents.

The functional definition of mediation is one that describes a non-coercive intervention between two or more disputants by a neutral third party. Its purpose is to effect a resolution to a dispute acceptable to each stakeholder. In theory, the mediator

does not and should not promise rewards to one or the other disputant, threaten punishments or take sides with either disputant, which distinguishes mediation from conflict management. In addition, mediation is not exclusive and may involve other conflict resolution methods after all mediation attempts have been exhausted. However, the driving force behind mediation is its open-endedness toward the goal of resolution (Rifkin et al., 1991).

Mediation offers disputants the best alternative to elevated conflict that could be costly in materials and human capital. As either an opening probative process to conflict management or as an independent process to discovering a conflict resolution agreement without imposing external power through coercion or other means (Regan, 1996). As a process, it is voluntary in that disputants, aside from requesting the mediation, can choose to participate or not without suffering significant circumstances inherent to the conflict itself (Bercovitch, 2002a).

Mediation is more a process of communication in which people involved in a dispute reach a mutually agreed upon understanding, reconciliation or agreement using the third party mediator as the guide through which to traverse the conflict labyrinth. A historic trip through the literature shows mediation to be one of the oldest and most common tools in conflict resolution as relates to international conflicts (Bercovitch, 2002b). In some cultures it serves as an important norm in managing conflicts from the interpersonal to the interstate.

According to Bercovitch and Houston (1993), mediation is a: “pacific approach to conflict resolution in which impartial third parties help disputants resolve conflicts through a process of information and social influence without using violence or invoking

the authority of the legal system” (p. 254). It is a voluntary and non-binding process (Bercovitch, 1992; Bercovitch & Houston, 1993; Moore, 2003; Touval, 1985; Wall & Lynn, 1993) and offers the greatest potential for a mutually navigated and agreed upon solution. That plan is arrived at by establishing an environment of safe and equal participation by all parties.

Mediation is a powerful tool for satisfying the needs of its human participants of the conflict overall, but also in addressing the human needs brought into the process by conflict stakeholders simply as a result of their being human (Avruch, 1998; Burton, 1969; Coskuner-Balli & Thompson, 2013; Lederach, 1995). Its processes are often reflexive to disputants’ and mediators’ needs. The often less than formal nature of the process allows for maximum creativity and exchange without necessary consequence to the process (Bush & Folger, 2005). Bush and Folger (2005) note that the understanding of informality between stakeholders where a neutral third party without any power of sanction helps in the parties formulating a mutually acceptable settlement or agreement.

We maintain that this is a rather uninformed statement in that the mediator, by virtue of history or position, brings certain elements to the negotiation that are not considered in the Bush and Folger (2005) statement. These influences substantially change the social dynamic between stakeholders. The very presence of a mediation process labeled “checkbook diplomacy” exercised by the State of Qatar in recent Middle Eastern conflict negotiations that promises economic rewards for cooperation of disputant parties, highlights that short sightedness of earlier mediation studies (Barakat, 2012; Irani, 2000; Kamrava, 2011). We can also point to our earlier discussion of external cognitive influence on perception and predispositions.

The creation of Rothman's "foundation for common understanding" serves to identify the primary source of difficulty in mediation producing what Bercovitch and Oishi (2010) and Beber (2012) view too as mediocre results in sustainability of mediation outcomes. Reviewing earlier discussions we have demonstrated that a) the mediator's perception of both the conflict elements and the disputants are seen through a linguistic lens of his or her primary cultural identity, and b) the dual process of cognitive decision-making inherent to all parties manifest predispositional behaviors influenced by unconscious experiential processes and c) while these processes and their influences are invisible to the mediator, they may not be so to the other parties to the mediation process as reflected in their perceptions of each mediation element. Said aptly refers to this phenomenon as a "limit to cooperation" in his work "Peace and its Discontents" (1991).

Said (1991) speaks to the "tragic misunderstandings" that emerge in the mediator trying to serve as basically an interpreter trying to methodologically establish a semantic subculture of normative diplomacy where definitions and semiotic nuances unique to players in what is typically an asymmetrical relationship; the oppressor and the oppressed. In essence, he is pointing to the fact that the third party mediator is creating a "false dialog" between conflict parties. Bercovitch 2003, 2007; Beber (2012) and others (Kaufman & Duncan, 1992; Smith, 1995; Wall, Stark, & Standifer, 2001) support this but are only addressing the primary definition of third party neutrality being compromised and defined by misunderstanding. What had not been addressed is the root cause of those misunderstandings.

As we progress in explaining the primary cause of mediation difficulties, we must remember that even in a diplomatic subculture as promoted by Said (1979), the necessity

of language equivalency as impacted and established through socialization to primary cultural priorities, that is, the editing of the mechanism of cognitive grammar, has not been considered even though misunderstanding by many mediation researchers as a significant cause of conflict and mediation failure has been examined. As will be shown below, the mediator's task is to first set up a dictionary of common rhetoric in pursuit of common understandings. S/he then serves as a guide to bring disputants symbolically through the morass of the conflict maze, hopefully arriving at a mutually agreed upon resolution. But, without each party understanding the meaning of each obstacle both inherently and consciously, this path will never be solidly established.

### **Mediator Characteristics**

Most of the texts dedicated to training mediators offer several basic rules to the new practitioner. First and foremost, they must be impartial and neutral in entering into a conflict mediation. Second, they are bound ethically not to impose their own agenda on disputants in an effort to proffer what they regard as a balanced and preferred outcome. Instead, they must assist the disputants to realize an outcome that can be practically implemented and consensual (Bercovitch & DeRouen, 2004; Moore, 2003). The mediator can occupy both active and passive roles, offering proposals for settlement based on the information gathered throughout the mediation process in the former role and acting as simply a go-between in the latter (Regan, 1996).

The ideal mediator acts as a chairman, enunciator and conciliator pursuing a fact-finding mission on behalf of all disputing parties in an effort to establish a foundation, commonly seen by all, that serves as the basis of future agreements (Avruch, 1998; Avruch & Black, 1993; Bercovitch, 1985). Serving as guide to the disputants through



what is often a complex and fluid conflict labyrinth, the mediator attempts to set all the facts uncovered within the context of a common understanding, a linguistic equivalency, to minimize misperceptions inherent to the possible influence of dissonant cultural norms and value systems (Bercovitch, 2003; Bercovitch, Anagnoson, & Wille, 1991) eluded to earlier by Said and later recognized by Bercovitch and others. This is accomplished through many different tactical strategies, concrete and observed, which mediators employ to influence the course of the dispute and to increase the chances of successful resolution.

What is important to understand is that in this position, the mediator changes the social dynamic between the disputing parties and becomes the catalyst to any good or bad changes as a result of his or her strategic decision-making (Bercovitch, 2002b; Bercovitch & Houston, 1993; Bush & Folger, 2005). This point also takes on a different perspective for analysis if one considers the previous discussions regarding dual process and cultural influences on perception. The misperceptions inherent to multi-cultural diplomacy serves as Jervis' (1976) *cause celebre* underlying the dysfunction of the delivery of mediation as if it were universal in international conflict. These strategies are aimed toward controlling dysfunctional anger resultant of those misperceptions between disputants, persuasion, segmenting of complex issues, and establishing common areas of understanding (Beber, 2012; Bercovitch & Oishi, 2010; Böhmelt, 2010; Kydd, 2003; Wittmer, Carnevale, & Walker, 1991).

Wehr (1979) observes that successful mediators must have a good sense of timing, are active listeners and have an ability to understand the positions of antagonists at a personal level. They have done their homework and have a broad understanding of

the conflict at hand. Ironically, Wehr (1979) stresses knowledge of the conflict itself, but neglects to stress the need for understanding the disputants on a more personal level, (i.e., those historical cultural elements that cognitively give value and importance to conflict elements). This may, given our earlier discussion of cultural influences on the very characteristics he listed, help in aiding the practitioners' understanding of a conflict based on dissonant understandings between disputants. To this, Bercovitch and Oishi (2010), and Wittmer et al. (1991) add that the ideal mediator must have a good sense of humor, intelligence and stamina. We should also add the virtues of patience, trust and a high degree of personal skill and competence relative to perception of external influences beyond political posturing (Karim & Pegnetter, 1983).

There are three major categories of mediator; Individuals not associated with any particular group, State representatives, and Non-State institutions and organizations (Kleiboer, 1996). Two salient points should be brought into focus before proceeding with more detailed descriptions. First and foremost, regardless of any formal or informal affiliations, any organized group acting as a State or non-State agency involved in a mediation is represented by a human actor (Leng & Regan, 2003). That actor is subject to all of the behavioral influences that have been discussed previously.

The socio-culturally edited cognitive ascription of use-value to relevant environmental symbols, the structure of culturally dependent syntax and lexicon are all in play (Ting-Toomey, 2001). The only modifier in this scenario is the agent's capture and integration of normative systems within the organizational culture being represented in which case could serve as the conscious modifier of any existent predispositions. While this does not necessarily change the unconscious segment of the dual process decision-

making process, it does add another layer of nuance to the conscious editing at play in the cognitive systems that may not be relevant in a non-affiliated agent.

The second consideration looks at the type of mediator in a manner parallel to the same way we have earlier described symbolic use-value. The term “mediator” carries with it a generally accepted picture of a third party with an unbiased perception of the conflict and disputants at hand, who will serve to facilitate balanced discussions between parties in a controlled environment seeking to discover a consensus solution. Attached to this general image is a use-value inherent to the group represented by its agents. For example, the use-value of the historic mediation traditions in the Sudan (Woodward, 2006) is far removed from the considerations given to mediation in modern Qatar (Barakat, 2012). Similar comparisons can be made of the understanding of mediation/mediator between the two principles in this study, Arabs, Americans and Israelis (Kelman, 1982; Moaz & Astorino, 1992; Rouhana & Kelman, 1994; Wittes, 2005).

For example, a non-affiliated individual brings only her skill in facilitation to the process without the capacity for using any leverage in the form of military coercion or economic assistance when dealing with tactical rigidities (Kressel & Pruitt, 1989; Smith, 1995; Touval, 1985; Zartman & Touval, 1985) as is the case of a Quaker mediation team (Jackson, 1984; Pickett, 1999), e.g. the Friends Service Committee’s role as mediator in the Arab/Israeli war following Israel’s 1948 recognition of Statehood in traditional Palestine. In the same light, disputants are also not able to use mediator resources to their advantage or expect any substantive reward or punishment for ending or continuing any intransigence.

Conversely, a mediator affiliated with an organization possessing what the disputants consider valued resources are shown to be more likely chosen to lead the mediation process by them than an agent with perceived fewer useful resources (Bercovitch & Houston, 2000; Kaufman & Duncan, 1992; Leng & Regan, 2003). These are not limited to only material assets (e.g., economic or military), but also include the mediator's potential for leverage and influence outside of the mediation process (Brookmire & Sistrunk, 1980).

For example, it has been shown by K. W. Stein (1999) in his work *Heroic Diplomacy*, that Anwar Sadat, in his negotiations at Camp David, sought a closer relationship with the United States, represented by then president Jimmy Carter, than with the Russians because he perceived the U.S. would exercise less obligatory influence over his country than would the Russians who had historically been the Egyptians' benefactor and trade partner. This was of secondary concern to Sadat who also wished U.S. military arms sales. In the same mediation, Menachem Begin from Israel engaged the talks for a similar reason, adding the necessity for continued U.S. financial support for Israel into the equation. This was a frequent theme in much of the Camp David literature.

Conditions that facilitate mediation. There are four conditions of a conflict that push disputants toward a resolution. First, the dispute must be protracted and complex. Ting-Toomey (2001) considers the degree of complexity (and consequently the protracted nature of the dispute) to be a relevantly descriptive function of the importance of tangible and intangible factors which also showed to be the most important factor in Laitin's (2001) discussion of language and conflict. Specifically, a more complex dispute

has inherently more intangible, or abstract, elements whose communicative discrepancies must be overcome (Rosen, 2005; Shaw, 2015; van Creveld, 2008). Earlier research by Bercovitch pointed out a measurable relationship between intangible variables and a higher rate of unsuccessful mediation events (Bercovitch & Gartner, 2009, Bercovitch & Oishi, 2010) which we can relate to the complexities of communicating conceptual and/or perceptual values relative to the conflict.

Given the necessity of language in the description and capture of an abstract thought or situation, it is clear that a language non-equivalency or dissonant use-value can lead to fundamental misunderstandings in interpretations between disputants particularly as regards intangibles or complex abstractions associated with either the development of conflicts or the conflict at hand. This was also a focus of discussion in Szalay's research (1965) on the importance of linguistic influence over cultural definitions of world perception. These things point to the transition of conflicts historically coming as a response to the competition for material needs such as land or food sources for a growing or wanting population and finding contemporary emphasis in non-material or intangibles like ideology, religion or in the case of Israeli security and the case of Egypt, national face. How these intangibles are defined and incorporated into the conflict equation defines each side of the dispute.

The second necessary condition that facilitates mediation as a conflict resolution methodology is that the disputants' own conflict resolution techniques have not led to a solution, and the conflict continues. Avruch and Black (1993) as well as Cohen (1990) and Princen (1992) address this failure to arrive at a mutual agreement as a possible function of cultural dissonance and gives the example of conflict resolution styles

undertaken by high and low context cultures. Each disputant from their respective sets of norms and values may view the other with disdain, and not accept resolution conditions through the avenues provided by one or the other's propositions.

There is often a perceived sense of impropriety by one or the other party. Leng and Regan (2003) also found this to be the case whenever a third party was brought in unilaterally but less often if agreement was reached mutually on a third party intervention. In the case of this research it was found that the resolution styles of each disputant, Arab and Israeli, and as demonstrated in their linguistic structures were completely discordant and the only chance of a resolution would be through a mutually agreed upon third party (Aronoff, 2014; Quandt, 1986a; Rouhana & Kelman, 1994; Wittes, 2005). However, the introduction of a third party I posit may add to the conflict if we consider the linguistic inequivalency not now between two cultural representatives, but now perhaps by three. The complex perceptions of the disputants and of the dispute has now been increased by a factor of one.

The third condition looks at a more utilitarian aspect of the conflict; whether or not either side can afford or is willing to accept an escalation in hostilities. Shaw (2015) has noted that protracted conflicts usually proceed in cycles as one side gains or has reduced the resources available to the conflict, (e.g., men and material). Losses are also figured into this equation; how many non-combatants can be lost without friction from the general population, re., in terms of retaining legitimate authority (van Creveld, 2008; Walzer, 1977, 2015). Sadly, the perception of loss is effected in the same way as one's own view of the world; through a dual process cognition that may assign use-values to

the leader which are not in line with the general population as was seen in the case of Menachem Begin (Perlmutter, 1987; Quandt & Manning, 1983)

Finally, Bercovitch et al. (1991) examines the conflation of the previous conditions in terms of a “tipping point” when he asks at what instance of loss or perceived loss will disputants be willing to end the stalemate and engage in some form of mediated communication. Again, this is from the perspective of the leader and not necessarily generalized across the constituent population. The notion of a perceived tipping point by the leader/negotiator is of particular interest to this study as it sets the stage for establishing common definitions and use-values that could possibly lead to a reduction in misperceptions between disputants and the probability of a sustainable outcome. It also, in another observation, establishes some insight into the way leaders, Sadat and Begin in particular, perceived themselves in the leadership role and how that impacted their behavior in much the same way Bourdieu (1987, 1996a) describes how the occupier of a habitus opportunity plays to the position based on personalized expectations and perceptions of that position fostered from his positional experiences, or experiential history.

Another important element relevant to the conditions for resolution is the motivation experienced by the mediators that facilitate their entry into the negotiation; Bercovitch (1996b) offers three explanations. First, the interests of the disputants may be affected by the mediator’s intervention. Second, they may wish to enter into negotiations as they perceive an end to or a significant change to an existent structure is imminent. Finally, they may intervene in international conflicts because theirs is an inexpensive, useful and efficient method of peaceful conflict resolution so recognized (Frazier &

Dixon, 2006; Gerring, 2007). The utilitarian nature of this intervention is twofold in terms of actual economic expense and the perceived cost in human capital.

Parenthetically, if we reflect upon the work of Jon Haidt et al. (1993; 2010) we might be able to project that a mediator entering into a very contentious conflict might, in terms of the moral foundations premise, perceive a great injustice to one party or the other and in which case is compelled to offer assistance. Of course, this would effectively render the condition of operational neutrality mute with regards to the behavioral predisposition for vengeance against injustice as it may reveal itself as mediator bias, (i.e., a feeling of disgust toward the actions of aggressor against the aggrieved). In a similar light, the obtaining of a successful outcome by the mediator's intervention could also be viewed in terms of the mediator's own perception of self-worth.

We are of course recognizing the financial gain and professional status that might be secured by such work. But our greater concern within the context of this study is the manifestation of a moral principle; is the desire to solve the conflict problem one of financial gain, or one of a binding moral foundation that compels the mediator to engage the task if a great injustice is perceived through the lens of his or her own personal use-value attached to the observation of a) the conflict itself; and b) the manner in which information is gained describing the disputant(s) either through personal contact or through secondary information input; that information then entering into the calculus of a decision-making paradigm (i.e., dual process effects).

Structural power conditions to mediation. Mediation can only proceed if several structural conditions are met. Note that historically, small scale conflicts did not require such elaborate preconditions but as in every social program, this too has become more



complex in response to changing environments both materially and non-materially. First, the representatives of adversarial parties must be recognized as legitimate spokespersons by all conflict stakeholders and that they be able to enter into agreements as developed during the process. Kydd (2003) Saucier and Goldberg (2006) found that the level of power represented by disputants is inversely proportional to the success of mediation; lower to mid-level powers are more likely to request and abide the mediation process. Young (1964) suggests that the less disparity in power between disputants, the greater potential for success in mediation. They showed that a great power gap leads to decreased potential for success as it is difficult to convince a greater power that they be required to concede to an accommodating a lesser power.

From a cognitive developmental perspective borrowing from developmental anthropology, those with less power will assume a subservient role (Boehm, 1999; de Waal, 1996). However, as Haidt and Joseph (2004) and Greene and Haidt (2002) show, the insinuation of this subservience into the mediation dynamic, particularly if it is exercised overtly, quickly gives way to the motivation of vengeance by the moral foundation that abhors human rights injustices.

If we equate the relative successes to the types of power seen in the Arab-Palestinian conflict, the potential for sustainability based on the power roles and expectations of the negotiators somewhat bears out the Bercovitch model. Elmore Jackson, a well-known mediator from the American Friends Service Committee, attempted agreements between Israel and Palestinians directly following the withdrawal of the British Mandate in Palestine, 1948. While some concessions were made, real

positive peace (Galtung, 1967) was never achieved (Gilbert, 1998; Pappé, 2006; Pickett, 1999).

In the Quaker mediation case, the principles from the Arab and Israeli delegations were not able to be directly implemented, only to influence the outcome of the negotiations, and while leaders like David Ben-Gurion held the reins of decision-making, he often utilized his advisors in negotiations with Arab leaders; a symbol of superiority perceived and internalized by the Arabs. As the mediator, Jackson had no power to influence any party. The Society of Friends is a passivist Quaker group that only offers honest brokerage with no military or economic means with which to proffer cooperation (Pickett, 1999).

In the most recent case of Arab-Israeli negotiations undertaken by the wealthy Qatari government and represented by Emir Al-Thani, parties to each disputing side were never represented directly by the leadership who had the power to make and implement policy. These negotiations are ongoing, but as yet non-productive. However, it has been posited by Sultan Barakat (2012) and George Irani (2000) that the only reason these talks have been sustainable, is due to the economic influence the oil-rich nation of Qatar wields. At Camp David all three representatives, were at the top of their leadership structure, Carter, Sadat and Begin. The negotiations concluded with an outline for a peace agreement that included economic exchange between Egypt and Israel and has come to be acceptable to the majority of the Arab world (Irani, 2000).

Discounting for the moment how cultural norms and laws might permit, encourage or restrict mediation as a process of conflict management and recognizing that those same norms and values unique to participating cultures significantly impact these

interdependent processes (Kaufman & Duncan, 1992; Kleiboer, 1996; Lederach, 1995), we will posit that for any mediation to take place, two important components must be in alignment. First, conflict stakeholders must permit a neutral third party mediator to intervene and second that the third party has no unethical desire to impose an outcome and must agree to mediate (Wall et al., 2001). These serve as the foundation of the next section briefly describing mediation strategies.

Mediation strategies. There are several ways in which to manage a conflict; avoidance, negotiation, mediation, arbitration, and adjudication (Bercovitch and Houston, 2000; Moore, 2003; Phillips, 2001). In searching for the most effective way in which to manage conflict across cultures, we must keep an eye on three key elements that serve as the decision-maker relative to whether or not a process is successful or less than successful, a) the integrity of the process of conflict management, b) the integrity of the disputants and their constituents, and c) the integrity of the third party and its constituents. At the outset of this discussion we will assert that “avoidance” does not offer any constructive contribution in a complex and evolving controversy such as interstate conflict. Common sense tells us that having one avoidant party opens the door for the other to take unfair advantage, or simply postpones the conflict to the point that it reaches unmanageable levels (Rosen, 2005; Shaw, 2015; van Creveld, 2008).

In seeking resolution to a conflict, mediation gives practitioners broad and open-ended strategies to control the discussion between disputants, reflexive techniques for framing the selection of issues or describing the disputants to one another (Bush & Folger, 2005; Lederach, 1995; Moore, 2003; Princen, 1992; Umbreit & Armour, 2011), ranking of issues and other elements of the dispute that sets a tone and direction of the

process (Bush & Folger, 2005). Another significant goal is for the mediator to establish consensus goals from which common definitions and perceptions can be built (Moore, 2003). All of this is aimed at building trust between all parties in the process of reaching a mutually acceptable resolution. To be clear, these strategies are wielded against the disputants, the relationship between opposing forces and their relationships among and between their constituencies. Clearly this is a dynamic social process that changes the parameters of a relationship (Goffman, 1959).

But at the same time, the mediator's presence and actions significantly modifies the social dynamic of the conflict through intervention, information transfer, restructuring of both the physical and perceptual environment and shielding from outside social forces like the media and respective constituencies (Bercovitch & Diehl, 1997; Bush & Folger, 2005; Hare, 1985). What is important is that all of the mediator's activities and their results in establishing areas of common understanding are achieved through the use of language that is heavily dependent upon perceptions and symbolic use-values established by each individual's personal history and cultural frame *a posteriori*.

Within the context of restructuring the physical and social environments of the dispute resolution process, the literature shows that eight factors are important in creating a successful resolution; type of conflict; type of issue; stage of conflict (re., timing); disputants' relative power within and outside of the dispute (to include interorganizational linkages); mediator resources; disputants' commitment to the mediation process; the rank of the mediator; and the visibility of the mediation itself (Wall, 1981).

The first four factors, conflict type, type of issue, stage of the conflict and the disputants' relative power have been shown by Deutsch (1983) to be elements also responsible in providing a potential to escalate a conflict in the spirit of competition and dominance by one or another disputant. This is antithetical to Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, but clearly outlines the potential pitfalls in its premise and the root of its ecological fallacy. The second four by comparison are shown to increase the power of the mediation process. Bercovitch and Oishi (2010), add two important elements with respect to mediation success; membership by disputants in a common (cultural) bloc and the perceptions of trust in the mediator. These will later be grouped into the dichotomy of direct and indirect strategies (Bercovitch & Lee, 2003), but at the outset reflects a theme of cultural-experiential commonality shown to be important to identity and social bonding among humans (Amir, 1998; Barash & Webel, 2009; Boehm, 1999; Haidt & Joseph, 2004). As well, it provides a foundation for language equivalency described by Laitin (2001) and others, so critical to minimizing misunderstanding.

Bercovitch's (1986) addition of common blocs is viewed as disputants sharing a similar cultural framework, experience and perceptions of trust in the mediator are of particular importance to this study. We earlier discussed the presence of a dual process in cognitive decision-making that provides an innate predispositional behavioral platform for social interaction and a conscious cognition element to a cognitive formula that serves to evaluate and sometimes override innate behavioral antecedents. This conscious component of interactive decision-making is susceptible to the influence of cultural norms and definitions framed by the agent's socio-cultural environment, which also ascribes a use-value to material and non-material components of the mediation

components. In effect, they collectively describe a decision-making dialectic, in the Hegelian sense, of progress (Hegel, 1894). The Bercovitch considerations and the influences of cognition should inform other evaluation studies of the mediation process.

Bercovitch and Houston (2000) described three categories of strategic behavior placing them on a continuum ranging from high to low intervention. Again, the mediator must engage a careful balance of behaviors between disputants as the perception of trust and neutrality are essential to achieve the desired goals of resolution for both mediator and disputants (Kaufman & Duncan, 1992; Kleiboer, 1996; Kydd, 2003). The degree of intervention as perceived by all of the engaged parties could be emblematic of that balance. The categories from lowest to highest level of intervention described by Bercovitch include communication-facilitation, procedural-formulative, and directive (Beber, 2010; Bercovitch & Houston, 2000; Wall & Lynn, 1993). Undoubtedly, Bercovitch et al, utilized a similar taxonomy developed by Zartman and Touval (2007) years earlier who outlined communication, formulation and manipulation as components of mediation strategies. The hybridized strategies are outlined below, something Bercovitch and Gartner (2009) referred to as the “contingency model” of mediation that reflected both contextual factors and the mediation process. For the purpose of discussion, we suspended serious considerations of neutrality and simply recognized it as an intervening variable for later examination and consideration.

### **Types of Mediation**

**Communication-Facilitation.** Beginning at the lower end of the intervention intensity scale, communication-facilitation casts the mediator in a passive, information management role. By exerting limited control over the exchange and flow of information

between disputants, the mediator encourages cooperation. The key to this strategy is to exert little control over the processes and substance of the mediation process. However, we must ask about the true nature of the communications carried by the communication-facilitator (Bercovitch, 1985).

The interaction between mediator and disputants within the mediation paradigm is one of symbolic exchange through language. Inherent to that exchange are each party's expectations, desired goals and costs incurred as they seek a resolution (Thibault & Kelly, 1959) keeping in mind that conflict management in general and mediation in particular as taking place within a system of culturally specific and defined values, beliefs and interests. There are two processes at work in this strategy of low intervention information exchange, each having a potentially profound impact based upon our knowledge of symbolic use-value as it relates to cultural definitions. During phase one, the mediator receives the information transmitted by the sending disputants. In essence the disputants are the speakers and the mediator is the listener.

The transmission is captured by the mediator whose interpretation is influenced by the culturally specific use-values imposed on the symbolic components contained within the transmitted message. These serve as the foundation of the predispositional behaviors exhibited by the mediator resultant of the perception inherent to the message. In other words, how is the receiving mediator interpreting what the sending disputant is saying? Is the mediator's interpretation exactly the same as the sender intended or does it reflect the use-value imposed by the mediator in tune with Habermasian constructs?

The second part of the process is the behavior subsequent to the reception and interpretation of the message by mediator/listener. Of course, this is a bi-directional

process as the mediator then responds to the message by bundling and transmitting what s/he deems as an appropriate response. Here, “active listening” takes on a whole new dimension. Inherent to this response are the interpretive perceptions incurred through the mediators dual-process cognition in the decision to speak a specific response (Bercovitch, 1985).

The mediator presumes, as did the original disputant-sender of the information, that the listener will interpret the message captured by him, in the same way as it was sent by the speaker/mediator, that is, interpretational consensus or what Habermas would label as communicative rationality (Habermas, 1990). The listener/disputant will assume that the mediator, the carrier of the message from the sending disputant, is transmitting it in the same interpretation as its original configuration. Neither suspects the use-value dissonance that may exist between the sender and receiver, is the intentional or unintentional mitigation or provocation of the message on the part of the mediator. It may be, if Bercovitch could reevaluate his position on the influence of communication-facilitation in light of this research, that he may consider this as one of the most powerful influential strategies in mediation. It also plays to a strategy we will examine below promoted by Allport (1954) and others represented conceptually by “contact theory.”

**Procedural-formulative strategies.** Moving up the Bercovitch scale of intervention intensity, the procedural-formulative strategy ranks as a moderate form of intervention. Here, the mediator is primarily structuring the process environment. Exerting a more formal kind of control, the mediator determines where and when the process takes place, how often the parties meet, the structure of the meeting agenda and the content of the information to be distributed among stakeholders (Bercovitch &



Houston, 1993). An important element in environmental structuring and one which could prove to be as important as information inaccuracies or misunderstandings in mediation success is the controlling of input from outside constituencies by the mediator such as media publicity or contact with advisors on the outside of meeting environment. As pointed out, the mediation system consists essentially of a mediator, two disputants and the social relationships between them. Those relationships can be considered in an epistemic sense as they evolve dependent upon several contingencies.

First, agents may be familiar with one or more of the other participants on an indirect level in that they have consumed media descriptions of the agents or their actions inside of or outside of the conflict under mediation. Conversely, perhaps the participants had previous and direct contact with his or her counterparts in the current conflict. In either case, the perception of the other agent directly in face to face contact, or indirectly through other sources of information is formatted upon their experiential histories (with and about each other) coupled to nuanced individual interpretations. Our concern is for interpretation through acquired and ascribed use-values associated with the representation of the disputants' counterpart, the conflict or the opponent's role in making or participation in that conflict.

Next, considering some contact between stakeholders within the context of the current dispute, there will be supportive or contrasting input at play concerning perceptions previously constructed through direct negotiations. In other words, a previously held perception of an opponent may be elevated or diminished in use-value as a result of the one's interaction with another. This interaction, to remain consistent between the experiences of the primary disputants and mediator, must remain pure and

untouched by other environmental elements such as the negotiator's constituents, other third parties and the media hence the mediator's control of them.

The purpose of structuring and controlling the environment then is to attempt to modify the relationship between disputants (Augsburger, 1992; Beber, 2010, 2012; Bennett et al., 2009; Burton, 1969; Gartner & Bercovitch, 2006). Keeping in mind that the editing process of our behavioral antecedents is an ongoing lifetime process with the continual influx of new socio-environmental experience facilitating the use-valuing of lexicon and syntax, limiting the number of inputs available to the disputants allows the mediator to control, to a certain extent, the ascribed use-values of conflict elements without the interventions of outside inputs.

In a sense, the interaction between conflict parties, coupled to any other outside influences to include the mediator's interpretations, is developmental in a Darwinian sense, evolving, keeping things of high-use value and jettisoning those of lower position. Of course, this is invisible to the mediator who may have at best a conceptual "gut feeling" about the impact of external influences upon his clients, but certainly not the neurological machinery that governs it. The mediator can begin to develop a consensus definition of an issue, an object or a process by leading the parties toward that concept, perhaps one that serves as a primary element of their misunderstanding and conflict.

Once common understandings, devoid of outside and often self-interested input from others, have been established, the mediator can then attempt to reduce tensions, build trust and establish more effective communications between disputants. Outside influence, or the competitiveness that publicity often engenders (Gent & Shannon, 2011), could serve only to confound the process as opposed to help it reach consensus on

important issues. Outside involvement also limits the potential of the mediator to create face-saving outs during the mediation process when disputants' actions are more public, usually requiring validation and justification where inside the mediator's closed environment, this would not occur (Avruch, 2009; Gartner & Bercovitch, 2006; Greig & Diehl, 2012).

**Directive strategies.** Directive strategies are what Bercovitch (1992) and others (Beber, 2012; Carnevale & Arad, 1996; Cobb, 1997; El Affendi, 2001) consider the most powerful forms of intervention. Here, the mediator affects the content and substance of the negotiation process. This is accomplished by providing various types of incentives to disputants. In some cases the mediator might issue an ultimatum to one or both parties in an effort to break a deadlock or to compel certain bargaining behaviors. A directive strategy is aimed toward changing the motivation and ultimately the behavior of the respective disputants. Invoking Castells' (2007) power typology the mediator can focus on several sub-strategies in this regard, using the kinds of power, both actual and perceived towards the achievement of a goal. This assumes a certain level of power and resources on the side of the mediator, and a desire to benefit or survive some impact of those resources by the disputants.

The first type of social power described is coercive power. Here, the mediator, who is generally a high ranking representative of a powerful State, is able to invoke military and economic power in pursuit of leveling some type of influence on a disputant. Habermas referred to this as an implied empiric consequence in his discussion of latent strategic communication (Habermas, 1990); the disputant can either act towards imposing a negative effect or give something to a disputant(s) in a positive effect. Economically,

the mediator using this stratagem might provide different levels of financial assistance or simply overwhelm a disputant with personal gifts in order to sway a behavior in the way desired, often referred to as “checkbook diplomacy,” a methodology utilized almost exclusively by the Emir of Qatar during mediations involving Yemen, Sudan and Libya (Barakat, 2012).

The next type of power that is available to the mediator, is one of manipulative power which bears a striking resemblance to the manifest and latent strategic descriptions in Habermas’ (1990) communicative rationality. Using this type of power, language and its concomitant symbolism is employed as the primary tool of manipulation. The use of lexicon, the changing of syntax are both used in the construction of what Chomsky (1965, 1975) and Mikhail (2011) consider a synthetic reality necessary to refocus the lens of a disputant, changing his reality to something more accommodating to the goal of the mediator. In short, the manipulator is ascribing new use-values to the listener’s perceptions in an attempt to achieve an egocentric goal.

This kind of manipulative power deserves particular examination. Consider that strategic communication activates those parts of the brain most concerned with calculation and risk while not activating the centers that address emotion and moral reasoning (Schaefer et al., 2013). Within the realm of the cognitive processes the use of strategic language demonstrates to be the most heavily dependent on conscious cognition, although still somewhat impacted by the unconscious component of ideation. So, the mediator must consciously calculate the application of his or her resources in hopes of changing a disputants’ perception and thus their interactions with each other or their constituencies.

But again, the same qualifier that also serves as perhaps a distinguishing characteristic of a culture may also effect the efficacy of the type of power being wielded by the mediator; specifically, the use-value of the symbols inherent to the communicative exchange and the enticement or deterrent being promoted. When the mediator engages directive strategies, it is with the presumption that whatever he or she is communicating is weighed equally by the listener. If one threatens military intervention to a culture where that would be senseless, for example a hunting and gathering society, the degree of empirical consequence is simply not present. If a mediator offers gold to a society whose economy is based on shells, the offer has no value. Reviews point to two issues in a directive strategy. First is the presumption, on the part of the mediator, of common levels of symbolic use-value and second one of language equivalency (Boaz, 1997; Chomsky, 1975; Habermas, 1990; Laitin, 2001; Mabry, 1995; Moll et al., 2002).

Between the three methods, it was found by Bercovitch (2007) using data from the ICD, that directive strategies were best suited when dealing mostly with tangible conflict elements such as borders and trade contracts. They were successful 42% of the time in comparison to the 31% realized by communication facilitation strategies (31%). This is not difficult to explain with the context of a comparison between negotiations concerning tangible and intangible conflict elements. Work by Augsburger (1992), Lederach (1995), Beber (2010, 2012), and Touval and Zartman (2007) showed the difficulties of settling disputes centered on intangibles. Szalay (1981) and S. H. Swartz (1992) linked this to differing assignments of use-value to intangible symbolism. This was later supported by the findings by Laitin (2001) and Mabry (1995).

## **The Antecedents of Conflict Management**

Sawyer and Guetzkow's (1965) study, later modified by Druckman (1973), looked at what they regarded as the underlying framework of conflicts and the relationships inherent to the conflict management processes. Using the contingency approach (Bercovitch & Houston, 2000) they examined the elements between interactive and reciprocal behaviors; the influences of personal characteristics, role expectation between participants, situation and outcome variables (Bercovitch, 1984). Three major dimensions in the conflict management process were identified, the antecedent stage, the current context of the conflict and mediation, and the background conditions of the mediation. These provided information to construct a formula from which the mediator could build a resolution process.

The antecedent stage examined preexisting, concurrent and background mediation contexts both of the events and the constituent players. Here the researchers examined such variables as the intensity of the conflict and the nature of the dispute. Specific components included the number of fatalities, the severity of prior conflicts and the strength of either party relative to their capacity to continue the conflict. The nature of the issues were described in more subjective terms but can be collapsed into two relative categories, tangible and intangible issues as described above; borders and resources for the former, religion and political ideologies for the latter. Sawyer and Guetzkow (1965) and Bercovitch and Houston (2000) consider the nature of the conflict to serve as the basis of the event and tangible elements to be an appendices to those causes. This again points to the power of discordant use-values that lead to foundational misunderstandings between players. Ironically, the impact of non-tangibles that are the result of ego-

contextual discordance can often be insidious in nature and play on the emotions of disputants completely unaware. Finally, the background conditions of the conflict, experiences from earlier conflicts, are described as things that will impact the perceptions of all stakeholders and impact the mediator strategy (communicative-facilitative or direct).

What was under scrutiny in these studies was the degree to which antecedent factors establish a conceptual stage of linguistic and hence emotional exchange for all participants, that is, editing the innate interpretations of each actor and again remembering that language is a reflection of one's inner thoughts. Throughout the Bercovitch (2007) and Sawyer and Guetzkow (1965) studies, it appeared that a variable dynamic is at work that has a significant impact on mediator acceptance as a neutral party and eventual mediation success.

Each instance allows for the stakeholders to gather more input relative to the personal characteristics of their counterparts. In addition, contact allows, given enough time apparently, to begin to reestablish what were once unique definitions and resultant perceptions of every aspect of the conflict management process, (i.e., what is the conflict; what is its outcome value; and how does the description of these things effect the way each participant reacts based on various use-values or the evolution of commonly held use-values resultant of skilled mediators). This is parallel to Churchland's (2011) and Hynes' (2007) observation that the original set of evolved use-values inherent to the human species, can be edited over time by exposure to outside stimuli and supportive of the Paxton and Greene (2010) position of dual process cognition in decision-making.

Here, once again, we are addressing how stakeholders interpret information that they receive passively from say the media or from reports, as supplements or that competes with the information taken in through direct contact. Each requires a level of interpretation that directly impacts outcomes through communicative interactions. Each participant holds certain cultural definitions that interact with innate capacities that have evolved over the life of human beings based in the brain's capacity for pattern recognition and interpretation. This, in essence, is the foundation for symbolic use-value attached to linguistic representations. How effective the mediator is at establishing common definitions, symbolic use-values and understandings will, we hypothesized, had a measurable impact on mediation outcome. How that mediator, in pursuit of these communicative goals is perceived by other stakeholders so that this process can be undertaken at all, is the focus of studies examining mediator bias.

The renowned Quaker mediator, Elmore Jackson (1952), made a prescient observation during his tenure as chief intermediary during the 1947-48 negotiations between Arabs and Israelis prior to and following the founding of the State of Israel. Coming in after repeated failures to secure peace he said, "It will be nearly impossible for a single mediator, who was distrusted by one of the parties to carry out any useful function" (p. 346). In the previous section, researchers concluded that the resources a mediator brought to the table, regarded as a source of leverage and influence between disputants, were more important than the perception of neutrality possessed by that same individual (Tal-Or et al., 2002; Wittmer et al., 1991; Zartman, 1994). This provided support to the notion of strategic calculations favored over the need for communal action in pursuit of societal goals.



Contemporary investigations into the factors that contribute to successful mediation, do assign more value to the necessity of perceived neutrality. Young (1972), while positing that “intellectual dexterity” and the ability to persuade held more power than physical coercion in forming long-term settlements did agree that the impartiality of the mediator was paramount to successful mediation and how they practiced their linguistic strategies was a key component to successful dialog between all stakeholders. His position was earlier echoed by Northedge and Donelan (1971) and reflected in the Jackson (1952) observation that emphasizes the importance of the perception of neutrality in maintaining the confidence of disputants. In his 1992 study, Princen stressed the importance of perceived neutrality in the selection and retention of mediators. These findings appear to contradict the findings of Touval (1985) that consider the possession of resources by the mediator as being more important than a perception of neutrality.

### **Carter’s Mediation Stratagem**

During the Camp David mediation, President Carter incorporated both the strategies of communication/ facilitation and procedural/ formulative. These were embedded within the context of Allport’s (1954) contact theory, as Carter truly believed that if he could get the chief representatives of the conflict into a room together, if he could get each to see the other as another human being from a more personal perspective, then a peace agreement would be at hand. Parenthetically, President Sadat embraced the same concept as Carter on his first visit to Jerusalem; that if he just laid a plan for peace on the knees of Prime Minister Begin, another human being, he would have no choice but to see the utility of peace and capitulate to Sadat’s proposal (Sadat, 1978b).

Carter disdained the thought of a directive strategy in dealing with the two countries although he knew that resources from the United States served as a primary motivation to both parties (Carter, 1982). In his writings, Carter stated that he would abstain from using the economic and military resources of the U.S. to influence the Accords as this would be an imposed peace upon which the investment in it was not personal and sustainable, but more econometric and limited (Carter, 1982, 2001).

Carter quickly realized that direct contact between these two volatile disputants would be at best counter-productive and at worst a direct route to the abject failure of the Accords. Following the first day of mediation, Sadat and Begin had to be separated and would never again be in the same room until the final day of the meeting (Carter, 1982; Quandt, 1986a). From its outset, Carter realized the problematic nature of this personal conflict through his antecedent work prior to the Accords. He had instructed the CIA to assemble personal dossiers on Begin and Sadat, studied the histories of each country and their historic conflicts trying to establish some framework within which to understand the personal enmity between these two countries, and most importantly, between the representatives of these countries, Sadat and Begin.

Carter utilized the principles of procedural/ formulative mediation strategy by controlling the mediation environment. From the positioning of the cabins each team stayed in at Camp David, the negotiating environment, the clothing worn (Carter was casual as was Sadat. Begin refused to relax and always wore a suit and tie throughout the event), the tone and location of the ancillary staff gatherings and a complete ban of press access to anyone involved in the event within the Camp David grounds. As well, news was not permitted to be broadcast in the compound. In effect, Carter was managing the

inputs to the stakeholder that might influence politically as opposed to personally, the perceptions of the disputants. In this according to his Chief Foreign Policy Advisor Bill Quandt (1982b), he was quite successful.

However, one important point must be raised in consideration of having answered the research questions. As will be pointed out in the next section, there are several important influences that directed Carter's behavior and may have influenced his decision-making process relative to the conflict stakeholders, the conflict itself and the desired outcome of that mediation.

First and as has already been pointed out, communication is based upon the assignment of use-value to symbols comprising the execution of message transfer and reception (Chomsky, 1972), specifically, language. This innate ascriptive mechanism is a combination of conscious and unconscious processes, both subservient to early socio-cultural experience. Carter was a child of the ultra-segregationist South, the son of socially aware parents that repeatedly helped and sacrificed for the minority black population in Carter's home town. Throughout his career both personal and professional he demonstrated empathy for those marginalized and socially abused. His mother, one of the more important figures in his life, as well as his father, Earl, demonstrated a quiet rebellion towards the oppression of any person which was validated through Carter's Baptist upbringing.

During the antecedent portion of his preparation for the Camp David mediation, Carter shows a penitent early for sympathizing with Israel, citing Biblical persecution (Carter, 1982, 2001) by the Arabs. However, further reading on his part and his comments thereafter, indicate that he began to lean toward an Arab penitent as he began

to identify them as the new underdog, suffering at the overplayed and “vengeful” responses to minor events by the Israelis. He found speeches made by Begin “frightening” and began to form a perception of the overall conflict through the eyes of Sadat, whom he describes in much gentler terms as he had earlier described the plight of black America. During the Accords, Carter often found himself to be irritated and angry when dealing with Begin. It appears that he often found solace in discussions with Sadat, who shared a very similar view of Begin as Carter.

This raises a second point. As Carter’s perception of the conflict and the disputants unfolds, we posit that his words, both received and written were already predisposing him to certain preferences toward personal considerations of the two men. His interpretations of the language in the CIA dossiers suffered what Said would consider “orientalism,” influenced his perceptions based on earlier use-value assignments. The information contained was tainted through a western lens. The reception of that language was influenced by Carter’s early socio-cultural history being manifest in both his written recount of the event, but also in his interpretation of linguistic inputs.

Further, the problem exists that the Accords were conducted exclusively in English, the second language of the diglossic Arabic speaking Sadat, and the strategic Modern Hebrew speaking Begin. It would not be a great conceptual leap to assume that not every concept has interchangeable syntax between languages and dialects. The old adage “lost in translation” avails itself here as well. Earlier, we discussed the probability of failure, or difficulty in mediation rises with the complexity of the non-material aspects of the dispute. The Arab-Israeli dispute was complex in that its material concern was for land occupation, but its non-material portion dealt in Biblical and Koranic translation,

ancient myth and evolved ideologies. That Carter had to account for all of that complexity, and serve as a conceptual translator based on his own western lens, escapes rational thought. We could not help to wonder how much hatred and complexities were inserted into the mediation by the simple element of language non-equivalency.

We can see than, that Carter's choice of direct contact was less than productive for the reasons cited. It was also difficult for all parties to embrace important elements of the conflict because of socio-cultural influences and an absence of deep understanding of the nuances of syntactic structure, not to mention perceptions of everyone rooted in early use-value assignments. Here, we can say that the antecedents of misunderstanding and value ascription served as the precursor to secondary conflicts seen in personal attacks and accusations on the parts of Sadat and Begin, and parenthetically by Carter in favor of his "dear friend" Sadat. The reasons behind this cascading list of misunderstandings and perceptual inaccuracies are seen in Chapter Three.

## Chapter 3: Theory Literature Review

### **Introduction**

This chapter serves three purposes. First, it outlines for the reader a basic discussion of how the human brain has evolved a set of genetically unfolding systems that allows an individual to respond quickly and often unconsciously to inputs it perceives in its environment. The presence of these systems would be supported by current research in developmental anthropology and the cognitive neurosciences. In addition, the chapter discusses the way in which that cognitive system performs a balancing act between the conscious part of the decision-making calculus, that is, our linear processing of environmental stimuli, and the unconscious portion that continually unfolds to serve as both a place for experiential storage and as a modifier to conscious action, a sort of a subroutine that is always looking outward at the individual's surroundings.

Second, the chapter discusses how the brain creates a hierarchy of use-value relative to our decision-making actions and that it is in fact circuitous being both conscious and unconscious elements of a dual process of cognition, one creating or supplementing the other over time, that is, something experienced while the individual is consciously aware, over time falls into an unconscious subroutine of recall. This is necessary so that in many situations where survival is paramount, we do not need to consciously think about what our reactions should be, but rather we simply or “instinctually” react in pursuit of survival. Using the work of Jon Haidt and Jesse Graham (2007), the chapter discusses their concept of a set of “moral foundations” as the manifestation of that use-value formula and hierarchy.

Third, the chapter discusses the role of culture in establishing, or editing, the first edition of our moral foundations. Knowing that as an individual we must utilize the cooperation of others at many levels being a social animal to ensure both personal and group survival, culture is that thing within which the sensory net is embedded, taking in environmental stimuli that have been directly impacted by cultural parameters in terms of definition, importance and symbolism. For example, what is the perceptive and expressed value of rice to a westerner in contrast to someone hailing from Korea? Laitin (2001) has shown a vast gap between the use-values of the two. Culture, then, according to researchers in cognitive psychology, serves as the editor of the first edition of the use-value hierarchy.

Fourth, the chapter discusses how language serves as the visible manifestation of both internal and external thought. Utilizing the work of Noam Chomsky (1972) and his thesis on “universal grammar” it will show an interplay between the dual process of cognition described by Greene (2007) and the construction of language morphology. Further, the chapter focuses on the importance in language as a primary source of conflict based on the use-value of its particular semiotic structure looking specifically at the great differences in meaning and emotion between diglossic Arabic and strategically-based Modern Hebrew.

Finally, all of these elements were brought together to examine how each, both collectively and individually, might impact any type of mediation. It stresses that although earlier research in mediation that determined cultural dissonance was a significant part of mediation’s moderate success over time, it was not theoretically

comprehensive in its investigation of why this was so. It is the purpose of this chapter then established a foundation upon which the study can be built.

### **Culture and Social Learning**

Social scientists have long maintained that a “society” is a grouping of individuals interacting with environmental phenomenon in pursuit of individual and group well-being. In his work “*Rules of the Sociological Method*,” Emile Durkheim (1982) collapsed the physical elements of the environment and the various sociogenic descriptors into a single all-inclusive category and collectively called them, “social facts.” By his definition, a social fact is something external to the individual, coercive in its power to compel an actor or the group to perform, something that is quantifiable, and embedded within the influences of other social facts (Durkheim, 1982, 1997). In essence, a society is recognized by more than politically defined territorial borders, but by the aggregate and the interplay between actors and social facts resulting in locally collaborative schema that define and predict a group’s collective behavior or the tacitly or otherwise approved individual actions of its representatives.

Culture encourages common patterns of interacting by creating and codifying shared values and norms that guide acceptable individual behaviors. Conversely, the normative systems that both define and govern the behavior of the group, also define its deviance and corrective procedures in its obligation to restore functionality. Through those behavioral schemas we create a lens through which the world comes into focus and a logic by which we bring it into predictable order (Rohner, 1969; Meade, 1967). They provide us with a grammar of recall and the semiotics necessary for social binding facilitating social reflexivity and adaptation. This body of rules reduces the amount of



randomness in our perceived world and allows us a certain degree of stress-reducing predictability. In essence, humans do not necessarily enjoy new things and situations because they do not have a convenient set of rules that will guide what they deem an appropriate and ultimately productive response.

To understand the innate dynamic occurring between mediators and their conflict stakeholders acting within the context of individually recognized cultural definitions, it is essential to outline two important premises. First, human beings communicate abstract concepts like rules and accepted behaviors symbolically among and between members of their own and other social groups by virtue of a shared and innate capacity for language. Specifically, humans possess evolved neural mechanisms and physical structures that are unique to our species and allow us a physical capacity for sociolinguistic abstraction and interpretation. These genetically unfolding physical structures act as the projection of and in concert with cognitive decision-making elements and provide us with the ability to assign meaning to symbolic representations encountered in our physical world. In effect, we are not reacting to a physical thing directly, we are reacting to what we perceive it to represent such as threat, pleasure, justice or injustice (Mikhail, 2011; Rawls, 1971). This is the way in which we capture, perceive and respond to the multitude of social facts described by Durkheim.

Second, we assert that there is also an innate cognitive mechanism that allows an actor to ascribe a value, or a “use-value,” to those symbols which can be modified based upon the actors’ individual experiences within the context of their cultural settings. These experiences will move from individual ones to shared ones ultimately being transmitted to other members of the group (Richardson & Boyd, 2005; Trivers, 1971; Wright, 1994).

These considerations helped us to understand how perceptions born of dissonant cultural schema can lead to latent conflict between mediator and conflict stakeholder simply through misunderstanding either innately or interpretively.

Clyde Kluckhohn's (1951) meta-survey of anthropological literature found 150 different definitions for "culture." Since that time, there has been a consolidation to around fifty working descriptions (D'Andrade & Romney, 2003). In an effort to develop a usable idea of culture that would capture the essence of our theme of perception-shaping experiences that add to predispositional behaviors, Evans-Pritchard (1965) suggested that we not simply regard culture as "natural" systems of evolved transactions. Instead, culture must be considered as a "moral" or "symbolic system" of bounded human existence. To his credit, Evans-Pritchard, while not having the technology available to assert such a position, current work by Haidt and Joseph (2004) supports the notion of an evolved system of interaction between symbol and use-value based in evolved moral foundations.

Tylor (1870) offered a more refined concept of culture that was more reflective of modern influences; "a complex whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by humans as a member of society" (p. 49). In his view, culture was not the reductionist observation of human behavior reacting to a "symbolic system," that would reflect the position of determinists. Rather, from a more naturalist perspective culture was both an individual and collective reaction to the presence of many kinds of environmental phenomenon both material and non-material. These formed a confluence yielding a unique picture of society to each group member

that was framed by definitions and values acquired through both unique and shared experiences.

However, at all levels, the perception of and the values ascribed to these environmental elements are fluid and continually changing in representation as new technologies frame both new and historic experiences within the context of modernity. Here we are referring more to the non-material or intangible found within the social milieu. It is no longer possible to consider any culture as a static particularistic phenomenon as Boas and others did in their early research (Brewer, 2007; Dewey, 1983; Goldthorpe, 2007).

Clearly, in cursory reviews of the transient, time relevant importance of norms, values and ideologies, culture can easily be considered a truly living thing structurally dependent on outside influences (Amir, 1998; Augsburger, 1992; Durkheim, 1982; Miller & Page, 2007) and inherently dependent upon its constituents' perceptions derived from individual and collective experiences that are embedded in a particular physical environment (Bashkow, 2004; Kuper, 1988; Marcus, 2004; Margolis, 1987).

This is particularly important to the mediator who finds herself in a "local" conflict culture quite apart from her own since the experiential history that shapes local definitions and perceptions of their world and specifically of their conflict may be dissonant to hers and render any mediation in that particular realm difficult to nearly impossible. Unfortunately, some mediators convince themselves that their view of the conflict field they have engaged has reached a successful conclusion, while the data shows quite a different phenomenon. What value is ascribed to each conflict element is of

particular importance as this will significantly impact perception and subsequent actor interactions.

As discussed by Lederach (1995) and Augsburg (1992), dissonant cultures and belief systems serve as the most significant obstacles to the successful resolution of any conflict. This reaction to dissonance occurs at two levels, one conscious, “why do they do it like this,” and the other unconscious, as we know now, through evolved cognitive systems of use-value assignment and its associated decision-making. Later we will discuss these two levels of cognition as a subroutine of cognitive functioning with the brain essentially looking out at something that reminds it of some past event. Paxton and Greene (2010) refer to this as the “dual process theory” of cognitive functioning. The unconscious portion of the equation is the result of the interplay between our evolved neurological capacities for rapid responses to perceived threats, and its editing by our experiential histories that are perceived within our primary cultural frame. This is mitigated by evolved innate capacities for the valuation of tangible and intangible stimuli described in Graham, Haidt, and Nosek’s Moral Foundation Theory (2009) described below.

Earlier research was conducted from the perspective that one’s own culture is taken for granted and seeing the world through it was veridical (Said, 1979). Cultural relativity truly presented itself as an opacity; things we know are present but are not seen or understood clearly; things that are, in effect, taken for granted. According to Paxton and Greene (2010) these are the elements of the unconscious decision-making system. The point being that “culture” cannot be reduced simply to some vaguely defined forces that encourage common patterns of interacting and reacting through a set of imperfectly

shared values and beliefs. In practice, each of those forces are seen through a lens of perception whose representations have been ascribed a use-value specific to the individual both in terms of biology and experience. This use-value is an amalgamation of personal experiences that have in many cases been redefined by other social interactions, later incorporated into an unconscious calculus of decision-making. One “force” therefore cannot exist in and of itself, but is the reflection of collective experiences within a particular group that offers perceptions based on collective and individual experiences within an acceptable range of behaviors, but functional within the larger group (D’Andrade, 1995; de Waal, 1996; Hofstede, 1984).

In its many definitions, culture is commonly regarded as an immutable and timeless “thing” comprised of predictable and stereotypical behaviors; merely a hybrid representation of local norms, values, customs and traditions. Looking at culture as a thing allows its individual components to be evaluated and explained empirically as one would any other object. But this tends to dehumanize and detaches it from the very dynamic of human agency that shapes it (Bennett et al., 2009).

However, regarding culture in terms of being merely a social static does not consider the environmental forces that shape it or the manner in which each individual group member interprets and interacts with those forces as defined by his or her own individual experiences and perceptions (Avruch & Black, 2001). They are generalized without consideration to local social forces in an attempt to construct some grand theory or Universalist explanation. The concept of cultural universals has been a continuous battle inside the social sciences; one that significantly impacts the field of conflict resolution.

Researchers have also taken the logically flawed position, particularly in light of our earlier discussion, that culture is evenly distributed across its members giving no consideration to the interpersonal or behavioral factors influencing individuals' prioritization and weighting of each of those factors in formulating acceptable or unacceptable social interactions. Evans-Pritchard (1965) maintains a particularistic view and speaks to the shaping of individual perspectives as opposed to the broader viewpoints held across the population. This is more in keeping with contemporary definitions; recognizing local elements that provide for the shaping of independent actions and structures, but knowing that these local elements are embedded in and impacted by a larger social construct that changes with time and political demands (Bayart, 2005; Cohen, 1990; D'Andrade, 1995; Haidt et al., 1993). We can understand then, how members of different cultures might attach different meanings to similar experiences or schemas and react differently to the encodements coming from others within even their own community.

While this study recognizes that many theorists have promoted the idea of a global culture as a reflection of the post-modern social media networks described by Castells (2007) assuming broad universal value systems, it focused fundamentally on the concept of local definitions and interpretations of environmental input reflective of primary socializing influences, (i.e., one's "native" habitat). These local inputs showed to have the most significant guiding influence on an individual's self-perception, self-worth, environmental perceptions and identity (Bayart, 2005; Brewer, 2007; Hamlin, Wynn & Bloom, 2007; Kagan, 1984). This dynamic was applied to the mediator to investigate how locally apprehended cultural influences as both the conscious and unconscious

equation of cognition, are mirrored in strategy selection and execution inside the frame of a conflict mediated within and between dissonant cultures and symbolically by their representatives.

The recognition of some universally recognized concepts as they relate to social interaction were regarded as foundational: necessary to be able to humanly relate and discuss “culture” within a quantifiable frame, (E.g., family, economy, ritual, etc.). These sociogenic elements will be used in the conceptualization of a “local” culture and establishes a point of departure that enables us to conceptualize the uniqueness of each of our experiential histories. These unique histories, by their very nature, define and shape our perceptions of the world and our place in it (Bourdieu 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The position that these cultural influences, within and between social groups, are evenly distributed is wrongheaded. They are instead differentially and uniquely distributed and interpreted across any given population contrary to earlier Universalist theories (Bashkow, 2004; Bunzl, 2004; Daloz, 2010; Geertz, 1983; Leng & Regan, 2003; Rosenblatt, 2004).

It is clear that culture is a comprehensive, yet sometimes misleading descriptor used in many social sciences to describe a bounded set of behaviors and their antecedents. Within the social sciences however, the term is heavily burdened by its multiple meanings and the political value attached to it making the task of reaching a common understanding relative to its presence and influence (D’Andrade, 1995; Hirschi, 1969; Leng & Regan, 2003). We recognized the influence of semantics and ideological agendas, but also asserted that generally, these varied influences only served to validate this study’s premise, that uniquely perceived sets of social phenomenon like ideologies

influence the expressed perceptions and behaviors both of mediators and their conflict stakeholders.

Culture then, can be viewed as a derivative of both group and individual experience. These experiences are learned and created by individuals in a population by sequentially cataloging and prioritizing individual and interactive encounters with other members of the group that have lent themselves to the group's prosperity. These experiences can include anything learned or created by the individuals themselves, as well as current and past members of the that particular social structure. Collectively, these experiences are embedded in and subject to the interpretations and perceptions of other group members to include both tangible and non-tangible encodements (Schwartz, 1992). Culture-based experience provides the mechanism for organizing and responding to the social environment and guides the behavior of the individual in social circumstances.

