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**IDENTITY, ENTITLEMENT AND VIOLENCE: A CROSS ANALYSIS OF INTIMATE
PARTNER DOMESTIC VIOLENCE WITH THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT**

Troy D. Montes

PIM 67

A Capstone Paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Conflict Transformation with a concentration in Conflict and Development at the SIT Graduate Institute in Brattleboro, Vermont, USA.

May 25, 2012

Advisor: Dr. Paula Green

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DEDICATION

To my wife Stevie whose unyielding love and passion for life have made her the greatest reward I could have ever discovered at SIT. Without her patience and support this paper would not have been realized. Also to my sunshine Savannah جميلة for whom I hope to play a part in creating a more harmonious world. Immeasurable gratitude to my family and many thanks to my fellow Chipmunks who inspire me to participate in transforming the world for the better. Finalmente, a mis socios de La Isla de Ometepe y también a las gentes humildes de Santa Paula de Apastepeque y de Las Tunas de Lislique con quienes empecé este viaje.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

Conflict Transformation (CT)

Domestic Abuse/Domestic Violence (DV)

Domestic Violence Intervention Education (DVI)

Domestic Violence Deferred Sentencing (DVDS)

Israeli Defense Forces (IDF)

Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT)

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

Palestinian Authority/Palestinian National Authority (PA/PNA)

Palestinian National Council (PNC)

Peace Corps Volunteer (PCV)

SIT Graduate Institute (SIT)

United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)

United States of America (US)

Washington County Community Corrections (WCCC)

ABSTRACT

What root cause(s) does intimate partner domestic violence share with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict if any?

This capstone investigates the root causes associated with domestic violence and compares such causes with those associated with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict to determine if the violence associated with both phenomena shares anything in common. Research regarding domestic violence was conducted at Washington County Department of Community Corrections (Oregon). Quantitative research included totaling the number of domestic violence cases supervised by the county and calculating what percentages involved male and female perpetrators. Qualitative research included observations of and conversations with individuals under supervision for DV offenses, review of public archives and review of pertinent literature. Research of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict included extensive reading of books and articles in order to obtain a diverse and comprehensive view of the conflict. Virtually all sources are autobiographical in nature or firsthand accounts of the conflict and include an array of perspectives (i.e. Palestinian, Muslim, Christian, Israeli, Jewish, female, academic, political).

Despite distinct differences, the research indicates that violence associated with domestic abuse shares an element in common with violence associated with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: Some individuals or groups believe that based on their identities (i.e. Israeli, Jew, Palestinian, male) they are justified or entitled to use violence against ‘other’ identities (i.e. Palestinian, Israeli, Jew, female) under certain circumstances. This understanding provides a focal point where professional practitioners can offer challenges and alternatives to beliefs of entitlement and violence incorporated in identity when attempting to transform conflicts from violence, distrust and misunderstanding into peaceful, supportive relationships.

Introduction

“If there is to be peace in the world, there must be peace in the nations. If there is to be peace in the nations, there must be peace in the cities. If there is to be peace in the cities, there must be peace between neighbors. If there is to be peace between neighbors, there must be peace in the home. If there is to be peace in the home, there must be peace in the heart.” -- Lao Tzu

While completing the on-campus phase of the requirements for a master degree in Conflict Transformation (CT) at SIT Graduate Institute (SIT), I chose to focus my attention principally on the Middle East region, in particular Israel-Palestine. Having lived in Latin America as a Peace Corps Volunteer (PCV), having traveled extensively throughout the region and having earned bachelor degrees in Spanish and International Studies (with a Latin American focus), I felt confident I possess a firm grasp on most contemporary or recent conflicts in the region and so decided to focus on another region of the world with which I was not nearly as familiar. I surmised that if I was going to study conflict and transforming such, I should become educated in one of the most volatile, controversial, protracted and pivotal conflicts not only in the Middle East but also in the world. As an American CT practitioner I also believed part of this education should include understanding US foreign policy in the Middle East and regional animosity toward such policy.

Besides wanting to understand the historical, political processes of the region and having tested out of Spanish in order to fulfill the language proficiency requirement of the degree, I studied Arabic at SIT in an effort to become more culturally familiar with the peoples of the Middle East. To clarify, for the purposes of this paper the Middle East region is defined as the geographic area of nations from North Africa in the west to Pakistan in the east. Since the peoples of this region are predominantly Muslim and employ Arabic as a common language for religious purposes as well as in the main media, I believed knowledge of the language might

provide me some cultural insight as well as better prepare me to work professionally as a CT practitioner in the region.

It was clear to me at the onset of my studies at SIT that the Middle East is a distinct region in need of adept conflict analysis and CT practitioners due to the volatility of the region. I based this conclusion on many recent developments: The US invasion of Afghanistan after the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center in New York in 2001; the first Gulf War to turn back Saddam Hussein's invasion and occupation of Kuwait; the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 under the guise that the Iraqi regime had assisted in the attacks of September 11th and possessed weapons of mass destruction; the second Palestinian *intifada* of 2000; the continued Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza since 1967 in violation of international law and the Fourth Geneva Convention; human rights abuses not only by Israel against Palestinians but by a number of Arab regimes against their own citizens; various instances of violence by Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and Israeli settlers targeting Palestinian civilians as well as Palestinians targeting Israeli civilians; and the assassination of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to name only a few major issues.

My original intention for the off-campus reflective practicum phase of my degree requirements was to complete an internship in the West Bank of the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) with the agency *Ibdaa* located near Bethlehem in the Dheisheh refugee camp. As such, once I left campus I began reading on the Middle East and particularly on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in preparation for my practicum. I had requested a reading list from fellow SIT students who had attended the on-campus phase the year before I and who had recently spent time in the OPT. The recommendations began with Benny Morris' *1948*, Tom

Segev's *One Palestine Complete*, Avi Shlaim's *The Iron Wall*, Robert Fisk's *The Great War for Civilisation* and anything by Edward Said.

To this initial list I included Raja Shehadeh's *Strangers in the House* from assigned reading during the on-campus phase as well as *Reconciliation* by Benazir Bhutto. The former prime minister of Pakistan had recently been assassinated during our on-campus phase and her book had been published immediately upon her murder. I decided since she addressed Islam, democracy and relationships between her region of the world and the West (i.e. the United States and Europe), it would be worthwhile to find out what a Muslim woman had to say about the current state of affairs in the Middle East and if she made any mention of Israel-Palestine.

From there the list expanded. One book led to another that I felt was not only pertinent to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict but also provided for a broader array of perspectives. Some readings I simply discovered by chance while browsing through bookstores like Gloria Emerson's *Gaza*. After watching an inspiring documentary about President Jimmy Carter and understanding his role in the Camp David Accords between Israel and Egypt when he was President of the United States, I was compelled to read *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*. The goal of the chosen reading selections was to equip myself with as broad an understanding as possible of not only the historical and political context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, but also its context regionally as well as globally. Also, I desired to understand the human dynamics and toll involved in the conflict on all sides by seeing it through a variety of lenses.

For reasons still unknown to me, the practicum opportunity in the West Bank fell through. I made several attempts to reach my contact at *Ibdaa* but never received a response. Since I also had family obligations and other priorities competing with the fulfillment of my degree requirements I resigned myself to accept that I would likely not be able to complete a

practicum in the OPT. Nonetheless, I continued reading about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict with the intention that I would still incorporate an analysis of the conflict somehow into this capstone paper while exploring other practicum possibilities.

In the spring of 2010 upon moving to Oregon, I was offered an opportunity to serve as a probation/parole officer in Washington County, the community where I grew up. Since I had worked previously as a supervising officer for Washington County Community Corrections (WCCC) from 2000 until 2004 prior to serving as a Peace Corps Volunteer in El Salvador, I was familiar with the duties of the position. I was tasked with supervising individuals in the community who were under formal supervision for domestic violence (DV) offenses. After five months of working as a probation/parole officer supervising DV offenders, I was assigned to the specific caseload of Domestic Violence Deferred Sentencing (DVDS).

Washington County's DVDS program was initiated in 1997. It was modeled after the various Driving Under the Influence of Intoxicants diversion programs found throughout the United States where first time offenders have the opportunity to have their cases dismissed if they follow certain program guidelines as well as fulfill certain conditions such as maintaining sobriety, submitting to substance abuse educational classes, paying fines, doing community service work and so forth over a specific duration.