Therefore, individuals can embody and reflect multiple cultures so that its elements are psychologically distributed and interpreted differentially by various members within the group, family, profession, community, etc. (Bourdieu, 1989, 1990, 1996a; Brubaker, 1985 Cheries, Mitroff, Wynn, & Scholl, 2008). However, the selection of which experiences hold the most influence over a resultant human action does not exist randomly or in a vacuum. Rather, our experiences are prioritized both consciously and unconsciously (Rosen, 2005), integrated and placed within a mechanism of "best choice," that is, each element of every experience is valued and categorized for future reference in what are referred to in the cognitive sciences as emotion-based pattern recognition



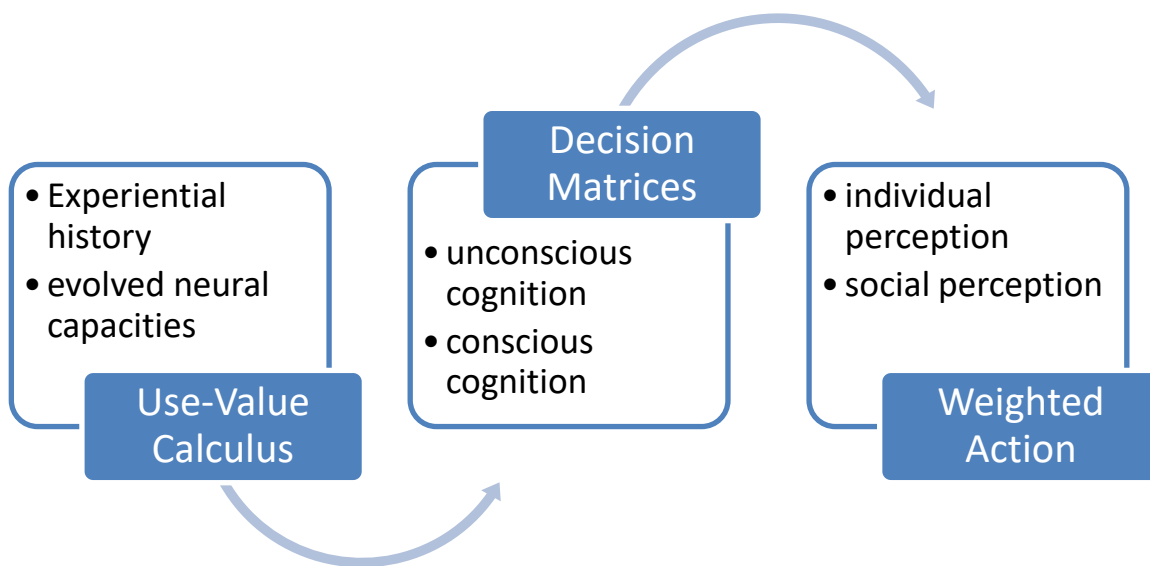
(Bechara, Tranel, & Damasio, 2000; Bouchard, 2004; Cahill et al., 1995; Cáceda et al., 2011) or “EPR.”

### **The Neuroscience of Decision-Making**

Emotion-based pattern recognition. Emotion-Based Pattern Recognition, or EPR, is responsible for what is colloquially referred to as one’s gut feeling or *Deja vous* when actually it is the brain recognizing similar patterns from past experiences and entering those into its calculus of current decision-making. As we will see below, EPR also serves as a significant element of the unconscious portion of our behavioral predispositions that could show themselves as bias in a conflict resolution event. For example, if we fear something in our past and see something that reminds us of that experience, chances are, we will somatically demonstrate an initial fear response once again (Gross, 2010; Rosen, 2005). In short, EPR is the mechanism the brain utilizes to assure quick decision-making since the processing of all environmental inputs linearly as they occur, would not bode well for species survival as it takes too much time to process and to respond to an impending threat. It exists as a combination of some inherent and some experiential knowledge.

An interesting corollary that lies at the heart of the *nature versus nurture* debate is the method by which our brain prioritizes those past experiences and places a certain innate value upon them using EPR. Determinists have said that we possess at birth, all the knowledge necessary to make decisions in any situation. Pragmatism tells us, as well as the media shows this not to true. The next section will discuss, from a constructivist position mirroring Peirce’s abductive hypothesis, that it is not the knowledge *a priori* that is present, but an evolved mechanism of input process that assures species survival.

Decision-making hierarchies. Research done by Joseph Paxton and Josh Greene (2010) and others in the fields of cognitive neuroscience and cognitive anthropology inform us that when we make a decision in response to a tangible or intangible sensory input the process occurs simultaneously in two dimensions; one conscious and the other unconscious (Greene, 2007; Greene & Haidt, 2002, Greene, et al., 2004). It is referred to as a “dual process” (figure 1). Dual Process Theory (Paxton & Greene, 2010) provides a comprehensive look into human cognitive decision-making processes from both an evolutionary and social constructivist perspective. Data in support of the theory was gathered through extensive sociometric testing coupled with neural-processing schematics obtained from detailed studies of (fMRI) functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (Graham et al., 2009) data.



*Figure 2.* Dual Process Theory

Their research paid particular attention to the evolutionary aspects of the neuro-physiological mechanisms of decision-making in trying to identify whether or not we

possess artifacts of *a priori* knowledge relative to social interaction that has been retained and added to throughout our species' development. While their findings did verify certain mechanisms that one might consider as “instinctual” relative to threat avoidance and group formation (Haidt & Graham, 2007; Haidt & Joseph, 2004) it also revealed a critical element in decision-making that helps to explain how we deal with our world perception.

Their findings demonstrated that our conscious response to a challenge is heavily influenced by an unconscious interpretation and ascribed use-value to the stimulus. The elements necessary for that interpretation are found in recalled patterns of experiential history, *a posteriori*, and allow us to consciously arrive at the decisions which appear to us to be the most obvious (Carnevale & Arad, 1996; Casebeer & Churchland, 2003; Hynes, 2007); sometimes not so obvious to others.

In other words, our unconscious brain has early on made a predominant decision for us based upon its evolved capacity for self-interest (Haidt & Joseph, 2004; Haidt et al., 1993) and survival (Kihlstrom, 1987; Miller & Page 2007) that has unfolded through innate genetically based programs combining *a priori* primers and elements from the brain's immense storage of environmental observations, (i.e., experiential history). The conscious part of our brain that is more linear in its evaluation of current incoming data, while able to override the unconscious impulse, is still heavily influenced by it (Boehm, 1999; Greene & Haidt, 2002; Gilovich et al., 2010). Those first impressions we have of people prior to actually meeting them gathered through investigation or rumor, or immediately following a face-to-face encounter may be more important than we had previously considered. Particularly as it relates to a mediator retaining an objective eye toward a conflict and its stakeholders or disputants relating to their mediator; things

consciously unseen but unconsciously ‘in play’ that can have significant influence over our final decisions.

Jon Haidt and Jesse Graham (2007) worked with Greene in trying to determine the way in which humans prioritize or place a use-value on the factors involved in the decision-making calculus and whether or not this was a factor in both parts of the dual process equation. Their research presumed that exploring the role of experiential history in conscious cognition was tautological in that it is understood that everyone responds to trial and error at a conscious level in some linear value-ordered fashion (Cahill et al., 1995; Casebeer & Churchland, 2003; Damasio et al., 1994; Flack and de Waal, 2000).

Their focus was more positioned toward whether or not the evolved neural machinery already identified in their earlier work was running an unconscious subroutine whose updating lay in social experience. They wished to know whether or not this system played a significant role in conscious decision-making and what form that role might take. Further, knowing the conscious portion of the process can edit or override the eventual decision, the researchers wanted to know whether or not there remained any artifact of these innate elements identifiable in a final decision construct. Their findings were succinct, that unconscious elements in the decision-making calculus indeed influenced manifest responses even if sometimes contrary to an agent’s conscious desires (Greene & Haidt, 2002).

The question was already serving as the basis for theoretical discussions in the field of cognitive anthropology. It asked, if evolution has constructed a mechanism by which humans can prioritize the myriad of experiences stored throughout an individual’s lifetime and then operationalize those prioritized facts into decision-making paradigms,

then what are the socially interactive elements effecting that cognitive hierarchy, that is, what is the calculus of priority. In short they were asking how social interaction causes the brain to edit its evolved software.

Chomsky (1965) and Turiel (1983) posited the same argument as it related to the structuring of social communication given the innate quantifiable symbolism of semiotics; how do social influences impact on a genetic program that facilitates language and how does language reflect the inner thoughts of the individual. In their seminal study of language, emotion and autism, Bigler et al., (2007) questioned whether or not the real message a speaker transmits can be masked by language or does a receiver have an innate capacity for emotional interpretation.

Grenfell (2011) and Grice (1989) took this question into the social realm in their study of linguistics under Bourdieu's frame of symbolism and power. Their conclusions, although preliminary, indicate that regardless of the speakers' attempt at, for instance being politically correct, the receivers always have a gut reaction indicative of a truer emotional interpretation. This lends itself to the notion that human beings have the capacity to sense deception (Haidt & Joseph, 2004; Hamlin et al., 2007), something that directly impacts conflict resolution practice.

Researchers have tried to empirically describe the process by which we value and subsequently prioritize information into a decision-making hierarchy that facilitates the interpretation of environmental encodements, that is, symbolic actions and language-based messages. Kohlberg (1969) and Piaget (1952) hypothesized for example, that there was an innate sense of justice and fairness in people that was the result of individuals needing to work together as a functional group, particularly as the environment became

more complex. While limited in their scope, they succeeded in identifying a process by which humans began their actions utilizing a rudimentary knowledge base that appeared innate.

Their assumptions were born from the fact that their research subjects were infants who had yet to develop the capacity to speak and fully grasp the meanings of the symbols around them. From these observed basic and presumably unconscious behavioral antecedents, the primary behavior profile changed as the subject “grew” while acquiring experience from his or her environment. This led to the widely recognized concept of “moral stages,” progressing towards a “moral maturity.” The term morality in subsequent research is overtly burdened with significant political and religious baggage much in the same way as the term “culture,” and now reflects less science than political correctness or religious definition.

However, the primary observations by early investigators of an apparent set of behavioral predispositions facilitated by evolved genetic engineering remains patent (Cahill et al., 1995; Dehaene et al., 1998; Elman et al., 1996). Here “moral maturity” will only serve as a label representative of a complex process of constructing a value hierarchy of experiences to make a complex equation a little less complex for the sake of cognitive expediency and predictability, and to demonstrate that this discussion is far from being only a contemporary one. It also builds upon the concept that the human brain resists complex change and defers to early recognized patterns.

Turiel (1983) provides the most widely accepted and utilized definition of morality. He posits that the moral domain is comprised of “prescriptive assessments of justice, rights and welfare pertaining to how people ought to relate to each other” (p.

386). Turiel's definition reflects elements from Kant's "Categorical Imperative," discussed in the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), the utilitarian concept of inherent goodness and the cooperative nature of humanity in pursuit of happiness espoused by John Stewart Mill (1998), the utilitarian premise in Jeremy Bentham's *Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1985) and the *Philosophy of Justice* described by John Rawls (1971). Morality does not and cannot serve as the universal explanation of behavior that is implicit in social interaction. The common thread is the reference to an "innate sense" reflective of the previously mentioned genetic program of cognition.

In keeping with our consideration of culture as an important factor in the hierarchy of interaction (Augsburger, 1992), we would be remiss if it were not pointed out that Turiel (1983) bares a western flavor of morality centering on the "ethic of autonomy" (Brewer, 2007; Graham et al., 2009). The understanding of morality in other non-western countries focuses more on an "ethic of community" focusing on obedience, duty, interdependence and cohesiveness of groups and institutions and the "ethic of divinity" defining purity and the control of our propensity for carnal action (Brewer, 2007; Fisher, 1997; Haidt, 2008). This becomes important in our discussion of the Camp David Accords as we weigh the cognitive differences between its principle actors, Carter, Sadat and Begin, and evaluate the impact of cultural influences on their use-value and moral calculi. It also reinforces the position of culture serving as an interactive editor to innate mechanisms as well as framing the uniqueness of the individual embedded within resident social groups.

The distinction between individual and community premised on moral functioning establishes the basis for a comparison between "individualistic" and

“collective” kinds of societies (Augsburger, 1992; Bashkow, 2004; Benedict, 1959; Forbes, 1997; Said, 1979) or “low” context and “high” context groups. This will be important in the comparison of styles between Israeli and Egyptian cultures as it also influences the structures of negotiation and linguistics, a key component of evaluation in topic of this study (Abu-Nimir, 1996; Aronoff, 2014; Cohen, 1990, 1997). It was from these different kinds of hierarchies of interactions formed out of cultural influences that guided Haidt in his study of Moral Foundations Theory.

The divergence in comparing individualistic and collective societies requires more depth in answering the question why there is a difference in perceptions and interaction if everyone is basically constructed in the same way, that is, to cooperate and survive through universal genetic programming. The discourse on nature versus nurture begins to take on a special relevance. According to Haidt and Joseph (2007), these innate psychological mechanisms coevolved with cultural institutions, serving as the foundation of socialization to local virtues and customs, thus assuring the perpetuation of behaviors (and institutions) favorable to group survival (Kuper, 1988; Nanda & Warms, 2011; Pickett, 1999).

To that end, Hynes (2007) describes the creation of consensual rules, normative systems of control that protect society from the tendency of individuals to actively advance their own agenda at the expense of others within the group. The adherence to these rules defines the presence of a moral guideline or cognitive hierarchy later to be both unconsciously and consciously perceived working in conjunction toward the construction of an acceptable social performance (Bouchard, 2004; Mikhail, 2011; Rawls, 1971).



Hynes (2007) does not, however, imply that those group conformists possess any sort of innate knowledge of these prescriptions rather than these guidelines are part of the socialization process, a learned set of behaviors. Clearly though, the mechanism of apprehending the stratified nature of these “moral” behaviors, or use-values need to be present similar to the capacities to apprehend language construction outlined by Chomsky and others (Boehm, 1999; Bouchard, 2004; Chomsky, 1965, 1975; Dik, 1989; Mikhail, 2011; Paxton & Greene, 2010; Rawls, 1971;) in their discussion of universal grammar and our innate capacity for constructing and transmitting symbolic abstractions to a listener. Over time, these external rules become internalized, part of the unconscious decision-making formulary and, according to Steger, Hicks, Krueger, and Bouchard (2011), Cahill et al. (1995), and West-Eberhard (2003), part of humans’ DNA. While this stands to currently be an untestable hypothesis, we can assert that the perception and transmission of these rules become part of the encodements of resident languages and a reflection of the individual’s inner cognitive process; a moral foundation for decision-making.

### **Moral Foundations Theory**

Moral Foundations Theory (MFT) (Graham et al, 2009; Haidt & Joseph, 2004; Young et al., 2010) provides a bridge between the neuroscience of decision-making and the socio-cultural influences that shape their final outcomes. MFT research also adds insight to the later work of Greene (Greene et al., 2009; Paxton & Greene, 2010) on dual process cognition. It recognizes the developmental aspect of brain function in that the human brain “learns” how to process environmental inputs through its sensory-cognitive pathways favoring behaviors that will maximize individual survivability, and which

assigns value to every complex social interaction (Amir, 1998; Cahill et al., 1995; Churchland, 2011; Elman et al., 1996; Greene, 2007; Paxton & Greene, 2010;). MFT provides us with the tools to examine qualitatively and quantitatively the manner and degree to which social facts influence and even override genetically mediated behaviors toward self-interest, social interaction and survival. It is informed by the earlier work of Jean Piaget (1952) and Lawrence Kohlberg (1971) on moral development. In essence the Haidt and Graham findings provide scientific validation for the earlier hypotheses on moral cognition, moral development and moral maturity by utilizing modern technology.

Unlike other research in moral psychology Haidt departs from the content of a moral judgment and focuses more on the functions of “moral systems” (Haidt & Joseph, 2004, 2007; Haidt, et al., 1993; Hume, 1751; Hynes, 2007; Mikhail, 2011). This is in keeping with the theme of innate social tools that persist through evolution and Kohlberg’s moral development. According to Haidt and Joseph (2004), “moral systems are interlocking sets of values, practices, institutions and *evolved psychological mechanisms* that work together to suppress or regulate selfishness and makes social life possible” (p. 173). These moral systems are the basis for the “social glue” that Durkheim eluded to in his book, “The Elementary Forms of Religious Life” (reprinted 1995) by offering a guide for what behaviors are acceptable to one’s social group, and which ones are not.

Significant to this study, Haidt found that most non-western cultures did not limit their scope of moral functioning to the right or wrong actions of the individual as did western cultures, but rather focused the attention on the moral actions of the community (Graham et al., 2009; Haidt & Joseph, 2004; Haidt et al., 1993). This becomes important

in assessing the dynamic between representatives of two different cultures within the context of mediation serving as the premise for an examination of cultural dissonance (Lederach, 2010), specifically Egypt and Israel the former being high context while the latter is low context (Cohen, 1995).

Haidt's work allows us to see the essence of basic cognitive and subsequently ideological difficulties between actors who are trying to perceive their separate worlds within a mediation context that demands common moral values or a more similar "cultural lens." To reflect back on our previous discussion, the different cultures and the socio-environmental conditions that comprise the constituency's experiential histories serve as specific editors to their innately established behavioral predispositions. These predispositions, within the frame of high and low context cultures, that is, individualistic versus community sentiments, are also contextualized by their delineator of being categorized as either individualistic or binding respectively (Haidt & Graham, 2007).

The five moral foundations described in the Haidt (Haidt, 2008; Haidt & Kesebir, 2010) literature (Table 1) describe those innate capacities that cause us to feel emotionally, a primary sense of right and wrong both from an individual and collective frame, and subsequently impact our eventual response to interactions. They have taken the essence of Piaget's and Kohlberg's theoretical framework, and provided validation through sociometric and fMRI (functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging) testing. Earlier, we described how the "feeling" produced by these foundations can be placed within a hierarchy by environmental and culturally normative systems within the context of Dual Process Theory described by Paxton and Greene (2010). Following are the moral foundations described in the Haidt research. It is important to remember that the

operationalization of each foundation elicits not only a cognitive process, but also a somatic response reflecting the findings of both Paxton and Greene (2010), as well as Rosen (2005) relative to dual process and emotional pattern recognition or emotional priming. Note that each category contains a primary moral descriptor and its antonym.

Table 1

*Moral Foundations: Use –values and manifest behaviors*

<b>Moral Foundation</b>	<b>Evolutionary Purpose</b>	<b>Attached Use-Value</b>	<b>Behavioral Predisposition</b>
<b>Care/Harm</b>	Attachment	Kindness, Gentleness Nurturance	Empathy
<b>Fairness/Cheating</b>	Reciprocity Altruism	Proportionality Equality	Justice Human Rights
<b>Loyalty/Betrayal</b>	Tribalism	Group Identity Group Defense	Self-Sacrifice Patriotism
<b>Authority/Subversion</b>	Social/Group Hierarchies	Leadership Followership	Submission Aggression
<b>Sanctity/Degradation</b>	Disgust Contamination	Valuable Disposable Maximal Minimal	Ideological Righteousness Religion

Harm/Care. This foundation describes the human concern about caring, nurturance and protecting vulnerable individuals from any form of harm or abuse. Its evolutionary origin is traced to a mother's concern for her child and has become encoded into part of our genetic programming for all vulnerable individuals (Bowlby, 1969; Brewer, 2007; Cheries et al., 2008; Haidt, 2008; 2012; Haidt & Joseph, 2004). For example, examine your feelings while seeing refugee children in television commercials without knowing who they are or what their dilemma might be or a distressed child in your own neighborhood. Most of us will feel the same twinge of empathy and a need to help regardless of whether or not the child is ours. Earlier work done in the area of the

evolution of empathy (Boehm, 1999; Bouchard, 2004; Bowlby, 1969; de Waal, 2008) and attachment systems (Benedict, 1959; Bowlby, 1969; Kohlberg, 1971) fits with the tenet of this foundation.

Within the context of this discussion, if a mediator has witnessed or received information concerning atrocities perpetrated upon a vulnerable population, something that would touch upon this foundation of empathy and compassion, coupled to the somatic responses attached to it which we have demonstrated will form an emotional recognition pathway in the brain, subject to cultural definitions and perceptions, we asked how might that predispose him or her to dealing with the subject of an atrocity in later mediations? We also know that these somatic responses are now logged into the experiential library and will be called upon within the context of decision-making relative to the conflict at hand.

More important, how will the mediator regard the representative of that conflict in the mediation process who is a living symbol of the witnessed abuse? Will s/he be negatively biased against that representative party to the pogrom, or positively biased toward the perceived victim? Recalling earlier research, we can understand that academically, the mediator can override these behavioral predispositions toward a dislike for a disputant, but as well, we are informed that those same behavioral antecedents will still have influence in the final decision-making outcome manifest in mediator behavior (Cáceda et al., 2011; Greene, 2004; Robertson et al., 2007), something made clear in past research dealing with “moral dilemmas.”

Fairness/Cheating. This is regarded by Haidt as the focus of the human fixation on fairness, egalitarianism, justice and reciprocal action. It came from the work on

evolutionary reciprocal altruism (Hubbard, 1999; Trivers, 1971) the research on moral development by Kohlberg (1971) and the theoretical premise of Rawls (1971) and Mikhail (2011) in “A Theory of Justice.” De Waal (1982; 1996; 2008) has associated this foundation with the need for vengeance in studies of primatology and developmental anthropology. Fairness is an important consideration on the part of the mediator. As well, the propensity of a participant to lie in order to achieve an unfair goal is addressed in this description. It also forms part of the foundation of trust that is alluded to in the other MFT categories.

As might be surmised, this moral foundation is a significant element in the construction of a value hierarchy or symbolic use-value of perception, being part of the cognitive calculus of decision-making that determines the mediator’s behavior toward conflict stakeholders. It might be that a mediator may feel some form of animus toward a participant who has demonstrated presently or historically some form of unfair behavior in how captives, refugees or other non-combatants are treated, that is, a violator of human rights.

Perhaps the mediator has a developed sense of visceral attachment to some tangible object such as the land of their birth and heritage or a concept of home that is in conflict with the perception or behavior of one of the disputants relative to having it taken away unjustly by someone they regard as inappropriate. This was the crux of the Arab/Israeli conflict addressed by the Camp David Accords. How this unconscious predisposition is manifest will be of particular importance to the other conflict stakeholders as it relates to perceived neutrality. If we make a small conceptual leap, and combine this “individualistic” foundation with the prior foundation of harm and care, it

becomes clear how together these fundamentals have the potential for priming the mediator toward feeling empathy towards a perceived victim, and seeking some sort of retribution, perhaps through an unconscious display of bias toward the aggrieved.

These first two “moral” foundations are principally concerned with how we feel about actions taken for or against us and the outwardly directed empathy we show for others perceived as suffering or not receiving fair treatment and serve as the key component in the consideration of justice (Bentham, 1970; Boehm, 1999; Cropanzano et al., 2003; de Waal, 1996). These foundations have been labeled as “individualizing” by Haidt (Haidt, 2012; Haidt & Joseph, 2004) and are in concert with the findings of Kohlberg (1981) and Rawls (1971) on the “ethics of justice” and the “ethic of care” described by Gilligan (1982).

Work by Wynn (2008) and Hamlin et al. (2007) in developmental psychology at the Yale University Infant Cognition Center, examined infants that demonstrated empathy towards other distressed infants or the apparent perceived recognition of a good or a bad person after observing certain types of behaviors in a puppet show. This occurred before they had acquired the ability to verbally communicate as well as having only a very limited experiential history, that is, they had not had the experience of a “bad” person (de Waal, 2008; Hamlin et al., 2007).

Their conclusion was that there exists in these infants and looking outward, all humans, some rudimentary or innate sense of what is acceptable and what is unacceptable relative to security and fairness. The key factor was that the infants had not had the experiential history necessary for value judgments, that is, to have the ability to assign use-value gained through social experience. Important too is how the infants manifest

their feelings of observed impropriety; they cried and the parallel somatic responses included increases in blood pressure, temperature and pupil dilation providing us with some context for the term “emotional” recognition pathways. Parenthetically, the brain uses these somatic responses as flags to allow easy access to the experience in the construction of future rapid decision-making when faced with a new or threatening situation (Churchland, 2011).

The present study asked how this observation and subsequent perceptions might be manifested in an adult. We already know through earlier research that the cognitive machinery innate to all humans matures at a relatively steady rate, a combination of genetically based programming and the required stimulations coming from the environment. We also know that an individual’s moral maturity is impacted by socio-cultural inputs that assist in establishing a value hierarchy of the interactions between themselves and other socio-environmental stimuli. Moral development as a consequence of social interaction is however, not linear as is genetic maturity overall. It was important to discover how these mature mechanisms are demonstrated, particularly in a diplomatic subculture that limits the kinds of responses among and between other diplomats. How do they manifest feelings of vengeance and revulsion elicited by reading about or directly witnessing atrocities performed by their conflict stakeholders?

### **Binding Foundations: The Glue of Society**

Cultural anthropology and evolutionary sociology shows that humans’ need to participate in a group is directly related to the advancing complexities and interactions within and between societies (Bashkow, 2004; Bunzl, 2004; Kuper, 1988; Rosenblatt, 2004). Graham et al. (2009) posit that these following three foundations, considered



“binding” in the context of group behavior, not only allow for group sustainability, but also define two separate moral operatives that translate as predominant political ideologies, liberal and conservative, thus laying the framework for defining two behavioral or “moral types.” This distinction also has overtones of social bonding theory described by Hirschi (1969) relative to the formation of morally defined identity groups (Bourdieu, 1987). Again, perhaps this is a predecessor of a mediator identifying more with one disputant than another, perhaps leading to some level of mediator bias. At a minimum it takes Allport’s (1954) notion of Contact Theory to task, that is, there will be some observable, and predictable, level of dissonance between two identified moral “types.”

The decision-making formula utilizing the moral use-valuation metric and how it led to types of moral individuals can be described simply in terms of a percentage of concern as described by Graham et al. (2012). For example, according to the Haidt hypotheses supported by the fMRI data gathered by Greene and others, a “liberal” will tend to (unconsciously) engage a decision using only the first two foundations, (i.e., harm/care and fairness/cheating), both being described as individualistic in nature. So, each of the two elements is used in the total use-value calculus, 50% harm/care, 50% fairness cheating.

On the other hand, a “conservative” has been shown to use all five foundations in their decision-making formulae applying each in a 20% proportion so that harm/care and fairness cheating only receive a 40% consideration overall, where each foundation receives a 20% consideration. Researchers in the field of cognitive science have no wonder why liberals and conservatives simply cannot seem to get along with each other,

or at least agree on policy issues. Their moral influences simply are not consonant with each other and therefore their perception of a particular issue is skewed toward their heuristic yet unconscious method of value assignment. We can project, as implied earlier, that this schism will be more pronounced as the substance of a mediation moves away from tangible issues such as land and supplies, and moves more toward the intangible arena of religion and political ideologies. Certainly the impact of enculturation as applied to perceptions and symbolic use-values will become more apparent (Graham and Haidt and Nosek, 2009).

Loyalty/Betrayal. This foundation identified in the Haidt research described the altruistic traits of loyalty, patriotism and self-sacrifice for the group as a binding principle of social sustainability. They also describe the group's constant watchfulness for traitors and liars inside the group with harsh consequences to the offenders, thus assuring group functioning and viability. Through the work of Brewer (2007), we can also extend this to intergroup relationships as well. Cognitively we can assert the reliance of patent cognition on predictability of action relative to group harmony reminding the reader that the human brain is not comfortable with change. When bringing together two opposing groups, each with its own moral identity as proposed in Allport's (1954) "contact theory," antagonisms might not be reduced through interaction, but rather exacerbated and runs the risk of bringing into focus one party's weakness or dissonant value system to another thus compromising the environment of egalitarianism so essential in mediation (Bercovitch & Oishi, 2010; Fisher, 1997; Forbes, 1997; Gaertner et al., 1994).

We can now speculate as to whether or not the mediator, whose moral maturity is intimately linked to his or her own culture, will accept a conflict stakeholder that they

perceive more closely approximates his or her own moral predispositions as preferred over one who does not. In this situation we could postulate that the mediator might identify more closely with a morally similar stakeholder as opposed to the one he or she perceives to be more morally dissonant; the dissonance being a perceptual manifestation of his innate moral hierarchies or symbolic “use-values.” In essence we are externalizing elements of a group that make it unique and approximating an equivalency with what might be conflicting moral systems much in the same way we described the conflicts of perception between liberals and conservatives.

We could also speculate that this moral consonance between mediator and stakeholder might be an indicator of the cultural and/or experiential familiarity which might give some support to Frazier and Dixon’s (2006) argument for a diplomatic subculture. Unfortunately, the large body of data found in the ICD from Bercovitch and Oishi (2010) does not identify in any usable detail the diplomatic relationships between mediators and other stakeholders. As far back as Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethics* he proposes that we tend to gravitate toward people that look like us, and prefer the same things we do (Bartlett & Collins, 2012). The investigation of subcultural consonance between diplomats could be the subject of future research.

Authority/Subversion. The fourth foundation refers to one’s proclivity towards leadership or followership. It also underlies the recognition of and deference to “legitimate” or “just” authority seen in group interaction. In his 1996 study of the evolution of “right and wrong” in humans, de Waal described the attributes of subordinates and examined terms of leadership and protection inherent to the evolution of hierarchy in primates. As well, these descriptors are reminiscent of Lawrence Kohlberg’s

(1981) work on the class specificity of cultural norms. Where this quality is revered in both individualistic and collectivist societies, Cohen (1997) showed that it is valued in different ways and may be dissonant to each respective group relative to group identity. Haidt (2012) cautions that this foundation cannot stand alone, but must be placed in concert with other individualizing foundations in what appears to be a recognition of the *a posteori* nature of the binding foundations, that is, individual survival trumps group harmony.

Parenthetically, Haidt's mentioning of the difficulty of examining binding foundations as unique independent variables might signal the presence of a particular hierarchy within the foundations themselves. It may be, given the research in primatology by de Waal (1982, 1996, 2008) and the extensive cognitive testing shown in the Forbes and Grafman (2010) research, that the primary mechanism of use-value assignment is found within the individualizing foundations, (i.e., harm/care and fairness/cheating). Perhaps the drive for an individual's survival by recognizing threats to one's self and one's family took evolutionary precedence over its need for inclusion and identity within the social group. But, this is a digression from our discussion however significant for future research in conflict resolution.

The recognition of legitimate authority is what is of most interest relative to mediator action and supports the work done by Bercovitch (Houston, Bercovitch & 2000; Bercovitch & Oishi, 2010) and Kaufman and Duncan (1992) who described the importance of mediator and disputant ranking. Based on the mediator's predisposed motivations, is there a chance that he or she will identify a conflict stakeholder as a non-legitimate participant given our notion of the conflict resolution system as a sub-culture

encompassing the same dynamic as one would encounter describing in-group and out-group discussions of different cultures or neighborhoods (Greig & Diehl, 2005; Hubbard, 1999; Kubota et al., 2012; Levy, 2009)?

If we examine the Bercovitch dataset, one of the descriptors speaks to the concept of “authority.” It identifies the position of a mediator/stakeholder relative to their capacity to make decisions and commitments on behalf of the entity they represent. Those able to make important decisions unilaterally, referring to accepting or making concessions, might be regarded as more legitimate than those not able to do so by conflict stakeholders. This might beg the question as to what level the mediator, innately recognizing the authority position of the counterpart, regards the actor as possessing “legitimate” authority and how this consideration will manifest in mediator behavior. Parenthetically, Prime Minister Begin continually reminded his counterparts, presidents Carter and Sadat, that he was not at their level, “only a Prime Minister,” perhaps strategically leaving himself an out relative to acceptance of peace proposals, deferring responsibility to the Knesset, although history has shown this feigned minimalism to be less than accurate.

Sanctity/Degradation. The final foundation described by the Haidt research is premised upon the psychology of disgust and contamination. Its modern manifestation underlies religious notions of striving to live in an elevated, less carnal, nobler way. According to Haidt, “It underlies the widespread idea that the body is a temple which can be desecrated by immoral activities and contaminants” (2012, p. 73). It defines the moral codes and behaviors of both men and women relative to mate selection and socialization of children into moral beings (Monroe, Martin & Ghosh, 2009; Sinnott-Armstrong, 2008;

Wynn, 2008) thus existing as one of the moral compasses or basis of normative action relative to sexual behavior and religious dogma (Haidt & Hersch, 2001). Underlying the discussion is the unconscious behavioral antecedent that informs the individual as to what is acceptable in the perceived characteristics of another individual or thing; which do we choose to select one over another? This is not a recent observation since Aristotle said, “We tend to associate with those that look like us and like the same things we do” (Bartlett & Collins, 2012, p. 235).

The question that arises from this binding foundation, focuses on the mediator’s perception of what constitutes an “immoral,” unjust or humanly degrading activity on the part of one or both conflict stakeholders and how that insinuates itself into an interaction relative to our cognitive dual processing. The mediator’s unconscious moral equation may be reduced to a hierarchy of performance, but still serves to sort out between actors, that is, which one has committed a more heinous act than the other. Placing that strata within the framework of moral behaviors, it may elicit in the mediator a need to put the worst offender “back in their place,” that is, vengeance, for the greatest offender (Bentham, 1970; Boehm, 1999; Cahill et al., 1995; Cobb, 1997; Damasio et al., 1994; de Waal, 1982; Kihlstrom, 1987).

Summary of theory. If we bring together the Contact Theory of Allport (1954) and Moral Foundations Theory of Haidt (1997) and place those within the frame of an innate dual-process mechanism of cognition, personal likes and dislikes become more clear. Specifically, how biases on the part of conflict stakeholders are influenced by socio-cultural experiences manifesting in predispositional behaviors like bias. The evolved “foundations” serve as a backdrop to which environmental experiences are

compared relative to individual and group well-being. The resultant symbolic values are placed within a dual process cognition to produce a decision-making formula guiding social interactions. How those interactions are manifest is clearly dependent upon experiential history that has occurred within a unique socio-cultural context that provided input to that dual process calculus and is therefore manifest as preference or avoidance. Clearly, this weighs as a significant factor in assessing mediator bias and stakeholder perceptions. The next section will lay out factors that describe the outward expressions of these processes.

### **The Importance of Language as a Representation of Behavior**

The previous section described a schema that defines a moral or use-value assignment mechanism as a function of an individual's evolved biology and its key role on the social stage. At the heart of the discussion, the one that facilitates all other actions, is how the information being received by the mediator and stakeholders as regards the descriptive construct of each participant is communicated, is being received and perceived, and is evaluated based upon local cultural definitions that frame acceptable responses.

Also, we asked if these responses reflect more or less of the predispositions informed by unconscious cognitive decision-making equations. Aside from the obvious witnessing of an act, information from our environment concerning the actions of other individuals is facilitated by our sensory net capturing information from our environment, be that printed, verbal or some other form of communication category, (i.e., personal, research or media). All of these are placed within our long and short-term memories and are utilized by our brain as a pattern recognition and operational use-value system. The

key is to understand what is going on inside the mind of each participant based on this socio-environmental data-acquisition system.

In every case, this is accomplished through some level of communication that is facilitated by language. We think in language as well. In its essence, any form of communication through any mode of language is ego-contextual and reveals certain predispositions of the speaker (Laitin, 1977; Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2011; Tomasello, 2008). However, language is not a one-way phenomenon, but requires a speaker (sender) and a listener (receiver). The listener's perception of the transmitted message, as we have seen, is nuanced by his or her culturally embedded experiential history that frames perception through use-value, which impacts the relationship between the two agents. This will be the focus of this section.

### **Language as a Reflection of Inner Thought**

There is a large body of philosophical and biological literature that advances several positions on the age-old debate of what makes humans, human. The theme of the discussion seeks to identify what it was that separated us from the lower animals; what about humans was peculiar. A soul, the ability to self-reflect, the theory of mind (Baron-Cohen, 1991), were those things Alexander von Humboldt (Helferich, 2004) denied to lower animals. He referred to them as "automata" with regards to how they could primitively respond only to immediate environmental stimuli; a response to their "passions." Von Humboldt's position was that animals were more or less complex machines that reacted only through response or command to their physical environment. But they could only react within the confines of this "passion-driven" manner, limited to the basic 'instincts' necessary for survival both individually and as a species.



They did not, according to von Humboldt and subsequently other developmental anthropologists, have the capacity to self-reflect or to communicate abstractions (Bouchard, 2004; D'Andrade, 1995; de Waal, 2008; Elman et al., 1996). Developmental psychology informs us that a non-human species has not developed the high functioning brain as demonstrated by the presence of our well-developed and large cerebral cortex, the site of calculation and higher executive functions unique to our own species (Bechara et al., 2000; Greene, 2007; West-Eberhard, 2003).

These scientists tell us the vocalizations of lower animals were simply triggers to those passions essential to their survival (de Waal, 2008). What they lacked, and what humans possessed, was a capacity to reflect and spontaneously respond to anything in their environment, but to also speculate and create questions and answers to elements that had never been and perhaps never would be part of their social or cultural milieu (Palmer & Palmer, 2002). Most important, humans are able to communicate these abstract constructs through a system of sounds, compressions and decompressions that are captured and understood and variously assigned both consciously and unconsciously use-value by others (Chomsky, 1972). The focal point of these discussions of "humanness" is language; the symbolic representation of innate human self-reflection and self-expression through symbolic action (Chomsky & Bidwai, 1996). Samuel Coleridge (1893), in describing Shakespearean verse said, that "... Nature, the prime genial artist, inexhaustible in diverse powers, is equally inexhaustible in forms: "each exterior (expression) is the physiognomy of the being within" (Gillian, 2008); an observation on the ego-contextuality of language.

Language is 1) something de Corderoy (1667) described as the single most necessary component of social interaction; 2) something that is purely mechanics are innate to all humans both biologically and socially as the result of evolutionary forces heavily influenced by an ascribed symbolic use-value reflective of its socio-cultural environment (Chomsky, 1965; Dik, 1989; Palmer & Palmer, 2002); and 3) an instrument through which innate behavioral predispositions are edited to accommodate local cultural and situational demands (Chomsky, 1970, 1972; Forbes & Grafman, 2010; Grice, 1989; Haidt, 2008; Haidt et al., 1993; Paxton & Greene, 2010).

We deconstruct language into two principle parts, its bio-linguistic component and its socially interactive component in line with the work of Sapir (1925, 1936); Whorf et al., (1993); and Richardson and Boyd (2005). Each has a profound impact on the way in which humans, more specifically, mediators and disputants, perceive and interpret their world necessary for the construction of an appropriate strategy, response and interaction (Cobb, 1997; Dik, 1989; Geertz, 1983; Grenfell, 2011). Our question was whether or not one's response is indicative of the dual process and predispositions described earlier or is it completely masked to the receiver. Basically, can we hide what we really feel about the other parties, or is it expressed through our use of language in a particular and demonstrative linguistic construct through lexicon, semantics and semiotics?

The two theorists most prominent in describing these two elements are Noam Chomsky in his research on universal grammar (Chomsky, 1965; Cook & Newson, 1996) and Cartesian Linguistics, and Jürgen Habermas, known for his theories on social communication, making a distinction between the use of communicative language and strategic language (Habermas, 1984, 1990; Schaefer et al., 2013). Their work has served

as the foundation for a substantial amount of research and theory-building relative to this human peculiarity of communicative rationality and abstraction. Each was particularistic in our discussion of mediator and disputant behavior and its representation through spoken and written language. Specifically, this study established a primary cause of intercultural dissonance in the Arab-Israeli conflict by examining the origins, cultural nuances, and behavioral implications manifest by spoken Arabic and Modern Hebrew in conjunction with earlier described cognitive processes. Each represented a high context and low context culture respectively with their concomitant influences on cognitive dual processes and manifest predispositions.

A brief summary that brings together both bodies of theory will be helpful. In short, according to Chomsky (1975) and others (Laitin, 1977; Palmer & Palmer, 2002; Szalay, 1981; Van Valin, 2000) the human brain has evolved into a genetically defined neural mechanism that allows us to construct an interactive schema between environmental stimuli captured by our sensory net, a representative symbol for that stimuli and its ascribed use-value to the actor (Haidt & Joseph, 2004). The combination of symbolic representation and use-value became key variables in the cognitive equation that dictates self-expression and social interaction by means of verbal interaction.

De Cordemoy (1667) provided an excellent summary that answered the historic question of what makes us human. He was regarded as holding in contention the behaviorists who regarded all social interaction as merely the acquired and operationalization of experience without regard to how that experience is processed and subsequently expressed. Indeed, de Cordemoy is considered by Chomsky and others as a true “rational romantic,” and whose focus is captured in his statement that, “the most

fundamental feature of humanity is a certain type of linguistic interaction, not an unsupported metaphysics of sociality” (p. 151).

These two schools of thought support our assertion of innate capacities facilitating and informing social interaction and so are in consonance with the behaviorists. Together, they transcend the nativist constructs of mechanistic responses to social influences; the human as automata that operates solely within a finite library of information and unable to effectively create appropriate and beneficial responses to new situations as credited to the lower animals (D’Andrade, 1995; de Waal, 1982; 1996; Dewey, 1983; Flack & de Waal, 2000). Were nativism the case, predictability in human behavior would be something less than mundane and mediation would be nothing more than completing a predictable puzzle, unfulfilling in its success and tautological in its essence.

Instead, we humans have the unique ability to respond to an infinite number of complex situations by utilizing the innate capacities of evolved cognitive systems; coupled with cumulative environmental and interactive experiences we can produce both predictable and spontaneous responses in constantly changing environments and we manifest that in some form of written or spoken language. In short, as humans, we can adapt to almost any situation. Indeed, in the parlance of the rational romantics, human behavior is unpredictable and flourishes in a milieu of communication. They considered human behavior as “mystifying in its expression” and remarkable in its capacity to spontaneously evolve relative to time and space (Cook & Newson, 1996; Palmer & Palmer, 2002). The position of nativists seems pale in comparison to how Miller and Page (2007) refer to human beings as a “complex adaptive system.”

These studies, shown valid by contemporary research in neurology and the cognitive sciences tell us that our humanness permits us to express not only our passions but to speculate on them, to interrogate them, to have ideas and to be able to appropriately respond to any new and complex situation, indeed the manifestation of a complex adaptive system (Kihlstrom, 1987; Miller & Page, 2007). Language is regarded by the cognitive sciences and social philosophers as a derivative of our inner selves (Burton, 1969; Chomsky, 1965; Dik, 1989; Grenfell, 2011; Harman, 2000; Hume, 1751; Kant, 1781), and as will be shown later, an accurate evaluation tool of self-expressed social strategy and a valid, generalizable predictor of future behaviors (Hynes, 2007; Hubbard, 1999).

But, although the mechanism of language is finite, its ability to synthesize incoming environmental stimuli and the formulation of appropriate responses both abstract and material in the form of self-expression is infinite. However, those infinite formulations, or schema is influenced and often mitigated by the socio-cultural environment, be it social or physical as it requires stimuli to work as an engine requires fuel (Greene, 2004; Greene & Haidt, 2002; Habermas, 1990; Harman, 2000; Hamlin et al., 2007; Wynn, 2008). It is the kind of fuel that generates the type of response, that is, “the brain only knows what it sees.” Chomsky (1965) has referred to this phenomenon as a “poverty of the stimulus” and cites the incredible capacities in our evolved systems to process so little input from the environment. For example, a child commands a very small lexicon but has the capability of expressing a wide array of complex and abstract communications that its parents can interpret. Note however, that their interpretation is embedded within the confines of a similar socio-cultural library of experience. An

interesting study would be the investigation of the level of understanding between adoptive parents and children who begin to socialize a child from another culture, already possessing the primary experiences of its birth culture.

The information necessary for the brain to recognize and value symbols coming in through its sensory net is heavily influenced by the conditions present in the resident environment (Hamlin et al., 2007; Wynn, 2008). The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis speculated that the language first acquired by an individual serves as the lens through which they see the world and it is through this lens that the brain establishes a first look to a new situation. However, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis does not provide a comprehensive theory on language as a biological and subsequently as a behavioral mechanism; it does provide the stuff of inquiry relative to the state of language as a defining environmental tool that can influence future behaviors, that is, birth to a certain age and post developmental stages of comprehension and cognitive functioning (Kohlberg, 1969, 1981; Marcus, 2004; Miller, 2011; Piaget, 1952).

Szalay (1981) conducted research that supports the findings in Chomsky's (1972; Cook & Newson, 1996) theory of Universal Grammar that humans, while possessing the machinery necessary to process language, required environmental information for its initial activation and continued maturation. In addition, these inputs were symbolic constructs representative of that particular cultural environment and as such, they hypothesized, would have values consistent with their specific use, (i.e., use-value). This validates the Sapir/Whorf position of one's primary language serving as an interpretive lens through which the person perceives his or her surroundings. At the same time though, Szalay maintained that these cultural use-values, could serve to obscure the

message between speaker and listener, in effect causing a background noise impeding accurate interpretations eventually leading to conflict through misinterpretation and misunderstandings, that is, cultural dissonance.

Szalay and Windle's (1968) study compared a ranking of "stimulus words" semantically understood across Korean, English and Colombian speakers; something referred to as a "translation equivalent." Two important observations were discussed. First, when applying stimulus words to semantic use-value, that is, the importance of the word relative to resident culture, Szalay found that when moving between languages, there was only a 40% equivalency in interpretation and conceptual visualization. For example, the respondents were asked the importance of a word, e.g., rice, relative to other words.

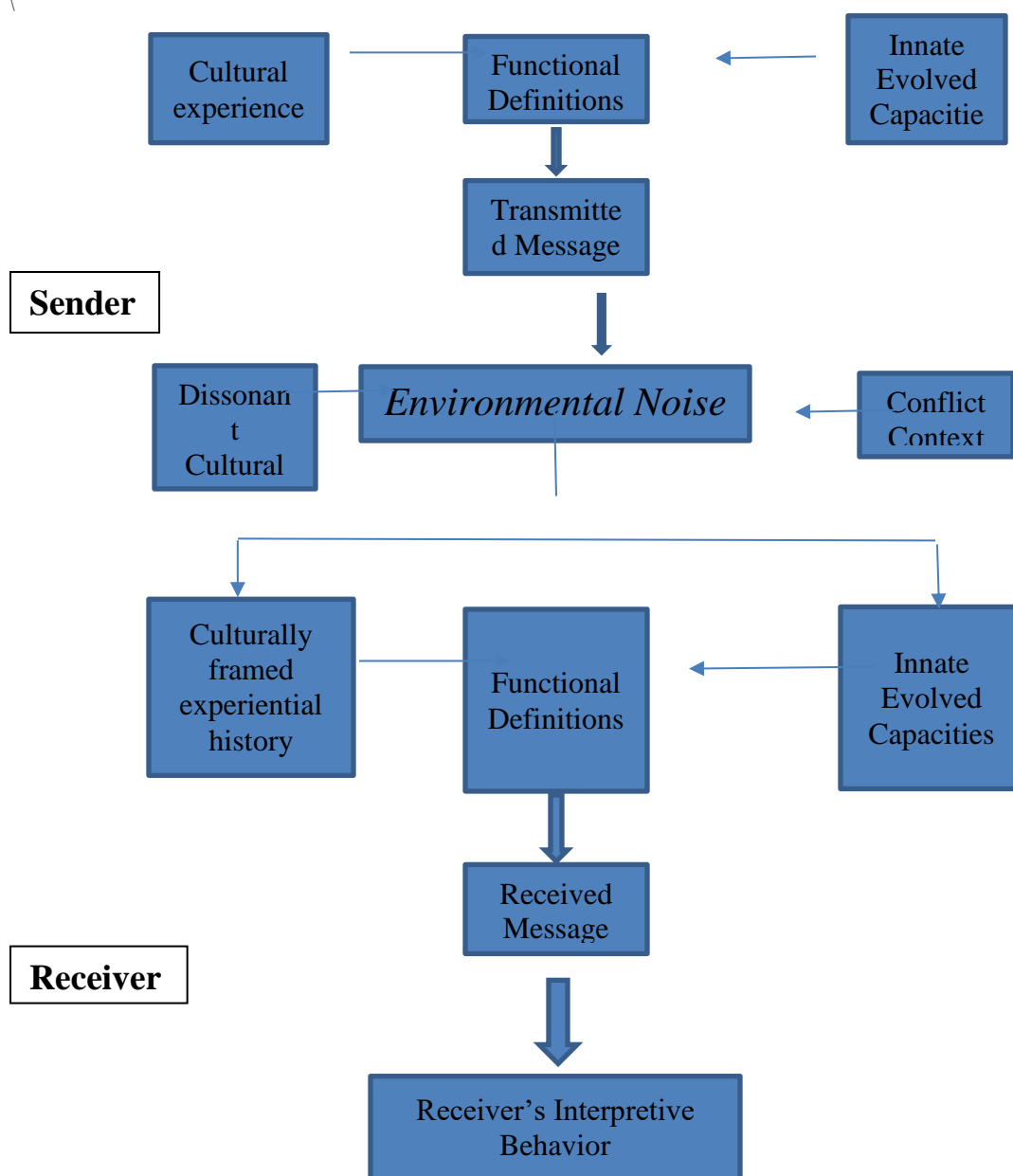


Figure 3. Szalay's model of communication

The Korean speakers ranked rice as first and related it to social position, hunger and poverty where Colombian speakers only ranked it as a food source, similar to English speakers. The difference in semiotic importance between languages showed a greater-than 5% significance when ranked within and between cultures. This is also reflective of



the use-value afforded in contrasting high and low context cultures. Their findings were supported by later findings in the work of Laitin (2001), and Harman (2000).

If we refer back to the level of discord potential between tangible and intangible social facts that we discussed earlier, and associate it with the Szalay work, the probability of conflict as regards cultural dissonance comes even more into focus. In this case, rice is a tangible thing and offers only a slight language equivalency. Imagine the disparity between the interpretations of use-value between intangible stimuli such as political ideology or religion, each embedded in specific definition-ascribing cultural milieus. This also lends evidence to the importance, and veracity of Haidt's (2008) and Kohlberg's (1969) work in Moral development and moral maturity. Together, these concepts framed the Camp David Accords and the interpersonal associations that influenced its mediation process and eventual outcome.

Predictably then, the second most important finding in the Szalay (1981) research was the great difference in translation equivalence when comparing words that described tangible and intangible things. Tangible subjects had a more significant equivalence than did intangible subjects. In many instances for example, a car was still a car, but the notion of "social," "poor," or "equality" showed vast potentials for misinterpretations across languages and more often associated with specific cultural utility, hence we again identify this gap as a differential "use-value."

This finding is significant in our examination of mediation and mediators as it points to the difficulty in conducting such socially-based processes across cultures, particularly if those negotiations are conducted in a third, non-native language to one or more stakeholders as it identifies what Szalay referred to as minimal "intergroup

associative affinity.” His issue would be compounded depending on the number of translations that were necessary between speaker and listener in multi-party negotiations, (i.e., what population of neural processors, each manifesting their own use-value, does the sender/listener have to traverse).

Okanabe’s examination of the semiotics between high and low context cultures’ use of language (Ting-Toomey, 2001) is of interest in looking at the potential difficulties in multicultural mediations and directly applies to the Arab/Israeli mediations before and during Camp David. One might also extend that difficulty to current conflicts in the region. His examination of Japanese and English speakers gives more support to both the Chomsky’s and Habermas’ positions. He found the former tends to view verbal transmissions as a means of communication only. Non-verbal and extra-verbal transmission at times assumed a greater importance than the verbal dimensions of communication. Conversely, words and rhetoric represented truth and power in a low context culture utilizing Modern Hebrew, particularly as regards communicative and strategic rationalities outlined by Habermas and scientifically demonstrated by Nieme (2011).

In a comparative study of Somali and English speakers, David Laitin (1977) examined two significant variables that serve as a source of conflict between non-native speakers; the cultural power in language development reminiscent of the work by Sapir and Whorf, and the delivery path of language between sender and receiver. He found that Somali speakers were often non-confrontational, tactful and had an “emollient” semantic style. Coming from a High Context Culture (HCC), the Somalis were seen too often to “test the waters” of a mediation environment before engaging in an effort to avoid losing

face. In contrast, the English speakers were more confrontational in their delivery with a more angular style. They, in contrast to the Somalis, were considered abrasive and aggressive in the delivery of their semantic message. The English were from a low context culture where individuality and success trumped face-saving behaviors. It was important for the former to “get along” within the confines of a smaller community as opposed to a low context culture that valued individualism over community.

Cohen (1990) made similar comparisons between Arabic and Hebrew language styles focusing primarily on the delivery and semiotics of the messages between sender and receiver. Essentially, the structure and the purpose of the language used by each group were directly linked to its historic purpose as demonstrated within the confines of the different cultural contexts, (i.e., semiotics and semantics).

The structure of the definitions and symbolic representations (semiotics) of a specific language reflects a culture’s collective memory (Cohen, 1997; Geertz, 1983). It is a derivative of culture and finds its essence in the stores of social experience. It then provides for its own replication and growth through individuals’ cognitive calculations that yield relevant perceptions unique to the speaker’s and listener’s world and the necessity to classify and categorize it for future reference. Essentially, as we learn and experience new things, if there is no existent term to be associated with it, we create one (Chomsky, 1976; 1972; Grenfell, 2011). That definition is then transmitted throughout the culture of residence and assigned a use-value: first individually then throughout the collective. We can assume the use-value established by the collective is a general one since individual experiences with the object will elicit individual use-values relevant to

the observer. However, that individual use-value will be weighed against the collective designation (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2011; Tomasello, 2008) as a mitigator of action.

It becomes an almost abductive realization (Peirce, 1931-5, 1958) that the most significant source of cultural dissonance, and one that translates directly into difficulties in mediation environments, is one of competing semantic and semiotic nuance coupled with culturally specific use-value. So, in this case, foreign policy initiatives transmitted through speeches and media coverage would, in line with our discussion of communicative rationality, be encoded by a speaker and decoded properly at home, but remain unacceptable or even unintelligible in the other conflict party's arena.

This was observed frequently between Egyptian and Israeli leaders prior to the Camp David Accords in 1978 where each would transmit his interpretation of the results of negotiations to their respective audiences which was met often with outrage and enmity by the other (Aronoff, 2014; Cohen, 1990; Quandt, 1986b). Clearly, in reviewing the speeches of these two leaders Sadat and Begin, following with a review of their critics on both sides, the positions taken by Ting-Toomey, Szalay, Cohen and Habermas shed a bright light on the cognitive findings of language as a derivative of culturally mediated thought.

Recognizing Szalay's and others' results and with an eye towards Sapir-Whorf, Chomsky and Habermas provide the foundation for building insight into not only mediator behaviors, but the reasons behind why mediations often prove less than successful. They also indirectly show why the contact theory of Allport (1954) that has served as a driving force in the development of restorative justice texts and mediation strategies, is not only lacking in practical validity, but could serve as a catalyst for

increasing conflict (Beber, 2010; Tal-Or et al., 2002; Umbreit & Armour, 2011; Zajonc & Markus, 1982). They set the stage for our position that humans are endowed with innate capacities for certain behaviors, specifically, predispositional bias, but that these can be modified (or exacerbated) according to environmental inputs and expressed through specific concept building and situational language, that is, communicative or strategic. We begin with Chomsky's discussion of Cartesian Linguistics.

### **Cartesian Linguistics**

The origin of human communication has been explored for millennia. The task of its interlocutors was to simply and concisely explain the elements of what allowed us to understand each other and how this differed from other "lower" species. The concept of "Cartesian Linguistics" begins with Descartes' philosophical quest of identifying the specific mechanisms that hierarchically separated humans from the lower animals (1989). From Plato to Chomsky, the most accepted descriptor that served to define "humanness" was found in language and its capacity to provide us with the unique aptitude for expressing our inner thoughts and form new statements unrelated to direct participatory experience but appropriate to new situations at both physical and abstract levels. This was called a "species specific" capacity (Chomsky, 2002).

Descartes (1989) and de Cordemoy (1667) maintained that animal "language" was within the confines of a mechanical explanation since it primarily described a communicative tool that was stimulated by the instinctual needs of survival and species maintenance, re., their "passions." Animals could not and were not able to express what something meant to them, how they felt about a particular situation or speculate on a future event. External factors merely served to stimulate their innate passions which were

expressed in fairly predictable and observable ways (de Waal, 1982, 1996; Dik, 1989; Flack & de Waal, 2000).

Conversely, humans may choose not to respond to an external stimulus that would drive a lesser animal to distraction as they occur outside of the passion-driven environmental envelope (Palmer & Palmer, 2002; West-Eberhard, 2003). Indeed, humans are often self or externally regulated by “social convention.” Language, described as being the primary organ of thought and reason, could cause humans to not engage a situation but rather to avoid it for sometimes irrational reasons as one has a discussion of alternatives with himself using language as the medium of self-communication and expression (Damasio, 1994; Forbes & Grafman, 2010; Gilovich et al., 2010). We can see this, recalling our earlier discussion of cognitive processes, as the conscious component of Greene’s dual process (Greene et al., 2004).

Durkheim referred to this repeatedly in his study “On Suicide: A Study in Sociology” (1997), where the decision to not end one’s life could be made at the precipice of a deadly action for inexplicable reasons. He called this human choice. Human language, according to Descartes, served as the medium of self-reflection and facilitated an internal discussion leading to the rational choice of not engaging a non-rational act. Both acts, the choice to commit suicide, and the eventual rational decision not to employ suicide as a solution to stress are not witnessed in animals as their passions are predicated on survival. De Cordemoy observed, “One cannot attribute man’s linguistic abilities to the natural disposition of his organs. Only animals live in a world of states of affairs” (1667, p.39).

In the early days of linguistic study, the driving force among theorists was clearly to show what difference(s) existed between humans and lower animals relative to the content and complexity of their communication. Language served to provide a consensus and focused upon the kind of “mechanical” or “automatistic” communication utilized by animals in responding to primal demands and the “creative” form of semiotic and semantic structure seen in humans. The language of animals was simply a communicative device of command, reporting location, food source or sexual availability. Human language in contrast was ostensibly free from control (sans influence) by any outside stimuli and served the important purpose of being the tool of introspection and self-expression (Chomsky, 1970; Dik, 1989; Grenfell, 2011).

This epistemic discussion centered on the inability of current linguistic theory to explain the coherence, novelty (in terms of creating appropriate responses to new situations) and relevance in normal (human) speech. De Cordemoy (1667) provided the observation that, “to speak is not to repeat the same words that one has heard, but to utter different words in (appropriate) response to those” (p. 23). A.W. Schlegel (in Chomsky, 1970; Van Valin, 2000) posited that human language may arouse in both the speaker and listener ideas of “things that they have not directly perceived but know only by verbal description or that they aren’t able to intuit sensuously at all because they exist in an intellectual world” (p. 42).

Schlegel (1829) romantically referred to language as “an ever-becoming, self-transforming, unending poem of the entire human race.” Their theme was the boundlessness of human language and its utility for self-expression and as a creative mental act that is manifest in any medium in which it is embedded. It is this last point, the

variety of social environments in which the linguistic mechanism is found, that this study will capitalize upon in evaluating the self-expression of the mediator and disputants of Camp David as reflected in their writings and speeches.

In order to place the use of language within the framework necessary to explain how it can be used to evaluate the potential for success or failure in any conflict mediation, we must begin with how it is formulated, moving beyond the distinction between what constitutes the difference between human and animal communication that is more the work of linguistic anthropologists and evolutionary psychology. Essentially, we are moving beyond the brain's generative capacity for language to its expression outside of the individual examining speech as a social phenomenological construct and the primary culprit in dissonant cultural conflict.

We are regarding language as a reflection of behaviors or actions of some sort (Chomsky, 1975), influenced by both innate mechanisms and culturally defined use-values. Note this does not exclude those environmental stimuli that can be described by 'instinctive' human response, or what Greene might consider an element of the unconscious equation in dual process cognition. Cognitive psychologists would place these activities as a non-executive function of the lower brain (Palmer and Palmer, 2002). According to every discussion found in linguistic theory, speech underlies any human act which is both a derivative of thought and internal schema; it explores pragmatic competence, the epistemology of how language is related to the situation in which it is used.

In his examination of *Universal Grammar*, Chomsky built upon the work of Humboldt (1854) who did not consider a particular language simply a memorized list of



words that allowed a speaker to assemble and reassemble sentences appropriate to a situation as might a nativist; this would require the human brain to possess an incalculable storage capacity of both lexicon and semantics. Rather, Chomsky speculated in his concept of 'semantic fields' that the brain innately had certain organizing and generative principles that could produce those appropriate responses, after learning a finite list of (locally relevant) words over time (Chomsky, 1965; Cook & Newson, 1996). The fundamental property of language was its capacity to use these finite mechanisms to respond to an infinite set of social situations through lexiconic assemblage and associations; "it must make infinite use of finite means" (Chomsky, 1972).

The semantic fields Humboldt and Chomsky spoke of undergo a metamorphosis with experiential history (Geertz, 1983; Nanda and Warms, 2011). This history is in part a result of the cultural environment in which the speaker finds herself embedded. Incorporating Greene's dual process theory, Chomsky's innate generative mechanism of the brain for language serves as the unconscious, utilitarian side of the semantic equation. The conscious portion of the process is seen in the application of use-value captured and defined through cultural exposure. Over time, the consciously acquired use-value becomes internalized as an unconscious modifier in the development of (language based) responses. This is not to say, since there is not yet reliable empirical evidence that this use-value becomes part of the innate generative mechanism, only that it becomes a generally unconscious factor in the semantic field and one that can influence the speaker's behavior acting derivatively as a tool for social interaction (Mikhail, 2011; Miller, 2011).

Coleridge (1893) made this point when he said that “each exterior (referring to language) is the physiognomy of the being within.” He was guiding us to try and understand that language reflects both the internal machine and the external facts that influence that machine in the construction of socially based interactions. Clearly then, a speaker from one culture could easily have difficulty understanding another culture’s response to a situation since the use-value of symbols represented through language both in lexicon and semantically as intimately defined in one and systemically different from another. We see that the development of a culturally influenced language that can shape predispositional as well as manifest behavior could very well be the seed of cultural dissonance and tragic misunderstandings that result in interpersonal and interstate conflict.

The general presumption of Chomsky’s universal grammar, is that the basic schema of language construction are known unconsciously and that they serve also as a precondition for language acquisition and utilization (Cook and Newson, 1996). This is in conflict with behaviorists that see language purely as a construct of social interaction. Chomsky (1965; 1970) went on to subsume that experience (defined and accepted by the speaker’s social group) was necessary to activate (stimulate) this internal mechanism.

We know from studies in cognitive neuroscience that these physical mechanisms do not reside in a single location of the human brain’s geography, but rather are interconnections of several centers that comprise an internal logic, sensory network and active memory (Greene, 2004; Casebeer & Churchland, 2003; Cahill, et al, 1995). The insinuation of active memory further supports our assumption of cultural influences in the construction of language and the essential nature of captured and internally motivated

use-values. Feral child studies (Curtis & Krashen, 1978) provide additional support to the necessity of external stimulation of an innate language ‘mechanism.’

To summarize, language acquisition can be thought of in the same way we regard the process of moral development outlined by Kohlberg (1971; 1981) or the process of cognitive development described by Piaget (1952). All are a matter of the growth and maturation of finite genetically programmed systems that require stimulation by external stimuli to activate the program or to modify its content (Casebeer and Churchland, 2003). The optimal development of these capacities occur within a relatively fixed time during intellectual development, becoming atrophied over a short period of time if not stimulated as demonstrated in earlier behavioral and cognitive studies (Richardson & Boyd, 2005).

Language, while being influenced by and a direct reflection of the speaker’s socio-cultural environment, is essential in her perceiving and interacting within that same environment. Its other important function is the conscious and unconscious (assimilated through the sensory net) assignment of a use-value to the environmental symbols the brain observes. Again, this assignment occurs at the level of both personal and cultural experience facilitating acceptable (moral) social interaction. The work completed by Szalay and others supports the assumption that if this use-value is taken outside of the socio-cultural environment in which the speaker is embedded the potential for misinterpretation by listeners and cultural dissonance increases significantly because of what is called ‘noise’ shown in figure 2 above.

We postulate then, that since language is acquired through innate cognitive processes and matures within the influence of the speaker’s resident culture and through

the resultant perceptual constructs define certain (culturally relevant) behaviors, then that agent's interaction in other cultural environments might be impacted negatively principally as a result of misinterpretation or misunderstanding (Szalay, 1981). According to Amir (1998) Augsburger (1992) and others the misunderstanding of relevant definitions and perceived deviant behavior by an extra-cultural actor serves as a primary cause of cultural dissonance particularly as it impacts a mediator. The indicators of this dissonance and its manifestation will be seen in the translation, understanding and language equivalence of the speaker and contrasted with the perception of the listener. Essentially, Chomsky (1970) is examining the mechanism of language and Habermas (1984) is examining language as the principle "binding and bonding force" of any socio-cultural group.

### **Habermas and Communicative rationality**

It might be prudent to offer a brief summary of Habermas' (1984) theory of communicative rationality before deconstructing its true complexities as it relates to conflict mediation. At the base of any language is the assumption that it serves only as the transmission medium for the thought attached to it by the speaker. Her guiding yet unconscious presumption is that this thought will be decoded and understood by the listener in exactly the same way it was understood by the speaker (Habermas, 1990; Geertz, 1983). The success in communication rests upon the ability to achieve a mutual and pragmatic understanding, equivalence of definition and symbolic use-value between the two actors. Language is essentially the transmission mechanism with an implicit capacity to communicate a speaker's inner thoughts effectively and accurately.

The success of the (communicative) action could not be possible however without at least some basic level of inter-subjective agreement between speaker and listener. In other words, speaker and listener may very well comprehend the lexicon and syntax attached to a native or non-native language as a native English speaker might understand the rote learning of French, but it is our position that the symbolic use-value embedded in those languages are ascribed based upon a formulary of innate unconscious rules as described by Chomsky, and the conscious reception and cataloging of cultural information, a dual process described by Greene and others. All of this projected on the backdrop of Moral Foundations.

Driving our need to communicate then, is an evolutionary necessity for human interaction (Gilovich, Kesner and Nesbit, 2010) that results in some determinate social achievement. This is critical to the mediation process, that the participants will interact and interpret messages sent to them accurately and avoid inaccurate interpretations of encodements, i.e., use-value, that could lead to disastrous escalations resultant of the unintentional misrepresentations and false perceptions of another stakeholder; ‘words are the face of language’ (Cook and Newson, 1996). This concept points to the weaknesses in Allport’s (1954) original research. Bringing two parties into proximity where one or both suffer from deep seated misperceptions of each other, and lack the resources necessary for language equivalence is doomed to failure before its undertaking. A similar assertion is made in Laitin’s (1977) and Cohen’s (1997) research findings outlined above.

The chance for misinterpretation either on the part of the speaker or listener is inherent to the transmission process yet unexpected in any communicative exchange while at the same time both speaker and listener have a common expectation of content

equivalency in messages sent and received. The universal assumption of understanding is premised upon an unconscious expectation of mutually shared use-value of symbolism between discussants, e.g., that a red apple in one language is expected to be the same red apple in another language with identical color and expectation of taste and shape (Burton, 1969; Brewer, 2007; Cohen, 2001; Dehaene, et al, 1998; Emirbayer & Goldberg, 2005). This is also the premise of Laitin (1977) and Ting-Toomey's (2011) concept of language equivalency although 'use-value' is more comprehensive in its premise and complexity.

Intrinsic to this interaction is an unconscious assumption on the part of the speaker, of a universal value system attached to her words that is equally distributed amongst everyone in the hearer's listening group, i.e., that thing *T* has the same meaning and value to speaker *S* as to listener *L* due to the assumption by *S* that *T* possess a universal understanding of and use-value by *L* (Habermas. 1990; Schaefer, et al., 2013).

The potential for misinterpretation is rooted in two particular genres, the cultural and the innate capacities of humanness. First, reminiscent of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Sapir, 1936) the cultural influences of the speaker that ascribe use-value to a word or concept serves as the perceptual lens of preference through which the speaker sees the world. But the focus afforded by that lens may be culturally unique or situational, not common to the other cultural lens through which the listener perceives those same symbolic representations. Second, in combination with the schema of environmentally edited neural programming (Greene, 2007; Haidt and Graham, 2007; Tancredi, 2012; Turiel, 1983; Wright, 1994), that use-value becomes part of an evolved dual process (Greene, 2004) that might predispose the speaker/receiver toward particular behaviors that are both consciously and unconsciously perceived as being the best or most obvious

course of action (Haidt and Nosek, 2007; Haidt, Koller and Dias, 1993). Communicative rationality described by Habermas begins to illustrate this dilemma and points to the difficulties of cultural dissonance in multi-cultural mediations.

### **Language for thought and language for Achieving Goals**

Humans communicate in two interactive environments, one internal using language as a precursor to thought (at both conscious and unconscious cognitive levels), and the other external which facilitates social interactions within and outside of their groups. We will focus upon the latter external language with an understanding that our internal language is the result of the former (Chomsky, 1965; 1970). Our external language serves two purposes according to Habermas, one being oriented toward understanding between individuals, and the other being goal oriented.

Habermas (1990) makes clear the difference between the kinds of communicative action based upon the preferred goal of the speaker. These motivations focus on either emancipative (communicative) reasoning or strategic (instrumental) reasoning (Habermas, 1990; Grenfell, 2011). The first, emancipative or communicative reasoning is representative of everyday communications and is necessary to facilitate social integration and cooperation. This kind of communication was the result of an evolved need for cooperation within groups to assure both individual and collective well-being (Bashkow, 2004; Bayart, 2005; Bechara, et al, 1997; Boehm, 1999; Schiffrin and Schneider, 1977; Schwartz, 1992; Tal-Or, Boninger, Glenicher, 2002) much along the same lines as MFT's notion of "Binding Foundations."

It also served the important function of establishing an individual and group identity that focused upon the recognition, valuation, interpretation and behavior resultant

of symbols or environmental elements unique to the speaker's socio-cultural arena. Significant research has shown how an individual's identity is intimately linked to uniquely recognizable group symbolism, e.g., the American flag, the Star of David, the ISIL flag or the many 'gang' colors evident in many locally defined neighborhoods (Bourdieu, 1990; Brewer, 2007; Bunzl, 2004; Colarosi, et al, 2008). Note that within each group, the identity has inherent to it, certain cultural elements which will influence the use-value placed upon goal oriented language and as well place into action other moral capacities that will predispose environmental responses.

Reflective of the group's division of labor and parallel to our discussion of culture based use-value, this kind of communication was the direct result of needing to describe the speaker's local environmental inputs; agricultural societies would need to be able to communicate at a level necessary to that economy, while a post-modern or Bedouin culture would need to do the same amongst their own group members. This need extends beyond tangible elements and also describes non-tangibles such as ideologies of political systems.

Similar to the studies by Szalay (1965) and Ting-Toomey (2001), a plow may have extreme use-value in the former agricultural economy, but of little use or even comprehension in the latter Bedouin society or value equivalency to an urban dweller. One of the central themes of this study focused on a differential use-value of occupied land in Egypt by Israel. Egypt's President Sadat saw the land as something equivalent to his life's blood, he was the land. The Israeli Prime Minister Begin on the other hand, saw the occupied land as a tangible possession, whose occupation defined his country's size



and ultimately its identity (Aronoff, 2014; Perlmutter, 1987; Cassirer, 1988; Cohen, 1990; Kelman, 1982; Quandt, 1986a; Sadat 1978).

So, according to the Sapir-Whorf concept, the cultural lens through which an individual sees her world, is an internal reflection of culturally captured use-value and influence, or communicative reason, and facilitates collective problem-solving within the group. We can easily pair this concept with the aforementioned dual process theory of Greene (2004; 2007) when he describes a system of inherent moral desirability based upon the evolved need for group harmony and consciously controlled cognition relative to goal-directed interactions.

Habermas regarded emancipative or communicative language as “ordinary” and the “original mode of language” as it was tasked with facilitating the common understanding of environmentally relevant symbols between group members (Habermas, 1990; Nieme, 2011; Schaefer, et al, 2013). Shared encodements were social, assuring group consensus and progress and at the same time satisfying the binding concepts articulated in the Haidt research (2008). This is similar to the concepts of language equivalence and use-value. Its genesis through communicative reasoning was inherent in expressed language and semantic systems. Hence, communicative reasoning was considered ‘moral’ as it was oriented positively towards others. Being greatly influenced by Max Horkheimer and his discussion of free and critical thinking in his book *Eclipse of Reason* (2013), Habermas was keenly aware that humans often acted in a self-interested yet rational way.

## **The Neuroscience of Emancipatory and Strategic Communication**

In evaluating the way in which humans attempted to establish and maintain social relationships while at the same time assuring self-efficacy, Habermas concluded that there were two kinds of communicative action. The earlier alluding to communicative or emancipatory action was focused toward group consensus where another form of communication, strategic reasoning, was aimed more toward individual, utilitarian activities. The former he considered as desirable and morally premised, the latter he considered antisocial, parasitic, and therefore morally undesirable; these were mutually exclusive categories (Harman, 2000; Huttunen & Heikkinen, 1998; Schaefer, et al, 2013). Research by Nieme (2011) and Schaefer, et al, (2013) demonstrated using the fMRI, that communicative reasoning and its associated language activated moral and emotional centers in the brain while strategic reasoning did not thus supporting both Greene's dual process theory and Haidt's work in moral foundations theory and our premise of use-value assignment. In reviewing the moral dilemma scenarios used in both Kohlberg's and Haidt's research, we can see how this is relevant.

Strategic or instrumental reasoning was shown as purposive and necessarily a conscious cognitive process oriented toward the (strategic) utilitarian use of other people in pursuit of the speaker's self-interested goals; "a calculative manipulation of words and intent to fulfill an ego-based need" (Nieme, 2011). This stands in contrast to communicative reasoning that is aimed at group harmony and collective understanding, the morally positive, socially interactive facilitator. We must point out however, that this type of strategic reasoning, although individually goal-oriented is still part of a system of collectively accepted use-values unique to the individual's cultural lexicon. It was clear

that Habermas had equal regard for both modes of reasoning but prioritized the former emancipatory communication over the latter strategic communication relative to peace and harmonious social interactions (Habermas, 1990; Schaefer, et al, 2011).

### **Communicative Deliberation**

Habermas' theory of communicative rationality began from the premise that to understand a sentence's meaning from the perspective of both speaker and listener is to first understand what makes it acceptable. Without belaboring the above observations of Okanabe (in Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2011), Ting-Toomey (2012) and Szalay (1981), we can simply allude to the impact of semantic use-value for both. In other words, when we speak or when we listen, we assume two positions. First, we assert that our belief in what we are saying is true and second that we possess information that upholds our assertion be it real or imagined. In short, we believe what we are saying is true and you should believe what I am saying is true and correct. This provides motivation to both speaker and listener to some reactive engagement.

This is foundational to Habermas' assertions and at the same time separates two aspects of language Habermas regarded as mutually exclusive communicative and strategic language; the first necessary for social maintenance and the second a utilitarian use of others through manipulation, much of what we see in mediation. Habermas considered strategic action as parasitic because its success could only be achieved through the use of a communicative, truth-based position of the speaker, i.e., what the speaker had encoded in her message was transmitted to the listener within a presumed frame of truth (Habermas, 1990; Schaefer, et al, 2013). However, the comprehensive validity of that statement, while presumably based in truth, may very well be manipulated

beyond its commonly recognized veracity in order to influence the listener's behavior to the speaker's satisfaction or desired outcome; purely an act of self-interest.

### **Strategic Deliberation**

In his theory, Habermas (1990) described two classes of the strategic use of language, one manifest the other latent. The manifest use of (strategic) language would appear as one would expect, the implementation of overt threats to the listener in an effort to directly influence a listener's behavior, i.e., "if you don't do A, you can be certain B will happen."

Here, as would probably occur in a dissonant communicative exchange, there is no reaching of an understanding between speaker and listener in the conduct of mutually acceptable cultural maintenance. Rather, the speaker's desired result is reached by invoking a measurable and presumably less than beneficial consequence to the listener. If that consequence to the listener is removed from the exchange, the strength of the message toward the listener is mitigated and perhaps rendered inconsequential. The success to the speaker is determined by the revealed consequence to and acceptance by the listener. Here, the strength of that consequence stands as a derivative of the listener's 'symbolic use-value' promoted by the speaker, i.e., if the object of the threat has no use-value to the listener, the threat is essentially mute.

Conversely, a latent use of strategic language is the concealing of the explicit consequence to the listener as revealed in a manifest exchange of the speaker's attempt to achieve a desired result. This kind of threat is not open to challenge or rejection by the listener due to the hidden nature of the threat or condition as uttered by the speaker. In both cases, the desire by the speaker to arrive at some mutual understanding is absent.

According to Schaefer, et al (2007), “Manifestly strategic utterances are sheer impositions of will on others, while latently strategic actions are a form of deceit and manipulation.”

The determining factor in distinguishing between communicative and strategic function is the intent of the speaker. Huttunen and Heikkinen (1998) describes the kind of ‘incentive’ to the speaker in determining the species of use in terms of Kant’s (1781) categorical and hypothetical imperatives; the former referring to the intent of the speaker being a primary cause of duty where the latter was indicative of the speaker’s own inclinations or desires. Kant argued, as did Habermas, that the categorical or communicative use of language was first and foremost in the maintenance of the human society and that strategic action was centered in self-interest, e.g., non-moral and parasitic. Greene agreed in his examination of how our brains process such strategic positioning (Greene, 2007).

According to Habermas, all strategic language relies upon instrumental reasoning. The speaker begins with a set of goals and constructs linguistic schema in which to satisfy them. In the case of strategic reasoning and its derivative language, the primary source of success in this exchange is extra-linguistic, re., the overt or concealed threat. To be clear then, instrumental reasoning upon which strategic language is premised is non-social and within the construct of technical rules such as shooting a gun, hammering a nail, picking up a package. Parenthetically but no less important is the Nosek, Haidt and Graham’s work (2009) that alludes to the linkage between western legal interrogation and non-moral, strategic calculation.

The strategic employment of language relies on the exertion of some kind of influence on the part of the speaker while communicative use of language depends upon a mutual understanding, more egalitarian between speaker and listener. Communicative action seeks to organize social interaction by agreed upon mutual and functional benefits while strategic action coordinates social interaction in a non-egalitarian fashion usually through extra-linguistic means (Habermas, 1990). Since both aim toward the realization of a successful plan, Habermas (1994) and Schaefer, et al., (2013) regards these as teleological actions, the only difference is how each achieves its goal.

Since both communicative and strategic actions are premised upon the intent of a speaker and the belief systems of both speaker and listener, a distinction must be made between the two. A belief is a product of cultural interaction and socialization. They are about such non-tangible things as political positions, considerations of social performance, etc. They are dependent upon and interact with social approval and group consensus and are therefore not private or unique to the individual speaker or listener (Habermas, 1990; Nieme, 2011; Schaefer, et al, 2013).

Desires, however, are resultant of a different mechanism and are heavily weighted by the internal perceptions of the individual relative to use-value and personal goals. These are not subject to public examination and justification and are more subject to social pressures and psychological influence. How one influences the other could serve as another topic of research in the cognitive sciences, but they are alluded to in the studies by Greene and Haidt (2002) and others (Grenfell, 2011; Gilligan, 1982; Fowler, 1997; Burton, 1969; Bourdieu, 1984; Bechara, et al, 1997) in their examination of dual process

and moral foundations theories. Clearly, the ascribed and unconscious use-value of linguistic constructs is an important consideration.

We can summarize Habermas' discussion of speaker/listener interaction by saying that 'communicative action' seeks everyday conflict resolution by reaching mutual understandings between speaker and listener. Earlier discussions allow us to associate this type of communication with high context cultures (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2011) and we can intuitively assume that low-context cultures will often more utilize strategic communication particularly when engaging cross-cultural mediation (Zajonc & Marcus, 1982). We have examined the inherent meaning of 'understanding' in our discussion of symbolic use-value as regards semiotics and semantics and its importance in establishing various levels of social interactions. This mutual understanding Habermas (1990) regarded as being moral and desired from a social interaction perspective.

Strategic action is purposive and relates to the utilitarian nature of social interaction by the speaker in pursuit of self-interest. Strategic action is more goal-oriented towards the future where communicative action is episodically directed. Both actions are indicative of complex communication styles each heavily dependent upon the presumed understandings and perceptions of speaker and listener each embedded in the consonant or dissonant cultures. In each case however, and in agreement with Habermas' assertion, each action has associated with it an ascribed level of moral judgment as a product of dual process cognition.

### **The Neuroscience of Communicative reasoning**

Early research in the neuroscience of human social cognition were those that came from observing subjects who had suffered various levels of social and physical

dysfunction resultant of injury or ill health. The most famous case was that of Phineas Gage, an American railroad construction foreman. The victim of a construction accident in mid-1800, Gage suffered a traumatic injury that severely damaged a portion of his brain that is now known to participate in the moral regulation of cognition and social actions, i.e., the assignment of use value to symbols and calculated actions (Harlow, 1848; Damasio, et al, 1994).

Gage was previously seen as a moral, hardworking and responsible man never prone to emotional outbursts and demonstrating a good balance between his intellect and ‘animal propensities’ (Harlow, 1848). Following the injury his family and friends reported him frequently demonstrating loud and verbally abusive outbursts using the ‘grossest of profanities’ over relatively minor incidents escalating with to the point of fearsome actions.

Clearly, the mechanism that regulated the balance between acceptable and unacceptable social behavior, i.e., the moral and the non-moral, the collection of brain centers that are responsible for the comparative processes between moral foundations and action, were apparently deactivated and subsequently dysfunctional as the result of the injury. Contemporary examination of Gage’s case, utilizing both the exhumed remains and similar more contemporary cases showed the complete annihilation of an area of the brain thought to participate in moral decision-making, the ventromedial lateral pre-frontal cortex (Moll, et al, 2002; Van Horn, et al., 2012; Yamada, et al., 2012). An interesting corollary to the Gage case is that over time, the balance between intellect and behaviors necessary for social functioning returned to him (Harlow, 1848; Van Horn, et al., 2012). The speculation was that Gage “learned” to control his violent outbursts and



inappropriate behaviors. As we have shown, that learning is a byproduct of social experience and apparently centered in other, non-dysfunctional areas of the human brain. Clearly, the whole notion of use-value is a paradox, a mechanism compartmentalized and at the same time multi-faceted.

Contemporary research using fMRI technology has validated the initial findings that portions of the human brain are tasked with regulating social interactions premised upon the (moral) weighting, i.e., use-value, of various behaviors as well as how those behaviors are expressed through language (Greene, et al, 2004; Leube, et al, 2012). Further, it adds validity to Greene's dual system theory in that the injury impacting a control center can be overcome through social learning and experience while demonstrating a (mechanical) capacity to process and interpret experiential data. In effect, if we infer from Greene and Haidt's conclusions, this data is demonstrative of an actor's ability to override unconscious behavioral preferences or predispositions.

Other research shows that these control centers are important to our understanding the elements of moral behavior and their antecedents. These data also validate the relevance of our current discussion of Habermas' communicative action as being moral and strategic communication as being non-moral or parasitic. The case of Phineas Gage, evaluated with the aid of modern technology sets the stage for the final considerations of language as a tool for the facilitation and difficulties in the mediation processes.

Studies by Nieme, et al, (2011) showed that the reasoning manifest in communicative action activates the moral centers in the brain while strategic reasoning does not. It also showed that emotional centers in the brain were more active in testing for communicative reasoning and less active in strategic testing (Bigler, et al., 2007;

Greene, 2007). Researchers found that the degree of neural activity was also dependent upon the variable use-value of the descriptive test language used in the testing format (Robertson, et al., 2007; Moll, et al, 2002). The fact that these areas of the brain demonstrated activation resultant of experiential recall, i.e., short and long term memory centers, and social perspective-taking shows that moral sensitivity is individualized and dependent upon use-value relevance. That relevance is, importantly, mitigated by normative cultural structures.

While the capacity for moral sensitivity is normally a universal one, its expression is varied dependent upon this use-value as defined by cultural relevance and experience. The same moral sensitivity when applied to using strategic language, again recognizing the importance of symbolic use-value, does not activate these moral control areas. Rather it facilitates the activation of the centers in the brain dealing more with logical econometric calculation supporting the Habermasian position of strategic reasoning is more one of self-interest and utilitarianism (Casebeer & Churchland, 2003; Churchland, 2011; Nieme, 2011).

Based on contemporary linguistic and cognitive sociological research, we can conclude that if two different cultures are involved in a conflict mediation, particularly if a third language is used in primary communication, re., utilizing ‘assumed’ universal use-value by the interpreter(s), and given that strategic and communicative reasoning differ not only in moral and social terms, but also appear different in the recruited neural network of language production and processing, that we will observe two different and competing linguistic structures that activate two different brain complexes. This will

impact the perception of preferred, i.e., moral, actions between actors ultimately increasing the potential for an unsuccessful mediation attempt.

If one linguistic structure encounters the other in debate, each possessing symbolic use-value based on cultural experience (presuming Chomsky's unconscious universal mechanism for processing) but differing in the use of communicative and strategic constructs during negotiation, adding to that the premise of language equivalency, then moral conflicts inherent to separate communication structures and mechanisms cannot help but ensue making mediation less likely to succeed or at least make it more difficult. Indeed, if my culturally based, emotionally charged perceptions are challenged by one of differing use-values, it is more than likely that my entire armory of moral defenses will be brought into play. The next section operationalizes these positions by examining Arabic and Hebrew languages and their potential for conflict through misunderstanding or as Cohen (1997; 2001) has labeled "the negotiation of the deaf."

### **Language Summary**

The previous discussion demonstrated a link between the predispositions of humans toward behaviors in social interactions and the genetically defined machinery that facilitates it. These evolved predispositions (Graham, et al, 2008; Haidt, 2008; Haidt and Nosek, 2004; 2014) are posited to facilitate and manage the sociocultural and physiological requirements of the individual relative to her own survival. Observation of these predispositions by others within a social milieu serve to define one's individual identity as well as an affiliated group identity based upon compliance by the actor to collectively defined norms. The importance of each of these environmental elements by a

single group member or the collective has been linked to an *a posteriori* ‘use-value,’ ascribed collectively through experiential history within a socio-cultural milieu, i.e., trial and error as operationalized by a mechanism providing an *a priori* element for comparison of preferred outcomes.

It has been the goal of this study, without the use of technology designed to observe and catalog the function of different neuroanatomical structures in humans, to establish a valid demonstration of these behavioral predispositions and the influence on them by directly observable cultural elements (social facts) and how these impact mediation processes. By linking prior research in cognitive psychology, developmental anthropology and evolutionary sociology, we can infer these associations between neural-functioning and social behavior as it relates to the determination of whether or not mediation is more likely to result in success or failure based upon the unconscious predispositions of the mediator. This study stands to lend support to the seminal work by Augsburger, Bercovitch and others in cross-cultural dissonance and its impact upon ADR systems. Hopefully, examining the influence of experiential history on the use of language used by stakeholders from different cultures and how importance is ascribed to that lexicon by being informed by evolved cognitive systems, we will be able more aptly match mediator to conflict and increase rates of sustainable success.

We have shown that the most apparent and recognizable demonstration of a human’s predisposition towards another is found in her use of language. Linguists have said that language is the reflection of an individual’s inner thoughts, a manifestation of self, and a derivative of experience. There can be no doubt that we express our most inner thoughts, our emotions and our desires through the use of culturally impacted

communication structures. One need only explore the shelves of the local library where vivid descriptions of science, geography, astrophysics and an author's inner most personal reflections can be read and sometimes become transformative to the reader because at some emotional level, what the author has to say is important to or 'clicks' with the reader. If vocalization is added to the process, additional emotional responses may become apparent (Churchland, 2011; Botvinick, Braver, Barch, Carter, and Cohen, 2001). Nieme (2007) has shown us that different kinds of Habermasian communications stimulate different parts of our brains, calculative and emotional, dependent upon our purpose in engaging a particular semantic representation.

Studies by Laitin (1977) Cohen (1990; 2007; Curtis, Fromkin and Krashen, 1978) and others have shown that language is a derivative of culture. According to Sapir (1925) and Whorf (1993), culture is also a function of language. How we express ourselves and the value with which we use specific descriptors are pulled from a catalog of cultural experience, not as Descartes (1989) would have us believe, from a predetermined set of reactions. Cohen (1990; 2007) says that language is the "collective memory, the archive of culture, the shared existence of a civilization" and supports the assumption by Chomsky (1972) that the perceptions afforded by this collective memory serves to edit an innate mechanism of expression and understanding by the individual and her resident group.

Research shows that language is a continually evolving, complex adaptive system in that as needs for description arise, necessary to individual or group survival, new lexicon will develop and be incorporated into the cultural library (Geertz, 1983; Miller and Page, 2007). How that is expressed is then mitigated by the normative parameters

and local nuance of the culture experienced by the speaker. What is important here is the semiotic and semantic specificity of an individual's language both written and spoken.

Habermas (1984) has established that dissonance of understanding between speaker and listener based upon the absence of equivalent lexicon (Ting-Toomey, 2012), use-value, semantic fields and cultural definitions has shown to be almost a tautology relative to misunderstanding between speaker and listener. If applied to cross-cultural mediation, is it is regarded as a primary cause of mediation failure (Augsburger, 1992; Beber, 2012;; Bercovitch, 1996a; Burton, 1969; Gartner, and Bercovitch, 2006; Gaertner, et al., 1994).

David Laitin (1977) describes the dissonance that can occur as a result of the above concerns. He studied the verbal communication patters of both Somali and English speakers. English speakers demonstrated a probative, confrontational and angular style of speech common to debate and prosecution. This type of communication is common to low context individualist cultures where the concern is not for the group, but more for the establishment of the individual's power and position relative to other members of the group. His findings were reflected in Okanabe's study of signal words used in a comparing language equivalence between Korean and western speakers (Ting-Toomey, 2012).

The Somali style of communication was common to a collectivist high context culture where every word is examined and taken personally; saving face is of utmost concern in a close community (Avruch and Black, 1993; Augsburger, 1992; Lederach, 1995; Woodward, 2006). The Somali pattern, was more indirect and sought to find a common ground upon which to establish a mutual problem-solving semiotic field. This

style was more concerned with making the listener comfortable and the speaker often embellished or manufactured untruths in pursuit of mutual accommodation and comfort. This is necessary in communal existence where face to face interaction cannot abide extended ill-feelings. The speaker might contemplate, why make someone uncomfortable when it is not necessary, the truth will always and eventually avail itself.

As will be shown later, high context language styles are often considered misleading and suspicious by low context cultures in its effort to establish a speaker's strategic position without making an explicit commitment that could entail a loss of face (Cohen, 1990; 2001; Fisher, 1997). Clearly, the 'origin by necessity' of a particular language in all of its parts, serves a specific function based on environmental needs of both the individual and the community, and is heavily influenced by cultural definitions and collective cultural experiences which might not be understood by otherwise differently motivated cultural groups (Forbes, 1997; Gent & Shannon, 2011; Greig & Diehl, 2012; Jervis, 1976; Koch; Margolis, 1987).

This exemplifies the difference in Habermas' communicative and strategic rationalities in language transmission. Also important is the origin of the language under investigation; what were the environmental conditions that led to its development in terms of its lexicon and semantics and how long a history does it have that would lend to its rhetorical repository and modification over time and circumstance. Sapir and Whorf, while assuming language served to be the lens of cultural experience failed to examine closely and therefore assign it a role as a primary source of dissonance between conflict parties, a topic to be examined where Arabs and Israelis serve as the chief disputants.

## **Spoken Arabic and Modern Hebrew**

The Arabic language found its origin within a social environment that reflected a collectivist ethos where lexicon and semantics were often localized and relevant to particular sociocultural needs, e.g., agriculture versus Bedouin (Cohen, 1990; Owens, 2001). Language emanated from pockets of shared dictionaries of meaning that were the result of historic collective experiences within and between tribal communities. Shades of meaning could be insinuated both verbally and non-verbally, received by other in-group members being interpreted as it was transmitted where outsiders would be left without understanding (Cohen, R. 1990; Cohen, B., et al, 1957; Irani, 2000; Kelman, 1982) due to dissimilar linguistic influences. This discordance would often lead to serious misunderstandings between tribal communities who did not have access to the shared knowledge of in-group members; a phenomenon not unusual in communities of mechanical solidarity (Durkheim, 1982; Cohen, 1990; Geertz, 1982).

Speakers could transmit their messages through implication in a fashion, much as Laitin 1977; Owens, 2001) had seen in the Somali language, which permitted the speaker's attempt at discovering common ground for problem solving without making the listener uncomfortable (Wittes, 2005). Indeed, because of the close daily proximity in the collectivist culture, discretion and indirectness were a necessity; what was not said, what was assumed to be understood was often more important than what had been said. Language fulfilled more than to function as a mechanism of fact transmission in this environment, it was a device that defined and solidified social relationships (Cohen, 1990; 2007; Geertz, 1983).



Cohen (2007) describes the Egyptian culture as one of high context where every verbal and non-verbal nuance must be weighed and considered with particular care. The speakers know that each word or motion or inflection will be scrutinized with an eye toward the group's welfare, every word will be taken personally and every linguistic misstep will be internalized and placed in the listener's emotional permanent file. Directness and contradiction are vehemently disliked in the collective Arab culture as it might be seen to challenge one's position, sometimes causing the loss of face and subsequent social standing (Cohen, 2001; 1990; Ting-Toomey, 2011). Retribution for such action ranged from the immediate to the protracted.

Concomitantly, it is anathema for members of Egyptian and other high context cultures to transmit any statement that might cause distress in the listener. That is not to say that Arabic is not marbled with hyperbole. Indeed it is necessary in the production of effect. Hyperbole is not necessarily meant to convey any direct transmission of information (Owens, 2001). It is more a method of linguistic theater, used to establish an image of intensity and exclamatory significance. The Arab speaker qualifies his own apparent lack of concern for hyperbole by saying, "they are only words" (Cohen, 2001; Owens, 2001). A possible origin for this sentiment aside from communal proximity and harmony may lie in the consideration of the Holy Koran. While a relatively more recent phenomenon in comparison to the long linguistic history of the Arabic language, the Holy Koran might be regarded as a synopsis of linguistic particularism in the Arab world. The faithful accept that God had said everything there was to say and therefore, use of words and their understanding was a matter of rational predetermination.

Explicitness and precision in the transmission of information, what Habermas might refer to as being rooted in strategic rationality, is not preferred; why cause distress when the speaker can maintain civility through imprecision and inaccuracy. The implementation of seemingly unimportant probing and small talk is simply a mechanism to avoid embarrassment on the part of the listener/speaker. Clearly, as evidenced by Nieme (2011) and Patterson & Rogers (2007), this endless inquiry is based in emotional and conscious cognition while being represented within the moral mechanisms of human evolution (Graham, Nosek & Haidt, 2012).

To someone outside of this speaking collective, the high context speaker may appear insincere, untrustworthy and generally suspicious. In this study, indeed the Israeli Defense Minister, Moshe Dayan, exemplified this position by questioning the truthfulness and sincerity of the Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat (Quandt, 1986b; Perlmutter, 1987). Sadat was the exemplar of Arabic linguistic structure and tradition in his lugubrious overtures to negotiations that were shown to be peppered with embellishment, unsupported facts and exaggerations, often elevated by the Arabic tradition of hyperbole (Moaz & Astorino, 1992).

To Sadat, his presentations in his written speeches, letters to Carter and Begin as well as his video presentations, that were perceived as insincere or dishonest by Israelis, were merely a laminate of convoluted courteous necessity, in his culture, to preserve social harmony. Similarly, according to Cohen (2001), Sadat's outward suspicion of Begin in their initial exchanges were not regarded as deviant by other Arab interlocutors but a necessary filter searching for hidden meaning in what the Israelis were saying. Unfortunately, to someone like Begin who knew very little about Arabic culture this

suspicion was viewed as Sadat's showing a lack of trust or goodwill nor an intention to negotiate honestly (Cohen, 1990; Kelman, 1982; Wittes, 2005). The Arabic saying, 'these are merely words,' certainly had no purchase with Israeli listeners who came from a low context culture of Talmudic scholarly tradition to be discussed below.

Arabic hyperbole and linguistic structure have its roots in the bardic, oral tradition of Arabic poetry. The epitome of this tradition is seen in the Prophet's writings in the Holy Koran (Cohen 2001; Geertz, 1983; Owens, 2001). Arabic linguistic structure evolved to become the highest expression of culture and importance in the Islamic population. Geertz (1983) posited that Arabic had the ascribed position of being the language of God and to speak it is to represent God's creation and plan, something not to be challenged. It becomes apparent why Arabic speakers go to such lengths to gather information, to make certain that their listener is comfortable at the expense of telling a complete truth or misdirection. According to the Arabic tradition, argumentation does not reveal anything new, as everything has already been revealed as God has already stated it (Owens, 2001). Language then, becomes a reality in and of itself, not merely the representation of reality to be interpreted by humankind. Barbara Koch (1983), in her study of Arabic rhetoric, states, "The idea that some fresh insight can be derived from logic or empirical investigation is antithetical to the serene tradition of Islam that all that is worth knowing has already been revealed by God."

Making the link between the two Habermasian communicative rationalities now becomes a simple exercise in neurobiology. Churchland (2011), Haidt (2008) and Moaz and Astorino, (1992) have shown through their research that any religious referent activates the specific areas of the brain that address emotion and empathy. Haidt and his

colleagues (2012) and Mikhail (2011) have shown the difficulty in agreement that occurs between emotion-based and calculative based cognition in two groups, i.e., individualistic and binding groups. Examining the two styles of language used by negotiators in the Arab-Israeli conflict demonstrates a clear delineation between strategic and communicative styles used respectively by the two disputant teams and the subsequent dissonance that separated them.

### **Low Context Linguistics: The Culturally Heterogeneous Israel**

The creation of the Israeli State in Palestine brought together Jews in the diaspora from many corners of the world. Each individual community had over many generations created cultures and languages that were a reflection of their local socio-cultural environment; a language representative of local need. In the early years of Israel, when these many immigrant groups converged, joined by a biblical impetus toward an Israeli homeland, people were sensitive to subcultural differences. Yes, they were all self-identified as Jews, but each had brought with them the cultural and linguistic nuances that identified them with their own cultural history, from Russia, from Germany from Poland and 80 other countries (Cohen, 2001; Perlmutter, 1987; Pappe', 2015). Language provided its own inherent perceptions the environment both current and historic.

Each had unique mannerisms, dress, and accents that provided them with a personal and group identity. However, maintaining this individual, multi-group identity and the semantic subcultures that more than partially defined them was not conducive to establishing a unified State with a single recognizable identity (Bayart, 2005; Brewer, 2007). It was necessary to integrate and to assimilate a unified identity in this new collective, the social purpose being to establish cultural borders that separated the new

Israelis from those who were not. The first and most important step in establishing a 'Jewish' identity, was to establish a commonly used language, recognized semiotic and rhetorical coding, and their subsequent perceptions of reality defined through this new collective lens. Overall, the Zionist founders needed to 'rediscover' spoken Hebrew; one that had not been commonly recognized for centuries (Wexler, 1995; Glinert, 1996; Fellman, 1975).

Language is a reflection of a group's experience, its rhetorical history describes the use-value of symbols, the perceptions of an interactive environment, a ranking of those interactions and the filing away of the results for future reference from both group and individual perspectives in conscious memory or as the emotional flags utilized by the brain in search of its recognizing actionable patterns (Dehaene, et al, 1998; Damasio, 1994; Casebeer & Churchland, 2003). Rhetorical history is a databank of utility (Chomsky, 1970). In the process of establishing a Modern spoken Hebrew, non-spoken codes of behavior, entire linguistic structures were sacrificed for universality (Wexler, 1995; Glinert, 1996). Flourish that comes with cultural and rhetorical history was given over to simplicity and directness. Words came to have individualistic high use-value as they represented truth and power; defining an individual by his use of semantics and semiotics, defining a culture through its perceptions of reality and interactional consequences.

In the Modern spoken Hebrew, language has a different purpose from its Arabic counterpart (Wexler, 1995). Language is used instrumentally as opposed to socially (Cohen, 1990; Koch, 1983). Modern Spoken Hebrew tends to be individualistic and modern in its lexicon and semiotics having only been established around 1947 with the

Zionist movement (Sa'ar, 2007). In Modern Hebrew, very little meaning is implicit within the context of articulation and transmits facts without the cushioning ancillaries seen in high context Arabic (Glinert, 1996).

Bluntness and directness are equated with honesty and position as a result of a language short on modern historic inferences. This exists in a community that is not possessive of the same face to face intensity seen in Arab community experience, what Durkheim (1992) would refer to as a group possessing an organic type solidarity. While community is valued, it is at the national rather than the clan level (Koch, 1983; Owens, 2001). Implicitness and suggestion is lost on the Modern Hebrew Israeli speaker. Insinuation and elusive rhetoric, if perceived at all by the Israeli is not admired and considered untrustworthy (Amara and Spolsky 1986; Cohen, 2011).

Moshe Dayan, the Israeli Defense Minister often asked whether or not Anwar al-Sadat, the President of Egypt, could be trusted (Dayan, 1981; Quandt, 1986b). This was a result of a Hebrew speaker short on tolerance for indirectness and embellishment listening to the flamboyant deliveries of an Arab speaker intimately linked to a semantic rich in semiotic and poetic history (Owens, 2001; Cohen, 2007; Parkinson, 1985).

Face has little value in the low context Israeli society and therefore one is less sensitive to what others say to or about them in direct contrast to the high context Arab speaker. To the Modern Hebrew speaker like Dayan, language is considered primarily a mechanism for transmitting information, the context of which is important to the speaker who assumes linguistic parity with the listener (Fellman, 1975; Glinert, 1996; Grice, 1989; Owens, 2001). Unlike the Arab speaker, an Israeli would never say, "these are merely words." Hyperbole is never dismissed as empty in meaning or purpose. They are

taken simply as delivered by the speaker. Terms of abuse in Modern Hebrew like invectives, are borrowed from other languages, usually Arabic or Russian giving us a sense that hyperbole, while used in Modern Hebrew, is only a borrowed mechanism of little importance perhaps necessary to give an image as opposed to a reality (Amara & Spolsky, 1986).

Similar to Arabic, Modern Hebrew has its roots in religious study. However, while Arabic finds its substance and purpose in the Holy Koran, establishing it as the primary basis for its semiotics, Modern Hebrew takes only its mechanism from Talmudic study, a language more geared toward legal interrogation and aggressiveness (Crosby, 1953; Wexler, 1995). Where Islam considers the substance of the Prophet's revelations God's final word as told, the mechanism of Talmudic study focuses on constant questioning, exegesis and probity (Cohen, 2001; 2007; Owens, 2001; Fellman, 1975). Talmudic study encourages the reader/speaker to investigate for the best solution, that blueprint provided by God.

In the Talmudic tradition, it is humankind's obligation to challenge, to extrapolate and to seek the answers to existence that God did not provide, but did provide humans the (innate) tools necessary to support that inquiry (Fellman, 1975; Glinert, 1996; Cohen, 2007; Koch, 1983; Wexler, 1995). The Zionists preserved and insinuated the laconic tone of the Talmud into Modern Spoken Hebrew (Fellman, 1975; Cohen, 2001). The ability to win an argument then, is premised on skillful reasoning and dialecticism essential to legal presentation, and carried over into everyday dialog considered by Habermas (1990) to be a strategic form of communication. This epistemic development of Modern Hebrew would explain the many comments (and research observations) regarding Menachem Begin's

direct, probative, almost interrogation of each participant in the Camp David process. It is also evident in his writing and speeches, to the point that President Carter, in his preparation for his first Begin meeting, found one of Begin's speeches to the Knesset, "frightening" (Carter, 1982).

Contrast this to the semiotic origins of Arabic speakers that considers argumentation and empiricism to have no purpose in revealing anything new, as God has already revealed everything of earthly relevance through his prophet. The Islamic sense of a collection of indisputable truths is absent in Judaism that conversely encourages debate. So Modern Hebrew is branded with a literary heritage of biblical and legal study which was a primary binding agent of diaspora life. Primary local nuance was present and oft provided a sense of individual cultural identity to a Jewish speaker. But to this new Israeli population a universality in mechanics was essential in establishing a more universal and recognized Jewish identity (Glinert, 1996; Wexler, 1995). The structure of Modern Hebrew then defined not only a cultural group, but the individuals within it. Its proper use required a keen sense of the power of spoken (and written) language and its strategic delivery as a logical presentation (Cohen, 2001; 2007; Crosby, 1953; Dik, 1989; Fellman, 1975; Sapir, 1936).

This use of language as a strategic tool employed by Hebrew speakers makes clear a primary reason for dissonance between Israelis and Arabs. Menachem Begin, the Prime Minister of Israel and principle to the 1978 Camp David accords, has been described as being a keen intellect trained in the legal dissection of the Talmudic texts. Cohen (2001) observed in transcripts and Stein (1999) bore witness that unless Arab disputants involved in the Accords, specifically Anwar Sadat, did not present a



semantically sound irrefutable presentation of a proposal that it would not be taken seriously by the Israeli listener(s). A sentiment reflected in the Quandt descriptions (1986b). The Arabs, hearing and perceiving doubt and contradiction on the part of the Israeli speakers would take that personally as a loss of face. This was apparent to observers throughout these proceedings and pointed to a primary cause of dissonance between stakeholders (Quandt, 1986b; Wittes, 2005).

### **Mediator Bias and the Perception of Neutrality**

We discussed earlier how the emphasis placed on neutrality by researchers as an independent variable effecting mediation outcome points to an environmental fallacy of basic reasoning. There is a failure to recognize the mediation process as a specific problem-solving social interaction in which each participant, including the mediator, enters the negotiation process with distinct interests and influences, some consciously manufactured others the result of innate predispositions at play in our dual-process schema. Problem solving and its requisite decision-making engage both the calculative aspect of conscious cognition but is overshadowed by unconscious (evolved) modifiers (Tancredi, 2010; 2012; Churchland, 2011; Greene, 2007; 2014).

Each agent, through his or her own bias and intent, has a distinct impact on the mediation process, one which is mitigated by internal and external influences serving to modify the physical and social structure of the dispute's representation inside the mediation environment. Specifically, cultural dissonance and ideological constructs. As well, the mutually held perceptions of the agents are one subject both to earlier predispositional perceptions and their evolution as a result of current interactions.

Disputants, by definition often have an inherent distrust of each other, suspecting a move toward some apparent or hidden agenda (Cropanzano, et al; 2003; Dohaene, 1998; de Waal, 1982; 1996). While researchers have established the major characteristics that often need to be present before disputants decide to go to mediation, i.e., timing, intensity and nature of the conflict and the characteristics sought by disputants relative to the selection of a particular mediator, there appears to be a theme throughout the mediation literature that shows preference to the neutrality of the mediator. In Meta studies by Bercovitch (1996a) and Beber (2012) the variable of ‘perceived neutrality’ was not addressed. Yet, a cursory review of thematic content seems to indicate this presumption of neutrality by many authors in qualitative research. This has been shown not only in the literature on mediation but also throughout many of the cognitive sciences; developmental anthropology, cognitive psychology, and the neurosciences examining the evolution of moral cognition (Greene, et al., 2004; Haidt, 2008; Kohlberg, 1981; Mikhail, 2011; Piaget, 1953).

In each, the innate expectation of a neutral listener is present. Habermas (1984) pointed to the same assumption concerning basic human communication; that there is a presumption on the part of the speaker, that the listener will perceive the message in the same manner in which it was transmitted and that the foundation of the message is based on truth. The question asked here is whether or not any agent can be completely unbiased and neutral given the knowledge that informs us from the cognitive sciences and how that manifests itself during a mediation process. Inherent to this question is the impact of stakeholder behavior on mediation outcomes.

Studies by Zartman and Touval (2007) have contrasted the utility of a mediator's neutrality against the level of resources brought to the mediation. It is their position that objectives are fulfilled not when the mediator is unbiased or neutral, but when they possess and use resources that one or both disputants value such as political support, economic assistance or the threat of military intervention. This would be considered a directive type strategy. The value of these resources over the perceived neutrality of the mediator remains a point of debate and disputed veracity.

The concern for neutrality is premised on the notion that human beings are inherently good and seek group harmony, that the categorical imperative of Kant (1781) guides us in our everyday interactions (Rawls, 1971; Dewey, 1922; Schweder, Mahapatra & Miller, 1987). In his 1954 book "The Nature of Prejudice," Allport (1954) discussed the elements of in-group and out-group theory as it might apply to mediation processes. His premise was that people tend to have a positive outlook concerning their 'in-group' and will tend to show bias toward it and maintain or manufacture prejudices and negative stereotypes of out-group members. These prejudices and negative stereotypes were the seeds of intergroup conflict (Brewer, 2004; Tal-Or, Boninger & Glenicher, 2002). There is debate today as to whether or not this prejudice is indeed genetically founded, having evolved in the same fashion as our moral machinery; its express purpose being the homogeneity of the group (Boehm, 1999; Bouchard, 2004; Brewer, 2004; Cook, 1971; Kuper, 1988; Kurzban, Tooby & Cosmides, 2001)

Mediation, by its nature, gives the mediator broad powers in structuring the mediation environment and the shaping or reshaping of the relationship between the disputants. This power is ostensibly granted consensually by the other stakeholders as a

required premise for a third-party intervention (Bercovitch, 1996b). However, from what we have discovered concerning predispositions that are shaped by the mediator's own home culture, and the way in which language is used as an expression of internal thought, we could posit that by the very structure of the mediation process, the biases of the mediator are given free-reign to manipulate the outcomes toward those very biases at some measurable level both inherent and overt so that in essence, neutrality of the mediator is at best difficult and at worst an obstacle to mediation success and sustainability.

The use-value of certain symbols utilized in the strategic and communicative process of mediation is what is used to frame the conflict and establish the foundations of discussion that will contextualize and direct the process. While the task of the mediator is to construct a basis of common understanding for negotiation, in effect to try and overcome the predispositions of the disputants, we must ask whose perceptions have been paramount in establishing that lexicon and its associated use-value that ostensibly displaces or supplants the disputants' native concepts. In other words, we are exploring the possibility that the processes inherent to the mediator coupled with the conscious and perceived influences of cultural norms that define use-value, may be absent in, or in conflict with those same elements found in each disputant.

While mediators are ethically bound not impose their desire for particular outcomes on disputants, we maintain that it is naïve to assume that the mediator can remain completely unbiased, not only throughout the mediation itself, but prior to her engagement with the parties to the conflict. Bercovitch (1992) has provided empirical evidence to supports the notion that mediators from the same "bloc" or cultural area are

more likely to be acceptable and effective in negotiations than those from other “blocs.” He further goes on to express that a state involved in mediation activities are more likely to appear neutral to those other states with they share a more common or recognizable cultural history and similarity, thus a symmetric use-value library. This begs the question unanswered by Bercovitch and others, why?

Bercovitch, in later studies concluded that it would be foolish to assume complete mediator neutrality towards conflict parties before and during mediation processes. While Bercovitch (2007), Beber (2012) and others (Augsburger, 1992; Lederach, 2010; Brewer, 2007; Calvert, 1985) never truly address the issue of bias causality beyond the level of ‘cultural dissonance,’ ironically one of Bercovitch’s own criticisms (Bercovitch & Chalfin, 2011; Bercovitch and Gartner, 2009), the explanation of why dissonant culture predicts bias prior to and during mediation processes and how that bias might be recognized as a function of mediator behavior or its predispositions is never thoroughly explored.

In a 2012 study conducted by Bernd Beber utilizing and supplementing the Bercovitch ICD database (2007), the subject of mediator bias and mediation success was directly examined. Beber’s definition of bias centered upon the mediator’s utility to assigning stakes to either side of the dispute. His was one of addressing material assignment without examining other forms of bias that can be revealed through an analysis of language indicative of internal thought (Chomsky, 1970; Nieme, 2005). Overall, he found that bias mediators were more likely to be ineffective since they showed to be less able to share conflict-relevant insights than their unbiased counterparts. He found that a perception of bias on one or more of the participants lent to distrust and

likely led to a lesser degree of effectiveness. Parenthetically, distrust has been linked to Haidt's moral foundations (2012) and Kohlberg's (1981) notion of moral development through both sociometric testing and fMRI data.

This pays particular tribute to the idea that a mediator must be able to reshape the dynamic between conflict stakeholders. The reshaping of this relationships rests on her ability to displace commonly held perceptions by stakeholders of the conflict and the opposing sides (Calvert, 1985; Habermas, 1990; Fisher, 1997; Botvinick, etal, 2001; Kydd, 2003; Brewer, 2007; Bercovitch, 2007; Beber, 2012). This is accomplished by establishing common bases of understanding, definitions, symbolic use-values and resultant perceptions as informed by Habermas (1990) and others. However, this restructuring of communications and perceptions must be made by the mediator with the knowledge of how human beings perceive and behave as a result of those perceptions, not so much in an esoteric sense, but more of a functional one relative to cognitive dual-process, decision-making processes. Without the trust of all stakeholders, the likelihood of accomplishing a sustainable resolution is minimized as observed by Jackson (1952). This concept is supported in the work of Kydd (2003) and Favretto (2009).

### **Contact Theory and Neutrality**

Allport (1954) posited that increasing contact between intergroup members would decrease the negative images and make the description of adversaries to constituencies more accurate providing the venue for discovering intergroup similarities. He recognized that contact alone would not suffice to establish common recognitions, i.e., definitions and perceptions of the opposition. He needed to establish a sense of process inside intergroup meetings that transformed earlier perceptions with new presumably more

accurate ones. In effect, although the mechanics of it would have never occurred to him, ironic as the work of Jean Piaget (1952) had emerged a year earlier, Allport was searching for a mechanism that could edit or override what he observed to be inherent prejudices and misconceptions held by the conflict parties. He concluded that several elements had to be in place to make his 'contact hypothesis' a viable theory.

His premise was that parties would get to know each other on a more personal level. But, before this could happen the contact had to be held in a cooperative environment, the contact had to be sanctioned by an authority on all parts, to include the mediator (Allport, 1954; Deutsch, 1983) and finally that there must be equal status between groups during the contact situation. In short, Allport sought to minimize intergroup conflict by establishing a forum whereby commonly accepted definitions and perceptions inherent to interpersonal contacts are reestablished under the control of the (neutral) mediator. However, Allport, in his apparent lack of understanding the human psyche, was naïve in his presumption of any good that could come from direct contact between disputants.

Forbes study (1997) supports this skepticism in his study that posited disputants often use direct contact to confirm prejudicial attitudes and perceptions. Also, the imposition of pseudo-equal status among historically unequal groups could simply serve to confirm that inequality through attitudes of subordination. This easily could lead to further validation of in-group and out-group status and prejudices contributing to conflict escalation.

In concert with his criticism of Allport's hypothesis, Forbes challenges the notion that misperceptions held between disputants are emotionally and cognitively based. He

asserts that according to 'group identity theory' that individual behaviors are profoundly affected by identification with groups and conformity to group norms. He concludes that a discussion of intergroup conflict cannot exclude the dynamics of intergroup process, although we consider his exclusion of emotional and cognitive processes a decided weakness in his findings as being unsupportable and derivative of the findings of theories in sociology.

Included in various hypotheses concerning human interaction during conflict is the notion that face-to-face contact between disputants and mediators promoted trust as direct contact eliminated what was perceived to be a bureaucratic screen that served as an interpersonal obstacle (Rouhana & Bar-Tal, 1998). They considered direct contact a mechanism by which the mediator could reduce suspicion and clarify impressions, getting one party to see the other as more human and on a personal level. Again, the researchers failed to consider the power of what we have shown to be inherent behavioral predispositions rooted in a brain's cultural editing and hardwiring that is unique to each party and often specific to their resident social environment. These underlie the interpersonal perceptions of neutrality and trust (Rifken, Millen & Cobb, 1991; Savun, 2008; Sinnot-Armstrong, 2008; Tal-Orr, et al, 2002) but are scientifically disputable in the cognitive world.

Osgood (1962) and Kelman (1982; 1996) encourage direct contact between disputants and also posit this will lead to more productive mediations, later contradicted by Beber (2012). Their rationale is to cultivate more interpersonal relationships between participants which will lead to the uncovering of a conflict's root causes and identify the unmet needs of the conflict stakeholders (Galtung, 1967). They maintain that these



increased interactions would decrease the negative perceptions of the 'others' and make descriptions of conflict participants more accurate setting the stage to explore intergroup similarities along the same lines as Allport's earlier work. Lederach (1995) as well maintained that face to face contact reduces personal biases and hostility. What is missing from their discussion is the probability of one party using newly acquired information as an element of the manipulative power nexus described earlier, i.e., strategic communication.

The weakness in their research presumes positive interaction simply by proximity or with minimal facilitation by the mediator, again neglecting the unconscious predispositions of the mediator (and the disputants) whose job it is to structure and serve as the cultural translator for that interactional field (Augsburger, 1992), which might also lead to situations where contact leads to distrust (Pettigrew, 1971; Trivers, 1971; Zajonc, 1982; Zartman, 1994). These presumptions are reminiscent of the considerations of Augsburger (1992) of a non-official diplomatic subculture where mediating diplomats are 'friends' outside of the office.

During his role as mediator concerning the displacement of Palestinians as a consequence to the establishment of the State of Israel, Elmore Jackson (1952), the renowned Quaker mediator, encountered significant resistance on the part of the Israelis because of his past association with the Arab refugees. He was not trusted initially by the Israeli representatives despite his affiliation with the International Friends Service Group, a Quaker organization renowned for its impartiality and service. In his autobiography he concluded, "It will be nearly impossible for a single mediator, who is distrusted by one of the parties to carry out any useful function (Jackson, 1952). In their study of mediation,

Princen (1992) and Kaufman and Duncan (1992) echoed Jackson's assertion in stressing the importance of perceived neutrality in the selection and acceptance of any mediator.

Neutrality allows the mediator to fulfill his role as guide and facilitator by establishing clear and understood lines of communication that leads to trust-building and the reduction of tensions inherent to multi-cultural mediations (Augsburger 1992). Eventually, the trust built through this perception of neutrality allows the mediator to effectively modify and restructure the relationship between stakeholders within the process and at home as a clearer understanding of common values is established through what Habermas would consider a more communicative form of reasoning that has evolved out of strategic communications.

Meta-studies of conflict resolution by Bercovitch, (1996b) Beber, (2010; 2012) and Amir (1998) have shown consistently that mediation, while the most commonly used for third party intervention, has proven to be only marginally successful (Bercovitch and Gartner, 2009). Mediation is a special and dynamic process that overall pivots on many queues from the conflict and mediation environments causing stakeholders to change perspectives, decisions and behaviors (Fisher & Keashly, 1991). At its core however, successful mediation, whichever way it is measured, comes down to the socially interactive relationships within and between the mediator and the disputants.

Since it is not always possible to either observe or to interview disputants and mediators regarding potential biases prior to a mediation event, it is necessary to look for clues revealed in research that can be considered constituent to our questions and abductively arrive at a supportable and researchable conclusion. Gochman (1997) examined several characteristics of disputants and mediators, evaluating the outcomes of

process within the context of the internal characteristics of stakeholders. Gochman's focus was upon the cohesiveness of political structures, homogeneity between social structures and relative resources of power resonant of Bourdieu's and Amir's work. It parallels the work of Gent and Shannon (2011) who posited that mediations concerning tangible assets were more successful than those where intangible concepts were at issue.