In the case of Washington County's DVDS program, there are particular criteria by which individuals qualify for or are disqualified from participating in the program. The following is the list of disqualifying criteria established by the Circuit Court of Washington County, the District Attorney's office and the Department of Community Corrections:

- Previous participation in a DVDS program
- Pending person crime, harassment or weapons offense
- Dangerous or deadly weapon involved in instant offense
- Substantial physical injury to victim resulting from instant offense

- Multiple victims of a person crime or harassment during the same incident (with the exception of felony Assault IV domestic which indicates a child victim/witness)
- Person crime, harassment or weapons offense conviction or adjudication within the past ten years
- Hold from any jurisdiction including immigration holds
- Revocation of probation or parole within the past ten years
- Alleged to be in violation of release agreement for the instant offense
- Active Protection or Restraining Order (RO) at time of arrest for instant offense
- Currently alleged to be in violation of RO
- History of two or more incidents involving assaultive behavior including reports that can be substantiated by prior law enforcement contact, medical reports and so forth even without prior convictions

Once it has been determined that an individual is eligible to enter the program, one must agree to enter the program by pleading guilty to the instant offense and forfeiting one's right to a trial. One must also agree to incur all the costs of any programming or services ordered by the supervising officer or by the Court as well as admit and explain in open court what one's actions were and the resulting injury to the victim. If one chooses, the individual may decline entry into the program and take the case to trial but once such a decision has been made, the individual may not change one's mind later and enter the DVDS program.

It was at this point during my service as a supervising officer for WCCC that I considered using the next several months supervising the DVDS program to fulfill at least a portion of my degree's practicum requirement. After conferring with SIT staff and faculty advisor, it was confirmed that this position supervising the Domestic Violence Deferred Sentencing program would fulfill the practicum requirement for a Conflict Transformation degree. Such study and research regarding domestic violence obviously involved the study and research of conflict and violence and was pertinent to the CT field. Initially I had only intended to use three months at this position to fulfill half of the practicum/internship requirement while looking for other practicum opportunities such as with the Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia. However as other

opportunities became increasingly unlikely avenues for practicum research, I decided to complete the full six month practicum requirement as the supervising officer for Washington County's DVDS program.

Even before assuming supervision of the DVDS program, I had begun wondering about the relationship of domestic violence with other forms of violence and conflict. I had not considered this prospect in the previous years I had worked as a probation/parole officer at WCCC. It was not until studying at SIT that I acquired the appropriate analytical and reflective lenses necessary to even consider if such a relationship existed. I began wondering if I could discern any particular source that would explain intimate partner domestic violence. Why did it occur? Was it learned behavior? Did it manifest in any particular demographic? Was it more prevalent in particular geographic areas? Why does it appear to be a cross-cultural phenomenon? Was it somehow related to the violence present in a political conflict such as Israel-Palestine?

Thus I embarked on the reflective practicum phase by first investigating the nature or roots of domestic abuse or domestic violence. As I engaged in this exploration and conducted my research I realized that I was in fact closing in on some of the underlying causes of DV. As these sources of domestic violence became more evident and I began reflecting on them, I then made what I consider to be a natural leap in considering whether such explanations could be extrapolated to other forms of violence and in particular to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

It was this evolution which occurred during the reflective practicum phase that ultimately led to the crystallization of this paper's research question: *What root cause(s) does intimate partner domestic violence share with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict if any?*

Literature Review

Israel-Palestine

There is copious literature on the subject of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict most of which has been produced in the past 24 years since the first Palestinian uprising under Israeli occupation known as the *intifada* in 1987. Before that time, a body of work that accurately depicts the history of this protracted conflict as well as Middle Eastern politics and developments is lacking in general. The selections I have included for this review were chosen specifically for the accuracy of their accounts regarding the history, development and status of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as well as for providing a context in which this conflict exists regionally.

Although there are as many analyses of the conflict as authors, the selections upon which I based my research possess their strength in that they are written by individuals who have significant firsthand knowledge of the conflict. As this particular conflict tends to be a highly charged topic for many people not only directly involved in the conflict but also who witness it as outside observers, often times outside observers draw their conclusions and derive their analyses based solely on what is observable from afar and through the lens of their own cultures, media and agendas as one of my reading selections adeptly demonstrates. Essentially, the outsiders tend to draw conclusions based on information that has been distorted somehow by the time it reaches them whether purposefully or inadvertently so. Conscious that I am myself an outside observer to the conflict, I specifically chose my literature review selections for their closeness to the conflict as virtually all of the accounts are based upon personal experience.

Of the twenty books I read for my research of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, 16 of them pertain to the conflict specifically. Two of the remaining four books convey developments regarding the Middle East in general but both specifically address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

in noting its pertinence to tensions in that region and in explaining some of the region's animosity toward the United States. In reviewing these 18 selections, I have grouped them into genres or categories as a general theme or perspective is common among each group.

Of the remaining two books, *Collateral Language: A User's Guide to America's New War* (Collins & Glover, 2002) is a collection of essays examining how the media and political leaders portray conflict through the use of language in order to manipulate and influence society toward supporting a particular agenda. This book specifically addresses media and government responses in the United States regarding the attacks of September 11th and the subsequent call to the 'war on terror.' I chose this book because I found it referenced while reading another selection, *The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle East* (Fisk, 2005).

I chose the final book, *Reading Lolita in Tehran* (Nafisi, 2003), in order to get a perspective from a female academic living in a repressive Islamic country (Iran) during the height of its war with Iraq during the 1980s. Nafisi's narrative leads us through her struggle in trying to teach western literature to her university students under a religious regime that ultimately forbids the teaching of such material. Nafisi points out that this religious rigidity is partly the result of a backlash against the West – particularly the United States – for undermining Iran's autonomy. She relates how the US through the vehicle of the CIA, along with Great Britain's secret service agency, successfully sponsored a coup to overthrow Iran's democratically elected prime minister in 1953. The monarchy then assumed power, heavily supported by the United States during its authoritarian reign, tallying serious human rights violations. Iran's Islamic Revolution of 1979 overthrew this US-backed despot and established an Islamic based government that sought to eliminate any US influence in the country.

An additional piece of literature I reviewed regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the online article *The Assassination of Count Bernadotte* (Schoenberg, 2009) which describes how along with other leaders of the Jewish terrorist organization LEHI (*Lohamei Herut Yisreal* – formerly the ‘Stern Gang’), Yitzhak Shamir plotted and carried out the assassination of UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte in 1948 because of the Count’s Palestine partition proposal. Shamir later would twice become the prime minister of Israel.

New Historians

These selections are by a group of Israeli Jewish historian known as ‘New Historians’ or ‘revisionist historians’ to include Benny Morris (probably the most notable among them), Ilan Pappé, Tom Segev and Avi Shlaim. They have received this title as they have each done painstaking research on the actual events leading to the establishment of the State of Israel including its armed conflicts with the local Arab populations. The bulk of their research comes from Israeli government and military archives and so, although their findings and research are not so popular among the majority of Israelis, their research regarding the history of the establishment of the Jewish state and the resulting conflict between Israelis and the area’s indigenous population (Palestinians) is quite authoritative as the preponderance of the data they have gathered comes from the Israeli state itself. As mentioned, these historians are not necessarily popular among the majority of Israelis as their research tends to undermine the popular traditions and assertions that Israel was created out of a heroic, self-defensive nature.

Two of these selections are by Benny Morris. His *1948: The First Arab-Israeli War* (Morris, 2008) is probably the most notable account offered by the ‘New Historians’. Morris takes great pains in detailing the locations, names and events of most the conflict’s armed assaults from several months before the formal onset of the war in May 1948 up through its

conclusion in 1949. However, he includes little research from the Arab perspective and *1948* overall bears a distinct pro-Zionist slant. He generally highlights Jewish suffering at the hands of the Arabs and mentions Arab suffering and loss as statistical matters of fact. It is as though he is attempting to salvage the point of view that the burgeoning Jewish state was in fact a creation self-defensive in nature. However, he does not exonerate the Zionist movement completely and does at times note the indiscriminate violence conducted against the Palestinian Arabs. Also, through his detailed account of the war, Morris essentially depicts the creation of the Palestinian refugee situation. His is a factually sound account of the creation of Israel as a state and so despite attempts by members of Israeli government, society and academia to discredit Morris' research, it stands as an authoritative work regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on its accuracy and meticulous attention to detail.