Gochman concluded that the closer to resembling each other these variables were, the more likely a successful mediation would result. The weakness in his research was a neglect to examine the relationships between successful mediations and the influence of asset type, i.e., tangible versus intangible. Regarding the power variable, he was most interested in how the respective spheres of influence within and between stakeholders were aligned concluding that states (and representative mediators) belonging to the same alliance or spheres of influence would share complimentary or "recognizable" interests, referring here to the value of those tangible interests. We can infer these results to Allport's and others work in contact theory as well.

Carnevale (1996) demonstrated that when previous relationships existed between stakeholders, a variable also examined by Bercovitch and Gartner (2010), stakeholders revealed common bonds in recognition, histories, experiences, value systems and interests. These acted to establish a degree of familiarity, rapport, understanding, trust and acceptability. In light of our consideration of dual process theory, this makes sense as the modifiers of the unconscious portion of cognition, borrows its assignment of definition and use-value from the same experiential library.

In this context, Witmer, Carnevale and Walker (1991) showed that the perception of behavior of the mediator by other disputants was paramount to assessing actual

fairness, credibility and acceptability in mediation processes. When this same behavioral perception is reversed and the mediator is the observer, Baily (1985), Gibson, Thomas and Bazerman (1996) and Kaufman and Duncan (1992) regarded this to be a determinant of strategy used by the practitioner. In short, perceptions of behavior manifesting trust or bias works both for the mediator and disputants. In effect, each party is developing a conflict profile used in the present or the future to be used as a reference point in determining interactive behaviors. This is consistent, parenthetically, with Boehm's (1999) and Kihlstrom (1987) work on mirror neurons and how humans respond to the present and previously observed behavior of others. We might also invoke Cooley's looking glass self, but again, this neglects the importance of influence between the conscious and unconscious loop of cognition on behavioral decision-making.

Their findings showed that this familiarity either with the experiential history or direct cultural interaction between conflict stakeholders, renders significant impacts on the success or failure of a mediation process. Bercovitch (1996b) showed that parties with similar political systems achieved a 74% increase in positive relations contrasting a 58% success rate between parties from dissimilar political systems. Heterogeneity between parties in their military, political, economic and cultural resources proved to be a causative variable in conflict escalation by Brecher (1993). His findings indicated that the underlying motivation for escalation due to these differences lie in the construction of misperceptions that mischaracterize the primary elements of the conflict and its stakeholders. This serves as more support for our position that intangible conflict elements are more likely to cause or be more difficult to mediate in a conflict.

In a study that examined mediations using data from 295 international conflicts between 1945 and 1995, Bercovitch and Houston (2000) studied the factors that influenced mediator behavior and choice of mediation strategy as it related to mediation success. Specifically, they looked at three dimensions of influence, 1) preexisting factors that included the identity of the parties and the conflict context, 2) concurrent factors that considered the identity of the mediator and the mediation event, and 3) the background factors that included the impact of information from previous mediations within that conflict environment. Their findings showed that the conditions of the mediation environment and the identities of the parties played the most significant roles in mediator behavior and eventual outcome. Subsequent studies by Beber (2012), a student of Bercovitch, supported those results. We can, from their findings, insinuate the findings of the cognitive sciences that recognized patterns of familiarity lend themselves to the influence of those variables.

Later work by Bercovitch and Gartner (2009) examined the underlying dynamics present during contact between disputants and mediator seeking to identify the most significant variable in determining long-term successes and which might exacerbate them (Tal-Or, Boninger & Glenicher, 2002). Theirs was an extension of and a more comprehensive examination of the Allport (1954) research. The basic question was whether or not the proximity of disputants that allowed for more direct contact was significant in determining outcome.

The work in “Group Identity Theory” done by Forbes (1994) and supported by earlier discussions of contact theory (Bercovitch and Houston, 2000) argued that the bringing together of conflicting groups might aid in the confirmation of prejudicial

attitudes if the mediator should require an equal status in the ground rules; in effect establishing a precondition of inequality among participants. He disagreed with the work of Allport (1954) who assumed that the misperceptions held by conflicting groups were emotionally and cognitively based. This does not disprove Forbes, but might be considered constitutive as bringing together groups with dissonant culture could lead to intergroup conflict and negatively impact the mediation process.

A discussion by Margolis (1987) showed that cultural dissonance created a cognitive dissonance in the subject as they grasped for meaning and value in lexicon and syntax as they discovered meanings and value in their culture did not have the same meaning and value in another culture. These findings were supported in the linguistic investigations by Laitin (1977) and others. Kydd (2003), Monroe, Martin and Ghosh (2009) and Sapir (1925), showed that this dissonance increased further and language equivalence decreased if disputants were in a situation where a third language was necessary for any meaningful communication.

By invoking Habermas' communicative structures, Chomsky's mechanisms of universal grammar, the editing principles of dual process theory and our notion of lexicon and semantic use-value, it is not difficult to see that cognitive dissonance that is manifested as a result of non-equivalent language and use-value could become a major determinant of mediation outcomes, particularly when using a third syntactic structure. Recalling that a major theme of conflict causality is misunderstanding, this explanation appears the most informed. In effect, a mediator might transmit a message that means just the opposite of what was intended; something that would quickly be internalized by a

disputant, particularly if they have come from a high-context culture, and subsequently shown as chronically dissonant relationships.

The concept of cognitive dissonance is constituent to Saatcioglu and Olzanne's (2013) assertion in their study of status negotiation in a working class neighborhood that a culturally mediated lexiconal use-value serves as a mechanism for group identity and boundary construction. The principle foundations of contact theory describe the impact of in-group bias on members' perceptions of outsiders (Bercovitch & Chalfin 2011; Beber, 2012, Wall, 1981; Allport, 1954). Together these concepts support the presence of unconscious predisposed behaviors; biases, consequential to pattern recognition (the brain's short-cut mechanism for non-linear flight responses) and use-value recognition in communicative symbols, sometimes referred to as "moral competence" (Haidt and Nosek, 2004; Haidt, Graham and Nosek, 2007; Savun, 2008; Gent and Shannon, 2011; Mikhail, 2011) or "moral maturity."

Studies by Simmel (1955), Triel (2006) and Bashkow (2004) have shown that individual behaviors are significantly affected by identification with groups and the conformity to their norms. This would include the prescribed and proscribed norms of moral (socially sanctioned, acceptable) behavior so prevalent in the literature (Piaget, 1953; Kohlberg, 1981; Rawls, 1993; Aquino and Reed, 2002; Mikhail, 2011; Nanda and Warms, 2011). The homogeneity of functional group behavior manifest in normative conformities, a "moral consonance," sets the stage for intergroup conflict with those that are dissonant to those practices (Graham & Haidt, 2008).

Bercovitch and Gartner (2009) took Forbes' research a bit further by examining which of these independent variables, establishing equal ground or by inference cognitive

dissonance, would be the most significant in shaping the outcome of a mediation, i.e., which enhanced its success and which increased the level of conflict (Bercovitch, 2010; Tal-Or, Boninger & Glenicher, 2002). The premise was that an open line of communication between disputants would enhance understanding of normative systems thereby reducing cultural prejudices. This assumes of course that the disputants do in fact communicate with each other at some level. The weakness of the Bercovitch research though, was and has been throughout the conflict resolution literature, is a disregard for the symbolic use-value in the linguistic constructs of the mediator and how this might impact the proceedings. Clearly, had he known of the recent studies in moral and cognitive psychology, cognitive dissonance might have been regarded a significant independent variable that served as a solid foundation for a discussion of cultural dissonance so important to the studies of Avruch (1998), Lederach (1995), Bush and Folger (2005) and others.

Clearly, groups of unequal status will suffer the predispositions of in-group loyalty and out-group prejudice based on the competencies established in the unique cultural editing of their members' communicative structures (Chomsky, 1970; Gartner & Bercovitch, 2006; Habermas, 1990; Haidt and Graham, 2007; Schweder, Mahapatra, and Miller, 1987). This will not be limited to the disputants however, as a mediator is victim to the same mechanisms and influences as those participants she is attempting to bring together. This could be manifest as some expression of bias on her part (Botvinick, et al, 2001; Brewer, 2007; Carnevale & Arad, 1996; Zartman, 1994). In this study it is not our goal to demonstrate the level or intensity of mediator bias, only to demonstrate that it can be manifest in some recognizable and ultimately quantifiable way, overtly through



resource allocation, personally in ways such as time spent with someone, or linguistically in the type of language used to mediate or describe one or both disputants. In essence, we are addressing mediator bias and its concomitant elements as Durkheim would a social fact, i.e., it is external to the mediator, it can be quantified as a 'thing,' it compels the mediator to act in an observable fashion and it is influenced by other social facts (Durkheim, 1982).

Returning to the notion of bringing disputants into direct contact it is important to reexamine the alleged benefits of such a strategy. But at the same time we need to recognize the process at play within that environment. Osgood (1962) and later Kelman (1996) in support of Allport's (1954) position promote direct contact between disputants as a way to explore the root causes of the conflict and identifying what might prove to be their unmet human needs. They posit that such a strategy generates personal relationships and cooperation through joint exercises requiring cooperative problem-solving. It was also their position that once key representatives were brought together, that elements of that contact could be manipulated by the mediator in her role as facilitator.

Allport (1954) and later Kelman (1996) believed that this process would accomplish three goals. First, that bringing disputants together in a controlled environment would promote active listening allowing disputants to voice their own needs and views. Under the communicative construct, his assumption was that this exercise might produce a basis of common definitions and values, perhaps based upon this new shared "group culture." However, there is no evidence of this in the literature.

With deference to Habermas' distinction between communicative and strategic constructs, Kelman is assuming one of communicative rationality. His presumption

points to the same weaknesses we observe in other research premised on the direct contact hypothesis. It discounts the presence of emotional pattern recognitions leading to predispositions toward opposing disputants and mediators and the lack of activity in the emotional centers of the brain when engaging strategic communication (Nakayama & Joseph, 1998; Nieme, 2011).

Second, and perhaps more importantly, bringing together disputants provided an opportunity for different groups to gain insights into each other's perspective on the conflict and beyond. Rouhana and Kelman (1994) sites the utilization of this concept in the Israeli-Palestinian talks and observed that these workshops succeeded in reducing in-group bias and out-group discrimination among participants, fostering a sense of hope in establishing an improvement of intergroup relations. Recent news out of that region serves as a contradiction to Kelman's position and support for later positions taken by Bercovitch and Beber.

Bercovitch (1996a) offers one explanation for Kelman's erred hope of group harmony underlying contact theory. He discusses the fact that in the many mediations examined in his own study culminating in the International Conflict Database (1996a) that political and socio-economic factors may inhibit the creation of the environment that could contribute to the application of such a cognitive strategy. Often, third parties involved in the dispute are unaware of important facts such as each disputant's social or personal histories or the type of culture, i.e., high context or low context, that each disputant hails from (Bercovitch, 2007). This can, in contrast to the premise of contact theory, create an environment where dissonant perceptions and prejudices are enhanced, both as a function of previous characterizing inputs of opponents and the dissonant

symbolic use-value necessary in the very process of active listening (Rauchaus, 2006). Taking into consideration the significant impact culture has on conflict resolution elements, even the structure of the room for which the mediator is responsible, might trigger an emotional negativity through the perception of one or more disputants (Patterson & Rogers, 2007).

Layered on top of this notion of disputant qualifiers must be the considerations of motivations on the part of the mediator, both in the selection of the mediation assignment and the strategies selected to conduct the mediation (Kydd, 2003; Gerring, 2007). The question must be asked, what the perceived and actual rewards for the mediator are and whether or not there is some innate mediator perceptions brought to the mediation table.

Again, consideration must be given to the dissonance of linguistic constructs and how it may shape relationships among and between disputants and mediators; how language is used and interpreted in the pursuit of a desired goal through messages transmitted between all parties (Grenfell, 2011; Harmon, 2000; Sapir, 1936). It is also important to remember that language is a primary mechanism for the transmission and defining of the complex abstractions inherent to any conflict mediation.

The mediator's position is considered an important element in successful direct contact situations as she serves primarily as an interpreter of transmitted messages, and in some cases the architect of commonly agreed upon use-values for non-tangible conflict elements (Bercovitch & Oishi, 2010; Beber, 2012; Lanz, 2008). How these semantic constructs are transmitted and received through the lens of culturally based experiential history, ascribed use-value and personal goals established through self-interest, provides

a significant understanding of the conflict process and subsequently the chosen methodology with which to resolve it.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter has established the theoretical basis upon which the study is built. It has shown scientific and clinical research that establishes the presence of and evolved neurological system of hierarchically placing experiential history into a cognitive library that serves in the construction of a decision-making action on the part of an individual. While possessing both conscious and unconscious components, research by Greene and others establish that although we perceive our environment from a conscious position, that the unconscious element of decision-making heavily influences the collective outcome. Simply put, the innate dislikes we have both from an evolutionary and experiential perspective, remains as a significant portion of the eventual decision action.

Work by both Chomsky and Habermas, and later supported by Schaefer, et al (2013) demonstrated the symbolic importance of communicative and strategic communication styles, one utilizing emotional centers while the others did not. The bringing together of two speakers demonstrating differing communicative styles, in this case Sadat's use of Diglossic Arabic, Carter's use of English and Begin's use of Modern Hebrew, the former being communicative and the latter strategic, primes the situation for disharmony and mediation failure. These languages, a reflection of our dual process cognition, is the external; demonstration of deeper, more innately based conflicts, only made more intense by dissonant cultural origins of each conflict percipient.

The next chapter will outline a method by which the reader can apply theory and earlier research to the real world. This constructivist grounded theory study, using the

tools of content analysis, will show how the language demonstrated by principles in the Camp David Accords of 1978 that sought a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel lent to the limited success, as well as the extreme difficulties experienced during the mediation process. The elements of a use-value hierarchy, the cultural environment of each principle and the resultant enmity will be explained in the concluding chapters. It will also be made clear by applying the work earlier described, that this kind of predispositional behavior, an innate unconscious bias that guides our likes and dislikes, is applicable far beyond the field of mediation, but to every human interaction.

## Chapter Four: Methods

### **Introduction to Research Design**

This study explores the possibility that early socio-cultural experience coupled to innate moral foundations as described by Haidt (2012) and others are a component of a cognitive dual process of decision-making, and may influence conflict actors toward predictable predispositional behaviors manifest as bias. Specifically, we are concerned that these biases will influence the perceived and actual neutrality of the principle mediator thus compromising a mediation success. The presence of these predispositions in both mediators and conflict stakeholders challenges the validity of the conclusions in other research that does not consider the comprehensive impact of cultural dissonance on more than a superficial albeit external level. This will be accomplished through interrogating data yielded through the actors' use of language both spoken and written utilizing the techniques used in grounded theory studies.

In order to investigate this completely interactive human phenomenon, it was necessary to examine a conflict that pits very strong personalities against each other within the frame of a conflict that addresses both tangible and intangible resources as described by Laitin (1977), Augsburg (1992) and others, relative to its intensity and duration. The Arab/Israeli conflict that was addressed during the twelve days of the Camp David Accords beginning 17 September, 1978 is one that incorporates all of the necessary elements to sufficiently address the research questions. During this event, the personalities of three world leaders, Carter, Sadat and Begin came together with the motive of establishing the framework of a lasting peace agreement between

Israel and Egypt. The historic and experiential influences on each man, both conscious and unconscious, will be explored through their own, and others reporting.

A review of the literature surrounding the proceedings at the Camp David Accords, demonstrates an as yet little studied phenomenon. It shows that the individual and collectively interacting personalities of the principle players appeared to have more of an impact on the mediation's outcome than did other dynamics in play. It highlights the importance of understanding what factors contributed to the evolution of those personalities and how those forces were facilitating the preference of one agent over another, i.e., Carter's admitted and observed preference for Sadat over Begin prior to and during the mediation event (Carter, 1987), perceived by Begin and his entourage as "collusion and plotting" (Colarosi, et al, 2008); Perlmutter, 1987; Quandt, 1986b; Wright, 2014). Specifically, why did Carter appear to so many reviewers to largely prefer and to like Sadat over Begin often referring to the former as his "dear friend" while referring to Begin as an "obstacle to peace" (Quandt, 1986b) all the while publically attesting to his neutrality toward both disputants. The enmity between Sadat and Begin was widely known, yet neither man had ever met the other before espousing their frequently acted upon verbal and policy-based hatred for one another.

The next question concerns how these feelings manifested themselves in such historic circumstances and what were the effects on the outcome becomes almost secondary to the question of why enmity and distrust existed between two people that had never known each other. The guiding question to this study centers upon the interaction between innate cognitive and socio-evolutionary dynamic in each man

that could serve to predetermine their feelings and subsequently impact the overall Camp David process as a result of both perceptions and misunderstanding.

In a comprehensive sense, for us to follow the traditional methods of social science research, the results of this study would only repeat the time-worn examination of the interactions between the principles and the many social facts that Durkheim described as ‘externally coercive,’ (Durkheim, 1982) without investigating their human origin and interplay. Granted, we have more technology available to us than in Durkheim’s time, but it is rarely used in assessing the dynamics of human interaction in a conflict situation. The Bercovitch (2008), the International Conflict Database, ICD takes practitioners far along the path of examining post-hoc dynamics, but is weak in establishing causality beyond hypothetical inference.

It does not help future mediators to comprehensively address the question of how these seemingly visceral likes and dislikes arise in disputants, but more importantly in the mediator who by definition is presumed to be neutral. It is one thing to hold true to the interactive position of the Chicago School apostles and maintain that humans interact with things in their environment that facilitate an agent’s social and individual development. I believe this be true at its core, but short-sighted in its vision. It is quite another task, yet one necessary for a full and comprehensive understanding that allows us to address the original question, to understand what it is about human beings that facilitates and more importantly predisposes their interaction and subsequently gives insight into the ‘why’ they interact the way they do from more than the current social science methodologies.



So, while accepting the basic premise of symbolic interactionism, I consider it inadequate in its ability to explain basic human interaction as reflects universal innate cognitive processes, but adequate as a foundation for building a new theoretical paradigm of human interaction as it relates to conflict. Finally, if this is understood, I posit that a new methodology of matching the appropriate mediator to the appropriate conflict, and developing a methodology in which our innate and evolved predispositions toward one another are assessed and included into resolution decision-making constructs are taken into account, than a higher success rate for an age-old method for resolving conflict will be possible.

If we wish to truly understand the dynamic of a conflict, its agents and the factors inherent to its resolution or continuance, it will be necessary to combine what we know from the findings coming out of the cognitive neurosciences and place them inside the frame of conflict resolution. Without being able to use the economically prohibitive tools of medicine, a methodology using a descriptive variable common to everyone that will aptly represent the innate decision-making processes we are looking for and economically permissive to the researcher is necessary. Of course, the results of other, more technologically informed research will be applied and used to guide our research.

Using the research findings that led to the theory of Universal Grammar and Cartesian Linguistics (Chomsky, 1965; 1970), we will assert that language will serve as the common denominator of predispositional personality assessment and indicative of internal decision-making processes both conscious and unconscious. This study will utilize a qualitative content analysis (Creswell, 2013; Krippendorff,

2012; Saldana, 2012) in assessing a wide range of literature to show a link between manifestations of innate behavioral predispositions and the interactional dynamics of the principles of the Camp David Accords effecting both the mediation process and its outcomes.

We begin from the premise that language in all of its forms is a multifaceted phenomenon unique to humans. On the other hand, the capturing of that language by a listener is perhaps even more complicated in its processing than the packing and transmission of the message by the speaker. The interpretation of a message, the heart of the assertion that misunderstanding is a primary cause of conflict (Bercovitch, 1996b; Cohen, 2001; Northedge & Donelan, 1971; Greig and Diehl, 2012), is contingent upon both articulated and non-articulated elements (Jervis, 1976; Habermas, 1985) and employs both conscious and unconscious processing influenced by external environmental elements.

These are all impacted by several factors but include semiotics, intonation, special definitions unique to the speaker but perhaps unknown or misinterpreted by the listener, tone and body positions (Schooler & Melcher, 1995; Cook & Newson, 1996). Cognitive science informs us that these primary elements of communication are rarely if ever consciously deliberated, but rely more on unconscious interpretations and subsequent predispositional behaviors also interpreted by the other conversant. Also, in reviewing the findings of neuroscientists examining Habermas' communicative and strategic communication constructs, this also reflects, parenthetically, an employing of emotional centers for the former, and a lack of same in the latter.

Since we are conflating the findings from several different scientific disciplines as well as borrowing from their theoretical underpinnings to serve as guideposts for a new theoretical paradigm, we enter this research without a central or binding theoretical foundation nor a set of driving hypotheses. A thematic theoretical foundation is a prerequisite in deductive and inductive scientific research (Kuzel, 1999; Patton, 1992) and would allow for the comprehensive alignment of common elements and processes inherent to disputants and mediators. However, while informative, they do not describe why the players are similar in their evolved and universal cognitive abilities but different in their interactive preferences. This quest is better served through an abductive logical premise that provides a ‘best explanation’ for observed phenomenon and also allows for the researcher’s theoretical artifact (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Pierce, 1931-35).

We will have to build a theory from many sources of scientific insight, some familiar, some obscure, some completely new. But, that is the intrigue of science and the stuff of what helps us understand ourselves with a goal toward minimizing the historic and admittedly tired observation of so many conflict resolutionists that conflict has been around for as long as humankind; this researcher is not quite that pessimistic. To this researcher, the current study is part of a Hegelian dialectic, a move forward in understanding the importance of innate human factors to the success of conflict resolution efforts.

Perhaps a comprehensive understanding of what comprises a human conflict at an innately human level will eventually serve to mitigate its continuance. Indeed this takes us beyond the discussions of cultural dissonance as a source of conflict so

often focused upon by conflict researchers like Lederach and Augsburger. Rather, it examines the mechanisms unique to humankind that predicate conflict using cultural dissonance essentially as a starting point in explaining misunderstandings that feed the fires of conflict and ultimately Clausewitz uncontrollable war (Clausewitz, 1984).

Since we have identified language as the key evaluative element that is reflective of innate human decision-making processes (Margolis, 1987; Lazarus, 1982; Harman, 2000; Elman, et al, 1996), a content analysis of written records is appropriate for this study. Framed by Constructivist Grounded Theory described by Kathy Charmaz (2014) and informed by the Glaser (1965), Strauss and Corbin paradigms (1998) it will serve to highlight three important observations brought out in the literature:

1. Why mediation has been shown by Bercovitch and Gartner (2009) to demonstrate only a 'mediocre performance,' in resolving cross-cultural conflicts,
2. Why cultural dissonance between disputants appears to play such an important part in determining many conflict dynamics particularly with attention to intangible social facts, and leading to a major overarching question;
3. Does cultural dissonance also innately and perhaps unconsciously influence the presumed 'neutral' mediator in the pursuance of a conflict resolution begging the question as to whether or not the mediator can be unequivocally neutral? For now, we will table the notion of conscious manifestations of bias for the sake of clarity and future discussions.

The purpose of this Grounded Theory Study is to discover a best explanation for the mediocre performance of mediations being conducted between disputants of dissonant cultures. Applying the data analysis techniques of grounded theory to information collected through content analysis, this research will assess the veracity of claims by cognitive neuroscience that human beings are predisposed to predictable behaviors as a result of socio-cultural influences on innate decision-making mechanisms; these mechanisms being the result of human evolution. These findings will then be applied to the field of mediation, specifically to assess whether or not a mediator might show predispositional bias toward a disputant as a result of the interaction between external stimuli and innate, genetically evolved, decision-making systems.

The study will be informed by Josh Greene's (2004) work on Dual Process Theory and by Haidt's (2008) seminal work in cognitive psychology called Moral Foundations Theory to investigate the assertion of an internal decision-making calculus is possessed by all humans and how that might impact mediator bias. Further, approaching the problem from Charmaz's (2006; 2014) constructivist grounded theory approach of symbolism, the study will also apply Chomsky's work in Universal Grammar (1970) and Habermas' (1984; 1990) study of Communicative Action to investigate how these decision-making processes might be represented and expressed through the language used by disputant speakers to transmit positions on the perception of the disputant listener, each percipient's language being impacted by their respective culture's linguistic morphology.

Common knowledge tells us that some things are more important to us than other things. These translate into our likes and dislikes; we like some foods and dislike others.

Similarly, and often upon first meeting, we quickly come to like or dislike an individual. If a mediator prefers one disputant over another, is that mediator predisposed to bias in some positive or negative form? This study seeks to answer by best explanation, from where these predispositions emanate and how they can both be predicted and perhaps even changed leading to a better mediator neutrality and hence more sustainable and successful outcomes.

This research sought to compare individuals and their behaviors within the context of what can be considered as a conflict involving dissonant cultures. Therefore, it was necessary to select such a conflict and representatives of that conflict that would a) demonstrate clear preferences, b) represent clearly dissonant cultures and c) be virtue of their positions have been the source of extensive biographical and media material. The three main players in the Camp David Accords of 1978 between Jimmy Carter, Anwar al-Sadat and Menachem Begin who sought a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel using the United States President as the mediator between the conflict countries provided the most ideal study subjects. Collecting data from written materials and applying the results of earlier cognitive studies, we will ask the following research questions:

5. Is there an observable difference in situational responses between conflict stakeholders that can be attributed to differences in their socio-cultural history?
6. Are these differences in situational responses a result of individual perceptions whose value is grounded in socio-cultural experiences?
7. Are these perceptions a result of the interplay between evolved cognitive mechanisms and the socio-cultural experiences unique to the individual?

8. Is the result of this interplay manifest in particular situational preferences important to social interactions and therefore to mediation events?

### **Discovering the ‘Best’ Explanation: Abduction**

Abduction encourages a type of open-mindedness when reviewing data, but at the same time recognizes the guiding principles of *a priori* theoretical models inherent to the experiential history of the researcher or “researcher artifact” (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 2009) something later referred to by Strauss (1995) as ‘theoretical sensitivity.’ This kind of theory construction pays homage to C. Wright Mills who maintained that a strict adherence to scientific parameters confined our creativity to uncover the true meaning of most social interactions (Mills, 1956).

Abductive analysis is an ancillary to a qualitative methodology that allows for the application of previously held knowledge *a priori* and theory in the discovery of probable explanations when faced with new situations. This resident knowledge generally referred to as experience does not necessarily reside in our cognitive forefront, but serves often as one unconscious component in our multi-faceted cognitive processes of decision-making. Abduction is not necessarily a preplanned schema, but more of an almost spontaneous recognition of a new explanation for a novel situation that “comes to us like a flash,” since conceptually the different elements of our new hypothesis were in us all along; we just needed the proper stimulus to make them cogent (Pierce, 1931-35, p. 217-218). In the parlance of cognitive psychologists, we are experiencing a ‘pattern’ that reminds us of something else previously experienced similar to an academic *deja vous* (Haidt, 2008; Greene, 2014; Schacter, 1996; Sinnott-Armstrong, 2008).

"The surprising fact, C is observed. But if A were true, C would be a matter of course. Hence there is a reason to suspect that A is true" (Peirce, 1931-35). In that regard, abduction acknowledges a theoretical sensitivity gained through earlier experiences. It encourages entering in to a research project with the broadest base of theoretical experience in order to develop new theoretical constructs throughout the research endeavor similar to taking known facts and rearranging them into the most appropriate and logical explanation.

"Abduction is the process of forming an explanatory hypothesis. It is the only logical operation which introduces any new ideas; for induction does nothing but determine a value, and deduction merely involves the necessary consequences of a pure hypothesis" (Peirce 1931-35, p.171)

In Pierce's view, abduction serves as the principle and foundational element in the epistemic pursuit of new theoretical constructs explaining human interactions. He does not conclude that abduction is in fact the only way to underlie new knowledge as this would simply be a tautology. He regards abduction, while functional and necessary, as inconclusive, demanding first an inductive verification of developed hypotheses with permanence rooted in deductive logic. In this regard, abduction is an integral part in the process of theory development. "Abduction seeks a theory. Induction seeks for facts" (Peirce 1931-35, p. 217-18).

Abduction can be viewed as a means to support traditional Grounded Theory as opposed to the general notion that it answers what is considered to be its great weakness by relying on inductivism in the creation of new paradigms. We understand now, through our study of cognitive processes, that new theory



development is a process bringing earlier learned facts forward and testing them within the frame of logical processes. We also know that it is rare that logical processes are spontaneous, but rely on an earlier catalog of use-value semiotics (Baron-Cohen, 1991; Chomsky, 1970; Dehaene, et al, 1998; Forbes & Grafman, 2010; Kihlstrom, 1987).

So in that regard, new questions arriving through abductive inference are framed within the context of prior knowledge necessary to evaluate and ‘value’ new combinations of social facts and inside the process of coding we form as many new and seasoned links to observed phenomenon even after we think we have the answer to our questions; a constant comparison and reformulation. The theories that are born of abductive inference serve as a “best attempt” to universalize causality and to describe the observed interactions from particular quantifiable instances (Abend, 2008; Gross, 2010) and a guidepost for constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014). According to Peirce we, “turn over our recollection of observed facts” (Peirce, 1934, p. 167). Abduction therefore serves as the perfect metaphor for dual process cognition and is essential to the development of theory resultant of this research.

### **Abduction and Theory Construction v. Induction and Grounded Theory**

Glaser and Strauss (1965) promoted a method to ‘discover theory’ through an inductive process that was premised on a frequent revisiting of collected data and making iterative changes in its analyses through the *constant comparison* of researcher defined coding categories. These descriptive categories emerged, ostensibly, as new experiences or insights came to the researcher who had chosen her topic to advance a particular aspect of social science that she found interesting. In

effect, the researcher was listening to the ‘voices in the library stacks’ (Glaser and Strauss, 1965) that served as her siren song of discovery.

In their early work “The Discovery of Grounded Theory,” Glaser and Strauss (1965) sought to construct a method that would both inform the social science community to the possibility of new theory that flew in the face of the tried and true hypothetico-deductive theories that had been in place already for many years. In the same motion their goal was to establish the credibility of qualitative analysis in a scientific world that more readily accepted the traditional model of theory construction.

Traditionally, research was seen as the primary avenue of hypothesis testing through experimental strategies. This was, in the eyes of Glaser and Strauss, who parenthetically were products of the interactionist Chicago School, limiting the social sciences as hypotheses could not emerge from data, as opposed to the data validating a presupposition (Kelle, 2003). Their task was to construct new theory from observed phenomenon outside of HD experimental confines as every social interaction yielded what they felt might be patterned processes and strategies that could not be explained completely by quantitative studies. In retrospect, and given our newly acquired knowledge of how we think, Glaser and Strauss were setting the stage for a researcher’s ‘gut feeling’ that came from observation as opposed to looking for something they presumed already to be there that only required quantitative verification, or as my former sociology chair used to repeat constantly to the new sociology recruits, “show me the data!”

Their earliest work took on a Spencerian tone; “An effective strategy is, at first,

literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact of the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas" (Glaser and Strauss 1965, p.37). While a Spencerian approach to the evolution of new knowledge may have been their desire, they effectively turned their backs on their roots in the Chicago School, favoring an inductive assumption that was actually a masked deductive paradigm (Charmaz, 2014). They proposed a 'general method of comparative analysis' that would facilitate the emergence of descriptive 'data groups, and eventual subgroups,' that would serve as an alternative to social science's traditional research constructs.

In this regard, considering that this research examines both the theoretical and decisive pronouncements of several social and cognitive scientific fields of study, it would be wrongheaded to presuppose the ability to induce or deduce a unified theory of mediation based upon a first brush confluence of different and sometimes competing fields.

Abductive reasoning provides a logical but open construct to explore that confluence. Indeed, the notion of experiencing one of Pierce's 'bright moments' while reviewing the data, and perhaps seeing a new perspective or an explanation for an old observation is intriguing and is essential in moving the field of conflict resolution epistemically forward.

### **Traditional Grounded Theory as Untenable**

The founding principle of many theorists from the Chicago School was that society is a combination of individual experiences framed by the parameters of cultural influences; what we have referred to as experiential history, and is generally

called interactionism. The definitions that shape our perceptions and facilitate our interactions are subject to the endless files of our past exchanges and what we now include as inherent knowledge derived from evolutionary experience.

Similarly we can assert, in concert with Straus and Corbin (1998), Charmaz (2014) and other interactionists, that even the grounded theories ‘discovered’ in our research emerge as the result of the interactions between observed and *a priori* phenomenon and form the patterns recognized by the brain of the researcher manifesting as those revelations, or even the ‘bright moments’ described by Pierce. This notion of ‘preprogramming’ that is implied in the language of abductionists fits very well into the research of Haidt and others previously discussed. Indeed, we can now take the frame of abductive logic and demonstrate its veracity using the clinical work of cognitive psychology and neuroscience.

Researchers are haunted by explanations that give support to Habermas’ linguistic constructs by positing that the world is interpreted within the definitions of some earlier framework experienced by the speaker (Kenny, 1994; Laudan, 1977). Those definitions are embedded in languages which transmit that experiential influence to the listener, i.e., observation A is shaped by the knowledge of B. Lakatos (1978) maintains that the most important insights of epistemology and later by cognitive psychology was that “there can be no sensations unimpregnated by expectations.” Similarly, Kelle (2003) states that any theory draws on an ‘existent stock of knowledge.’

The dispute between Glaser and Strauss iterated in the later works of Strauss and Corbin (1998) centered upon Glaser’s calling for the researcher to enter with

‘naïve empty wonderment,’ a reference to conducting research and trying to separate one’s self from previously learned theories. It is also reminiscent of Max Weber’s call for a ‘value free sociology, (1963; Bendix, 1977). However, cognitive science informs us that this is not a feasible position as everything we understand is rooted in experiential history, framed by one’s resident culture although placed in a common human machinery (Chomsky, 1970; Greene, 2007).

Writing with Juliet Corbin (2014), Strauss forwarded the concept of ‘theoretical sensitivity,’ that recognized how a researcher’s past exposure and understanding of theory will ‘sensitize’ her to any emerging theory from her evaluation of the data. Every interaction we have had couples to that theoretical sensitivity to shape not only our perception of data, but the very way in which we ask the questions of the data (Brubaker, 1993). Our new discoveries, Pierce’s abductive ‘bright light,’ will always be informed by the integration of our past and new knowledge, "that is to say, we put old ideas together in a new way and this reorganization itself constitutes a new idea" (Anderson, 1989).

Corbin and Strauss maintained, with deference to Glaser’s later work, that the researcher possessing a broad theoretical background would do well in the Grounded Theory design and later inform data analysis. Experience would provide a broad basis upon which to build categories and subcategories that might emerge from the data after which to construct new or rebuilt theoretical principles. Blumer (1954) observed that ‘knowing the theory,’ means in essence, knowing the theories. He regarded past experience as a sensitizing mechanism that frames or informs emerging observations but do not limit the researcher to

whatever findings might be possible. In short, the Grounded Theory of Glaser and Strauss that was predicated on a *tabula rasa*, given our knowledge of cognitive science and a dual processing of environmental inputs, is untenable.

### **Constructivist Grounded Theory**

Our method will be rooted in the perspective of symbolic interactionism (Meade, 1967; Blumer, 1954). Departing from the original process of induction that is the basis of the Glaser and Strauss work (Charmaz, 2014), and avoiding the limiting framework of hypothetico-deductive theory construction with its inherent predetermined coding schema (Crabtree and Miller, 1999), constructivist grounded theory uses a more appropriate Abductive process of theory construction developed by Pierce (1931-35) where the data illuminates a ‘bright idea’ for the researcher. It encourages a type of open-mindedness when reviewing data, but at the same time recognizes the guiding principles of *a priori* theoretical models inherent to the experiential history of the researcher or ‘researcher artifact’ (Rosenthal and Rosnow, 2009).

Following Charmaz’ (2014) constructivist Grounded Theory paradigm this study placed the interrogation of data gained from a detailed content analysis employing the grounded theory technique of constant comparison described by Glaser and Strauss, focused through the lens of symbolic interactionism but qualified by our earlier discussion of cognitive dual processes. Constructivist GT recognizes that we build our knowledge of the world and the use-value premised language inherent to that process through lifetime interactions with other actors

and elements within and outside of our cultural environment; each serving as a qualifier or genesis of new understandings and outcomes.

In short, interactions serve to edit that unconscious process of cognition by providing definitions of environmental stimuli, although still remaining as an underlying significance to the interaction equation (Graham, et al, 2011). This recalls the Marxian notion of men creating their own history, but a history that is embedded in a larger social history and is therefore more collective than individual (Bendix, 1977; Brubaker, 1985) sensations.

Charmaz (2006) argues for a Grounded Theory that recognizes the significance of the researcher's intellectual history, everyday interpretations of simply being, and how this impacts on how the researcher 'sees' the data. Glaser and Strauss' traditional concept of GT is merely a snapshot of data (Charmaz, 2014; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). It limits itself by not seeking to understand the motivating and qualifying actions of actors. That omission of purpose may serve to having the researcher miss a particular nuanced reaction to something common to the actor's environment thus redefining the meaning of the data under investigation in an all but truthful ways.

For example, how many times can we examine a home movie that we have seen through the years, and redefine something we always see, but see differently each time? This is the result of not interrogating the underlying motivation for the action we see on the screen within the context of time, place or other influences at play during the time of the filming. Is this something that is

common to everyone, or is it unique to that individual? Can others do that thing I am observing?

By utilizing the Charmaz concept of constructivist GT, we are more interested in why the action we are witnessing appears at all; what prompted the action, and whether or not that action is something always engaged by the actor or unique to the current situation in which he finds himself? What would preclude the action in that particular situation and can that be extended to other similar arenas? Finally, will that motivation for engaging or not engaging that particular action or that particular type of action be transferable to other actors and in what circumstances.

Constructivist GT does not merely and simply seek out patterns as much as it seeks to discover underlying explanations. I will make abductive inferences, depending on the previous knowledge acquired through thirty years of teaching social theory. This will allow me to build a categorical structure for interpretation of ideas emerging from the data and allow an informed explanation of the world it describes. This study will view interpretation and action as a process of reciprocity (Charmaz, 2014); how the present informs interpretation of the past and most important, how the past informs the present. Keep in mind that however we see it, interaction is never unidirectional nor limited to a single actor; i.e., one thing leads to another, and another and another (Saldana, 2012).

Charmaz (2014) refers to abduction in her recent work on constructivist GT. However, she regards abduction as secondary to induction in line with other GT researchers:



"Grounded theory begins with inductive analyses of data but moves beyond induction to create an imaginative interpretation of studied life. We adopt abductive logic when we engage in imaginative thinking about intriguing findings and then return to the field to check our conjectures" (Charmaz 2009: 137-38).

Charmaz (2006; 2011; 2014) points to the course of abduction as requiring not only the circular cross-examination of data through constant comparison in line with traditional GT, but also utilizing previously held experiential influences as important codicils in these comparative and descriptive processes. In that regard, abduction serves in concert and as an important guide for traditional grounded theory in its constant comparative format. It is a creative inferential process and is essential in producing new hypothesis and theories resultant of Pierce's "bright idea" arising from the confluence of multi-sourced research evidence (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012).

To summarize Grounded Theory through the SI lens, invoking Blumer's (1954) and Charmaz' discussion:

Table 2

*Constructivist Grounded Theory*

<b>Constructivist Grounded Theory</b>	
	Human beings act on things on the basis of meanings that things have for them.
	The meaning of such things is derived from or arises out of the social interaction that one has with one's fellows.
	These meanings are handled in and modified through an interpretive process used by the person on dealing with things he encounters whose genesis lies in the person's experiential history thus cognitively cataloged.
	Language is an indispensable part of thoughtful interaction between actor and (social) environment through shared meanings that may be impacted by cultural inputs

In making abductive inferences, researchers depend on previous knowledge that provides them with the necessary categorical framework for the interpretation,

description and explanation of the empirical world under study (Pierce, 2013), or cognitively we regard as pattern recognition or more descriptively, emotion-based pattern recognition (Graham, et al, 2007; 2012).

### **The Importance of Language as a Medium for Interaction**

Examining the data using the Constructivist GT approach, through the lens of symbolic interactionism, we are reminded that human beings see themselves, converse with themselves and interact socially through the common medium of language (Chomsky, 1972; 2002; Cook & Newson, 1996; Curtis, 1978; Kihlstrom, 1987). Meade (1967) noted that SI stresses the necessity of language for the construction of 'self-hood' and social life, and to understand that the social world consists of meaningful objects. Within this explanation, he maintains that subjective meanings are the reflection of experiential history and can be edited as additional environmental input is accumulated; hence Blumer's (1954) assertion that perception is a derivative of reciprocal social relationships between interpretation and actions, and that language reflects human conduct and is not simply a means of describing it.

Meade (1967) asserted that language, as an expression of inner thought, is indisputably necessary for the development of self (we think in language) and for one's construction of a social life. SI allows for the consideration of the continuity of linguistic symbolism relative to syntax and lexicon in the face of multicultural influences (Chomsky, 1970; Gilligan, 1982; Habermas, 1990). Thus, interaction is a symbolic process, it depends on commonly shared meanings in language both spoken and unspoken. Here we refer back to the discussion of Habermas' (1990) communicative and

strategic reasoning and its representation within specific (and contrasting) areas of the brain; emotional and moral for the former, calculative and unemotional for the latter (Nieme, 2011; Harman, 2000; Schutz, 1973).

Language serves as the communicative avenue for interaction, thought and identity on both individual and community levels. The position of this research takes that notion a step further in establishing the link between inner feelings, both inherent and acquired, and the multi-faceted system of the medium that demonstrates them. In this regard, a detailed content analysis of conflict stakeholders, and how they manifest innate behavioral predispositions through language, which in turn might impact decision-making outcomes, is ideal. The researcher in this environment must as well be careful that his own emotional and experiential artifacts relative to the examined conflict, does not skew his own interpretations of the data. We do recognize that to some degree, based on earlier discussions that this is impossible to accomplish. But, we also maintain as we did in our discussion of dual process theory, that a recognition of these artifacts at some level mitigate their impact and lend to a more valid interrogation and discussion of the data (Charmaz, 1980; Snow, 2001).

### **Phases of Data Analysis**

To assist the reader in thoroughly grasping the evaluative process, below is a summary of this study's four phase analysis.

1. Evaluation of biographies and early media material that describes the early lives of the participants.

2. Establishment of a first-round list of 'open' codes that label significant influences on the principles with regard to use-value and moral cognition.
3. Evaluation of autobiographical material within the frame of previously established codes for use-value influence.
4. Establishing the validity of concepts and codes identified in first round readings by cross referencing other-author and autobiographical descriptions and perceptions of, by and between participants.

### **Data Collection and Sampling**

The study subjects comprise the three principle world leaders that were in attendance at the Camp David Accords September 6, 1978, until its conclusion on September 17, 1978. They are, Jimmy Carter, then President of the United States, Anwar al-Sadat, then president of Egypt and then Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel. The time period of investigation will extend one year prior to the meetings and one year following. The year prior to the meetings at Camp David allows data to be interrogated concerning the principles as they first get reports describing personal and political profiles of the other participants as they did not know each other prior to the meetings. The year following the agreement allows us to see if inter-relational attitudes had changed following the formal meetings.

Data will be collected from autobiographies by the principles, biographies of the principles, media accounts describing the principles in both video and news formats and books written of the meetings by those who were in attendance and by those who have secondary information through research and interviews with participants. Specifically, the data from outside sources provides another perspective on the relationships between

the subjects. Data will be abstracted utilizing content analysis and utilizing the techniques of constructivist grounded theory for evaluation.

Information describing the principle subjects will be evaluated in four phases described below. Discussions by principles themselves that will provide historic biographical data that will be interrogated first. This will be cross-referenced to biographical materials provided by other sources looking to assess how close their own perceptions are to those seeing them from the outside. It also provides background material on each subject in addition to and from another perspective relative to their histories. People tend to romanticize their own childhoods at times.

Interactions between principles will first be investigated using the perceptions of the principles regarding their impressions of the other subjects, i.e., their feelings about their counterparts. These data will then be compared to the perceptions of others who were in attendance to the meetings and to the impressions of others regarding the proceedings themselves and the interactions inherent to them. Comparing data from various sources provides different perspectives and a level of validity to this study. As no subject was interviewed, nor is there any attempt to judge or give weight to any of the subjects' actions either personal or political, there will be no ethical dilemmas.

Having developed socio-cultural profiles of each subject, the study will evaluate how they interacted with each other prior to, during and following the Accords. It is here the study will seek to establish a connection between innate mechanisms of decision-making, external cultural influences on those decision-making processes and to see whether or not a bias on the part of the mediator (Carter) is perceived by Sadat and/or Begin as well by outside observers. The study will also pay close attention to the different

uses of language among and between the subjects to evaluate potential impacts of different semantic and morphological linguistic structures given the previous discussion of high and low context cultural influences.

### **Phase One: Review of Material and identification of Major Thematic Content**

The first phase of the study is a collection and general review of material content within the frame of a) an acute understanding of social theory acquired over decades of research and practice, b) searching for obvious ‘tells’ that the conflict agents might exhibit revealing a link to their experiential histories through communicative schema and, c) identifying socio-cultural elements and themes that might have significantly impacted the ‘moral maturity’ of each participant. This phase is informed by the earlier evaluation of research findings from the fields of neurological, cognitive and social sciences. This is also influenced by the researcher’s earlier academic endeavors.

In effect, a significant part of the first phase of research is to gain a general ‘feel’ for the literature and for the development of a neuro-cultural, egotextual profile of each conflict stakeholder under study using the findings of Haidt (2012) Green (2014) and Churchland (2011) as a guide in labeling characteristics of the principle agents during this initial phase of coding. The elements identified here will serve to guide additional interrogation of the data and form the link between the two major factors under consideration for the possibility of prediction of conflict mediation outcomes. It also satisfies the requirements outlined by Charmaz (2014) in structuring the study within the context of Constructivist Grounded Theory.

Before interrogating data available on each participant completed in phase three, i.e., how they behave within the context of the specific conflict environment under

examination, it was first necessary to identify the socio-cultural elements that could ‘edit’ what earlier research by Haidt and others had shown to be innate moral capacities or the evolved system described by Chomsky (1970) thus predisposing them to certain predictable behaviors. These would be found in the histories available specific to each agent first as described by others in authorized and unauthorized biographies and supplemental media materials followed by an evaluation of autobiographical and other agent-authored materials that eluded to significant early life influences. In effect, this particular phase of the research sought to identify what could be considered an inferential link between the themes in the biographical and conflict literature with the findings advanced by cognitive researchers.

Note that in this phase of discovery, I have consciously deferred from reading about any mention of other Camp David conflict elements by other observers and researchers in hopes of minimizing the agents’ perceptions influencing my own. For example, in President Carter’s later works like *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* (2007) he specifically mentions his disappointment in the actions of Menachem Begin during and following the Camp David Accords. Had that been read prior to other material, or out of the sequence of ‘naïve discovery,” my future readings might have been somehow biased for or against Begin, thus decreasing the purity of discovery and the subsequent validity of my own revelations formed into theoretical constructs. In addition, this progression in reading categories of descriptive narratives will also familiarize the researcher with nuances impacting the semiotic and semantic structures of each agent when encountering quotes or transcripts found within this first brush of the literature. This activity is conducted during phase three of the study.

The first phase of the study, with an understanding that there are no pre-determined categories or expectations in place that guide hypothetico-deductive or inductive grounded theory projects (Charmaz, 2014; Glaser and Strauss, 1965; Walton, 2005), engaged initial coding, in-vivo and process coding which actually served as exploratory coding to Saldana (2012) to first identify broad categories or themes that might avail themselves to the researcher within the context of Pierce's abductive inference; an ad hoc creation of core codes premised upon theoretical sensitivity (Corbin and Strauss, 2014). These general themes will then lend themselves to inform a two-phase coding process described by Saldana (2013). Reading the materials, with deference to Pierce (1931-35) and Goffman (1959; 1963), additional codes reflecting themes began to emerge and be applied in both first and second rounds of coding. The principle coding schemes are shown in figure one. This phase establishes the primary editors of the actors' innate capacities, Re., moral maturity and use-value.

### **Analysis of Data Phase Two: Data Concerning Subjects' Self-Descriptions**

During this second phase of the study, the researcher read the autobiographies of each subject identifying themes that might point to some kind of predictive algorithm in support of Haidt's (2008) concept of innate capacities leading to symbolic use-values. In short, are the words of the actors indicative of a cognitive moral development in the way they describe their social environments and the elements within them.

It was necessary to couple those observations to the perceptions of the subjects themselves. This was done for two purposes. First, autobiographical materials allowed for the verification of outside observations and the matching of perceptions from two perspectives, the outsider and the actor by their own descriptions. For example, in Anwar



Sadat's autobiography he consistently speaks to the importance of the land, how it shaped him and made him to a great degree into the man he was. Observations by several biographers and historians agreed with this, establishing a theme of land as a non-material influence and its associated use-value to the subject as much more than simply a tangible influence. Care was taken to search for contradictions that might run contrary to these cross-validations. The same procedure of theme-building was used for each of the principle subjects under investigation.

This allowed the researcher to complete a valid and comprehensive profile for each subject under study. It must be noted that when the autobiographies began to focus on the relationship to the other principles in the study or on the Camp David Accords, reading stopped as this would be evaluated later when themes were applied to the research questions in phase four of the study.

### **Analysis of Data Phase Three: Application of General Themes to Agent Interactions**

The third phase of the study builds upon the socio-cultural profiles constructed for each of the actors. In this phase, we are interested in seeing if whether or not the social editing process of each actor under study are a root of or cause of consonance or dissonance. This goes beyond the current frame of cultural dissonance as an obstacle to mediation as described by Avruch and others. This focuses more on the internal processes of decision-making and the acquired predispositions that impact them. The first phase provided certain personal themes such as whether or not the agent came from a low or a high context culture or whether their language patterns are direct or angular (Cohen, 1990; Cohen, et al, 1957). This phase offered some insight to perhaps how the agent possessed and valued certain kinds of social capital such as positions of power, ideology

or important attachments to people or things revealed by the research of biographers other than the agent himself.

To be clear, and reminiscent of cultural sensitivity, the themes discovered served almost as a predictor for what was to come. For example, knowing that the land was a most visceral part of Sadat's existence at both tangible and intangible levels, and that Begin had demonstrated a more tangible acquisition-perception type attitude toward the land, particularly the Sinai Peninsula, it seemed conceivable that these two men would be hard-pressed to like each other, particularly if we relate the resultant enmity to the moral foundation of fairness and cheating. Carter on the other hand had a similar attachment to the land as was part of his rural upbringing the same as Sadat. Logically then, Carter and Sadat might be more inclined to like each other given a large part of the moral maturity was predicated on the same or similar experiences.

Care was taken to exclude autobiographies from the first phase of study as the nuances revealed in the agents' self-reflections might not have the same significance to this researcher had he not been primed by the secondary studies of others. In essence, the observations of others describing their perceptions of the agents allowed me a conceptual framework in which to draw not conclusions concerning the conflict agents, but flags designated by thematic codes to identify when reading the disputants' own work. So, if one author says that Begin and Carter did not get along, while reading the principle writings of Carter and Begin, I will have some preliminary tools to identify words, phrases and pictures (codes) that would point to why this enmity might have developed between the two men prior to their having any knowledge or contact with each other, i.e., use-value assignments resultant of significant experiential historic elements.

It must be kept in mind, that throughout this study, this researcher recognized the importance of controlling for, by recognition, his own and the biographers' researcher artifact (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 2009). The biographical materials written by those other than the agents were read first to identify some broad themes and to inform the perceptions gained by this researcher's reading of the agents' autobiographies.

In a sense, the major themes identified in biographical works served to sometimes validate those same themes seen in the autobiographies. In the sense of full-disclosure, following these first readings that were framed within the context of establishing some moral and use-value schema resultant of innate capacities discussed earlier, the researcher was overcome with a sense of expectation, of almost being able to predict how the conflict agents under study would react to each other. The next phases of interrogating the research seemed only necessary to validate what had already been demonstrated through others observations and subjects' self-descriptions; Pierce's bright idea had indeed availed itself.

#### **Phase Four: Agent Interactions within the Conflict Environment: The Camp David Accords**

In the next set of readings, armed with the individual experiential histories of the conflict agents through biographical and autobiographical work, the researcher moved onto the next set of materials that placed the conflict agents within the context of the conflict itself, the Camp David Accords, 1978. This meeting provided for direct contact and observable behavioral interaction within the context of the subject profiles previously established in phases one and two. Materials consisted of observational writings specific to the accords and material describing agent interactions prior to and following the Camp

David meetings. They also included works by the principle disputants and mediator (Carter) to include their description and perception of the proceedings and of each other by inference or directly. Descriptions by the principles included materials written specifically for their Camp David Recollections such as secretarial notes and government documents, as well as material now focused upon by the researcher that was included in each subject's autobiographies on the subject at hand.

Here was also an opportunity to directly observe, and ultimately, to qualitatively contest what Allport (1954) had predicted in his earlier work, that bringing disputants together would lead to a more personal relationship and therefore serve to mitigate the conflict. It was also a place to contrast the Bercovitch (2007) and Beber (2012) prediction that bringing disputants in face to face contact would only serve to heighten the tensions already present by reasserting the dominance of one party over another through personal interactions bolstered by positions held in the field of conflict. While parenthetical to this study, it could render some interesting observations to be examined in later research such as the intent of Begin's insistence in depicting himself as having less power than Sadat or Carter; was this a true belief or a strategy of manipulation, a sort of a plea to pathos.

In this phase, materials that included personal and observer accounts of the mediation directly, commentaries by media reports and secondary participants, re., advisors to the principle participants like Moshe Dyan from Israel, Ismail Fahmy from Egypt or Zbigniew Brzezinski from the United States, minutes of individual and group meetings of the principles (as recorded by consistent representatives from each delegation), personal letters between principles and post-mediation memoirs from

principles and observers, speeches to agents' various government bodies and constituents and interviews conducted by hosts from several talk shows following the proceedings.

As an example of how the first phase of this research guided the literature selection and interrogation we return to the Sadat's attachment to the land. Sadat continuously expressed the visceral attachment he had to his neighborhood as a metaphor for his attachment to all things Egypt; its history, culture and language, at one point declaring rather grandly that "he was Egypt!" (Sadat, 1978a, p. 4).

Carter described how a black woman named Rachael Clark, who he regarded as his 'second mother' (Carter, 1982; 2001), instilled in him a love and a responsibility to take care of not just his own, but all the land in his community and country. However, when reading the relationship the Israeli Prime Minister Begin had with land, it began with a notion of victimology, loss, acquisition and 'taking back,' reminiscent of the Szalay (1965; 1981) studies on comparative semiotics between English and Korean speakers. Clearly, a conflict of use-value that guided their relationships with each other. So, it was necessary to first understand, through open coding, the emotional positions of each actor relative to an important part of the mediation, and interpersonally.

The casual and uncoded examination of audio-visual material supplemented and in some cases gave a clearer and deeper insight into the attitudes and feelings of each agent as well as a personal validation of a new ability of the researcher to actually 'see' cognitive influences in action. For example, Chomsky (1965; 1970) and others elude to the fact that a significant portion of our communicative style is non-verbal, and manifests as body language, positioning, etc.

In having established a relative dramaturgical theme between agents, say that Sadat and Begin did not 'like' each other, viewing such things as how they positioned themselves relative to each other in group photos or interviews, this observation might validate what was gathered from reading personal communications between them. It was also well-known for instance that Carter considered Sadat a dear and close friend, while he held Begin in disdain. One only needs to look at the facial expressions of Carter when near Begin as opposed to Sadat to gain some insight to what he is feeling and whether or not this coincides with his verbal and written communication to each man.

### **Chapter Summary**

In summary then, the first three phases of the study built a conceptual stage upon which the principle players would act. It provides background and substance to exactly what we will be conceptually looking for, whether or not experiential history guides the observed behaviors of each actor and if so, does this facilitate a consonant or dissonant personal interaction. We can then, by inference, apply these observations to the framework system of dual cognitive processing as described by Greene (2010).

Finally, does that interaction somehow impact the outcome of the mediation? The final phase of the study, allows the researcher to observe the action that is playing out upon that stage of mediated interactions and make assertions from those observations that support or do not support the earlier suppositions. A similar construct is offered by Erving Goffman (1959) in his works on Dramaturgical and Frame Analysis (1963).

## Chapter Five: Findings

### **Introduction**

This section demonstrates a preponderance of evidence that suggests an association between evolved human capacities guiding a dual cognitive process of decision-making leading to human behaviors that facilitate predispositions toward certain acceptance or abhorrence of socio-environmental stimuli or social interactions. These predispositions are the result of an interaction between conscious and unconscious cognitive systems described by Greene (2010). The findings will demonstrate the application of emergent themes derived from the interrogation of a vast amount of literature that interrogates each actor's biographical elements, speeches to respective governments, published transcripts, autobiographies and materials describing the Camp David Accords focusing on the interactions of and between the three primary percipients, Carter, Sadat and Begin. These data will be examined within the frame of Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014) using the tools of content analysis (Saldana, 2012). Those themes will then be placed within the context of broader categories illustrated by Moral Foundations Theory (Haidt, 2012) and demonstrate how these can lead to predictable conscious and unconscious behaviors such as bias or actor preference.

This chapter seeks to accomplish two goals. First, it serves to operationalize the cognitive theories that serve as the foundation for the primary research question; do humans possess predispositional behaviors, either evolved or ascribed, that influence decision-making within the context of conflict resolution and how these are manifest through symbolically valued social interactions. Second, it lays a foundation of understanding for the next chapter that focuses on how observers interpreted the

interactions between and among the principle actors, and thus how the findings of this research might be applied to other conflict arenas.

### **Phase One: Review of Material and identification of Major Thematic Content**

The purpose of the first phase of discovery was the identification of major categories and themes that would guide the interrogation of data from other sources and as well the revisiting of earlier readings. Earlier, in recalling the research into Moral Foundations Theory of Haidt, et al (2008), it became apparent to me, perhaps the first abductive moment, that those foundations served well as major categories into which emergent themes might be grouped. Each had a purpose that could be easily translated into behavioral manifestations that could lead to the identification of predispositions based upon the socio-cultural histories of the percipients, much in line with the earlier work of Piaget and Kohlberg, but at a more functional level accounting for increasingly complex environmental inputs. Below is a review of those categories, their purpose as described in evolutionary anthropological and cognitive texts, the associated use-value for the category relative to human performance and the behavioral manifestations that can be directly observed. Keep in mind that these findings are rooted in and supported by clinical data and neuroscientific research.



Table 3

*Major Categories and Behavioral Dispositions*

<b>Category</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Use-Value</b>	<b>Predisposition</b>
Harm/Care	Attachment Nurturance	Kindness Gentleness	Empathy
Fairness/Cheating Altruism	Reciprocity Equality	Proportionality	Justice Human Rights
Loyalty/Betrayal Self-Sacrifice	Patriotism Coalitions	One for All Out-Group Identity	In-Group Identity
Authority/ Subversion	Leadership Followership	Legitimate- Authority Recognition	Respect Traditions Cultural legitimacy
Sanctity/ Degradation	Disgust Contamination	Immorality Sacred/Profane	Demonization Elimination

Briefly, each ‘category’ represents an innate motivation subsequent to the unfolding of a genetic program derived through human evolution similar in concept to Chomsky’s ‘universal grammar’ (1974). They are significant sociologically as they provide a basis of comparison, a kind of Weberian ‘ideal type’ for an unconscious response to situations of survival by the individual and/or the social group. It serves as an evolutionary library of best-responses and serves as the unconscious factor in cognitive behavior. The categories operationalize humans’ fight or flight metaphor in eliminating the need for linear cognition that may situationally preclude ‘thinking about something’ such as a previously unidentified predator and its necessary avoidance or engagement.

The ‘purpose’ of each innate moral foundation category (read “acceptable” or “unacceptable” behavior) is the operational descriptor of its utility and provides insight to its origin. For example, the Foundation ‘harm/care’ arose from the necessity of a mother

to care for her child. Originally focused on her own offspring, this developed into a person's consideration for other children and eventually other humans in general particularly those of the individual's resident to the social group.

The concept of 'use-value' is apart from the traditional representation in Marxian economics. It represents the value or level of importance assigned to both material and non-material environmental elements and could be regarded as a cognitive hierarchy, specifically the symbols that represent those elements serving as sensory stimuli and how they might play into the econometric behaviors of the percipient. This accepts and exemplifies the frame of symbolic interactionism that serves as the basis for Constructivist Grounded Theory. We only need to compare the moral dissonance between the concepts of good and evil to gain a basic understanding of use-value. As well, it serves as a Durkhiemian 'social fact' in its externality to the percipient, its compelling social action and of most importance, its plasticity under the influence of other and evolving symbolic use-values. Marcus (2004) often used the metaphor of social interaction serving as the editor of the second edition of humans' moral first edition. Clearly, it serves as the keystone to our motivations in and between social actors.

Predisposition simply describes the outward manifestation of each innate moral capacity and the result of dual-cognition. These are behaviors seen in social interactions and have been extensively evaluated by Graham, et al (2011) Greene (2010) and Churchland (2011) and subsequently linked to earlier research that defined each category of moral competency described by Mikhail (2011).

So, for example, the category harm/care is the evolutionary result of a mother caring for her child and the necessary attachment and nurturance to that child. This is

valued as kindness by observers and lends itself to one's ability to empathize, etc. These then translate as perceptible demonstrations in action and in words (language) as symbolic interactions and are parts of the decision-making calculus of both sender and receiver, i.e., speaker and listener within the context of social contact. Figure three demonstrates this interplay of categories within the cognitive machinery.

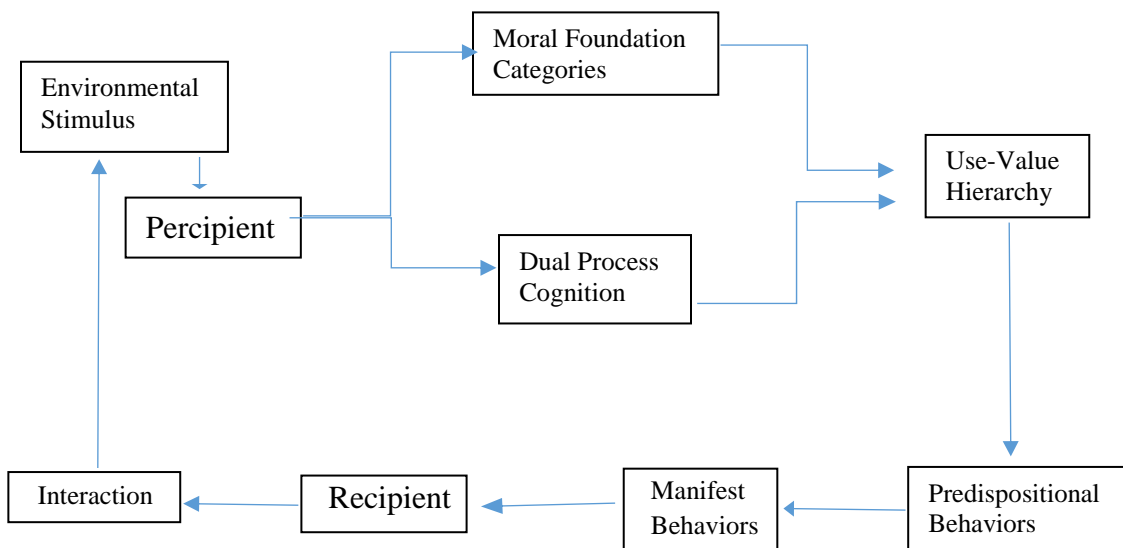


Figure 4. Decision-making matrices

What figure three allows us to do is visualize how environmental stimuli impact the behaviors of the percipient based upon the category's impact on the use-value of the inputs, i.e. stimulus. Again, these use-value hierarchies are the result of the editing function of recent and earlier socio-cultural, vis., continuing environmental, inputs. It illustrates a multi-faceted decision calculus that results in behaviors that directly impact social interaction. In this regard, each emergent theme can be placed within the "Environmental Stimulus" box and weighed against the moral foundational "categories" that have been defined through earlier inputs as described to be predictive of subsequent

social interactions. Placed within the context of any kind of conflict involving mediators and disputants, a clearer picture of success probabilities become apparent.

A first review of the preliminary readings pointed immediately to the varied styles of language used by the percipients in their biographical materials (Carter, 1982; 2001; Sadat, 1978; Perlmutter, 1987) as well as the perceptions of outside observers. A reader would get an almost visceral feeling of kindness toward Carter as he describes his childhood, the feelings he had for his parents and friends and finally for his 'dear' friend, Anwar Sadat. Truly, Carter's words played to a definite pathos, as did Sadat's in describing those same environmental influences.

On Carter's first meeting of Sadat, he said, "There was an easy and a 'natural' friendship between us. We trusted each other. We began to learn about each other's families, early life, home towns, private plans and ambitions," (Carter, 1982. P. 284). "I feel protective of Sadat. President Sadat would need all the protection we could offer," (Carter, 1977. P. 300). Sadat said of Carter, "My brother Jimmy, I will do whatever you think is best." (Sadat, 1987. P. 438).

Reading descriptions of Begin, and watching his numerous speeches that were presented in the United States, the Egyptian Parliament and his own Israeli Knesset, a similar visceral reaction wells up in the reader. But instead of a feeling of kindness and empathy, this reader felt more anger, rage and divisiveness characteristic of an emotionally volatile aggressor. While I recognize this may be a reflection of my own constructed bias, it appears to be supported by outside observers as well as the other two percipients in this study. Carter's first exposure to Begin was his viewing the Prime Minister's interview on the news show, 'Issues and Answers.' His first reaction to

listening to and watching the level of vitriol pouring from Begin he described as “Frightening,” (Carter, 1977. P. 238). He would later maintain this theme of abhorrence and distrust during the Camp David meeting describing Begin in terms of being untruthful, an “obstacle to peace,” and being unconcerned with the human rights of Palestinians. Carter, after being informed of the construction of additional Israeli settlements during and contrary to the Camp David proceedings said, “This behavior was not only irritating, but seriously endangered the prospects for peace.....and Sadat’s reputation,” (Carter, 1977. P. 240). This serves as not only an acquired attitude towards Begin following earlier more positive encounters he had had, influenced by an earlier trip to Israel hosted by Prime Minister Meir (Carter, 1977), but the establishment of an in-group identity with Sadat, counter-posed to Begin and his team. This reading did reinforce the assertion that language serves as a very good indicator of the predispositions outlined.

Upon reading the first set of materials, several strong and descriptive themes began to emerge. Later on in the study, they were validated in phase four, outside observers’ descriptions. Below is a description of each theme expressed by each percipient.

Figure four demonstrates the path of cognition inherent to manifest behaviors of bias and stakeholder association. Carter and Sadat ‘disliked’ Begin in part due to his aggression shown in his use of language and the use-values associated with his semantic structures. We have already pointed to the fact that low context language like English and Arabic stand in stark contrast to the high context Modern Hebrew and have been shown to elicit different responses in the human brain, i.e., strategic and communicative, which

was demonstrated through fMRI studies to be non-emotionally based and emotionally based respectively.

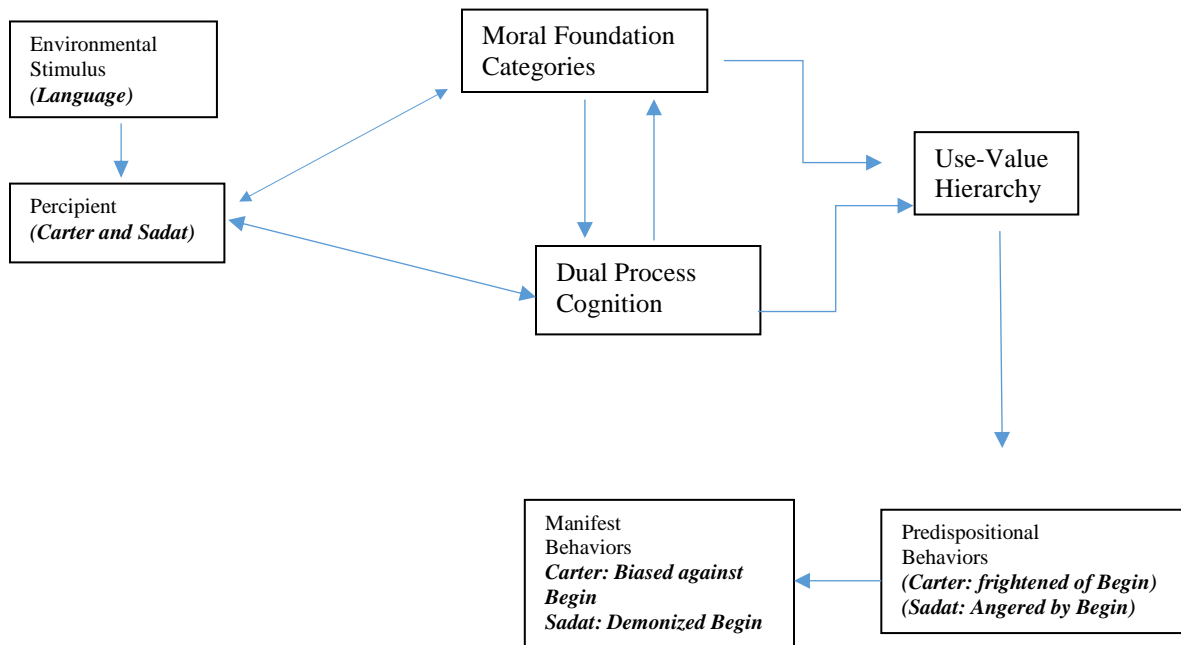


Figure 5. Cognitive path to behavior

### Identification of Emergent Themes

Figure five provides a summary of the emergent themes discovered during this phase of the study that can be linked directly to the individual and binding moral capacities described above. It became clear through the readings that there were distinct similarities between Carter and Sadat in how they valued basic moral elements of human interaction; human rights, truth, and trust. What appeared to be a metaphor for loyalty and as well a primary point of mediation between all the parties was the individuals' regard for the land, i.e., are you loyal to the land as an ascribed caretaker by God and hence loyal to God, or is the land seen more as an element of possession and tangibility, something more linked to the secular world?

Table 4

*Emergent Themes*

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Sadat</u>	<u>Begin</u>
Human Rights	Universal	Universal	Jew Specific
Truth Telling	Ideological	Ideological	Pragmatic Use
Trust	Primary	Primary	Mediation Tool
Land	Caretaker	Caretaker	Ownership

While figure five is more illustrative of the core use-values of Sadat and Carter whose two most character shaping edits are to be found in the foundations of harm and care, fairness and cheating, a case can also be made for their ideological foundation of truth, found within the frame of the binding capacities of loyalty and betrayal. BY contrast, Figure six demonstrates not only the political position of Begin when entering in to the Camp David Accords, but also reflects the dissonance between Begin and his two counterparts relative to the underlying moral foundations.

What came to be known as ‘the six no’s’ shows Begin’s disregard for human rights of the Palestinians (and of the Egyptians living in the Sinai), and his deep conviction toward possession of land in pursuit of his goal of establishing Eretz Israel as opposed to its nurturance. The notion of the land being a responsibility given to humanity to care for, i.e., remaining in the possession of God as believed by Sadat and Carter, and the religious ‘right to the land as designated by God,’ as possessed by man posited by Begin serves as a clarifying element of perceptual dissonance. Later, the reader will note that a significant identification with betrayal by Sadat and Carter on Begin’s part, is seen

in the establishment of new settlements during the Camp David talks inside the Sinai. While figure six speaks to the non-stoppage of new settlements, he had agreed to in fact cease the establishment of any new settlements, subsequently continuing their establishment impacting his counterparts' foundation of truth and trust, Re., loyalty and betrayal.

Table 5

*Begin's Six No's*

NO withdrawal from the West bank (politically or militarily)
NO stopping new settlements or expansion of existing ones
NO withdrawal of Israelis from the Sinai
NO recognition of UN 242 of borders or west Bank
NO self-governance for Palestinians (fear of them taking over Israel)
NO voice of Palestinians in their own future

After identifying these major themes, it was noted that Carter and Sadat, whose semantic style was notably similar, were more universal and over-arching in the application of their descriptive categories and concomitant themes such as the non-tangible feelings about the land or the application of human rights. Begin's application of those categories was very specific and limiting to his Jewish people. He again made explicit that an "us versus them" or a "Jew versus Goyim" mentality was at work when he spoke to the legitimization of terrorist acts or earlier massacres of non-Jews by the Israeli military and his earlier activities with Irgun in a tone that almost reflected a transference of vengeance that is often played out in the literature on victimology. He exemplifies this during a speech to the Knesset in 1977 when he says, "Goyim kill Goyim



and the Jews are blamed, “and “Poles did not like Jews and they were worse than Germans,” (Perlmutter, 1987. P. 276). Clearly this reveals distinct boundary between Jews and everyone else while at the same time positioning Jews as victims within the frame of global politics. The concept of individualizing foundations described by Haidt and Graham (2007) for Carter and Sadat and the binding foundations for Begin quickly became evident.

During this first read of the data, it became evident that the cognitive development of Carter and Sadat, while culturally different, were thematically similar. It was also curious that the language used to describe a common element in their cognitive environment, for example the land, might be considered softer, or in Szalay’s vernacular, emollient, as opposed to the language seen in Begin’s quotes that reflected a colder, strategically based morphology. These respective linguistic styles are seen throughout each actor’s narration, from their early years to descriptions of the Camp David process and the actors playing within it.

**SADAT.** ...”Men and boys taking their (collective) cattle and our beasts of burden to the fields.

When farmers went out to work in a land of unlimited richness extending as it seemed into infinity. I belonged to something vaster and more significant...**THE LAND.** I recognized an invisible bond of love and friendship with everything around me.” (Sadat, 1978. P. 5)

**CARTER.** “It is good to realize that if love and peace can prevail on earth, and if we can teach our children to honor nature's gifts, the joys and beauties of the outdoors will be here forever,” (Carter, 1980).

**BEGIN.** The Partition of Palestine is illegal. It will never be recognized....

Jerusalem was and will forever be our capital. Eretz Israel will be restored to the people of Israel. All of it. And forever,” and “...Israel will not transfer Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District to any foreign sovereign authority, [because] of the historic right of our nation to this land...” (Shlaim, 2014, p. 181).

A clear feeling of a broader human acceptance was demonstrated in the former two subjects where a definite exclusionary tone was seen in the latter, all centering around the use-value hierarchy of symbols or perhaps more aptly put what we both innately and consciously regard as more important, that shaped the perceptions of each keeping in mind we interact not with material elements, but more the symbols that represent them.

**CARTER.** “We become not a melting pot but a beautiful mosaic. Different people, different beliefs, different yearnings, different hopes, different dreams,” (Carter, 2001, p. 356).

**SADAT.** If human values were relative, all laws-whether those based on revealed religions or those devised by man-would become meaningless,” (Sadat, 1978. P. 175)

**BEGIN.** “You Israeli you should never become lenient if you would kill your enemies. You shall have no pity on them until you shall have destroyed all their so-called Arab culture, on the ruins of which we shall build our own civilization,” (Begin speech at Mt. Herzl for Ze’ev Jabotinsky 100<sup>th</sup> birthday, 1980).

So our perception of a person is accurately associated with what they represent to us as opposed to who they really are. For example, a student does not interact with a

professor as the human individual but with the definitions and considerations given to the symbolic representation of “professor,” that person that controls my grade with other concomitant perceived role expectations. With this in mind, one could not help to already wonder how it would be possible for Carter ad Sadat to ever accept Begin as the differences in moral themes and linguistic morphology stood so far apart.

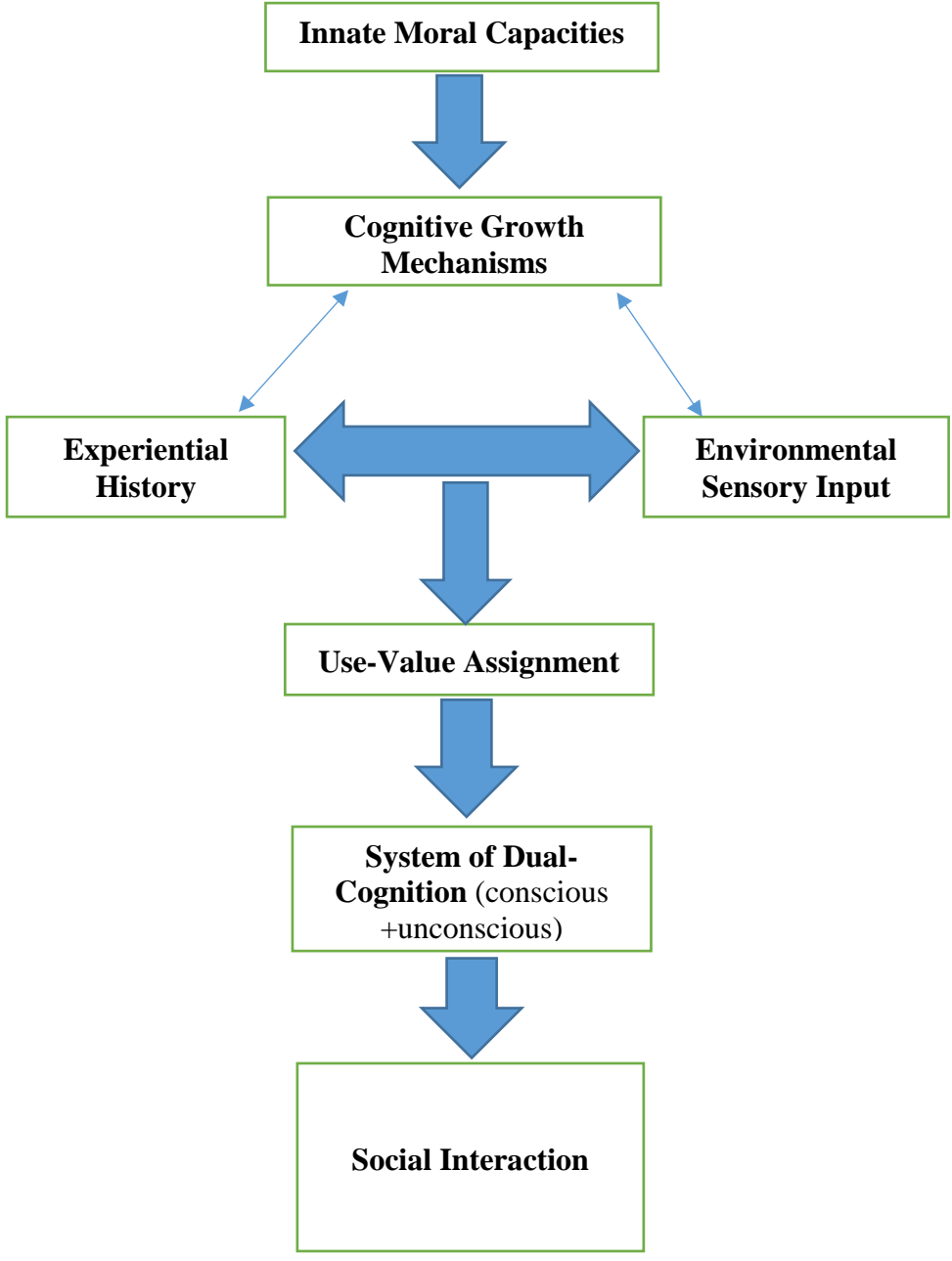


Figure. 6. The Mechanism of Use-Value Assignment and Social Interaction

It must be reiterated here that the structure of language within the context of sender and receiver, according to the literature on cognitive development and the descriptions demonstrated by Chomsky (1970) and Habermas (1984), can serve as a behavioral trigger eliciting the manifestation of certain emotional processes such as fight or flight, happiness and sadness or acceptance and abhorrence. We must recall the work showing the activation of emotional centers associated with the speech patterns of Carter and Sadat as communicative as opposed to the non-emotional strategic rationality of Begin and they might therefore impact their interactions.

The difference in morphology caused me to reexamine linguistic texts and materials that contrasted Arabic, English and Modern Hebrew. Again, in terms of semiotics and sematic structures, there appeared to be a coalition of sorts between English and Arabic (where English had indeed retained some Arabic morphology in its development) where Modern Hebrew, despite its more recent emergence onto the linguistic stage, had a probative core or a more rigid semantic. Similar to Arabic however, Modern Hebrew had to borrow its invectives from the Greeks and early Roman (Latin) roots. It will be interesting to discover if these two preliminary group impressions hold throughout each phase of the study findings.

### **Phase Two: Themes Describing Subjects' Self-Descriptions**

Phase two focuses on the early environmental inputs to Sadat, Carter and Begin from primary socializers that serve to edit the use-value machinery we have referred to as moral foundations (Haidt and Graham, 2007). A reexamination of figure three above makes this clearer. Each foundation allows the percipient a basis in which to compare use-values through the experiential construction of a symbolic hierarchy of importance

associated with recognized emotional patterns external to the actor; referred to by Durkheim as a social fact. We can assert that the presence of a comparative standard innate to the actor and the unconscious comparative mechanism inherent to its utilization is far from simply a social “fact.”

Somehow, the label tends to diminish the complexity of the process. It has been established that the interactions of the actor with these stimuli that are incorporated into a dual process cognition calculus of conscious and unconscious processes, impact any outward interactions, motivations, or perceptions of the percipient. Each major theme will be presented separately for each actor with a comparative summary. For the sake of clarity, the findings of earlier researchers in cognitive and developmental psychology that describe each foundation will be presented as a descriptor more than as a theme although it does more than suggest thematic contexts. This will make it easier for the reader to associate emergent data collected from descriptive materials to compare emergent themes to those major cognitive categories.

### **Theme One: Harm/Care**

Figure Three provides a description of the first major category and serves as a reference in the identification of predispositions of conflict stakeholders. Note, this serves only as a contextual reference that should guide the reader in understanding the frame in which socio-cultural inputs shape the percipients’ environmental perceptions.

Table 6

*Theme One*

<b>Category</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Use Value</b>	<b>Predisposition</b>
Harm/Care	Attachment Nurturance	Kindness Gentleness	Empathy

**Sadat.** Anwar al-Sadat's primary socializing agent was his Grandmother. The moral use-values that she instilled were accomplished through storytelling, which also, in accordance with the Arab culture, established the linguistic structures and patterns that define the diglossic Arab language and subsequently the semantic tone of Sadat's communicative style. That same style will be shown to be present later in Jimmy Carter and contrasted by the direct and strategic style seen in Menachem Begin. The major theme that emerged from the Sadat autobiographical and related readings focused upon the care of 'his' people and the visceral attachment to the Egyptian land as the primary element of what defined the Egyptian people and their culture:

...”the echoes of a saying of my grandmothers became almost audible: ‘Nothing is as significant as your being a child of this land. Land is immortal, for it harbors the mysteries of creation.’ (Sadat, 1978, p.3)

*Individual and group Identity:* Sadat believed that the identity of the people was viscerally linked to their association with the village and the land, a foundational element instilled and supported by his grandmother's storytelling. Sadat pointed regularly to:

“...the fact that wherever I go, wherever I happen to be, I shall always know where I really am. I can never lose my way because I know that I have living

roots there, deep down in the soil of my village, in that land out of which I grew, like the trees and the plants.” (Sadat, 1978, p.6).

Sadat’s prose painted a picture of the land as a living thing to be cared for and respected as it is a reflection of God on earth. To that end, the land was anthropomorphized deserving all the protection, care and nurturing given to another human being, at times deserving of even more should a choice need to be made. An association with the land is what defined an individual Egyptian’s identity to him or herself and to the primary group of association. Ironically, this observation sets the stage for a later controversy with Jewish settlers, as they were seen as displacing the original residents who were working the land, doing God’s work, and using it to its maximum productivity; in essence showing an unacceptable level of perhaps agricultural usury, more important to the theme of fairness and cheating, or even loyalty (to God’s land) and betrayal (to God’s directive).

Incorporated into that identity was an empathy toward their own people who resided in the village and by extension the Egyptian geography. It was a high-context group of mechanical solidarity. While care was shown for others, a stronger associative bond was demonstrated among and between Sadat’s villagers; the village later serving as a metaphor for all Egyptians.

“Life in the village was a succession of pleasant discoveries.” (Sadat, 1978. P. 5)

As a self-described ‘father of his people,’ Sadat showed a great empathy and kindness for his villagers from the time he was a small boy aspiring to be the village ‘headman,’ in the footsteps of his father, with whom he shared a visceral linguistic and

cultural affinity. When he spoke of his father, Sadat exuded pride, respect and the primers of future leadership.

“...my village called my father “Effendi” and his sons, everybody knew that it was my father and his family who are meant.” (Sadat, 1978. P. 15)

The group as a whole was described by Sadat as demonstrating clear definitions of privilege to members along the same lines as in-group/out-group preferences (Bayart, 2005; Brewer, 2007; Druckman, 1973; Forbes & Grafman, 2010), but at the same time tolerance of others who behaved within accepted normative systems as we have shown earlier to include linguistic styles of communicative and strategic constructs. In Sadat’s case this is a holy mandate spelled out in the Holy Quran:

“God does not forbid you from being good to those who have not fought you in the religion or driven you from your homes, or from being just towards them. God loves those who are just.” (Surat al-Mumtahana, 8)

“Beware! Whoever is cruel and hard on a non-Muslim minority, or curtails their rights, or burdens them with more than they can bear, or takes anything from them against their free will; I (Prophet Muhammad) will complain against the person on the Day of Judgment.” (*Abu Dawud*)

Each member was treated as a family member with the village serving as the metaphorically maternal link between them all. Throughout the readings the repeated themes of love, empathy and compassion were expressed by Sadat through his use of storytelling either directly or by metaphor as is the style found in the majority of Arabic poetry to include the Holy Quran (Fellman, 1975). The only antithesis to this harmony was seen in Sadat’s description of the British occupiers prior to and during the mandate



of post WWI. In accordance with group theory, the semiotic use of the word “red-faced, bulgy-eyed alien” (Sadat, 1978, p.10) with reference to a specific British officer is an apt summary of out-group perceptions inculcated first by his Grandmother’s stories which edited young Sadat’s cognitive processes and later through conscious observation and experience. “Even before I saw the British I had learned to hate them. They were aggressors that whipped and killed our people,” (Sadat, 1978, p.7).

**Carter.** Jimmy Carter’s early primary socializers include his father, Earl, by observation his mother Lillian, and the wife of his father’s black farm worker, Rachael Clark. His 8<sup>th</sup> grade teacher, Julia Coleman, while a later socializing force served to reinforce the earlier cognitive editing of his parents and black caretakers. Carter’s father used lesson-based tasks so that his son could see the value of discipline, hard work and dedication to anything he pursued. “My father was very firm but an understanding director of my life and habits. My father was my best friend,” (Carter, 1982, p. 26).

Earl and Lillian often stood as an observational example for their son by demonstrating the importance of philanthropy and volunteerism in their empathy and care for an impoverished local black population of farm workers in the ultra-segregationist post-depression era pre-WWII South (Carter, 1982; Quandt, 1986a).

Carter’s socio-cultural immersion in a community where its principle residents, black Americans, were severely discriminated against in the ultra-segregationist south establishes the foundational editing of Carter’s first major theme of harm/care in this first phase of analyses. Here it is important to note that had Carter’s father not through deed demonstrated his commitment to volunteerism and philanthropy to the black population and his mother’s defiance of southern white culture by providing free healthcare to the

black population (Carter, 1982), his perception of equal rights and demonstrated empathy toward minority populations experiencing many levels of discrimination might not have manifested itself; not only in self-described interactions, but later in presidential policy initiatives and subsequently during the mediation under study (Quandt, 1986a). Of his mother Carter perceived a woman who, independent for her time, was unafraid of controversy, running dissonant to segregationist southern values. She told her young son Jimmy, “I like controversial people and my father did too,” (Carter, 1982, p. 26).

*Individual and Group Identity:* Similar to Anwar Sadat, Jimmy Carter had a palpable connection to the land and to all those who revered it. Aside from serving as the family’s primary source of income, the importance of it was instilled by his father, and Rachael Clark his black caretaker.

“Rachael taught him (Jimmy) man’s responsibility to nurture the land. She also taught him how to fish, taking him on long treks to special fishing holes. Her husband taught him how to hunt...” (Quandt, 1986, p. 30).

These teachings became a large element of Carter’s continued and growing concern for the land as evidenced by his comments during the signing ceremony of the Alaska Land Conservation Act of 1980, preserving 56 million acres of “nature’s beauty.”

“We cannot let our eagerness for progress in energy and in technology outstrip our care for our land, for our water and for air, and for the plants and animals that share all of these precious vital resources with us. Every time we dig out minerals or drill wells, every time we ignore erosion or destroy a sand dune or dam a wild river or dump garbage or create pollution, we’re changing the living Earth,” (Carter, 1980).

The land was something to be cared for, respected and as well one of God's greatest gifts according to these two primary socializers. Humankind was considered merely an indentured caretaker of the land which was anthropomorphized as by Sadat. In each of Carter's self-descriptions of where he set his moral compass, he often referred to his hard work in the field on his father's land. He asserted that this discipline and care made him the man he had become. It was also the medium for his perception of his own and subsequently his group identity. To this end, Carter did not consider himself as a 'white' man in the ultra-segregationist south, but more as a child of God a generic reference for universal membership in the family of man, deserving of care and nurturance.

Carter's favorite book as a child was James Agee's "Let us Now Praise Famous Men." It was a description of the suffering during the depression era of both Black and White men. Quandt (1986a) describes the work as showing the "unity of suffering between blacks and whites. Carter said, "the book showed the beauty and dignity of the poor that transcended their circumstances. They were richer in spiritual gratification," (Quandt, 1986a, p. 35). Clearly, Carter associates with those who work hard, and nurture the earth, and constructs a moral boundary between others who do not.

Another significant factor in Carter's cognitive editing that shaped his future consideration of Human Rights, a hallmark of his future administration, were the acts of his primary socializers such as his parents' philanthropy and volunteerism toward a minority population. However, the majority of Carter's youth was surrounded by black friends and both regular and occasional black caretakers. He comments repeatedly on the his best friend "Knock" and how they were inseparable until their first day of school as

Knock was not permitted to receive the same education in the same school as his friend Jimmy. Carter witnessed the abuses of power inherent to segregation and showed remorse for the actions of his contemporaries.

“Not so many white playmates lived near the Carter farm, so Jimmy played mostly with black boys, some of whose parents were tenants or sharecroppers on Earl Carter's farm. His favorite playmate was A.D. Davis (“Knock”). As soon as they could convince the black foreman, Uncle Jack Clark, that they had done enough work, Jimmy and A.D. would take off, both barefooted, usually with Jimmy's bulldog Bozo....” (Haley, 1977).

“One day they went to Americus, where Jimmy insisted they see the movie at the Rylander Theater and that A.D. sit with him downstairs in the white-only section. But as a muttering arose, A.D. slipped upstairs to the "crow's nest" followed by Jimmy demanding that he come back downstairs. But A.D. wouldn't and they both left, highly indignant. They found themselves sometimes involved now in embarrassed, confused conversations about race. "Don't know as I'm ever going to start calling you 'Mr. Jimmy,' " said A.D., and Jimmy replied, "I wouldn't blame you—I wouldn't either," (Bourne, 1997, p. 359).

Much of his angst was balanced by his parents' philanthropy and care giving to the resident black population of Plains and the surrounding counties. He reflects on the right of the minorities to healthcare, education and economic security, He worked in the fields alongside the black workers that were the field-hands of his father (Carter, 2015; Quandt, 1986a). Earl Carter thought it important that his son understand the meaning of equality in work. In his narrative, it is clear that Carter developed an affinity, a certain

egalitarianism for his coworkers and their families expressing anger for their rights abuses and a motivation to assure those rights bringing the moral foundation of harm and care into clear focus.

His moving back to Plains, living in to low income housing after abandoning a promising career in the US Navy, demonstrates a certain identification with those with whom he had been raised and felt most comfortable with as opposed to moving into the wealthier part of town that was expected of him. His empathy toward the black population with regards to their human rights served as a guidepost for the development of future policy and directives. It also lends a plane of perspective in terms of his relationship to Sadat who was considered a 'dark skinned' Egyptian, relevant to the concept of emotion-based pattern recognition explained by Churchland (2011). The argument for emotion based pattern recognition is supported here in Carter's identification with the neglected and empathy toward human rights as applies to the Camp David actors and events.

The language used by Carter is a reflection of not only a more generalized southern lexicon and semantic, but also indicative of a more emollient style of southern blacks. It was essential that he be able to communicate and sought to function among his coworkers without the stigma of being the white boss. This was a communicative as opposed to a strategic style and employed the emotional centers of the brain, indicative of this first thematic foundation (Wilson, 2015).

A clear indicator of a socio-cultural influence on Carter's semantic structure was seen in his own description of how he was timid to speak in groups and in any verbal conflict, lowered his head and remained silent. This was typical of his communication

style until he reached eighth grade where his teacher Julia Coleman, assigned Carter to the debate team, teaching him to be strong in any verbal defense and state his positions clearly and succinctly a clear evolution of style, but a strong indicator of identity and the first thematic foundation (Carter, 2010).

**Begin.** Menachem Begin, Israel's sixth Prime Minister, in subsequent phases of this study, has been perceived by observers, both Jewish and Non-Jewish, as terroristic, cold, calculative, radical and aggressively cruel toward Non-Jews (Perlmutter, 1987). Jews regarded by him as unsupportive of revisionist Zionism and Eretz Israel. These observations were rendered prior to, during and subsequent to the Camp David Accords in 1978 that serves as frame of conflict for this study. The language that he uses in his speeches and his personal correspondence lack the soft emollience and emotion seen in Sadat and Carter's communications.

*Begin:* "The deterrent power, or in Jabotinsky's language, the 'iron wall' was intended to convince the Arabs that they would not be able to get rid of the sovereign Jewish presence in the Land of Israeli, even if they would not bring themselves to recognize the justice of the Jewish people's claim to the homeland." (Shlaim, 2014, p. 354)

*Sadat:* "Let there be no more war or bloodshed between Arabs and Israelis. Let there be no more suffering or denial of rights. Let there be no more despair or loss of faith." (Sadat, 1977).

*Carter:* "In order for us human beings to commit ourselves personally to the inhumanity of war, we find it necessary first to dehumanize our opponents, which is in itself a violation of the beliefs of all religions. Once we characterize our

adversaries as beyond the scope of God's mercy and grace, their lives lose all value. We deny personal responsibility when we plant landmines and, days or years later, a stranger to us — often a child — is crippled or killed. From a great distance, we launch bombs or missiles with almost total impunity, and never want to know the number or identity of the victims.” (Jimmy Carter. Nobel Lecture, 2002)

Begin's is of a more strategic rational semantic structure indicative of Modern Hebrew, but more important upon closer interrogation displays the character of a victim seeking vengeance. While we have earlier demonstrated the cognitive editing environment in which the young Begin reached adolescence, a transient journey from Poland to Russia pre-WWI and back to Poland following the war where he and his family experienced a growing anti-Semitism, it is important to understand the human editors of his use-value library that is demonstrated throughout his political tenure.

Begin's mother is rarely mentioned in any of his memoirs save that she was revered by her son as loving of him and obedient to his father Dov. It is one of the rare occasions that Begin softens his tone. She was from a family of scholars, focusing on oratory and the Talmudic tradition. His father was more radical in nature, opposing the Jewish movements of assimilation and resident self-rule and favoring the return of all Jews to Eretz Israel in the Palestine (Perlmutter, 1987; Doran, e al, 2015).

Young Begin observed his father's radicalism not simply by word inside the home, but in actions such as when Dov Begin crashed in the doors of the synagogue so all could attend the memorial service for Theodor Herzl, the father of Zionism. Begin's father also inculcated revisionist ideology into his by directing the youth groups he would

be a member of. His first experience with an exclusively Jewish youth group was with the more moderate Hashomer Hatzair. Soon, not seeing the exclusive revisionist ideology he wished for his son to adopt, Dov moved the young Begin to a more radical revisionist group called Betar, headed by his second primary socializer, Vladimir Jabotinsky.

Jabotinsky was a radical revisionist that promoted the exclusivity of Jews in Palestine and an independent Jewish State. He was a trained orator, as was Begin's father thus lending to the young revisionist's great command of Modern Hebrew in all of its low-context culture influenced nuances. Jabotinsky was an ideology and in effect a segregationist when it came to Jews mixing with non-Jews in the new Israel. His tenor matched those of the Southern whites in Carter's American South with whom he had issues concerning equality and human rights and flew in direct opposition to Sadat's culture of acceptance. He spoke of the land of the Goyim in which Jews were disregarded as humans living in diaspora countries more like ghosts but constantly threatened with ridicule and suspicion by those non-Jews so prevalent in Begin's earlier and later addresses. In a speech commemorating Jabotinski and his 'Iron Wall,' Begin said, "Goyim kill Goyim, and the jews are blamed," (Shlaim, 2014, p. 356).

It was here that the young Begin began to develop the identity of a victim, one that was superior to their oppressors throughout history as reflected in the Jewish awakening in Poland, the Haskalah. These feelings of victimhood, exclusivity and vengeance were solidified by the British Mandate that prevented Jewish immigration to Palestine to escape Jewish oppression in Europe, the Holocaust and post-WWII actions of both United States and the mandate prior to 1948. All of these use-value editors are



demonstrated throughout Begin's adult political and public sector lives in references such as these:

“In the name of Jerusalem. If I forget the extermination of the Jews, may my right hand wither, may my tongue stick to my palate if I cease to think of you, if I do not keep the extermination of the Jews in memory even at my happiest hour,” (Shlaim, 2014, p. 358)

“We were granted the right to exist by the God of our fathers at the glimmer of the dawn of human civilization nearly 4,000 years ago. For that right, which has been sanctified in Jewish blood from generation to generation, we have paid a price unexampled in the annals of the nations,” (Begin, 1948).

*Individual and Group Identity:* It is important to understand that Begin does in fact identify himself as a Jew and as one entitled by Biblical contract to an independent State of Israel. What is more important, relative to this first major theme of “harm/care,” is to understand what identifies him as a member of such a calculatedly exclusive group. If a subtheme to group and self-identity were to be listed, the most prominent one for Begin and his colleagues would be victims and those that recognize the gravity of that victimology, because it is here that the exclusivity for harm and care is limited to that specific collection of individuals. In the following quote to the Knesset in 1977, note the use of the word “we” to define his Jewish group identity.

“We were granted the right to exist by the God of our fathers at the glimmer of the dawn of human civilization nearly 4,000 years ago. For that right, which has been sanctified in Jewish blood from generation to generation, we have paid a

price unexampled in the annals of the nations,” (Begin speech to the Knesset, 1977)

Following the Jewish diaspora it has been noted that the cultural influences, to include the Hebrew language, was buried within the framework of the host or master cultures overseeing segregated Jewish populations (Amara & Spolsky, 1986; Laitin, 1977; 2001; Owens, 2001; Szalay, 1981; Wexler, 1995). Here, the Jews were under constant threat of discrimination, violence and transience. Within the context of biblical myths, the diaspora, for millennia, looked forward to returning to a Jewish State; something unsupported by international law or by strict adherence to biblical dogma. So, the two main themes emerging from the diaspora experience were victimhood and a continued existential threat from anyone outside of his identified group. This was later expanded to include those not supporting his revisionist ideology. These two criteria were the keys to revisionist Zionist identity and shaped the sentiments of exclusionism of all non-Jews and violent acts of perceived and justified vengeance or land grabbing from the Arabs.

While the identity of self and group revolved around the historic oppression of the diaspora, it was a group without an attachment to the land as was held by Carter and Sadat. The diaspora were under the umbrella of being either unwelcomed or tolerated guests of a host country, such as Begin being resident to Poland. Begin did not possess the visceral attachment or respect for the land that Carter and Sadat possessed. The land was not simply a gift that God placed in his care, but something to be acquired by right and violent contest as one might acquire a new tractor or other tangible prize considered worth fighting for not as a trust, but as an entitlement. Clearly, the perception of land

between Carter and Sadat was almost identical from the time of their earliest memory, where for Begin a diametrically opposed and tangible perception was instilled and vigorously pursued.

However, his identity revolved around intangible descriptions of a “house where I learned Hebrew,” (Perlmutter, 1987, p.34) that could at any time move to another location or be discontinued by Polish authorities. Another house that he hated, was described as permanent fixture, a “big terrible house at the end of the street where we learned the foreigner’s language,” (sic) Polish (Perlmutter, 1987, p. 34). Here a reference to the more contemporary vernacular of, “us versus them” begins to emerge, the masked articulation of group identity.

If a Jew followed the notion of radical revisionism coupled with the role of victim, Begin and his contemporaries considered them a member of that group worthy of protection and care. However, if one subscribed to the more conservative ideology of assimilationist or autonomist Begin and his followers would exclude them as anathema the Zionist cause. If an individual were a non-Jew, particularly a Palestinian Arab, you were demonized, considered an inhuman obstacle to the glory of Eretz Israel and not entitled to human rights.

"We cannot give any compensation for Palestine, neither to the Palestinians nor to other Arabs. Therefore, a voluntary agreement is inconceivable. All colonization, even the most restricted, must continue in defiance of the will of the native population. Therefore, it can continue and develop only under the shield of force which comprises an Iron Wall which the local population can never break

through. This is our Arab policy. To formulate it any other way would be hypocrisy." (Jabotinsky, 2011, p. 153).

These behaviors, included in both the unconscious and conscious calculus of decision-making is seen throughout Begin's Camp David dissertations, something not seen in the more egalitarian presidents Carter and Sadat, evidenced by his iteration of the 'Six No's.'

### **Theme Two: Fairness/ cheating**

Table 7

#### *Theme Two Fairness/Cheating*

<b>Category</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Use-Value</b>	<b>Predisposition</b>
Fairness/Cheating	Reciprocity	Proportionality	Justice
	Altruism	Equality	Human Rights

**Sadat:** A primary sub-theme that echoes in Sadat's writings is coupled to the earlier theme of identity. However, there is an extension of the empathy held for his group that demonstrates a universal concern for everyone being treated with dignity and fairness. This is reflected in two major metaphors, one of the equal collective of village men working together for securing harvests each performing a task that is "shared" and seeking no recognition, and the other in a third party identification with a hero that Sadat says shaped his notion of dignity, equal rights, defiance against unjust authority (to be addressed in a later theme) and the subterfuge exercised by the British to cheat his people out of their just rights and resources. This hero's name was Zahran whose story was told repeatedly by his grandmother as a lesson in morality 'every night.' So essential to Sadat's Moral compass was Zahran that Sadat wished he could be Zahran and hoped that future Egyptians would sing praises to him as they had Zahran. "...he held his head high

on the way to the scaffold. He was proud that he had stood up against the aggressors and killed one of them: I wish I was Zahran!” (Sadat, 1978a, p. 5-6).

Sadat was clear in his disdain for the British occupiers as they had first cheated his people of their rights to the Nile in terms of trade and navigation since Egypt was in the midst of a crippling recession, selling its rights to the Suez canal. He considered them aliens that sought to undermine the ‘peaceful and equality based’ existence of his people. He railed at their ‘lies’ of bringing to Egypt the technological and social advances of European culture, taking lying and taking away his peoples’ right to choose for themselves the path they wished to take. He was clear in describing the betrayal of Egyptian politicians who had cooperated in the British subterfuge for their own gain. His repeated references to the historic unfairness to people in his group by outsiders reflects the observations of Brewer (2007) with regards to in-group prejudice.

Fairness, in this regard, is a measure of the equal application of rights from within and between the group members. Conversely, cheating is the abrogation of those rights and has been deeply incorporated into the Egyptian culture. The adjectives used in Sadat’s writing demonstrates this clearly, respect, equality, rights, peaceful, moral practice and the phrase ‘all God’s children’ make repeated reference to this second major theme of fairness and cheating. “To damage the sovereignty of the individual is to replace a community inspired by love, benevolence, and beauty by another based solely on power,” (Sadat, 1977, p. 158).

*Heroes and Moral Patterns:* Having earlier established the criteria for who might be included in the group, in Sadat and Carter’s cases a more universal concept based in religious consideration and equality of moral investment, as opposed to Begin whose

perception was limited to who he considered worthy as defined by revisionist Zionism, it is interesting to see how a particular transference of responsibility is conveyed in Sadat's use of his espoused hero, Zahran. Remember, that the Egyptian culture in particular is steeped in emotion-based story telling as a way of documenting history and moral lessons (Amara, et al, 1986; Cahill, et al, 1995; Cleveland, 2004). This emotional tagging, demonstrated repeatedly in this study's coding patterns, has a significant importance in the development of future unconscious use-value equations and will manifest itself clearly in Sadat's behavior during the Camp David Accords.

The story of Zahran first establishes the unfairness of the British occupation, and the non-moral and horrific behavior of the British actors. Zahran is shown to heroically exact justice upon an enemy that wantonly killed one of his villagers. His trial, overseen by Egyptian judges, was described as a sham in that the judges were pawns of the British, again an unfair execution of justice and cheating the accused of his rights. However, Zahran refused to succumb to his captors holding his head high on the way to the gallows, never giving in to the will of the unfair process and letting everyone know that they were being deprived unfairly of their human rights. Clearly, Sadat's people in this third party story, are the fair and egalitarian team while the aliens were unfair cheaters. He went so far as to fantasize that future Egyptians would be singing songs of praise to him, as they had his hero Zahran."He held his head high on the way to the scaffold. He was proud that he had stood up against the aggressors and killed one of them: I wish I was Zahran!" (Sadat, 1978, p. 5-6).

Sadat also idolized Mohandas Gandhi who again, resisted the British but did so in a peaceful way. He admired Gandhi for his universal love toward his fellow humans, as

well as his refusal to engage any violence or unfairness in his dealing with the British, His was one of messianic stature, suffering for what he considered the greater good. So impressed was Sadat, that he emulated Gandhi by dressing and meditating like him and often suffering the criticism of his friends. Although not quite as intent, Sadat had a similar admiration for Napoleon Bonaparte. Again, what was attractive was Bonaparte's refusal to acknowledge the dominance of his captor's authority while imprisoned on Elba, never lowering his head toward a picture of the King, Indeed, it was said that his captors had lowered the doorway so Napoleon would have to raise his head toward the King's picture to get through. Instead, it is said he twisted his body to deny his captors' satisfaction.

It is clear that Sadat used his third party heroes as proxies to display his own moral foundation describing the use-value of fairness and cheating. It underlies a significant number of his decisions, or his reactions to those who would compromise the integrity of the Egyptian village through unfair negotiation or cheating in other ways. This obsession with equal and fair dealing can be shown through numerous studies of Arab culture, where bargaining is a part of everyday life, as long as it is fair bargaining and not in any way perceived as one party taking unfair advantage of another. This extends to people outside of the group and serves more of a universal guide to decision-making throughout his life. His focus on familial metaphors and the presumptions of equality within the family is exemplified when he says, "There can be hope only for a society which acts as one big family, not as many separate ones," (Sadat, 1978, p. 59)

For example, Sadat was a maximalist and the purveyor of grand gesture; an indicator of universal applications of moral principles. When he first went to Jerusalem to

meet Begin for the first time he went with the thought that as a leader, he was making a grand gesture for peace. He fully expected Begin to make a gesture of parity, also engaging an almost immediate cessation of hostilities and building a governing coalition of cooperation. Begin never did this. In many of Sadat's writing and again in his speeches, he comments on the unfair return of proposals on Begin's part. He also demonstrates that while he was proposing peace, Begin used that as a mechanism of diversion to 'cheat, and establish more illegal settlements in the Sinai. His writing reflects an almost disbelief that anyone could act in such a profane and immoral way, acting in direct opposition to the fair agreements offered for peace and cooperation. In a speech to the National Press Club (April 10, 1980) Sadat said, "Certainly, all peoples must be treated equally and without any discrimination. However, no people has any right to live in other people's territory without their consent and free acceptance." (Washington Post, April 11, 1980, p. 2).

Overall, this major theme of fairness and cheating is experienced by the young Sadat through all of his primary socializers, principally his Grandmother. Often, it is shown through stories, a primary emotional pattern recognition venue (Cohen, 1990; Fromkin, 1989; Koch, 1983) and his adoption of the morality of the principle character, Zahran. There were other less frequented stories told to the young president also by his grandmother, but the moral message was clear, equal treatment of God's children, a universal regard for fairness and the intense evil of cheating, particularly of his home group. Abu-Nimir (1996) has shown this to be pervasive in the Arab culture and demonstrated in various ways, but at their foundation was the imperative of telling the truth and fair reciprocity in all social interactions. It was noted, however, that there was a



slight preference to the in-group members in terms of giving the benefit of the doubt and second chances.

**Carter.** While Carter did not describe any heroes as is common in a storytelling culture, he did revere several people that reinforced his perception of the major theme of fairness and cheating. The context of both his observation and learning through interaction occurred within the frame of the segregationist south during an era of high and overt discrimination principally leveled at its black constituency. As an observer, Carter learned two things from his father. First, that resources necessary for living, in this case health care, should be available to anyone. Earl supported his wife Lillian's activities as a nurse providing care to the black families at little or no cost. When one of those families was in financial distress, Earl would make secret, third party loans through an agent so not to raise the political ire of the white authority (Quandt, 1986a). Upon his death, all of those loans were forgiven. Carter knew that providing outright assistance would not be good for his father's position in the business community, although to those who did know of Earl's philanthropy, they forgave this 'indiscretion' within the context of Christian charity.

The second thing that Carter learned through observation, and in several cases a direct receiving of abrogating the rules, was Earl's heavy investment in telling the truth. His wife Lillian testified that lying would bring the fastest execution of a beating to instill the value of truth. Everyone knew that Earl Carter 'hated a liar.' Carter often, in his dealings with midshipman while attending the U.S. Naval Academy, would be branded a Boy Scout due to his penchant for telling the truth. This is one of the primary characteristics that Admiral Rickover considered on his admission to the nuclear

engineering program later on. Truth, equality and the universal application of human rights was something that not only shaped his adolescent life, but his presidency as well (Bourne, 1997) and is demonstrated in his White House remarks commemorating the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in December of 1976. Carter said, “Human Rights is the soul of our foreign policy, because human rights is the very soul of our sense of nationhood.”

*Heroes and Moral Patterns:* It is not a long bridge to equate heroism for the future president with several people, his father Earl, his mother Lillian, his black caretaker Rachael Clark and his teacher Julia Coleman. Each contributed a specific editorial component to Carter’s use-value mechanism, i.e., forming the evolved and innate moral foundations calculus. Subsequently, these predispositions are reflected in the semantic structure and chosen semiotic structures of how Carter expressed himself as a boy and later as a leader of the free world who was obsessed by his own admission (Carter, 2001; Bourne, 1997) with fairness, equality and human rights. “What are the things that you can't see that are important? I would say justice, truth, humility, service, compassion, love...They're the guiding lights of a life.” (PBS Interview, 10/11/2002).

These are still seen in his renowned work in volunteerism and philanthropy through the Carter Foundation. While this not contrary to the manner in which Sadat received moral lessons, it does point to a difference on cultural expression. Sadat, as is in line with Arabic culture, expressed moral lessons and influences using the medium of stories, where Carter utilized the venue of autobiographical description to describe his moral education. Both mechanisms have been shown effective, but are indicative only of culturally based presentations of the same influences.

With regards to this major theme describing Carter's predispositions, overall, the major human influences in his life each stressed the importance of equality and volunteerism, something ironically not so much in evidence within the cultural milieu in which Carter lived. His father made loans to the impoverished and made certain their healthcare was available contrary to the political and ideological thought of the time. Racheal Clark made certain that the young Carter understood the importance of the land and God's many gifts as a necessity to spread generosity among all people. By observation and through an affection for his black friends, young Carter extended his empathy to feel badly and angry when he witness improprieties against those he would describe as second mothers, best friends or brothers, all experiencing discrimination. Carter felt that pain of unfairness by observation and personal association and often commented on a profound sadness felt for year when realizing him and his best friend, his 'brother' Knock could not attend the same school after being together throughout their preschool years.

Carter was taught by his father a respect for authority and to always be fair personally and in business. Earl's caveat to his young son was that, 'there would always be a reckoning' (Carter, 2002). Although, on the same hand he demonstrated a certain defiance when it was apparent that authority might impinge on a person's right to choose either through the unfair exercise of power or through cheating, to be the captain of their own destiny, the ultimate demonstration of fairness.

"I believe that anyone can be successful in life, regardless of natural talent or the environment within which we live. This is not based on measuring success by human competitiveness for wealth, possessions, influence, and fame, but adhering

to God's standards of truth, justice, humility, service, compassion, forgiveness, and love,” (Carter, 2013).

The Baptist preacher in plains told the congregation that seeing movies on Sunday was wrong and that they must abstain. Earl Carter, in direct defiance to the order issued by the preacher declared this unfair and a demonstration of how wrongly power could be used. Something key to the later president. He took his family to the movies every Sunday after that and made certain to make a side comment on the unfairness of the preacher's order (Carter, 2001).

In strict defiance to segregationist ideology, Earl supported his wife Lillian's medical practice to rural black families, bit financially and supportively. He considered healthcare not only a right, but a responsibility of those able to provide for those not as fortunate. In a sense, Earl was transmitting a notion of altruism and reciprocity, key both to Carter's view on charity, but also indicative of expectations later seen in the older Anwar Sadat when dealing with a culture where reciprocity was not a moral imperative, save for the application of reprisals within the context of Begin's victimology.

**Begin.** Like Jimmy Carter, Menachem Begin did not describe 'heroes' in the typical manner as would a child, but as is indicative of Modern Hebrew, described men that he 'respected,' and 'looked up to,' a particular nuance of his culture. These included his father Dov, and the revisionist Zionist Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky. It would not be too farfetched to say that anyone who directly opposed the British occupiers following WWI, or Arabs opposing the first Zionist settlers would be held also in high regard by Begin. Unlike Sadat and Carter, Begin's sense of fairness and cheating is limited to his group that identifies themselves, or lives the exclusive role of victim. That would include

all Jews, at least those that agreed with his methodology of vengeance, not so much assimilationists and autonomists (Perlmutter, 1987).

Begin lived his early years in Poland and for a short time in Russia, in an atmosphere of anti-Semitism, exclusionism and nationalism. He was part of the diaspora and was taught from an early age that Jews were excluded from the greater society and had to exist outside of the boundaries and resources of the Goyim. Begin's father taught him that anyone having not suffered at the hands of the European anti-Semites and later those that stood in the way of the Jews returning to their rightful home of Israel, were in fact the enemy, and not to be afforded any form of human consideration. Fairness, the contemplation of care was restricted to those of the victim group. Cheating was permissible in pursuit of the goal of returning to Eretz Israel as the Jewish homeland promised to them by God. Cheating in this case was not viewed so much as a moral depravity, but more as a stratagem to take back something wrongfully taken away millennia ago.

In one instance, the young Begin witnessed his father kick down the door of the synagogue where the Zionist founder Theodor Herzl was being memorialized. Dov found it unfair that only a select few could pay respects to the man whom he considered an icon and the founder of Zionism. Herzl was one of the original Israeli pioneers, going back to the original homeland of Eretz Israel. Here, young Begin associated the use of violence in pursuit of fair access. He came to understand that being a victim, gives validity to that violence, or cheating, re., through lying about settlements, as a valid and moral form of behavior. In this one event, the stage had been set for future Camp David conflicts.

This sense of restricting fairness and the justifiable use of cheating to attain a desired goal, was supported by Begin's membership in his early youth groups. The foundations were laid during his years as a Jewish Boy Scout in the group Hashomer Hatzair. "The image of the victorious Jewish Cowboy prevailing over the marauding Arabs occupying the future Eretz Israel stuck in the young Begin's mind," (Perlmutter, 1986) establishing the early feelings of an in-group outgroup definition. This also speaks to a primary difference between the thematic applications between the three principle subjects. This also served as the foundation for the demonization of any ideological opposition as demonstrated through his membership in opposition parties such Herut, later called Likud and his participation in terrorist actions by Irgun at the King David Hotel bombing (Shindler, 2002).

Where Sadat and Carter's consideration of the theme of fairness and cheating were more universal in its consideration, Begin, because of the victim mentality he had been inundated with as a child, and witness to severe anti-Semitism during his adolescence in Poland was more exclusionary in his thematic manifestations giving great energy toward the notion of security, learned from his mentor, Ze'ev Jabotinsky.

"Israel will not transfer Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District to any foreign sovereign authority, [because] of the historic right of our nation to this land, [and] the needs of our national security, which demand a capability to defend our State and the lives of our citizens." (Brenner & Einstein, 2015, p. 164)

Here, there was a clear line drawn in the identification between Jews and non-Jews; the former deserving of fairness, albeit a delayed fairness and cheating not as an antithesis to fairness, but as a tool for the accomplishment of a goal, re, Eretz Israel.

Where Begin's father served as his primary socializer in his early years, the data shows that Begin's exclusionary attitude was an evolved one. His father, who demanded the use of Modern Hebrew in the Begin household as a primary means of establishing both individual and group identity markers, introduced his young son into Zionism through stories much like Sadat's grandmother had done to the young Arab. Dov entered his son into a rather conservative youth group that espoused the tenants of the Haganah, or Jewish enlightenment, Hashomer Hatzair.

The end of the war showed a new nationalism in Begin's native Poland that had as one of its foundations, the notion that resident Jews were 'ghosts' and needed to be excluded or assimilated. This gave rise to the three alternatives forwarded inside the Jewish communities; assimilation, autonomists or revisionists. As the discrimination toward the Jews became more overt, Dov Begin's attitude became more radicalized which he then passed to his son Menachem.

Not only through words, but through the deeds of his father, young Begin began to establish a new "us versus them" mentality. His father had become more radicalized, demanded fair treatment, not for everyone, but for the Jews who were excluded from not simply the politics of the time, but from within their own community, citing the synagogue door incident at the memorial for the Zionist founder Theodor Herzl. Young Begin was moved out of Hashomer Hatzair, not because of his father's disagreement for its foundational Zionism, but for its lack of intensity relative to both message and action.

Dov placed his son into an environment that would soon serve as the emotional and moral foundation for the future prime minister's rabid exclusionism of non-Jews and what he had witnessed in Poland now applied to out-group members, nationalism

justified by Jewish exceptionalism. This was found in the group Betar that many have argued served as the incubator for a terroristic splinter group responsible for the killing of not only British administration meeting at the King David Hotel, but also other Jews, Arabs and a multitude of innocents.

Begin came under the direct influence of his mentor of many years, Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky, an ardent revisionist Zionist, cited by Begin as his moral compass for the attainment of Eretz Israel. Jabotinsky went far beyond words, preferring militaristic solutions historically documented in Zionist history in a not altogether favorable light by leaders such as David Ben-Gurion, often being cited as terroristic and anti-Jew. Ironically, this same group became a key breeding ground for the later infamous terror group, Irgun, to which Begin rose to leadership not only against the British mandate, but against the Arab residents of Palestine.