Morris' *One State, Two States: Resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict* (Morris, 2009) is not nearly as strong a contribution to the accuracy of depicting the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as his preceding work. There are a variety of reasons for this but ultimately despite Morris again doing meticulous research to acquire accurate data, it is his jump from information gathering to interpretation of the data that weakens this work. Morris asserts that there can be no one-state or two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict because Arabs are simply incapable of a peaceful settlement due to their entrenched rejectionist attitude toward a Jewish state. Morris interprets the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as a clash of civilizations between Islam and the West as opposed to conflicting nationalisms resulting from post-colonial independence. Once Morris leaps from information collector to social analyst, *One State, Two States* sadly does not contribute much to the resolution of the Palestine-Israeli conflict but instead perpetuates it by Morris' blatant racism and Zionist propaganda. If the reader desires more detail of this particular

book's short-comings, please see this author's critique of such entitled *Comments on Benny Morris' "One State, Two States: Resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict"* (Montes, 2011). I go to great length detailing how Morris' opinions are horribly racist and poorly-reasoned, gross generalizations about Palestinians in particular and Arabs in general.

Avi Shlaim's *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (Shlaim, 2001) is a brilliant offering as far as giving insight into the State of Israel and its protracted conflict with the Palestinians. Shlaim obtains most of his research from official Israeli archives. He does an outstanding job of tracing the creation and evolution of the State of Israel from its roots in modern Zionism back in 19th century Europe through the end of the 20th century. His portrayal and analysis of Israeli leadership's methodical approach to the Palestinians and Arabs of the region over the course of the nation's history are incredibly insightful in understanding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at its present. Worth noting is that Shlaim is heavily critical of Morris' *One State, Two States*, asserting that Morris essentially went back on his previous research as presented in *1948* and other works, thus placing his integrity as a historian into question for doing so. In general, Shlaim and other New Historians argue that Morris' analysis of Israel's history is incomplete because he does not consider or include Palestinian sources.

One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate (Segev, 2000) is a remarkable book by Tom Segev detailing how the British Empire, after assuming control of the region known as the Mandate of Palestine from the Ottoman Empire after World War I, set up this region for the most volatile and protracted conflict of the Middle East by promising both Jews and Arabs inheritance of the Holy Land upon independence from Great Britain. Based upon archival materials, Segev acutely demonstrates how, contrary to traditional beliefs on the matter, the British were far from pro-Arab and consistently favored the Zionist position.

The final selection from the New Historians is Ilan Pappé's *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Pappé, 2006). This is probably the strongest selection as far as meticulous attention to detail with regard to documenting the systematic manner in which Palestinians were driven from their lands and communities by Zionist forces. This book's strength also lies in its depiction of the human cost of this conflict in its infancy. Like his peers, Pappé has gone to great lengths to validate his research which he draws from Israeli archives, Palestinian oral accounts and most importantly from the diary and other biographical accounts of Israel's founding father, David Ben-Gurion. His book takes the reader step by step through the planning and execution of 'Plan D' or 'Plan Dalet' by which the Zionists, just prior to and during the War of 1948, drove out the Arab inhabitants of the Mandate of Palestine using terror, massacres, bombings and intimidation and by mining the remnants of their former homes so that any Arabs attempting to return to their homes would be blown to oblivion.

Pappé's intention is not only to portray the creation of Israel with historical accuracy but also to assert and demonstrate that the 1948 War was not actually a war at all but actually an ethnic cleansing of Palestine of its Arab inhabitants and should be reframed as such. He believes that what occurred should be recognized internationally as a crime against humanity. He initiates his book with an internationally accepted definition of 'ethnic cleansing' and then outlines how such an endeavor was purposefully undertaken by Zionists to establish a Jewish state with as few Arab inhabitants as possible on the land the Jews recognize historically as the Land of Israel. The irony is not lost on the reader that *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* details an event executed by a people who themselves have just suffered their own ethnic cleansing at the hands of Germany's Nazi regime in Europe. In fact, it was this event – the Holocaust – that to a large extent provided the sense of urgency for the creation a Jewish state. Not surprisingly

Pappé has received harsh criticism from the majority of Israeli society and elsewhere for this book. Pappé continues to reside in the United Kingdom making rare visits to Israel as numerous death threats against him have been made.

Journalists

Although there is no shortage of journalism producing reports from the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, especially since the first *intifada* that began in 1987, I chose the following selections for their detail and continuity as they do not just represent a series of reports coming from the conflict but are accounts from journalists who lived (or are still living) the conflict over a significant length of time. Nearly all accounts are from individuals who experienced the post-*intifada* Israeli occupation of Palestinians first hand, some of whom lived under that same occupation. I also chose these selections because of the courage and diversity these authors represent in investigating their respective stories.

Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land under Siege (Hass, 1996) is a marvelous account from Israeli journalist Amira Hass and her time living in the Gaza Strip shortly after the eruption of the first *intifada*. This book is a valuable asset to understanding the realities of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I chose this selection for a number of reasons: 1) Ms. Hass is the daughter of Holocaust survivors who were members of the Community Party when they immigrated to Israel from Europe; 2) she represents several minority perspectives in that she is an Israeli living among Palestinians, she is Jewish and she is female; and 3) she lived under occupation with her Palestinian neighbors in the Gaza Strip and so possesses first-hand knowledge of the hardships of such an existence while being fully aware that as an Israeli and a Jew she does not suffer to the extent that her Palestinian friends and neighbors do. One of the real strengths of this work is that Hass shatters stereotypes not only that most Palestinians might

hold for Israelis and Jews but also that many Israelis, Jews and westerners might hold about Palestinians, Arabs and Gazans. There are few accounts that offer as much insight, reflection and detail as Hass' regarding the Israeli occupation of Palestinians in their territories and its effect on the conflict.

Similar to *Drinking the Sea at Gaza*, the book *Gaza: A Year in the Intifada – A Personal Account from an Occupied Land* (Emerson, 1991) provides a first-hand account of life under occupation in the Gaza Strip during the *intifada*. The journalist in this case is Gloria Emerson, an American who gained notoriety covering the Vietnam War. I happened across this book by chance in a local book store and decided to add it to my reading list after reading the sleeve reviews and summary. Again, besides owing its strength to understanding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by providing a personal account during a very dynamic period of the conflict, Emerson provides the perspective of an outside observer (American) as well as that of a female living in a patriarchal society.

Palestine (Sacco, 2001) was recommended to me by an acquaintance that traveled to the West Bank a few years ago with a contingent of Quakers. Like the aforementioned two books, this book also derives its strength as a personal account of life under occupation. This particular selection is innovative in that it tells the story in the format of a comic book. Joe Sacco, who deems this form of journalism 'comics journalism', spent two months in the early '90s interviewing Palestinians about life under Israeli military occupation after the first *intifada*. Akin to video journalism or photographic journalism, Sacco's account provides the reader with a visual aspect of the occupation that is typically invisible to outsiders. The comics format is easy to read while providing vivid imagery of life in the OPT. It merits mention that the introduction to *Palestine* is written by renowned Palestinian-American academic Edward Said who praises

Sacco's work as one of only a few extraordinary first-hand depictions of life in the Gaza Strip, mentioning it in the same breath as Hass' *Drinking the Sea at Gaza*, Emerson's *A Year in the Intifada* and the extensive development research and reports conducted by Sara Roy.

From Beirut to Jerusalem (Friedman, 1995) was included in my reading list as Thomas Friedman's work is fairly well-known – at least in the West – and he provides two perspectives of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an American journalist and as a Jew who does not hide his pro-Zionist sentiments. Yet he often is also sympathetic to the Palestinian plight and understands that Israeli policy from the War of 1967 (or 'Six-Day War') through the first *intifada* and beyond is not conducive to a peaceful closure to the conflict. He earned a Pulitzer for his reporting on the Sabra and Shatila massacres of Palestinian and Lebanese civilian refugees in 1982 by Lebanese Christian extremists (Phalangists) abetted by the Israeli Defense Forces.

Friedman's book basically covers the chaos of the Lebanese civil war during the 1980s. The value and strength of this work is that it is another firsthand account of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as conducted between Israel's military and the PLO in Lebanon (as well as fighting among other factions and parties in the civil war like Christian Maronites, Druze, Sunni and Shiite militias). His story continues from Lebanon to Israel once he is reassigned to Jerusalem where he is able to explore the Palestinian plight in more depth. His journalism is also valuable in that he covers such little known atrocities as the massacre in Hama carried out by the Syrian government against its own citizens in 1982. The shortcoming of *Beirut to Jerusalem* is Friedman's analysis – similar to Benny Morris' in *One State, Two States* – that prescribes the violence and conflict in Israel-Palestine to the view that Arabs (and Friedman includes Jews as well) rely on tribal ways in settling and resolving conflict. His assertion is that Arabs and Jews

are just predisposed to behaving the way they do by birth and tradition. He disassociates the West's influence on the region via colonialism, war and economics. Like Morris' work, Friedman's book is brilliant for its account of the facts but misses the mark when he provides analysis based on his interpretation of events.