*Heroes and Moral Patterns:* The early editing of Begin's moral foundation, or use-value symbolism is not difficult to understand and is frequently revealed in his writing and speeches. At an early age he was told of how often Jews had been 'cast out' of their Israeli homeland in Palestine and had been persecuted as outsiders and threats in every community of the diaspora. His native Poland was seen as a prison, a 'land of the goyim,' by both his father, community leaders and later by Begin himself demonstrating how he had already established the sense of exclusionism and Jewish exceptionalism. His father, regarded as a more radical revisionist, constantly reinforced this notion of victimhood and the need to attain the goal of Eretz Israel in any way possible. Cheating was seen as a methodology of attaining a moral and deserved goal.



The ideology of revisionist Zionism was reinforced through early membership in youth groups such as Hashomer Hatzair and later a more radicalized Betar under the mentorship of Jabotinsky. Begin saw his father act outside of what would be considered moderate Zionism. Modern Hebrew and its invectives came from other, more militaristically radicalized languages such as Russian and Polish (Wexler, 1995). It was the household language used by both parents. Its foundational qualities of being probative and direct running in opposition to not only the diglossic Arabic, but to western diplomatic dialects as well (Amara & Spolsky, 1986).

Later, during the Second World War, Begin lost his family to the Holocaust further cementing the notion of victimhood and revenge. Throughout his descriptions of his childhood and adolescence, repeated emotional themes of being a victim, not simply to the Nazis, but to the 'marauding Arabs in Eretz Israel,' the British during the mandate prior to 1948 and anyone in opposition to the establishment of an independent Israeli State were pervasive. In adolescence there was constant reference to death and fear from the 'outside.' Begin demonstrated a distinct paranoia fueled by past experience, of being constantly under some kind of existential threat.

As a consequence to this stress of paranoia, of always sensing a threat from non-Jews two phenomenon availed themselves with some regularity and predictability. First, in a particularly unconscious effort to primarily justify violence against outsiders, such as Arabs resident to Palestine, or later to Egyptians trapped within the established post-war borders, Begin would consistently demonize those he perceived to be in opposition to his goal. The derogatory labels of Goyim, Palestinians as Nazis, Arafat as Hitler, British

oppressors or Arabs not simply as a threat, but as a 'dire threat,' served to nullify the theme of fairness and cheating to anyone outside of the Zionist circle.

Begin's early influences from his father and of Vladimir Jabotinsky were powerful editors to the young Begin's use-value mechanism. It demonstrates and supports Greene's theory of dualism as what began is external influences, presented itself as a key component of Begin's early and later decision-making calculus. He actively pushed back from the acceptance of other cultural value systems and according to Perlmutter (1987) remained "culturally ignorant." His influences therefore remained within the frame of his early primary socializers.

Another subtheme that permeates Begin's demonstrated behavior toward fairness and cheating, is a distinct sense of entitlement as a debt incurred of his victimization.

Where the words written and spoken show a biblical justification for his actions, both violent and political, a comprehensive reading of Begin's work shows a distinct feeling of justified entitlement for the State of Israel. Phrases such as 'never again,' or 'our right as a people,' or 'God's gift to the Jews,' despite text that suggests that the Jews were cast out of Israel by God for their own lack of devotion, all points to an unconscious play of entitlement into early decision-making and perception-developing actions. His environment reinforced that perception and it is later demonstrated readily in Begin's political activities prior to and during the Camp David accords. His sense of entitlement, coupled with the demonization of his opposition, limited fair action to the Zionists, and cheating became a justifiable means to an end.

### Theme three: Loyalty and Betrayal

Table 8

#### *Theme Three Loyalty/ Betrayal*

<u>Category</u>	<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Use Value</u>	<u>Predisposition</u>
Loyalty/Betrayal Self-Sacrifice	Patriotism Coalitions	One for All Out-Group Hatred	In-Group Identity Altruism

*Sadat.* His grandmother made it clear to the young Sadat, that first Egypt was the cradle of all civilization to which he owed not only his corporeal life but also his spiritual life, and second that the people of his village served as the life-blood that coursed through his veins. He quotes his grandmother, reiterating that it was her teachings that established the moral compass that he followed throughout his life; “Nothing is as significant as being a child of this land. Land is immortal as it harbors the mysteries of creation,” (Sadat, 1978, p. 2).

Truly a collective, high context culture, the influences on Sadat centered on giving one’s self to the greater good of his people as well as expecting that reciprocity from others. The people and the land were inseparable and operated as a collective unit, one nurturing the other.

“...When farmers went out to work in a land of unlimited richness extending as it seemed into infinity... I recognized an invisible bond of love and friendship with everything around me,” (Sadat, 1978, p. 6)

This ideology did not appear to be localized to immediate neighbors nor to Arabs as a whole. What was clear in Sadat’s biography and subsequent readings was a universal assumption of equal values between many peoples and cultures; “There can be hope only

for a society which acts as one big family, not as many separate ones,” (Sadat letters from, Hurwitz and Medad, 2011). From his early cognitive stages it is clear that Sadat’s life was formed around the collective and manifest in such things as his description of collective agricultural endeavors, trade with other villages and a need for universal understanding. He was encouraged to understand other cultures and religions as is seen in his attendance at both Koranic, Catholic and secular schools. His grandmother wished her grandson to have a broad understanding of the world and the people in it.

His heroes were men that demonstrated the ultimate sacrifice in pursuit of an ideal. They all showed an allegiance, not to themselves, but to the people that looked to them for moral guidance or affirmation. Human beings, neurologically, imitate those individuals that come close to demonstrating their own ideal type as well as those can be emulated to achieve or demonstrate worthiness for leadership (Churchland, 2011). Sadat focused on peace, understanding, self-sacrifice and an altruism that drove him to protect those he perceived to be less able to protect themselves. He constantly spoke to ‘his’ people, that he wished to be regarded in the same way as his hero Zahran who defiantly opposed the British occupiers to his death, and was so impressed with Gandhi that he virtually hijacked his persona for a period of time. While he did develop a fierce loyalty to the people around him, and acted as a father to them later on in his career, he was not exclusionary of others outside his primary group.

Sadat was primed to be an example of this theme of Loyalty and Betrayal primarily by his grandmother, but also by his father, who edited his young son’s use-values more by example than word. The village knew his father as ‘effendi,’ or “...headman, something all young Egyptian boys aspired to be,” (Cohen, 2007; Sadat,

1978b, p. 7). Later in his life, and as will be described later in this chapter, Sadat developed a bit of tunnel vision with regards to his expectations of others within the context of this major theme. He expected reciprocity and found those who did not offer it, such as Begin's refusal to offer reciprocal grand peace overtures on Sadat's first visit to Israel, untrustworthy and 'distasteful.' This was later supported by Carter during the preparation for the Genva conference prior to the Camp David meetings.

“The Israelis (Begin) were not honoring the commitment Dyan had given me (Carter). Whenever there was some success with the Arabs (other leaders, Syria, Jordan, Saudi) Begin would proclaim the establishment of another group of settlements or make provocative statements,” (Carter, 1982, p. 304)

Sadat placed a significant amount of social capital into telling the truth and the demonstrations or worthiness of trust. While the structure of diglossic Arabic might speak against to this assumption, B. Cohen (1957) and R. Cohen (2007) point out that the tendency toward exaggeration in order to make a guest feel welcome, is usually limited to only one portion of “street” Arabic and infrequently finds its way into formal or diplomatic Arab speakers. In Sadat's eyes, you were a product of God's land, and you must show it the reverence as demanded of God's gift. If you invested in the nurturance of the land and its people, you regarded highly. However, if you desecrated or simply possessed the land, taking away the privilege of nurturance from God's rightful caretakers, you were considered not altruistic as much as an outsider.

*The Land and Coexistence:* In his own words, Sadat delineates two important social interactions. One is the relationship of humankind to the land evidenced when he said, “I recognized that I was a part of something much greater than myself; the land!”

(Sadat, 1978, p. 3). The other is the interrelationships between those that care for the land, humankind not simply within the context of his native Egypt, but all land; “When farmers went out to work in a land of unlimited richness extending as it seemed into infinity...there is an attachment to God...!” (Sadat, 1978, p. 3).

Around these two themes as the foundation of his use-value assignment of loyalty and betrayal, are you loyal to God in his gift and are you loyal to each other, not simply as God’s caretakers, but as a mechanism of survival and collectivity, also part of God’s plan. Social interaction is almost a rationalism and also seen in the ideology of Islam and Arabic history after the 6<sup>th</sup> century. God has said everything and planned everything that could be said, so man’s oration is simply a repeat of God’s already spoken words. It is not to be questioned.

Sadat goes to great lengths to describe the moral duty to nurturing the land as a reflection of God’s commitment to humankind. In that regard, you would not betray the land as you would not betray God. The land provides everything necessary for life and incurs an obligation, a loyalty to its maintenance. It is a personification of God on earth, an “attachment to God.” Loyalty to one’s village, or specifically to its residents, is important both as a spiritual obligation but also as to secure the dedicated labor of the collective in order to maintain and nurture the land. Should one stray outside of those obligations, to relinquish his obligation in pursuit of personal gain, he not only betrays his earthly partners, but betrays God.

It is clear in Sadat’s descriptions of collective labor, of men working together in the fields without regard for personal gain, only the benefit of the village as a whole is a reflection of this moral compass in describing this theme of loyalty and betrayal. He

always speaks in the collective, rarely as an individual unless it is as a leader of God's mandate. To that end, he appears to be the self-appointed father of his people, something later reflected in words used while he was president.

Sadat described the British as the antithesis to everything he had been taught. They were not loyal to any of the Arab people. They did not regard the land as sacred, but profane and as a thing to be sold to the highest bidder. He made this quite clear when describing the betrayal of the British selling the land to the Jewish Land Company in pursuit of Eretz Israel. He was equally as critical of his own people, who traded away navigational rights of the Nile to the British 'aliens.'

"Even before I saw the British I had learned to hate them. They were aggressors that whipped and killed our people," (Sadat, 1978, p. 9).

Sadat's loyalty then was limited to particular people or groups, unless they were practicing caretakers of the land which he regarded as sacred and a reflection of God's trust in humankind. From an early age then, he makes it clear relative to his later observations that the Jews were not bad people to be hated, only those that took away land merely for profit and occupation.

**Carter.** Carter's early socializers, particularly his father Earl, stressed honesty and loyalty as the foundation for his moral philosophy. His mother Lillian stated many times that Earl, "would be quick to whip for lying" (Carter, 1982, p. 26). Lying was viewed as a betrayal to the listener, to the speaker and to God. The volunteerism of Carter's mother in providing healthcare to the black residents of Plains, the philanthropy of his father to anyone in financial difficulty, black or white, demonstrated a loyalty to his 'villagers' as well as an expectation of reciprocal altruism much in the same way as shown by Sadat.

Although giving of one's self was considered acts of Christian charity, it went far beyond conceptual in Carter's world. His father put him into the fields alongside poor black farm workers. This not only taught the young Carter, 'a love for the land and all of its gifts,' (Carter, 2001) but also taught him how to rely on others and become part of a functional team.

"It is good to realize that if love and peace can prevail on earth, and if we can teach our children to honor nature's gifts, the joys and beauties of the outdoors will be here forever," (Carter Inaugural address, 1977).

More important though, as Carter describes it in his writings, he was able to listen to unsolicited comments about his parents from the viewpoint of men that were considered disposable and valueless in the ultra-segregationist south. He heard how the acts of philanthropy by his parents and the volunteerism of his mother, were highly valued in the black community. He learned how much the acts of his parents were appreciated by these people, but important too was the use-value attachment given his parents by the black communities. Earl was seen as fair, a good man, someone who cared and not afraid to get in the face of the white establishment nor the church. The parties he threw for the black workers on the fourth of July were legendary as was his allowing them to gather about the window of the house to listen to the fights on the radio (Bourne, 1997). Clearly, Carter had a stencil of moral philosophy that guided him through his life and policy making years.

All of the primary editing of his use-value mechanism was constantly reaffirmed by other socializers, his black care-giver Rachael Clark, his teacher Julia Coleman and later by Admiral Rickover. His teacher, to whom he described as a second mother



insinuating the importance of her input, taught him the concept of agape love through his reading of 1<sup>st</sup> Corinthians, a selflessness and altruistic form of self-sacrifice.

Parenthetically, he regarded Rachael Clark in the same light, a second mother who taught him the value of the land and respect for those who worked it as stated by Carter's biographer Peter Bourne (1997), "Rachael taught Jimmy that a man's responsibility is to nurture the land..." (p. 30). Indeed, Carter's sense of altruism and self-giving were made clear to him from every environmental input.

His witnessing of the how his black friends were generally abused in terms of rights to education, rights to health care, rights to housing and general elements of quality of life, instilled in Carter a sense of betrayal of humankind by those in power. When he was eight years old, Carter had saved enough money to buy five tenant houses, hence joining the landlord class in Americus. According to Peter Bourne, Carter's biographer, as young Carter went to see his new purchases:

"It was about this time that two of his black friends opened a gate and then stood back, and let Jimmy pass through. He thought it must be a trick they were playing, but this symbolic action signaled a powerful social change. 'The constant struggle in our small group had been resolved, but a precious sense of equality had gone out of our personal relationship, Carter writes, 'and things were never again the same between us.'" (Wright, 2014, p.15).

Here, Carter's sense of empathy for the symbolism of inequality is acute and something that haunts him throughout the rest of his life. So much so, that his foreign policy advisor, William Quandt (1986a), wrote, "perhaps the dark skin of Anwar Sadat, the son of a northern Egyptian and a Sudanese mother, triggered suppressed feelings that

brought out an instant friendship toward the dark skinned president,” (Quandt, 1986b, p. 259). Carter stated more explicitly, “I felt protective of Sadat,” (Carter, 1982, p. 300).

His giving of self, his relationship with those he regarded as friends is seen in his later return to Plains and insisting on living in the projects as opposed to the Carter family farm. Altruism, loyalty to mankind and self-sacrifice are overtly demonstrated in Carter’s life and in his political actions. His acute sense of human rights is founded upon these early socializers and stood as a primary cause of dispute between Carter and Begin at Camp David. Compare the descriptions of Carter’s ‘friend and brother’ Sadat to those of his first impressions of Begin. Note the use of descriptors for each actor described.

Sadat: ...he was “A shining light; A man that could change history; A man I would come to admire more than any other leader; Shy, ill at ease; A complexion much darker than I expected; It soon became apparent that he was charming, frank and a very strong and courageous leader and would not shrink from tough positions; There was an easy and a natural friendship between us. We trusted each other.” (Carter, 1982, p. 259-300)

Carter’s first impression of Begin came while watching an interview with the Prime Minister on the TV show, ‘Issues and Answers.’ His observation was that Begin was, “frightening to watch his adamant position... I could not believe what I was hearing, the answers of this tenor!” Resulting description in later interactions are described by Carter as;

“The Israelis (Begin) were not honoring the commitment Dyan had given me. Whenever there was some success with the Arabs (other leaders, Syria, Jordan, Saudi) Begin would proclaim the establishment of another group of settlements or

make provocative statements... This behavior was not only irritating, but seriously endangered the prospects for peace.....and Sadat's reputation," (Carter, 1982, p. 304).

"The onus is on Begin. He either becomes more flexible or he is the "Killer of peace," (Carter private diary, 5/11/78, p. 313).

Specifically note the descriptors ascribed to Sadat, a shining light, shy, leader, friendship, to name a few as opposed to Begin, provocative, irritating, frightening, endangering, killer of peace. Together, a clear picture is formed of Carter's opinions of each of his counterparts, but also is reflective of earlier moral priming.

*The Land and Coexistence:* From his earliest memory, Carter had his attention focused on the land and coexistence with everyone similar or dissimilar to him from all of his primary socializers and as well, his observation of how human rights were bestowed only on selective parts of the population. Particularly as it effected education and integrated social interactions. While Plains was his editing social environment, the feelings engendered by its exposure was universalized as is demonstrated in his later writings and those of autobiographers and political analysts.

His writing repeatedly referred to the disparities in resources to the black population, their lack of equal access to the land ("God's earth"), and the inability for his black close friends to get a good education therefore condemning them to a life of poverty and insecurity. Carter worked tirelessly in the fields with his father's workers and had the same reputation in that he would never ask anyone of them to do anything he would not do himself. The future president rewarded hard work with friendship and loyalty.

“In his early years, Jimmy’s playmates were the children of the black farmhands. His closest friend was A.D. “Knock” Davis. As young children they were treated equally by the adults of both races and subjected to the same discipline. They also visited each other’s homes. However, Miss Lillian (Carter’s mother) differed from other white mothers in allowing Knock and the other black children to eat with Jimmy in their kitchen. AS they grew older, the minuet of social segregation began to separate them. They continued to hunt and fish together, but when Earl (Carter’s father) built the tennis court, Knock was not invited to play. It was school that definitely set them on ,” different paths. (Bourne, 1997, p. 25).

A major theme that emerges from the editing of Carter’s use-value mechanism, from seeing the abuses of a white majority on people he considered his family and friends, from seeing the segregation of resources toward the minority population such as an equal access to education and healthcare emerge as a universal regard for equal rights relative to basic freedoms. Human rights showed to be the hallmark of Carter’s moral compass and served to guide not only his life decisions, but his political path as well.

The actions of his parents, equal treatment for everyone through altruism and volunteerism taught Carter the tenants of a mechanical type of solidarity. Co-existence, particularly in a time of post-war reconstruction, the time of the great depression, was necessary for everyone’s survival; there was no room morally or practically for the exclusion of people that help to both rebuild and prepare. His ‘binding’ moral foundation can be summarized when he says, ““You only have to have two loves in your life: for God, and for the person in front of you at any particular time.” (Carter, 2015, p. 96).

Carter showed to be colorblind in his equal treatment of his early friends and caretakers and those eventually encountered during his professional years and today. He

and others equated Carter's behavior with Christian values and although he was a devout Baptist, his exposure to his young friends and caregivers and the observation of parents philanthropy, altruism and volunteerism speak more to the exercise of those caregiver's values than it does to formal religious dogma.

“The measure of a society is found in how they treat their weakest and most helpless citizens. As Americans, we are blessed with circumstances that protect our human rights and our religious freedom...” (Carter, 2015, p. 159).

Finally, Carter's observation of his father's actions pointed to a realization that authority and hierarchies are not necessarily insurmountable obstacles to human rights equality in the segregationist south. While taught to respect authority overall he did witness by the actions of his father that sometimes it is necessary to respectfully circumvent authority or outwardly challenge it in pursuit of equal rights and coexistence. His father Earl's subversion of segregationist ideals and practices as well as his direct challenge to church prohibitions, and Carter's often direct inclusion in those acts further highlighted his later moral philosophy and decision-making calculus.

**Begin.** Begin's demonstration of this major theme is shown at two levels. His attribution of human rights is clearly reserved for the Jews that adhered to the tenants of revisionist Zionism justified by his inherent victimhood that pervades and defines his moral capacities.

“What you have just heard about the Jewish people's inherent rights to the Land of Israel may seem academic to you, theoretical, even moot. But not to my generation. To my generation of Jews these eternal bonds are indisputable and incontrovertible truths, as old as recorded time. They touch upon the very core of

our national being. Ours is an almost biblical generation of suffering and courage. Ours is the generation of Destruction and Redemption. Ours is the generation that rose up from the bottomless pit of Hell. We were a helpless people, Mr. President. We were bled white, not once, not twice, but century after century, over and over again. We lost a third of our people in one generation - mine. One-and-a-half million of them were children - ours. No one came to our rescue. We were tertiated, Mr. President. ... Tertiated, not decimated. The origin of the word 'decimation' is one in 10. When a Roman legion was found guilty of insubordination one in 10 was put to the sword. In our case it was one in three - tertiated! ... Sir, I take an oath before you in the name of the Jewish people - this will never ever happen again," (Ambassador Yehuda Avner's account of a meeting with U.S. President Jimmy Carter, July 1977).

There was a distinction made between Jews and non-Jews however. Jews following the assimilation or autonomy models were viewed as simple obstacles to the Zionist goal of an independent State of Israel. While the occasion of their death by actions of organizations such as Irgun were acknowledged, there was no mourning or regret on the parts of the Revisionists. Nowhere in Begin's writings is a reference to remorse ever expressed. In each writing, they were never referred to as traitors or demonized, just described as 'old diaspora Jews,' 'confused' or 'misled.'

This was not true of other 'non-Jews.' They were demonized or simply given no recognition relative to being sentient human beings. During his early years of being exposed to the ideology of a radical Zionist father and radical Zionist mentor seen in Jabotinski, Begin developed his in-group loyalty and out-group prejudices, where

allegiances to the revisionist Zionist dogma where the Palestinian Arabs were not even afforded the acknowledgment of a presence in their own ancestral home by the Revisionists, even moderates like Herzl or Ben-Gurion.

"We cannot give any compensation for Palestine, neither to the Palestinians nor to other Arabs. Therefore, a voluntary agreement is inconceivable. All colonization, even the most restricted, must continue in defiance of the will of the native population. Therefore, it can continue and develop only under the shield of force which comprises an Iron Wall which the local population can never break through. This is our Arab policy. To formulate it any other way would be hypocrisy," (Brenner and Einstein, 2015, p. 169).

In order to justify these prejudices, Begin took on the mantle of Jewish victimology. Taught by his mentors, and later devastated by the death of his family during the Holocaust, he used these emotionally based patterns to justify his treatment of the Palestinian Jews and such terrorist acts like the bombing of the King David Hotel or the Sabra and Shatila massacre led by Ariel Sharon. Clearly the Palestinians and Lebanese involved in that massacre were never even given recognition by Begin or his administration.

"We were granted the right to exist by the God of our fathers at the glimmer of the dawn of human civilization nearly 4,000 years ago. For that right, which has been sanctified in Jewish blood from generation to generation, we have paid a price unexampled in the annals of the nations," (Begin speech to the Knesset, 1977).

Begin looked at the British government as invaders during the mandate period. He took violent action against British soldiers by bombings and the public execution of two British officers in retribution. He came into direct conflict with Ben-Gurion's group and accused them of collusion with the British. The violent methodology of Begin diplomacy was given to him by his father who outwardly admired a militaristic Polish General Józef Klemens Pilsudski (Jedrzejewicz; 1990). Indeed, his quest for vengeance at the expense of innocent civilians, was founded in the influences of his early socializers and the political environment of his younger times indeed demonstrated what the young boy was being told.

He was witness to many shows of anti-Semitism. He therefore took on the mantle of victimhood, and carried that weight for 'his' people, specifically Revisionist Jews. Overall, this points to a personal isolationism where Begin placed himself in a type of messianic complex where he would lead the Jews out of the desert and back to their biblical home.

"In the name of Jerusalem. If I forget the extermination of the Jews, may my right hand wither, may my tongue stick to my palate if I cease to think of you, if I do not keep the extermination of the Jews in memory even at my happiest hour," (Begin speech to the Knesset, 1977).

Begin demonstrated a bifurcated attitude toward human rights, loyalty, altruism, and betrayal, one that in Carter's world would have distinguished him as an ultra-segregationist and in Sadat's as an alien. Within his group, human rights were expected and fought for, but limited to the specific members identified with the Revisionist group. Outside of that group, betrayal in particular was perceived as an acceptable means to a



desired end. This stressed by his father and by his mentor in their words and in their actions; clearly an 'us versus them' mentality. His betrayal appears to be fueled by the hatred that emerged from his victimology.

...”Indeed we were given our right to exist by the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. We have paid a price for that right, higher perhaps more than any other nation,” (Begin letter to Sadat, 3/10/1978).

These themes describe Begin as loyal to a particular group where Carter and Sadat were more universalized in their consideration of human rights. They were not specific to who deserved to be provided rights and consideration, and indeed showed an equal consideration to all groups, unless they were ones that showed a betrayal to their intentions, or to people in general. Writings show that each president tried repeatedly to be fair and loyal not only to their groups, but to their principals of moral judgement in their decision-making calculus. Their use of betrayal as a means to an end was never manifest in regular behavior as it was in Begin through his speeches and through his ideology and politics.

*The Land and Coexistence:* The primary distinction of loyalty and betrayal that paints a different picture for Begin, Carter and Sadat is their consideration of the land. Carter and Sadat regarded the land as a reverent and tangible thing to which they were appointed as caretakers by God as positioned by their primary socializers. The land occupied positions as both a tangible object, but with intangible qualities that both men attributed to God. They gained this insight through socializers and observation. The land was to be worked as an avenue that God uses to feed his children, and therefore respected.

**SADAT.** “I learned something that stayed with me the rest of my life; that wherever I go, wherever I happen to be, I shall always know where I am. I can never lose my way because I know that I have living roots there, deep down in the soil of my village, in that land in which I grew, like the trees and the plants.” (Sadat, 1978a. P. 8)

**CARTER.** None of us can afford to relax our vigilance, and we certainly cannot afford to rely on government alone to be vigilant for us. Each of us has a responsibility to the environment that nurtures all of us,” (Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act Remarks on Signing H.R. 39 Into Law. December 2, 1980).

**Begin.** “Israel will not transfer Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District to any foreign sovereign authority, [because] of the historic right of our nation to this land, [and] the needs of our national security, which demand a capability to defend our State and the lives of our citizens,” (Shlaim, 2014, p. 356).

**Begin.** “Let us not make restrictions for the sake of so-called order. Quickly, quickly! Our nation has no time! Bring in hundreds of thousands. If there will not be enough houses, we’ll find tents or even the skies, the blue skies of our land, as a roof,” (Begin’s broadcast to the nation, May 15, 1948).

Begin’s primary socializers focused only on a particular area and exclusively as a tangible asset. Again, here we see the universalism of Carter and Sadat contrasting the focused obsession of Begin and the Revisionists on Eretz Israel. We can observe through their own words the Szalay (1965) structural model of communications and perception that distinguish the difficulties of communicating between actors, one using the values attached to tangible objects and the other basing use-value on intangible perception; something he refers to as communication ‘noise.’

To the supporters of the Revisionist Zionist ideology, Begin's socializers and eventually Begin himself awarded every consideration for social capital found in the previous themes to those he considered in-group members. To others that waxed toward moderate positions of non-violence against any occupier of Eretz Israel, whether resident Palestinian or British, assimilation or autonomous existence, Begin cast them out both figuratively and ideologically. They were demonized and made less than human (sic. Jew), making it easier from an emotional perspective to deprive them of any consideration. This is seen in the language of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, Begin's mentor and stated hero:

“We Jews, thank God, have nothing to do with the East. . . . The Islamic soul must be broomed out of Eretz-Yisrael. . . . [Muslims are] yelling rabble dressed up in gaudy, savage rags,” (Masalha, 2000, p. 57).

This position, and amplification of the ideological principals of his primary socializers, yields coexistence with any outgroup member improbable. It also makes any form of negotiation between the parties least likely to yield a positive outcome. The position of the land is key here. In Sadat and Carter's writings, here communication with each other, we can see the visceral importance of it to both men without reading very far. Begin, from the time he was a child, through his ideological editing and even in his education, identified the land as a product to be acquired, not nurtured, not loved, and simply acquired by justification through revisionist history and biblical mythology.

“...it is Hebrew arms which decide the boundaries of the Hebrew State. So it is now in this battle; so it will be in the future. Our God-given country is a unity, an integral historical and geographical whole. The attempt to dissect it is not only a

crime but a blasphemy and an abortion. Whoever does not recognize our natural right to our entire homeland, does not recognize our right to any part of it. And we shall never forego this natural right,” (Begin’s speech to the nation. May 15, 1948).

The bifurcation of consideration of earlier themes is founded upon Begin’s perception of the perceived social capital seen in the land, and the in-group/outgroup perceptions that define friends and foes regardless of additional inputs from the social environment, the proverbial ‘second chance.’ He has established a kind of player caste system of Revisionist Jews and everybody else.

In short, Begin’s loyalty was primarily focused on his ideology gained through early socialization by his father, his mentor Ze’ev Jabotinsky and his own observations of anti-Semitism in Poland, and to those identified as supporters of revisionist Zionism. Any deviation from the core principles of revisionism to Begin, even as a pre-adult, defined a betrayal of his trust, the Jews and Eretz Israel. His greatest perception of betrayal centered in the acquisition of the land defined as Eretz Israel. There was to no coexistence between the revisionists, resident Arabs or non-revisionists. He sought a homogenous Zionist society and anyone not in support of that were considered outsiders and an existential threat.

### Theme Four: Authority/ Subversion

Table 8

#### *Authority and Subversion*

<b><u>Category</u></b>	<b><u>Purpose</u></b>	<b><u>Use Value</u></b>	<b><u>Predisposition</u></b>
Authority/ Subversion	Leadership	Legitimate- Authority	Respect Traditions
	Followership	Recognition	Cultural legitimacy

*Sadat.* Sadat's Perception of a use-value hierarchy came from his grandmother who stood at the top of the list of important influences in his life. Because of time spent with her in his formative years or those years Kohlberg (1981) and Gilligan (1982) would have equated with the significant period in his moral development, she figured prominently over his father. His grandmother, an illiterate woman, established her grandson's perceptions of a set of legitimate rules of behavior, a cultural blueprint that he would follow his whole life.

In essence, and in parallel with our discussion, Sadat's grandmother was the primary editor of his innate moral first edition. Legitimate authority rested in the hierarchy of first the family and then to the village and generally to others of perceived legitimacy such as the government, the clerics, etc.

“They believed that superiority belonged only to the rich, and to hereditary distinctions of birth., but we in the village too no notice of such things. A man of integrity was the ideal, whatever his poverty. In the village we recognized and shunned whatever as disgraceful. We belong to one another, indeed we are

ultimately bound together by bonds of fraternity, cooperation and love...” (Sadat, 1978, p. 8).

However, the qualifier of legitimacy rested not only in the primary kinship of family and village, but also within the context of Islamic guidelines and tradition. This is apparent on her insistence on sending him to a Koranic school (Sadat, 1978). However, she also realized the importance of secular existence and education by also sending him to a Coptic school and at one point public schools before his military education. Being in these different environments taught Sadat several important lessons; the wisdom of the head of the family and the pervasiveness and function of legitimate authority found within and outside of formal organizational hierarchies. His grandmother’s early guidance and socialization defined for Sadat, the social roles and role expectations of a (legitimate) leader, and those that were either destined, ascribed or placed to follow.

The antithesis to his grandmother’s teaching was the depiction of the British occupiers and the Arab politicians that sympathized with them, although the Arabs were judged and prioritized within different criteria as being misled as opposed to the British occupiers. The British tried to confiscate Egyptian land and travel rights on the Nile. They abused the villagers and poisoned Arab leaders. She taught Sadat through her stories, her songs and her discipline of the abuse of power and authority as well what constituted ‘legitimate’ authority by linking themes of village solidarity to leadership.

“At a tender age I learned that there were (evil) forces called the British and they were alien to us and evil because they poisoned our people.” (Sadat, 1978, p. 5)

“Even before I saw the British I had learned to hate them. They were aggressors that whipped and killed our people” (Sadat, 1978. p. 15)

Sadat's father was known in the village as the 'headman,' the 'effendi.' Sadat observed how the other villagers respected him for his education and for his military service and position. He instilled in his young son the importance of legitimacy, authority, honor and leadership, which simply exemplified what he had already learned from his grandmother's stories. Sadat aspired to be like his father, a respected leader and to that end began through his writings to almost take on a 'father complex,' (Moaz & Astorino, 1992) as opposed to Begin's oft reported 'messianic' complex described by Perlmutter, (1987) in Begin's autobiography.

"Begin styled himself as an Israeli leader, a Messiah sent to restore Eretz Israel,"  
Perlmutter, 1987, p. 24)

Sadat, in comparison to Begin, wished to be a leader for his country, "his people," which maintained an environment of happiness, cooperation and contentment where Begin the maximalist wanted to lead 'the Jews' back to the Promised Land. Sadat, indeed, culminated in being a conglomerate composed of his grandmother's wisdom, his father's leadership and respect, and his hero Zahran's honor and bravery.

"I recognized an invisible bond of love and friendship with everything around me," (Sadat, 1978, p. 3)

"He held his head high on the way to the scaffold. He was proud that he had stood up against the aggressors and killed one of them: I WISH I WAS ZAHHRAN"  
(Sadat, 1978, p.5).

Finally, similar to observations by Carter's mother and father, Carter, similar to Sadat, wanted to be liked by everyone. Sadat, similarly equated being liked and accepted

with volunteerism and selflessness. Begin did not demonstrate such concerns, only blind loyalty and obedience, to him and his ideology.

“She made us memorize first Corinthians,” (Carter, 1997, p.49). Carter’s eighth grade teacher, Julia Coleman, required young Carter to memorize the bible phrase that defines Agape love, “which,” he later said, “served as the foundation of my personal and political ideology,” (Carter, 1997, p. 51).

*Friends and Foes:* The recurring theme in Sadat’s writing is the universalism of inclusion relative to who deserves and what constitutes legitimacy of authority and a recognized place in the hierarchy of humankind. Through his early teachings by his grandmother and his father, Sadat does not exclude anyone from the possibility of leadership and authority, unless they have abrogated the primary social contract of human rights and recognition. It appears from his writing that as long as one gave equal consideration to others with regards to leadership and authority there did not appear to be a determination of those in the ‘in-group’ and those in the ‘out-group.’

On the other hand, as is the case of first the British and later as we will see with Begin, if Sadat perceived a deceitfulness in someone’s desire to achieve what he reduces to taking a resource away from its rightful or perceived owner, than that person was not necessarily considered to be a member of a recognized out-group, but more simply ostracized from the normal functioning of his social environment as a whole. He responded quickly and predictably with disdain and distrust to anyone using what could be considered by Habermas as the employment of strategic communication, the non-emotional avenue of goal achievement. It was simple to detect this attitude in simple descriptions of the perpetrators such as the British who were described since his



childhood as ‘aliens’ or some form of comedic persona, ugly, deceitful and doomed to failure (Sadat, 1978a).

In his descriptions of friend and foe themes, there was a clear delineation of each group by his use of language that persisted throughout his life. For example, as we will see later, President Carter was always referred to as a dear friend or brother where Begin was commonly depicted as a liar and obstacle to peace. This goes beyond the notion of simple political posturing as those themes can be directly traced back to early socialization by his Grandmother and the at hand social environment, something Sadat later passed on to his son, and recognized in and by his friend Carter:

“At the funeral, Sadat’s son Gamal left his military post to run and ‘embrace’ Carter. He wept on his shoulder (like a father). “I felt as though he were my own son,” (Carter, 1982, p. 271).

“Sadat was “A shining light...A man that could change history”...”A man I would come to admire more than any other leader,” (Carter, 1997, p. 282)

“There was an easy and a NATURAL friendship between us. We TRUSTED each other. We began to learn about each other’s families, early life, home towns, private plans and ambitions. We were tying ourselves together for a lifetime,” (Carter, 1997, p. 284).

The first impression gained by Carter while preparing for his first encounter with Begin depicts a perception of Begin being belligerent, and later as an obstacle to peace. He wrote in his diary “I could not believe what I was hearing” “Answers of this tenor show NO prospect of peace...”It was *frightening* to watch his adamant position,” (Carter, 1977, p. 153).

In speaking specifically to our topic of Camp David disputants, it is more than circumstantial that the man Sadat liked, Jimmy Carter, had a very similar if not parallel early socialization that is also reflected in a semantic and lexiconic thematic organization reminiscent of emotion-based communicative rationality (Habermas, 1984; Harman, 2000) described earlier. Sadat describes Carter as: “My brother Jimmy, I will do whatever you think is best.” (Carter, 1997, p. 248). Sadat, like Carter perceived their Israeli counterpart stating: “Begin was aggressively negative!” (Bourne, 1997, p.428).

The man he did not like by any stretch of the imagination was Begin, who employed the strategic, non-emotional semantic structure that sought to achieve a goal at whatever cost. At every level the linguistic organization between Sadat and Begin were at opposite ends of the emotional and cultural scale while Carter and Sadat occupied nearly the same positions.

Carter demonstrated a similar universalism relative to legitimacy and authority as did Sadat. It appeared that as long as the rights of the individual were considered paramount by any interlocutor that Carter, like Sadat would give consideration to their legitimacy. We see this in Carter at a very young age and throughout his adulthood as we did in Sadat. Clearly, the similarities in the early editing of their moral machinery cannot be discounted or minimized.

**Begin.** Begin’s early socializers, specifically his father Dov and Vladimir (Ze’ev) Jabotinsky, accomplished two important perceptions for the young man. First, that there were two groups, those revisionist Zionists that supported the ideology of Eretz Israel and then, everyone else. Clearly an in-group/out-group labeling that defined the second lesson for young Begin; that those within his own group are the only ones deserving of any form

of legitimate recognition as leaders, as dedicated foot soldiers, as participants in the ultimate goal of returning to the Promised Land. It has been suggested by Perlmutter (1987) and others that Begin's primary motivator was power and control. However, the thematic content of his history shows a willingness to concede power and control to anyone aspiring to the same goal of Eretz Israel, whatever the cost. Clearly this is a good demonstration of the many being never superseded by the good of the one.

Begin is not concerned with methodology of achieving Eretz Israel, only the goal; that the goal justifies the means. He shows through his speeches, media and biographical content that the primary theme of human rights, something key to the moral character of Sadat and Carter, are reserved only to his revisionist loyalists and that they must be willing to 'break all rules' in achieving the goal of Eretz Israel. In summarizing the words of his mentor Jabotinsky:

"There is no choice: the Arabs must make room for the Jews of Eretz Israel. If it was possible to transfer the Baltic peoples, it is also possible to move the Palestinian Arabs," (Masalha, 2000, p. 57).

If one person or a group of people, such as moderate Zionists under David Ben-Gurion or the British or the Americans, appear to stand in the way of the goal of Israeli independence or the establishment of the Israeli State prior to 1948, they were labeled as "obstructionists," "anti-Semitic," "Jew haters," or even as Nazis (Masalha, 2000). Begin weaved the notion of Jewish Victimology into his methods of land acquisition, justifying his need of violent actions deemed terroristic by other Jewish founders something that was ingrained in him as a child in his father and mentor's admiration for the nationalist and militaristic Polish general Pilsudski. His was a bunker mentality that was quick to

point to the ‘imminent and existential threat’ posed by Arab residents in Palestine or later relative to the mandatory withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Sinai. The common themes of legitimacy by historic precedence were pervasive in Begin’s words, but were reserved to his ideological partners only.

*Friends and Foes:* From the earliest teachings from his father following the Haskalah, Begin learned that there were the Jews and the non-Jews. Amongst the Jews was a subgroup almost considered by Begin as a separate and opposing counterculture(s) that wished either an autonomous sub-state within their current diaspora location such as Begin’s Poland, or those that wished to assimilate within their resident diaspora culture, thus hybridizing Jewish culture.

“When he reminisces about his childhood he uses romantic hues and tones (describing his early environment), alternating with the bitterness of a Jew living in the world of the Goyim,” (Perlmutter, 1987, p. 429)

These stood in direct opposition to Begin’s perception of a separate and autonomous State of Israel, an entitlement outlined in the religious teachings since he was a child, i.e., the position of the revisionist Zionists. He was taught through both direct teaching and the observation of his father, that a radical pursuit of the biblical entitlement was all that mattered. His father often said that ‘we must kill the diaspora or the diaspora will kill you,’ (Perlmutter, 1987). It could be inferred that Begin’s ardent support of military diplomacy and dominance had its seeds in the radicalism of his father who also took great effort to idolize the militaristic and aggressive Polish general Pilsudski as well as his mentor Jabotinsky who influenced the young Begin from his early days in the youth group Betar.

Begin's rather radical position was fueled by his social environment in post WWI Poland and for a brief time in Russia. He was raised in an air of Jewish suspicion, high anti-Semitism and Polish nationalism that would serve to shape his ideological framework. While Jews were regarded as (semi) citizens of Poland and generally thrived in definable Jewish communities, they were a distinct group that existed and operated within the larger Polish population. Jews were increasingly regarded as 'ghosts' by their Polish counterparts, and the suspicions were centered on a fear of subterfuge and nationalism.

Some have projected that the fear was more primal than that in an Aristotelian sense in that Poles suspected an infusion of Jewish genetic material into what they considered a cultural and genetic purity. In short, the Poles were afraid that the Jews would begin to take their women. Poles were afraid of the Jews, who had established schools and clubs and a viable social network apart from general Polish society. They were afraid they would virtually take their country away from its rightful, legitimate owners, discarding Polish history and culture through infiltration and eventual overthrow.

Begin's remembrances made clear a distinction between living within the Polish 'Jewish world,' and the "land of the Goyim." To his fellow Jews, all rights to the people. To the Goyim, the systematic and violent erosion of power to minimize the existential threat of extermination or assimilation by whatever means possible. His writings showed clear separation between the 'us' and the 'them,' a theme that was ever-present throughout his life and political career. All can be traced to his early childhood and the developmental editing of his innate moral perceptions.

Recurrent patterns of behavior are seen in Begin such as belligerence at the suggestion of compromise, unemotional provocation of the opposition as a strategy repeatedly seen in his later encounters with both Sadat and Carter and a blatant disregard for the land and human rights of the Palestinians who had historical ownership of the land of Eretz Israel by his relentless construction and expansion of Israeli settlements. Indeed, from an early age, the disregard or elimination of Jewish opposition by the denial of rights or even the ascription of human presence was both taught to Begin and observed through his time in Poland as a child. The social environment did nothing to mitigate these lessons, only to support their veracity.

**Carter.** From his earliest recollection, Jimmy Carter learned two major themes relative to Authority and subversion. First, he was constantly told by his father to respect and follow (legitimate) authority. This was not limited simply to organizational or political power. It extended to those socially and culturally recognized organizations and persons as being in a power position such as one's parents, elders or church members. There was an inherent reference to hierarchy in Earl Carter's teachings to his son Jimmy. However, the use-value attached to the notion of 'legitimate' was more observational on young Carter's part as he saw his father 'buck the system' when he perceived an unjust demand by established authority, such as when the church demanded that no movies be seen on Sunday. Earl considered being with his family more important than such a demand and promptly and without hesitation went against the rule while defending his position to the church authority. Earl always stood at the head of the familial hierarchy in young Jimmy's eyes.

We can also see that Earl provided care and services through philanthropy and volunteerism to the population in the segregationist south discarded by the white population, specifically the black residents; an eerie parallel to Begin's 'non-Jews.' As with Begin and his perceived oppositions, the southern black population of those times were regarded as not deserving the basic necessities of living such as a livable wage, health care or education; a practical translation and metaphor for human rights. Carter's father assumed a mantle of responsibility for providing these things to his greatest ability. Human rights then, was a significant editing factor of Carter's inherent moral philosophy.

However, Carter often observed a stern measure of authority, a qualifier of legitimacy exercised by his father and no doubt by others in his social environment. One of the primary elements of legitimacy was telling the truth. Everything in Carter's world depended upon one's ability to trust another to do what they said was true. This is both an emotional consideration as described by Habermas in his Communicative discourse, but also directly applicable to Haidt's Foundational Theory in that the survival of the group hinges upon its ability to predict behaviors and outcomes of its constituency by both leaders and followers (Haidt, 2012).

This leads into what Carter perceived as a (legitimate) leader as defined by his social interactions and his teachers, i.e., parents, teachers and caretakers. He was taught that a leader tells the truth, but at the same time is willing to be selfless in light of those not receiving the resources necessary for a decent quality of life, i.e., human rights. He saw a unity of suffering in the segregationist south, but a disparity in that suffering based on race and economic positioning.

Carter, while in school and under the mentorship of his teacher Julia Coleman, learned specific characteristics that should be embodied in a legitimate leader and more importantly, how they should relate to followers. As demonstrated in 1<sup>st</sup> Corinthians and his reading of War and Peace, a leader must provide for its followers, and as well seek to build a community instead of a self-aggrandizing monument to their own accomplishments. Leadership sought to maximize the capacities of its followers, and that this kind of success must be hardy fought for and won to assure the continuance of the community. He learned that leaders must clearly articulate their positions, something similar to Begin's lessons of oratory learned at his own father's knee. Ms. Coleman taught the young Carter that two specific elements, compassion and ability to fully commit to the acquisition of knowledge was key to leadership success, Re., 'readers make leaders.'

Ironically, young Carter learned to hate authority. He did not disrespect or seek to undermine its function though. Instead, he sought legitimate methods in which to both circumvent it and to change it in a particular fashion. Namely, to assure its equal application and to make certain it was not abused as he had seen in his southern Georgia by repressive whites. IN his writings, a subtheme arose that painted a picture of Carter's perception of (legitimate) authority.

Specifically, in witnessing its unequal application to the Black population and as a mechanism to establish white superiority 'legitimately' and at the same time separate out the black from the white population similar to the group mentality of Begin, Carter came to see most authority as non-legitimate as it was not egalitarian in nature. He saw it as a roadblock to human rights for all and something that while generally accepted as a



societal element, needed to be constantly monitored and circumvented to assure its primary purpose. Later, it can be seen by his political actions and specifically his methods at Camp David, why Carter was seen as “wildly unconventional” by both his political supporters and detractors, a reflection of his father and his observations of actors in his socializing environment.

*Friends and Foes.* Like Sadat, Carter had a more universalistic perception of the application of human rights, leadership and the expectations of the leader within the context of legitimate authority. He makes constant reference to the unequal application of the law (referring to the segregationist south), abuse of power and necessity of basic human considerations. His tone takes on that of a father-leader much along the same design as Sadat who more freely refers to ‘his people,’ as a leadership metaphor. Carter’s semantics are more overseeing, as a father would watch his children, commenting but not at once interventional as was his own father Earl.

In his early autobiographies, Carter makes disparaging reference to rights abusers, but attaches them to observations taken while he was accompanying his mother on her nursing rounds, or his father during business meetings and more importantly as it relates to his group of mostly black friends, particularly his best friend ‘Knock.’” Great attention was paid to the closeness of the two boys eating around his mother Lillian’s dinner table, being inseparable while at play and work, going on adventures together and talking about their individual desires and life paths.

One could feel the sadness and dismay that could be interpreted as outright anger the day the two boys went to school and were separated because of the color of their skin. Carter had a stark realization that ‘their lives would never be the same again.

Interestingly, following this writing, Knock's name never reemerges in Carter's many childhood discussions. It was clear that based on a human rights theme, Carter's subtheme of friend and foe was clearly and definitively defined.

“It was about this time that two of his black friends opened a gate and then stood back, and let Jimmy pass through. He thought it must be a trick they were playing, but this symbolic action signaled a powerful social change. ‘The constant struggle in our small group had been resolved, but a precious sense of equality had gone out of our personal relationship, Carter writes, ‘and things were never again the same between us.’” (Wright, 2014, p.15).

Like Sadat's father and as opposed to Begin's, Carter's father was seen as a community leader and in that position endowed with certain responsibilities that had earlier been defined by Earl himself; honesty, hard work, selflessness in the face of opposition, equal opportunities for a good life, freedoms to observe and practice what the individual regards as important such as politics and religion and as important, an ability to freely challenge authority should it stray outside of the parameters of legitimate action. This was reinforced by his teacher's later lessons of agape love (1<sup>st</sup> Corinthians) an articulate expression of truths.

Finally, by observation and later in Ms. Coleman's classroom, Carter learned the important relationship between the governing and the governed, all revolving around the equal provision of human rights that were in fact validated in Baptist dogma similar to Sadat's Koran relative to the forgiveness of transgressions against authority if the action was centered around the provision of human rights; a direct reference to Earl's support

for his mother Lillian's provision of health care for the black population in the ultra-segregationist south.

### **Theme five: Sanctity and Degradation**

Table 10

#### *Sanctity/Degradation*

<b>Category</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Use Value</b>	<b>Predisposition</b>
Sanctity/ Degradation	Disgust Contamination	Immorality Sacred/Profane	Demonization Elimination

**Sadat.** As a major theme in Sadat's moral cognition, we must conclude that the editing of its innate capacities are found primarily through social interactional experience and observation. These capacities are intangible and, according to Haidt, Churchland and others, not generally part of the social discussion. In addition, as described by Aquino and Reed (2002) the evaluation of intangible social elements is a more emotional one, as the assignment of use-values are more open to individual interpretation with it concomitant moral filters. Tangible evaluations are more calculative and not so based in emotional calculi as the social ascriptions of value are more concrete and arrived at collectively.

Rather, they are an interactional capacity that serves as a good manifestation of the operationalization of the concept of use-value. This theme generally describes the part of cognition that assures not only physical survival in its distaste for harmful foods and activities, but in terms of acceptable social interactions between members in a collective effort to move the social group forward as opposed to staying the same or declining. Often, the guiding principles are rooted in religion or religious practice where a defined

consequence of bad behaviors is evident in an omniscient deity short on tolerance for disobedience or insubordination.

Sadat's grandmother taught him religious tolerance or simply to objectively view the practices of others as more than an ethnocentric. She sent him to Koranic school to learn Islam, but also sent him to the Coptic Christian School so that he might experience and learn of other practices. Sadat, in his autobiography made mention of how much he had learned of life and of people at the knee of the Christian practitioner at the school. In addition, he also attended a secular and a military school. This goes along with his grandmother's insistence on a love of learning, and as a reflection of her early influences on his father and grandfather both being literate in the small Egyptian village.

At an early age, these moral editors had great influence on the young future president. While he learned what constituted love of self and self as a gift of God, this was often confounded in defining the importance of the land. Here too, God was invoked as a justification for the occupation and maintenance of the land. It is here a slight bifurcation between those who cared for the land and those that did not, specifically conquerors and occupiers, was made. The tone of the Sadat writings became more ominous and critical as opposed to speaking of resident Egyptians endowed with the caretaking function for God. Indeed, those who sought the land outside of God's will were considered in the within the realm of degradation while the others occupied a greater position of sanctity. In each of his religious and social teachings, there was an evident confluence of the tangible land reference and the intangible religious dogma. The apex was the notion that everything tangible stood as a gift from God, and all value and attention was premised on that assertion.

“Wherever I go, wherever I happen to be, I shall always know where I really am. I can never lose my way because I know I have living roots there, deep sown in the soil of my village, in that land out of which I grew, like the trees and the plants,” (Sadat, 1978, p. 6).

Contrast this linguistic style to Begin’s description of his childhood town and the school he attended.

“At the end of the street was a big terrible house where we learned the foreigner’s language and a hatred for Israel,” (Perlmutter, 1987. P. 35).

Although he had a blending of Muslim, Coptic Christian and secular influences, Sadat became a devout Muslim. He was considered the first truly Muslim president of Egypt, invoking Sharia into the legislative process and ironically persecuting the Coptic Christians later in his political career. But the influences of early socialization and editing remained in his views of what constituted important relationships to the land and to each other in terms of what has greater value than something else.

There is also an impressive irony in how Sadat described or manifest his disgust or approval of any given topic. For some time, Coptic Egyptian was the general pre-Islamic language of Egypt. Over time, it became a legislative language and one of recording poetry and stories, it remained entangled in the demotic origins of the spoken language and retained the flowing, emotionally morphology of ancient Egyptian.

In order to express consternation or disgust through invectives, similar to Modern Hebrew, Coptic had to borrow words and phrases from Greek, along with the semantic structures that expressed them. Around the 7<sup>th</sup> century Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan decreed that Arabic replace and remnants of Greek or Coptic and serve as the sole

administrative language of Egypt. However, the influences of that linguistic history remains as a good explanation of how Sadat railed against the Modern Hebrew structures and adhered to the more emollient diglossic Arabic whose roots were religious influences.

*Land and Occupiers.* There is a clear theoretical parallel occurring in this theme of Sanctity and Degradation as promoted by Haidt and Kesebir (2010) and others. It is similar to the Durkheimian (1982) concept of sacred and profane. The central theme as interpreted establishes an inherent use-value to each category, sanctity and sacred are God-based; degradation and profane are on the secular plane, and read as being lesser than God as a human, in comparison less desirable. However, this binary configuration provides a context within how Sadat, and as we will see below, Carter, perceives the land and his attachment to it, his responsibility toward it in terms of a covenant with God and finally how those who do not abide these perceptions are considered not simply as an outsider, but as a profane, occupier, someone who has committed apostasy who should be removed or prevented having access to this resource.

“...Rachael taught Jimmy that a “Man’s responsibility is to nurture the land,”  
(Bourne, 1987. p. 30).

In Sadat’s early socialization by his grandmother it was made clear by her that everything originated from the land. The Nile Delta was the cradle of humankind. Every reference made to God, originated or was paired with a mention to the land. His grandmother told him that one could not be separated from the land as we were all a part of the land, and served as its caretakers, repaying God for granting us life. In short, the land was an organic part of every human, not only the Egyptians.

The opposite side of the sacred references, was the presence of occupiers who demonstrated no more regard for the land and by extension the navigation rights to the Nile, than they would buying a new pair of boots. Sadat had heard of the British since he was a small boy, from his grandmother, through stories and by the villagers. They were demonized as cartoon aliens, murderers of the villagers (“His people”) and those with no regard for the sanctity of the land. From his earliest recollections, occupiers in the form of the British were bad, and standing up to them for the principles handed down by God by such heroes as Zahran, stemmed their greed for control and possession of land that never belonged to them. The British were the antithesis, the profane, to the villagers’ thesis, or the sacred.

**Carter.** Like Sadat, Carter’s primary moral editors were his parents, with input from the people in his social environment, black friends and co-workers who were denied basic human rights in the ultra-segregationist south, and his teacher Julia Coleman. Here Carter learned and observed what he came to recognize as basically good and bad, or in the current theme, sacred and profane or sanctity and degrading. As explained by Haidt and Kesebir (2010), the original demonstration of the Sanctity/Degradation theme revolved around the primal regard for integrity of the body, eating bad food which might compromise its long-term survival, etc

As humans evolved into more social creatures, so did this theme to include the elements of religion and the liking or disliking of more intangible social facts (Casebeer and Churchland, 2003; Evans-Pritchard, 1965) such as governance, religion, nobility and morality. Taken in that frame, Carter often noted that within the context of human rights, what he perceived as acceptable was equal access to basic resources such as healthcare

and education, where the denial of these essential elements was unacceptable and deserving of selfless volunteerism to secure those things for people who were doing without. Throughout his life and political career, within the context of his understanding the moral relationship between the governed and the governors learned through his understanding of the book *War and Peace* required reading by his teacher Julia Coleman, Carter was always compelled to commit to what he perceived as being right or moral, trying to correct those things he found profane or distasteful.

This was reinforced by the teachings of his Baptist church, but more important by those he considered at the top of his moral hierarchy, his father Earl who he saw and participated in the philanthropic giving of food and money to wanting black friends and workers, his mother Lillian who provided countless hours of delivering healthcare to black families in plains and its surrounding areas, and by his teacher Julia Coleman who showed him the importance of selfless giving through her having him read 1<sup>st</sup> Corinthians that outlined the importance of Agape love. Ms. Coleman taught Carter to be proud of who he had become and to express his goodness through speaking clearly, hard work and dedication. These things the young president saw as good while the opposite he came to know as distasteful and frowned upon not necessarily by society at large, but by those he observed and determined to ‘moral and virtuous.’ To this we can conclude that Carter was culturally colorblind and saw moral behavior in the form of equal access to social capital as a right as opposed to a privilege.

Common to this theme, the land stood as an oft used metaphor for sanctity and degradation; those who nurtured it, and those who took or abused it from those that did. In his mind, Carter appeared to divide the world into those deserving certain capitals



through 'sacred' or actions preferred in the eyes of God, as opposed to those who sought possession through sanctimony. His father Earl had taught his son the value of land, both from a moral and a business perspective. Since his land was the source of the family's income, it stands to reason that his father's frame would be in terms of production. Later, he would give Carter a parcel of land to own, and to work in the same manner that he had successfully done for his family. It came with a moral provision however in that the land stands as something to be respected and treated with the thought that it could make or break you, as all things "come to judgement."

His black caretaker Rachael Clark, added a religious context to the conservatorship of the land in the eyes of God. She told Carter that it was in fact, a gift from God and it was his responsibility to 'love' the land and to nurture it as it would him as a sign of approval from the almighty. Carter never forgot this lesson and it is seen thematically throughout his dealings inside Camp David. Land stood as a metaphor for the larger social contract between humankind and God and with that context, perhaps metaphorically as a delineator between good and evil, there were two groups, one that deserved the land, and those that did not.

..."we must never forget that as vast and dark and forbidding as the forests may seem, they are very fragile; and as wide and as boundless as the oceans may seem, they're quite vulnerable. For all that the Earth has given us, we owe it our respect and, more importantly, our understanding. We're the stewards of an irreplaceable environment. That's an awesome task as well as a precious gift," (Carter comments on the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Law. December 2, 1980).

The granting of the land showed a certain sacredness, a reward for moral behavior that pervaded not only his life, but his political ideologies. In his father's words, "the land was God's gift to humankind from which all things came," (Carter, 1982, p. 59). There is a certain irony that will be explored below, that Carter originally supported the notion espoused by a local Plains Baptist minister, that the Jews would return to Palestine. In a twist of moral use-value relative to this and other themes, we will see how his position changed after meeting Begin, someone he regarded as more strategic and profane than deserving of consideration relative to taking others land who he regarded as more deserving. A frame seen within the frame of Sadat's consideration. He centered apparently on Begin as a prime source of, "The plight of those Palestinians living under Israeli rule," (Carter, 1982, p. 274) and "To deny them these rights was an indefensible," (p. 277). Finally, Carter concludes, "The onus is on Begin. He either becomes more flexible or he is the "Killer of peace," (Carter diary, 5/11/1978).

*Land and Occupiers.* Carter's father established a thematic thread in his son's cognitive development between the land as a gift from God from which everything comes and the sanctity of those that worked or nurtured it, setting a comparative stage with those who do not have an intimate connection to the land. This frame is eerily similar to the message given to Sadat by his grandmother that the land was a gift from God from which everything is born. Everyone who worked the fields, such as the black workers who worked for his father Earl, possessed a certain reference of identity and reverence in Carter's writings

The frugality and fiscal conservatism that later availed itself in Carter's policies can be traced back to his father's teachings where again, the lessons of conservatism,

fiscal and otherwise, were tied to the metaphorical nurturance and productivity of the land (Carter, 2001) he both observed and was taught as small boy in a rural town. While this was probably not uncommon in rural settings, the string of inputs to dual process cognition, and the more than obvious association between land-premised symbolism and the use-value attached to other social facts is inescapable.

In establishing the group identity of this sacred relationship, Carter described a “unity of suffering” among white and black farmers and field workers (Carter, 2001); clearly a delineation of group identity and perception that remained colorblind but referent of social capital, i.e., us versus them. Occasionally there was a reference to the human rights elements related to this group. It appeared that in Carter’s perception, prejudice by outsiders served as a source of strength that fed the engine of production and nurturance that is reflected by the land’s productivity through those that worked it. In several instances, Carter refers to the demonization of his associative group by northern businessmen who mocked their language as being lazy and descriptive of a southern gullibility to less than fortuitous deal-making reflective of usury; clearly this could be referent of the Habermasian (1984) construct of communicative versus strategic rationality and a demonstration of Szalay’s (1981) cultural noise in transmission but from a non-emotional strategic source.

The land was again, a metaphor that served to define a group closer to God. In all future discussions of politics, military and the governed, there is a tone in Carter’s writing reflective of the unity of suffering explicated by Carter in his early life. He recognized himself as being part of that group of sufferers, working in the fields next to the black agricultural workers, witnessing their own suffering and the separation from his best

friend 'Knok,' on their first day of school together clearly establishing an emotional tag that predisposed him to react negatively to any form of discrimination or non-moral behaviors. In that regard, how could Carter, as a mediator, be neutral upon perceiving such behaviors directed toward his friend and espoused brother, Anwar Sadat?

These perceptions were supported by discussions inside the confines of the black families with whom young Carter was friends, his mother's patients and his father's workers. The identity of the group was defined by his father, a successful white businessman who treated many in the minority population of the segregationist south with dignity and respect outside of his own volunteerism and philanthropy. Treatment other than that observed by Carter of his father would be regarded as deviant and anathema to his moral and cognitive development.