The last book included in the journalism genre is Robert Fisk's *The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle East* (Fisk, 2005). Although it covers conflict in the Middle East since World War I up through the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, Fisk does include among his chapters one which looks at the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the United States' support of Israel's military occupation. It is the anecdotal account of how he investigates an Israeli Defense Forces missile strike on an ambulance carrying Palestinian women, children and men. The IDF and Israeli government defend the act arguing that the IDF was merely targeting insurgents or terrorist extremists but Fisk's investigation completely depletes the excuse as having any merit or integrity. Fisk subsequently uses the remains of the missile to trace it back to its manufacturer located in the state of Georgia, United States. Fisk shows several gentlemen, some of whom are former top military personnel and US government advisors, the remnants of the missile and verifies that it in fact was manufactured by their corporation. He then recounts to them how he came into possession of these remains. Ultimately, the men reply that they are not responsible for how the weapons are used that they sell to their various customers. Fisk makes his point with them however by questioning whether or not it is militarily if not morally unprofitable to sell arms to as many 'customers' as are willing to buy such arms.

Although he refers to Israel-Palestine periodically throughout the book, two other accounts from *The Great War for Civilisation* in particular are worth mentioning in discussing the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In one portion, Fisk recounts how Saddam Hussein proposes an

Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait to coincide with the end of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories. Fisk notes that although such a request or demand was dismissed by westerners as an absurdity of a demented leader, he asserts that Hussein was in fact addressing an Arab audience that was quite fond of the idea as well as quite displeased with Western forces being stationed in Saudi Arabia, the holiest land of the Islamic world.

The other account pertains to Fisk's interview of Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan in 1997. If not the sole journalist to interview bin Laden, Fisk is one of a few journalists to have been permitted such and multiple times besides. Fisk notes in this chapter that as bin Laden discusses his ideology and disdain for Western (US) intervention in the Islamic world and US support for the Israeli occupation of the Palestinians, he is explicit in claiming that America and Israel are one in the same as far as he and his supporters are concerned. Later in the book Fisk describes how President Bush states in 2004 that the realities on the ground (i.e. illegal Israeli settlements) would have to stay put despite UN resolutions and international law, with Fisk then asking rhetorically and facetiously whether bin Laden could ask for a better recruiting sergeant than George W. Bush.

Fisk is a renowned British journalist who has lived throughout the Middle East, primarily in Beirut, since the early 1970s reporting on the region's numerous conflicts. His father was a British soldier deployed to Afghanistan during World War I. If there is any single book a reader could read to give them the most comprehensive understanding or insight into the modern Middle East and how it has evolved into the tense region it has become, that book is *The Great War for Civilisation*. It is an extensive and thorough volume in which Fisk calls out the leadership of virtually all countries involved in the region be they Western, Arab, Jewish or Muslim since World War I. The strength of this book is that Fisk is as objective an outside

observer as any journalist could be whose straightforward presentation of the facts he has accrued highlight the horrible human cost that these leaders have exacted by their continued use of violence in an effort to expand, defend and promote their interests in the region.

Politicians

This group of books is a collection of three that I chose that were written by world famous political leaders. Their arguments are particularly strong in that they represent a variety of perspectives as well as having trained their attention on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict for several years. All three of these individuals have played key roles in Middle Eastern affairs throughout their political lives.

The first is *This Side of Peace: A Personal Account* (Ashrawi, 1995) written by Hanan Ashrawi who represents a variety of perspectives to the conflict as a Palestinian, a female, an Arab, a mother, a women's rights activist and a Christian. Her story is her account as the official representative (unofficially of the Palestine Liberation Organization) to the peace process during the Madrid conference in 1991. Ashrawi depicts her association with the PLO leadership including Yasser Arafat and her attempt to balance her political life with her personal life as mother and wife. She portrays some of the resistance she meets among Palestinian and other Arab leadership as a female who advocates for women's rights and as a Christian. She also relates life in the West Bank under Israeli occupation and the racism she endures around the world sponsored by various Jewish communities and organizations.

Ashrawi was the first woman elected to the Palestinian National Council (PNC) and later resigned from her Palestinian Authority (PA) appointment in protest of the Palestinian National Authority's (PNA) political corruption including Arafat's handling of the peace process. Her account derives its strength from the diversity of her perspective, from her personal integrity to

stand up even to the ranks of her own leadership and in that it is a firsthand account of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict told by a member of one of the parties to the conflict.

Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid (Carter, 2006) is former US President Jimmy Carter's account of the history and current status of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. President Carter offers the perspective of an American Christian, of the President of the United States of America whose administration facilitated the Camp David Accords signed between Israel and Egypt in 1978 and of a Nobel laureate human rights and democracy building advocate. Essentially, President Carter provides a succinct synopsis of the conflict's history, provides sound arguments based on facts for why he deems the Israeli occupation of Palestinians in the OPT a system of apartheid and advocates for a resolution based on UN Resolutions 242 and 338. He sees the following as the biggest obstacles to peace in Israel-Palestine based on international law: The attitude of some Israelis that because they are Jewish they are entitled to confiscate and colonize Arab lands implementing violence to do so when necessary; and the attitude of some Palestinians that because they are under siege by an 'outside' society the use of violence – even the use of suicide bombings – is an appropriate response to Israeli occupation. *Peace Not Apartheid* is a good read for anyone who is not very familiar with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I consider it 'Palestinian-Israeli Conflict for Beginners.'

Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy, and the West (Bhutto, 2008) is a selection written by former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto and published after her assassination. Another personal account, her book owes its strength also to the various perspectives Bhutto offers as a Muslim, a woman, a mother and wife and as the leader of a tumultuous Muslim country. She touches on her early political life in providing background for her exile from Pakistan after serving as the first female leader of a Muslim country, and then continues her story

to include her return to Pakistan from exile in 2007 and her awareness that extreme factions in her homeland would likely take her life as she posed a threat to a hard-lined Islamic government. Apart from her personal narrative, this book also outlines the compatibility of democratic principles with Islam as Bhutto quotes the Quran a number of times to validate her argument. In speaking to manners in which Islam and the West may be reconciled to one another, she specifically mentions a two-state resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as one component of the overall agenda for the West and Islam. The book ends with an afterword by Bhutto's husband and children who express their gratitude that Bhutto was a part of their lives and was the strong, visionary leader she was despite her demise at the hands of tyrannical extremists.

Palestinians and Israelis

The remaining five selections I chose for my literature review offer perspectives from both Palestinians and Israelis not as historians, journalists or politicians but as individuals who have been caught up in the conflict and have a personal stake in its outcome. These perspectives offer a more human, personal side to the conflict. Two of the selections are by a world renowned Palestinian academic; another by a Palestinian human rights activist and lawyer; another a collection of essays by Israelis ranging from military personnel, politicians and journalists to historians, academics and citizens all expressing their refusal of and dissention from the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories; and a collection of short interviews of Palestinian and Israeli children exploring what their hopes are and how the conflict has affected them.

Strangers in the House: Coming of Age in Occupied Palestine (Shehadeh, 2002) is the memoir of human rights lawyer Raja Shehadeh sharing his experience as a young Palestinian Christian growing up in the West Bank under Israeli occupation. He recounts his father's efforts as an advocate for a two-state settlement to the conflict as early as 1967. The story culminates in

his father's murder that is never solved but that Shehadeh suspects was at the hands of a hard-line Palestinian faction that opposed any compromise with Israel. Shehadeh's is an intriguing personal account of life in conflict not only with Israel but also with Palestinians. He founded the human rights organization Al-Haq in 1979 that monitors human rights abuses by both Israeli and Palestinian parties.

The Other Israel: Voices of Refusal and Dissent (Carey & Shainin, 2002) is a collection of 37 essays written by a variety of prominent Israelis such as historians, journalists, academics, novelists, activists and military personnel who have refused to serve in the OPT even at the risk of imprisonment. The strength of this selection is that it offers critical analyses of Israel's occupation voiced by Israelis themselves. It is a refreshing perspective shared by many Israelis who not only question the morality of their nation's occupation of another people while claiming to be the region's one, true democracy but also advocate for a peaceful coexistence based on mutual fairness, equality and respect. Perhaps not coincidentally, the foreword is written by New Historian and journalist Tom Segev and among the essays' contributors we find New Historian Avi Shlaim and journalist Amira Hass speaking out against the occupation.