In his writings, the tone of Carter's literary voice changes as he moves toward descriptions of those outside the group of land-workers, specifically businessmen and politicians. Always seeking to circumvent authority in an acceptable way, realizing that to make his way in the world he must figure out how to fit in, Carter found a voice that structurally reflected a certain contempt for those he did not consider the human welfare of one of those land-workers defined by his father and his own observations.

"The intimidation of Blacks (including Carter's friends) was 'necessary to keep the (political) system stable,' (Bourne, 1987, p. 23).

Words that sounded more strategically based as opposed to communicatively constructed described those outside of the 'land-group.' We see words for those outsiders as respected, efficient, powerful, obstacle, determined and precise as opposed to those he

apparently favored being described as, honorable, hard-working, and compassionate or as his best friend.

“We've preserved the unparalleled beauty of areas like the Misty Fiords and Admiralty Island National Monuments in southeast Alaska. And we've ensured that Alaska's Eskimos and Indians and Aleuts can continue their traditional way of life. And we've given the State of Alaska, finally, the opportunity to choose the land which will be theirs through eternity,” (Carter, 1980, Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act Remarks on Signing H.R. 39 into Law).

These terms are prescient as we will see when Carter describes Sadat as his brother or dear friend and Begin described as cordial or an obstacle to peace. His description of those he considered children of the land were almost familial in tone, while those outside the group almost oppositional.

**Begin.** From the time he was a child, Begin perceived the presence of two primary groups, Jews and the Goyim (non-Jews). It is conceivable that to Begin's moral and cognitive library the former would be perceived as preferred, or sacred and the latter not preferred, or profane in accordance with our current theme or sanctity and degradation. The teaching of his father, his mentor Jabotinsky and the observations of rampant post-WWI anti-Semitism reinforced this binary social hierarchical classification. Through his own writings and the observation of his biographers (Perlmutter, 1986) the binary separation of groups evolved use-value moral themes premised on an ‘us versus them’ formula.

“wherever the Jews reside, they cannot be assimilated, they cannot be readily digested by the nation,” (Perlmutter, 1987, p. 29).

A brief review of biographical materials show a distinct separation that guided both his moral, cognitive and political development. This theme of in-group identity that was showered with social capital is pervasive in all of his writings, his speeches and personal letters between members both within and outside of his intimate group to include his wife. Resultant behaviors can be seen in demonstrations of his own personal supportive battles for and against certain associative groups, or policies that favored his in-group constituency as opposed to the distancing by neglect of others, or the overt demonization of anyone he perceived as a threat either existential or otherwise.

A primary sub—theme that drives Begin is his perception of his own master identity as a victim. He regards this identity both as an individual who lost his parents to the holocaust as a representative of the larger Jewish population from both the diaspora and its suffered anti-Semitism and historical populations of Jews throughout biblical times. However, it is clear that he carries the banner of victimhood, in his perception, higher than anyone else almost depicting himself as the leader of all suffering and past suffering Jews, clearly a messianic complex; others' plights are secondary to his own but serves as a common thread of justification for unacceptable actions of violence. It is this victimology that drives him in his personal and political paths and provides justification if not legitimation, of action that others perceive as non-moral particularly those regarded as either Goyim or not supportive of revisionist Zionist goals.

“No one could even take me to the cemetery since the generation of the Holocaust were not so lucky even enough to have been buried” (Perlmutter, 1987,p. 25).

His regard for the land cannot be regarded as sacred, but more as a profane method of providing a boundary between his group's constituency, i.e., revisionists, and

everyone else. Part of his victimology, and one clearly described in the writings, is first his lack of a real place he could call home as the Poland he was born and raised in was gone. He therefore, had no attachment to his 'land,' as might others in more stable conditions, something he envied in the Goyim. To that end, his family, his wife and children, aside from not having a permanent place to reside, and they did frequently move in an effort to avoid political retributions resultant of Begin's violent actions through Irgun, had no great collection of possessions, no real symbols of his past. Everything he might have cherished was gone or destroyed through the actions of, by his account, the Goyim.

As can be seen repeatedly through history, those who have suffered great loss of personal objects and possessions, often begin an overt accumulation of tangible things symbolic of their return to some level of normalcy. We might assert, that one of the greatest demonstrations of Begin's accumulation of things was his absolute and remorseless goal of not simply acquiring enough land to serve as a Jewish nation State, but all of Eretz Israel as described in revisionist doctrine to include parts of other already established and historically governed States. To Begin, people who already lived there and had established a historic cultural society were mere obstacles to either be moved or eliminated in pursuit of his goal of Eretz Israel.

***Land and Occupiers.*** Begin divided the world into two groups, those that deserved to live in the State of Israel, and those that did not. Those considered not to be 'entitled' to the land of Israel were considered occupiers of the Jews' Promised Land, "...The return to Zion of most of the Jews from the West, the East, the North and the South is our aspiration, and it shall continue to serve as a beacon of light for our guidance

(Begin's New Year speech at the grave of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, 1979). The right to live on the land was not one that Sadat and Carter would recognize, that as a caretaker to God's gift. Indeed, Begin's position, and that of his revisionist compatriots was more one of entitlement to the land to do with as they pleased. The essence of modern Hebrew and Talmudic interrogation more than supports the notion that those who possessed the land, resultant of the covenant with God, were entitled to do with it as they pleased, as the Torah implores its own interrogation. The subtheme for Carter and Sadat was nurturance, where for Begin it was acquisition and possession by what they interpreted as divine right.

From his earliest years, Begin's father described the Jews' entitlement to the Eretz Israel both in terms of God's covenant with the Jews, but also as a legal right to possession as Rome had never declared it an acquired conquest. While this has been successfully litigated in academic research regarding the true ownership of Palestine, the legal entitlement of the property has embedded itself into revisionist teachings and dogma.

"the Jewish people have unchallengeable, eternal, historic right to the Land of Israel [including the West Bank and Gaza Strip], the inheritance of their forefathers," and pledged to build rural and urban exclusive Jewish colonies in the West Bank and Gaza Strip." (Shlaim, 2014, p. 354-355).

When Begin heard of Zionism and of Palestine, he heard of the indigenous population of Arabs that lived there. From his father to Jabotinsky, but tacitly by Theodor Herzl who simply did not recognize any Arab presence in his writings, Begin saw Arabs as occupiers in a land destined to be returned to its rightful owners in the form of Eretz



Israel. He saw the purchase of the land through the Jewish Land Company, 'legally' buying land from its Arab 'owners,' which in itself was a contradiction in ideological terms, as both an investment in his own future and that of the revisionist Zionists. This became apparent when he maintained that Herzl's original settlers did not go far enough in 'eliminating the obstacles to the legitimate 'owners' of Eretz Israel (Perlmutter, 1987).

"The deterrent power, or in Jabotinsky's language 'The Iron Wall,' was intended to convince the Arabs that they would not be able to get rid of the sovereign Jewish presence in the Land of Israeli, even if they would not bring themselves to recognize the justice of the Jewish people's claim to the homeland." (Shlaim, 2014, p. 354).

The tenor of the language used by Begin in his writings and in his speeches were unlike descriptions of the land offered to Carter and Sadat as something sacred, a covenant with God, a responsibility to nurture nor as a visceral part of their identity. Begin's semantics were like that primarily as a real estate dealer purchasing a parcel for residence. The land was always a tangible thing to be possessed as opposed to nurtured. While there descriptions by Begin, Dayan and others that referred to the production of crops from that land used in an attempt at self-sufficiency, there was no emotional tags placed within any descriptions.

The land, to Begin, appeared to stand as a symbol signifying the emergence from the master identity of victim. Victims possessed nothing and throughout Jewish history through the Holocaust, the Jews lost everything. The land now stood as a symbol of not only possession, but of emergence of a new social capital, a new power that stood in contrast to an oppressed past. From the land, from the 'bases' of the State of Israel could

come an expression of power, both economically, as the land had value, and militarily as was the firebrand of Jabotinsky. These manifestations were reflections of stories and indoctrination of the young prime minister both at the knees of his primary socializers, but continuously through the observation of Jewish oppression. But, it was at the expense of what has been shown to be the rightful owners of Palestine, the Arab inhabitants who had been there for two millennia.

The other, although no less important attachment to the land by Begin, was as a buffer between those he perceived as an existential threat, the resident Palestinian population. The more land he could acquire through either land sales or conquest, the more distant were his perceived enemies. In essence, begin wanted to reproduce the isolated, but separate communities of his childhood. He is explicit in his separation of Jewish and Goyim communities, where the Jews were described as being so successful in their trades, that they were perceived as threats to local communities of the diaspora. Indeed, this perceived threats led to the three types of Zionist responses described earlier. Only the revisionists wanted to leave their resident countries and form their own, separate and distant state. The notion of heavy military arms in Israel served as a metaphor for borders, borders that were pushed out farther from Samaria and Judea by the exercise of military and acquisitional power. Whomever stood in the way of pushing those borders out were deemed enemies of Israel, Arab sympathizers or worse simply eliminated under the legitimacy of biblical interpretations.

## Chapter 6: Phase Three

### **Themes and Perceptions between Disputants**

The following chapter offers a look into how the early socio-cultural editors of each percipient impacts their interactions with their counterparts. These perceptions are framed with the context of the behavioral predispositions that were developed through the interaction of innate cognitive machinery that provided basis for the valuation of symbolic interaction within a conflict environment, and the percipient's experiential history. It gives insight into the primary research questions, which actors liked or disliked each other, why they did or did not and how that affected their interaction during the Camp David Accords. Finally, it provides the basis for the application of the research findings to the broad field of conflicts and their resolution.

#### **Carter on Sadat**

The major themes that emerged in Carter's description of and interaction with Anwar al-Sadat evoked the emotion of true caring and bonding between the two men. In Carter's autobiographies, he repeatedly refers to Sadat as his brother, his wonderful friend, his comrade and partner (specifically referring to the Camp David Accords). He identifies him as strong, bold and a man of peace, which becomes significant when comparing Carter's initial impressions of Menachem Begin. He said Sadat was,

“A shining light...a man that could change history...A man I would come to admire more than any other leader” (Bourne, 1997, p. 252).

Compare this to Begin whom Carter described as “an insurmountable obstacle to further progress,” (Bourne, 1997, p. 257) during the early days of the Camp David

Accords. Prior to that, Carter had found Begin's histrionics during television interviews, "frightening."

Carter iterated that Sadat was a man who could change the world but attached that sentiment to the legitimacy of position and the intense commitment to human rights that he had demonstrated through his international efforts for peace with Israel. This is a clear association of predisposed behaviors premised on major themes identified above.

A wonderful aside occurred at the funeral of the assassinated Sadat where upon Carter's arrival, Sadat's son Gamal broke out of a military formation and embraced the American president whom he regarded as a second father and Carter cared for him as he would his own son. When describing a first meeting at the Carter home in Plains with Sadat and his wife Jihan, Carter made specific that the feelings the four had for each other were that of a family, open, loving and sharing. He wrote that the two wives saw the attachment between their husbands and quickly found the same feelings. Very interesting is the fact that like their husbands, both women were products of similar socio-cultural environments emotive of similar emotional patterns (Carter, 2007; 2010). Carter told his wife after the Sadats had returned to Egypt that their stay, 'was my best day as President. There were no difference between us' (Carter, 2010, p. 156).

What is interesting is Carter's continuous mention of Sadat's childhood, his attachment to the land as God's source of all things "good" and his dedication to his people and the repeated description of his friend as a strong leader, although deeply religious and shy; lessons of leadership and humility Sadat learned at the knee of his grandmother and for Carter at the knee of his father Earl. On more than one occasion,

Carter speaks to Sadat's childhood hero, Zahran who stood in proud defiance of the British occupation.

It almost seems to serve as a basis from which Carter appears to emotionally premise his assessment of Begin in later works and reviews. He clearly establishes what appears to be a coalition, a team founded on the principles of us versus them; him and Sadat versus Begin and his entourage. On more than one occasion, Carter demonstrates, as did Sadat on Carter, the need to protect and to support, again an iteration of the major theme of harm and care. Sadat said to Carter, "I will try and protect you," knowing that, "...he (Carter) would back me in all things," (Bourne, 1997, p. 328).

The influence of early editing of Carter's use-value, or moral development is clearly displayed in his descriptive associations with themes identified in earlier sections of this research. His writing describing Sadat, could almost be a description of himself. In terms of human rights, a theme described in theme two and three, fairness/cheating and loyalty/betrayal, Carter was demonstrating what Charles Cooley labeled the looking glass self in that he appeared to be gauging the veracity of his own commitment to human rights through the actions and interaction of Sadat.

Carter also evokes an image of needing to protect his friend, and this easily falls within the context of the theme of moral cognition we labeled as harm and care. Remember, this foundation evolved from a mother's need to protect her child, becoming more universally applied to the weak or defenseless as society developed into more complex forms. He identifies outside sources within the Arab community as well as in the more radical Zionist community that would seek to do him harm.

“I feel protective of Sadat. President Sadat would need all the protection we could offer,” (Carter Diary entry 12/17/77).

The Carter biographer Peter Bourne writes, “Carter felt that Sadat was being betrayed by his own, re., other Arab leaders. This also added to the vision of Zahran, standing alone and staying strong,” (Carter Diary entry 12/17/77, p. 301). In each case, Sadat is described as the most identifiable peacemaker, leader and selfless father figure in pursuit of securing the rights of his people, as well as other Arabs residing outside of Egypt. This is an associative reference to the theme of legitimate authority described above.

In referring to Sadat’s speaking, both privately and publically, Carter uses descriptors such as ‘soft-spoken’ or ‘deliberate,’ and also recognizes the importance of storytelling in Sadat’s learning and the way in which he conducts business. Carter does not referent the Arabic tradition of embellishment, but recognizes it as a cultural phenomenon, and again, appears to not only accept its validity, but protects its importance as a tool for communication and politics.

In reviewing Carter’s perception of Sadat while watching his speeches and during private conversations between the two presidents, Carter addresses what could be described as Habermasian dichotomy of strategic and communicative rationality. He speaks to the great amount of passion in his speeches, his deliberate emotional emphasis both perceived and emoted during private conversations. In short, Carter considers his friend as an impassioned leader that truly cares for the rights and welfare of not only his own constituency from the ‘village,’ but for everyone who wishes to live in peace and harmony (Bourne, 1997; Carter, 2010).

Significantly, Carter speaks to Sadat's honesty. One of the greatest influences on young Carter was the imperative of telling the truth. He learned this at the hand of his father who would, according to his mother, "whip faster for lying than anything else" (Carter, 1982). Truth was the foundation from which all other experiences were judged and placed within the use-value hierarchy. Carter has been regularly described as an honest man, a man who stuck to his word and a leader whose word you could rely. In other's description of Carter, the more prominent feature of his character was one of telling the truth and looking down upon and never again trusting those that did not. Most of his moral cognition was seen through the lens of truth telling and it is within this scope of legitimacy he had placed his "trusted friend Sadat" (Bourne, 1997; Carter, 1982).

There is a clear consonance between Carter's early moral editors, the themes this interaction evoked, and those of Anwar Sadat. Both were from a mechanical solidarity community, Carter from the little rural town of Plains and Sadat from the small village of Mit Abu al-Kum. Both men had a visceral connection to their childhood homes that broadened to include the 'land' that was peacefully and legitimately resided upon by its legitimate residents.

Both men adopted the role of leader of their people, wishing to not simply lead them from political maneuvering, but to secure their human rights, the right to happiness and way of life another reflection of their moral development traceable to similar if not in many ways identical to experiential histories. Both men were culturally relativistic, having had exposure to different groups of cultural practitioners and taking important lessons away that would shape their political decisions.

Both men had seen a non-legitimate use of power and authority that discriminated against those both men considered close to them. Sadat had suffered and defied the British occupation and reveled in the people that fought in proud defiance until he was of an age to also defy those he considered occupiers and men who poisoned his people. In addition, and in direct attachment to his beloved land, Sadat saw some of his own people give away rights to the Nile and surrounding property. He associated himself with his heroes who showed not only defiance against his British oppressors, but others around the world who stood up for human rights such as Gandhi. His greatest hero was Zahran, who was emblematic of Sadat's need to be moral, and his disdain for non-legitimate authority.

“...he held his head high on the way to the scaffold. He was proud that he had stood up against the aggressors and killed one of them. I wish I was Zahran,”  
(Sadat, 1978, p. 5).

In reviewing our discussion of emotion-based pattern recognition, that ‘thing’ which triggers parts of the dual cognition process and stands as a primary cause of predispositional behaviors, the very first meeting when Carter sees Sadat for the first time is emblematic of this concept. Remember, Carter saw the oppression of blacks in the ultra-segregationist south. He was separated from his best friend Knock while attending school, and the action of his friends when he assumed a power position of land-owner at a young age (Bourne, 1997). He learned at a young age, which groups were in a power position and which were not, which were denied human rights and which benefited from that oppression.



His proud defiance of these inequities came from Carter's parents. His mother provided healthcare to the rural blacks, unheard of in such times, but whose pressure was ignored. His father Earl, not only provided his mother the funds necessary to continue and expand her nursing practice, but provided free housing to his black help, money for other black families who had fallen on hard times, and a defiant action toward the local Baptist church in ignoring what he considered an intrusion on his personal rights. Here, although perhaps in a more passive way, Carter learned the meaning of right and wrong, how to safely circumvent what he considered non-legitimate authority and the value of human rights (Bourne, 1997; Carter, 2001).

Pursuing that line of reasoning, Carter tells us, "His (Sadat's) complexion was much darker than I had expected" (Carter, 1982, p. 54). Immediately we can see an association between Carter's childhood editors; the oppression of blacks and the mistreatment by authoritarian whites; the separation from his long-time childhood friend Knock on their first day of school; a remembrance of his father's philanthropy and challenge to authority also demonstrated by his mother, the feeling of volunteerism and duty to bring equality to those he felt cheated of things necessary for life; the abrogating of religious responsibility to Blacks and the legitimation of non-legitimate actions by whites through the 'forgiveness of Lillian's actions to Black residents as an act of 'Christian charity.' Indeed, seeing Sadat for the first time, all of the triggers of the major themes through emotion-based pattern recognition must have availed themselves bringing the two men immediately into an emotional coalition, reflected when Carter describes he and Sadat during the early days of Camp David as being "of one mind," (Bourne, 1997). This also remains important in Carter's later descriptions of Begin.

### **Sadat on Carter**

What is striking in these findings are the clear parallels between how these two men described each other. Linguistically, the descriptors are quite similar, the tone and semantic structures are easily recognizable and the manifestation of use-value definitions through major themes described above is clear. Sadat also refers to Carter as his ‘most trusted friend,’ ‘his brother Jimmy,’ ‘his partner’ as well as a man who wishes the same thing for his people as he does, peace and prosperity.

As Carter, Sadat’s words described a trusted coalition of similar minds, one that was perceived as honest, truthful and strong. Repeatedly he told Carter, ‘I will protect you,’ evoking the theme of harm/care or ‘I will do whatever you think is necessary,’ evoking a second level legitimacy of authority between two presidents, but primarily between two friends. His tone toward Carter was soft, not simply as a common linguistic descriptor of diglossic Arabic as emollient, but truly gentle and replete with words indicative of kindness and gentle emotion. It was evident that when Sadat spoke of Carter his language indicated a certain calm and a comfort with the object.

“I find that I am dealing with a man that understands what I want, a man impelled by the power of religious faith and lofty values-a farmer like me,” (Sadat, 1978, p. 302).

Both men were so comfortable with each other that there never an expressed hesitation of asking the other for help both in terms of the Camp David Accords and on broader more universal issues inherent to international relations. Letters between the two men as described in Carter’s diary, also showed a penchant for considering each other’s opinions in some more personal matters as well.

“I felt a strange rapport with that man that has been almost unequaled in my life. I invited Anwar to go upstairs with me, to a place in the White House where very few people visit, to the second floor where the families live. He went up with me. Our little daughter Amy was asleep, and I woke her up and said, "Amy, I want you to meet a new friend." And President Sadat met my daughter,” (Carter, 1998).

On several occasions, Sadat also made reference to some of the parallels he knew of concerning Carter’s similar experiential history, a childhood in a rural area where the nurturing of the land is recognized as a significant value, both as prescribed in religious doctrine, but personally as well., “I must put on record that President Carter is true to himself and true to others. It is because he is so honest with himself that he can be honest with others; a man impelled by religious faith and lofty values- a farmer like me” (Sadat, 1978, p. 302). This is significant in that it demonstrates an influence on Sadat by his grandmother’s teaching, but also from his exposure to both Koranic and Coptic schools, that afforded Sadat a certain relativism within the frame of sacred and profane. He considered Carter, as Carter did Sadat, a ‘deeply religious man,’ each by specific reference, which proved to be a primary determinant of personal use-value for both men on the theme of sacred and profane, but also in terms of theme of legitimate authority.

The correspondence of use-value development is undeniable in these two men. Their experience under the direction of primary socializers has shaped contextually their perceptions of the five major themes. They are both driven by truth and trust, selflessness and a sense of authentic leadership that promises to make those led the best they can be. As concerns others, both men have a well-developed sense of harm and care, fairness and cheating that is manifest in their visceral concern with human rights beyond their sense

in-group identity. In one instance, indicative of Sadat's regard for Carter at Camp David, he said to Carter in private, "I will protect you" (Hurwitz, 2011 p. 345) and "you are my partner" (Quandt, 1986a, p. 287).

### **Carter on Begin**

Before he was president, Carter had visited Israel and spoke with the then Prime Minister Golda Meir. He and his wife were taken to the various Holy cities and shrines and, coupled with his early indoctrination of Israeli entitlement by his childhood Baptist minister, concluded that in fact, Israel had a right to its holdings in Palestine.

"My affinity for Israel arose after my 1973 visit with Golda Meir..."The small size of Israel and its number of (surrounding) enemies aroused in me a sense of responsibility to defend Israel," (Carter, 1982, p. 274).

By his own admission, prior to becoming president, he had never really challenged such a notion but all this began to take on a different tone in the course of his being briefed by his advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski (Carter, 1982). The hinge pin of his reconsideration was personified in his introduction to Menachem Begin.

His first introduction to Begin came in the form of watching a recording of a news show called 'Issues and Answers,' where Begin was being interviewed. Carter describes a visceral reaction to Begin's intensity and 'frightening rhetoric,' (Carter, 1982, p. 288). He found this first exposure to the new Prime Minister, disturbing. The content of the interview centered on the Israeli's presumed entitlement to the land in Palestine, justified by biblical interpretations for which, parenthetically no archeological evidence supporting the Jews being driven out of Egypt. Researchers have deemed this a

combination of misinterpretation and biblical myth. But Carter's penchant for human rights, Harm and Care was immediately triggered on reflection.

“The plight of those Palestinians living under Israeli rule. Deprivation of Palestinian Rights...To deny them these rights was an indefensible position,” (Carter, 1982, p. 277).

Carter found Begin vitriolic and ideological and describes an immediate dislike for a man that ‘disregarded the rights of resident Palestinians;’ a seeming unconscious reference to his earlier witnessing of discrimination against his childhood friends and moral editors, centering on the themes of legitimacy, harm and care, fairness and cheating. On more than one occasion in his description of Begin's speeches Carter would exclaim, “I could not believe what I was hearing! The tenor of his language was frightening!” (Carter, 1982, p. 274).

These initial feelings were brought into clearer focus for Carter following his having his staff gather background information on Begin. Here, he read about the bloody massacre of Der Yassin and Begin's actions with Irgun leading to the King David Hotel bombing that took so many innocent lives in Begin's fight with the British (Carter, 2010; Wright, 2015). To Carter, these were regarded as terrorist acts, triggering emotions that spanned all five moral and cognitive themes. There can be no doubt that in the process of Carter's establishing use-values related to Begin and their eventual associations, that these historic events formed predispositional behaviors resultant of the dual cognitive processes.

It is interesting to interrogate the language that Carter uses to describe Begin following their first meeting, “intelligent, good debating skills, and a definite legal

structure to his speeches that was precise and unyielding” (Carter, 1982, p. 357-359). He reflects back and wonders out loud if he had already determined that Begin did not represent a prospect for peace in the Middle East, an interesting self-analysis that supports this study’s abductive findings. In their first meetings, Carter reflects that where he wished for a certain level of informality that is indicative of a southern rural communicative pattern, Begin showed a strong penchant in both words and demeanor towards thorough and methodical actions and words, referent to Habermas’ strategic rationality. Symbolically, where Carter dressed informally in jeans and a sport shirt and Sadat dressed in jogging suits while at Camp David, Begin insisted on always wearing formal attire, a suite and tie.

In comparison to Carter’s description of his first meeting with Sadat whom he seemingly immediately formed a personal bond with, Begin is described more as one would describe a business associate, cold, impersonal, precise and without any hint of emotional attachment. Sadat is described as warm, shy, one deserving of protection and friendship where Begin is seen as ‘businesslike, cold, detached, dedicated and congenial’ (Carter, 1982). Carter did find Begin highly religious, but later separated it from Sadat’s moral guidepost and more toward a justification for non-legitimate actions, i.e., the undermining of human rights and land acquisition, a man of destiny, but at any cost where Sadat was considered a moral leader invoking more of a caring father than a violent autocrat.

Carter described Begin’s language as one that often had strategic multiple meanings. Early in his writings, Carter was reticent to pronounce Begin as being a liar and prone to serial betrayal during the Camp David Accords, but there was clearly an

influence from his father's early lessons of truth and the consequences of not abiding truthful practices in life and in business, "I was to discover that his good words had multiple meanings," (Carter, 1982, p. 300).

Later, detaching the man from the language, Carter saw Begin's strategic use of language as an 'impediment to peace,' and eventually merged that observation into a moral judgement. He came to 'doubt his sincerity; recognize his power driven agenda; and see his use of lies as a way of achieving a goal at any cost, regardless of who was hurt' (Carter, 1982). His greatest concern, was that Begin's penchant for precision in communicating any aspect of politics or life in general, would become an impediment to free flowing talk, keeping in mind Carter's earlier comment concerning he and Sadat's ability to say anything to each other.

Obliquely, Begin's precision was held in comparison to the more preferred structure of Sadat's communicative style who's imprecision, a remnant of memory based story-telling structures, allowed for negotiations and productive debate. Carter asserted that Sadat used words to tell stories, to outline general structures toward peace based on his experience; quite a soft description of a communicative style. Begin, on the other hand, "used words as weapons" (Carter, 1982, p. 274).

The most logical conclusion is that Carter had already reached certain unconscious, although he often articulated what he was thinking emotionally, conclusions regarding Begin before and during the Camp David mediation. Often, his later writings following the event, bore out these assumptions of predispositional behaviors that biased the Accords overall. Most of the major themes that describe moral cognition and decision-making are demonstrated in Carter's description of Begin, as they are

concerning Sadat. However, the stark contrasts between Carter's feelings about the two men are what makes our observations so fascinating, coupled with a clear path to their respective experiential past.

### **Sadat on Begin**

From his first investigation into the new Prime Minister of Israel, Sadat was suspicious of Begin. He refers to the psychological barrier between Israel and Egypt (Israel always placed first in this metaphor) and often in his writings ties that directly to the 'suspicious nature' in Begin. He uses descriptors such as 'fanatical' and "extremist" in describing his counterpart from their first meeting in Jerusalem where the intent was to being discussions for a comprehensive peace between the two men. He had grave doubts as to whether or not Begin truly desired peace. In that regard, he made clear to the Israeli Knesset on his historic speech that he would never practice ethical deception as it was against everything he stood for. Truth was his banner. He made this statement to calm the suspicion that his visit was a masked prelude to war. Understandable in light of the common perception of victimhood found in many Jewish biographers of the time.

Sadat makes clear that he was viscerally offended by Begin's opening remarks, both at the Knesset and the presidential dinner later on in Washington. He was very bitter over his apparent absence of feeling for the plight of Palestinians and those subject to Israeli oppression in the occupied territories. He makes repeated mention of human rights violations and the need for the world to care for the people of "Palestine;" a clear reference to earlier major themes. He comments on the lack of empathy he perceives in Begin, except for those he considers 'his people.'



“My main concern in this connection, is whether Israel really and truly wants peace....But does the Israeli administration today, particularly under Begin, as leader of the fanatical Likud bloc, want peace? Can an extremist like Begin really want peace?” (Sadat, 1978, p. 306).

Sadat knew through both experience and political interaction that it was well known among Israeli politicians that the Prime minister had not the time nor the interest in learning of Arab history or traditions. Perlmutter (1987) references this several times in Begin’s biographical notes and Wright defines it as a point of moral departure between the two men. This serves as a clear manifestation of Begin’s obsession with Hadar and Jewish superiority. It is a repeated theme and reflective of his disregard for out-group perceived human rights. It could serve as the root cause of his and of others’ denial of even the presence of the historic Arab presence in Palestine, now determined by revisionists as Begin’s Eretz Israel.

This stands in stark contrast to Sadat’s diligence at understanding his counterpart’s culture at many levels both as a young student, and as president. It also contrasts Sadat’s universalism of humankind and his desire for a comprehensive peace clearly showing himself the maximalist to Begin’s minimalist perception of reality both environmental and political. In many of his speeches, Sadat links the terms “understanding” and “human rights,” often in the same sentence. Sadat’s outward response to Begin’s cultural exclusionism and acute ethnocentrism was one of abject resentment and chronic irritation. However, if we explore the impact this might have had on his capacity for moral construct and use-value, we can see how this could easily taint

any future consideration by Sadat of Begin as a person with whom he could effectively make progress toward peace between Egypt and Israel.

It is here that Sadat made the determination that Begin was not only insincere in his outward proclamation for peace, but as an “obstacle” to any hope of any form of comprehensive agreement between their two countries. This sentiment was shared with his friend Jimmy Carter, who in his own writings nearly parroted Sadat’s response to the statement, and adopted the label describing Begin as being an ‘obstacle’ to Peace and immovable (Carter, 1986; Wright, 2014).

Sadat was driven by the engine of peace and truth. His language asserts no less importantly his regard for legitimacy in terms of leadership and followership. While giving monumental credit for President Carter’s dedication to that same moral capital, he bears no hesitation in remarking about its absence in Begin’s actions and words. He did not trust him initially due to the dissonance between diglossic Arabic and Modern Hebrew, something Laitin (2001) would assert is a simple problem of language equivalency. However, we see a clear delineation between the Habermasian position of communicative and strategic linguistic interaction, which is demonstrated clearly in Sadat’s writing and speeches and Begin’s numerous interviews.

These are the same references made by Carter in his descriptions before meeting Begin, he thought his words were ‘frightening,’ and ‘disturbing.’ Sadat listened too many of Begin’s interviews and became quite disturbed when Begin was asked about the occupied territories following the Six-Day War. Begin answered that “they were not occupied, they were liberated” (Wright, 2014, p. 177), again a demonstration of Begin’s disregard for what had and still is in many circles, considered the rightful and legal Arab

residents of those territories. Sadat was also struck by reading Begin's books, *White Nights* (1979), a recalling of his imprisonment in Soviet labor camps and *Revolt* (1978), detailing the violent exploits of Irgun.

In these books, although Sadat does not elude to them in his own writings, Begin is constantly referring to the Jews as defenselessness, the need to hate, Jews that the world sought to eliminate through massacre. He spoke to the necessity of the sword to promote progress as opposed to peace.

“The State of Israel has arisen, but we must remember that our country is not yet liberated. The battle continues, and you see now that the words of your Irgun fighters were not vain words: it is Hebrew arms which decide the boundaries of the Hebrew State. So it is now in this battle; so it will be in the future. Our God-given country is a unity, an integral historical and geographical whole. The attempt to dissect it is not only a crime but a blasphemy and an abortion. Whoever does not recognize our natural right to our entire homeland, does not recognize our right to any part of it,” (Begin, 1948).

Reading this, there is an evident presumption of Sadat that he would be at minimum skeptical of Begin's true intentions in pursuing peace, as Begin's perception of peace was truly dissonant to Sadat's, the former as a strategy to achieve acquisition and dominance in the shadow of Hadar, the latter to pursue the absence of violence and human rights.

Pursuant to that perception, and given that much communicative action is non-verbal but performance based (Amara & Spolsky, 1986), particularly as regards Arabic, Sadat's feelings of distrust and fanaticism were legitimated in his eyes when a reciprocal

equivalent of his peace gesture and going to Jerusalem to speak to the Knesset was not offered by Begin. In Sadat's eyes, two things had occurred, a demonstration on the part of Begin that peace was not important to him, but more importantly since Sadat, in his mind, was representing the entire Arab world, he had lost face not achieving this reciprocity as is requisite of a high context culture.

Losing face went to the core of his moral library and brought back images of earlier times when he witnessed disgrace at the hands of British. An argument could be made as well that his remembrance of Zahran, such an important part of his moral development and use-value, took on a significant position in his dual cognition process when establishing a perception of who Begin really was. Loss of face, indeed activated many moral triggers and experiential modifiers.

In Sadat's mind, Begin rigidly took a position of Hadar (Jewish majesty) that created an unjustified superiority over human rights for Jews, at the expense of non-Jews, playing directly all five of the major themes earlier identified, harm and care, fairness and cheating, loyalty and betrayal, authority and subversion and finally, Sanctity and degradation. Even David Ben-Gurion, regarded as Israel's founder and first Prime Minister considered Begin a racist, and willing to kill every Arab in pursuit of control of all of Eretz Israel (Perlmutter, 1987). Hanna Arendt and Albert Einstein considered Begin Hitlerian and a terrorist Chieftain, practicing the very methods that created the perception of victimhood in Begin (Wood and O'Brien, 1986). These are the lenses through which Sadat perceived Begin and goes long toward explaining their almost complete lack of interaction during Camp David.

### **Begin on Sadat**

Begin demonstrated a profound sense of superiority over Anwar Sadat that went beyond the confines of Hadar. His writing and both his personal letters and public pronouncements showed a distinct tendency of abandoning his usual legalistic interrogation style and religious metaphors of Israeli legitimacy and resorting to more simplistic and derisive semantics resembling how an adult would speak to a child.

“Understand, almost without reference, a few against the many, weak against the strong, that we stood in this test, one day after the proclamation of independence, to choke and destroy the birth and to call an end to the last hope of the Jewish nation in the century of destruction and of redemption,” (Begin speech to the Knesset, November 20, 1977).

Begin did not regard Sadat as being a very intelligent man, a perception he gained through verbal interaction as opposed to political bickering and debate at which both he and Sadat were skilled according to outside observers (Perlmutter, 1987). Clearly, this could be attributed to the dissonance in the morphological roots of each language coupled both to language equivalency and symbolic use value discussed earlier.

“He was not a very cultured or sophisticated man, a sincere man but superficially intellectual. He would have flashes of great ideas and then tum around and do something stupid. I believe he suffered from inferiority complexes and desperately wanted to be a hero,” (Perlmutter, 1987, p. 256).

Begin refused to become informed about Arab culture, aspirations or traditions which certainly contributed significantly to his misperception of not only Sadat, but of Arabs in general (Wright, 2014). He had no basis on which to base his evaluations of

both personal and public actions on the part of his Arab counterpart. Ethnocentrism could then be regarded as a significant contributor to not only cultural dissonance as described by Avruch and others, but of misunderstandings so prevalent in language based interactions.

From his earliest recollections, Begin considered Arabs the enemy and an existential threat not only to himself, but to his goal of establishing Eretz Israel. He often regarded himself as a loner, as did all of the subjects of this study (Wright, 2014), but Begin frequently referred to his own goals and motivations to the exclusion of other Jews who certainly had the same goal of an independent Israeli State. This was done so often that we can see him occasionally inserting himself into Jewish folklore of conquest substituting himself as the hero.

He learned that Arabs in Palestine were of no consideration and an obstacle at the knee of his father and through his interactions with Jabotinsky and other revisionist Zionists. Having been a devout reader of the works of Theodor Herzl, Begin early viewed the presence of Arabs in Palestine as inconsequential, not seeing them as legitimate residents much less at being humanly present at all; he had absolutely no regard for their self-determination or human rights while he was fighting for those same rights for his group.

“We must expropriate gently the private property on the state assigned to us. We shall try to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it employment in our country. The property owners will come over to our side. Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discretely and

circumspectly. Let the owners of the immovable property believe that they are cheating us, selling us things for more than they are worth. But we are not going to sell them anything back,” (Herzl in, Morris, 2001, pp. 21-26).

It is this early influence where Begin began to take on the persona of what Haidt would consider ‘conservative’ in his consideration of human interaction, his decision-making calculus giving sway to each major theme, the moral foundations, of twenty percent. Haidt (2007) regarded the last three foundations focusing on group functioning as ‘binding’ foundations. In contrast, we can demonstrate that Carter and Sadat focused principally on what Moral Foundation Theory labels as ‘individual’ themes focusing more on harm and care and the rights of the individual; something he terms ‘liberal.’

Throughout his speeches, prior to, during and following the Camp David Accords, Begin would refer to Arabs in three derisive frames; as an ever-resent existential threat, as aggressors and as conquered or ‘losers’. Conversely, he would, in the same speech, refer to Israelis, often substituting “I” for “Israeli or Israelis,” first as victims, referring to Jewish history but particularly as a vivid reference to the Holocaust, and then with reference to the 1967 and 1973 wars as ‘victors.’ It seemed many times Begin was incapable of containing the visceral contempt he had for Arabs that had been assigned such as use-value from his early years.

"the Jewish people have unchallengeable, eternal, historic right to the Land of Israel [including the West Bank and Gaza Strip], the inheritance of their forefathers," and pledged to build rural and urban exclusive Jewish colonies in the West Bank and Gaza Strip." (Shlaim, 2014, p. 354-355).

In a demonstration of both superiority and of perceived disrespect on the part of Arab listeners, he would not often refer to Sadat by name, but simply say, 'your president.' This serves as a devaluation of his political counterpart, a classic debate tactic so familiar to both Begin and Carter. Sadly, it also causes a loss of face for Sadat in the eyes of the Egyptian people, but also in the eyes of the general Arab population who already saw the Egyptian president as a betrayer of the Arab world for even being in the same room with their arch enemy, Israel.

We could speculate, that much of this strong dismissal of Sadat came following Begin's visit to Cairo as a follow-up to Sadat's visit to Jerusalem where peace was proposed to the Knesset. Perlmutter (1987) described Begin as "symbolist," particularly as regards Begin's own perception of his public persona. He desperately wanted to be seen as a legitimate leader, and a messiah leading his people to the Promised Land. This was also apparent to Carter as described in his writings following Camp David:

"Begin too looked at himself as a man of destiny, he cast himself in a biblical role (messianic).

He considered himself charged with the destiny of God's 'chosen people,' (Carter, 1982, p. 330).

When Sadat visited Jerusalem there was great celebration and public display. Sadat wrote that this display made him feel that indeed, the Israeli people loved him and that peace was within his grasp. He wrote of his first visit to see Begin in what Begin regarded as Israel's capital city repeatedly in his autobiography and during his speeches. When Begin visited Cairo to meet with Sadat, a follow-up to the Jerusalem visit, there was not the pomp and circumstance afforded the Egyptian president. This irritated Begin



as he equated that kind of symbolism as a recognition of his leadership and of State legitimacy for Israel (Perlmutter, 1987). It is possible, referring back to our major themes, that Begin felt a sense of professional and personal betrayal at the hands of Sadat. However, we must also remember that Sadat was already in the throes of feeling that same betrayal when Begin did not reciprocate with a grand gesture for a comprehensive peace plan. Indeed, the themes of fairness and cheating, loyalty and betrayal, authority and subversion, in the eyes of Begin, had been violated.

### **Begin on Carter**

Similar to his sentiment for Sadat, it can be said that Begin did not regard President Carter in very high regard. There is an immediate feeling expressed through Begin's words that Carter was perceived by him as an outsider, and an obstacle to Eretz Israel. Prior to the Camp David Accords began, and again during its process, begin confided in Moshe Dyan, that believed Carter to be a "champion of their arch enemy, the PLO" (Wright, 2014). As was true of his earlier exclamations, Begin asserted that there was no room for a foreign presence, sic Arab, in or near Israel. Here he is specifically referring to the Palestinians who had resided in the country far longer than the Jews, both historically and presently.

In that regard, Begin tried to bully Carter into agreeing to his peace plan that was doomed to failure before it was even presented to Sadat again taking the role of the victim:

"I am not exaggerating when I say we sometimes had to fight with our bare hands and sometimes with homemade arms that didn't always work. We lost one

percent of our population in that war, 6,000 people. The bloodshed has gone on permanently. My grandchild was bombed in Jerusalem,” Wright, 2014, p. 32).

Carter viewed Begin’s plan as a peace for the victors, a title that played directly into his and Sadat’s irritation of Begin’s presumed superiority. There were no concessions and stood as the ideological proclamation of Eretz Israel. From here developed Carter’s perceived ‘frosty’ attitude toward Begin while he tried to address the three pillars of the peace talks, Israeli security, Palestinian statehood and Arab sovereignty.

Knowing that Carter already regarded Begin as a verbal terrorist whose words had ‘frightened and disturbed’ him prior to their first face to face meeting, Begin indeed took a mostly personal defensive position regarding the American president (Perlmutter, 1987; Wright, 2014). After their first meeting, Begin regarded Carter as a ‘southern gentleman and a shrewd politician strained by a touch of self-righteousness (Perlmutter, 1987; Wright, 2014); clearly a derisive perception of someone everyone else regarded as a purveyor of a comprehensive peace, including Sadat.

In private Begin frequently referred to the American president as a misguided American who had no knowledge of Jewish suffering while knowing this to be not true as in other iterations was amazed at Carter’s knowledge of the bible following several discussions with Carter. The question was, is Begin simply engaging political theater, or was this a visceral response to his perception of Carter of being pro-Palestinian and therefore falling into his demonized category of Goyim at one point calling him a “Fanatical Baptist preacher” (Wright, 2014).

The personal and ideological dissonance between the two men was apparent in the writings and speeches of each. Parenthetically, the nature of their often vitriolic relationship, despite politically correct appearances, can be seen in their positioning during photo sessions and live television. They were rarely close to each other, or made eye contact. Begin's face often showed derision every time Carter spoke of both Sadat and the Accords. Where Carter spoke of 'my friend president Sadat,' he often referred to Begin merely as the 'Prime Minister' or in the third person, a tactic again used by Begin when referring to Sadat, Begin being the consummate debater.

#### **Phase Four: Outside Perceptions of Disputants**

This phase of the analysis focuses on the perceptions of outside observers concerning the three subjects of the study, Carter, Sadat and Begin. Of particular interest is whether or not the same themes emerge from the literature that describes the men's interactions before and during the Camp David Accords. Data was taken from four primary sources; biographies (both authorized and unauthorized), media reports to include interviews with each of the three men, descriptive works concerning the Accords or individual perceptions of the men and finally, the extensive notes of the months leading up to and during the Accords that are the official record submitted by Carter's foreign affairs advisor, Dr. William Quandt. While not included in this research report, I must note that Dr. Quandt was more than helpful in providing this material totaling thousands of pages of text. His assistance in helping me follow the filing system of the text was more than instructive and appreciated. I must also note that I opted for copies that did not include notes he had made in the margins following the Accords for fear of tainting my perceptions.

**Sadat.** Observers frequently describe Anwar Sadat as a warm, genuine leader who serves as the personification of peace. While they offer comprehensive dissertations on his military background and his defiance of the British occupation, they are more often focused on his earlier years as an influence on his adult decision-making. All recognize the influence of his grandmother and the ideation of his father as the consummate and fair father to his village, but also are fascinated by Sadat's obsession and adoption of the personalities of what we have referred to as his heroes like Zahran and Ghandi. These two men manifest two major themes that shaped outsiders' perceptions of Sadat.

Zahran stood emblematic of subversion toward non-legitimate authority (theme three) and the pride engendered by defiance of that non-legitimate authority in pursuit of fair treatment. Ghandi was an icon of peace and non-violence, referring our two major themes (and moral foundation) of harm and care, fairness and cheating. Both were defiant, both were proud, coupled with his perception of his father, they were an aggregate that composed the ideal leader in Sadat's eyes. Clearly, this image stood as the source of use-value in comparison to other world leaders, not only for Sadat personally, but when outside observers placed him against those same world leaders.

Observers described Sadat as the man whose inner-child never left the village, something Sadat often referred to when he felt either insecure or protective of any group of people (Sadat, 1978). Insecure in terms of knowing always where he was, being a child of the village, those emotional patterns availing themselves whenever Sadat needed emotional strength. When thinking of others, he thought of his aggregate effendi, the village 'headman' who everyone looked to for strength and guidance. He several times

mixed metaphors, referring to this protection of the Egyptian people, but also imposed that same sentiment on the Palestinian people during the Camp David Accords.

Sadat was described by various authors as a fair man who wished to achieve a comprehensive peace with Israel. He was perceived as someone who would indeed compromise in order to achieve a larger good, flexible and focused primarily on equal rights and fair treatment for everyone, Arabs and Israelis. He was cast as a devout Muslim, but not fanatical in trying to impose sharia law into the political process. He was tolerant of other religions and cultures and knowledgeable of their nuances his grandmother being recognized for encouraging and providing a comprehensive education both religious and secular. They made reference to his love of reading and knowing other cultures, sometimes casting him as ‘culturally sensitive’ in his international activities, a case being the Knesset speech where his symbolism was clearly tailored to Talmudic influences, something recognized sincerely by the Israeli people at large.

A number of authors and reporters were quite aware of his attachment to the land, in terms of the legitimacy of occupation and ownership and how this would shape the Camp David mediations. While acknowledging the long history of Egypt’s possession of contested property in the Sinai, their focus was more on the visceral attachment, the sacred symbolism of Sadat and the Egyptian land. This is a constant theme in the Accord documents provided by Quandt. The perception of legitimacy in terms of ownership and legitimate occupation was so powerful to the diplomats dealing with Sadat, that communiques were shaped to first acknowledge its importance, but also to never call into question the legitimacy of his claims, which would have been viewed as a powerful affront to Sadat not only personally, but as a challenge to Arab history and Islam itself. It

became very apparent that the entire mediation at Camp David would not revolve around the land proper, but the symbolism and recognition of its occupational history and legitimacy to a man who felt he was the heart and soul of the Egyptian people and, by presumed proxy, the rest of the Arab world.

In revisiting the notes and themes of the media accounts and descriptions of Sadat, it became clear that their assessment of the man, their perception of the kind of man he was, was quite in line with Carter's personal assessment of his friend. It was inevitable that the same authors would draw comparisons between the two leaders and reach a conclusion that their friendship was simply a product of two men being very similar in history and temperament whose goals were parallel before and during the Accords.

**Carter.** Writers most often used the descriptors, truthful, ethical, honest, religious, altruistic and selfless when describing Carter. Summaries often spoke to the perceived obsession he had for the innate goodness of humankind, a reflection of his religious dedication. More telling was his manifestations of truthfulness, gained from his father, the preoccupation for human rights gained through the observation and actions of his parents and friends during his childhood in the segregationist south and his image of dedication in pursuit of a goal's conclusion.

On reviewing notes and comments gleaned from the material describing Carter in both biographies and media materials, one is immediately struck by the political partisanship that is vividly apparent, particularly in American writers. It was incumbent for the validity of this research to try and filter out those pieces that were blatantly bias in favor of or biased against the former president. The most moderate materials were found

mostly in Pre-Camp David writings and reports. Specifically prior to the face to face meetings between the three principle subjects. Carter, Sadat and Begin. Following this meeting, and the widely perceived friendship between Carter and Sadat and the overt animosity that often broke down into public vitriol, the process of discovering more moderate or neutral descriptions between the disputants became more difficult. Subsequently, many of the sources used were from out of the American press and focused primarily in Europe and Canada who appeared to take more of a role of commentator as opposed to the American position of political analysts.

Throughout the materials describing Jimmy Carter there were recurrent themes relative to his personal motivations and also his perceived role as an international mediator. Most writers agreed that it was ultimately not his process that concluded in an agreement between Egypt and Israel, but ultimately his position as President of the United States. This was premised upon both a cynical econometric presumption by the scribes of Sadat and Begin indirectly seeking financial and military aid from the United States, occasionally referencing the threat of Egypt going back to Russia as a primary trade partner of thee Accords were not successful, and the environmental fallacy that Carter sought personal aggrandizement with the success of a peace treaty between the two disputants. While interesting, from a political perspective, these assumptions are secondary our purpose in these research findings, but nonetheless worth mention.

Most observers attributed these themes to his logic of being an engineer and his religious indoctrination, a rather strong but understandable adjective. Clearly, Carter demonstrates the primary themes reflecting the innate moral foundations and dual process of decision-making outlined by Haidt and Kesebir (2010) and Greene (2010). What is

also interesting is how Carter's predispositions of his faith in humankind and his conviction that any conflict was tractable framed within the honesty of human needs reflects the Allport (1954) discussion of Contact Theory, as well as that theory's weakness given the relationship between the three men.

While the relationship between Sadat and Carter was widely perceived as genuine to the point of bias, and here we shall not dwell on the qualifiers seen in Carter's foreign policy discussions relative to Israel pre and post Camp David, it is of interest that one writer (Princen, 1992) noted Carter's apprehension with the appearance of collusion with his friend Sadat in an effort to pressure Begin into concessions. What we see are Carter's feelings for his dear friend being overridden by his predispositions for truth and an equal concern for human rights, harm and care; fairness and cheating. This supports the presumption that many behaviors are impacted by certain evolved innate capacities. Even though Sadat was his dear and trusted friend, well opposite of his relationship and perception of Begin as an obstacle to everything Carter hoped to achieve, his predilection for truth (loyalty/betrayal) took precedence over a conscious perception of collusion.

**Begin.** Biographical and media descriptions of Menachem Begin typically headlined five themes; detached, fanatically religious, which given his own description of Carter as a 'fanatical Baptist preacher' serves as an irony at some level, legalistic, contentious, and manipulative. He was described as a bit of an enigma, expounding his desire for a comprehensive peace, but pursuing that peace on what others observed as 'his own terms;' no land for peace and no Palestinian autonomy. It was observed that he constantly reiterated his desire for peace, but even on his first meeting with Carter in July of 1977, when asked for assurances that there would be no more settlements in the West



Bank, Carter could not get a direct answer. Instead, on his return to Israel, recognized some of those existing settlements as permanent. From that scrutiny, other themes began to emerge describing Begin such as untrustworthy, liar and obstacle to peace and fanatic. Clearly, this plays on Carter's and everyone's innate thematic sense of loyalty/betrayal, fairness and cheating. Following this first visit, there is a distinct change in the linguistic tone or semantic structure of the media reports concerning Begin; specifically from being relatively neutral to one of caution in reporting, i.e., taking him directly at his word. The reporting takes on a more wait and see attitude, hearing what Begin says, but waiting to see what he will do. This is exemplified by Carter's comment in his book "Keeping Faith," that "I (Carter) was to discover that his (Begin's) good words had multiple meanings," (Carter, 1982, p. 300). These observations directly contrast those relating to Carter or Sadat where truth and honesty serve as the key plank in both political and private descriptions.

More historical images of Begin began to appear in the press describing his radicalization under the tutelage of Jabotinsky, discussions of the King David Hotel and the hanging of the British Officers. In later descriptions, several mentions are made of Begin's participation in Irgun and his emotional dismissal of the massacre of 135 villagers at Deir Yassin April 9, 1948.

Reporters were repulsed as Begin gave a perception of both superiority and dismissiveness of so many innocent lives at the hands of the declared terrorist organization he had led. The thematic content of many reporters changed now assigning labels of 'terrorist' and fanatic with regularity to Begin constructing an image of some who was driven to a goal without regard to human rights or the value of Arab lives. A

significant doubt began to emerge during reporting of the Accords that indeed, Begin had an agenda that only included his goals at the expense of anyone that stood in his way; from a peacemaker to a monster. Even his Jewish critiques took a decidedly negative turn toward his personal description and to his motives, both public and hidden.

An interesting observation availed itself on the one hand parenthetical to this discussion, but important in terms of supporting earlier theoretical assertions. Namely, that according to Moral Foundations Theory (Haidt & Graham, 2007) two groups of individuals emerge dependent upon the distributional focus of behavior determining capacities, re., individual and binding, as described earlier Haidt then contrasts liberal and conservative, the former utilizing primarily binding foundations while incorporating individual foundations, harm/care and fairness/cheating themes into their dual-process decision-making calculus while liberals utilize only individual foundations in theirs. Here the researchers are applying MFT to political behaviors although relevant in our current discussion of political theater.

It was observed that several descriptive accounts of Begin appeared more positive in semantic structure than others who virtually demonized the man for his historically terrorist actions and the present actions at Camp David, re, building new Israeli settlements in the Sinai while negotiating post 1973 borders and Israeli withdrawal from historically Egyptian land. While the others were less critical and focused more on his religious motivations as justification for his action and his determination in leading his people back to the Promised Land. These foci were evolving in the outside observers as Begin continued to betray the spirit of the Accords through the deceptions that resulted in yet additional settlements in Egyptian land. The observation of the observers in this

research then, repeatedly sees a leaning toward predispositional biases on human writers as they become more aware of their subjects' history and action, these playing directly on their own emotional based pattern recognition machinery that determines their own use-value nexus.

**Observed Disputant Interactions.** This section of the findings are abstracted from the writings and commentaries of men who were actually present during the negotiations at Camp David. The materials under review are a compendium of official notes from the United States Department of State, the Egyptian Foreign Ministry and the Israeli Foreign Ministry with the addition of available notes from the meetings of the Knesset when available. Many of the comments and opinions expressed herein were cross-referenced with media materials that might corroborate the statement(s). Note that those notes were primarily from Camp David attendees that were at times repetitious in their content, although it was noted that the tone of the language used was superficially different and specific to audiences.

The authors of the primary information sources for this phase of the study, excluding autobiographical material from the primary subject's under study, have also written numerous books on the subject and granted several interviews following the Camp David Accords. It should be noted that during the entire period of the Accords, the press was purposively omitted from access to anyone attending the meetings. The function of that rule, was to minimize the impact of public opinion on the mediation process. Specifically, it was felt by Carter and his group that if Sadat and Begin were made aware of public opinion concerning their decisions and interactions at Camp David,

that it might impact the course of the mediation by having them play to public pressure than to the facts at hand.

It should be reiterated here, that given the dissonance in culture and language within the Camp David process, and how these two major behavioral determinants impact decision-making antecedents as described above, that the potential for misinterpretation of important mediation processes and elements by the media, who would then report their cultural and use-value specific perceptions to their respective audiences could be a source of mediation failure. Misunderstandings incite more misunderstandings which often lead to failures in communication and eventually the breakdown of resolution processes (Augsburger, 1992; Avruch, 1998). Omitting the press and its potential for fanning those flames of misunderstanding and conflict could be viewed as strategically sound.

From the first day at Camp David, observers noted a distinct difference in behavior between our three principals. President Carter, his wife Rosalyn and their advisors had previously arrived at the Camp in preparation for the proceedings with the Egyptians and Israeli participants. Sadat arrived by helicopter where he immediately exited and began shouting to the President, “We can do this,” with a palpable exuberance commented on by William Quandt (1986a), Carter’s foreign policy advisor, and Larry Wright (2014) who had interviewed other attendees. There was no doubt in anyone’s mind that these two men, these two families, the Carters and the Sadats, were already very close friends.

Sadat walked over to Carter and “warmly embraced him,” moving to Rosalyn and giving her another warm hug and kissed each cheek in a typical Arab greeting. Everyone

noticed what has been referred to as a genuine smile between the three, as dear friends who had been separated and were just now reuniting (Perlmutter, 1987; Dyan, 1981; Wright, 2014). Reviewing videotapes of this first meeting one can notice a relaxed Carter and a seemingly genuine association between him and an equally relaxed Sadat (video archive, 1978).

They maintain eye contact indicative (Turiel, 2006) of two men who are interested in each other and comfortable with direct eye contact showing a level of trust equated with friendship (Shweder, et al, 1987). Their language on first meeting was easy and at times, according to observers, emotional not simply reflective of the task that lay ahead and recognizing the inevitable confrontation expected with the Israelis, but of simply being in the presence of a friend again.

Begin's arrival was nothing less described by observers than by regular protocol. Observers made special notice of the fact that unlike Sadat, Begin and Carter engaged a 'visibly awkward' embrace that spoke to something more than simply an 'unfriendly' association (Wright, 2014). To Quandt, it was likened to a photo opportunity between two adversaries preparing for a forced summit. To Moshe Dyan (1981), it gave a feeling that one got before a great battle between two adversaries.

Begin's kiss to each of Mrs. Carter's cheeks was thought by Perlmutter (1987) to be more of a requirement and optic, and one that showed appropriate courtesy, but with little feeling. Indeed, reviewing numerous newsreels of Begin's arrival one gets the impression of somebody 'going through the motions.' There was little eye contact as with Sadat, to the contrary the two men often avoided eye contact as two opponents preparing for battle might do as has been observed in primatology research.

Clearly, these two men were both uncomfortable with each other and showed little emotional attachment. These observations are also reflected in media reports following the Accords specifically mentioning the apparent bond between Sadat and Carter and the unbridled contempt both held for Begin (Aderet, 2013). Later, Carter (1982) would describe Begin as the ‘most notorious terrorist in the region.’

The photographic evidence depicting the Egyptian president and the Israeli prime minister clearly showed little verbal signs of acceptance, but more political faces that demonstrated more of a subsurface contempt than anything else. It seemed that there was a deep distrust between Begin and Sadat, and their public pronouncements when each was present during which the public at large got to see the men who could be very well deciding the fate of the middle east, was nothing less than “sterile,” (Wright, 2014). Media content was replete with themes like contemptuous, dislike, mutual distrust, and even hatred. It appeared that Carter’s strong desire to reach a peaceful settlement between the two men was driven by his innate and overwhelming perception of equal human rights learned early in his childhood.

It was known among the Camp David participants, that Begin was the only principle that could walk away from the talks and suffer little political fallout, but at the same time suffer a loss of personal face and social capital that could weaken both his political and personal positions, although certainly not to the degree of his Egyptian and American counterparts. Begin’s motivation was his strong belief in religious legitimating of his actions, a victimhood that demanded retribution against anyone that stood in his way, and a malignant narcissism that placed him superior to anyone else. His would be a loss first to himself and then to his God (Mahmood, 1985; Perlmutter, 1987; Safty, 1991).

Carter had invested significant amounts of political and social capital into the Accords and without an agreement, was nearly assured defeat in the next election. Sadat had alienated the rest of the Arab world in merely speaking to Israel perceived as ‘selling out’ by other Arab countries, much less pursuing a unilateral settlement. Not only his political career, but his very life hung in the balance.

As described by Camp David observers, Carter was undeterred in his feeling that if he could just get Sadat and Begin into the same room, get them to see each other as people with similar concerns, needs and fears, to basically overcome the psychological barriers outlined earlier by Sadat (1978), that peace would be at hand. This is clearly a reiteration of Allport’s contact Theory, but one that would also demonstrate with certainty the power of innate cognitive capacities that can override conscious cognition and give way to bias behaviors on the parts of all the Camp David disputants (Amir, 1998).

However, it became clear to observers that the visible friendship between Carter and Sadat, was soon perceived as an obstacle to the Israeli delegation. Participants like Moshe Dyan (1981) and Ezer Weizman (1981) described in later interviews that a significant part of their perceived animosity between Carter and Begin, was their perceptions of collusion and manipulation between Carter and Sadat against Begin. Their perception was that the Accords had been concluded in Cairo, even before they had reached Camp David. Indeed, the neutrality of Carter as a mediator came into frequent question by the Israelis and by all other observers. It was commented later that the limited success of the Accords was more due to Carter’s position as U.S. President with its requisite resources as opposed to Carter personal style.