Three Wishes: Palestinian and Israeli Children Speak (Ellis, 2004) is a book I happened upon in a bookstore while spending a weekend at the Oregon Coast. I felt it provided another valuable and seldom presented point of view on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict so I included it in my literature selection. *Three Wishes* is a series of interviews that the author conducts with a number of Israeli and Palestinian children who live the conflict daily. The children's ages range from elementary school through high school. Their perspectives are revealing in how the violence of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has affected them. Not surprisingly but disheartening nonetheless, many of the children are jaded toward the conflict, toward the occupation and

toward each other's people. Yet, some of their perspectives are also inspiring in that despite living amidst one of the most volatile and protracted conflicts in the world, they have hopes of becoming teachers, dancers and artists and some even share a vision of peaceful Palestinian-Israeli coexistence someday.

The final two selections of this group and of the literature review are by renowned Palestinian-American academic, author and activist Edward Said. He was an English and Comparative Literature professor at Columbia University from 1963 until his death in 2003 and a literary and cultural critic. He was a prolific writer regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, a proponent of a two-state solution and arguably the most vocal proponent of Palestinian self-determination and of a nationalism based on democratic principles.

The Politics of Dispossession: The Struggle for Palestinian Self-Determination, 1969-1994 (Said, 1994) is a series of essays that Said published in a variety of periodicals and journals, presented in chronological order spanning the listed dates. He begins by recounting his youth growing up in Jerusalem during the British Mandate and the subsequent period in Cairo, Egypt right before Jewish forces drove many of the Arab inhabitants, including Said's extended family, from their homes during the War of 1948. He reflects on the major events of that timeframe from the War of 1967 (Six-Day War), the PLO in Beirut during the Lebanese Civil War and Israel's subsequent invasion of Lebanon to the first *intifada*, the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991 and the Oslo Accords signed in September 1993.

Said addresses an array of issues including but not limited to: Israeli and American hypocrisy as their governments assert themselves as the global champions of democracy, freedom and self-determination while perpetrating (and assisting the perpetration of) a military occupation of a politically, economically and militarily weaker people recognized by

international law and norms as an illegal endeavor; Western (primarily US) media bias of the conflict typically favoring Israeli and Jewish perspectives and portrayals of Palestinians and Arabs in general as stone throwers and terrorists; the ineptitude and corruption of leadership among Palestinians and other Arab nations; and the need for and importance of Palestinians to have a unified vision and strategy for demanding and obtaining a state and the right to self-determination. Said is equally critical of all parties involved: Israel, the PLO, other Arab governments, the US, media, religious extremists, the Palestinian people and himself.

Peace and Its Discontents: Essays on Palestine in the Middle East Peace Process (Said, 1996) picks up where *The Politics of Dispossession* leaves off. Published in an array of journals and periodicals, these essays are presented in chronological order beginning with the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993 and ending in late 1995 just before Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by a Jewish religious extremist. Rabin had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994 along with fellow Israeli Shimon Peres (Rabin's Foreign Minister at the time) and Yasser Arafat (head of the PLO) for their historic signing of the Oslo Accords.

Said makes many general remarks on the conflict similar to those he makes in *The Politics of Dispossession* however in *Peace and Its Discontents* he specifically dissects the Oslo 'peace process' and its shortcomings. He claims as a result of the accords, the Palestinian leadership has forfeited any possibility of statehood in exchange for limited autonomy for Arafat's *Fatah* party under the guise of the PNA in a limited area of the OPT. Said is particularly critical of Arafat and suggests repeatedly that he resign as leader of the Palestinians as he is no longer apt and was not democratically elected. Said criticizes the US and Israel for bullying the Palestinians into a lopsided agreement by promising to deliver or withhold millions of dollars in aid and by offering to recognize the PLO. He predicts that the 'peace process' will

bear no real fruit due to Israel's inflexibility in conceding any real authority to Palestinians over all the OPT, by continuing its military occupation and by indefinitely postponing negotiation of controversial points. Said asserts that the accords merely replace Israel's Civil Authority which previously governed the OPT with a Palestinian apparatus.

Said repeats the same theme throughout all his works: Real peace will only be achieved when Palestinians have their own state alongside Israel in which they govern themselves democratically and enjoy the freedom of self-determination like other nations of the world.

Domestic Violence

I encountered a fairly consistent theme throughout the eleven works reviewed, all generally offering the same conclusion: Domestic violence is a global, gender-based phenomenon that finds its sources in the patriarchal systems and beliefs encountered throughout the world that have promoted male dominance in societies for millennia. The literature is quite clear in demonstrating that intimate partner domestic abuse cannot be understood separate from other aspects of society or culture that sanction male superiority. It further asserts that with the acknowledgement of male privilege, the 'right' to enforce it directly follows (Jacobson & Gottman, 1998). The literature confirms the research I conducted independently at Washington County Community Corrections, concluding that (primarily) men abuse women as they learn from their culture they are entitled to do so when a challenge to their male authority is perceived.

Although there exists a vast body of literature regarding domestic violence as it has been a widely researched subject in the United States over the past fifteen to twenty years, I feel it is less diverse than that of Israel-Palestine in that most the research I reviewed on DV has been conducted by clinicians and academics (i.e. psychologists, psychiatrists, counselors, therapists

and sociologists). The other significant contributors to the field's research are law enforcement, judiciary bodies and health professionals.

An interesting aspect of the literature I reviewed for this study regarding domestic abuse is that it appears directed toward two particular audiences: Professionals in fields that deal directly with the effects of domestic violence (i.e. clinicians, law enforcement, judicial bodies, victim advocates and health professionals) and victims of domestic violence. A significant portion of the literature addresses what victims, clinicians, advocates and other professionals can do to assist in ending the cycle of violence and how victims may avoid violent men. This seems somewhat counterintuitive as victims of such abuse (as well as professionals working with them) are not responsible for the violence. This would appear to imply that the domestic violence propagated and perpetuated by patriarchal societies should be addressed but not other vestiges of male entitlement.

Of the literature reviewed, two books in particular warrant specific mention. The first is in fact written for domestic abusers, which was surprising yet refreshing to discover: *Stop Hurting the Woman You Love: Breaking the Cycle of Abusive Behavior* (Donaldson, 2006). It is a how-to book intended to give abusive men some tools and understanding into how to stop their cycles of violence and to become non-abusive, non-violent intimate partners.

The second book, *Domestic Violence: Facts and Fallacies* (Davis, 1998) provides research which leads the author to question whether the criminal justice system is actually an appropriate means to ending domestic abuse in the United States due to its reactionary nature. Davis suggests that to end domestic violence (at least in the US), women need to employ the democratic process (both by voting and running for office) to alter society from a patriarchal system to one that is not only egalitarian in principle but also in practice.

Research Methodology

As mentioned in the introduction, the research conducted for this capstone paper evolved somewhat organically. Initially I decided to begin conducting research on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by reading extensively on the subject. When I concluded that doing research personally in the OPT would not be a possibility, I resigned that my reading on the matter would likely be the extent to which I would research the conflict. Simultaneously I completed a practicum supervising Washington County's Domestic Violence Deferred Sentencing program and began conducting research regarding that as well for my short reflective work. From conducting two independent investigations regarding violence and conflict, it was a natural leap to investigate whether the two kinds of violence shared any common trait. It seemed prudent to conduct such an inquiry in the hopes that if any common traits or aspects could be discerned regarding intimate partner domestic abuse and a political conflict such as the Palestinian-Israeli, then perhaps such knowledge might provide insight into understanding violence and conflict in general as well as how to transform them.

One limitation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict research conducted is obvious in that it is all secondary in nature meaning that I myself did not collect the data for analysis but relied on the research, analyses and reflections of others. Another limitation, as is generally the case with qualitative research, is that no scientific or statistical precision exists from which to draw conclusions. Being qualitative in nature, the researcher adds a degree of subjectivity to the research, analysis and conclusions drawn. When said research is secondary it further complicates its reliability by adding another layer of subjectivity inherent to the original author.

However, this body of research also possesses several strengths. First, the volume of reading on the subject (20 critically acclaimed books and an online article) provides a thorough

and broad basis for obtaining a comprehensive understanding of the conflict. Second, the selections read were written by a variety of authors providing a plethora of perspectives to the conflict ranging in age, ethnicity, religion, gender, class, occupation, political affiliation and nationality. Third, the books chosen were either accounts of the conflict written by individuals with firsthand experience of the conflict or accounts by individuals who had painstakingly retrieved their information from official archives as in the case of the New Historians. Fourth and final, the attention to detail and citations these particular authors labored in providing lend significant authority to their body of work individually and cumulatively.

As I neared the completion of this research, I began seeing names of authors mentioned in other books, titles cross-referenced in other readings several times and the recurrence of general information of the conflict and similar conclusions drawn. Having read this body of work, I now believe I am fairly well versed in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in particular as well as in understanding the tensions in the Middle East in general and the animosity toward US foreign policy in that region. I am also confident that I am now able to make informed and thoughtful contributions toward the discussion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Research regarding intimate partner domestic violence was conducted during my practicum at Washington County Community Corrections in conjunction with a review of some of the field's literature. Quantitative research included gathering the total number of domestic violence cases supervised by the county and calculating the percentages of male and female perpetrators. I gathered this data from the Oregon's statewide offender information system known professionally as AS400, an electronic archive that monitors offender information and activity. The public may access AS400 according to established legal protocols. To confirm the reliability of the data collected, I compared it with national statistical data on gender disparity

among DV perpetrators. I used the AS400 database also to confirm offender details such as age, sex, race, ethnicity and nationality in order to discern whether DV crimes occur among a particular demographic or occur across multiple demographics.

Besides a review of some of the field's literature, qualitative research was conducted at WCCC regarding offender gender identity, sexual orientation and abusive behaviors. This information was collected from: Observations of and conversations with individuals under supervision for DV offenses during monthly meetings with their probation/parole officer; review of public records such as law enforcement incident reports, parole violation reports and show-cause hearing violation reports; criminal history; community reports from family, victims, associates and citizens; and reports from collateral community resources such as Domestic Violence Intervention (DVI) providers, substance abuse counseling agencies and Oregon Department of Human Services' Child Welfare Division among others.

As was the case with research conducted on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the body of research regarding domestic violence shares a weakness in that a portion is qualitative and so prone to the subjectivity of the researcher. Another possible limitation is the extrapolation of conclusions garnered from a few hundred individual cases in Washington County, Oregon to a global phenomenon. There also exists the possibility that some information provided by offenders may have been skewed in that the individuals feared repercussions for their behaviors or reports, desired to have their supervising officer hold positive perception of them and/or individuals were guarded against sharing or volunteering information to an authority figure. Another possible limitation is the body of literature reviewed is not nearly as diverse as that reviewed regarding Israel-Palestine as far as the authors and sources are concerned.

The DV research also possesses several strengths: As it includes some quantitative analysis, more precise conclusions may be drawn; the quantitative analysis regarding percentages of male and female offenders was compared to research conducted on a national level, thus corroborating or confirming the reliability of my findings; some of the research conducted was primary in nature in that I personally accrued my information having direct access to offenders, their progress in the community and various databases; and as the primary research took into account a variety of community sources and inputs, it provided a clearer depiction of offender beliefs and behaviors regardless of what individuals may have purported to their supervising officer.

Presentation and Analysis of Data

Domestic Violence

Regarding the domestic violence research, I looked at a variety of dynamics involved in the hundreds of individual cases reviewed. In some of the cases there certainly was a correlation between DV behaviors being passed along from generation to generation. Some of the perpetrators had parents who also had been or currently were on formal supervision for domestic abuse crimes. Some of the victims in the cases had witnessed a parent suffer domestic abuse so that victimhood was a familiar role to them. Yet, this was not the rule necessarily. There were also cases where individuals had been brought up in non-abusive households and yet somehow, somewhere had acquired DV belief systems, attitudes and behaviors. As well, there are cases of individuals being raised in households where domestic violence is present but the person chooses to be neither a perpetrator nor victim as an adult.

Essentially, even if an individual did not learn from his parents that he was entitled to be abusive with his intimate partner, somewhere in his development he learned that he was justified or entitled to behave in such a manner. The individual could have learned from one experience when he got what he wanted through abuse of his partner. From there he need not look very far to find some reinforcement from his society or culture whether from peers, the media or some other group or institution that he as a male is dominant in relation to women and thus is entitled to behave in this abusive manner under certain circumstances.

Here I would like to clarify a point. I use the pronoun *he* to refer to the domestic violence perpetrator because statistically over 90% of perpetrators are men (Kimmel, 2002). My quantitative analysis bore out this statistical reality as well. As of March 9, 2011 there were a

total of 667 DV cases supervised in Washington County, Oregon. Of that total, 602 were men (90.26%) and 65 were women (9.74%).

In exploring the discrepancy between the number of men and women offenders, I discovered more interesting information in reviewing more than 200 cases I personally supervised from June 2010 until March 2011. Of seven female perpetrators in same-sex relationships, all were identified as the masculine partner. It was also determined that all but one of the heterosexual women convicted of domestic abuse crimes were secondary aggressors where the instant offenses for which they were convicted were retaliatory acts in response to suffering abuse over the course of their relationships. In many of these particular cases, the female perpetrator's response was based on her partner's perceived or real infidelity.

Of the three male perpetrators in same-sex relationships, two were identified as the masculine partner and the third identified as the feminine partner. As was the case with nearly all of the heterosexual females convicted of domestic violence crimes, the homosexual man identified as the feminine partner in his relationship acted in a retaliatory manner toward an abusive partner. According to the law enforcement incident report in this case, the basis for charging the feminine partner as opposed to the masculine partner was the feminine partner's effort to block the doorway so the masculine partner could not exit the residence. Considering other information in the report, it appears the masculine partner was the abusive party over the course of the relationship (Washington County Sheriff's Office, 2010).

Regardless of whether or not the perpetrators were female or male, heterosexual or homosexual, if he or she identified as the masculine partner of the relationship he or she was the primary aggressor in the case. Not surprisingly, even in the sole case discovered where the

heterosexual female perpetrator was the primary aggressor, she was identified as the dominant partner in the relationship.

Masculine and feminine gender roles defined by a society or culture determine which partner is deemed dominant and which is considered subordinate in an intimate relationship and what duties and expectations are prescribed to each role. Cultures or societies that deem the masculine role as dominant and the feminine role as subordinate are considered *patriarchal* (Summers & Hoffman, 2001). This includes virtually all societies or cultures on earth. In my investigation I found that relationships based on attitudes that partners do not share equal power or authority in the relationship are likely more prone to domestic abuse (and the beliefs that hold such abuse as justified) than relationships that are based on equality between partners.

Also of note is that domestic violence perpetrators come from all socio-economic backgrounds, various identity groups, cultures and walks of life (Bancroft, 2003). When investigating cultural backgrounds, again I discovered that it is the attitude of entitlement derived from the perceived disparity between genders that led perpetrators to feel their abusive acts were justified (at least in the moment of the instant offenses). In my research I discovered perpetrators from African, Latin American, Asian, Middle Eastern, European, Anglo American, African American and Native American cultures as well as from various religious and ethnic backgrounds. The common thread connecting the behaviors of all these individuals was the belief that, at least at the time of their offenses, they were justified or entitled to be abusive and controlling.

When I met with an individual from an Arab country to review the conditions of his supervision, he stated to me he was not aware that what he had done was a crime. He told me plainly that he knew he should not hit his wife but that back home men could hit their wives in

the streets and it would not be considered a crime. Based on my observations and interactions with this individual, my opinion is that he was hard working, compliant and eager to be accepted in America. I felt he is a good person who sincerely cares for his wife and children. One might opine that this individual exaggerated somewhat about his home country and men striking women openly in the streets until one reviews the police report regarding his instant offense.

According to the report, an adult female seeing her child off to school at the bus stop - the perpetrator's and victim's children present as well – witnessed this individual punching his wife repeatedly in the head at the bus stop (Tigard Police Department, 2010). His initial comment does not appear to be an exaggeration: Where he comes from, it is not a crime for a man to strike his wife. In other words, despite acknowledging that he should not have struck his wife, this individual believed it was his right – that he was entitled – to do so.

That their cultures of origin permitted their abusive behaviors was a common theme among many of the individuals not from the United States. As for individuals from the US, their justifications and reasoning were generally more nuanced. Many of them acknowledge that they should not have been abusive. Many of them attempted to justify their actions by claiming the victims had 'pushed their buttons', not gratified them sexually, or had neglected some household duty like not having a meal ready when they wanted or not having the home cleaned. Regardless of whether or not the individual acknowledged the abuse as wrong or expressed remorse, or whether or not he attempted to justify or rationalize it somehow, the explanation for why the abuse occurred was the same as for non-Americans: They believed they were entitled to have their partners maintain the households and their relationships to meet their satisfaction. If their partners failed to adhere to those expectations, then it was their right as males to be abusive in response.

Palestine-Israel

A comprehensive picture of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict developed from my readings. The conflict arose out of an effort by Jewish colonists ('Zionists') who fled persecution in Europe and sought to resettle and create a Jewish state in an area that was inhabited by Arabs. The New Historians have been quite thorough in detailing this endeavor and in noting that it began as early as November 1947 upon the United Nations' adoption of a plan calling for the partition of the Mandate of Palestine into two states or territories. The partition plan was devised when the British decided to vacate their authority over the mandate and turn it over to the UN. Objections to this partition plan raised by the Arab inhabitants were ignored by both the United Nations and by the British. The Zionist leadership's effort to remove the Arab population and dispossess them of their land (considered *Greater Israel* by Zionists) was systematic and organized. The culmination of this endeavor was the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 (Pappé, 2006).

In 1967 the State of Israel launched a military offensive which it deemed preemptive against Egypt, Syria and Jordan. As a result of this Six-Day War, Israel took control of the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip from Egypt, of the Golan Heights from Syria and of East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan. Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula back to Egypt as a result of the Camp David Accords signed in 1978 (Shlaim, 2001). Israel still occupies the West Bank militarily, holds authority over East Jerusalem and maintains control of the Golan Heights. (Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem soon after the Six-Day War ended is a violation of international law and its refusal to concede it as the capital of a future Palestinian state is a major point of contention between the two parties). Israel occupied the Gaza Strip until 2005 when the government decided to evict all the Jewish settlers and unilaterally to withdraw. The Occupied

Palestinian Territories are home to not only their original Palestinian inhabitants but also to the thousands of refugees (and their descendants today) who fled what is now the State of Israel during the War of 1948.

In 1987 and 2000, Palestinians under Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip staged popular uprisings known as *intifadas*. Peace efforts during the 1990s in Madrid and in Oslo established the formal mutual recognition of an Israeli state by Palestinians and of the Palestine Liberation Organization by Israelis. The PLO was also formally recognized by the West (in particular by the United States) as a result of these peace efforts. These accords provided limited autonomy to Palestinians in areas of the OPT but ultimately, the West Bank and virtually all Palestinian affairs remained under the control of Israel (Said, 1996) and remain under Israeli authority today.

Another major point of contention in the conflict is that despite international law and norms such as the Fourth Geneva Convention, Israel continues to establish settlements on Palestinian lands that have been occupied since 1967. There are also well documented and numerous instances of human rights violations against Palestinians by Israel's use of administrative detentions where the accused may be held for up to six months without being formally charged with anything, are not permitted to speak with their attorneys even in court and are not permitted to gather evidence in their defense (Hass, 1996). Israel employs collective punishment against Palestinians in retaliation for Palestinian violence against Israelis, even if the violence is committed against settlers who have themselves used violence against Palestinians and have received little or no consequence from the Israeli courts. Israeli settlers are permitted to bear arms while settled on occupied land (illegally) yet Palestinians are not permitted such.

Collective punishments include the retraction of travel permits, school closures, curfews where Palestinians may be shot if they do not observe such, loss of power, border closures, refused access to medical treatment and demolition of homes. Periodically innocent Palestinians are killed or injured in what is considered 'collateral damage' when Israeli Defense Forces target suspected 'terrorists' or 'insurgents' among civilian populations with missile strikes (Fisk, 2005).

Palestinian violence entails throwing stones (typically by the youth) at IDF soldiers and settlers, attacks on and murders of settlers in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, rocket attacks on Jewish populations in southern Israel launched from Gaza and suicide bombings within Israel which purposefully target civilians.

Most recently, the Palestinian National Authority has requested to be recognized as a state by the United Nations in an effort to achieve a better legal footing in relation to Israel and in attempt to demand that the international diplomatic community recognize the Palestinian right to self-determination. There have been a number of UN resolutions passed over the years regarding Israel-Palestine as well as the creation of the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) which was formed to address the Palestinian refugee situation after the War of 1948. The two principle UN Resolutions upon which most conflict resolution proposals rest are 242 and 338. The essence of these resolutions is that Israel must withdraw from territories acquired and occupied as a result of the War of 1967 and that the state return to borders established prior to that year (Carter, 2006).

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a pivotal issue regarding Middle East diplomacy, regional tensions toward the West and Israel, and peace and stability in the region. Typically Israel and Western powers attempt to disassociate the conflict from other Middle Eastern issues

However among the Arab and Muslim worlds, the conflict is an integral part of the region's diplomatic landscape (Bhutto, 2008).

Generally speaking, the balance of power has always been in favor of Israel militarily, economically and diplomatically since the conflict began. Israel has received billions upon billions of military and financial aid from the United States although it is not considered a developing nation (Said, 1995). Due in large part to the guilt incurred because of the Holocaust (in addition to the suffering and abuse Jews have endured in Europe and elsewhere historically) and to the fear of being deemed anti-Semitic, the West typically ignores the repeated abuses perpetrated by Israel against Palestinians. It appears to be the tradeoff accepted by the (non-Arab, non-Muslim) world that provides Jews a homeland where they may determine their own fate. Periodically the United Nations, United States and other Western authorities will verbally condemn an act by Israel against Palestinians that is considered inappropriate by Western standards of 'civilization'. Yet Israel is rarely if ever threatened with the kinds of sanctions that other nations and leaders are routinely threatened with when behaving similarly.

Although the United States might condemn Israel for continuing to build settlements on occupied territory, never does the US Congress consider stopping the flow of aid money to Israel. This is largely due to the strong pro-Israeli lobby that has great influence over American politicians. Again, part of the enormous imbalance of power between Israelis and Palestinians is that Palestinians lack the strength of influence that Israel possesses over American policy with regard to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in particular and with regard to US foreign policy in the Middle East in general (Said, 1996).

Another contributing factor to the disparity between Israeli and Palestinian power is due to attitudes that Westerners hold about Arabs, Muslims and Middle Easterners as violent, tribal,

religiously fanatical people (Friedman, 1995). It is no coincidence that these images and attitudes are portrayed and promoted heavily in much of the Western and Israeli media, particularly in the United States.

Essentially, the conflict has resulted in two peoples who each believe based on their respective identities that they are entitled to a state on the same land. To that end, many Israelis believe that the use of violence against the other identity group (Palestinians) is justified in order to maintain the security of their state against perceived or actual existential threats. Likewise, many Palestinians believe that the use of violence against the other identity group (Israelis) is justified in order to achieve their own state as well as the right to self-determination. Israel has remained the dominant partner throughout this relationship since the inception of the conflict in 1948. In recent years a shift has occurred both globally and among some within Israel that indicates the plight of the Palestinian people in this conflict is garnering more support while criticism of Israel's occupation grows. This is likely due to the world's awareness that the Palestinians do not pose the existential threat to Israel that the Jewish state purports especially when Israel's military and diplomatic superiority is taken into account.

Discussion

With regard to domestic violence, the research for this capstone arrived at the conclusion which countless studies have arrived at over the past twenty years: Domestic abuse occurs along gender lines. More precisely, domestic violence occurs where the masculine gender encompasses beliefs that a disparity exists between genders and further that this disparity permits the masculine gender's use of violence against the feminine gender. Those who identify with the male role in a patriarchal culture may acquire a set of beliefs that male and female are not equals in relationship to one another. Further, the male role internalizes this disparity as his dominance over the subordinate female role and uses this perceived authority as justification for violence against the female role if she does not adhere to the constraints or expectations of the male authority. Essentially, the male role acquires a sense of entitlement, as disseminated by various aspects of his culture, that he may use violence against the female under certain circumstances.

In some respect, the manifest violence of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict appears to share some similarities to intimate partner violence. Although the conflict possesses a dynamic and complicated history, essentially two collective identities or peoples each believe based on their respective identities that they are entitled to reside on the same land. As such, many Israelis believe that the use of violence against Palestinians is justified. Likewise, many Palestinians believe that the use of violence against Israelis is justified. We see also that in this relationship between the two peoples, there exists a disparity between parties, where one party is dominant (Israel) over the other (Palestinians).

We have beliefs associated with particular identities and a distinct relationship between these identities (male-female, Israeli-Palestinian, Jew-Arab). Furthermore, there is a perceived or actual disparity between the two identities involved in the relationship where one identity is

considered the dominant party and the other the subordinate party. In the case of Israel-Palestine, Israel is related to the male gender and Palestine is related to the female gender. Israel uses violence against Palestinians because of perceived insubordination to the authority of Israel. Palestinian violence against Israelis is deemed by Palestinians as retaliatory or secondary aggression against their abusive partner. This resonates with the dynamics present in intimate partner domestic abuse.

Both Israelis and Palestinians find justifications for violence against the other readily reinforced and propagated by their media, authority figures and social or cultural norms. Both sides have audiences that also support or condemn each party's violence against the other, where the West (predominantly the United States) is Israel's cheerleader and the Muslim and Arab worlds are Palestinian backers (as are some Southeast Asian, African and Latin American nations that relate to the struggle against Western colonialism) (Said, 1994).

However, there appears a distinct difference between the violence of domestic abuse and that of armed conflict such as Israel-Palestine and that is the aspect of self-preservation or an existential threat to the identity group. In the case of Israel-Palestine, the strongest justification for violence is self-preservation. Israelis believe Palestinians (and the Arab and Muslim worlds at large) pose an existential threat to their collective existence. One might look at the current situation 'on the ground' and see Israel's military, economic and political dominance in the region and take such a claim as absurd. But one must also consider that part of the motivation for the creation of a Jewish place in the first place, was the existential threat posed to the Jews during the holocaust exacted upon them by the Nazi regime when six million of their brethren were systematically exterminated. Further, the creation of a Jewish state was opposed by the

Arabs of the region (including most of the local Palestinians) from the onset of such a proposal and ultimately war ensued.

Likewise, the Palestinians perceived the creation of a Jewish state as a threat to their own nationalistic aspirations as well as to their right to self-determination against a colonial endeavor. Perceiving their collective identity threatened by a Jewish state provided justification to Palestinians for violence. As the Israeli occupation of Palestinians has continued for roughly 45 years up to this present day, where Palestinians in the OPT exist in a prison-like environment, they sense no relief from the threat to their existence nor any tangible consolation from the majority of the world's citizens or governments. Not surprisingly, many Palestinians believe that violence is their only means toward the preservation of their identity against Israel.

Regarding intimate partner domestic abuse, the male does not actually face an existential threat from his partner. She may pose a threat (perceived or actual) to his authority or dominance but his life is typically never in danger. As discovered in their study, "The only justification for male violence would be self-defense, and we never saw battering episodes that could be interpreted as acts of self-defense" (Jacobson & Gottman, 1998, p.82). Another difference between armed conflict (involving existential threat) among identity groups and overt male violence against females is that men do not band together as an identity group to wage violence against women as a collective. Domestic violence occurs between individuals.

The aspect of violence rooted in the belief that people are entitled to self-preservation is not limited to Israel-Palestine. During our on-campus phase at SIT, our CT courses presented us with many examples where armed conflict or violence arose out of a perceived or actual existential threat to an identity group such as in Rwanda (Hutus-Tutsis), former Yugoslavia (Serbs, Albanians, Croats, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Slovenians, Roma, et al), Northern Ireland

(Protestants-Catholics) and Cyprus (Greeks-Turks). Often, the perceived threat was the result of manipulation of facts and media by those in power in order to maintain power while convincing their citizenry that the issue at hand was a threat to the whole identity group's existence.

In the US, one may use violence against another person that threatens to harm or end the individual's life. This entitlement or privilege extends to one being justified in taking the threat's life which seems somewhat paradoxical but is typically protected by law. Law enforcement officers in the United States must abide by the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution when determining what level of force [read: "violence"] they may employ against a threat, including deadly force. In my training as a probation/parole officer, we were taught that this meant the threat determined the level of force with which we could respond.

Upon reflection, identity-entrenched entitlement would appear to explain a multitude of violence beyond domestic abuse and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Governments of the world use their military forces to rain destruction and death upon their enemies in the name of nationalism (where 'we' are the good guys fighting the bad guys – 'them') but must contrive an existential threat in order to demonstrate that they are entitled to do so. Gang violence typically involves groups that share the same racial, ethnic or cultural background. However, as these groups associate their identities with a street or neighborhood in their communities, any perceived or actual encroachment of their territory or 'turf' is considered a threat to the set's existence and becomes justification for violence against the other group.

Some states put individuals to death who are identified as worthy of such due to the nature and extent of their crimes. This form of violence is sanctioned by the majority of a state's population as legislated by their elected representatives. Perpetrators of racist violence typically believe that their perceived racial superiority entitles them to abuse the perceived inferior 'other'.

In the case of abusive men, they believe their superiority and privilege as males entitles them to use violence against females. However, these latter examples are typically controversial in that others either debate the justification for such violence (i.e. capital punishment) or outright deny that any justification exists (as in racism or domestic violence) since there does not appear to be any existential threat to the perpetrating groups. Such debate has become increasingly frequent over the past century.

The relationship of entitlement to identity is crucial as demonstrated by gender dynamics in domestic abuse cases as well as by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Whether one is acculturated, taught by his parents or learns from the evening news, he acquires beliefs and attitudes based on who he is (i.e. male, American, Christian, Anglo, middle class, Oregonian, husband, father, middle-aged, college educated, heterosexual, etc.) that prescribe to him the sense that he is entitled to certain privileges based on this identity or status. Some of these privileges or entitlements include violent behaviors toward other identities. Often we individuals acquire these prescriptions from our cultures unconsciously beginning at a very young age.

Practical Applicability

The findings of this paper may provide insight to CT practitioners and other groups, agencies and movements whose work and efforts involve them with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Likewise, these findings and conclusions may hold value for professionals that work with domestic violence victims and perpetrators such as judges, law enforcement, victim advocates and domestic violence intervention providers and facilitators.

On a broader level, practitioners might also attempt to apply this research to transforming conflict and ending violence in general. Since some violence appears to arise where a perceived or actual disparity of power or authority exists between identities, then an attempt to transform

conflict will entail appealing to a broader sense of identity – on a human level. The more the practitioner can draw conflicting parties out of their identities and toward a more common identity, the more likely the parties will recognize each other's basic human rights, needs and experiences. If the two identities can perceive one another as equal (albeit different), the propensity for violence most likely decreases as there is no longer a sense of authority and entitlement rooted in disparity by which violence may be justified. Another significant factor the practitioner should consider is whether either or both identity groups perceive an existential threat to their respective collectives and whether such a threat is present since existential threat appears to be a key component of violence, at least where armed conflict is concerned.

An understanding of the relationship of violence to identity is useful to other vocations and disciplines as well. This knowledge and understanding may be applied to community mediation and alternative dispute resolution. It might be of use to the field of psychology where practitioners attempt to help individuals address and resolve or transform inner conflict. Juvenile counselors may apply this insight in dealing with adolescents and understanding their influences and motivations. Sociologists may apply this information in examining what motivates groups toward violence and how norms evolve in a society that permit and justify violence. Anthropologists may apply these findings when attempting to interpret violent phenomena encountered among cultures. Essentially any occupation or discipline that encounters conflict or violence may apply these findings in an attempt to understand the relationship of identity to said violence or conflict, and addressing or transforming the conflict if that is a goal.

Suggested Future Research

For further research, it would be quite valuable to explore whether or not domestic violence exists among matriarchal societies. There are likely very few such societies but it

would be interesting to discover if DV exists among them and if so whether it occurs along gender lines where it is still a male-against-female phenomenon or if such violence has more to do with dominance-against-subordinate where it would manifest as female-against-male. If the former were the case and DV occurred in matriarchal societies just as in patriarchal (male-against-female), then an argument could be made that perhaps men are simply wired more violently than women physiologically. I suspect the latter is true and that domestic violence has more to do with dominant versus subordinate than it does male versus female although it manifests as a gender based phenomenon by virtue of most societies being patriarchal.

Research exploring other forms of gender based violence or abuse such as sexual assault, rape, human trafficking, sex tourism and prostitution might shed light on the relationship between identity, entitlement and violence as well.

Any research that explores armed conflict, perceived or actual existential threats to the parties involved in such conflicts and how such threats influence the violence surrounding such conflicts would most certainly be of value to the field of conflict transformation specifically and to any international discipline or endeavor in general.

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