The primary theme that was readily seen was the perceived collusion between Sadat and Carter to 'end-run' Begin and pressure him in such a way that if their demands were not met and the Camp David Meetings were not successful, the full weight of failure would be on Begin's shoulders (Wright, 2014). Words used by observers included, 'coalition, partnership, alliance and merger,' words that Carter never sought to object to nor change his behavior toward their principle meanings. Sadat and Carter were seen as a duality that had often plotted against the Israeli delegation, specifically against Begin.

A significant observation by observers was the tone of conversations held between Begin and Sadat, lending direct evidence to our assertion that the semantics and delivery of a message between two percipients, will directly impact the way in which they relate to each other. Further, we have asserted that the language used by the speaker, Re., universal grammar, is a direct reflection of cultural and environmental editing in assigning language equivalency and symbolic use-value thus constructing behavioral antecedents based on perception and definitions.

People noted that on a first chance encounter, where it was known both men had come to Camp David with his own agenda, Begin and Sadat could calmly be in each other's' presence only for a short period of time. Sadat spoke in his well-known slow, story-telling delivery, inquiring about relatively banal topics to open up a discussion, the weather, the accommodations, his counterpart's health, etc. It was noted that on one occasion, Sadat endeavored to tell a story, relating the events at Camp David to some historical childhood tale told to him by his grandmother.



Begin was notably and increasingly irritated and wanting to directly address the issues he had come to resolve (Perlmutter, 1987; Quandt, 1986b; Safty, 1991; Wright, 2014), his speech probative about issues and answers, the pace of his questioning increasing along with his volume, and the frequenting of his two favorite topics, that he would never give up land citing the existential threat of Arab aggression and the fact that Israel had humiliated Egypt in previous wars and had no intention of giving in to American or Egyptian demands formulated between himself and his good friend Carter.

Aside from the observation of verbal aggression on the part of Begin, several themes emerge concerning Begin and Sadat. First, the nature of the two men's speech, one calmer and emollient as described, the other aggressive and focused on issues and positions as opposed to cultural and social topics used in Arabic as a prelude to talking business (Abu-Nimir, 1996; Amara, 1986). Remember, Begin made no attempt, it has been observed, to even begin to understand Arabic culture or traditions, particularly as regards how to speak to one another in a personal or business setting (Wright, 2014). His style was direct and legalistic that directly clashed with traditional Arabic morphology and use-value systems.

Second, Begin, in true debate fashion, sought to immediately dismiss and disqualify Sadat's verbal interactions as hyperbole, exaggeration often referring to "Sadat's lies" and therefore dismissing them, and the by default the speaker as untrustworthy and unnecessary; a direct affront to Sadat's personal identity and perception of Begin's presence. Begin's semantic style was one of gathering facts that might impact future negotiation sessions at the summit. This was not Sadat's goal, and those witnessing those discussions, although few in number, made mention of the look on

Sadat's face in light of Begin's verbal attacks (Carter, 1982; Mahmood, 1985; Safty, 1991).

Third, and significant, is Begin's attempt to label and therefore minimize the importance of his listener Sadat. References to past losses that struck at the heart of Sadat personally, politically and historically were driven home (Weizman, 1981). Begin labeled Arabs universally as an existential threat to the State of Israel, painting them as aggressive and without humanity, totally neglecting the actions he himself had been accused at the King David and Deir Yassin massacres (Carter, 1982; 2007).

This serves as a tremendous loss of face to Sadat personally and culturally. Begin has effectively demonized all Arabs, reducing them to someone who did not deserve any consideration of human rights, thus carrying on the experiential traditions of his mentor Jabotinsky who viewed Arabs as an obstacle to a goal of Eretz Israel cementing in Begin's mind the invisibility of human rights as regards Arabs overall and his outright subversion of a process aimed at providing those rights, a significant demonstration of our five major themes. Observers would report that Sadat was visibly shaken during these encounters, shaken as being the prelude to future anger and threats of leaving the accords altogether and the result of Carter refusing to have the two men in the same room during negotiations (Carter, 1982).

Finally, discussions between the two men exemplified the contrast in communicative styles described by Habermas, communicative versus strategic rationalities and was derivatively mentioned by observers as a 'debate of the deaf' (Perlmutter, 1987). Clearly, Sadat's culturally defined communication morphology speaks to the former, more emotionally based rationality where Begin stood as the

hallmark of strategic, non-emotional interrogation. Observers were witnessing the linguistic dissonance that not only represents certain problems of language equivalency based in cultural differences (Sapir, 1936) and environmental perceptions, but a manifestation of different emotional patterns that spoke to the major individual and binding themes described above.

Evidence to this effect comes in a contrast between Sadat's interaction with the ethnocentric Begin, and a member of his Israeli Entourage, Ezer Weizman. Weizman had in earlier years developed and commanded the Israeli air force that had devastated the Egyptian army in 1967. It would seem that Sadat would have harbored a deep seated hatred for the man who had caused such a national loss of face to his 'village.'

However, while at Camp David, Sadat was on one of his regular walks while Weizman was riding his bicycle around the grounds. When seeing Sadat, whom we would assume to be his nemesis, Weizman got off his bike, went over to Sadat and the two men "warmly embraced each other saying at once, 'it's good to see you again.'" At once confusing to an outsider as it was to Dyan (1981) and Quandt (1986a) who witnessed the event, within the context of our discussion of behavioral antecedents and use-value, it becomes quite clear why the men liked each other; that a growing friendship between a man that had devastated the army and emotion of an entire nation and the Egyptian president that had a reputation for contentiousness with most Israelis somehow overcame a rabid nationalism like that shown by Begin, who as we have seen demanded unquestioned loyalty from his members. The question is, why this friendship developed in the first place.

Weizman was considered part of the ‘Mayflower’ generation of Israeli settlers. His uncle later served as Israel’s first president. His mother taught her children Arabic as Weizman was growing up in a mixed city, an Israel/Palestine of open borders before underlying suspicion and hostilities had broken out into violence. Arabs and Jews coexisted, worked together and in the case of Weizman, learned to communicate and understand the culture of the other. His father was a German agronomist, working, studying and appreciating the land and as well instilling that respect into his son (Weizman, 1981).

Weizman recalls that when violence did erupt following the end of the British Mandate in 1948, he just could not understand ‘what had gotten into his Arab neighbors’ (Charney, 1989; Wright, 2014). In an interview that revisited the 1967 Six Day War (Charney, 1989), Weizman recalled seeing the eyes of Egyptians get tears when they remembered. He said that he understood why they felt this way and he could feel their sorrow and humiliation.

Weizman understood because he knew and understood the foundations of a high-context culture. Many of his experiences were rooted in Arab culture, learning through observation in that open environment and probably as well by interactions with friends in early Israel much in the same fashion that president Carter had witnessed similar experiences in his young years. He knew their language and their culture, quite apart from his Prime minister’s refusal to take the time to try and understand anything concerning Arab tradition (Aronoff, 2014).

It is of no surprise, therefore, that Sadat and Weizman developed even so much as a ‘functional’ friendship considering their military pasts. But consider, Weizman had a

working knowledge of Arab culture and language making use-values and equivalency at some level compatible with Sadat, who also had a working knowledge of Jewish history and Hebrew (Amara & Spolsky, 1986) beyond its historic integration (Amara & Spolsky, 1986). Weizman's father, like Sadat's grandmother and Carter's father, had given him an appreciation of the land and its importance. While we can only speculate that these discussions might have been chiefly academic given his father's position, we may also integrate the assumptions of how father's speak to their sons, integrating fact with stories and measured affection, again similar to the learning environment of Sadat and his grandmother.

While different in specifics, the stories of Weizman and of Sadat relative to their experiences and social editors of their innate cognitive machinery is at its core similar. Coupled to our discussion of emotion-based pattern recognition and the differences seen in strategic and communicative rationalities, it is easier to see and to understand why these two men appreciated each other. This is reinforced during one of Sadat's emotional outbursts to Carter when he reiterated that Begin was intractable and an obstacle to peace and he 'would rather deal with Weizman!' (Quandt, 1986a).

Clearly, the importance of experiential history as an editor of the cognitive systems that establish behavioral antecedents, from bias to hatred, are at work and can be seen in many of the preferences between not only the principle subjects of this study, but between other participants on both sides, those relationships as well in background, resting upon similar experiential histories. It is then nearly incontestable, from an abductive sense, that there are influential forces within and outside of the behaviors of individuals that influence their symbolic and practical interactions.

These similarities and differences also allow us to understand the tone seen in media reports and observer writings relative to the topic they are broadcasting. In the Jewish press, Sadat was often demonized often with the same rhetoric used by Begin who was often made the hero. Arab reporting took the opposite view, castigating the proposals and statements of Begin while lionizing everything about Sadat. Perhaps he was finally hearing the poetry and songs about him that he had desired upon hearing the love and respect of the people directed at his hero Zahran; “I wanted to be Zahran!” (Sadat, 1978).

## Chapter Seven: Discussion and Conclusions

### Introduction

This chapter will highlight the discussion of the research findings outlined in chapter five within the frame of the research questions, are there innate cognitive processes that might predispose a mediator towards certain predictable behaviors and/or biases during the course of a mediation. A subsequent question would be to assess to what degree, and in which direction these behavioral dispositions might tend to go, i.e., in favor of innately formed preferences, or in opposition to them. The findings suggest that manifest behaviors are reflective of innate preferences in support of the earlier work done by Greene and others. However, to quantify the degree to which this occurs would require further research beyond the scope of this methodology.

The findings give rise to the conclusion that innate human systems of cognition and performance do in fact predispose an actor toward predictable behaviors relative to one's preference or abhorrence of an individual or situation and can therefore be universalized across the field of conflict resolution and further that these mechanisms are appreciably impacted by earlier socio-cultural experience. Answers to the research questions are presented in four sections, each addressing the data as applied. To review, these questions are:

1. Is there an observable difference in situational responses between conflict stakeholders that can be attributed to differences in their socio-cultural history?
2. Are these differences in situational responses a result of individual perceptions whose value is grounded in socio-cultural experiences?

3. Are these perceptions a result of the interplay between evolved cognitive mechanisms and the socio-cultural experiences unique to the individual?
4. Is the result of this interplay manifest in particular situational preferences important to social interactions and therefore to mediation events?

The difficulty prior to this study has been that the underlying reasons for the power and the origin of actor dissonance had yet to be investigated. The tower of diplomatic Babble had yet to be directly addressed in terms of its causality except superficially. In short, the notion of basic human perceptions through a cognitive lens had little been examined beyond the scope of observable actions, particularly with regards to the social sciences. It has been the purpose of this research to address this basic human characteristic using three historically dissonant actors as a demonstrable medium of this study's guiding purpose.

### **Discussion of Research Findings**

It has been the prevailing wisdom throughout the field of mediation that cultural dissonance plays an important role in the determination of mediation outcome. Various reasons have been put forward by notable researchers that posit the primary causes of mediation failure to rest in the arms of misunderstanding generally premised in either an ignorance of tradition and normative systems in addition to or as a result of what Laitin would refer to as language non-equivalence.

Therefore, it has appeared a logical progression on the part of researchers to attempt to reduce misunderstanding to a point where all players are acting from the same script, perhaps offer a set of symbolic representations that all can agree upon, referred to loosely as a "language of diplomacy," manifest in an exclusive "diplomatic culture"



(Burton, 1969; Dik, 1989). The recognition of this “language” supports the position that humans communicate symbolically, but also signals an underlying problem of environmental fallacies. It assumes that the same ‘diplomats’ will always be party to a conflict resolution process and each will hold equal value to the semiotics of constructed language morphology. Some attribute the power of misunderstanding to how much value is placed on the mediator, the mediation process, the stage of the conflict or interpretive challenges founded in different languages and their translations. Each of these speak to the importance of symbolic interaction.

However, as potent a social factor as cultural dissonance and language inequivalence have shown themselves to be, they have been regarded simply as that; a social fact, something external to the actor that is coercive and causes them to act in certain ways, both independently and as an interactive social entity. This study demonstrates that cultural dissonance the primary determinant of linguistic morphology and equivalence, while acknowledged as an external set of events comprising both tangible and intangible artifacts, has its roots of coercion within a set of cognitive systems innate to all human actors. In what might appear on its surface to be a circuitous logic, the specificity of the agent’s culture serves as an editor of those evolved, genetically based innate systems giving value, and thus interactive hierarchies, to other social facts external to the agent but as well to all internal cognition.

We posit that it is the impact of early socio-cultural editing through the childhood socialization of the actor that predisposes them to predictable behaviors to certain unconsciously recognized patterns later in life. This will have a direct impact on the field

of mediation in terms of the perceived neutrality of the mediator by disputants in addition to the predictable actions of the mediator.

For many years, researchers in the field of mediation placed a great amount of trust in Allport's (1954) concept of bringing disputants together in a safe environment, getting to work on mutually dependent tasks and becoming familiar with each other as people sharing common sets of needs. This position was supported and encouraged in many ADR texts, and is reflected in other methods such as the work in restorative justice underlying such notable attempts at stabilizing conflict groups as seen in the iconic South African Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. In each field of conflict resolution there is an assumption, albeit a naïve one, that at their core humans are basically good and wish to live in some sort of egalitarian peace and second that simple understanding can offer a solution to the most complex disputes. The state of our dystopic world would appear to contradict such liberal fantasy.

This assumption has been successfully and repeatedly challenged in anthropological and primatology studies (D'Andrade, 1995) as well as recent cognitive studies in the cause of conflict, more specifically war and terrorism (van Creveld, 2008; Shaw, 2015). That is not to say that we actively seek conflict as a species, but more that we have been prepared to react to perceived threats quickly by evolution and that this phenomenon is amplified and made efficiently more destructive by post-modern technologies.

It becomes that much more urgent then to understand why humans first perceive and then respond in the ways that they do to not only conflict but to each other and how this is specific to particular cultural elements that act on some kind of internal systems of

decision-making, and whether or not this information can be utilized in the field of mediation to show a higher success rate. This research has stood to shed new light on a concept that has existed since the beginning of humans interacting. We can begin then, to give substance to our research questions.

**Question One: Are there socio-cultural inputs that act upon innate cognitive systems?**

This section discusses the combination of two research questions that inquire as to the presence of innate decision-making systems and their interaction with inputs from the early socio-cultural environments of the percipients. It explores the presence and importance of the human system of dual-process decision-making facilitated by evolved neurological systems. Specifically, it asks how this might be acted upon or even modified by the socio-cultural elements the actor is exposed to early and throughout their lifetime.

This research has shown that while we can recognize and appreciate the hopeful enthusiasm attributing an innate goodness to humankind, we must also dismiss it as overtly sanguine. Humankind has evolved through difficult environmental challenges, and sometimes even more difficult trials that preceded social cooperation in achieving a life-defining goals both as a group and as an individual. A brief review of developmental anthropology, and cognitive research shows that humans have evolved certain innate capacities for action that are of significant relevance necessary to their survival. In short, survival is at the top of the innate hierarchy, followed by one's children and family and ending with the participatory survival of the social group.

Significant to our study, we have found that many of the innate systems that manifest these outward capacities such as the genetically unfolding machinery for

language and cognition shown to be present and active through fMRI data, stand not as a tabula rasa to be programmed through environmental stimuli, and certainly not as the rationalist would have humans as a completely pre-programmed organism that has very few cognitive menu items to choose from in responding to those very environmental stimuli. In essence, our brains are a combination of both, a set of basic predispositions that can be edited, not eliminated, but edited through environmental inputs, i.e., by ‘social facts.’

Sometimes called ‘moral foundations,’ they are a kind of ideal type, developed through humankind’s lifetime, to which sensory inputs are compared, or assigned a ‘use-value’ resulting in a hierarchical library of experiences, subsequently being utilized in a dual process of cognitive decision-making, both conscious, unconscious and in combination. We retain actions that appear to favor our goals, and discard or modify those that are perceived to be less than effective.

We also know, that these innate mechanisms include and are integral to our ability to communicate directly and abstractly through language. Language comes in various forms and here we do not refer to dialects, but goal-oriented formats. Habermas tells us, and Cook and Newson (1996) have shown support for this position through data collected from fMRI research, that typical conversations stimulate various centers of the brain, most notably, the centers controlling our emotions. Thus, speaking to a friend or casual conversations are based in what Habermas refers to as ‘communicative rationality.’

Conversely, if we have an overwhelming goal in mind, we often revert to ‘strategic rationality,’ where emotional centers are not stimulated as much as the calculative centers of the brain. So, if I am negotiating a price on a car or the settlement

of a piece of property, I am more likely engaging an econometric decision-making process devoid of most emotion in an attempt to get the best deal. It has been shown by Haidt and Kesebir (2010) and others, that this is often associated with politicians and other such professionals, where 'liberals' concerned with human welfare most often engage the former.

There are too, according to cognitive research, specific mechanisms in the brain that govern the activation of these communicative and strategic centers and are highly dependent upon the use-value mechanisms described earlier that are within the agents' library of experiences. Finally, two individuals that are engaging different communicative morphologies will often suffer higher levels of irritation and conflict (Walton, 2005; Wynn, 2008). This would certainly lend evidence to our discussion of misunderstanding or a misreading of symbols on the level of language as a representation of innate behavioral predispositions. However, this same use-value mechanism, edited through socialization in socio-cultural frames has direct impact on both how the individual perceives his environment, as well as the interactions between other members, both within the confines of his or her resident social system, or with others recognized as being outside that system, the proverbial 'outgroup,' taking the concepts of Boaz and Sapir to a higher level of explanation.

This research has made clear that the vastly different socializers of these three men, two similar one not, served to shape a cognitive machinery shown present through studies in cognitive and neurological sciences that directly impacted the way they perceived the world and most importantly, how they should interact with it. It also shows the necessity of understanding how that cognitive dual process decision-making

mechanism can be effected by education and understanding. Knowing the way in which those socio-cultural inputs are applied through different kinds of semantic and semiotic structures will allow us to develop assessment tools that will assist in the mediation processes that will prove long lasting and more effective. Understanding will no longer be an abstract concept, but one built upon the science of the mind.

**Question Two: Do evolved innate processes impact mediation outcomes?**

It has been established that genetically defined cognitive programming is edited by the socio-cultural environment in which the percipient exists, lending to the establishment of a use-value hierarchy manifest as preferences in behavior. The question centers upon whether or not this evolving hierarchy is a predictor of behavior within the context of a mediation event. This research has shown that indeed the hierarchy of use-value established through the interplay between evolved cognition and environmental stimuli appears to be the source of deep biases when a percipient ‘sees,’ consciously or unconsciously, a pattern reflective of earlier experience.

It is no wonder that Carter and Sadat doubted Begin’s trustworthiness based on experiential recognition. It does not appear in their writings that their prejudices were apparent to them relative to their own unique experiential histories. They reacted to Begin’s pursuit to achieve what they perceived to be a non-legitimate goal. Begin had no experiential investment in the Egyptian land under question in terms of historic interaction beyond biblical presumption. Sadat in the other hand why should he have it at all? He was not, in the perception of Sadat and Carter, concerned with its nurturance or well-being (Harm/Care). The innate use-value elements in Carter and Sadat were emotionally and historically the same. The land was a part of their emotional and

ideological, intangible, substance where Begin's perceptions of the land were in direct contrast to the other two men, theirs was one of sacred foundation, and his was one of possession. Here again is a demonstration of Begin utilizing both binding and individual foundations, where Carter and Sadat used only the first two similar to Haidt's (2008) discussion of political affiliations. In addition, the language used by Begin was indicative more of binding foundational influence than individualist. He demonstrated that his loyalty lay with his perceived supporters, that there was no purpose to nurture or care for the land beyond its monetary and strategic worth his only attachment was ideological and that too according to some observers, could change with the tide.

Lying at the heart of the discussion of land and one's investment in its nurturance are the principles' perception of human rights of the people attached to it. This is found as the premise of the second major theme, fairness and cheating. Historically, Carter had seen the abuses prevalent in the ultra-segregationist South of the 1930's. His pattern recognition associated these inequities with Black Americans who were his friends and socializers making the witnessing of human rights violations, particularly of dark skinned people that much more poignant for him. His current and notable work in Africa could also be said to support that pattern. These early observations that directly impacted Carter's evolved systems played themselves out again upon first meeting Sadat, a man of very dark skin, being associated with friends and family, fighting for the oppressed and standing up to authority he deemed non-legitimate in its action. These were reinforced in Carter's observation and perception of Begin. The bond between Carter and Sadat was inevitable and in play before the two men ever met face to face.

Sadat had seen the human rights violations of the occupying British on his village. Later he fought, as did his personal heroes, to rid his land of the occupiers, who again, had no investment in it as did his neighbors and later a pattern associated with Begin. Sadat often declared that he would always force out the occupiers who had nothing to do with his land and who 'poisoned' his people referring to the story of Zahran. Both men, Carter and Sadat, universalized their perception of human rights to everyone oppressed and adopted it as the main plank in their foreign policies.

Outside his group of revisionists, Begin showed little if any concern for the human rights of others. He was the watchman of revisionist Zionists and would fight to acquire what he deemed as their entitlement and to keep out anyone that sought to take it away or disagree with his principles. Many writers observed that Begin, as well as many of his predecessors like Theodor Herzl, did not even recognize the existence of the resident Arab population in Palestine and later in the Sinai, the land they believed was biblically theirs or possessed through conquest. If not ignored, the resident Arabs were demonized, making it easier for Israeli military forces to remove or simply to kill them if they fought for what they believed to be rightfully theirs, seeing the Jews as occupiers as they previously had the British. He labeled them as an existential threat if anywhere near the Israeli settlements, often invoking Jewish victimhood from the Holocaust or diaspora to justify what otherwise would be considered human rights violations by the U.N. who once referred to Begin as a racist.

This is in contrast to Carter and Sadat whose perception of human rights was universal. Their language was inclusive and was historically linked to their observations as children. Begin's language was exclusive of anyone outside of his group, contrasting



the very premise of the use-value mechanisms and primary descriptive themes of his counterparts. Where Sadat and Carter used their language as a descriptor for their inner foundations, emotionally based communication, Begin used language as a weapon, one that was directly probative to gather facts, and one that claimed a victimhood in an effort to touch the emotional triggers of those he considered opponents. Speeches and writings made by Begin to members within his group, is not used as a bargaining tool as it is when he is playing for additional resources or strategies, but more as a rallying call to arms in an effort to crystalize an opposition group to whom he perceived as anyone not falling in line with his march toward Israeli possession.

It is perfectly clear that the personal histories of all three men weighed heavily on how they perceived their world, and how they chose to interact with elements within it. There are clear indications that the way they felt about the world, and particularly in this case about each other, bore strong ties to their personal histories. Recurrent themes are seen among and between the three men, each reflecting an experiential history that gave value to elements within their current social environment. Carter and Sadat had both been children of the land and a childhood where they definitely identify a place where they grew up and their social histories were formed. Their primary socializers were their families who focused on fairness, nurturance of others as a leader and care for the very land that gave and sustained their lives.

Begin grew up in a world of conflict. He was a child of the diaspora and taught by his father and a radical Zionist that their only true home was Eretz Israel and anyone that stood in the way of achieving the goal of settling there was an enemy of all Jews. Begin could not point to a place and call it home. Early on he had perceived a world of Jews and

of the Goyim that he was taught controlled them, killed them and victimized them. Begin did not have the emotional capacity for nurturance and rarely was shown as kind or gentle as opposed to radical and violent. His moral compass pointed toward exclusionism, disgust of out-group members and the demonization of others that stood in his way. The only legitimate authority was his, and others would never, could never be recognized and therefore should be also seen as an obstacle.

**Question Three: Is there an observable difference in situational responses between conflict stakeholders that can be attributed to differences in their socio-cultural history?**

This qualitative study has shown a significant manifestation of behavioral predispositions that support our notion that there are internal human processes that significantly impact whether or not individuals will get along or not, and how this can impact the mediation process. Specifically, we examined three men engaged in what has been referred to as a geo-political breakthrough for the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Camp David Accords. The primary subjects under study were its key players, President Jimmy Carter of the United States, President Anwar al-Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Menachem Begin from Israel. They were chosen specifically for the culturally diverse environments they came from in order to test our underlying presumptions.

It would be expected that cultural dissonance would almost predestine the dynamics between the three principles given historic media and academic accounts. They had never met each other, and in fact Carter had never met an Arab before Sadat. His only experience in the Middle East was a trip to meet Golda Meir, more as a religious pilgrimage than political mission and he expressed quite a positive report on his trip and the hospitality experienced in Israel. At one point he was convinced that Israel needed his

help to realize its dream of legitimate Statehood, something he had also learned during the Sunday school classes at Plains when he was a boy.

Sadat and Begin had also never met each other, although the cultural conflict between the Arabs and Jews was extraordinary and admittedly must have had been the primary contributor to what Sadat referred to as the “psychological barrier” between Arabs and Jews that prevented constructive peace negotiations. Even before their first meeting, Carter was ‘disturbed’ by what he had learned of Begin and found his rhetoric in a media news show horrifying. On the other hand, he found the background on Sadat quite the opposite and expressed positive feelings of being able to ‘get something done’ after being briefed by his foreign relations team. Between all three, before they were ever in the same room together, the feelings expressed in their own writings was reciprocated three ways.

The research shows that the themes of Harm/Care and Fairness/Cheating were prevalent in Sadat and Carter’s writing and outside reports, where Loyalty/Betrayal, Authority/Subversion and Sanctity/Degradation were most prevalent in Begin’s. We should note that in line with Moral Foundations Theory (Graham, et al, 2011) and the decision-making calculus implied there, that Begin did exhibit the first two individualistic themes, but only as they related to those he deemed inside his identified group of revisionists. Conversely he demonstrated that he could withdraw that concern should they prove disloyal or perceived to be without the appropriate amount of conviction. Figure three shows the association between major themes, their evolved purpose, and associated use-values and how they are behaviorally manifested.

Their own words describe a dislike between Carter and Begin as well as between Sadat and Begin to the point of open contempt. Begin was not fond of any one of the other two and appeared to hold both in equal derision on a personal level although it becomes readily apparent that Begin almost instinctively confounds politics and personal feelings, something Haidt would declare as a direct reflection of innate predispositions and Greene (2007) would conclude was a reflection of dual process cognition.

Sadat and Carter on the other hand, seemed to reflect a strong liking for each other before they ever met. This would give rise to our first interest in answering the question as to why? Why did one like the other, and one not like either? Was it purely due to a reading of personal histories that triggered old prejudices and even if that were true, what caused these feelings to manifest themselves, and could that impact any future meetings between the three? The old proverb of judging a book by its cover seems appropriate here. The task of the research was investigate what might prove to be unconscious use-value triggers that underscores these feelings and resultant decisions of interaction.

The writings of the three subjects under study clearly showed their initial personal appraisals of each other reflected in their recollections and reports. Themes coming out of the collection of personal autobiographies and diaries support our initial impressions that there were, in fact, predispositions on the part of the men before their first meetings that were only made more apparent following initial personal contact. These same themes are supported by other observers in biographies and observations of advisors and assistants giving a level of validity to these findings. Upon the first face to face meeting of each subject, these same themes are repeated indicating a true dislike and distrust between

Sadat and Begin, and Carter and Begin, and a true deep friendship and trust between Sadat and Carter. These behaviors did not change during the Accords, but perhaps might have softened a bit over time (Perlmutter, 1987).

Outside observers were quick to point out these associations and speculate upon how those relationships might either support or doom the up and coming Camp David mediations. They made clear the dislike between Begin and the other two subjects and relished in commenting on how close Carter and Sadat had become. That speculation grew into what was frequently referred to as a coalition of forces, Carter and Sadat versus Begin. Begin and his entourage were never remiss in utilizing this perception by the media in their pressuring certain points during the mediation, again, Begin playing on his role as victim in trying to sway Carter into submitting to his plan making clear that he understood the relationship between Carter and Sadat, taking the role of victim or odd man out.

**Question Four: Are these differences in situational responses a result of individual perceptions whose value is grounded in socio-cultural experiences?**

Trying to explain how these coalitions and conflicts formed is a matter of revisiting the original material on cognitive functioning and use-value assignment seen in our major themes taken from MFT; harm/care, Fairness/ Cheating; Loyalty/Betrayal; Authority/Subversion and Sanctity/Degradation. How these relate to each of the subjects is important based on our additional knowledge of emotion-based pattern recognition; the way in which the brain identifies threat and non-threat, the hierarchy of use-value experiences and how these are integrated into a dual process of decision-making.

Revisiting the subject matter concerning Carter, Sadat and Begin we see two overwhelming themes to which the use-value metrics of our major categories can be

directly applied or associated; the land and human rights. Ancillary to these but no less important is how these are expressed through language. The underlying probative question here is how these two sub-themes relate to our primary use-value calculus above. The short answer is that perception on the land by each subject and their concern for human rights is a direct reflection on the five use-value themes. It is important then to understand how these use-values, within a frame of symbolic interaction (Charmaz, 2014) impacted how the subjects regarded each other and how this is tied to the brain's pattern recognition function. Finally, are those use-values that we have shown directly impacting social interaction, perceived by outside observers as they might be by the actors themselves?

Carter and Sadat had a direct personal association with the land. When they were young it provided their very livelihoods for them and their families through agriculture. Because of that, the land stood as a standard for many other aspects of their lives, who they associated with, where they lived, the environmental stimuli indicative of an agricultural society, Re., mechanical solidarity, and the language that was used to describe all of these elements. The land, its use and occupation were a visceral part of who they were, driven home by the lessons learned and observed by their childhood primary socializers.

Their use-value of people, could be directly associated with the level of personal investment one had in the land or a representation of it. This personal investment can be translated as nurturance, of the land to produce food, or of people to provide a good and productive member of society. Here I do not speak specifically of land that Sadat and Carter may have owned personally, but more how that initial feeling taught to them by

their father and grandmother respectively, extended to anyone demonstrating a perceived investment through work, family or history. In a sense, these connections were both tangible and intangible and became a major part of the experiential, unconscious calculus in their decision-making processes. It might be acceptable to say, as Haidt extended the inclusion of his moral foundations as determinants of political affiliations, that this innate valuation of people mirrored the emotion and experience associated with Carter and Sadat's experiences and patterns associated with the land.

It is also demonstrated through their own and others' writing, that when Carter and Sadat describe the land, the language used is soft and often gives way to anthropomorphizing, giving a gender identity of she. We often hear Carter and Sadat refer to Egypt as she and attributing descriptions as the 'mother' of humankind, or offering 'her' resources to keep her 'children' alive and safe. This is seen repeatedly in their writing and in their speeches to international audiences. Rarely, does either Carter or Sadat refer to the land as "it" or simply as a geographical point on a map. On reflection, both men appear to apply the same use-value processes to the land as they would to a human being.

One can identify elements of both themes of Harm/Care and Fairness/Cheating in how they describe the land; Carter being told by his father and his Black caregiver Rachael Clark that the it should be respected and cared for, nurtured as it provides those things that nurture us. Sadat was told by his grandmother that all things come from the land and that humankind is its caregiver, looking after it for God. The language used by both socializers reflected use-values of kindness and proportionality, altruism and reciprocity. These things are later seen in both their predispositions for empathy, justice

and human rights. There seems to be almost a direct transfer of emotions and value between the land that provides for the people, and for the people that provide for the land. Repeatedly in both Sadat and Carter there is the ascription of human qualities mentioning the 'land' specifically or in a general sense when they speak of caring for the 'earth.' These qualities appears to underlie the vehement dissociation between Begin and the two other actors.

Begin views the land from the aspect of a tangible thing upon which to place settlers; a legitimization of a presumed biblical right of ownership, a symbolic but primarily geographical holding on a map. While Begin will only refer to the West Bank as Samaria and Judea, the biblical reference, it is never referred to with any emotional qualities. The land is referred to more as a corporate point of order on some ideological agenda. It is simply a piece of property that was deeded by God to the Jews and should be surrendered by its Arab residents by default. There is no indication of dispositions found in the major themes of harm/care nor fairness/cheating. He does not speak of nurturing or caring for the land even though the primary source of support was agricultural.

Certainly there was no equality attached to its use or stewardship. This was a contractual arrangement between begin and his revisionists, and God. It was his and he would do whatever it took to possess it. . The same labeling occurs when he refers to possession of the Sinai following the Six Day War. He won it, it's his and he will not give 'it' back to its rightful owners as declared by the UN resolution 242. Again, no emotion, no reciprocity, no kindness or gentleness indicative of the first two themes. Instead, a coldness that reflects strategic rationality, a corporate deal.



Here we see a direct contrast between the decision-making elements of Begin and his counterparts. He sees the land as a tangible place to occupy, a resource that is necessary for his social group that will provide the resources for their survival, although there is a confounding of actual and political survival. The use-value here is more of monetary and strategic positioning as opposed to Carter and Sadat whose value lay primarily in emotional experiences. The binding foundations are prominent in the Begin's decision-making that create policy and his actions at Camp David. Sadat and Carter on the other hand, focus more on the intangible elements of the land, its human qualities and how that will nurture her people. Where Begin is talking unemotionally about a house, Carter and Sadat are protecting the mother that protects her children.

That is not to say that Begin was not passionate during his oratory concerning the land in question. He was trained and regarded as being quite the debater. Quite the contrary. What is at issue is the way in which he uses his language to establish his claims. His semantics are strategic and utilize the necessary tools in order to achieve his goal of occupation; something he demonstrated many times. The establishment of Israeli settlements in the Sinai and the West Bank during the Camp David talks had the impact of creating even more distrust among opposite sides, but serving as a legitimation of their earlier impressions of Begin. This played directly towards Sadat and Carter's sense of Loyalty and Betrayal, the third theme. As far as Begin was concerned however, his sense of loyalty and betrayal only played toward his supporters, not to the mediation parties.

### **Conclusion**

This grounded theory study has sought to discover an explanation for or the reasons behind what Bercovitch considers the 'mediocre' results of mediations. It

reviewed the prevailing theories in the conflict resolution literature where the primary themes centered upon cultural dissonance and mediator bias. It also reviewed what some researchers historically regarded as solutions to these issues in the form of Contact Theory (Allport, 1954). Here, great faith was placed in humankind's ability to cooperate if a human understanding of disputants' motivations might be collectively examined and if disputants could "get to know each other as people". The preliminary review of this literature failed to provide an explanation however, as to first, why cultural dissonance is such a powerful social fact impacting the success rates of mediations and second, why contact theory is so sanguine in its expectations, but historically insipid in its results.

It became apparent from reading historic and contemporary research findings that an explanation providing more depth of understanding was necessary if mediation was to see an increase in successes and sustainability. While this research did not intentionally set out to disprove any existing theories, it did provide a new lens through which to review earlier results of other research concentrations like cultural dissonance and human factors. In order to answer the question of mediation performance, and in concert with existing research in culture and conflict, it was necessary to identify a conflict that could provide a diversity of socio-cultural backgrounds for the study subjects, and one in which disputants were in direct contact with each other during mediation proceedings.

In pursuit of a new explanation, the pragmatism of symbolic grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014) employing the probative tools of content analysis was utilized to identify a dispute that would provide all of the elements necessary to first formulate research questions, and then to search for themes that could lead to an answer to the overriding question of why mediations are not more successful. The Camp David

Accords that sought a peace between Israel and Egypt in 1978 mediated by President Jimmy Carter provided that opportunity. Literature was assembled that gave accounts not only of the proceedings themselves, but of the three principles identified to examine, President Carter, Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

In the early stages of gathering data themes began to emerge leading to an abductive moment (Pierce, 1931-35) and a common observation. From their first meeting, Carter and Sadat appeared to genuinely like each other where neither cared for Begin. Conversely, Begin appeared not like either Carter or Sadat and would later complain of their 'alliance' in attempting to pressure Israel into various capitulations on mediation points. This perception was later shown to be the same for outside observers who were direct parties to the mediation, or reporters of the proceedings gathering secondary information from other participants. These early discoveries led to the overriding research question; if a mediator likes one disputant over another will this be manifest in actual bias on the part of the mediator toward one or the others disputants and will that bias be perceived by those disputants.

This led to the second research question; what are the influences that stand as a causal element to a mediator liking, or preferring one disputant over another? Taking a cue from earlier research it seemed that similarity in cultural histories stood as the top explanation. But that research did not offer an explanation as to why this was so. Pierce (1965) and then more recently Corbin and Strauss (2014) observed that during any kind of research, the researcher is influenced by his or her previous knowledge, particularly as

might relate to the topic under investigation. These influences and experiences give rise to questions based on recognizable patterns being seen in the analysis.

My research experience lies in two significant areas, social science and neuroscience. The patterns that I recognize dealt with how the brain processes information that it gathers from its environment through its sensory net. So, cultural dissonance became not simply an external social fact that acted upon the subject, but an element of a decision-making calculus that was shown by Greene (2007) to be a dual process of conscious and unconscious processes. In addition, none of the cultural experiences of the subject were ever 'forgotten.' Rather, they were placed in a library of life-experience to be recalled based on the brains recognized patterns similarity and inserted into the decision-making apparatus. My next inquiry relative to how cultural dissonance impacts disputants' attitudes toward each other, both during contact and by insinuation, centered on how these experiences, as in any econometric formulae, were prioritized to influence a decision outcome.

These questions led me to the work of Jon Haidt (2012) in developing Moral Foundations Theory; the conclusion that human beings have a set of primitive responses to external stimuli that guides them in their interactive decisions. The five foundations were applicable and availed themselves as primary themes in examining the behaviors of the study subjects. A codicil to the theory that was discovered in additional neuroscience studies was that these primitive responses were regarded only as first editions, and could be modified with the input of other sensory data, i.e., the individual could learn to unconsciously prioritize the information.

Working with the tools of content analysis and the symbolic interaction frame of constructivist grounded theory, I was led to investigate how these priorities might be expressed. The notion that language served as humankind's greatest symbol stood as an obvious, though abductive, focus given we think and communicate in language. Knowing that language is also culturally specific and a key in the earlier concepts of cultural dissonance through, weakly explained, misunderstandings between disputants, data that showed the mechanism of language construction was investigated showing a distinct difference between the way people communicate in situationally specific instances. Using Habermas' communicative and strategic rationalities the difference between emotion and non-emotionally-based communication became a very relevant variable in assessing the likes and dislikes of mediators and disputants by the manner in which they express their thoughts, the purpose of that expression and the semantic construction of the messages they transmit.

Combining MFT, Chomsky's universal grammar (1970; 1972) and cognitive science, it became (abductively) apparent that the brain, through recognized and patterned experiences placed what this research defines as "use-value" on the symbols that constitute thought and language. The research determined that this use-value, like the MFT themes that could represent an evolved 'ideal type,' can be influenced by socio-cultural definitions acquired during early socialization. This notion of use-value, when placed within the calculus of dual-process decision-making within the brains pattern recognition machinery and expressed through value-weighted symbolism in language would stand as a testable hypothesis for a) why a mediator might prefer one disputant

over another and b) why the mediator might be (unconsciously) compelled to show manifest bias.

Proceeding under these preliminary findings, the concept was applied to Carter, Sadat and Begin within the context of the Camp David mediation. The notion of a use-value that lends itself to decision-making, culturally influenced and expressed through identifiable linguistic constructs proved itself to be a viable explanation and answer to the research questions. In every instance, the socio-cultural history of each man made itself apparent in their interactions and their decisions. The best explanation, superficially identified without explanation by Bush (2005) and others was that individuals coming from similar cultural backgrounds are more likely to agree upon both tangible and intangible aspects of disputes leading to higher mediation success rates than those coming from different cultural environments. This research has not only supported that conclusion, but has now gone to provide a best explanation for why this is true.

### **Future Research**

This constructivist grounded theory study (Charmaz, 2014) has provided testable explanations for why cultural dissonance stands as a significant influence over the success rates of mediation processes. While evidence was gathered using the tools of content analysis in interrogating the words and perceptions of the subjects under examination and outside observers to provide validity to the perceptions of the primary percipients, these conclusions can be tested using traditional methods of inquiry such as data gained through observation or interview, the concept of use-value linked to Habermasian language construction as a reflection of inner decision-making processes can be also tested using modern technology. In the course of this research it became

apparent that by examining responses using fMRI data and translating those into probative instruments to be given to potential mediators, it will be effective in providing more appropriate ‘matches’ of mediators to disputes within the assumption of mediator neutrality.

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## Appendix A: The Balfour Declaration

**The Balfour Declaration (it its entirety)**

Foreign Office  
November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,  
Arthur James Balfour

## Appendix B: British Mandate of 1920

### British White Paper on Palestine 1939

In the statement on Palestine, issued on 9 November, 1938, His Majesty's Government announced their intention to invite representatives of the Arabs of Palestine, of certain neighboring countries and of the Jewish Agency to confer with them in London regarding future policy. It was their sincere hope that, as a result of full, free and frank discussions, some understanding might be reached. Conferences recently took place with Arab and Jewish delegations, lasting for a period of several weeks, and served the purpose of a complete exchange of views between British Ministers and the Arab and Jewish representatives. In the light of the discussions as well as of the situation in Palestine and of the Reports of the Royal Commission and the Partition Commission, certain proposals were formulated by His Majesty's Government and were laid before the Arab and Jewish Delegations as the basis of an agreed settlement. Neither the Arab nor the Jewish delegation felt able to accept these proposals, and the conferences therefore did not result in an agreement. Accordingly His Majesty's Government are free to formulate their own policy, and after careful consideration they have decided to adhere generally to the proposals which were finally submitted to and discussed with the Arab and Jewish delegations.

The [Mandate for Palestine](#), the terms of which were confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations in 1922, has governed the policy of successive British Governments for nearly 20 years. It embodies the [Balfour Declaration](#) and imposes on the Mandatory four main obligations. These obligations are set out in [Article 2](#), [6](#) and [13](#) of the Mandate. There is no dispute regarding the interpretation of one of these obligations, that touching the protection of and access to the Holy Places and religious building or sites. The other three main obligations are generally as follows:

To place the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish People. To facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and to encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency, close settlement by Jews on the Land.

To safeguard the civil and religious rights of all inhabitants of Palestine irrespective of race and religion, and, whilst facilitating Jewish immigration and settlement, to ensure that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced.

To place the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the development of self-governing institutions.

The Royal Commission and previous commissions of Enquiry have drawn attention to the ambiguity of certain expressions in the Mandate, such as the expression 'a national home for the Jewish people', and they have found in this ambiguity and the resulting uncertainty as to the objectives of policy a fundamental cause of unrest and hostility between Arabs and Jews. His Majesty's Government are convinced that in the interests of the peace and well-being of the whole people of Palestine a clear definition of policy and



objectives is essential. The proposal of partition recommended by the Royal Commission would have afforded such clarity, but the establishment of self-supporting independent Arab and Jewish States within Palestine has been found to be impracticable. It has therefore been necessary for His Majesty's Government to devise an alternative policy which will, consistent with their obligations to Arabs and Jews, meet the needs of the situation in Palestine. Their views and proposals are set forth below under three heads, Section I, "The Constitution", and Section II. Immigration and Section III. Land.

### **Section I. "The Constitution"**

It has been urged that the expression "a national home for the Jewish people" offered a prospect that Palestine might in due course become a Jewish State or Commonwealth. His Majesty's Government do not wish to contest the view, which was expressed by the Royal Commission, that the Zionist leaders at the time of the issue of the Balfour Declaration recognized that an ultimate Jewish State was not precluded by the terms of the Declaration. But, with the Royal Commission, His Majesty's Government believe that the framers of the [Mandate](#) in which the [Balfour Declaration](#) was embodied could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country. That Palestine was not to be converted into a Jewish State might be held to be implied in the passage from the [Command Paper of 1922](#) which reads as follows

"Unauthorized statements have been made to the effect that the purpose in view is to create a wholly Jewish Palestine. Phrases have been used such as that 'Palestine is to become as Jewish as England is English.' His Majesty's Government regard any such expectation as impracticable and have no such aim in view. Nor have they at any time contemplated the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language or culture in Palestine. They would draw attention to the fact that the terms of the (Balfour) Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded IN PALESTINE."

But this statement has not removed doubts, and His Majesty's Government therefore now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State. They would indeed regard it as contrary to their obligations to the Arabs under the Mandate, as well as to the assurances which have been given to the Arab people in the past, that the Arab population of Palestine should be made the subjects of a Jewish State against their will.

The nature of the Jewish National Home in Palestine was further described in the [Command Paper of 1922](#) as follows

"During the last two or three generations the Jews have recreated in Palestine a community now numbering 80,000, of whom about one fourth are farmers or workers upon the land. This community has its own political organs; an elected assembly for the direction of its domestic concerns; elected councils in the towns; and an organization for

the control of its schools. It has its elected Chief Rabbinate and Rabbinical Council for the direction of its religious affairs. Its business is conducted in Hebrew as a vernacular language, and a Hebrew press serves its needs. It has its distinctive intellectual life and displays considerable economic activity. This community, then, with its town and country population, its political, religious and social organizations, its own language, its own customs, its own life, has in fact `national' characteristics. When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a center in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection."

His Majesty's Government adhere to this interpretation of the [\(Balfour\) Declaration of 1917](#) and regard it as an authoritative and comprehensive description of the character of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. It envisaged the further development of the existing Jewish community with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world. Evidence that His Majesty's Government have been carrying out their obligation in this respect is to be found in the facts that, since the statement of 1922 was published, more than 300,000 Jews have immigrated to Palestine, and that the population of the National Home has risen to some 450,000, or approaching a third of the entire population of the country. Nor has the Jewish community failed to take full advantage of the opportunities given to it. The growth of the Jewish National Home and its achievements in many fields are a remarkable constructive effort which must command the admiration of the world and must be, in particular, a source of pride to the Jewish people.

In the recent discussions the Arab delegations have repeated the contention that Palestine was included within the area in which Sir Henry McMahon, on behalf of the British Government, in October, 1915, undertook to recognize and support Arab independence. The validity of this claim, based on the terms of the correspondence which passed between Sir Henry McMahon and the Sharif of Mecca, was thoroughly and carefully investigated by the British and Arab representatives during the recent conferences in London. Their report, which has been published, states that both the Arab and the British representatives endeavored to understand the point of view of the other party but that they were unable to reach agreement upon an interpretation of the correspondence. There is no need to summarize here the arguments presented by each side. His Majesty's Government regret the misunderstandings which have arisen as regards some of the phrases used. For their part they can only adhere, for the reasons given by their representatives in the Report, to the view that the whole of Palestine west of Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge, and they therefore cannot agree that the McMahon

correspondence forms a just basis for the claim that Palestine should be converted into an Arab State.

His Majesty's Government are charged as the Mandatory authority "to secure the development of self-governing institutions" in Palestine. Apart from this specific obligation, they would regard it as contrary to the whole spirit of the Mandate system that the population of Palestine should remain forever under Mandatory tutelage. It is proper that the people of the country should as early as possible enjoy the rights of self-government which are exercised by the people of neighboring countries. His Majesty's Government are unable at present to foresee the exact constitutional forms which government in Palestine will eventually take, but their objective is self-government, and they desire to see established ultimately an independent Palestine State. It should be a State in which the two peoples in Palestine, Arabs and Jews, share authority in government in such a way that the essential interests of each are shared.

The establishment of an independent State and the complete relinquishment of Mandatory control in Palestine would require such relations between the Arabs and the Jews as would make good government possible. Moreover, the growth of self-governing institutions in Palestine, as in other countries, must be an evolutionary process. A transitional period will be required before independence is achieved, throughout which ultimate responsibility for the Government of the country will be retained by His Majesty's Government as the Mandatory authority, while the people of the country are taking an increasing share in the Government, and understanding and cooperation amongst them are growing. It will be the constant endeavour of His Majesty's Government to promote good relations between the Arabs and the Jews.

In the light of these considerations His Majesty's Government make the following declaration of their intentions regarding the future government of Palestine:

The objective of His Majesty's Government is the establishment within 10 years of an independent Palestine State in such treaty relations with the United Kingdom as will provide satisfactorily for the commercial and strategic requirements of both countries in the future. The proposal for the establishment of the independent State would involve consultation with the Council of the League of Nations with a view to the termination of the [Mandate](#).

The independent State should be one in which Arabs and Jews share government in such a way as to ensure that the essential interests of each community are safeguarded.

The establishment of the independent State will be preceded by a transitional period throughout which His Majesty's Government will retain responsibility for the country. During the transitional period the people of Palestine will be given an increasing part in the government of their country. Both sections of the population will have an opportunity to participate in the machinery of government, and the process will be carried on whether or not they both avail themselves of it.

As soon as peace and order have been sufficiently restored in Palestine steps will be taken to carry out this policy of giving the people of Palestine an increasing part in the government of their country, the objective being to place Palestinians in charge of all the Departments of Government, with the assistance of British advisers and subject to the control of the High Commissioner. Arab and Jewish representatives will be invited to serve as heads of Departments approximately in proportion to their respective populations. The number of Palestinians in charge of Departments will be increased as circumstances permit until all heads of Departments are Palestinians, exercising the administrative and advisory functions which are presently performed by British officials. When that stage is reached consideration will be given to the question of converting the Executive Council into a Council of Ministers with a consequential change in the status and functions of the Palestinian heads of Departments.

His Majesty's Government make no proposals at this stage regarding the establishment of an elective legislature. Nevertheless they would regard this as an appropriate constitutional development, and, should public opinion in Palestine hereafter show itself in favour of such a development, they will be prepared, provided that local conditions permit, to establish the necessary machinery.

At the end of five years from the restoration of peace and order, an appropriate body representative of the people of Palestine and of His Majesty's Government will be set up to review the working of the constitutional arrangements during the transitional period and to consider and make recommendations regarding the constitution of the independent Palestine State.

His Majesty's Government will require to be satisfied that in the treaty contemplated by sub-paragraph (6) adequate provision has been made for:

the security of, and freedom of access to the Holy Places, and protection of the interests and property of the various religious bodies.

the protection of the different communities in Palestine in accordance with the obligations of His Majesty's Government to both Arabs and Jews and for the special position in Palestine of the Jewish National Home.

such requirements to meet the strategic situation as may be regarded as necessary by His Majesty's Government in the light of the circumstances then existing. His Majesty's Government will also require to be satisfied that the interests of certain foreign countries in Palestine, for the preservation of which they are at present responsible, are adequately safeguarded.

His Majesty's Government will do everything in their power to create conditions which will enable the independent Palestine State to come into being within 10 years. If, at the end of 10 years, it appears to His Majesty's Government that, contrary to their hope, circumstances require the postponement of the establishment of the independent State, they will consult with representatives of the people of Palestine, the Council of the

League of Nations and the neighboring Arab States before deciding on such a postponement. If His Majesty's Government come to the conclusion that postponement is unavoidable, they will invite the co-operation of these parties in framing plans for the future with a view to achieving the desired objective at the earliest possible date.

During the transitional period steps will be taken to increase the powers and responsibilities of municipal corporations and local councils.

## **Section II. Immigration**

Under [Article 6 of the Mandate](#), the Administration of Palestine, "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced," is required to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions." Beyond this, the extent to which Jewish immigration into Palestine is to be permitted is nowhere defined in the Mandate. But in the [Command Paper of 1922](#) it was laid down that for the fulfilment of the policy of establishing a Jewish National Home:

"it is necessary that the Jewish community in Palestine should be able to increase its numbers by immigration. This immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals. It is essential to ensure that the immigrants should not be a burden upon the people of Palestine as a whole, and that they should not deprive any section of the present population of their employment."

In practice, from that date onwards until recent times, the economic absorptive capacity of the country has been treated as the sole limiting factor, and in the letter which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as Prime Minister, sent to Dr. Weizmann in February 1931 it was laid down as a matter of policy that economic absorptive capacity was the sole criterion. This interpretation has been supported by resolutions of the Permanent Mandates Commissioner. But His Majesty's Government do not read either the Statement of Policy of 1922 or the letter of 1931 as implying that the [Mandate](#) requires them, for all time and in all circumstances, to facilitate the immigration of Jews into Palestine subject only to consideration of the country's economic absorptive capacity. Nor do they find anything in the Mandate or in subsequent Statements of Policy to support the view that the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine cannot be effected unless immigration is allowed to continue indefinitely. If immigration has an adverse effect on the economic position in the country, it should clearly be restricted; and equally, if it has a seriously damaging effect on the political position in the country, that is a factor that should not be ignored. Although it is not difficult to contend that the large number of Jewish immigrants who have been admitted so far have been absorbed economically, the fear of the Arabs that this influx will continue indefinitely until the Jewish population is in a position to dominate them has produced consequences which are extremely grave for Jews and Arabs alike and for the peace and prosperity of Palestine. The lamentable disturbances of the past three years are only the latest and most sustained manifestation of this intense Arab apprehension. The methods employed by Arab terrorists against fellow Arabs and Jews alike must receive unqualified condemnation. But it cannot be denied

that fear of indefinite Jewish immigration is widespread amongst the Arab population and that this fear has made possible disturbances which have given a serious setback to economic progress, depleted the Palestine exchequer, rendered life and property insecure, and produced a bitterness between the Arab and Jewish populations which is deplorable between citizens of the same country. If in these circumstances immigration is continued up to the economic absorptive capacity of the country, regardless of all other considerations, a fatal enmity between the two peoples will be perpetuated, and the situation in Palestine may become a permanent source of friction amongst all peoples in the Near and Middle East. His Majesty's Government cannot take the view that either their obligations under the Mandate, or considerations of common sense and justice, require that they should ignore these circumstances in framing immigration policy.

In the view of the Royal Commission the association of the policy of the Balfour Declaration with the Mandate system implied the belief that Arab hostility to the former would sooner or later be overcome. It has been the hope of British Governments ever since the [Balfour Declaration](#) was issued that in time the Arab population, recognizing the advantages to be derived from Jewish settlement and development in Palestine, would become reconciled to the further growth of the Jewish National Home. This hope has not been fulfilled. The alternatives before His Majesty's Government are either (i) to seek to expand the Jewish National Home indefinitely by immigration, against the strongly expressed will of the Arab people of the country; or (ii) to permit further expansion of the Jewish National Home by immigration only if the Arabs are prepared to acquiesce in it. The former policy means rule by force. Apart from other considerations, such a policy seems to His Majesty's Government to be contrary to the whole spirit of [Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations](#), as well as to their specific obligations to the Arabs in the Palestine Mandate. Moreover, the relations between the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine must be based sooner or later on mutual tolerance and goodwill; the peace, security and progress of the Jewish National Home itself requires this. Therefore His Majesty's Government, after earnest consideration, and taking into account the extent to which the growth of the Jewish National Home has been facilitated over the last twenty years, have decided that the time has come to adopt in principle the second of the alternatives referred to above.

It has been urged that all further Jewish immigration into Palestine should be stopped forthwith. His Majesty's Government cannot accept such a proposal. It would damage the whole of the financial and economic system of Palestine and thus effect adversely the interests of Arabs and Jews alike. Moreover, in the view of His Majesty's Government, abruptly to stop further immigration would be unjust to the Jewish National Home. But, above all, His Majesty's Government are conscious of the present unhappy plight of large numbers of Jews who seek refuge from certain European countries, and they believe that Palestine can and should make a further contribution to the solution of this pressing world problem. In all these circumstances, they believe that they will be acting consistently with their Mandatory obligations to both Arabs and Jews, and in the manner best calculated to serve the interests of the whole people of Palestine, by adopting the following proposals regarding immigration:

Jewish immigration during the next five years will be at a rate which, if economic absorptive capacity permits, will bring the Jewish population up to approximately one third of the total population of the country. Taking into account the expected natural increase of the Arab and Jewish populations, and the number of illegal Jewish immigrants now in the country, this would allow of the admission, as from the beginning of April this year, of some 75,000 immigrants over the next five years. These immigrants would, subject to the criterion of economic absorptive capacity, be admitted as follows:

For each of the next five years a quota of 10,000 Jewish immigrants will be allowed on the understanding that a shortage one year may be added to the quotas for subsequent years, within the five year period, if economic absorptive capacity permits.

In addition, as a contribution towards the solution of the Jewish refugee problem, 25,000 refugees will be admitted as soon as the High Commissioner is satisfied that adequate provision for their maintenance is ensured, special consideration being given to refugee children and dependents.

The existing machinery for ascertaining economic absorptive capacity will be retained, and the High Commissioner will have the ultimate responsibility for deciding the limits of economic capacity. Before each periodic decision is taken, Jewish and Arab representatives will be consulted.

After the period of five years, no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it.

His Majesty's Government are determined to check illegal immigration, and further preventive measures are being adopted. The numbers of any Jewish illegal immigrants who, despite these measures, may succeed in coming into the country and cannot be deported will be deducted from the yearly quotas.

His Majesty's Government are satisfied that, when the immigration over five years which is now contemplated has taken place, they will not be justified in facilitating, nor will they be under any obligation to facilitate, the further development of the Jewish National Home by immigration regardless of the wishes of the Arab population.

### **Section III. Land**

**The Administration of Palestine is required, under [Article 6 of the Mandate](#), "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced," to encourage "close settlement by Jews on the land," and no restriction has been imposed hitherto on the transfer of land from Arabs to Jews. The Reports of several expert Commissions have indicated that, owing to the natural growth of the Arab population and the steady sale in recent years of Arab land to Jews, there is now in certain areas no room for further transfers of Arab land,**



**whilst in some other areas such transfers of land must be restricted if Arab cultivators are to maintain their existing standard of life and a considerable landless Arab population is not soon to be created. In these circumstances, the High Commissioner will be given general powers to prohibit and regulate transfers of land. These powers will date from the publication of this statement of policy and the High Commissioner will retain them throughout the transitional period.**

The policy of the Government will be directed towards the development of the land and the improvement, where possible, of methods of cultivation. In the light of such development it will be open to the High Commissioner, should he be satisfied that the "rights and position" of the Arab population will be duly preserved, to review and modify any orders passed relating to the prohibition or restriction of the transfer of land.

In framing these proposals His Majesty's Government have sincerely endeavored to act in strict accordance with their obligations under the Mandate to both the Arabs and the Jews. The vagueness of the phrases employed in some instances to describe these obligations has led to controversy and has made the task of interpretation difficult. His Majesty's Government cannot hope to satisfy the partisans of one party or the other in such controversy as the Mandate has aroused. Their purpose is to be just as between the two people in Palestine whose destinies in that country have been affected by the great events of recent years, and who, since they live side by side, must learn to practice mutual tolerance, goodwill and cooperation. In looking to the future, His Majesty's Government are not blind to the fact that some events of the past make the task of creating these relations difficult; but they are encouraged by the knowledge that as many times and in many places in Palestine during recent years the Arab and Jewish inhabitants have lived in friendship together. Each community has much to contribute to the welfare of their common land, and each must earnestly desire peace in which to assist in increasing the well-being of the whole people of the country. The responsibility which falls on them, no less than upon His Majesty's Government, to cooperate together to ensure peace is all the more solemn because their country is revered by many millions of Moslems, Jews and Christians throughout the world who pray for peace in Palestine and for the happiness of her people

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UNITED  
NATIONS

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**Security  
Council**

S/RES/242 (1967)  
22 November 1967

**Resolution 242 (1967)  
of 22 November 1967**

*The Security Council,*

*Expressing* its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,  
*Emphasizing* the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,  
*Emphasizing further* that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the [Charter](#),

1. *Affirms* that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

(i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from [territories](#) occupied in the recent conflict;  
(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. *Affirms further* the necessity

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;  
(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;  
(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to designate a [Special Representative](#) to proceed to the

Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

*Adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting*