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"HOW MUCH CAN A BRIDGE CARRY?"

AN ANALYSIS OF THE LIFE STORIES OF

ARAB ISRAELI CITIZEN

BIBLIOTHERAPISTS

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Contents

Chapter 2: Methodology 87

Chapter 9: Conclusion and Recommendation   *261*

10. A Personal Reflection   *280*

Bibliography   *290*

Appendices

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This thesis presents a qualitative research study of the life stories of five Arab Israeli citizen (AIC) bibliotherapists by means of open depth interviews. Methodologically, it combines elements of narrative research and oral history, emphasising category analysis of the subjects' narratives, while observing all essential ethical guidelines for such research. The five women were the only ones from this national group to have completed their formal training in bibliotherapy when the interviews were held, and the thesis therefore sheds light on a unique population of pioneering women. It focuses on their conceptions and experiences during their training and practice, for the purpose of illuminating the needs and perspectives of this group. It conceptualises an original body of knowledge about a profession still relatively new in Israel, including appropriate recommendations. I also consider the results of a pilot interview held with an AIC woman working in the related field of art therapy.

During the study, I came to understand that the AIC bibliotherapists are pioneers, first and foremost for their very choice to study a profession which is little known in general and particularly unfamiliar in their society. They have gained a unique experience in the practice and developed a new set of bibliotherapeutic texts, appropriate for AIC clients. They opened before me a broader picture of the struggles facing all AIC women professionals in Israel today, and in this, their discussion of literary resources gains a powerful edge. The study reflects the interviewees' routine of coping with many complicated challenges in the training and the therapy room. These include tense political and sometimes violent conflicts, which influence both the mixed study groups during the training and their work with their clients, who direct loaded emotions towards them. All of them were the only AIC student in their academic year, filled with experiences of alienation and discrimination. Also, they have to cope with their many and divided self-perceptions in professional and everyday life; their role as a bridge between the two peoples; and the collective memory of the

respective national catastrophes (the Holocaust on the one hand and the Nakba[1] on the other), which is passed from one generation to the next.

Moreover, they have to face the range of dilemmas arising from having grown up in a collectivist patriarchal society in transition. This coping stands out in particular in view of the demand to integrate into the culture of the dominant majority in Israel, and to apply principles of "Western" therapy (therapy based on therapeutic principles customary in Western Europe and the US and adopted by Jewish therapists in Israel (further details in the chapter on reflection). At the same time, they have to accommodate the accepted norms and customs of Arab Israeli society, when these often contradict each other.

The thesis clearly demonstrates that future therapeutic training programmes in Israel must develop practical and intellectual responses to the needs of AIC students in order genuinely to integrate them. This would include recognising cultural differences and the effects of the continual conflict, while legitimising the Arabic language and literature among bibliotherapeutic core texts, and also recognising the limits as well as benefits of therapy in situations of political conflict.

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[1] 'Catastrophe' or 'mortal blow', referring to the uprooting of the Palestinians during the war of 1948

Forward

The books I love are a crucial element of my life, and this is why I chose to be a bibliotherapist. Bibliotherapy is one of the youngest professions in Israel, introduced as an academic field only thirty years ago, in the early 1980's, through Rachel Tzoran's pioneering efforts. She was a central figure among the founding generation of the profession, and was entirely responsible for the profession's early development. Since then, Israeli bibliotherapy has expanded rapidly.

I graduated from Haifa University's bibliotherapy programme, 1989-1992, and have been working ever since as a bibliotherapist with individuals and groups in a range of settings, for public mental health centres, the Ministry of Education, and in private practice. I am one of a group of four of Tzoran's students who founded a bibliotherapy training programme at the David Yellin Teacher Training College in Jerusalem. Lecturing on bibliotherapy gave me the opportunity to work with a group of women who are Arab Israeli citizens (AICs)[2] and school teachers, living in an Arab Israeli neighbourhood on the outskirts of Jerusalem. As we were working together, I came to appreciate the many ways in which they used stories in their classrooms, without ever having formally studied or been trained in the emotional and therapeutic application of written texts.

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[2] The issue of the definition of a group is a complex one. I chose to use the self definition preferred by most of the interviewees in this study, which is Arab Israeli citizens (AIC's for short). Sometimes I used the term Arab Israeli society (AIS). It is important to note that these women are part of the Palestinian people, the part which lives in Israel, and also part of the Arab nation. Arab is the name of an ethnic group and a civilisation encompassing many different peoples living in different regions, among them Palestinians, Lebanese, Syrians, Iraqi, Egyptians, Libyans, Algerians and more – all seeing themselves as Arab. The Palestinian identity belongs only to the Palestinian people.

Acquaintance with this group made me want to know more about how Arab Israeli society (AIS) relates to its literary texts. Later, it occurred to me that some of the people who are best equipped to appreciate how the population of AICs perceives and relates to these texts are those who have chosen the profession that regards literary texts as windows into the human soul, namely bibliotherapists like myself. I searched for information on bibliotherapy among AICs, and the young age of the field was evident in the lack of systematic writing on this obviously important topic. I searched for texts dealing with the therapeutic work of AIC bibliotherapists (AICBs) in Israel, and found that such texts do not exist yet. I asked AICBs to help me in my search and they could also find nothing except for one paper written by one of the interviewees in this study. This thesis is therefore the first substantial study of AICBs.

The first and only working AICBs at the time I conducted the interviews for this research were five women who had studied at Haifa University (one AIC man graduated but died soon after).[3] My hope was that by becoming familiar with their life stories I would be able to explore and reveal the potentially distinctive ways in which they approach both therapy and texts, and more broadly, the place of therapy by expression in AIS. My motivation came from the fact that as a Jewish woman and therapist, I face the issue of maintaining a professional career besides raising a family, and have been personally interested in how other women, particularly AICs, deal with this issue, and how they solve dilemmas and difficulties involved in these multiple roles. My relationship with literary texts has allowed me to have a wider and deeper perspective on these points. There are many texts which reflect me, and which have provided me with support throughout my life. Considering that my training was the same as the AICBs, and we were exposed to the same therapeutic approach at the start of our professional track, I wished to investigate how they apply texts in their personal and professional lives.

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[3] Across the world, Israel being no exception, bibliotherapy has become a predominantly female profession, like many other forms of psychotherapy. Not that the training institutions have addressed their recruitment campaigns at women in particular, it is simply that mostly women have been attracted to these professions (personal communication with Rachel Tzoran).

The study presented here focuses on the life stories of AIC women who have chosen to make a professional career in bibliotherapy, the changes and turning points in these stories, and also how the subjects' relationship with literary texts has developed throughout their lives. This should help us to understand how social, cultural, national and political identities take shape, and the mental and intellectual processes involved in their development. I believe that the entire population of therapists in Israel would benefit from the conceptualisation of the field. Teachers of literature may also have a lot to learn from the analysis of personal and communal issues, which are relevant to AIC psychotherapists (psychologists, counsellors, social workers, the various expressive therapists). I believe that the planners-managers of psychotherapy training programmes in Israel could also benefit from such a study.

Like other expressive therapies, however, bibliotherapy is a profession in the making, especially so in Arab Israeli society. When the idea occurred to me, I looked for a basis for checking the relevance of the study and the demand for it, and evaluated the level of cooperation I would get. A friend I consulted put me in contact with a relevant AIC professional. She made the initial connection with the Director-General of the Superior Oversight Council for Arab Education, Mr. Ataf Muadi, to whom I was able to apply directly. The cooperation I got was beyond all expectation. In a phone conversation, he encouraged me to conceptualise the stories of these women AICBs: "It is very important that this category of therapy should begin to expand in the Arab sector. Several bibliotherapists and expressive therapists are already practising, and their experience is beginning to build up, an experience not yet documented and put to use." Motivated by such encouragement, I made up my mind.

At the same time, as I am a member of a privileged national majority group in Israel, both the subjects and I were well aware of the differences between us. The many conflicts and dilemmas involved in the study of a group to which I neither

12

belong nor speak its language made me very hesitant to interview this group, despite my great enthusiasm about the research topic and its importance. My conversations with AIC colleagues at my workplace, as well as AIC friends and acquaintances, unequivocally encouraged me to investigate the subject despite my hesitations. They emphasised that there is a distinctive advantage to my being a stranger to the group, even one from a group with a historic and continual conflict with theirs. They thought a doctoral thesis on the subject would be the most respectable framework for conceptualising such complex and significant issues for the population of women AICs and professional women in particular. Furthermore, ironically to some degree of course, the advantage of AIC professionals is that they are highly bilingual, and are versed in Hebrew at a level that would present no difficulties to the study.

The final support I received, and which completed the picture, came from reading the words of the Palestinian poetess Faduwa Tukan. According to Tzoref (2009), her life story can be taken as representing the feelings, thoughts, pains and reactions of every AIC woman, whoever she is. Tukan's work lies within the Palestinian national narrative, known as the *tzumud* — 'clinging to the land'. At the same time, her struggle is also for her own self-realisation, the demand that every woman be given freedom and the right to a fully realised human life. Both themes – the national struggle for self-determination and the personal one of self-actualisation are nested one inside the other.

Tukan's autobiography can be read as a microcosm of Palestinian society in the city of Nablus. My study makes it possible to become acquainted with the personal stories of a particularly important group of women, important because, small though this group is at this historical point, it has an important collective and significant story to tell.

Introduction

The unique contribution of this study to the training and professional application of bibliotherapy is to present an analysis of how a pioneering group of Arab Israel citizen women professionals broke into the profession, and the story of the individual and group identities behind this. I will show what we can learn from their personal and group narratives about the development of bibliotherapy and the role of literary texts in Arab Israeli society in general.

The subject of this study is the life stories and professional development of a group of five women Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists. The goal is to evaluate how they have negotiated their society and profession, and to investigate the conflicts they have had to confront and deal with. Their stories provide an important illustration of what AIC women have to go through to realise a professional career, in bibliotherapy in particular. The study also illuminates key issues such as - what has influenced their integration into their profession? What do they see as the key issues arising from their experience with their clients? How do they experience their Palestinian ethnicity as professional women? Do they regard their ethnic and gender identity as relevant to their clients and the bibilotherapeutic practice in general? The study, therefore, investigates how the women themselves experience not just their work, but their work in the context of their lives as a whole – all the emotions and motives involved, the thinking translated into practice. It seems to me that the most effective way to explore and understand this subjective world is for me to present as close as possible how the five women themselves see and experience it.

The population and subject of the study raise many ethical challenges, which are addressed in considerable depth in the methodological chapter. As I have suggested, I chose a qualitative research methodology, and the chapter also

explains why I considered this to be appropriate. The core of the data was collected in a series of interviews designed to elicit the women's reports of their own personal experiences. Before going deeper into the understanding of psychotherapy and bibliotherapy, as well as the life of the AICBs, I will present a general outline of their profession, training, and the social context in which they live. All this is vital to understanding who is being studied and in what context.

1. The historical context of expressive therapy

The field of expressive therapies includes a number of professional therapies all of which have their roots and history in the art they deal with (movement, music, art, drama and bibliotherapy). For instance, music has accompanied mankind from ancient times. Fathers of the church and modern philosophers described the influence of music on the soul and discussed emotional, spiritual, ethical and aesthetic aspects accompanying the encounter (Sidi, 2005). After the World Wars the field of music therapy began to develop. Musicians performed in hospitals for the wounded who suffered injuries and trauma. Their reaction to music led doctors to request hiring players permanently. As a result, the different expressive therapies developed as unique disciplines and programmes were created for training therapists. For instance, according to Waller (1991), the field of art therapy developed as a separate field in the United States and England at the same time. In the US, Margaret Naumburg and Edith Kramer are considered to be the founders of the art therapy profession. Adrian Hill and others were introducing the concept of art therapy in British hospitals and sanatoriums.

Like all expressive therapies, the healing power of books is also ancient. On the gates of the ancient Alexandrian library is the saying: "healer of the soul". Despite its ancient origins, bibliotherapy is the youngest among the expressive therapies. One of the first attempts to implement the therapeutic possibilities of reading was carried out in the 60s in America at psychiatric hospital libraries.

The hospital librarians attempted to match books to the patients using the library, according to their various emotional problems (Tzoran 2000).

 Education systems all over the world have found it hard to cope with their students' emotional problems and there is a strong case to be made that the spread of expressive therapies was in part due to educationalists recognising their usefulness (Bush, 1997). There are also, arguably, more complex economic and political reasons for their institutionalization. The intensive nature of the conflictual reality led to a considerable demand from the Israeli Ministry of Education for the employment of expressive therapists over the last two decades, as well as school counsellors and psychologists. The passing of the Special Education Act in 1988 first brought expressive therapists into the kindergartens and schools in Israel.[4] The benefit of this legislation was in the access it allowed to various forms of therapy, which it provided to students whose parents could not afford private care, and in the greater authority it gave to schools to deal with students' emotional and behavioural difficulties.

Currently, schools are the main setting in Israel for bibliotherapy. It is well known that social, emotional and behavioural problems can affect a students' self-image and make it harder for them to study. Among all the forms of therapy which aim to tackle such problems, I chose to focus specifically on bibliotherapy. In a final reflective section in this thesis, I shall relate the personal and professional motivations associated with my professional choice. Like all expressive therapies the field of bibliotherapy helps students cope with the demands of the school curriculum in one-to-one and group sessions, and provides support in order to overcome emotional obstacles to the learning processes. I believe that because children love stories (in the same way as they love to draw, move and perform), the medium of stories as a source of healing and therapy is natural for them (Koubovi, 1991). One of the most basic principles that bibliotherapy relies on is the triangular structure: the three way dialogue of the therapist, patient and text (Tzoran, 2009).

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[4] All expressive therapy professions are currently being reviewed for official recognition by the Ministry of Health.

2. Bibliotherapy training in Israel

Rachel Tzoran , a resident of Haifa and graduate of clinical psychology and literature, returned from Boston, US in 1982 after a year of research in which she focused on theories and studies on the dialogue between therapy and literature, already defined as bibliotherapy. On her return to Israel, Tzoran decided to create a training programme in bibliotherapy that did not yet exist in Israel. She then set up the first Israeli training programme for students in the theory and practice of bibliotherapy, with her colleague Adir Cohen in 1983 at the University of Haifa. Haifa is Israel's third largest city, and a mixed city of Jews and Arab Israelis. It is home to Israel's famous Institute of Technology and to a university which, although the smallest in the country, has some unique programmes, including the only certified masters in the various art therapies in the country. This was the only available programme until 2007, when three more diplomas were set up. In Jerusalem, a programme was created in the David Yellin Academic Teacher Training College, headed by Michal Simchon. In the centre of the country, two more programmes were started, one at the Levinsky Teacher's College in Tel Aviv, headed by Shlomit Bresler, and another in Beit Berl College in Kfar Saba, headed by Judith Bruckner. About 16-20 students study in each programme. The vast majority of students and graduates are women. The study groups are composed of a range of students from different backgrounds, including graduates in literature, education and social work. The age range is wide, 23-60, as is the range of political outlooks. However, the Arab Israeli citizen therapists who are the subjects of this thesis are all graduates of the University of Haifa.

Knowledge of psychology and literature is required in order to mediate between text and reader, and to grasp the therapeutic significance of the written text. Students learn the range of options provided by this field of therapy, so as to be able to treat clients from different population groups, in individual and group therapies, and in private and public services. They learn how bibliotherapy fits

into the practice or field of psychotherapy (The theoretical basis of bibliotherapy will be detailed in the Literature Review). Above all, each one learns to develop his or her own professional therapeutic identity. Students' training includes both theoretical and practical courses. The theoretical courses deal with psychotherapy, attitudes and methods of therapy, significant topics in the realm of therapy, connections between psychotherapy and bibliotherapy, the theory of bibliotherapy, and the narrative approach. The practical courses focus on therapeutic writing – students write their family and personal stories and textual identity cards. These contain texts which 'speak them', and guided by the lecturer, the students hold a discussion, focusing on the internal story of the student as it is presented through the texts. In addition, there is a course about the relationship of reader and text, and an introduction to art therapy. After this initial acquaintance with bibliotherapy training in Israel, it is worth turning our attention to the national political context, because it is a significant factor in the lives of the interviewees.

3. The Israeli-Palestinian national and political context

There is no way to understand Arab Israeli citizens without providing a picture of the national and political climate in which they live. The Arab Israeli minority in Israel makes up about 20% of the total population. It is not monolithic, particularly in terms of religion. 83% of this minority are Moslems who belong to at least four main sects of the Islamic faith with their own unique lifestyle. 12% are Christians, who are also split between Catholics and Greek Orthodox, and 5% Druze (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2009). All share a common recent history of occupation by foreign powers – the Ottoman Turks and the mandatory regimes. All are united by national, cultural, linguistic and, to a large extent, religious ties which lead them to identify with Arabs outside of Israel.

The common national and political climate of AICs is largely made up of two aspects. The first is the existence of two contrasting national narratives. The

second aspect is the fact that AICs are a minority in a state with a Jewish majority, located in a totally Arab geo-political space. The AIC bibliotherapists cope with complex and challenging situations related to these aspects.

3.1 Two collective narratives

The complex national experiences of Jews and Palestinians are interdependent. Their violent conflict began as far back as the late 19th century, and has been part of their lives ever since. Their ideas on how the situation might be solved are far apart. The geographical area known as Palestine under the British mandate contained both Jewish and Arab residents. In 1947, the United Nations recognised the necessity of partition, which was followed by the departure of the British and a war of survival between the two groups. Its results determined:

a. the generally promoted name of this war (as discussed below).

b. its essential impact on the two groups, but mainly the Palestinians, so much so that the Palestinians call the outcome of the war the Nakba (*al nakbah,* النكبة), 'catastrophe' or 'mortal blow'.

The Palestinian side portrayed the 1948 war as a Zionist tactic for expelling them from their lands. The Israeli side depicted the Palestinian refugees as the victims of war like all other victims of the 20th century's many wars. The most obvious difference between the two sides was reflected in what they called the 1948 war: the Jews called it the 'War of Independence' or the 'War of Liberation'. The Palestinians called it 'The Year of the Great Catastrophe' – the Nakba. These narratives remain controversial, and each side is holding by its own version of affairs. According to the Palestinian narrative, they were forcibly driven away in 1948, while according to the Israeli narrative and Jewish texts, the Palestinians escaped of their own will.

The most notable manifestation of the effect of the war upon the Palestinians is their division to three groups: *the refugees*, those who left or were forcibly driven away across the borders into other Arab states; *the uprooted*, those who stayed within the borders of the newly formed Jewish state of Israel, but fled or were driven from their homes and land and moved to other Palestinian villages and towns; and those who stayed put in their homes and lands and now enjoy some level of prestige among their people for having fulfilled the supreme national value of *tzumud*, holding fast to one's ancestral land.

The latter two groups now make up the sizable minority of Arab Israeli citizens. From 1948 to 1967, AICs were left devoid of their educated elite (who had all fled or were driven away during the 1948 war), devoid of local leadership and cut off from the rest of the Palestinian nation, preserving their links to it by listening to Arab radio stations. A collective consciousness grew of the loss, pain, frustration, deprivation, fear and huge anger, together with the need to obtain some sense of security.

Another area of clear disagreement between the two national groups is the definition of democracy and the institutional attitude towards AICs. The Jewish population holds by the definition that Israel is a democratic state, while AICs believe that this is not the case. From the perspective of AICs, it is a democracy only for the Jewish population, while the state has an unofficial or systematic but nevertheless actively racist attitude towards them. It should be noted, however, that despite this, AICs do not claim that the state of Israel is a racist state in the manner of South Africa's former apartheid policies.

The relationship of the state of Israel and the AIC minority goes hand in hand with the relationship of the state of Israel and the surrounding Arab countries. The 1948 war was fought between the Jewish and the Palestinian populations, supported by Arab armies (Egyptian, Iraqi and Jordanian). The second conflict

was the Suez war of 1956, fought between Israel, Britain and France on the one hand and Egypt on the other. The third took place in June 1967, in which Israel fought Syria, Jordan and Egypt, and is known as the Six Day War. As a result of this war, extensive territories were taken by Israel that were populated by Palestinians as well as Syrian and Egyptian Arabs. The Six Day War of 1967 launched a new period in Israeli-Palestinian history and consciousness. The anticipation of redemption and rescue from other Arab states collapsed, and a new local leadership began to take shape. A further portion of the Palestinian people (on the West Bank and Gaza Strip) now found itself under direct Israeli occupation.
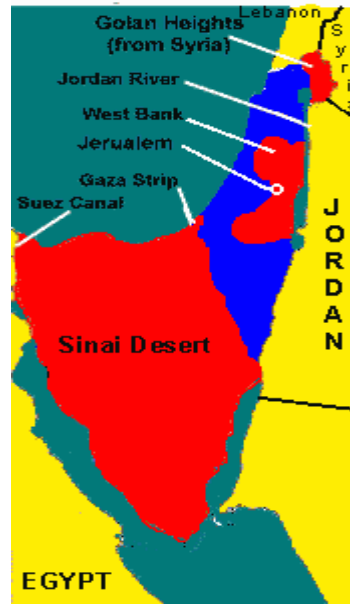
The period from 1967 to the present day has also been one of rapid and considerable growth in population, education and income for AICs (Bar and Bar-Gal, 1995).

Bar and Bar-Gal place great emphasis on the contradictions which riddle the Palestinian national existence:

> Israel is the only non-Arab state in the whole Middle Eastern
> region, the citizens of all the other states form part of the Arab
> nation. At various times in the history of independent Israel, an
> Arab leader emerged on the historical stage, who was calling for
> pan-Arab unity, including the Palestinians. But at the same time as
> Israel formed a tiny Jewish island in an Arab-Islamic sea, it has
> ruled over a sizable Palestinian minority within its own borders
> since 1948 and even more so after 1967 (Ibid., p.13).

This is a complex state of affairs in which Jews and Palestinians both suffer from a considerable existential anxiety and fear of each other. The concept of the 'social unconscious' contributes a lot to the understanding of this complex relationship, and I will discuss it further in the next chapter. Bar and Bar-Gal consider the dialectics of fear, and claim that the tendency to attribute positive motives to 'us' and negative and illegitimate motives to 'them' causes mutual suspicion between the two groups, and mistrust of the intentions of the other side and its statements. In Israel, the Jews focus their suspicion on the AICs in their midst, their disloyalty to the state, and even their will to undermine its very existence, sometimes calling them 'enemies of the state'. The struggle is accompanied by daily existential fears among the Jews living in the country. This is a major reason for the supreme importance put on security and for the considerable aggression, both verbal and physical, which has become one of the common means of solving disagreements and differences of opinion of any sort. Extremism, unilateral positions, the inability to listen to the other or opposing side, recognise it, and understand it, and the side lining of weaker groups, all combine to increase AICs' sense of frustration and discrimination. They have also brought about a general inability to contain the complexity of relationships among different groups, which is manifested in denying that the other individual, group, state or people can at the same time be good, positive and constructive as

well as bad, negative or harmful. This gives rise to contrasting feelings of ambivalence, ambiguity and helplessness, which threaten the internal cohesion of identities, as explained by Melanie Klein's theory (1946) of projective identification (Klein, 2003). In Klein's theory emotions, feelings and reflections are projected on others in bright and absolute colours. Hatred of the other – a leader, an ideology, a country, a religion and a people – is always self-hatred. Similarly, self-love is the origin of love of the other.

AICs focus their suspicion at the authenticity of the democratic values of the state and their implementation, and at the unequal attitude towards them – what they call 'racism'. The mutual suspicion increases the pattern of 'self-fulfilling prophecies' in the relationship of the two groups, and prevents the possibility of developing trust between them. Next, I move to discuss another complication in the lives of AICs, which is, their existence as a minority compared with the Jewish majority, aiming to shed light on a central challenge in the lives of the interviewees.

3.2 Majority-minority relations

There is almost no country in the world that does not have majority-minority difficulties. The tension between a majority and a minority may sometimes reach hostility. In different places, the conflict is based on various disputes involving anything from historical reasons to religious faith, territorial disagreement, economic interests and so on. Yugoslavia, Belgium, Canada, Italy, Turkey, China, India, England and Northern Ireland, as well as most Asian countries have hit the headlines for such majority-minority tensions. In Israel, the conflict contains both national and religious elements.

Israel's self-definition as a Jewish state, its symbols, and of course the century-long political conflict make it very difficult for Arab Israeli citizens to feel any sense of belonging or identification with the state. Indeed, it is frequently

perceived as an occupying power, which has deprived their compatriots, and sometimes its own AICs of their lands and rights (Landau, 1993).

Sami Smooha is a Jewish-Israeli scholar with pluralist views. In an article from 2002, he acknowledges that both Zionist ideology and the Palestinian-Jewish conflict have had a decisive formative effect on the gulf between the Jewish majority and the AIC minority. He acknowledges the wide inequality in the allocation of resources between them. Among the great variety of population groups in Israel, he claims that the AICs are distinguished as the lowest rank, and identified by the dominant elite with the enemy, as opponents of the state and as non-Western.

Smooha coined the term 'an ethnic democracy'. By this he refers to states which regard themselves and which the West regards as democracies, but which function as the tool of the national-ethnic majority within their borders. He offers Israel, India, Estonia, Latvia and Slovenia as examples. In all of these countries, the majority controls the minority in order to forestall its perceived threats such as popular uprising, undermining of the national culture and identity, and collaboration with the enemy. All these multi-ethnic states are transfixed by the essential contradiction between their balances of power and accommodations of their democratic and ethnic aspects.

Education is notable among the areas where the 'ethnic' aspect of Israeli democracy is most conspicuous, which makes it difficult for AICs to develop a sense of belonging and identification with the state. Israel partially recognises its multicultural makeup, except for granting educational and cultural autonomy to its AIC population. As a multicultural state, Israel may be expected to give expression to all its constituent groups, especially in the area of education, but its status as an instrument of the national majority makes it hard to maintain an egalitarian, multicultural education system (Lamm, 2000). It is true that no

minority culture in Israel, whether Arab or Jewish (Ethiopian and Russian Jews come to mind) enjoys educational autonomy in the sense that state schools teach the group's specific culture. The Ministry of Education refers to these sub-cultures only in terms of criticism and disparagement. However, there is a big difference in the investment of money, time and quality between the education of Ethiopian and Russian Jewish and AIC pupils.[5]

Beyond physical conditions, the area of education which most encapsulates AICs' sense of discrimination, under-investment and blindness to their special needs, is curriculum planning. El-Haj (1996) claims that close inspection of the objectives and content of the school curricula of AICs in Israel demonstrates that they allow no place for their target population, and that they ignore the cultural and national uniqueness of Israel's Arab Israeli minority. Several studies on this issue have clearly concluded that the education of AICs has been designed by Israeli hands to create a submissive AIC personality, reconciled to his or her inferiority to his or her Jewish superiors, and as a corollary to this, to disparage, undermine, and uproot AIC identity (Mara'i, 1986; Peres, 1968, cited in El Haj, 1996). The bibliotherapy training programmes could benefit considerably if these data were taken into account for the benefit of both students and their future clients. Next, I move to the struggles of women in a traditional society. I will further expand on this issue in chapter 6 on The Family Story.

4. Arab Israeli women and a society in transition

In addition to discrimination on a national basis, Arab Israeli women are also discriminated against in the Arab Israeli society in which they live. AIS tends to be traditional and patriarchal, displaying several characteristics of other autocratic societies. There is a clear age and gender hierarchy, men and the elderly possessing senior status. Abu-Baker claims that:

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[5] For instance, AIC pupils in Israel suffer from a shortage of classrooms. Some study in all sorts of unsuitable structures, such as residential flats, and in very crowded classrooms. They lack facilities such as sports grounds and laboratories, and in particular there is a great difference in the budget allocated to them per pupil (Civil Rights Association, 2011).

Adult Arab women still require men's permission and approval to take higher education, to go to work and to realise their rights to political activity. Such a state of affairs generates a huge dissonance and rapid emotional exhaustion, given that it requires the women to enter a daily mental, emotional and instrumental struggle (Abu-Baker, 2008, p.367).

At the same time, the traditional social structure has been undermined by modernisation and this trend continues. AIS is exposed to Jewish Israeli society and to the Western media. Arab Israeli citizens absorb the message that there should be equal opportunities for all individuals to satisfy their particular needs (Bar and Bar-Gal, 1995). Women are encouraged to pursue careers, and though the vast majority of educated AIC women are employed in two professions – teaching and nursing (Araf-Badr, 1995) – AIS today can boast women doctors, lawyers, writers, poets and graphic artists. But in practice, each one is an exception and an anomaly, a woman who has had to overcome huge difficulties to get and stay where she is. One social characteristic which is particularly pertinent to the division between the two peoples living within Israel's borders is their level of cultural collectivism. The early written sources of both Jewish Zionist and Arab Israeli culture display strongly collectivist values. But Western liberal and capitalist influence over the last few decades has made Israeli Jews highly individualistic. In sharp contrast, AICs still hold to a collectivist code, and despite heavy exposure to Jewish-Israeli individualism are still ambivalent about adopting Western values.

All the factors discussed here determine the setting of the AIC bibliotherapists' views, impressions and personal and professional experiences, which I will present in the following chapters. In the Literature Review I examine the theoretical background of bibliotherapy, from psychoanalysis and psychotherapy in general to the expressive therapies and the use of texts in therapy. In light of the extremely sensitive social and political contexts involved, I present other studies that discuss culture sensitive therapy in the world and in Israel including

a critical observation of the term "western culture" and its development in Israel and the relevance of the 'social unconscious' to therapy in Israel.

The second chapter presents my method for analysing the data, and lays out the dilemmas, sensitivities and complexities I faced as an interviewer of a different culture than her interviewees. The third chapter presents an analysis of the pilot interview I held with an AIC art therapist, which I decided to include in the study because of the rich material that had emerged from it. The fourth chapter presents the features of the interviews, my relationship with the interviewees, and impressions of their cooperation. The fifth chapter deals with their training as bibliotherapists, while the sixth covers their family stories, and explores the social aspects of a traditional patriarchal society in transition. In particular, I explore the way their personal stories are entwined with the wider collective historical narrative. The seventh chapter presents the texts that 'speak' the interviewees, which extends our understanding of the deep connection between the personal and political. This allows for a deep analysis in the eighth chapter of the interviewees' internal rifts and their views on the dynamics of complex relationships between the two peoples in conflict. I also describe the working situation of the AICBs, the challenges they have to face, and their ways of coping with them both mentally and in practice.

After the final chapter – a chapter of conclusions and suggestions, I have added a further personal reflection. Although I did my thesis for mainly professional motives, throughout the research many aspects that arose, touched me personally. I discovered subjects that cropped up with the interviewees also held personal and significant memories for me. I felt that I could not complete my thesis without clarifying a number of personal, relevant aspects in their entirety, causing me to back track and check their theoretical origin in the world. For this reason, it has been important to end my research on others' intimate lives and motives with consideration of my own.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

1. Bibliotherapy as a branch of psychotherapy

The most widely accepted definition of bibliotherapy in Israel is Rachel Tzoran's: "bibliotherapy is one of the expressive therapies,[6] using literature in this case. It is based on the introduction of a 'third voice' into the psychotherapeutic dialogue between therapist and client, the voice of literary texts. The dialogue proceeds by means of literary texts and the client's own reading and writing, which the bibliotherapist-mediator uses for therapeutic purposes" (Tzoran 2009, p. 13, *my translation*). The indirect language of literary texts, Tzoran explains, is what differentiates bibliotherapy from psychodynamics. It is a language which helps capture the clients' complex universe of experience and can sometimes help them see and feel their experience in a new way. During the reading process, the reader becomes acquainted with himself or herself when an element in the text 'hits him'. This element becomes a mirror through which his image is reflected. With it he creates a dialogue that brings him to self knowledge.

A special kind of psychotherapy exists in Israel, which is a method based on the principles and concepts of psychoanalysis, but with a different therapeutic approach as I will explain briefly. Psychoanalysis is both theory and therapeutic method, developed primarily by Sigmund Freud at the end of the 19th century (Elizur, Taynis, Munitz and Neumann, 2003). The basic assumption of psychoanalytic therapy is that the problems which clients encounter are rooted in early childhood. Clients arrive for therapy between four and five times a week, they lie on the couch, while the therapist sits on a chair behind them. This facilitates transference, which is the major therapeutic instrument of psychoanalytic therapy. Clients transfer the forms and ways of their early relations with significant figures (mainly parents, but also siblings and other relatives) to the therapist. The responses and emotional relations that

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[6] As explained below.

characterised the clients in their early childhood reappear in transference as their attitude to the therapist and behaviour towards him or her. Clients' behaviour and attitude are real, legitimate and relevant to them, and they do not see the element of intense transference in their behaviour.

Another important concept is counter-transference, which means that just as the client has irrational and unrealistic feelings, so does the therapist towards the client. Counter-transference depends on the therapist's own unconscious conflicts, and he or she has to be aware of it (Elizur, Taynis, Munitz and Neumann, 2003). One of the major instruments of psychoanalytic therapy is free association, which Freud regarded as the 'methodological key' of psychoanalysis (Freud, 1991, in Kallener, 2009). According to Freud, the analyst's interpretations allow libidinal energies to free themselves from the trap of infantile fantasy, and thereby allow the client to harness them to more practical, more realistic aims.

While psychoanalysis has had a controversial history and is largely on the decline as a practice, according to Harel (1991) and Algom (1991), psychotherapy gained considerable momentum during and after the Second World War, to the point that it has become for many an indispensable service, especially in the USA. Although psychotherapy clearly stems from psychoanalytic paradigms, there are several theoretical and practical differences between the two: clients sit opposite or next to the therapist, and they can see each other; therapy takes place once or twice a week; clients are asked to speak about whatever comes to their mind with the least possible editing and selection, and there is some use of free association. Though transference exists in psychotherapy, the therapist is not inclined to encourage its development. There are interpretations of transference, but this aspect plays a limited role. The therapist is more present and more active, and he or she is less anonymous to the client, and is therefore a less convenient object for transferences.

In addition, the attitude of the therapist is different from the attitude which the client experienced in his or her childhood and sometimes in his or her present life too, and can serve as a corrective experience. Mitchell (1993) argues that contemporary psychotherapy theories – object relations, ego psychology, interpersonal psychology – focus on the importance of the individual's network of relationships with others, and emphasise that no individual is separate from their social context. Contemporary psychotherapists speak less about the objective analysis and interpretation of unconscious processes, and more about the value of acceptance, containment (a central concept in all therapeutic professions: the therapist takes the threatening parts and emotions that the client transfers to him or her and processes them), reflection and reinforcement for the enrichment of the client's mental and subjective reality. Clients, claims Mitchell, do not need analytic clarifications or insight but a sustained felt reality in which they live and see themselves as personally involved, and in which they feel themselves valued and the objects of care and concern. The emphasis lies more on cognitive understanding of events in the present life of the client, and as mentioned, the beneficial therapeutic relationship itself serves as a restorative experience.

Bibliotherapy as a young profession in Israel still remains in proces. In thirty years of development, the field of bibliotherapy in Israel has continuously expanded its theoretical basis but as yet there is crucial need for development. Today, in addition to relying on the psychodynamic method, the narrative and cognitive-behavioural approach has been integrated. Yet theoretical reference that emphasizes culturally-sensitive therapy is only just underway, according to Tzoran (2009), the initiator of the training programme in bibliotherapy, and, as we shall see, according also to the findings of this thesis.

2. Expressive therapy

Expressive therapy is the general term for therapies which use the languages of the various arts in order to treat psychological distress and disorders. Among these therapies are plastic art therapy, motion therapy, drama therapy, music

therapy and bibliotherapy. This branch of psychotherapy has become an important element of mental healthcare around the world. Or and Amir (2005), two Israeli art therapists, describe the objectives of expressive therapy as identical to those of any psychotherapy – to reduce anxiety and pain, relax psychic tensions, restore body image, reinforce self-image, work through traumatic experiences, restore mental and motor capacities, clarify relationships, and provide a deeper understanding of the dynamics of interpersonal communications.

However, when clients are unable to use direct speech to contain, describe, and express the intensity and exact nature of their emotions then works of art can open an alternative channel for their inner worlds, and a bridge to the external world. Many clients find it much easier to express themselves when 'hiding' behind a piece of art— music, gestures, stories — that they have created. The artwork lets them approach and make contact with a range of emotions and inner content, which would otherwise feel too threatening.

Expressive therapy stands at the meeting point of the worlds of art and psychotherapy. This makes it especially rich and complex, but also forces its practitioners to confront dilemmas associated with its professional identity, such as how to fuse the different expressive means of art into a single psychotherapeutic language; how to understand the place and role of direct speech in the creative-therapeutic process; and how much of the standard professional psychological language to incorporate. Elitzur, an Israeli psychologist specialising in work with metaphors, expresses this point by posing the questions:

> What are the means to help clients free themselves of their
> worn-out everyday language, and take the leap into the
> unknown land of psychic reality? What are the words which are
> sufficiently powerful, surprising or provocative to crack the
> monolithic 'truth' (emotional, cognitive or behavioural) which

clients bring to the therapy room, and which so often holds them fast in their distress? How can the therapist help by creating a fuller narrative to bridge the gaping holes, or take the music forward when it gets stuck, and keeps repeating itself like a broken phonograph record? (Elitzur, 1992, p. 157).

Next, I will examine the methodological aspects of bibliotherapy in the wider global context, beginning with a review of its closest equivalents around the world.

3. Bibliotherapy around the world

The use of texts to encourage therapeutic development and healing exists all over the world, in different ways. Nevertheless, most of these fields are still in their formative stage. Furthermore, the practice of using texts[7] has different names in different places. Among the names that the practice appears under are poetry therapies, creative writing for developmental purposes, and bibliotherapy. These different approaches resemble each other. All of them use both existing texts and texts which the clients write themselves.

Furthermore, common to the three disciplines is the presence of a text in the room in addition to the therapist/mentor and the client/participant through which the work is done. However, the methods differ in the following aspects: in the field of creative writing, the emphasis is on transferring emotions and thoughts to words. In the field of poetry therapy, the musical experience is emphasized and vocal expression of emotions is intertwined with the songs' content. In bibliotherapy the emphasis is on the use of text as a space for therapeutic dialogue The feedback given to participants in creative writing

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[7] In this sub chapter I mentioned three approaches. In the future I shall also refer to narrative therapy that does not rely on an outside text but a personal story.

focuses on writing style whereas with the other two interventions, the therapist focuses on emotional aspects.

Before discussing the field of bibliotherapy in Israel in detail, I will describe its applications in a global context.

3.1 Poetry therapy

Poetry therapy is well-grounded in psychotherapy and group dynamics. As a profession, it developed mainly in the United States as early as the 1960's, and draws its inspiration from Leedy (1969) and Lerner (1973). Leedy relied on his own work with a heterogeneous poetry therapy group, organised in 1959 at the mental hygiene clinic of Columbia Hospital, Brooklyn. Leedy employed classical or well-known poetry in his practice. He claimed that poetry brings emotional insight more readily because it requires the client's active participation. Nowadays, the field of poetry therapy is highly developed in the US and Canada. There is a National Association of Poetry Therapy (NAPT), which sets guidelines and procedures for qualified poetry therapists. NAPT sponsors the *Journal for Poetry Therapy*, an interdisciplinary journal of practice, research and education.

3.2 Creative writing

Creative writing as conducive to psychological development is a known field around the world. This field emphasises the enhancement of writing abilities as an aid for personal development. In the US, Julia Cameron (1997), author of the best seller *The Artist's Way*, claims that there are writing methods that can remove creative blocks. Cameron works with students, and delivers courses on creative writing. Lauer and Goldfield (1970) find that creative writing facilitates self-understanding, promotes group interaction and raises self-esteem (in Brand, 1979, p.61). The Association for the Literary Arts in Personal Development, LAPIDUS- Creative Words for Health and Wellbeing was formed in Britain in 1996. This organisation supports writing as possessing therapeutic elements. Leading members of the organisation, Hunt and Sampson (1998), claim that

there are both similarities and differences between psychotherapy and autobiographical writing. Writing, according to Hunt and Sampson, is a therapeutic tool assisting the writer to make contact with the self, and writing exercises in which literature stimulates dialogue with the inner world are found to be catalysts of connection with emotions and inner conflicts (Hunt and Sampson, p.10). After briefly reviewing bibliotherapy around the world, I will focus next on the theoretical elements of this method.

4. Bibliotherapy and its theoretical and methodological elements

Bibliotherapy takes place by way of both writing and reading, and therefore, it combines elements of the two approaches just outlined. Hunt and Sampson (1998) emphasise the client's own reading and writing. Writing, they say, rather like day-dreaming, allows the client to sink into an inner world, wherein certain materials emerge, which are often inaccessible to everyday language. This inner coming together allows the writers to come into contact with themselves, to enter the flow of their unconscious before entering open spoken dialogue with the therapist or other members of the group. In the same vein, Behan (2003) argues that writing also allows the writers to organise chaotic inner materials, and so helps them feel in control. Reading and reflecting on what has been written provide another way of working through the experience. Writing something down allows the writer to revisit the text again and again. The self-authored written material provides the client with a reflection of what was invested in the act of writing (Behan, 2003, p.1). The first methodological issue which bibliotherapy faces has to do with the nature of its primary medium – the written text, and how its meaning is determined.

4.1 The literary approach – how to understand the meaning of a text?

Determining the meaning of texts is a vast field in itself, which as well as being the core concern of literary critics touches on theology and philosophical hermeneutics (Bakhtin, 1989). Modern literary critics, however, foreground two

major approaches to the understanding of texts, the formalist approach (Jacobson, 1975, cited in Zohar and Tori, 1986) and the reader response approach (Iser, 1975). I will describe the formalist approach briefly, as it is less relevant to bibliotherapy, and then expand on the reader's response theory, because bibliotherapy is based on this approach.

Formalism was born out of the study of language, and conceives of texts as linguistic systems (Jacobson, 1975). Formalists have established a powerful field of poetics, literary theory, with its rules and principles, and described the literary text as a system of interrelationships among the elements comprising it. In this way, they moved textual interpretation beyond simplistic models of authorial intention. However for many, this marginalised the role of the reader, in particular the popular reader, who may not be versed in the technicalities of linguistic systems.

In part a reaction against this element of formalism, the reader response approach, developed in the 1970s and 80s, emphasises the legitimacy of the reader in the process of interpreting meaning. Iser (1975) argues that the meaning of any text is neither objective nor static, but depends rather on the subjective response of each reader. The meaning of a text changes from reader to reader, depending on the unique interaction between the reader's personality and the text. Stimulated by the text, each reader undergoes a process which touches directly on his or her own inner world, which is in part unconscious. We are justified in regarding a literary text as an art-object, but in this definition, the author is the composing artist and the reader plays a similar role to the 'performing artist', who gives his or her own new meaning to the text. Supporters of the readers' response theory take the literary text to be much more fluid and often enigmatic since its meaning is so dependent on the reader. For Iser, this quality is especially associated with literary texts, since they stimulate the reader's free imagination the most, paradoxically, due to their greater autonomy from external reality.

For example, Tzoran (2009) points out that in order to find out the age of a person mentioned in the newspapers, even if the writer did not specify it, we can turn to the population registry. But to find out the age of Hamlet in Shakespeare's play, for example, we have no alternative but to turn to the play itself, and use whatever data it provides, as well as our understanding of this data. And, since we cannot imagine an indefinite world, we as readers provide the 'answers' to the questions left open by the text, according to our judgment and personal dispositions. This role requires the reader to use his or her imagination, feeling and understanding in order to balance the potential indefiniteness of the text, and through the act of our imagination make the world embodied within it concrete.

Iser describes this as follows: "the primary typical character of the literary text is its unique position halfway between the world of real objects and the experience of the reader" (Iser, 1975, in Tzoran, 2009, p. 50). Like Iser, Holland (1975) studies the connection between the reader's act of interpretation and the meaning he or she gives the text. He calls the factors which influence the act of interpretation the 'reader's identity themes'. Holland claims that each reader recreates the text according to his or her unique identity themes. The origin of the identity themes lies in significant figures and events, mainly from early childhood, which were internalised by the reader. Another way in which Holland formulates the same idea is that we find everything that we crave the most or scares us the most in the literary piece (Holland in Tzoran, 2004, p.24). Tzoran is highly influenced by this theory, and so are the bibliotherapy training programmes in Israel and the courses developed by Tzoran.

Stuart Hall's elaboration of a reader-response based theory of culture (1996) should be an important source for bibliotherapists. Hall is one of the founders of the British Cultural Studies in the UK bringing not just a wider range of texts to academic analysis, but political framework. For Hall, a text without a readership

is meaningless, and indeed, Hall stresses the very diverse and even contradictory ways in which readers may determine its meaning. The importance of Hall's theory for my study lies in his understanding of texts as 'culture bearers' and 'value makers'. Hall considers mainly televised text and not a literary text, but it is evident that any text allows for diverse and interesting transferences, even though these texts are completely different in character. Hall emphasises the importance of the historical and social background of the viewers in the way they decode what is presented to them by the media. Like Iser, who provides the reader with the role of a performing artist, Hall takes the social power of television to be meaningless until it encounters the viewers. It is like a drill that manifests its power only in the encounter with a surface which it can penetrate (Hall 1996).

Hall shifts the significance to the cultural explanation. The further the decoders (i.e. readers) are separated from the encoders (the producers), the more decodings will emerge, decodings which are a product of a dialogue between the viewers and the pictures of reality presented by the text. When the gap is large enough, the encounter between the viewers and the content will produce counter and opposing decodings, which invert the structured meaning completely.

Cohen and Ribak (2001) try to examine the resistance of classes and minorities to the ideological force of mainstream culture from a neo-Marxist perspective. Their research, which was inspired by Hall's theoretical position, involved the study of newscasts, and clearly showed how people from different social standing have different views about the reality presented in the news. Some adopt the perspectives of the creators, while others debate them or challenge them. Cohen and Ribak made this clear by looking at the different interpretive stances of members of the heterogeneous population in Israel. They provide evidence that Arab Israeli citizens, as well as Jewish settlers in the West Bank, offer alternative decodings of the news from Jerusalem. AICs' decoding

presupposes that the televised contents directly reflect the ideology of the rich, who stand behind the culture industry. Cohen and Ribak claim that programmes which have become milestones in the history of television, such as 'Dallas' (an American soap opera that revolves around a wealthy Texas family in the oil and cattle-ranching industries), are those that succeeded in creating a realistic account of the world not least by bringing controversial situations to viewers. The 'Dallas' series was extremely popular in the 80s amongst Jews and AICs alike. I presume the reason for this was that it afforded a peek in to the lives of tycoons and stardom and in the pleasure of observing rich heroes with troubles and problems just like the average man or woman.

As well as class and power, the reader response theory also brings gender into the interpretation of texts, which is particularly relevant for my study because my subjects are all women who cope with hierarchical values and patterns which most often give men a superior social position. Two feminist scholars, Radway (1991) and Ang (1996), shed light on the gendered social and political aspects of the reading process. They examine readers' responses to popular culture and focus on the meaning for the female readers, rather than any aesthetic value of the piece. Ang (1996) claims that watching soap operas allows many female viewers to fantasise about a utopian future that is different from their current life. By reading romantic novels, female readers encounter a world of needs, desires and wishes, and thereby inspect the life of the patriarchal family. Romance imagines peace, security and ease precisely because there is dissension, insecurity and difficulty in the reality of women's lives (Radway, 1991). The encounter with the text makes it possible, through this approach, both to fantasise and dream and to pinpoint the life of the reader through the encounter with 'the wish'.

The conception that the meaning of texts is to be found in the reader's response to them opens the psychological option to use them as means of advancing psychotherapy. The use of texts in the bibliotherapeutic process includes

different kinds of texts: literary, popular or televisual, according to the wishes of different clients. However, there is no doubt that bibliotherapy rests on the wider psychological theories of Freud (1907; 1967, in Tzoran, 2004, p. 32ff), Winnicott (1971) and others. I will focus next on these theories, while pointing out the therapeutic qualities of literary texts in this context.

4.2 Bibliotherapy and its psychotherapeutic background

The reader response approach, which considers texts to be loci of partly unconscious transferences, shares several features with various psychological approaches. Tzoran (2004) notes that Sigmund Freud already made the connection between psychoanalysis and literature. Throughout his life, Freud made profound explorations into literature and art when formulating the central concepts of psychoanalysis. Freud (1908 ;1988) himself gave the title 'discoverers of the unconscious' to poets, reserving for himself the role of the theoretical developer of the concept (Freud, p.1-8). Freud's analyses can also be used to trace his views about the creative process, and his conclusion that the literary text is an aesthetic object which possesses therapeutic qualities.

Winnicott (1971) built on Freud's general conclusions by borrowing the concept of the 'transitional object' from the psychological theory of object relations. This theory is concerned with the baby's relationship with its principle caretakers as shaping the way in which people handle their relationships later in life. According to Winnicott, the transitional object may be a child's blanket or teddy bear, which gives the infant comfort at times of distress, such as bedtime. The object allows the child to maintain its connection with the mother, and over time to develop symbolic relations to life. This ability to symbolise is the basis of creativity and play. Winnicott extends the concept to any experience that lies between objective and subjective reality, as people perceive them. Winnicott calls this area the 'potential space' or 'transitional phenomenon', and describes it

as having simultaneously an external and internal existence. He relates the concept of transitional phenomena to what he calls 'cultural experience', the acts of imagination and creativity.

Based on Winnicott (1971), Bollas (1987) tries to explain the essence of experiencing a profound connection with an expressive object (poem, painting, literary text) by introducing a concept specific to narrative texts, the concept of the 'transformational object'. Bollas describes the mother as a 'primary object', constituting, as it were, an 'other self ' for the infant. She is identified with and by her constant physical handling of the infant's internal and external experience. The search for this infant experience, preserved at the level of pre-verbal memory, is found in the adult's search for an object which can fulfil the function of primary connection for him or her. The adult's engagement with an expressive object is described as an expression of this subjective experience of longing. The presence of the object and the psychosomatic feeling of symbiosis with it restore the feeling that was once part of the connection to the primary object. In Bollas' thinking, the search for the thrill of reading a significant text is an outstanding example of our desire for connection to a wide range of significant objects, which gives us a sense of security and belonging.

During much the same period, and also borrowing from Winnicott and Bollas, Berman (1987) also calls the space created between reader and text the 'transitional space'. In this space, he locates a fantastical interaction between reader and text, created by the process of reading. Rachel Tzoran expands the notion of transitional object as an intrinsic characteristic of literary texts. She claims that anyone can enjoy the freedom of engaging in dialogue with a text. The act of reading creates a potential space which contains the reader's transferences to the text at the experiential level, and this space is the 'mental location' where the encounter between reader and text takes place. Berman and Tzoran both explain the imminent attributes of reading and emphasize that this experience recreates and renews past experiences. Berman also applies the experience of

transitional space to non-literary texts, while Tzoran, in this connection, concentrates on literary texts.

4.3 Narrative therapy

In addition to therapeutic approaches that rely on text there is another method called narrative therapy. This form of therapy too has deep roots in literary theory and philosophy as well as psychology, but rather than focusing on literary texts, it presupposes that everyone views and organises their life through narratives, which they recount to themselves. It is these everyday narratives that are the focus of the therapy. The methodology of narrative therapy was developed by Michael White and David Epston (1999). The essence of its method is a recounting of the client's life-story and life experiences, on the premise that psychic problems have their origins in 'narrow narratives', and that the therapeutic task is to 'repair' these narratives by 'rewriting' them (Omer and Alon, 1997, in Tzoran, 2004). Persuading a client to give up their long-held but narrow life story, and draw a line between themselves and their story, opens up the opportunity for them to begin to consciously take responsibility for themselves.

The therapist poses questions which invite the client to 're-connect' to their life story and their patterns of interpersonal relations and to construct an alternative story (White and Epston, 1999). Once this preferred story begins to take form, the therapist can encourage the client to take personal responsibility for his life and shape the person's life and relationships network.

Though it may seem obvious that bibliotherapy and narrative therapy share many interests, courses in narrative therapy were not included in the curriculum during the first years of the bibliotherapy training programme in Israel. The

more the bibliotherapeutic profession developed in Israel, the more its proximity to narrative therapy became clear, and narrative therapy began to be explicitly incorporated. The lectures and workshops delivered by Michael White during his visits to Israel in 2003 and 2005 contributed to this understanding. All current training programmes contain a course called 'Narrative theory and bibliotherapy – mutual influences', in which students study narrative psychotherapy both theoretically and practically. In addition, the possible connections between narrative therapy and bibliotherapy are considered, and narrative tools are provided for working with the texts which are written during bibliotherapy. Becoming acquainted with the narrative approach can sometimes invite both therapist and client to a common reflection on 'narrow' narratives, which can be transformed into preferable narrative (this is the accepted terminology according to White and Epston). In order to give a fuller picture of how bibliotherapy might work in practice, I will now provide a brief account of the bibliotherapeutic situation.

4.4 The therapeutic situation in bibliotherapy

Based on 'reader response' theory, bibliotherapy exploits the power of literature to provoke an emotional response. It brings literary texts into the therapy room, and uses them in a therapeutic dialogue. I mentioned that Tzoran believes that therapeutic dialogue takes place by means of the literary text presented to the client. It should be noted, however, that bibliotherapy broadens the concept of 'text'— oral myths and legends which change with every narrator and audience, physical objects, pictures, photos, and films can all be used as 'texts' through which to access the client's inner world.

The bibliotherapeutic therapy room is supplied with books appropriate to the client's age, different situations including different conflicts each one is struggling with. Selecting books in the therapy room is part of the

bibliotherapist's role. It is preferable to find books in the therapy room that have the quality of undefined-ness (Iser, 1975), offering room for various projections. Texts that are varied enough, not unambiguous and with differences, are recommended for bibliotherapy, as they allow the client to find himself in and through them to create his own story. The client is invited to choose any book (there is a wide collection of books in the room which may not necessarily change from meeting to meeting). The situation of reading or discussing the text is the unique feature of the bibliotherapeutic dialogue. The three-way dialogue between client, therapist and text and the responses and interventions the therapist chooses to make are designed to facilitate the client's self-development. The bibliotherapist also mediates between client and text. Tzoran (2009) emphasises that while the client acts as 'direct reader' – because the text has been carefully selected for him or her – the therapist acts as 'mediating reader'. The mediator's task is to use the text to illustrate, support and reinforce points, which will deepen the client's insight into himself or herself.

I will demonstrate how bibliotherapy typically occurs as a practice using two examples. Simchon (2004), a long time bibliotherapist, describes a bibliotherapeutic case she had in a school. Ben (alias), the client, had been raised by his mother alone and strictly refused to talk about his father. The family emigrated to Israel when Ben was seven years old. It was decided to use the bibliotherapy approach for two reasons. First with the intention of bypassing direct verbalisation, which he found difficult, the mother and therapist hoped that fictional stories, which circumvent consciousness, would make it easier for him to reveal his emotions and his social and communicative functioning problems. The second reason was the comment of the class teacher that Ben loved stories. At the start of therapy, Ben refused to follow any of the therapist's suggestions. These involved open stimuli, which make it possible to dive into the inner world, such as asking him to write a story about a picture, or reading a story to him and asking him to extend it. Ben did not cooperate. She asked the class teacher about his interests and was told that Ben likes geography, so she brought an atlas to the therapy room. The atlas allowed Ben to speak

enthusiastically about wars between countries and the heads of the fighting armies.

Simchon claimed that the more she was in tune and attentive to his need to express his inner world, the more fruitful their sessions became. Gradually, a safe place was created in the room where Ben could tell his life story using the language of legends and symbols. Being asked to scribble with a pencil on paper with his eyes shut, and then search for something in the scribble, Ben found a shark in the scribble he had made. As is common bibliotherapeutic practice, the therapist suggested he would tell her something about the shark. Ben told her about a shark who entered a boat and wanted to devour it, "*the sailors beat it and squeezed the life out of it with swords and weapons, hurt it with arrows and the shark says: enough already! I can't bear it anymore*".

Through the experiences of the shark and the sailors Ben gave expression to his mental story – his fears, vulnerability and aggression. Later, as the connection between therapist and client grew stronger, the stories invented by Ben in the therapy room became more personal. Using the oblique language of stories, Ben managed to come up with narratives, in which the central figure was always the father, who is forced to abandon his family in order to defend his country because of the circumstances of war. In one of the stories, the father dies and the children avenge him, and in another story, the children run after the father, and miss him, and ask him to promise to stay and never leave. Through the medium of fiction, Ben managed to touch his centres of pain, expressed his sorrow via the sorrow of the children, and mourn his loss in the absence of a father.

The bibliotherapeutic tool allowed Ben to have a potential space (Winnicott, 1975) so that the story became a transitional object in which Ben could live and gradually get to know himself, and thus his self-identity grew clearer and stronger. Elements of narrative therapy can also be noticed in this treatment, as

Simchon notes. The space given to Ben to rewrite his story allowed him to fix the mother's difficulty to address the issue of the absent father, and create a new narrative for himself, better than the vague and painful narrative in which he had been living. Simchon used a range of non-literary means such as an atlas and a picture (alternative media used in the bibliotherapy room in addition to books), which were nevertheless effective in Ben's bibliotherapeutic treatment.

Let me offer another case description from my own personal experience in treating a 14 year old adolescent. Hagar (alias) is a secondary school pupil who started to work as a model. Her parents emigrated from Russia. Both are academics, and neither of them managed to find an appropriate job in Israel at the same level of creativity and talent they had in their country of origin. Hagar came to therapy after cutting herself in the legs with scissors, after school pupils falsely accused her of being pregnant and called her a 'slut'. She did not come to school for a month and at the end of that year got a bad report. Hagar writes poems in her free time, and was therefore referred for bibliotherapy because of her love of writing.

At the end of the first session, Hagar asked for my email address, and that same day sent me a couple of poems she had written.[8] The poems dealt with her loneliness and her disappointment with the world. The choice to write a poem is a form of coping with a difficult reality, in an attempt to put the experience into the order of an artistic form. I took her sending the poems to me as an invitation to be present in her world. The need to contain a chaotic experience was evident. The books I brought to the sessions with Hagar are popular among adolescents her age and deal with conflicts which are close to her heart.

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[8] As a professional I receive regular supervision on professional ethics and to this forum I bring various issues including preserving the boundaries of therapy. Allowing Hagar to send me emails arose due to a concern about her feelings of abandonment and great distress. Further therapy was consequently conducted in the therapy room alone.

In one of the books, called *Admissions Test* by Nava Machmel-Atir, there are indications of Hagar's themes. The book deals with the coming of age journey of an adolescent girl, who is plotted against and suffers from exclusion and loneliness. Hagar asked to take the book home for the week. At the session after reading the book, Hagar referred to the protagonist who got smashed to pieces. We discussed the feeling of the black pit, the deep distress, the sense of hopelessness and how terrible it is to feel like that. In the book, there is a girl who is plotted against, and at the end of the story the rumours turn out to be the invention of a classmate who envied her, and the girl turns from being a victim to receiving apologies from all her friends, and is transformed into a hero. By means of the reading experience, Hagar came to hope that she too would have a new narrative and would learn to cope.

Hagar wrote often during therapy, and continued to send me poems by mail. When suffering is put into a poem a space develops, which allows the adolescent to observe it. Although the poem spoke about despair, the act of sending it to the therapist indicated the opposite. Here, one can see that the text (*Admissions Test)* served as a transitional object (Winnicott, 1975). It can be seen that the dialogue with the text allowed Hagar to have a dialogue with herself, and become the 'performing artist' of the text (Iser, 1975).

Getting to know the girl in the book allowed Hagar to express her real emotions and created a new conscious state, in which Hagar could replace her narrow story by an alternative story (White and Epston, 1999). In summary, the purpose of bibliotherapy was to allow Hagar to recognise her personal story and enhance her ability to cope, to express her emotions, shifting her internality and thus her ability to deal with the externality.

This study is interested in the relation of the AICBs to bibliotherapeutic thinking both in the context of their work with their clients, particularly as they use texts,

and in the context of their own national narratives. One of the interesting elements in my study of AICBs is the exploration of their stand on the collective Palestinian narrative, which represents an example of White's and Epston's concept of the ideological elements of personal narrative (I mean their ability to distinguish preferable from narrow narratives, and their mental steadfastness as it arises in all the chapters of analysis below). This issue becomes all the more sensitive when interviewee and interviewer are identified as 'representatives' of two societies in conflict, as we inevitably were positioned to some degree (for more on this issue see the Methodology chapter). It is therefore crucial to examine the specific historical, social and cultural context of psychotherapy and bibliotherapy in Israel.

5. Psychotherapy in Israel

The issue of the effects of individual therapy on socio-political reality has lately preoccupied Israeli society and the academic community quite heatedly. Israeli society is chronically exposed to traumas, beginning with the shadow of the Holocaust, and continuing with a foundational war with the Palestinians, followed by at least seven wars and major terrorist attacks (see section 3 of the Introduction). The state's geo-political situation as well as the conception that it exists under many existential threats has created a reality of chronic insecurity. There are many casualties in Israel, in both body and mind. Peace rarely seems possible. Children all over Israel are particularly vulnerable and can encounter death at a very young age.

Due to the present lack of a peace settlement it is predictable that the population experiences a routine level of continual psychological tension. For example, Tuval-Mashiach and Arye Shalev (2005) studied emotional responses to recurrent terrorism among adults in Israel; Pat-Horenczyk and Doppelt (2005) studied the detection of post-traumatic stress among adolescents in Israel, who were exposed to recurrent terrorism; Shacham (1996) studied children who

have been living under bombardments; Solomon (1990) studied people who were injured in battle and their families, as well as prisoners of war, and there is a host of other such studies (Benjamini, 1975; Omer and Inbar, 1991; Levinson, 1993; Niv, 1996; Lahad and Eilon, 2000; Somer and Bleich, 2005; Baham, 2005; Baum, 2005; Berger, 2005). The day to day coping with pain and mental scars in Israel that traumatic experiences have created on both sides of the divide (Jews and Arab Israeli citizens) has contributed to the accumulation of knowledge and experience by Israeli researchers and the search for effective ways to deal with the consequences of such tension.

Lahad and Eilon (2000), two Israeli psychologists who studied responses to situations of war and terrorism, are known for their 'immunisation plans' for stressful situations during and after times of emergency. The role of these plans is to reduce the negative elements of stressful situations, such as feelings of helplessness, fears and anger, and increase the positive elements, such as control of a situation, resourcefulness, creative thinking and problem solution. In their book, *Life on the Edge* (2000), Lahad and Eilon discuss the development of coping skills in the context of the stressful situations of security risks. They claim that the reality of life in Israel requires programmes for alleviating fears, preventing interpersonal violence, and educating for peace. They suggest educational and therapeutic activities, such as asking participants to generate similes and metaphors, participate in acting and creative imagination such as freestyle writing, painting, movement to music, re-enactment and role-playing, help children and adolescents gain effective ways of growing 'immune' to stress and reducing tension and anxiety. This may explain the accelerated development of original approaches to therapy, including the wide use of the various expressive therapies in Israel.

However, Eva Illouz (2012), an Israeli sociologist, challenges this view that therapy is an obvious 'solution' to the situation. In her view, trauma treatment can act as 'internal immunisation', and she therefore turns the spotlight not so

much on the 'traumatised' and how to help them, but on the issue of the social power of therapists in Israel. Illouz emphasises the need to directly express the social context in the therapy room. In other words, she demands that therapists take a moral stance and avoid the conception that life's difficulties stem mainly from the unique and personal life story. As a sociologist, Illouz holds that human beings are shaped by political structures. A large part of their personal makeup, such as norms and values, is shaped by social factors. Illouz marks the field of therapy as a significant issue in the political discussion in Israel. She criticises the lack of clear moral attitude among therapists, and raises the need to find a common public language to formulate the collective helplessness of Israeli citizens (of all ethnicities, races and religions), and their sense of being erased by institutions.

Illouz's ideas about the social role of therapy and about change which is not only internal raise two vital questions. First, there is the question of whether we should invest in therapy at all, as a method of change, but engage in political activities, or even social activities instead. Second, there is the question of whether therapeutic practice can be culturally sensitive therapy. In relation to these questions, Illouz presents an original argument as to whether therapy itself is a mistaken activity, a displacement, or even worse, a collusion in a situation of political and civil conflict. However, as I hope this thesis will demonstrate, my own view is that even if Illouz's words are extremely relevant, there is still place for therapeutic practice in the complex reality of Israel and not instead of social activities.

  In my opinion there is a place for therapy if it is culturally sensitive. At the very least, we can argue that even if it contains elements of awareness it at least should be improved to address all the population. However, as a bibliotherapist I do believe that it can be a constructive and transformative response to trauma. The interviewees support my standpoint too, despite their many critiques of the practice of bibliotherapy to date. The key argument that I am making, therefore,

is that culturally sensitive and politically-aware therapy practice is extremely necessary and shall therefore now relate to what we can learn about culturally sensitive therapy in other parts of the world.

6. Culturally sensitive therapy

Before I expand on culturally sensitive therapy, I shall present the unpopular opinion that sees the complexity of the attitude to the "other" as inborn. Robinson (2012), an educational researcher, strongly emphasizes the place of the education system on this issue. Robinson (2012) claims that the tendency to distance oneself from the "other" is human nature and already appears in young children. He describes four year olds who identify and feel close and belonging to objects and subjects like themselves and feel distance and repulsion to those unlike themselves. For instance, a doll similar to the child would be perceived as belonging and loved. Robinson concludes that the education system should help cultivate acceptance and tolerance for the "other" and facilitate pupils understanding of other cultures.

The literature that deals with challenges emanating from socio-cultural differences in the treatment room and therapeutic training, contributes greatly to the issues in my research. The interviewees considered the cultural context to be of fundamental importance in training and the treatment room. I shall first review the theoretical attitude in the world and then in Israel. This development allows for a deeper understanding of Illouz's (2012) claim that emphasizes how culture and language change our emotional makeup as soon as they are incorporated into society's main institutions and the media.

6.1 Culturally sensitive therapy in the world

There is a lot of literature concerning culturally sensitive therapy in the world. In contrast to Freudian discourse that tends to place the cause of suffering in the internal world, the attitudes that I present emphasise social causes of trauma, and indeed also highlight the presence of cultural, social and political processes in the treatment room itself.

The important theorists in the field whose writings I shall present are Dalal (2002), who was inspired by Fanon (1967) and Elias (1976). After I touch on culturally sensitive therapy, I shall present practical aspects in the therapy room through the writings of Littlewood and Lipsedge (1997), Remington DaCosta (1989), Cosau (1997) and D'Arna and Mehatni (1989). Initially I shall relate to the question of race and racism, as this is the most obviously relevant area of culturally sensitive therapy for my purpose.

Dalal (2002) bases his theories on earlier researchers, among them Elias (1976) and Fanon (1967), a psychiatrist and philosopher who raised the anti-colonial struggle and highlighted the black problem in a world ruled by whites. He asserts that all deal with socio-cultural differences, their implication on society and the therapy room. Before Dalal presents his position he examines four psychological theories: Freud, Klein, Fairbairn and Winnicott, and criticizes aspects of their writings. The writing of these four psychoanalysts in his opinion make no mention of race taking it to be a self-evident category of nature. In particular, Dalal researches Freudian terms in depth and discovers many discrepancies. Among other things Dalal challenges the fact that Freudian theory considers aggression and libido as in-born instincts (Freud, 1988) including racism.

Dalal also emphasizes that Freudian theory encapsulates the idea that the interests of the group are inevitably and necessary in conflict with the interests of the individual**.** This is obviously unconducive to developing a therapy in the context of civil conflict.

Dalal also criticizes Melanie Klein's (1988) theory. Melanie Klein similar to Freud, relates to humans as possessing instincts from birth and achieving two positions (methods of psychological organization): the depressive position and the schizo-paranoid position. According to Klein, two positions continue to accompany man in his adult life and both are connected to the split that the baby experiences between a destructive instinct towards his mother and his love for her. Dalal claims that although Klein gives considerable attention to hate, envy and aggression, she never exposes any awareness in her writings of racism as a manifestation of any of them.

Dalal also examines in depth the approaches of Winnicott (1988) and Fairbairn (1935). These approaches might seem to be more helpful for working with problems in cross- or inter-racial relationships, than Freud or Klein's picture of an inherent racism in the psyche. Both these approaches explain aggression as anchored in the opinion that we are born 'good' and we become 'bad' in the course of our development. But in fact, Dalal points out that these theories do not explain racism. According to Dalal, Winnicott and Fairbairn's viewpoints are "that whenever aggression and hostility make their appearance, it is always a secondary phenomenon born out of frustration" (Dalal 2002, p. 61). So Winnicott and Fairbairn do not view colonialism as a central factor in mental problems.

In contrast to these positions, Dalal directs the spotlight to differences of race and ethnicity as factors of conflict and presents historic examples in which a rough and judgmental generalization of individuals is made due to their belonging to an ethnic group. Ironically enough, of course, in this context we can cite the long history of racism towards Jews. For instance, Traub-Werner (1984) says that within 'the context of group psychology the Jew is experienced as a threat because in an indefinable way he is different, has defied oppression throughout the centuries in spite of cruel persecution and has refused to assimilate' (1984 p. 407, in Dalal 2002 p. 67).

Dalal criticizes the tendency to homogenize cultures and sheds light on the concept of race, showing how it was used by the powerful to perpetuate their position, and thus how the psyche is inescapably 'colour-coded'. Dalal's position on racism is an integration of insights from three domains – the cognitive, the emotional and the sociological. Dalal shows that the negative and positive association of the words black and white 'grew' in historical time. He shows that the terms darkness and light are widely used as spiritual metaphors for good and evil. In order to explore this suggestion Dalal collected, amongst other things, every usage of black and white in the authorized version of the holy bible. He emphasises that the term light in the bible is intimately linked with goodness. It is the first thing created in the universe.

"And the earth was without form…darkness was upon the face of the deep… And god said, Let there be light… And god saw the light, that it was good: and god divided the light from the darkness". (Genesis, 1 from Dalal, 2002 p. 141).Dalal shows that darkness is initially used to mean the 'absence of light', specifying that the basis for 'black skin' as a mark of suffering is found in the bible story of Noach. The ninth chapter of genesis describes Noach drunk, naked and asleep. His son Ham sees Noach in this condition. For this 'crime' Noach curses Ham's son Canaan to be a servant. According to Dalal what is crucial to this story is the name Ham. Ham is a vulgarization of Cham. In Hebrew *ch'm* means black, hot, burnt, dark. One learns from this that even early biblical sources consider that to be black is to be cursed to be a servant and that blackness of the skin echoes the darkness of spirit. As I mentioned, Dalal bases himself on earlier researchers, one of whom is Elias (1976), a German-born Jewish researcher who moved to England.

Elias's theory of the civilising process was developed at a time when the Nazis had just risen to power, and had driven him from Germany. Elias' theory focused on the relationship between power, behaviour, emotion, and knowledge. He significantly shaped what is called process or figurational sociology. His concept

of large social figurations or networks explains the emergence and function of large societal structures without neglecting the aspect of individual agency.

According to Elias (1976), the first to study the structure of the Freudian soul from a socio-historical perspective, minds always exist in the plural, and are always in a power relation with each other. The identity Elias draws between language, thought and knowledge, all as aspects of symbol, is a powerful one because it says unequivocally that the structure of the social world is necessarily encoding the structure of the psyche. Elias has shown, according to Dalal that the process of state formation necessarily impacts on the structure of behaviors' between people in their everyday lives as well as the structure of their psyches. In other words, Elias claims that hierarchical power relations between groups of people were intrinsic to the social and thus to the psyches of its inhabitants.

Another researcher that Dalal considers of special importance is as mentioned, Fanon (1982). As a black émigré and also trained doctor from colonial Martinique, living in North Africa at the time of intense struggles for independence, Fanon possessed a unique perspective on the colonial situation. Fanon's emphasis on the social notions of black and white, opened up the possibility of viewing in a more comprehensive light the impact of race and racism on the construction of psyches

In his words, "The black is made inferior. The individual who climbs up into society – white and civilized – tends to reject his family – black and savage…and the family structure is cast back into the id" (Fanon 1982: 149 in Dalal 2002).

According to Fanon the black person does not have the possibility of withdrawing from their black skin and this in turn leads to alienation. In the colonialist situation the black person has to look in the white man's eyes to give

himself substance, to find himself, but instead of himself he finds the white man's perception of himself. Fanon finds a role for psychotherapy in the revolutionary process, which is to expose and undermine the dominant ideologies of the colonizer. In his opinion, as a psychologist he should help his client to become conscious of his unconscious and abandon his attempts at a hallucinatory whitening, but also to act in the direction of a change in the social structure.

Littlewood and Lipsedge (1997) elaborate on the severity of the need to recognize political sensitivity and culturally sensitive therapy at the therapeutic meeting. They argue that the dominant culture actively alienates people who do not belong to it and produces its own 'aliens'. In their opinion the 'alienists', as the majority, also have no adequate frame of reference for judging the standards of individuals from other cultures. Because of this, they are more likely to describe behavior that they do not understand as deviant and therefore sick.

Littlewood and Lipsedge distinctly indicate that

> if scientists can demonstrate that the outsiders, whether foreigners, immigrants or the mentally ill, are in some fundamental way different from us, it will be evident that they have different needs from us and we must accordingly treat them differently and keep them separated – or alienated (p. 31 Littlewood and Lipsedge 1997).

In other words, it is not helpful to 'pathologise' the clients; minorities, foreigners and the alienated have problems which develop from troubles connected to their social, cultural , political state and not as a result of personal internal distress. Littlewood and Lipsedge present the difficulty through examples from the treatment room, such as the relationship between a therapist and a black client.

> The black client demonstrates his hostile aggression to the white therapist by coming late, 'acting out' and missing appointments. An attempt by the client to raise culture questions were interpreted by the therapist as moves to avoid an emotional relationship between them. Given this deliberate avoidance of the question of social roles, it is easy to see how a client from an ethnic minority or a colonized society was perceived as childlike in the therapeutic context. The relations of colonial therapist and colonized client were perceived in parent-child terms (p. 56 Littlewood and Lipsedge 1997).

Littlewood and Lipsedge ironically state that with this example the 'black problem' in Britain is the fault of the black parents. Furthermore, this complexity exists in both directions. When the therapist is black and the client white, clients can feel they are getting second-class treatment and complain to a white psychiatrist that a black doctor cannot understand them or even has too many problems of his own to be helpful.

Remington and DaCosta (1989) also attribute great importance to the ethnocultural factor in treatment and supervision. They use the term pseudo-sameness as an explanation of clients' and supervisors' unwillingness to address the subject. In these ways, they escape the inherent anxieties and fears related to entering another person's experiential world.

According to Remington and DaCosta attempts to directly address ethnocultural differences within the supervisory relationship can meet with both denial and hostility, leading to "mutual paranoid standoff" and alienation of the client.

Moreover they describe an additional defense that they term "overcompensating indulgence". The client could feel trapped and misunderstood in both types of relationship, the relationship characterized by abstention and that of overcompensating. They stress the importance of integrating a course that deals with multiculturalism in training different therapists. Enhancing awareness of socio-cultural differences in the treatment room and its implications is also presented as very important by the following researchers.

Coseo (1997) discusses her own cultural misconceptions and the art-based work she did to express, explore, and change cultural stereotypes that emerged in bicultural art therapy sessions. Coseo reflected on this self-explorative process, writing:

> It is important to realize that stereotypes and prejudices are learned and reinforced over a lifetime. Confronting and challenging these beliefs requires courage, honesty, patience and a non-judgmental approach. It is not an easy or comfortable task, but it is necessary. (1997, p. 155 from Einstein 2012 p.44-45)

Waller (1993) also sheds light on sociological and anthropological deep observation in group therapy. Waller's experience in art psychotherapy with a wide variety of different societies and cultures (UK, Italy, Bulgaria) emphasize the therapists' need to be aware of their own cultural racial biases and the need to create multicultural awareness.

A transcultural clear and practical guide is presented by D'ardenne and Mahtani (1989) and provides an effective and appropriate service to clients from outside their own culture. In this context ,D'ardenne and Mahtani relate to the issue of status and power in the counseling room and claim that white counselors

present themselves as experts with formal credentials as well as an ethnocentric view that their mode of counseling is best. Their clients, whether they are of the same culture or not, come to share this view of counselors as very powerful people. Furthermore, even when white counselors are demonstrably ineffective with clients from other cultures, clients continue to believe in the counselors' expertise. D'ardenne and Mahtani emphasise that clients from other cultures have already had to overcome many barriers in everyday life and may find the counseling environment a further struggle. According to D'ardenne and Mahtani's transcultural settings, there are some significant areas in any counseling relationship. First, all counseling deals with the establishment of boundaries, therefore counselors and clients need to delineate the nature of their relationship and the tasks at hand. The two parties bring expectations and beliefs to counseling which will need to be made explicit and negotiated.

Their view is that transcultural counselors should actively reduce cultural distance in preparatory work on clients' culture before the counseling sessions begin. D'ardenne and Mahtani point out that clients have traditionally taken on the considerable burden of making them understood in counseling. They emphasise that the therapeutic goals of western counseling may be unfamiliar and inappropriate ideas for clients from another culture. Helping clients achieve insight, self-awareness and personal growth may be the counselor's goals. On the other hand, the client may want solutions to practical problems without any reference to internal change. In practice this means that the counselor will find in the client what are the latter's desired goals. The counselors then explain the way counseling works and both parties negotiate a common purpose.
For example, like Sue and Sue (1990), in a transcultural setting, counselors will explain what time keeping means in counseling. They will also explore with their clients their views about time and come to an arrangement with them that is mutually acceptable and convenient.

Additionally, in a transcultural setting, counselors will need to see transference and countertransference in terms of the cultural beliefs, prejudices and racism

that is their or their clients'. And also, transcultural counselors will be able to examine their own cultural assumptions and face the fears they themselves might have of being separated and alienated, with the purpose of examining that their values, assumptions and practices are not absolute.

D'ardenne and Mahtani throw light on another important point about the cultural differences in the counseling room. When both parties are outside the majority culture, clients sometimes see their counselors as having 'sold out' to the establishment. Counselors are seen as having betrayed their cultural background in the process of becoming a dominant class practitioner. In their opinion in this situation counselors can feel helpless and believe that they can do nothing that is acceptable to their clients. They suggest that counselors be open with their clients about their dilemma and use it to form one of the therapeutic tasks in the relationship. Although the literature on multiculturalism is growing in the therapy field, the sparseness of literature on this topic in Israel is glaring. I will therefore discuss what already exists as the obvious context for my research.

6.2 Culturally sensitive therapy in Israel

Israeli society is culturally diverse, being both a country of Jewish refugees who came to Israel from more than 70 countries and different cultures, and from the Arab point of view, a native state. However a search through the literature revealed that the concept of culture in the training of therapists in Israel is poorly documented.

Only recently, based on the relatively new awareness that Israeli society is multicultural, is cultural sensitivity beginning to be dealt with. There are implications in many areas and every cross cultural contact – therapeutic, educational, service oriented - is a possibility for that approach to be based on equality on the one hand and recognition of uniqueness on the other. This does not imply that culture is a monolithic entity, but is rather shorthand for an open 'intersection' of many social identity factors such as gender, nation, ethnicity,

religion, class etc. The issue of cultural sensitivity is particularly pertinent in the case of Israeli society, which is influenced by both Middle Eastern and Western cultural values.

As stated, a focus on culture-dependent differences between the Jews and Arabs in Israel does not imply that either the Jewish or the Arab community is homogeneous, bounded and static. There are many cultural differences among the Jews and among the Arabs (who represent different religious groups). Indeed, based on the findings of several sociologists, including from Arab backgrounds, I consider that the complex picture of collectivism-individualism in Middle Eastern society is not divided dichotomously either on the Jewish or the Arab side. At different stages of Jewish history in Israel, there were periods characterized as collectivist, one of the main examples being the kibbutz. [9] In their prime, kibbutzim were seven percent of the whole population of Israel. As of 2007, they are less than two percent of the population. The characteristic way of life in the kibbutz is the outcome of a collective and egalitarian ideology. Collectivism is expressed by a uniform salary for all, communal board for children, and eating in a communal dining room. However,over the years as a result of ideological and economic crises that hit the kibbutzim there was a lessening of identity with the 'traditional' kibbutz and its goals, by their members. The kibbutz underwent privatization with differentiated salaries and ownership of property for kibbutz members. (Ynet online encyclopedia, 2013). In other words, the collective vision of the kibbutzim has largely failed in favour of the individualist orientation.

 For Arab society, I based my research on Abu Baker (2008) and Nahaz (2007), researchers who belong to Arab society and culture. Both of them say that there is a greater tendency to collectivism in Arab society in Israel and individualism in Jewish society and indeed, both use the general term "collectivist society" to describe the former. Hanoush Saruji (1995) gives us a sense of the recent as well

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[9] The kibbutz is a collective settlement unique to Zionism in the land of Israel. It is based on socialist values – equality between people and with a collective economy and idealogy.

as long history which determines this collectivism. She describes the economic structures of Palestinian society before 1948 as primarily agricultural. To survive in harsh desert conditions, a way of life evolved in which the individual survived only as part of a collective, of which the focal point was the extended family clan (the *hamula*) or the tribe (the idea that the collective was a 'people' was much more vague). Collectivist culture emphasises the importance of the social framework and the need for social cohesion. It dictates norms, which demand that individuals give maximal consideration to the needs of others and to the effects of their actions on those around them. In contrast, Israeli Jews, largely led by those with long roots in western society, drew on an industrial and post-industrial experience. Individualistic thinking encourages every person to aspire to autonomy in a very different model of self-fulfilment, one which goes hand in hand with the history of therapy (Ritzer, 2006). Still, these processes are not ones unique to Middle Eastern Arab culture which in other aspects is a society in transition. This society encourages individuals to make their personal needs modest, and to make the collective their first priority and its laws their laws (El-Haj, 1987, in Zvulun, 2002). Triandis (1989) proposes placing cultures on a collectivism individualism spectrum, which he claims is almost completely reflected in members' actual self-image. He finds that Western countries manifest a high degree of individualism and some of the traditional Eastern countries a high degree of collectivism. Ruchs and Schwartzwald (2000) confirm this by saying that Arab countries differ from Western ones in many aspects, including: the level of democracy of their regimes, the rate of industrialisation and economic development, level of gender equality, and so on. So much so that it is difficult to determine which features are responsible for the differences in people's self-image between "West" and "East".

On this sensitive topic I felt obligated to rely on the findings and writings of AICs like Abu Baker, Nahaz and especially on the writings of the researcher Marouan Dwairy (I shall elaborate on his outlook later), who by their own definition are Arab Israeli citizens. In order not to lapse into paternalism, judgmental and wrong interpretation, I quote the speakers verbatim to provide a culturally sensitive picture. Abu-Baker (2008) describes the beginnings of change in her

society but asserts that it is still largely a collectivist society. Nahas (2007) relates to the advantages of life in Arab collective society in Israel, mainly the feeling of collaboration and protection that children feel from their extended families that accompany them daily. On the other hand there are Arab feminists who criticize patriarchal structure that discriminates against women. Abu Baker is one of them: "Arab society has undergone technological and economic changes, but has not yet implemented the principles of social justice and gender equality into its social structure" (Abu-Baker 2008, p.361).

In the context of this persistent, even if only partial, collectivism of Arab-Israeli society, we see that a discourse of 'Western' culture as individual remains powerful, even if this, too, is a simplification. Talking about the idea and terminology of the 'Western' is important in understanding the cultural map of therapeutic practice in Israel, because it is so often referred to as a descriptor. It is generally shorthand for the kinds of interior and individually-based approaches used in bibliotherapy, despite the fact that, ironically, in the west there are so many varieties of therapy that have evolved to use group approaches. Family therapy is perhaps the most obvious example and one which would seem to have a great resonance with the kind of recommendations that Arab-Israeli therapists have made. However a full discussion of group-based approaches in therapeutic practice in, for example, Britain or the United States, is beyond the scope of this thesis. For now, I will simply note that the term 'Western' remains current in the dialogues that form the centre of this thesis, and thus I use it, even as I aim to situate and, in some senses, pull it apart.

We can see some of the origins of this identification in Theodore Herzel's ideas. Herzel was the first writer who related to society and its 'Western' outlook in the land of Israel. According to his description in his book *Altneuland : old new land* (1934),[10] he referred to the new society that would be established in the State of Israel (1948) as adopting the prestigious European culture. The men would wear

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[10] Herzl – visionary of the Jewish State.

suits and top hats and the women European attire, chattering in German (Herzl's language) about the latest fashions from Paris.

Here one can draw an empirical picture of complexity, the bond between a young society that developed in the land of Israel and the 'west'. Many researchers related to the young Israeli Zionist society's[11] 'adoption' of western culture, both European and American. I shall refer to a number of researchers, Kamir (2007); Nitzan-Shiftan(2000); Raz (2010); Rolnik (2007), who discussed the painful severing of Jews from European tradition, parallel to Zionist aspirations to create a 'new Jew' in place of the downtrodden, spurned, ghetto-like Jew. The researchers maintain that Jewish Zionist leaders, like Herzl, believed that cultivating a modern Jewish body would solve European Judaism's psychological and physical phobias. In other words, Zionism demanded repair and the healing of the Jewish soul and body that had degenerated in the ghetto and suffered from anti-Semitism. Raz (2010) refers to the ideological aspirations and fantasy of Zionism to create a new type of Jewish masculinity: healthy, proud, and strong. Zionism's fear, feeling of revulsion and self-hate were transferred, according to Raz, to the 'other' in order to erase the painful memory. The feeling of weakness was exhibited in the foreigner and the Middle Eastern Jew, and loathing towards them contributed to the strengthening and tightening of a 'white' identity of Jews who came from Europe. Raz relates the image of easterners not only to Arabs born in Israel, but also to Jews who arrived from Arab countries and were nationalized into the only 'valued' dominant framework with a typical Ashkenazi [12] character. The Middle Eastern Jews were presented by the fathers of Zionism as primitive (lacking culture) and simple workers, in contrast to 'the intellectuals'.

Like Raz, Kamir (2007) explains the historic baggage and emphasizes that among other things, Zionism was a movement that liberated the male from the

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[11] Zionism is a form of Jewish nationalism in modern times. The central Zionist movement supported a Jewish nation state in the territory defined as the Land of Israel.
[12] Ashkenazim in Israel are a complex social group of Jews from Western and Eastern Europe.

miserable, sickly weakness in which he was trapped in the Diaspora. Immigration to Israel aspired to remove the stain of humiliation from the Jews. Kamir relates to the group level of his time (the 40s and 50s of the 20th century), in which masculinity meant a tough, assertive steadfastness, even militant and provocative vis-a-vis other groups. The aim was to demonstrate 'masculinity' and to enlarge your share at the expense of the other. According to Kamir, this is masculine confrontation and struggle that does not consider the needs, desires and aspirations of others, as it would then be perceived as capitulation and lacking in masculinity.

Aggressive politics ruled in other areas as well. When observing Israeli architecture the Zionist approach demonstrates its need to negate the east. Alona Nitsan-Shiftan (2000) highlights the erection of "Bauhaus"[13] buildings in Tel Aviv in the 30s and 40s under the influence of modern European architecture. This architecture demonstrably conflicts with the physical design of Israeli society as a 'mirror' of the place – the Middle East. Also in the area of Israeli education (as we saw in the Literature review), it has disregarded other cultures – from the culture of North Africa and Arab countries to Arab culture – starting in elementary school and up to university.

Rolnik (2007) has researched the therapeutic angle in this context and the arrival of psychoanalysis in Israel, in depth. He raised the question – Doesn't Freudian theory deeply and basically contradict Zionism's perception of man as defined at its (Zionism's) inception? The European analysts were identified as having been trained to listen to the voice of the individual, whereas Zionism represented the 'new man' who had been liberated from his chains in order to build a healthy, young , strong and collective society. How does one settle this contradiction?

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[13] Bauhaus – architectural style according to the German school of design between the world wars.

According to Rolnik, the new Jew in Israel had many facets and he sometimes personified simultaneously the different philosophical movements within European Jewry. Freud greatly respected Herzl, as did most Jews of his generation. In one of his dreams, Herzl revealed and presented before him his vision of a Jewish state. Moreover, German speaking Jews saw Freud as one of the greatest achievements of their integration into secular European society. Rolnik supports the fact that the Zionist movement's leadership collaborated between some of Freud's students and the 'Hashomer Hatsair'[14] leadership. In addition, in the imaginative world of the 'new Jew', gender and sexuality played a central role. Sexuality in a Freudian sense was identified by the Zionist youth movement as a revolutionary vehicle through which the young Jew could break the barrier of generations and restraints of tradition.

With this, Rolnik claims, devotees of Zionism had to develop systems of silencing and repression that would answer Freud's complex position. He relates to Freud's splintered Jewish personality, as an allegory of the differences and rifts between the identity that the Zionist project aspired to and the psychoanalytic outlook. In his words, Freud's philosophy was favoured, not only because he was one of the great Jewish thinkers that Jewish intellectuals looked up to and admired, but because psychoanalysis expressed a deep spiritual need, in an attempt to give personal significance to individual fears and doubts and a need to redeem the individual from the restraints of a group. In other words, reliance upon Freudian principles of faith by focusing on the personal psychological sphere can testify to the intensity of the fears, pain and doubts that were the basis of coping, in the first years of the establishment of the state of Israel (1948), for those who bound their personal redemption with the new Jewish nationalism.

It should be noted that the Psychoanalytical Institute in Jerusalem was established in 1934 by Max Eitingon, a short while after he immigrated to Israel

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[14] 'HaShomer Hatsair'- first Zionist youth group established in Europe.

from Germany in the wake of the rise of the Nazi regime (Rolnik, 2007). Erlich (2001), a renowned Israeli psychoanalyst, relates to the tension and paradox existing in the triangle – culture, individual and psychoanalysis. In Erlich's opinion, psychoanalysis must relinquish some of the cultural respect and attraction it has achieved, so that it can position itself as a help through its understanding of the individual and society.

Yet despite these ways of adapting psychoanalysis to the collective and national project of Israel, in fact there were still many ways in which it, and subsequent therapies, have remained tied to and identified with 'the West'. Beginning in the 60s , Prager (1988) states, Israeli Jewish society 'imitated' western expression, sometimes without updating trends relevant to Israel, nor also changes and innovations that occurred in the western outlook . The dominant group of reference for most of the Jewish Israeli therapists is that of therapists in western society, with the adoption of norms, expectations and standards acceptable in this society. Prager (1988) relates to the unwanted influences of imported non-supervised western education of social work training programmes in Israel and criticizes their unwelcome influence on thinking and faith systems, as they only emphasize the individual. In contrast to Prager's critical approach, Tzoran (2004) bases her approach on Freud's psychoanalysis and expands the term 'transference' as it relates to the literary text. Tzoran especially emphasizes the individual and his unique personality and refers to his interaction with the literary text as a process with a direct connection to the inner world of the reader.

I can understand the sociological and historical factors that caused the Jews to preserve 'western intellectual culture' in many areas, including therapy. Simultaneously, this observation strengthens the doubts connected to basic assumptions - focus on the individual and less on the group and its political context – on which the therapeutic professions in Israel rely. The point of my research is to give expression to this sensitive situation in my profession as a bibliotherapist – yet hoping for change and out of faith in the power of small

changes to assist in generating bigger changes. In this light, I shall now elaborate on culturally sensitive therapy in Israel.

Marouan Dwairy (1998, in Zvulun, 2002), an Arab Israeli counsellor and psychotherapist, gives a precise account of how these respective social orientations of the various parts of Jewish-Arab Israeli society find expression in the characteristics of three sub-groups of Arab Israeli citizens. He claims that, as a result of the exposure of Arab Israeli citizens to Israeli and Western culture, AICs can now be divided into three groups: (a) traditionalists, mainly villagers who still live within their *hamula* and maintain the old styles, wear the same body-covering robes, and speak only Arabic; (b) the bi-cultural, mainly town-dwellers, whose outer style is Western but who are still heavily influenced by collectivist models of thinking and conduct, and who are for the most part highly bilingual; (c) the Westernisers (his term), who have been assimilated to Western culture more or less completely, and most of whom live physically removed from their extended family and home village.

Dwairy points out that 'Western' psychotherapy typically assumes that intrapsychic conflicts or repression are the major problems that warrant therapeutic intervention. While Illouz (2012) takes a stand against the individualistic position of traditional "Western" psychology in favour of social involvement, Dwairy emphasises the cultural differences which make a unique approach for therapy necessary for each cultural group.

Dwairy claims that the conduct of traditionalist AIC clients continues to be dependent and controlled by external factors in adulthood, and their thoughts are determined by external authorities or internalised external authorities rather than internal ones. The inner thoughts of clients who come from collectivist societies are intertwined with traditional values and norms, and represent the collective culture's way of thinking (Triandis, 1989). According to Dwairy, therefore, replacing those thoughts with 'scientific' or 'logical' ones may cause mental alienation from the client's culture, and cause new adaptation problems.

Many times defining the present distress domain of AICs is thus not independent of their current family and social domain. Dwairy claims that the main source of suppression among AICs is external rather than internal, so they require social mechanisms to handle an external suppression rather than unconscious defence mechanisms or both.

According to Dwairy, 'Western' psychotherapy typically aims to restore the intrapsychic order through "making what is unconscious conscious", and encouraging the individual to actualise the self and be 'himself' or 'herself'. We saw in the section "Culturally sensitive therapy in the world", not to attribute this approach to AICs or Muslims alone, but regard it as the legacy of large groups that do not adopt a 'western' approach. Furthermore, I shall shortly present opposing opinions to Dwairy.

Dwairy claims that in the case of AICs, this psychotherapy frequently generates harsh confrontation between the individual and his or her family. The hierarchical nature and authoritarian power of the family mean that little can be accomplished in therapy without the family's support. Personal achievements do not count if the family does not approve of them. Even though the family may play a role in the creation of the symptoms, confrontation or threat directed against the authority of the family is to be avoided. Confronting the father is particularly counterproductive. The response of the family may foster feelings of shame when the individual deviates from the family's consensus, and may bring satisfaction and happiness when the individual's actions and attitudes accept the will of the family and add credit to the family's reputation and coherence. Significant progress can only be achieved, therefore, by working in conjunction with the power of the family.

I devote a lot of room to Dwairy's views and recommendations as a scholar from Arab Israeli society, and quote from him extensively. Furthermore, all AIC

scholars I present here refer to Dwairy, which indicates his level of importance. I find him extremely useful to my eclectic approach, which is committed to cultural sensitivity and flexibility, and does not therefore follow a single obliging line. Granted, though, most often he presents an extremely binary angle on the situation, and is antagonistic to the traditional "Western" approach to therapy, which was adopted in Israel. His representation of families does tend to be schematic and somewhat romanticised, turning a blind eye to the violence and exploitation involved in family life. A long list of feminist studies (Cromer-Nevo, 2002; Kamir, 2002; Abu-Beker 2008) have given voice to oppressed women and the victims of domestic violence. In contrast, Dwairy emphasises the positive protective shell and power that the family provides its members. Yet, despite the unequivocal tone of his words, and though it is difficult to accept them at face value, there is no doubt that Dwairy appreciates the complexities of family relations, regardless of ethnicity.

Dwairy is also useful in showing how AICs may often have specific expectations from therapy: "Muslim Arabs come to therapy expecting to be given concrete practical advice, and cannot understand how talk may cure their symptoms, many of which are somatic" (Dwairy 2006, p. 97). Furthermore, according to Dwairy, who bases his views on his personal and professional experience as a therapist, speech is considered by AICs to be a tool for social communication, meet expectations or please others, rather than to express internal feelings or attitudes:

> Speech has little to do with communicating the internal, and
> therefore some clients seem to have no access to their own
> inner feelings, and find it difficult to answer even common
> question in therapy, such as "how do you feel". Many reply to
> this question with the common or desired answer such as
> "alright" or "thank God". Or when they are asked "how do you
> feel about your father?" they may respond with the moral

answer, such as "he is my father, of course I love him". (Dwairy 2006, p.97).

One central concept which Dwairy offers for the sake of understanding the understanding of speech in general and in the context of therapy in particular in traditionalist AIS is the concept of *musayara*. *Musayara* means to get along with others' attitudes, wishes and expectations by concealing one's real feelings, thoughts and attitudes (Griefat and Katriel, 1989; Sharabi, 1975 cited in Dwairy, 2002):

> It is more than being "diplomatic"; it is a positive value and a lifestyle which leads one to accommodate the expectations of others. In a collectivist authoritarian society, *musayara* is a reasonable social means to avoid confrontation and maintain good relationship and support. In many Arab cultures, obedience is considered an extremely positive social value. People in such societies avoid saying "no" because it is considered rude rather than assertive. In contrast to what may be expected by Western people, *musayara* does not cause any discomfort. On the contrary, it is the comfortable way to communicate without threatening the social approval and support that is vital for the people (Dwairy, 1998, in Zvulun, 2002, p. 349).

In addition, Dwairy emphasises that flexibility is a significant therapeutic quality in intercultural therapy. Dwairy reports the words of Sue and Sue (1990), who claim that expectations about the therapy, the relationship with the therapist, and the restrictions imposed on the client, like a 50 minute session, all generate discomfort. Rigidly adhering to the rules which were suitable for Vienna a century ago may deter various kinds of clients, who are unused to this conservative therapeutic setting.

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Dwairy extracts relevant points of emphasis for therapy with AICs from these descriptions:

1. Systemic eclecticism: employing various theoretical approaches in a flexible way to fit the individual's adaptation to his or her family and society.

2. Short-term, practical and goal-oriented therapy: collectivist clients are seeking typically concrete advice or directives. Insight and explorative therapy is not the treatment of choice.

3. Culture-centred therapy: overlooking the cultural correlates of a collectivist client is synonymous to rejecting a major part of his or her being. Therefore, therapy should address culture as well as interpersonal aspects of life.

4. Outreach therapy: clinic-based therapy invites the client to a formal Western oriented encounter, which has shown itself to be alienating to collectivist clients when done without preparation. Meeting the client on his or her terms, especially at the beginning of the therapeutic relationship, is recommended.

Although Dwairy devotes his work to therapy among Muslim Arabs, I believe his words are also relevant to professionals working with traditionalist AICs of all faiths, as well as clients from other societies with a conservative makeup, such as Haredi Jews[15] and obviously other societies around the world, as we saw in the previous sub-chapter.

The contradiction between therapy and religion raises many dilemmas and challenges among therapists (Ben Shalom and Hofmann, 2011). Religion gives a person meaning and purpose, and taking it into account assists the clients in cases of mental distress. Therefore, mutual understanding and cooperation are

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[15] The extreme factions of Orthodox Judaism.

significant between the therapist and the figure of religious authority in the life of the client.

Next I will mention other suggestions for accommodating therapy to the needs of AIC clients, offered by other scholars with different emphases, and which I find interesting and beneficial.

The importance of pre-therapy is discussed in a study by Shechtman (2010), a Jewish Israeli psychotherapist, who studied group therapy with adolescents from AIS. Shechtman explains that because these adolescents did not know the meaning of group therapy, and did not know the way these groups function, a short film was made presenting a session of a consulting group. She claims that pre-therapy was very much needed, and furthermore, that groups of this kind are efficient mainly because group processes are stronger than cultural inhibitions. According to Shechtman: "as soon as the individual belongs to a group which develops cohesion, and norms of self-exposure are set, his small group becomes his reference group and not the culture to which he belongs." (Shechtman, 2010, p. 241)

 Shechtman claims that contrary to Dwairy, although AIC adolescents may be reserved at first, they seem to get involved in a group process. In her understanding, as they have fewer chances for honest and open self-expression, the group is a rare opportunity for them to do this. She concludes that group therapies with a supportive expressive method should be offered to adolescent AICs. Importantly in this context, Shechtman emphasises that life close to the Jewish population has led to changes in the culture and the norms of AICs. I will discuss this issue in detail in chapter 6 on The Family Story.

The significance of cultural differences is also brought out by Nahas (2009), an AIC lecturer and researcher, who examined the changes in the self-conception of adolescent AIC pupils with learning disabilities, who had taken part in group interventions. Nahas emphasises that adolescent AICs, their parents and teachers who are confronted with different lifestyles, adopt the principles of individuation while maintaining their collective identity. She claims that her combined therapeutic work with these three groups changed the nature of the discourse among them, including their acceptance of emotional expression and their attitude to the personal needs of adolescents. Although she believes in the efficacy of therapy for adolescents from collectivist societies, Nahas, like Dwairy, acknowledges the crucial importance of involving those closest to the clients in the therapy.

Other relevant recommendations for mental health professionals facing the many dilemmas emerging from the great cultural diversity in Israel are found in Shemer (2009). Shemer, a Jewish Israeli researcher, calls for an extension of the therapeutic 'lens'. Therapists and education professionals must constantly reflect on their own agency, and whether it is culturally sensitive in its intentions, actions, messages and its representation of the different figures. I shall relate to these questions in the context of my practice in the concluding Reflection.

Shemer presents an example of a culturally sensitive change practice, and has designed training for parents given by intercultural mediators from the parents' culture of origin. Shemer emphasizes that arrogance towards a culture creates a relationship of power and condescension whereas acceptance, openness, learning, dialogue and cooperation advance the connection and make it two directional. Shemer brings the example of building a professional connection with *haredim* as if there is 'a rabbi in the room' even if generally one is not physically present (Shemer, 2009, p.6). Pinpeter-Rosenblu (2009) also claims that supervisors should deliberately raise the issue of cultural diversity in practical training, both by discussing relevant current affairs and by creating relevant courses for all programmes of therapy.

One specific sensitive aspect of developing a culturally sensitive therapy in many societies around the world including Israel has to do with how mental health professionals (and other types of professional) should handle their duty to report cases of sexual abuse of children. Natour and Lazovsky (2007) studied the positions of AIC educational counsellors on whether to report cases of abuse or maintain confidentiality and the level of difficulty for the counsellors in making a decision. Their study aims to increase professionals' ability to deal with these cases and apply culturally sensitive models in handling cases of sexual abuse in traditional AIS and in most societies.

Natour and Lazovsky emphasise family honour, which is considered a supreme value in most societies, and if improper behaviour becomes public knowledge it is a stain on the entire family, including the victim. Their study emphasises that the duty to report is a complex dilemma for all counsellors, including AIC educational counsellors, similar to other societies in the world, because it shakes the foundation of any society. Natour and Lazovsky refer to the study of Shalhov-Kiborkian (2003), in which social workers and educational counsellors reported that they handle some cases of sexual abuse confidentially, without reporting to the authorities, wishing to comply with social values about the importance of family honour. But in other cases they report the matter, fearing that they would lose their job if they avoid using official channels. Natour and Lazovsky's recommendation, in light of their research, is to reconsider the adequacy of the legal obligation to report in its current form to AIS. They claim that the law must be adjusted in a way that would legitimise withholding the report if it endangers the life of those involved. Natour and Lazovsky also mention a culturally sensitive model of handling cases of incest and sexual abuse, which was developed by Dwairy and Abu-Baker (2003) (see Appendix 1). In this model, the emphasis is on locating a significant figure within the family with whom to share the circumstances of the abuse and turn to for advice on family issues.

An additional positive perspective presented by Abu Sway, Nashashibi, Salah and Shweiki (2005) relates to the importance of working in both the internal and external worlds of the individual. They describe their professional experience at the Palestinian Counseling Center and emphasize the role that art therapy has in supporting individuals, families and communities in coping with their experiences of political violence. Abu Sway, Nashashabi, Salah and Shweiki describe how treatment occurs in the personal and communal space whilst stressing the overlap between the social-spiritual and political.

In their words unemployment, poverty and restriction of mobility lead to a high level of psychological distress among people. For Palestinians, the lack of control over one's environment is the main cause of psychological problems. This ghetto-like life not only restricts psychological development, but also denies individuals the chance to reclaim the psychological and social advancements they had once achieved as people.(p.158 Abu Sway, Nashashabi, Salah and Shweiki 2005)They suggest observing Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs to explain their clients' lack of referral to spiritual development at a time when they are occupied with survival. In their opinion the Palestinians are placed somewhere near the bottom of the hierarchy in pursuit of basic needs for good safety. The natural development of people towards realizing self-actualization and growth is not possible under these circumstances. Hazut (2005), a Jewish art therapist from Israel, also describes the complexity of the political situation when she worked with a group of Jewish students during terror attacks. Hazut describes work through art at a time of high level anxiety, fear, despair and lack of security, resulting in a decrease in activity and function.   The fiancé of one of the participants was killed in a bus that was blown up. The process is based on identifying feelings and experiences in order to learn to contain them and finally, to create a metaphorical anchor intended to symbolize something to hold onto in very difficult situations. One sees from the examples that human beings can never be thought of in isolation as they always exist in relation to each other.

Clarifying this observation and criticizing the psychological approach that does not sufficiently take into consideration the issue of the cultural, social and political context in which an individual exists, arises with Illouz's (2012) position presented in the sub-chapter 'Psychotherapy in Israel'. Illouz seriously doubts the basis for the psychological creed that dominates in Israel. She claims that self-analysis could interfere with knowing the world in other realistic ways. From a cultural aspect, the therapeutic perception in Israel deals mainly with internal verbal observation instead of function related to Israeli society's problems. Illouz stresses that man's personality changes in accordance with the situation and is formed by limitations presented by the situation and is not composed of characteristics and lasting internal formulas of the self.   The claim here is that psychological perception determines the personality through the essence – our self – that we must grasp. In truth therapists, including myself, should seriously think about this issue and I will return to its implications in my concluding chapters.

These kinds of contexts push us to think beyond simply being 'culturally sensitive', to consider the nature of 'the social unconscious' in Israel itself

7. The social unconscious

The term 'social unconscious' was first mentioned by Foulkes, to capture the idea that people can be motivated by past collective memories. Foulkes (1964) was influenced by the sociologists in the Frankfurt school, and established together with Elias (1976) the discipline of group analysis resulting from Elias's research on mutual dependence of humans in society through the ages. I decided to adopt his terminology, although other scholars call it 'ethnic unconscious' and 'cultural unconscious'. Foulkes has been useful because he connects between the psychoanalytic and sociological methods. As the founder of group analysis, Foulkes presents a therapeutic system whereby the social ego is no less primary

or basic than the personal ego. The individual is influenced by culture and social conflict, just as he is influenced by family, and social customs are passed to him by way of his parents, who are his personal parents as well as representatives of the culture or society in which he grows up and develops. Thus, he maintains, some of our distress and disorders should be treated within the 'group space' where they are created.

> Psychotherapy is always concerned with the whole person. The human being is a social animal, he cannot live in isolation. In order to see him as a whole, one has to see him in a group. The group is the background, the horizon, the frame of reference of the total situation (Foulkes, 1974 p.109.)

Dalal (1998) also uses the term the social unconscious to mean a representation of the institutionalisation of social power relations in the mental structure of individuals, a bridge between the social and psychological aspects of human life. Weinberg (2008), an Israeli group therapist, also builds on Foulkes' ideas to define macro psychological structures:

> The social unconscious is the common and mutually structured unconscious of members of a certain social system, such as a community, a society, a nation, or a culture. It includes fears, fantasies, defences, myths, and common memories. (Weinberg, 2008, p. 157)

In this context, Volkan (2001) coined the term 'selected trauma', referring to a traumatic historical event in the ancestry of a social group, which goes on living in its collective memory of a society or a nation. The trauma exists in the group unconscious, even if its daily effect is not always felt. In states of social regression, such as a war or under threat of terrorism, the selected trauma is reactivated in order to support and reinforce the identity of the threatened society. The social trauma is felt to be reverberating, and has far reaching implications on the group's social behaviour. Selected traumas are accompanied by severe feelings of loss, degradation, vengeance and hate, and stimulate the activation of massive unconscious defence mechanisms to avoid contact with

these painful experiences. Also in Weinberg's words: "selected traumas and triumphs are its most distinctive building blocks" (Weinberg, 2008). Volcan (2001) also discusses the possibility of a selected triumph. This is a mental representation of a historical event that raises feelings of success and victory. A selected triumph unifies and fortifies the self-esteem of a society.

In the context of Israel, historic tales and selected traumas coming from the group unconscious of the two peoples are present and intensely meaningful. This means that the inside and the outside (history, geography, relations) are mixed together, and the internal and external realities are not separate.

Social, cultural, and political forces considerably influence, therefore, both clients arriving for therapy and therapists themselves. For example, during the transference and counter-transference relationships in therapy, there are also elements of 'us' and 'them', and it is crucial to recognise their presence. Sarah Hazzan (2011) sheds light on the social unconscious as having a latent power which affects all of our social space including the space of therapy. She mentions the words of Javier and Rendom (1995), who defined the ethnic unconscious as:

> Repressed materials that each generation shares with the next,
> and which influence the majority of members of the ethnic culture.
> Ethnicity, in this context, is defined as the level of identification of
> a person with an ethnic group, which is in some way (territory,
> blood) his group of origin, and thus becomes part of his selfhood
> (Javier and Rendom, cited in Hazzan, 2011, p.27).

Hazzan emphasises two significant aspects. The first is that within specific and antagonistic communities the enemy binds together a host of negative qualities. The second is that collectively, groups look for a common goal (external 'other'), which would allow them to project intolerable representations of themselves on this 'other'. This means that the group of Arab Israeli citizens may become perceived as a demonic threat to the existence of the state of Israel.

Another discussion of the concept and its relevance to the Jewish Palestinian conflict is found in Tudar (2007) who claims that victimisation and aggression are a central occupation of almost every group. She claims that the mainstream collective Israeli voice is the voice of the unconscious or semi-conscious, which is always concerned with continuous bookkeeping about the Jewish historical position as a victim. This is compelling also for solidifying our understanding of the complexities of experience in contested spaces. It is the voice which says that anyone who has experienced severe aggression must defend themselves vehemently to keep the past from repeating. Tudar explains ironically that it is as if the victim is never an aggressor, he only maintains his rights. This type of position can fix minds and prevent a dynamic understanding of one's position. Tudar recommends inviting clients to realise and identify "where are you speaking from?" to allow motion instead of fixed positions.

The social unconscious is floating in the background of the findings of my thesis. Next, I move to studying its various expressions in the mixed student group of the bibliotherapy training.

8. Arab Israeli women studying bibliotherapy *(Interview with Rachel Tzoran)*

This chapter has attempted to lay out the background to bibliotherapy as an expressive therapeutic practice, and to address the theoretical contexts that support it. However it may be clear by now that there is little direct scholarly research on the developing field of bibliotherapy. For this reason, I conducted an in-depth interview with Rachel Tzoran, one of the founders of the field of bibliotherapy in Israel, a discussion of which will end this literature review. This interview will have to fill in for the complete lack of information about Arab Israeli citizens who study bibliotherapy in Israel.

Tzoran is my teacher from my training period, who has conceptualised and published a complete theory of bibliotherapy. She has been a teacher for over twenty years, training generations of bibliotherapists. Tzoran graciously agreed to have an open interview with me at her home in Haifa, in which she gave a detailed account of her impressions and working experience with AIC of bibliotherapy, with whom she is well acquainted.

My role in the interview was mainly to listen to her detailed account in response to my question: "tell me about your many years' experience in training Arab Israeli students". I also showed interest and curiosity, and clarified certain specific questions. Tzoran willingly agreed to give an interview because she recognised the importance of the subject, and wished to take part in a project of a pioneering nature. Even though there are a number of important publications by Tzoran *(The Third Voice* 2000*, Reading and Identity* 2004*, The Stamp of Letters* 2009*)*, she has not yet published anything on the AICBs. I transcribed the interview myself, and display the gist of her words with only the lightest amount of editing.[16]

"The first AIC[17] woman to enrol arrived in the second intake in 1986. I paid special attention to her needs on a number of levels. At that time, this form of therapy was not accredited even in the Jewish sector [of Israeli society] *, let alone the Arab sector. It took a lot of courage for her to enrol. AIC women students stand out within their own society. They are not merely pioneers, they have a personal autonomy. Then again, in bibliotherapy, the linguistic component is of the greatest importance, and has numerous implications for the training process. All AIC women students speak very good Hebrew, to the point that this year we have one student who sounds like a Jewish native speaker. When AIC women graduates go out to*

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[16] I am very grateful for her cooperation.
[17] Rachel Tzoran uses the common term 'Arab' for Arab Israeli citizens. I am inclined to be particular about using the words that the study population chose in order to define itself.

work in the field, they have this advantage of being bilingual. They have good
mastery of Hebrew and Arabic, and so find work easily because of the shortage of
Arabic speaking therapists.

As for the inventory of literary texts we use, there's a course which I invented called
'A Textual Identity Card'. Each student in turn brings what they consider to be
significant texts for them, and the group works through these materials in
discussion. AIC students bring in texts in Arabic, which they translate for the Jewish
students. I always ask them first to read the original text aloud to the group in
Arabic, their mother tongue. It used to be that they had, overall, fewer texts to
choose from, especially in the field of children's literature. That has changed. Then
there is the fact that they have been educated in Arabic schools and Arabic syllabi,
and this creates an identity problem. Over the years, since 1986, the Arab identity
of our AIC students has become more and more emphatic. Nowadays they bring in
more and more Arabic literature – so that this is one aspect of their empowerment
– and the freedom they feel to express and represent themselves is growing all the
time.

As to how an AIC woman feels in a group of Jewish women – that can be
problematic, especially since throughout all training periods we've been through
wars. Among the students were religious women from the settlements.[18] This
became important, especially when some controversial public event took place.
While these events provoked lively debates with the settler women within the
Jewish student group, nothing similar happened with the AIC women. There was
one bibliotherapeutic occurrence involving an AIC student. She was very emphatic
about her ethnicity (very militant, marched with the Palestinian flag and
brandished her political identity). She brought a story called "Back to Haifa" *to a*
session of the Textual Identity Card course, written by Rhassan Kanafani in 1969,

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[18] 'The settlements' and 'the settlers' are the collective terms for the settlements established by Israeli Jews in the territories captured in the 1967 Six Day War and their dwellers. The issue of whether Israel should abandon these settlements and concentrate all its population within its pre-1967 borders is one of the core conflicts between Israelis and Palestinians, and among the Israelis themselves.

one of the most important Palestinian writers of his generation, who was himself a refugee [from the 1948 war]. *The story recounts events in 1967, when the gates to Israel were opened, and a Palestinian couple arrive in the city of Haifa from which they had fled during the 1948 fighting. It transpired that in the panic of their flight they had left a baby son behind, and now, almost twenty years later, they come back to find out what happened to him. It turns out that a Jewish couple, Holocaust survivors, brought up the boy as their own and as a Jew. When his real parents arrive, he is serving in the Israeli army, and shows no interest in going back to his Arab parents. The story discusses the notion of belonging. It is a story of national drama, and the student brought just that one particular story for classroom debate. The debate went on, with the students responding to all sorts of questions of national identity, until one of them said: "Hold on, what sort of parents are we talking about? They abandoned a baby." In other words, a story which had been brought in as a matter of national awareness, and to demonstrate how badly the Jews behaved when they expelled the Arabs, was suddenly turned in a totally different direction. The debate then turned to the issue of the abandoned child's feelings, and the whole issue of abandonment came to the fore, with a lot of empathy for the abandoned child. When it came to the summing up, the AIC student who had brought the story admitted that she hadn't known what she was bringing. She thought it was a national tale attacking Jews, when she suddenly found it telling the story of her own abandonment. She had herself been abandoned by her parents, and the story suddenly threw the trauma of her life in her face. Out of a story painted in the colours of nationalism rose a story of personal identity. When we make up our identity so much by means of a collective trauma, we can sometimes lose our connection to who we really are.*[19]

The issue of an AIC minority surrounded by a Jewish majority raises very strong emotions in me. I am often in two minds. On the one hand, I want to defend AIC students, give them legitimacy and room for their national identity, and on the

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[19] This is an exact citation from a recorded interview with Rachel Tzoran, a bibliotherapist who relies on the psychodynamic theory that the individual is the focus and not the group. This might be a contradiction to my approach that there is not only one truth and that things are complex and reflect a perception of reality and not absolute truth.Tzoran's meaning could be, even if it's not exact "who we are on the inner psychological level."

other hand, I want them treated like any other student. I invariably allow any Arabic text to be brought in. I'm embarrassed at not being familiar with it, and promise myself to study it later. Being honest with myself, I am conscious of the AIC students all the time, at least at the beginning. During the review of applicants for each new intake, there is a sort of affirmative discrimination in favour of AICs. On Memorial Day (for Israel's casualties of war) *and Independence Day, the university holds a ceremony and I always feel uncomfortable about it.*

As for bibliotherapy, in itself it creates a bridge to Arab culture because this culture is known to be one of the most focussed on storytelling in the world. The famous One Thousand and One Nights is a collection of Arab myths and folktales, whose theme is the life-saving power of storytelling. Sheherazade, the heroine of the collection,[20] stays alive by virtue of her storytelling gifts, and this is how the collection endows story and storytelling with curative significance. Arab culture has a metaphorical language. For everything there is either a saying or a story. It is a picture-making language, its metaphorical symbolism far exceeds ours. This makes bibliotherapy somehow natural to this oral storytelling culture. Jewish culture, by contrast, prizes the written word, but it is the oral culture which allows people to be more open and less rigid, and, of that, Arab culture has more than we do. There has not been a single AIC student who brought in a written text from her childhood, they all bring oral stories."

My interview with Rachel Tzoran clarified several points: on the one hand, being bi-lingual, it is easy for AIC bibliotherapy students to find work because Israel is lacking in Arabic speaking therapists. Working in two languages, however, is also

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[20] The collection's frame story recounts how King Shakhriar, after he finds out that his queen has been unfaithful, turns against the whole female sex, and having ordered the queen put to death then commands his vizier (prime minister) to find him a new bride each night, whom he will also put to death following the first and only bridal night. After a period of time in which all the young women in the kingdom live in fear, the vizier's own daughter, Sheherezade, decides against her father's pleadings to marry the king. On their first night she starts telling him a story which, however, does not finish by the next morning. The king promises to keep her alive if she will continue the story the next night. That night she completes the first story but at once starts another and so on for 1,001 nights. By that time she has already given the king three sons, and he decides to finally break his oath and keep this wife alive.

an extra burden on these therapists. I should point out here that all the AIC students who registered for training, completed it and are graduates of the programme. On the other hand bibliotherapy AIC students have to cope with the issue of their belonging, the task of translation, and the emotional complexities of foreignness. The question of language, the need to translate and a lack of Arabic texts for bibliotherapy training will be discussed in Chapter 5 'To be a therapist' and in Chapter 8 'Bibliotherapists' identities in the context of the Jewish-Palestinian conflict'.

We have seen that the development of therapies in Israel has a profound relation to its very unique history. Indeed, some of the painful conflicts that have defined this history have been the reason that Israel has led the way in arguing for the importance of the public institution and investment in therapy, for example in schools. I have also suggested that bibliotherapy, though still the smallest of all the expressive therapies, has developed in Israel in a particular form which is not found elsewhere. We have seen that a few theorists, both Jewish and AICs, have argued especially that it has a role to play in addressing the conflict between these two national groups, but that it has, to date, been inaccessible or insufficiently attuned to the needs of AICs. We have seen that the integration of the AIC bibliotherapists in the training and the profession is tied to loaded issues. This gives rise to the need to focus on the AICBs' views and experiences in order to understand how they describe and explain the processes they went though in these contexts.

The key research questions which evolved from this need are presented at the end of this literature review chapter.

9. Research Questions

The key questions which guided both my interviews with the five women whose stories make up the central part of this thesis, and my research overall, are as follows.

1. What are the significant experiences of Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists, which have shaped their personal and professional life in their opinion?

To answer this question, I explore:

• What are the AICBs' personal experiences in connection with their professional choice?

• What are the AICBs' significant experiences from the training period?

• What are the AICBs' experiences of their role as bibliotherapists in their various jobs and in the therapy room with both Jewish and AIC clients?

• How far do these experiences correspond with the AICBs' collective family stories?

• How much does the Palestinian-Jewish conflict influence the AICBs' personal and professional conduct?

2. What is the AICBs' conception of themselves, their personal, gender, familial, social and national-political roles?

Here, I explore:

• What are the AICBs' attitudes to gaining education?

• What are the AICBs' evaluations and criticisms of the training?

• How well does the training suit Arab Israeli society and culture?

• What are the adequate ways, in the AICBs' opinion, to apply bibliotherapy within AIS?

• What are the AICBs' self-definitions and their attitude to their various identities?

• What are the AICBs' views on AIS, which is a society in transition?

• What are the AICBs' views on the Palestinian-Jewish conflict and its effects?

3. What are the AICBs' central texts?

• What are the characteristics of these texts?
• What are their genres (poetry, fairytale, journal writing etc.)?
• What is most meaningful about these texts, and what about them speaks to the AICBs and relates to their own life-stories?
• What is the list of Arabic texts which the AICBs recommend for the training and for AIC clients?

In the next chapter, I turn to my methods for finding the answers to these questions.

Chapter 2: Methodology

1. Methodological approaches

1.1 Qualitative research and the importance of narrative

The goal of this study is to compile a body of knowledge – the first of its kind in Israel – about the lives of Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists. It is based on interviews with five women, who were the first and till mid 2011 the only AICBs in Israel. The women all live in the Galilee region of northern Israel, and are all in their thirties to forties, except one who is older. The study uses the women's subjective accounts of their lives as a way into their universe of experience. Such research requires a methodological approach that allows access to emotional content, which could be deemed rich enough to convey and display the women's way of life and thinking – how they have shaped themselves and in turn been shaped along their journey from childhood to their work as bibliotherapists.

Wrang (1984) discusses three possible kinds of research interview – the structured interview, the semi-structured interview, and the unstructured interview. The structured interview is based on questions set in advance – usually short questions, which often require or imply the need for short answers, sometimes only to be marked on a form. The semi-structured interview is also composed of preset questions, but allows for interviewees to reply at some length, while preventing unguided speech. The unstructured or depth interview – which is my choice of data collection – may last several hours, but can give rise to information that would not otherwise emerge, and has a more natural style.

Qualitative interview based research methods have several main advantages: first, they provide a wide leeway, if the semi-structured or unstructured form of interview is deployed, and the interviewees are not bound by specific questions, but have the option to tell their life stories freely, raising what they take to be significant topics. Second, qualitative researchers want to understand the

thinking of the people they research. What do they believe? What are their priorities? How do they perceive their lives? Behind every external expression of behaviour lie certain intentions and qualitative researchers focus on analysing these intentions as highly significant (Tzabar-Ben Yehoshua, 1990).

Choosing a methodology also involves considering how the analysis and interpretation of the interviews is to be carried out. Spector-Marzel emphasises that there are narrative researchers who consider the content of the narrative to be only a partial expression of the teller's self-perception, and claim that interpretation is required and "nothing speaks for itself". As she describes it, narrative researchers try to maintain two goals at once: they have to reflect the "spirit" of the subjects' stories, but at the same time draw attention to psychological and cultural processes, which she defines as covertly integrated with them. This involves "decoding" the "true" meaning of the stories, which gives rise to a new narrative alongside the interviewees' narratives.

Roper (2003) discusses the unconscious of the interviewer and interviewee involved in a research situation, and highlights the fact that transference and counter-transference are present in every interview. The choice of subject and the significance given to particular evidence and aspects of experience (what we deem to be worthy of interpretation) will depend partly on counter-transferences, no matter how indisputable is the historical significance of the individual or the intellectual relevance of the question being asked. Halabi (2009) deals with this dilemma by quoting the words of the research subjects first, and then outlining their meaning as she interprets or understands it. She claims that giving the words of the research subjects before interpreting them allows the readers to judge her interpretations for themselves.

As a bibliotherapist, I am well aware of the possibility of attributing underlying psychological elements to subjects. The possibility of inaccurate interpretation in

this study led me to decide to focus primarily on my interviewees' narratives, while interpreting the unconscious elements that rise in the interview only occasionally and briefly. When I do, I refer to such unconscious elements always in a group and not in an individual manner, because of ethical concerns. For example, in chapter 5 – Becoming a therapist – I analysed the professional choices of the interviewees as a group. Similarly, in chapter 7 – Texts which speak me – I discuss the prominence of the genre of poetry in the interviewees' choices and its significance for all of them and not for each one individually. Generally, the interviewees are identified as a group, and their stories are presented by way of the common content categories raised in the interviews. In my questions I also aimed at the collective narrative as it entwines with the personal, rather than the particular differences among the interviewees.

The definition of narrative research, according to Spector-Marzel (2010), changes from the wide definition of any research that uses stories, to a definition that maintains that narrative research is what emerges from narrative ontology and epistemology and is a philosophy concealed within a specific view about the place of narrative in our lives. Spector-Marzel suggests identifying the narrative paradigm as an interpretation that finds similarities in other qualitative paradigms, even though they have unique characteristics. According to her, in this wide framework approaches, orientations, theories and different analytical practices exist. Nonetheless, according to narrative ontology social reality is first and foremost a narrative reality. In other words, people have a 'narrative nature' and the narrative understanding of social reality emphasizes the central place of narratives in our experience. Social reality is a narrative both on the individual level and social level. Families tell stories that are passed from generation to generation (details in the next sub-chapter) and the media convey 'reality' through stories. As a result of mutual impact between the story and life, these stories do not only express life's circumstances but the narrative is described as an 'organizational principle' of mankind's experience and a central path for attaining significance for ourselves and the world. Spector-Marzel attributes great importance to the context in which the teller lives and the context in which the story is told. She clarifies the narrative paradigm: narratives

are rooted in the current situation of the teller and within a variety of contexts, the social, security and political situation in which the storyteller lives. In my research I relate to life narrative as a political tool and expression in a society of conflict and the importance of learning from experience and storytelling. Spector-Marzel also stresses the context in which the story is told. She claims that like the rest of paradigmatic interpretations, one should not separate between researcher and the phenomenon being researched. The data of narrative research is not 'clean', that is to say it is not the only outcome of the interviewees but the result of a joint structuring between the researcher, the interviewer and the teller – the interviewee. The researcher reads the stories through a moral prism, images, stereotypes, leanings and her personal behavior and all this helps her identify certain aspects in the stories and hide others. So Spector-Marzel has added relevant observation to my research and from her words I have deduced that despite the obvious fact that the interviewee in my research is at the centre, the researcher's voice is still present.

In analyzing the data I based myself on Spector-Marzel's emphasis and referred to the 'reality' perceived by the interviewee including the socio-political context, through the eyes of a researcher and from knowledge that the interviewees words are also influenced within the context in which they told their story.

By acknowledging the social construction of the interviewees' stories and their split identities, I am, of course, not denying the great importance of their material circumstances. For example, as I later discuss in chapter 7, it can clearly be seen that the choice of texts through which the interviewees depicted themselves demonstrates how impossible it is to avoid the political, economic, cultural and social reality in which relations of power and oppression exist between social groups. In other words, while I foreground subjectivity as the ground for therapeutic analysis and action, we see that the interviewees and myself are part of a wider and very real battle field in which the influence of external factors exist and constitute a constant discussion.

In view of everything discussed so far, I chose a qualitative approach combining elements of narrative approach and the oral history approach. Below, I outline what I take from each of these research approaches, and how I have combined them to shape a composite methodology, which I feel is best suited for the research questions, subjects of my study.

1.2 Narrative approaches and the biographic narrative approach

Narrative research and oral history are two qualitative methods. I have chosen to use these two methods for a number of additional reasons. First, both these methods are based on detailed biographies. My study concentrates on a small number of individuals, and thus it is crucial to use a method that captures the richness and depth of the interviewees' experience and perspective. Both methods pay implicit respect to the individual, and are interested in what is unique and particular as well as what can be generalised from the encounters. Both methods thus focus on the individual's account in an attempt to explain the changing nature and continuity of social relations and structures. Both methods also assume a deep cooperation between interviewer and interviewee, and those who apply them aspire to high ethical standards (Bornat, 2007; Spector-Marzel, 2008). Finally, both methods emphasise the value of storytelling. This is evidently compatible with bibliotherapy itself, and is thus related to the substantive content of the study.

It is important to note, in this context, that oral storytelling is characteristic of Arab Israeli society in general. Tuval-Mashiach and Spector-Marzel (2010) emphasise the fact that many families of AICs trace their roots with stories passed down from generation to generation. The great majority of these stories have never been put in writing. This study is unique in examining the influence of this oral transmission on the self-perception of the Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists, alongside the written literary texts which they cherish. However, it is worth explaining some of the complexity of the role of oral storytelling among the AIC population. This phenomenon has several possible

explanations. For one thing, the Arab Israeli public has never invested much in the field of children's stories, and the majority of its literature is nationalist and intended for adults; most of its literature for children and youngsters originates in Egypt, and though it is written in Arabic, and therefore accessible to AICs, it does not reflect their specific lifestyle and unique culture. Moreover, AICs' caution about dealing with issues of collective nationality, and the Nakba in particular, has encouraged the development of orally transmitted stories, which are very common, mainly between grandparents and grandchildren. This is the most direct, safe and intimate route both for an emotional bond between generations and, to no less extent, for the preservation of the collective memory.

The narrative and oral history methods of interview analysis are not identical, however, and sometimes even contrast in approach. I discuss what I adopt from the narrative approach first, and then turn to the oral history approach. The narrative approach emphasises that a story is a channel for understanding the self and the storyteller's identity formation. It focuses on how individuals and groups use stories to construct and present themselves. The stories people tell about themselves, especially biographies, are examined on the premise that these stories express the teller's identity. Tuval-Mashiach and Spector-Marzel (2010) argue that a holistic narrative analysis should make no distinction between the individual and their society and culture, but rather manifests the interrelations between them. Across a range of disciplines, the aim of narrative studies is to use the stories people tell to investigate not only the individual storyteller, but features of his or her environment (Shkedi, 2003). Bruner (1990) also emphasises the social context. He claimed that no story emerges from a vacuum that a culture supplies a menu of possible behaviours, myths, stories, norms, self-perceptions and values, from which each individual can choose how they live and construct their narrative.

An example of the narrative research methodology is Noy (2003), who analysed Israeli male backpackers' stories, in order to understand not only their self-

perceived identity, but also currently dominant perceptions of masculinity among young Israeli men. Similarly, Lieblich (2003) investigated the biographies of Israeli women living in 'new families'.[21] She interviewed members of different types of Israeli households made up of a woman or several women and their children. A common feature of such families was that no man formed a regular member of the household. The study was designed to empower women in households of this sort, but also to shed light on contemporary experiences and perceptions of family and parenting.

The aim of the current study is to examine the worldviews of a group of women AICBs, by collecting and analysing their narratives. It is beyond doubt that these stories reveal a range of aspects of their personal and professional lives. As stated the elements of the narrative approach that are appropriate for this study are that the individual tells the story of his or her society, and the context of the story is highly important. In other words, the personal story is conceived as reflecting the collective.

1.3 Oral history approaches

I have fortified the narrative approach with elements of oral history because of two of its unique features. The first is its suitability for capturing the perspectives of those who express themselves more often in speech than in writing. The research population is composed of Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists, only one of whom published a single professional paper (see p.11). One central feature of oral history as a social movement around the world is its commitment to capturing stories by populations that do not write and publish their own version of their story. The second feature of the oral history approach that has made it appropriate for my purposes is its political investment. In Turnbull's view (1998), the power of oral history lies in making

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[21] This term is borrowed from the organisation of the same name, which was set up in order to fight for the equal rights of all Israeli families, whether they meet the statutory Israeli and Jewish-religious definition of 'family' or not.

selected population groups visible. It gives them centre stage by recounting a biography, which reflects their agenda on given issues. As Plummer (2005) argues, oral history and life history interviews draw on researched and solicited stories which do not naturally occur in everyday life; rather they have to be seduced, coaxed and interrogated out of subjects.

The complexity of the issues involved in my study and the need for discretion make it necessary to use elements of two methodologies described above, both during the interviews and during their analysis.

2. Methods

2.1 Research stages

With their permission, Rachel Tzoran gave me the names of five (and at the time the only) Arab Israeli women bibliotherapists, who had been working in the field for several years. Then I obtained their consent to participate, on the basis of an information sheet which I sent to them (see appendix 2).

I conducted a pilot interview for the following reasons: to test my interviewing skills as a researcher; to see how open and cooperative interviewees were likely to be, and how willing to engage in reflecting on the complexities of their biography; and finally to see how much could be learned from such an interview about the topics which interest me. Since the whole population of AICBs was interviewed for my study, this pilot interview had to be conducted with an AIC woman art therapist, of whom there are many.

I sent a consent form (see Appendix 3) and a *Guide to the Interview* (see appendix 4) to each candidate interviewee. The goals of the interview guide are to increase the interviewees' cooperation, to reduce their anxieties about the project, and to

increase their sense of control over the interview. Many professional oral history scholars use guides as well, though there are considerable differences in their contents. I followed Turnbull's advice (1998), seeking to share control over the shape of the encounter:

> By sending the interview guide in advance and by explaining that I wanted them to choose what they wish to talk about and to what extent, and not feel obliged to slavishly cover all the points I mentioned in the guide, I hoped the women would feel in control (Turnbull, 1998, p.22).

We then conducted depth interviews over as many separate or consecutive sessions as required. I held two interviews with each interviewee in this study. In the first, the interviewee told her life story spontaneously. In the second, I asked questions and requested elaborations on points that had risen during the free storytelling. At the end of the first session, I asked them to think and bring any literary works or folktales that had been the most meaningful to them to the next session. I was interested in these texts for several reasons. Such texts gave the interviewees another channel for talking about themselves and their life, and they usually take the interview to a deeper level of communication.

Immediately following the interview, I wrote free associative notes about the experience, and noted any striking features of content, as well as emotions and facial expressions of the interviewee. For example, in the pilot interview there were several seconds of silence after speaking about the political issue. This silence stood out against the fluent speech of the interviewee up to that point.

 I submitted the recorded interviews to be transcribed in full. At first, I thought that I might transcribe the recordings myself because that would make me as familiar as possible with the material. But when I realised that every hour of interview takes six hours of transcribing (Baur, 1996), I decided to give the work

to a professional transcriber. Of course, this step was taken while observing ethical guidelines as detailed below. I was satisfied with the transcripts and believe they accurately reflect the contents and spirit of the interviews.

According to the recommendations of the ethics committee, as soon as each interview was finished, I made a copy of the original names before disguising them with aliases, under which the original data has been kept. I selected codes for each name, and sent the material for translation using the aliases. The translator also signed a statement obliging him to observe all ethical and confidentiality regulations.

I decided, to my regret, not to share the transcribed material with the interviewees not for lack of faith in them but in order to avoid ethical complications. As long as the material remains in my hands, I am responsible for its maximal protection. If I shared the material with the interviewees, I would risk it getting to other hands (even when it is in the interviewees' homes like family, friends etc. I could not know whether they would judge the interviewee according to their views). It would be impossible to know who would read it, and what the implications would be. I shared these thoughts with the interviewees. They, who were well aware of the reality we live in, agreed with this tendency of mine and did not insist on receiving the recorded or transcribed interviews. Instead, I agreed that on receiving my degree I would meet each one individually and share with her the findings of the research, and the changes they had recommended especially those already implemented.

 I performed the content analysis of the interview material. I complied with university regulations and the instructions of the ethics committee, according to which I am not allowed to destroy all the data at the end of the project. The ethics committee has access to my research data for five years after the end of the project. The materials are being kept in a locked and secure safe.

2.2 Interviews and interview methods

I introduced myself at the beginning of each interview as a bibliotherapist and a doctoral student, whose research aims are to explore the life stories of Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists, and learn about the texts that are close to their hearts. My first question was: *please tell me the story of your life.* I made it clear that they may take as broad an approach to this request as they wish, and that they were free to introduce any topic or event they think is relevant. At this point, I reminded myself of Bar-Or's dictum (2010) that one of the hardest things for an interviewer to achieve is to bear with not knowing. He or she must have the strength not to press for a decisive answer, and to bear with doubt and recurring uncertainty. The important thing is to intervene very little despite the pressure to want to know.

I structured the interviews according to Wengraf (2006), who divides each interview to two sub-sessions (and sometimes three). A sub-session, in Wengraf's sense, is distinguished by its manner of interviewing (a continuous spontaneous narrative vs. questions of clarification and detail) and not by its location and time. In the first sub-session, the interviewer poses only one carefully constructed narrative question. In the second, which normally follows immediately or very soon after the first, the interviewer, who should strictly adhere to the sequence of topics raised and to the words used in the first session, asks for more narrative about some of the topics raised. These two sub-sessions are typically meant to take place in the same (first) interview slot of two-three hours. The point of having these distinct sub-sessions is to guarantee that the initial narrative in session 1 is as uninterrupted by questions as possible, and that as much narrative material as possible is collected in sessions 1, before the introduction of questions in (the always later and optional) session 2.

Shkedi (2003) elucidates further on the unique situation of the depth interview. He claims that listening to the interviewees is a special kind of listening. It is active listening, in which when interviewees speak they generally look at us, the

interviewers, in order to get cued indications about how to proceed. We are allowed to provide them with hints and indications in non-verbal body language, and a little more clearly, with "em" and "aha", which the interviewee may take as encouragement, but nothing beyond that. These guidelines are doubly important in a research in which there is a cultural gap between interviewer and interviewees on the one hand, and on the other hand the element of social desirability bias is so high.

2.3 Place and time

During the phone conversation with the interviewees, I asked them to fix a time and place in which it would be convenient for them to be interviewed – a neutral and quiet location that would allow the two of us to talk uninterrupted. The privacy and quiet were required, first, to maintain the level of concentration during the interview, and second, to create the best possible conditions for the interviewee to speak frankly. There should be no problems with this, since Arab Israeli society regards a private meeting between two women as perfectly acceptable, and it causes no particular embarrassment or suspicion. I met the interviewees in a meeting room in a hotel, the person's home or the person's clinic.

2.4 Informed consent and copyright

Much thought was given to the issue of the consent form and copyrights. The ethics committee emphasised in its recommendations that copyright does not apply in this study as it does in the oral history approach, because the interviewees are anonymous, and I did not distribute any information containing their real names. Consequently, the interviewees do not have copyright over their words and contributions.

2.5 Ending the interview

According to Wengraf (2006), once the interviewer completes the final questions on the last topic raised, he or she should conclude session 2 by saying: "These are all my questions. Thank you very much. Is there anything else you would like to tell me before we end the session?" and then provide the interviewees enough time to consider whether they have something they want to say on any issue.

According to Bauer (1996), it is at the end of the interview, once the recording device is switched off, that the most interesting discussion often comes up. Talking in a relaxed manner 'after the event' often sheds light on the more formal accounts given during the narration. This contextual information often proves to be crucial for the interpretation of the data. Bauer's advice is not to miss out on this important information. It is advisable to have available a notebook or a different form to summarise the contents of the small talk immediately following the interview. To indicate how much I value the interviewees' contribution to the study, I ended the interviews by thanking them sincerely for their openness and honesty, and their willingness to give me of their time.

2.6 Transcription and archiving

The transcription was made according to the instructions of the ethics committee (see detail in the section on ethics), and all material is being kept in a locked and secured safe, thus guaranteeing a high level of ethical compliance with university regulations.

3. Data analysis

Most scholars use an eclectic analytic method, which combines different ways of treating narrative texts (Lieblich 2010). Furthermore, Lieblich emphasises that a

survey of the works that have used narrative analysis demonstrates that the analytic method requires specific adjustments according to the type of research population and subject. In my study the stages of analysis are as follows:

3.1 Reading the interviews

This stage prepares the ground for the 'official' analysis. I read each interview several times in order to draw a general picture and get a sense of the complete data. Only then did I disassemble the data according to the content categories of the formal analysis (Eggar, 1980, in Shkedi, 2003). I explain my categories below.

3.2 Coding

Hutchinson (in Givton, 2001) calls this initial coding the 'preliminary analysis' stage. The researcher examines the materials in order to locate significant recurring themes, which is the heart and soul of textual analysis. During coding, the researcher examines meanings and makes connections between different aspects of the data (Gal, Borgand Gal, in Shkedi, 2003). This coding or categorisation is done in two steps. The first is dividing the assembled data into segments, and the second is placing these segments under labelled categories or groups according to some element they have in common. During the initial division, the researcher compares pieces of raw data (descriptions of events, beliefs, thoughts, actions etc.) with each other, and consequently classifies them and assigns them to groups. Gradually, the criteria and themes behind this grouping become clear. Each group (domain) receives a title, and henceforth becomes a key content category. Categorisation is thus a process of conceptualisation and then re-unification, and it requires methodical, logical but also creative thinking (Dey, in Shkedi, 2003).

Lieblich (2010) emphasises that this categorical approach is adequate when the researcher is interested mainly in a question or a phenomenon that is common

to several people. For example, in Lieblich's study of the 'new family',[22] she points out the existence of four themes:

1. Motherhood, including the decision to bring a child into the world, and everything involved in the education of children.

2. Questions of identity and personal development.

3. Romantic relationships in the past or present.

4. Relationships with the parents, mainly in the past.

The categories should be taken from the world of the interviewees, what Strauss and Corbin (1990, in Shkedi, 2003) call 'informant categories'. They represent issues or perspectives that are embedded in the assembled texts and data, whether as phrases, sentences or groups of sentences (Lieblich, 1998). Alternatively, categories can also be taken from the researcher's range of interests, in which case they represent a combination of the researcher's knowledge and the material supplied by the interviewees. Categories are thus units of organisation, which allow the researcher to rearrange the interview material according to relevant criteria for his or her aims. However, the categories cannot be arbitrarily imposed on the data: they must be the outcome of a genuine 'dialogue' or 'debate' with the data. Shkedi (2010) claims that these categories reflect how the researcher's conceptual perspectives connect to the gathered data. The goal at this stage is to find the appropriate directions for content analysis.

3.3 Mapping analysis

Shkedi (2003), calls it the 'secondary analysis' stage, and Strauss (1987) the 'axial analysis' stage. Strauss means that in a continuous effort to improve the precision of each preliminarily labelled category, the researcher tries to place

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[22] See the section on narrative research above.

each category or group of categories on an axis of meaning. Whereas the preliminary stage of analysis identified general directions, the mapping stage tries to combine or merge categories by creating connections between them (Fidgon and Henved, 1996, in Shkedi, 2003). The raw interview material is rearranged by putting related categories on horizontal axes, and drawing vertical axes within each category, connecting sub-categories. Colly agrees with Ritchie and Spencer and with Mason that "The basic technique is to identify key categories or classifications that emerge from the data in relation to the research questions; to code the data according to these categories" (Mason 1996; Ritchie and Spencer 1994, *ibid.*). One common method of finding connections between segments of meaning and categories is to identify associations between them. Arranging the categories in a 'tree' can display their interconnectedness, and show that each category explicitly designates the particular contents collected under that theme. The outcome of this mapping stage should be to change the initial order of the original categories, and to reorder them in a new conceptual arrangement. The category tree is used to build a hierarchy of categories.

Precise criteria for inclusion of the data under each category are also developed at this stage. I did what Tzabar-Ben Yehoshua (2001) calls 'test refinement', which consists of several steps. First, I verified that every piece of data has found a place in a specific category and not in some all-inclusive 'miscellaneous' category. Second, I formulated each category and its inclusion criteria, so that each unit of analysis belonged to one category and one category only. Third, I make sure that the ascription of a unit of analysis to a category is straightforward enough. According to Tzabar-Ben Yehoshua, any deviation from these refinement rules sends the researcher back to the list of categories and criteria, in order to reformulate it by division, amalgamation, etc. For example, under the headline 'miscellaneous' I had data which I was deliberating how to classify because they seemed to belong to two categories – both the Palestinian-Jewish conflict and its repercussions and to the family story. Following Tzabar-Ben Yehoshua's guidelines it gradually became clear how to classify the materials. This was made

possible in part on account of the fact that the interviewees themselves had a coherent and structured conception of the issues.

3.4 Establishing the key categories: the focusing stage

With the mapping stage complete, the researcher can identify the key categories. Strauss (1987, in Givton, 2001) suggests a number of criteria marking out these key or nuclear categories. First, they would be the categories most connected to many other categories in a simple and straightforward way, and located at the heart of any analysis. Second, aspects of the issue or phenomenon which each of these categories represents must recur with high frequency. Third, they would be clearly related to important conceptual and theoretical issues. I built the key categories according to this model. For example, I gathered all the material about the bibliotherapy training and placed them under a single key category - 'becoming a therapist'.

3.5 Theoretical analysis

This is the stage in which I build the conceptual categories and components of the earlier stages into an inclusive general description and theoretical explanation of the research topic. It is at this stage that the study's findings link up with the current state of theoretical knowledge, which was surveyed in the new study's literature review. The researcher works with more abstract categories, and constructs explanations from the richness and interconnectedness of the earlier, more specific categories. The conceptual perspective becomes more focussed and theoretical, and sheds new light on the picture that the existing categories present. A continuous dialogue goes on between the data and the conceptual perspective.

Though there may well be many similarities in the experiences of Arab and Jewish Israeli bibliotherapists, I expected my findings to highlight the unique

situation of mental health therapy by therapists who are Arab Israeli citizens. I assumed they live usually in a reality that is very unique to them. Mainly, I looked at how far the political context penetrated the therapy room; how the distress of clients can be treated when the therapist herself is exposed to many related anxieties arising from various sources (familial, gender related, social and national); how the women function in the workplace, in a society in which there are unequal power relations between the Jewish and Arab Israeli peoples. I also considered what type of external influence shaped the subjects' personal discourse, because the therapist's inner chaos cannot be entirely left outside the therapy room. Furthermore, I examined the subjects' conception of the training process, and feelings about its being conducted entirely within a Jewish university and in Hebrew, inviting reflections about this from the perspective of time and professional experience.

I chose these criteria with one of the aims of this study in mind, which is to improve AIC student's experience of the training, and thereby increase their numbers in the programme. As things stand, the number of AIC students in the bibliotherapy training programmes is significantly lower than Jewish students, and the depth interviews may shed light on how to correct this state of affairs.

Part of the reason for choosing depth interviews was that they allow interviewees the time to show mixed feelings, motivations and change over time. However, like any complex study, mine must also recognise its limitations and challenges, including those in its design, and it is to these I now turn.

4. The study's methodological limitations and challenges

4.1 Interview relations and social desirability bias

Any study which uses personal interviews as its core data gathering mode has to deal with the two natural tendencies of interviewees: to want to impress the interviewer and to say what they consider the interviewer wants to hear (Bornat 2007). Spector-Marzel (2010) uses the concept of social desirability, defined as 'what we assume the audience wants to hear'. Ideals of 'shared authority' notwithstanding, a research interview is not held entirely on an equal basis, and the respondent does not always express positions or feelings that authentically and honestly reflect his or her positions and feelings, but can be derived from and intended to satisfy the interviewer. Thus, Spector-Marzel notes that when we tell a psychologist about ourselves, we assume that he or she is interested in hearing about our difficulties and distress. In a job interview, on the other hand, we assume that we are expected to provide a narrative about competency. For the respondent, the interviewer can be a figure of authority, and it is natural for interviewees to want to 'perform well', as it were, and help the researcher achieve what they think are his or her research goals. This is particularly the case when the respondents feel themselves to be of lower social status than the interviewer – ingratiating those in authority is, after all, a common survival tool.

I took a number of steps in order to minimise the effect of this 'social desirability bias'. First, I presented the study and its subject in a way that gave the respondents a wide leeway of choice about their participation in the study, as well as the manner of their participation. Second, I made sure that the interview setting was a private one, away from the observing eye of others, and particularly of family members. Third, any time I felt that the interviewee was speaking more to please me than to express her own attitudes, I asked her immediately to explain exactly what she meant. The last, but no less important point is that I also made the aims of the research rather vague, and gave no detail as to the sort of things I expected to hear. However, there are some wider

political and social contexts that define this research, and over which I have only limited control. I now turn to discuss these in brief.

4.2 Language

Generally, language is not only about politics but also about poetry, and expresses less conscious and more embedded elements of communication as well. The Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists in my study were interviewed personally in Hebrew, without translation. I appreciate that there can be problems in how both the transcriber and I came to understand exactly what they said, as well as pick the nuances of their responses. However, the AIC minority has the great advantage over the Jewish Israeli majority of being fluently bilingual in both Arabic and Hebrew. AIC children learn both languages from elementary school onwards. In addition, these particular subjects were all examined for mastery of Hebrew before their Israeli university accepted them into bibliotherapy training, which is taught in Hebrew. Moreover, the preparatory pilot interview which I held with an AIC art therapist proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that her powers of expression in Hebrew were superb. She communicated as though it were her native language, even including the latest Hebrew slang.

4.3 A Jewish interviewer of Arab Israeli interviewees

My interviewees and I share many life elements and beliefs, but there are also many differences and even elements of foreignness. Edward Said, for example, in his famous essay, *Orientalism* (2006), claims that everyone who has researched the 'orient' has presumed to represent it to the West and speak in its name, as if no one 'oriental' were capable of speaking for himself or herself.

In this way, the people of the Arab Middle East are, in practice, silenced and 'erased'. Said (2006) goes on to argue that the representation of Eastern culture by Western researchers could only ever be external and inauthentic. He argues that the researcher's involvement as a human subject in the context of his own circumstances cannot be ignored. Researchers approach the East first and foremost as Europeans or Americans, and only secondly as individuals. Being European or American means being aware that you are in a position of power and that you have certain interests concerning Eastern peoples.

Rey Chow's research (2000) discusses the Western scholar's search for the native, representative voice. Usually, this goes hand in hand with a search for a definition of the native identity as something concealed, which has to be exposed or discovered. Research allows the Western scholar to present the native's 'true' character in a manner compatible with Western standards.

These reservations are highly relevant to my study, and pose substantial difficulties because the state of Israel and its academia have also been Western in character ever since its establishment in 1948. This is manifested in the definition of the identity of the state as democratic, and the establishment of institutions such as an elected parliament. Israel has warm diplomatic relations with Western countries, which were the first to recognise it. Most Israeli academics were educated in the West, and therefore their theories are also influenced by Western ideas. It also participates in Western academic, cultural, sports, and other types of forums. Therefore, the socio-cultural features of this country are Western, and most people in Israel regard themselves as Western. This has had crucial importance during Israel's existence, because it has been the only state with this character in the Middle East.

Saarab Aburabia-Queder, an educated Bedouin woman who studied other Bedouin women, writes:

> More and more Arab women are becoming research subjects for
> white Ashkenazi [Jews of European origin] women. The reverse
> hardly exists. The outcome is that, for all the virtues of gender
> solidarity and rising feminist awareness, the cultural asymmetry
> of daily reality pervades research practices too. (Abu-Rabia, 2008,
> p.17)

This description is applicable to my position also, as a Jewish Ashkenazi scholar whose interviewees are Arab Israeli citizens.

According to Aburabia-Queder, feminist scholarship fails in underestimating the value of the cultural element. The identity of women, in her opinion, is not common across time and space. She claims that the oppression of women has an important element of universality, but also takes distinctive social and cultural forms. It would seem that Aburabia-Queder's ideal is that more AIC women like herself would gain the skills and support to become researchers. Although I agree with her, I also wished to study a subject that no prior scholar had touched.

I feel a strong kinship with all bibliotherapists, and my work has made me keenly sympathetic to AIC women. Therefore, being well aware of the difficulties, I join all the other scholars who have studied populations 'foreign' to them, and which require contemplation and interpretation of the other. I am sharply aware of the following questions: to what extent can one explore another culture without knowing its language? To what extent will I be perceived as representing the Israeli establishment, and what would the significance and consequences be if this is so? How far will the interviewees trust me to keep their confidentiality and anonymity? Will I be able to remain non-judgmental in the face of a conservative culture? Despite all these considerations, asymmetric situations of foreignness whereby the clients are from a minority group and the therapist a majority group, the coin of difference and foreignness has another, more positive side to it.

4.4 Gender collegiality and the advantage of otherness

Billy Melman (1995), an Israeli woman historian, claims that the ability of
Western women to develop a close understanding of the lives of Eastern women,
using both external and participatory observations of the research subjects' daily
routine – something that neither Western nor Eastern men can do – has led to a
rare advantage in enabling insight into the lives of these women. Although, as I
have suggested, the ideal would be that there were more Arab Israeli women
conducting research, there is still an important role that Jewish Israeli women
can play. The empathy of women researchers for Middle Eastern women has
grown rapidly, prevailing over differences of race, religion and politics, and this
gender identity has even generated a deep cross-cultural sympathy. Indeed,
there may ironically be advantages to being both similar and different, sharing in
gender understanding but not being of the same group.

I will discuss the advantages of the foreign scholar using a quote from
Shpantzer's book (2009) *The Good Psychologist*. Though I avoided turning the
interview into a therapy session as much as possible, the insights of therapists
about the advantages of otherness apply perfectly well to the interviews I held in
this study. According to Shpantzer, otherness and non-involvement allow for
clear and deep insight:

> Why should anyone pour out their pain and secrets to a
> stranger, if there is not something of value in the encounter
> with a stranger? You may reply that people come to therapy for
> the psychologist's expertise, not for his distance and
> strangeness. But anyone who, for better or worse, is friends
> with or related to a psychologist knows not to take their
> personal problems to him. Therapy will not be the outcome.
> Clarity will not be achieved, nor relief. Your good friends are by

definition part of and involved in your life, so that their

dealings with you are of necessity dealings with themselves,

which must blur their perception of you. The only outcome can

be confusion and friction, lots of sparks but little illumination…

The good psychologist aims to be fully present at the right

precise movement in inner space. Their loves they better keep

to themselves (Spantzer, 2009, p.17).

This applies to the research interview just as much as the therapy session; there are many virtues to distance, over and above the difficulties arising from the cultural and ethnic distance between interviewee and interviewer. Looking from a distance allows you to see familiar things with new eyes. Many scholars have referred to this point, even including Aburabia-Queder in the context of AICs. She is well aware that being of the same culture can have its disadvantages:

Throughout my research I was afraid that I was not keeping

sufficient distance between personal and research interests. I was

afraid of over-identifying with my research subjects, and so being

distracted from my research aims…The families were very

familiar with the story of my own personal struggle… their

comments on it and the opinions they expressed made me often

wonder if my subjects were not saying things they thought I

wanted to hear (*Ibid.*, p.18).

Carnieli, a secular female scholar of ultra-Orthodox Jewish society, makes the same claim. She argues that the hidden facets of an interviewee's story stand out better in an encounter with a foreigner than with someone seen as a fellow member of the same culture:

When you tell your story to a stranger that is when the strange

aspects of your story come out, the parts that cannot come out

with someone you know…That the interviewees saw the

interviewer as a stranger gave the interviews a liberating

dimension (Carnieli, 2010, p.172).

Aguilar (1981) agrees that there are advantages to the situation of a foreign scholar, who can adopt a different perspective than the research subjects' own. Her claim is that she can interpret and represent local reality in terms that bridge the culture she is researching and her own native culture.

4.5 An interview as a non-therapeutic encounter

Barzilai (2010) claims that a narrative research interview has therapeutic value, a fact that creates a fundamental complexity, she argues, which has to be thought through. After all, the researcher is not specifically looking for any therapeutic dimension, and indeed, wants to avoid any such thing. This complexity is even greater in this study, where both researcher and research subjects are professional therapists, and bring this important part of their identity with them to the interviews. On this issue, Hatch and Wisniewski (1995) suggest that the interviewer, like the therapist, should not talk about himself or herself but rather listen – react, and sometimes ask questions, but primarily listen. This is a sensitive issue because an interview breaches the interviewee's privacy in a way that can sometimes resemble practising therapy without a license. They note that many of the features of open questions and unstructured inquiry are similar to those of the dialogue that takes place in psychotherapy. This state of affairs makes it necessary to be highly aware of the possibility of confusing the two roles of therapist and interviewer. Any failure in this regard can potentially do a lot of damage to the interview.

It was this difficulty that led me to hold a pilot interview, to witness the problems for myself, and learn what I can do to avoid them. In fact, in that interview, I did not succeed in keeping the two roles separate. During the pilot interview, I tended to speak with the interviewee in a manner that is similar in character to a therapeutic session, as distinct from a research interview. Nevertheless, as mentioned, I used the pilot interview as a significant learning tool, which allowed me to understand that during research interviews my role may be to focus the interviewee on specific issues (during the second part of the interview), but

certainly not to interfere or express personal associations. Kamar, an art therapist who interviewed others for a study of art therapy training methods, presents this difficulty as a challenge: "The question that came up for me was how to take advantage of my knowledge as a therapist to make the interview more successful" (Kamar, 2001, p.54).

Another relevant complexity here concerns the stark contrast between the therapeutic situation, in which the therapist is duty-bound to preserve the client's confidentiality, and the research situation, in which the interviewees' personal stories are laid for all to see in a doctoral thesis. Although the research will hopefully have the value of adding to the community's knowledge, it cannot be denied that the study is also intended to establish my academic reputation and raise my professional profile. Several corrective measures have been proposed in ethical and legal terms in order to deal with these contextual and circumstantial complexities.

5. Ethical and legal concerns

5.1 The issue of trust

As a Jewish Israeli who may be perceived as representing the majority, the establishment, and the ruling power, the questions of gaining the subjects' trust and the extent of their cooperation became a vital and very critical issue. Besides the promise of anonymity, I tried to establish trust with the help of my detailed explanation of the character of the research and its potential contribution to knowledge as well as by the tone and content of the interview guide.

5.2 Confidentiality

Confidentiality is crucial to this study, both that of the subjects and of their clients, first and foremost because confidentiality is a binding ethical guideline. A lot of thinking and personal reflection has been given to this issue. First, because both Jewish and Arab Israeli societies are capable of intolerance to the expression of public opinion which goes against traditional thinking. Second, because of the small number of interviewees, I promised to preserve their anonymity.

My research deals with very sensitive as well as intimate issues. Furthermore, there is the fact that Arab Israeli society values privacy highly in any circumstance (Haj Yihye, 1999). AIS stresses the closed nature of the family system and the necessity of keeping its secrets. Family solidarity and honour are supreme values. Secrets are not be revealed to outsiders as long as it remains humanly possible not to do so. I have taken note of Haj Yihye's work (1999), that placed the strongest emphasis on my guarantee of data confidentiality in all stages of the study. However, as stated, the issue of the interviewees' confidentiality is especially critical as they were the only five AICBs when the interviews took place.

 I began this research in fear and trepidation primarily because "the written word is powerful, it has a longer life expectancy than the spoken or recorded word and as such commands special respect" (Lieblich & Weisman 2008, p.53). Furthermore, I took on a great responsibility in carrying out research on such a small population. Additionally, I lost sleep thinking of the possibility that my interviewees could be identified due to their small number and unique occupation. Despite these huge fears and worries, I discovered within myself a strong determination telling me 'not to give up despite the difficulties'. I decided to begin the adventure even though I did not have a complete solution to every problem and turned to the interviewees with faith that they would support me in the importance of the research. I already decided from telephone calls with the interviewees, that despite difficulties that I was aware of and others that arose later, it was my duty to seek ways and solutions and not change the topic.

It was clear to me that the small number of interviewees was final because these were the only AICs to have completed their training. In order to learn how to cope with this dilemma I sought out the research of other researchers who had interviewed small numbers of interviewees. I found a number of narrative studies that had encountered similar difficulties to mine and that had had to cope with ethical issues of the interviewees' privacy. Weshler's (2009) research that discusses life in the shadow of an intellectually disabled parent, Barzilai's (2009) study that discusses the experiences of girlfriends of fallen IDF soldiers and Zacks and Peled's (2005) research that examines the self-perception of women who live with alcoholic partners. The different studies emphasized the need of the researcher to deal with ethical issues, although these studies too, like mine, did not find a complete solution to all the difficulties.

The challenge I took upon myself obliged me to draw a fine line between their agreement and desire to be recorded for the sake of research, and between my promise to guard their anonymity. How does one find the balance between one's need to 'create a good story' while at the same time safeguarding an ethical, respectful position? The more I was exposed to literature on the subject, the more I discovered relevant, additional and challenging issues for my research. Lieblich and Weisman (2008) relate to safeguarding ethical rules in narrative research and in their opinion, when researchers give their interviewees a consent form to sign, the researchers clearly do not know in advance what they are endorsing and how the interview will develop.

Another ethical challenge the interviewer is up against is the need to include problems that develop after the research has been published. Lieblich and Weisman (2007), present Josselson's (2007) writings that relate to ethics connected to the status of secondary heroes in the interviewees' stories (family or friends). Josselson informs her interrogatees, "Beware of confessing in front of

family and friends who appear in the interview". She claims that this issue has no solution (Josselson 2007, in Lieblich & Weisman 2008, p.51). In Lieblich's (2007) words: "on one hand the participants see that I write about them respectfully. They are proud and show their families... who are often shocked" (Lieblich & Weisman 2008, p.50). How, then, can we protect the interviewees and their families? This and more, made me aware of the immense power that the interviewer/researcher has facing the interviewees, especially as they are so willing to share their stories, to influence and change reality, and no less, to satisfy the researcher.

In order to guarantee confidentiality, I chose to allow the interviewee a very wide choice, without deliberate pressure on my part to expose any subjects whatever against their will. One of the interviewees in my research decided not to share her personal story and focused only on experiences and views related to her professional life. Furthermore, the interviewees and I discussed my obligation to protect their privacy, while at the same time acknowledging that it would not be possible to protect their anonymity completely, due to their small numbers. I shared with them both the difficulties and the steps I had taken to conceal their identity.

I took a number of steps to minimize the identity of the interviewees: analyzing data categorically, concealing first names, changing other names mentioned in the interview, altering place names, not mentioning affiliation to a religious or ethnic group, signing the translator and transcriber on a confidentiality agreement, stringency over all ethical rules of the audit committee at the University of Sussex. It is important for me to stress that throughout the interview, especially during the second part, the interviewees explicitly requested that certain issues appear in the research: "Write that!" they said, especially when criticizing the training in its current format.

In order to guarantee confidentiality in a digital age, in which recordings are so easily copied, forwarded and even edited, I have taken the following measures, according to the guidelines of Judith Aldridge, Juanjo Medina and John Churcher (2006).

• Ensured restricted access to files. Registered anyone who entered the store rooms where computers or media were located, and anytime media or hardcopy material were removed from store rooms.

• Data was not stored on servers that are connected to the internet or a network, and all relevant security-related upgrades and patches were installed as soon as possible, including virus detection software.

• Raw data of the interviews remained unmarked in any way, and many different eight-character passwords were used in order to protect files. I created an 'encrypted space' on computers and storage media, so that in the event of loss or theft of a device, it will be extremely difficult to access the encrypted files. I will destroy all these files at the end of the project and format all devices.

• According to the advice of Carmen Macleod, the University Ethics Officer at Sussex, the key issue is that I should make my data anonymous as soon as possible after I returned from the interview. Consequently, I used anonymous references from the very first transcripts of interviews. Non-specific identification was used by giving personal details by way of a range (for example – the age of the interviewees was 29-59).

The transcriber and translator of my research data took similar measures. As I had used two recording devices in each interview in order to guarantee the quality of the recording, all the actions listed above were taken with each of these devices.

5.3 The privacy and confidentiality of the clients

As mentioned, the other aspect of confidentiality to be considered is the privacy and confidentiality of the clients of the bibliotherapists, who were mentioned

while they described their professional experience. Witzum and Morgolin (2002) consider this issue. They claim that an inevitable conflict exists between the need to carefully maintain the trust and intimacy that have been created in the therapy room and the therapist's need to describe the clinical and therapeutic work for the sake of the study and scientific progress. Witzum and Morgolin offer relevant solutions for the sake of my study:

> There is no single perfect solution to this conflict, and any chosen alternative will not be without potential problems. It seems that the best suited solution must be chosen for the specific case to be described... The most common solution for dealing with confidentiality when discussing clinical examples is deeply concealing the details. Certain external features may be changed so that the readers are unable to identify the client, and yet leave significant features for the study unchanged... Another solution is to use a complex case description, which means unifying the features of different clients for the sake of demonstrating the general topic. This method becomes safer the more the complex case is composed of a greater number of specific cases. (Witzum and Morgolin, 2002, p.133)

In Israel today, legislation markedly protects the rights of clients and their privacy.[23] Thus, the duty of therapists to maintain strict confidentiality in scientific publications and research works is not merely ethical, but is a legal one as well.

In summary, for the purpose of my qualitative research, I needed tools capable of analysing the rich personal narrative of the five AICB subjects, while following strict ethical guidelines. My study focuses on deep, sensitive and crucial issues in the lives of the interviewees. These matters are not discussed routinely and

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[23] The relevant laws are, among others, the Penal Law, which states it is a crime to reveal any official or professional secret, and this prohibition applies to both medical and psychological information. The second law is the Law of the Protection of Privacy, which states that: "A breach of confidentiality concerning the private affairs of a person, whether it was determined by an explicit or implicit agreement" will lead to criminal sanction.

exploring them has demanded strict maintenance of the anonymity of the interviewees and their clients throughout all stages of research.

Notwithstanding the methodological challenges of the research, the professional and creative process was fascinating to me. The beauty and richness of human discourse, as it is expressed in the interviews as well as the process of analysis, is integral to my professional role as a bibliotherapist. After all, bibliotherapy deals with stories, life stories above all else, and with personal themes which are expressed in narrative. But before turning to the life stories of the AICBs, I want to share the full life story of a single AIC art therapist in order to demonstrate contents and issues that were significant and highly relevant to the main study.

Chapter 3: Analysis of the pilot interview with Suzan (alias) – an Arab Israeli citizen art therapist

I met Suzan for a pilot interview, in order to practice and prepare for the interviews with the Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists. My first question in the interview was: "how did you get to be an art therapist?" Even in answering this, Suzan shared personal stories and complex emotions, and showed commitment and readiness to expose herself. I wish to put these important materials in writing, for the purpose of documenting my first encounter; the ways each of us coped with the obstacle of different native languages (which actually turned out not to be a handicap); the relationship and degree of rapport.

The results were of a far better quality than I had expected, and with Suzan's consent, I decided to present her individual life narrative, while of course disguising personal details.There is obviously great value in thematic analysis but holistic analysis of a whole interview allowed me to investigate the progress of Suzan's life in her own surroundings and permitted me to observe the order in which the events were told and the bond between them. The number of art therapists in Israel greatly exceeds the number of bibliotherapists, in a ratio of about one bibliotherapist for every 25 art therapists. Thus I could not holistically analyse whole life stories of AICBs. Hence, the interview with Suzan is individually and fully represented in this chapter, and subsequently understood through the main categories of analysis. The provision of detailed quotes allows us to get a comprehensive sense of an individual telling her story and thus offering us access to her society.

1. Form and features of the interview

I made initial contact with Suzan by phone in the summer of 2010, facilitated by an art therapist colleague. Suzan was willing to meet me about a week later. At

Suzan's request, the interview lasted for two hours continuously, and was held in her private clinic in an Arab town near her home, in optimal conditions and without interruptions.

Suzan spoke excellent Hebrew. Her fluent and flowing language and her frequent use of slang testify to a high level of belonging and involvement in Jewish Israeli society, alongside use of Arab idioms, which testifies to her belonging to Arab Israeli society. In addition, she used typical institutional Israeli terminology such as 'the Arab sector', as well as Arab expressions. She laughed frequently, however, she also became noticeably unsettled and was breathing faster when she spoke about a crisis she had been through and about a complex and difficult encounter with an Arab family at the hospital where she had been working. The interviewee moved from the professional to the personal right at the beginning of the interview when Suzan described personal experiences and referred to her childhood and her mother.

In summary, Suzan was highly cooperative and generous in the interview, and made it easy for me to identify professionally with her. At the same time, as we shall see, she also spoke of shocking and traumatic events.

2. Factors of attraction to the profession of therapy

"I grew up in an art loving home. My mom studied and did art for fun and always used to do art with me [...] I was an only daughter between two sons and I took art to be the place that fills what is missing, and breaks the loneliness, until my sister came along and brought joy."

"I taught art in a settlement in the south, it was a school in the desert with no water or electricity [...] I gave the children an exercise, to match one word to another using a line. I remember one kid – I'll never forget that he said: "I'll take you to the gully and strangle you". Out loud! I got scared and said: "who will strangle who?

What are you imagining?" And he said: "no, I was thinking about my goat, that I'll take her with a rope to the gully, and I'll strangle her". I understood that he created something in his imagination. I went to the counsellor, and she told me that there's this field of art therapy [...] I escaped from teaching and I was a counsellor later on during the community volunteering programme, and all the interviews I did were done through art [...] I was an instructor of Jewish and Arab youth. I used plenty of art in my tutoring, as if to talk to one another through the artwork, and I knew that I liked it".

Three motivations for her choice of the profession of art therapy emerge from Suzan's words. Suzan was raised in a home in which a mother who regarded art highly was a role model to her, and the two of them often created art together. In addition, art was described as a resource which assisted her in moments of emptiness, loneliness, and sorrow. A third factor was that during her role as an art teacher, a youth instructor, and a counsellor, Suzan had experienced art as a facilitator of a more valuable emotional expression than any verbal conversation. As her training period was ten years before the interview, the focus in the interview with Suzan was on her rich professional experience.

"The first question in the admissions interview [for art therapy studies] *was: "how did you get here – we've been teaching this field for ten years and you're the first Arab woman!" So I told them my story, the place that really believes in art, but I don't have the tools. They were very impressed, and said: "you'll be the only Arab student. How are you going to cope with that?" I told them that I strongly feel in a minority anyway, so I'll be a minority here too [...] In College A I felt like in a greenhouse. All the lecturers there knew I was the only one, a pioneer in the field, and the feeling was that everyone always took care of me, and indeed, I succeeded there."*

Suzan indicates that her uniqueness was emphasised during the admissions interview, and gave rise to special treatment from the lecturers. During the training, she was lavished with warmth and psychological containment which contributed to her success.

3. Becoming an art therapist

"I studied therapy in a very Western place, which doesn't speak in the same codes […] I encountered a great difficulty there, in the whole issue of culture. In reality, it's not easy to work with the Arab population with the tools I received in the training."

Suzan has experience in two different frameworks – a school and a private clinic. *"I entered schools the first time like an alien. I started from the place that I had to prove myself and my field with school principals who didn't understand what is therapy and didn't know who I was. I had a very hard time, and started with conversations with the teachers […] I did group therapy with the teachers* (inside the therapy room) *that they would feel that they understand, it was also very difficult because they always wanted to get in. Any child who interrupted, the teacher acted like she's used to as a teacher, and not as the custom is in a therapy session. I worked a lot with the team, the teachers and assistants, and they gradually began to appreciate therapy and believe in it, especially because they saw the children waiting for the hour every week […] What helped me to succeed in therapy in the Arab sector and be in a dialogue with a different attitude was this place of listening and knowing how to get in, basically to treat them like clients. […] I think this is the secret of my success – patience, with a lot of sensitivity to the place of the other, and not to always come and immediately blame the school for being wrong. To know how to get in to the school, to let them use us as therapists. And I worked very hard, I needed to make case presentations in the teachers room in my free time, I prepared training programmes for teachers in Arab City A and Arab City B, so they'll understand the field […] It's a new field in the Arab sector, and I always had faith, it's a very beautiful tool, and I believe in it".*

Suzan's words indicate that her integration as an art therapist in an Arab Israeli school involved many difficulties. The principal and staff of the school far from understood the world of therapy, its goals, and its character. Her patience,

accepting attitude, great investment in presenting the field of therapy to the staff, and readiness to let the staff experience therapy, all contributed to her success and to a fertile cooperation between Suzan and the staff. Apart from schools, Suzan has a unique experience in a private clinic too.

"After I opened the clinic, I was afraid – who would come to me? How will I advertise? People are ashamed to go to therapy. I told everyone I had opened an art studio, and that I'm arranging group sessions for children. I called them Empowerment Groups. It's important to do it wisely. I interviewed the mothers and told them why this is important for children with difficulties. People started chasing me, and the men started coming to intakes with the women. This wasn't taken for granted [...] I provide tools and the clinic is going excellent [...] it's become highly regarded to take the child to Suzan".

Suzan noted the creative ways in which she succeeded in turning art therapy into a successful business. She emphasised the importance of gradual planning, in virtue of which the sense of shame and suspicion of both women and men was turned to willingness to receive tools for parenting, and a reputable business. A significant factor in Suzan's professional development was her supervisors and the supervision she has received.

"Art therapy supervisor A was looking through college for an Arab speaking student, and gave me hours of the Ministry of Education [...] She told me: "I'll accompany you and take care of you, you'll receive extra tuition, and start slowly" [...] I started to work in a very difficult place, but she was there for me all the time, and I'll never forget the support I received from her [...] she's my mother in the field. I looked for a supervisor who really understands our culture. Today my supervisor B is someone who worked with and supervised therapists of different cultures, deep and knowledgeable supervision. She comes from a place of illuminating more things to me that I didn't see."

Suzan referred to two art therapy supervisors during the interview, both of them Jewish. She described the help she got from them with superlatives. While appreciating the support and maintenance she had received from a supervisor

who is unfamiliar with Arab Israeli culture, Suzan noted that cultural understanding has contributed very significantly to her therapeutic work.

4. The adequacy of therapeutic attitudes to the character of Arab Israeli society

Suzan's professional experience, and mainly the insights she gained the hard way, allowed her to develop a therapeutic attitude that is adequate for Arab Israeli society, and an approach which includes traditional elements.

"In the first year after I graduated, I worked in Arab slum neighbourhood A, which is the most difficult and problematic area in the country [...] There was an issue of sexual abuse of a child I was treating, and it was very hard for me. I had evidence that I had to hand over, and they didn't let me because the teachers were afraid [...] I insisted on reporting the abuse to the welfare authorities, which is the proper thing to do in Israel in cases of sexual offense against children, and the principal warned me and said: Suzan, you don't know who you're dealing with, you don't know this place, we're not Jews, and this is an issue of family honour [...] We have this thing with gossip. Everyone'll know and everyone'll talk, and it's a stain on the girl, a stain on the boy, and the girl will never get married. It's a stigma [...] And I kept saying: I'm the advocate of the child! And I handed it over to the welfare clerk, who was too scared to go into the area there, and they handed my testimony to the police, and of course, I was questioned, and went like an Abu Ali,[24] questioned and afraid of nothing, brought all the evidence about the child. The next day the principal called me, and said not to come to work! Your life is in danger! And the inspector (from the Ministry of Education) *was brought into the picture, and he asked me why I did such a thing without consulting with him, and I don't know who I'm dealing with, and I will never come back to work. I had clients there, and I said that I'm not afraid of them – there's a law! They told me: you're not getting in, the family is looking for you, and they tried to make me disappear [...] I didn't get to say goodbye to the clients [...] and I had to write a letter for the teacher to read my*

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[24] A figure from Arab folktales, a simple person with a clueless demeanour.

farewell to the children [...] and my parents got involved [...] what, am I not afraid for my life? With all the naivety and innocence, I want to help, but it's not a game out there, you also need reason, to go in and think rationally [...] This is the deepest scar I carry [...] it was a trauma for me, they shut my mouth [...] I remember writing to the children and crying, and it was sad."

"Our culture is also not built for therapy. Western therapy is not suited to the Arab family. For us, there's no place for talking about the husband and the family and the home [...] Secrecy, family bonds and shame are common, it is as if I'm telling things I shouldn't. If the woman has a problem with her partner, we have the saying – "a wise woman conceals things and doesn't tell - Tusur beita – she preserves her home, she has to handle it. Many things are hidden. In our culture, it's improper to speak about the problems of the family. In our culture, to go to therapy – what am I, a retard? Is my husband a retard? [...] Initially you have to give this a considerable place, until you're trusted, this is a field that can uncover things, and this can threaten."

"Today I can understand that family. They defended themselves, and all the anger came out against me [...] Today I do it in a smarter way [...] simply keep the eyes open, I see who I'm dealing with, who is the family [...] the way they operate [...] sense how the family interaction works there, who sets the rules, and does the mother have the power to watch over and educate [...] If there's a family that can protect the child, I enlist the family [...] someone who'll keep the child within the home, if the mother, the father, the brother, sister, the aunt can be trusted, because we have hamulas (clans), extended families, it's not the mother who is the educator there [...] simply keeping the eyes open and stopping the offense against the child. Second, to listen carefully, hear how they express their opinions because the moment you respect them, and allow them to think together, you learn from them. There're tools, there're ways of coping, and sometimes I learn from them even to take things from their culture and religion or from their grandmother, to give room to their faith [...] It works better than removing the child [...] don't dismiss

what they say, and always open their opinion more and more. I have to learn the cultural code anywhere I work. If I see that it's a lost case, and there's no family and no one to keep the child safe, of course I report […] I also consult with social workers before taking a step further, to bring welfare in wisely […] Today I have connections with the welfare services, they know me, they consult with me, my place is more secure. Today I dare to report more […] I had a case with an inspector, this was six years later. Again I get a phone call from the inspector. He threatened me: "Don't you remember what happened to you in Arab Slums A? Do you want us to kick you out?" I answered him by saying: "you, as an inspector, should be concerned for the child like I am". Especially as it was a family he knew and he wanted to wrap this up, but then I wasn't afraid, and welfare stepped in and the matter was properly dealt with."

"One of my cases was a family who lived abroad and came back to the country, and the father didn't really agree with his wife's education. She's not sensitive enough to the children, there's violence there and he insisted that the children need emotional therapy. And suddenly I find myself in the opposite case than usual […] a woman who doesn't believe in therapy and doesn't trust me […] She had been afraid of me at first, and showed me that everything was fine and there were no problems […] I said this is a lost case […] The supervision of art therapy supervisor B helped here. Her advice was to let her, listen to her, to let her trust me […] the woman was afraid of therapy. She always said: "I'm not a retard, he's the retard". My challenge was to make her understand that therapy is not for retards, it's for your feelings, your mind, it's for your children. And slowly she started trusting me, and bring her story, which is also difficult, and contains loneliness and pain and she began to connect with me, to ask my advice. It was amazing […] And at the time, I was in a dilemma about reporting her violence or not. If I reported then she'd stop trusting me, so I took her for a talk, told her: "listen, I have material here that if you went to someone else she would've reported straight away, but I don't want to report, and I really want to help and support, and I can see it's difficult for you". I tried to enlist her and give her the tools to handle it through my instruction. From my experience of 10 years already, I get to places where the mothers don't have the tools, and only

what their mothers taught them [...] I need to walk with them hand in hand and
forward. It is to listen to their stories about how they grew up, and how they believe
that education should reach their children. From that I recognise if they want to
change and use the tools I give them or not, which is the key for me."

Suzan referred extensively to the relevance of different therapeutic attitudes for the character of Arab Israeli society. Obviously since Suzan is an AIC, and was clearly referring to her society as she perceived it but I am sure that Suzan's emphasis also exists in Jewish Israeli society and other societies in the world. She emphasised the following issues in this context: shame; secrecy in the family; the importance of family honour; the stigma of therapy as intended for "retards"; exposure and candidness being unacceptable in AIS. All these difficulties essentially contrast with the profession of therapy. Furthermore, Suzan noted a frequent social-cultural issue, which is the issue of power relations and threat as a way of achieving results. Those in positions of authority in AIS – the principal, and inspector – are involved in a way that can paralyse the professionals confronting them. Strict observance of the law had not worked in Suzan's favour, and she experienced threats and a dismissal. Suzan noted the traumatic experience she had been through at the start of her career as being painful and yet educational. It made her understand the cultural differences between AIS and the principles of "Western" culture which have been adopted by Jewish therapists in Israel, and strengthened her confidence.

The Law for the Prevention of Abuse of Minors and the Helpless in the state of Israel states that child abuse is a severe criminal offense punished by imprisonment, and that every person is obliged to report any case of reasonable suspicion of child abuse by its custodians to the welfare officers or the police. A person who does not report harm or suspicion of harm to a minor is punishable by three months' imprisonment. Yet Suzan related her rich professional experience, in which she has learned "to do it in a smarter way", including

connecting with the religious beliefs of the family, and everything that would facilitate trust.

This is the place to emphasise that every Arab Israeli citizen, including Suzan and the bibliotherapists, can make out the religious affiliation of others from their names and behave accordingly. In other words, the initial contact with families of AICs in a therapeutic situation should be done respectfully, while trying to understand the family and cultural codes. Suzan referred to the fact that one of her major dilemmas is finding the golden path, the appropriate way to allow clients to open up in a non-threatening and paralysing manner. Through the establishment of trust, it is gradually possible to provide the parents with appropriate tools. It is also important to empathise and understand that violence is passed from one generation to the next as an educational custom, which can change by enlisting the extended family, powerful adult relatives within the *hamula*. Most AIC families have never been exposed to contemporary educational tools. The intervention of welfare authorities, which includes removing children from their homes, is not the preferred method by the authorities for many such families. Providing analytic or therapeutic tools once trust and cooperation were established with the mother and father may contribute positively to improving the situation for the child. Only when the therapist gets the impression that trust cannot be established and change is unlikely then welfare services can be brought in. In addition, Suzan noted the importance of supervision, which devoted attention to her need for understanding and navigating the issue of cultural difference.

5. The personal story

Suzan's personal narrative draws from feminine models within her family, and the unique stories of such significant figures in her life as well as their connection to art. Suzan mentioned her mother immediately at the beginning of the interview, as a very significant figure in her life:

I"'m more inclined towards my mom. My mother studies and worked in art and always used to do art with me [...] My mom also went through crises in life. At the age of 16-17 she worked as a hairdresser for someone Jewish, who really gave my mom strength [...] this was the therapeutic figure that my mom used to go to and pour her heart out, and consult with her about what to do, and how to make decisions in her life, marriage and engagement. She advised and accompanied my mom a lot, and I took from it that place of Western and Jewish culture. It's a human encounter without the place of the lands and wars. And if my mom hadn't come from a multicultural place she wouldn't have been able to stand up to my aunts on my dad's side, who didn't really accept the way I handled my life crisis."

Suzan's father is mentioned only in connection with his family and collective story.

"The lands of City C[25] belong to my dad's family, and they were a very rich family, and they were driven away back then, during the war, and they moved to Arab City A." Besides her parents, Suzan devoted attention to other significant figures of her family, among which were the grandmothers, and especially her maternal grandmother, who represented a line of powerful women to her:

"I have a very strong (maternal) *grandmother who's from City B, and they're the only Arab family still living there, and they always try to get them out of there. And my grandmother said: this is my land, I grew up here [...] and I have lots of stories there about true coexistence [...] true authentic stories of what it's like to be living with the Jews. She had a Moroccan friend [...] I remember sleeping at my grandma's, and she spoke Arabic, and the Moroccan in Hebrew, and I said maybe I should translate, and they said: "shut up! We understand each other." And they would bring food to each other [...] we loved Moroccan food, because of grandma's friend. And the Persian women living opposite them, and the Ashkenazi* (European Jewish) *[...] There were wars since then, and the Intifada, and all the bombs and the suicide bombers... I used to go to my grandma's, who lived in coexistence [...] I*

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[25] To adhere to the rules of anonymity I noted city names in letters.

think there was something genetic there. Jewish neighbours who supported her
when my granddad died and she was alone.”

Another source of power for Suzan is the exceptional story of her other
grandmother. Not only did her husband follow her, but her son and his family
also stayed with her, unlike the custom in AIS: *“My* (paternal) *grandma was from*
Arab City A. My parents lived in Arab City A because of my grandma, otherwise we
would be living now in south Lebanon [...] And my dad's family came under my
grandma's hamula.”

Suzan noted the influence of the historical and political situation in Israel on the
personal stories of her family members. She discussed the fabric of multicultural
feminine support that surrounded the dominant figures in her life – her mother
and grandmother. She emphasised the valuable power sources of both
grandmothers – the strength and presence, which allowed her grandmother to
keep her lands, and the daily experience of coexistence. Suzan's mother, like her
grandmother, is also described as someone who knew how to get the help of
reliable Jewish female figures during difficult times, and to gain a lot from such
relationships. Suzan's story manifests the universal aspiration that personal
relationships can be formed even between people of two hostile nationalities.
Nevertheless, such relationships are regrettably not enough to overcome the
conflict between the two collectives. A human womanly intimacy in daily life may
sometimes surpass the roar of cannons, and even provide room for support and
reliance. As it emerges from her account, the women in Suzan's family are
traditionally powerful and cope with a complex reality, and so did Suzan herself
cope with a crisis she had experienced:

 “I had a crisis. I needed therapy myself. It was a process, and I was in this place of a
woman who hides things, because I had my professional status, my status in the
family, how can I not get along? I had something of the pioneer in me. They called
me the groundbreaker [...] I think this is also a problem. The more you're aware of
your rights as a human being, the more you face the gap with the person who is in
front of you [...] I progressed in my emotional awareness, my rights, my respect, my

self respect, my children, the place they should grow up in. He came from a different place, a controlling place, and the rules have to be by the book, and he's not against violence [...] I also come from this culture, and used to experience violence, and meet my mom a couple of hours later, and had to hide it (the violence) *to seem like I'm successful. but when it came to violence [...] I had to stop it, and then I wished to end the crisis. I was afraid for my career as a therapist who didn't succeed in handling a crisis [...] I decided to end it and I gave up all my rights to do it as fast as possible. And I'm proud of myself, it gave me strength [...] I have more freedom. Once the crisis was over, I developed, changed jobs. I have more time to realise my dreams as an educated woman, as a woman, as a mother [...] The therapy I had gave me strength not to give up. This is a place which shouldn't be a black spot in your life, it should make you grow and make you stronger [...] I surprised everyone. I was with a mask on that everything's well and fine. And suddenly, after the crisis was over, I was congratulated by women who had been working with me, and they said: "we wish we had the strength you have". I find out that I'm not the only one in this position [...] I listened to myself more, and it's another place where I received admiration [...] Women come to me for therapy more, because at the time I fought, I can advise them."*

Male violence is a widespread phenomenon (Illouz, 2008). Suzan noted that she was an exception in challenging the dominant place of the man, against the common norm in her society, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, on family stories. Societies in which the status of women has not changed tend to have clear age and gender hierarchy, the males and the elderly possessing senior status. Women's status tends to be inferior, and male violence towards them more severe. Suzan emphasised that she drew knowledge about other lifestyles from her studies, 'her world opened up', and she did not agree to go on living under the mask that 'everything is fine', and actively worked to shape her life according to her beliefs and wishes.

6. The personal-collective story - the Nakba

The experiences of her uncle as Suzan tells them can be seen to express the way that such narratives can move from being a unique story to represent a family, national and collective story. Though they were experienced by a man many years ago, they live in Suzan's heart in a full and real manner:

"My uncle tells the story of a kid who experienced the Nakba. They lived in a small house of clay, and everyone, all the uncles and aunts slept in a single room: "In winter the water used to drip on us, and your grandma would put all sorts of bowls of all kinds, glass, aluminium [...] And I used to listen to the symphony and Bach in tick tack tock [...] that's the music I heard in my childhood... and what used to spoil the tick tack tock? The shots of the (Jewish) *soldiers above the house. And soldiers also used to give me candy as a child, little candy, and I was very glad for the candy. I felt guilt, and there was also compassion there, and this was the Nakba for me, this is the experience I had as a child."*

Suzan's family story is intertwined with the events of the Nakba. The experiences she described, of the threat of deportation; her uncle's experiences of emotional involvement (the threat of the soldiers' shots, and getting candy from them); the experiences of her grandmother who has clung to her land (the proud Arab concept of '*tzumud*'), and her rewarding integration (exchanging dishes with her neighbours of different cultures, and consolation after the death of her husband) – all these are not described only as tragic experiences and a national disaster. It is important to note, that this description of the Nakba points out outcomes that were not all negative.

7. Situations of internal rift between different self-identities

Next, I will outline the various definitions of Suzan's self-conception as she presented them, focusing on the internal rifts among the different group affiliations:

"I'm a practising Muslim Palestinian Arab [...] So I'm a bit multi-cultural. The place I live in used to be a village with many customs and sects .I lived for a while in a mixed city which is a more open and liberal place, where people think differently. I'm made up of these two places. Once I tried to create my circle from colours, it was interesting. I took the blue and white (colours of the Israeli flag) *and the red. I try to live in peace with all colours."*

Suzan mentioned quite vividly and extensively the depth of the rifts that accompany her experiences at work and at home:

"I was working in the hospital on Independence Day (of the Jews in the state of Israel)*, and Independence Day is the Nakba* (of the Palestinians)*, and in school* [where Suzan was also working at the time] *they celebrate and decorate. I had a case where I treated children from an Arab city in the occupied territories. I meet the mother and father, and they look at me like I'm a traitor. And the mother had this look when they told me – you're one of them, you don't live among us, you don't feel what we're going through, and you're of our people [...] This encounter was very unpleasant. A family who had experienced the Nakba, and here the Jews around celebrate, and suddenly they begin to tell me their difficult story, and how they live there, and I am totally in a place of who to identify with? I kept my opinions to myself, I'm a therapist. During therapy in our school, it is forbidden to speak about the Nakba. The Ministry of Education also forbids us to touch it. I asked the hospital manager what to do. She actually surprised me when she said: "At the hospital we do things differently, in therapy you need to give them room, to listen to the feelings and fears, to let the children bring this place up which is not taken for granted." We had a staff meeting* [at the school] *that day, and I opened it up. Even though I received admiration, I felt alone there too, and what amazed me was that there were Arab teachers there, and they didn't dare speak up. Someone said to me after the meeting: "Why did you open this up? Why do you put us in this*

position? And if I say what my opinion is they'll take my job away." I didn't say anything against the state, I like the state, I believe in coexistence, I'm personally pro peace. This is the place where I struggle, this is the reality we live in, but there're feelings we can't simply ignore .I am for listening to one another, and from there you can cultivate coexistence. After this meeting they put the Arab child from the Occupied Territories in isolation rooms because of health concerns. Even so his parents kept asking: "why are we in isolation rooms? [...] we're from an Arab city in the occupied territory, that's why we're in isolation." [...] All this place is very sensitive, so it also makes me meet who I am, what side I'm on. I'm not there. I live here in the best conditions like a silver-spoon child, this is how we're defined by them too."

"I also had a story with my son. I take him to a Jewish art therapist who is very good, and helps him a lot. It was on Nakba Day when one of the teachers told them about it, and my son said: "I don't want to go to the Jewish therapist". I said: "why?" "Because she's Jewish!" So I said: "But she is your friend, and you love going to her, and you can't wait for Fridays when we go to see her". So he said to me: "No, but the teacher said today that the Jews stole our lands, and she's Jewish, so she stole our lands." I thought what I should say. I said "let me tell you the right story. They didn't steal our lands, but there was a war between the Jews and the Arabs, and you know, in war whoever is stronger wins, so in this case the Jews were stronger and they won, they conquered the lands of the Palestinians [...] and the majority rules. People were killed on both the Jewish and the Palestinian side. If you go to Europe it's the same thing. Everywhere there's the strong and the weak, and they won." And at the same time as I tell the story to my son, and deep inside me I'm really not convinced – what if he's told the story about my strong grandma who stayed on her land and the story of granddad who was driven away from his ancestral lands? So he kind of calmed down and went to see the Jewish art therapist, and it was difficult for me because my motto is the forgiving place, and I want him too to go on thinking straight about how to live together, coexistence, not to be in the vindictive place, to know how to live with it without starting with what we did and didn't do."

Suzan described her family and national history during the Nakba as present in her daily existence. Difficult questions come up about how, when, and in what manner to recognise the Nakba's complexity. How to share the family and collective history with the younger generation? On the one hand Suzan desired to present the Jews in a positive light, since she feels part of the state and has good and meaningful relationships with Jewish friends in her life, and her personal and family experience with Jews is also positive. On the other hand, the family's lands were taken by the Jews. There was also the dilemma of how to simultaneously respect and take part in the Independence Day celebrations of the Jews, while recognising the national disaster of the Nakba and the painful narrative of a Palestinian family from the Occupied Territories. The following summary (brought here in the order in which it was told) lays out Suzan's multifaceted internal rift, manifested across both her personal and professional life.

• The rift between her self-conception as a therapist whose role is to treat any child and family and her conception as a traitor by the parents of the child from the Occupied Territories.

• The rift between the rules concerning the Nakba in her two different workplaces.

• The rift between Suzan's desire to express her opinion in a staff meeting and the fear of her Arab Israeli citizen colleagues that they might lose their jobs.

• The rift between Suzan's conviction that the child was isolated for health reasons and his parents' feeling that it is a way of punishment or revenge for being from the Occupied Territories.

• A parallel rift in Suzan and her son between appreciation and love of the Jewish therapist and refusal to go to therapy because the therapist is Jewish – 'takers of our lands.'

• The rifts between the general universal and ideological narrative and the national and family story, which is extremely real and powerful.

Suzan's mental resilience and her recovery ability enabled her to survive situations of stress, pressure and distress, and to accommodate herself to life circumstances in which she experienced double power relations. Her willingness to put herself on the line in her various jobs as well as revealing these things to me are evidence of her sense of worth and her ability to use her many qualities.

Considerable mental resilience is also necessary for coping with the repercussions of the Palestinian-Jewish conflict in Israel, to which I turn next.

8. The Jewish Palestinian conflict and its repercussions

Suzan's various self-perceptions, including the rifts within them, exist in the political context of the Jewish Palestinian conflict and its consequences:

"I live in this country, I'll never get up and live in an Arab city in the Occupied Territories, because I grew up here, I was educated here, I love this place. I studied in rough conditions too, I was always a minority, and my assimilation in society benefitted me a lot. I do see something good, I received a lot as a citizen, I know that to be a full citizen I need to do military service. If I were an Arab ruling over the Jews I would've taken for granted that to receive full civil rights you have to do military service [...] And if I spoke to extreme Palestinians or people they would say to me, what are you babbling about?... I understand the other side. If everyone listened to each other we would be in a completely different place. But also what is happening in Lebanon nowadays, it comes from very extreme people who make the decisions... But if you turn to the simple people, you'll see that they really don't want wars. In society itself there's the simple folk and the people who rule, and there're the people who make decisions [...] If they listened to my uncle's story as a child and Bach's symphony, maybe they would think otherwise [...] I have Jewish friends who are the best as far as I'm concerned, better than the Arabs, they understand better [...] and I have an open ear and a place here where I've grown [...] If I hadn't had the strength and support of my Jewish friends, I wouldn't have coped with the crises I've been through [...] For us it's not taken for granted."

But there are other experiences opposite these ones: *"I was in the union of Arab students in the place that fights, and where is Palestinian justice. We are an occupied people."*

Suzan presents a complex and multidimensional outlook, which has been formed through the years along with her professional development. She has empathy, understanding and containment ability both for the Palestinian people to which she belongs and for the Jews and the state of Israel. From her early childhood, she has come in close contact with the two national groups. Her activity for the sake of Palestinian justice during her studies was based and anchored in positive relations with Jewish women, both her grandmother's friends from her childhood and the Jewish friends she has collected through the years. Strong and significant friendships with Jewish friends were noted by Suzan as making a central contribution in her life, and as a source for empowerment at times of crises for her and her grandmother.

9. Suzan's perspective on her own Arab Israeli society

Suzan's views are sharp, clear, and critical of the society to which she belongs:

"I live in a society that seriously downgrades the woman. The woman works and studies, but at the end of the day, at home, no matter how far you've reached, there's a man who is superior to her [...] dictates to her, and outwardly he is proud of her, but at home – I am the man [...] The men started coming to intakes (the first stage of therapy) with the women, they began to say: "look, this is worth it for men more than women."

Suzan notes the position of inferiority and consequent discrimination against women in Arab Israeli society. She claims that male dominance is evident both in the immediate interactions of men and women (including husband and wife) and the disparity between men's declarative and actual behaviour. Women suffer from a double inequality and inferiority, both compared to the ruling majority in

the state of Israel and compared to Arab Israeli men, who are themselves inferior to the Jewish majority. There was no revolutionary change in her social status at home even though she was an educated working woman, and she is still required to cope with the consequences of traditional society.

As mentioned, this was my first encounter with an Arab Israeli citizen interviewee. This experience of meeting such a frank and complex woman opened a door for me, and gave rise to high expectations about the later interviews with the AIC bibliotherapists. It allowed me also to display a detailed particularistic analysis of one subject – a mode of presentation which was not possible with the rest of the interviews.

Suzan's ability for making complex observation does not save her from an internal rift, which is an integral part of her daily routine. In her personal and professional life, and above all in her dealings with her young son, Suzan described many situations of coping with complicated values, beliefs, affiliations and conflicts. These arise largely from Suzan's status as a practising Muslim Palestinian Israeli Arab, who thus belongs to the majority within AIS that is of a dominated and deprived minority. This complicated background undoubtedly makes it harder for Suzan to cope on the one hand, but forges her in her therapeutic role on the other. Furthermore, it probably contributed to her ability and readiness to critically examine her own society as dominated by traditional norms which marginalise women.

Her experience of marginalisation within her own society is translated into investment in a novel approach to changing individuals' reality (art therapy), and to assertiveness in her personal lifestyle. Her great professional experience and the growth of her self-confidence brought her face to face with the issues of family honour, shame and stigmatisation in this context as significant factors. They require finding the right course of therapy for groups which do not share

the values of "Western" therapy. Suzan explicitly recommended providing therapists with an understanding and knowledge of the different cultural codes, in order to establish trust with clients. – *"a wise woman conceals things and doesn't tell - Tusur beita – she preserves her home, she has to handle it."*

She also criticised the training programme for not providing art therapy students with suitable tools for clients with different codes and norms than those of the dominant therapeutic discourse in Israel. *"it's not easy to work with the Arab population with the tools I received in the training"*. In addition, she emphasised the crucial need for supervision by someone who, as well as psychological containing ability, has expert knowledge of cultural diversity and awareness of power relations.

Next I move to the analysis of the interviews with the research subjects. I begin by some formal features of the interviews, which contributed to understanding my relationship with the interviewees.

Chapter 4: Form and Features of the Interviews

This chapter describes the formal features and circumstances of the interviews. It is a detailed account of my connection with the interviewees and my impressions of their cooperation and readiness to share their personal stories fully and deeply with me. I also measure a small number of indicative qualities of the interviewees' comfort, candidness and trust. These are vital for the sake of effective data collection, and therefore adds an important layer of information about my understanding of the interviewees and my relationship with them.

I look at the following features, some of which are measurable while others are not: the number of phone calls needed to set the interview; the length of the interview and its setting; the interviewees' competence in Hebrew, including the amount of slang expressions, and use of Jewish, foreign and official expressions; the stage at which they passed from discussing professional matters to sharing personal matters and belonging; length of spontaneous talking; the questions addressed to me as an interviewer and their timing within the interview; the signs of comfort or emotional difficulties.

1. The procedure of setting a time and a place for the interview

My initial approach to the five bibliotherapists was in July 2010. After going through the procedures of the Sussex University ethics committee, I finally got permission to approach the interviewees on the 15th of June 2011. I had no contact with them the entire time. My 'disappearance' for a relatively long period caused surprise in all five interviewees about the fact that I was still 'into it'.

Three of the interviewees expressed great willingness to cooperate, cleared a time for the interview soon after the phone conversation, and some were even enthusiastic about it. However, besides willingness to cooperate, the interviewees also expressed hesitation, reservation and an explicit demand for

anonymity. In the case of one interviewee, even though she expressed full readiness to be interviewed on the phone, in reality there were expressions of suspicion and caution till deciding on a precise date. But as a result of the positive experience she had had at the first stage of the interview, her attitude changed to dedication and enthusiasm.

In the Methodology chapter, I discussed the issue of social desirability bias in detail, as well as the issue of the foreign researcher. The question of trust was central because of these issues and the interviewees' hesitation whether to commit to my study was certainly expected and reasonable in the situation. Understandably, and although the study aimed to give Arab Israeli women 'a voice', I felt I was keener to trust than my interviewees at the initial stages of our contact. These feelings changed later and if they continued afterward they were concealed and I did not notice.

2. The setting of the interview

Generally, all interviews were held in good conditions either in a public or a private place. The place of the interview is significant in a number of ways – firstly, in terms of the degree to which it was a comfortable, protected space, shut off from outside interference. Secondly, there were important implications to the type of place in stimulating different manners of talk. In an interview held in the family hotel, many family memories and childhood stories came up, whilst an interview in the private clinic gave rise to many references to the professional field. Additionally, an invitation to an interviewees' home was more likely to lead to relaxed, spontaneous and extensive replies to my questions. The time I held two interviews in two different places (the one public and the other at her home), the respondent expressed complex contents more easily in her own territory.

3. The Length of the Interview

Rania	four hours	two sessions
Amal	four and a half hours	two interviews
Majda	two and a half hours	two sessions
Nur	five hours	two interviews
Halla	four and a half hours	two interviews

The issue of cooperation and trust seems also to come into play in the duration of the interview, seeming to represent the interviewees' respective commitment to the study. Most interviewees were interested in returning for the second interview, but one interviewee was less willing, chose to focus only on the professional aspect and avoided personal exposure, and was adamant in her request to make the interview short.

4. Spontaneous talking as a measure of suspicion and/or commitment

Said (2006), Chow (2000) and Aburabia-Queder (2008) are just a few of many who discuss the difficulty in establishing trust in cross-cultural research. In my study, I chose to measure the length of time they spoke spontaneously, before I had to ask direct questions, as indicating degrees of interviewees' openness, cooperation and trust. This is based on Wengraf's (2006) claim that the extent of the response to the first question in an unstructured interview is significant. The extent of spontaneous response was examined because it suggests three

important things: the degree of constraint felt by the speaker about being seen to be performing in a socially acceptable way (as discussed in the Methodology chapter); the level of the interviewees' sense of control of the interview, mainly at the early stages; and the level of openness, commitment and trust in me and the research.

	Talked spontaneously
Rania	about third of the total interview
Amal	about a quarter of the total interview
Majda	about a third of the total time
Nur	In the first interview 5% of the total interview. Moreover, she started off by asking clarification questions, and required many gestures of support and encouragement on my part
Halla	In the first interview 5% of the total interview. In the second interview she talked spontaneously for one and a half hours in response to a question

A correspondence appears to exist between the location and length of spontaneous speech. When the interview was held in a private location owned by the interviewee, she expressed herself spontaneously for longer. This implies that a public location, even though it was comfortable, quiet and close to their homes, did not allow them the same level of comfort as their own personal space. When they opened their homes as hosts, they had a sense of complete control of their privacy inside the domestic space. This reflected back on the question of the

social desirability bias – the fear about it dropped because of the reverse asymmetry of me being a guest in their homes, as opposed to my being positioned as their host in a public setting.

 In the absence of strangers who may listen in on the conversation, the women could more easily open up their hearts, worlds and lives.

5. Linguistic competence

	Level of Hebrew	**used the word 'like'**[26]	**Jewish expressions**	**Institutional terminology**
Rania	Excellent, fluent	526 times, ten other common expressions of Hebrew slang	quoted a saying from Jewish sources	
Amal	Excellent, fluent	5 times, Yiddish slang	used 3 unique Jewish expressions	'Arab sector'
Majda	Excellent, fluent, High conceptual level	41 times, four other slang expressions.	did not use Jewish expressions	'Arab sector'
Nur	Excellent, fluent, rare verbs	6 times, and five additional slang words	used a Jewish idiom	'Jewish authority'
Halla	Excellent, fluent, wide and varied use of literary words		quoted sentences from the Passover Haggada	'Jewish sector'

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[26] *Keilu*, כאילו.

My decision to check this element arose from my impression of the interviewee's high level of language. This description illuminates the extent of integration through language of the majority group in Israel. It was evident that all interviewees have complete command of Hebrew. This went beyond the ability to speak correctly and use a formal register. I counted the common slang expressions used in every interview (see Appendix 5). Such fluency can be seen as evidence of their belonging and involvement in contemporary Jewish Israeli society as well as their professional ability to engage and treat a range of populations. Their command of linguistic aspects and subsequent expressive abilities indicates their possession of another significant quality for bibliotherapists, which is to be able to find 'the right words' in therapeutic sessions.

6. The length of time until they started asking questions

I also noted the stage at which the interviewees started asking me questions. This sometimes suggested the interviewees' level of comfort, implying a certain trust, confidence and readiness to engage in a serious way with my research. On the other hand, questions addressed to me also sometimes testified to a certain level of defensiveness. Further, not asking me anything may also have implied some difficulty manifested in avoidance.

There was some diversity in the issue of questions addressed to me. Three of the five interviewees did not ask me any personal questions during the interview. One asked a professional question, and another asked me a question reversing the role of interviewer and interviewee. She asked me about my own life story. These two polar strategies may indicate that power relations were present in a covert yet powerful way, created a loaded atmosphere, and the interviewees sometimes felt some discomfort. Despite gender collegiality (Melman, 1995) and the fact that the respondents and I share a common profession and training,

when they felt power relations present in the room between us, they responded non verbally to them.

7. The stage when the interviewees move from the professional to personal issues

Sharing personal and intimate details with me as an interviewer, especially on the interviewee's initiative, on the one hand suggested trust and confidence in me, and on the other the desire to ingratiate me and 'meet expectations'.

Two interviewees clung to their professional 'business card', one of them for the first half of the interview, and the other throughout. Three interviewees revealed the depths of their hearts early in the interview. Their personal stories are evidently accessible to them, and they are open to sharing them bravely and honestly. From the fluent way in which the interviewees allowed themselves to delve into complex childhood memories, I can deduce that they have internalised and identified with a central element of the therapeutic discourse in Israel, which they experienced in the training, but also in (Jewish) Israeli culture generally. Illouz (2012) challenges the dominant therapeutic discourse, which establishes a 'multinational' language which determines what 'emotional problems' are regardless of social structures. Illouz, like Stuart Hall (1996), refers to the influence of official channels of cultural knowledge (films, popular press, the publishing industry, television, academic psychology studies). She claims that the therapeutic discourse resounds tremendously throughout culture because it is applied in and by the major institutions of modernity. Below in the content analysis chapters I will present the subjects' political views, which exist alongside their integration into the common therapeutic discourse in Israel, which is typical of postmodern societies everywhere.

8. Emotional expressions

> The body is at once the most solid, the most elusive, illusory,
> concrete, metaphorical, ever present and ever distant thing – a
> site, an instrument, a singularity and a multiplicity. (Turner, 1984,
> cited in Waisman 2010, p.8)

We cannot ignore another language which comes into play in the interview, which is body language and emotional expression. Laughter, crying and sighing are doubly significant in an interview between people in asymmetric power relations, and adds a layer of meaning that augments the data.

Waisman (2010) sheds light on this issue in her book *Body, Language and Meaning in Conflict Situations*. Waisman's data is a series of videotaped sessions between Arab and Jewish Israeli students. She concentrates on episodes of mismatch between verbal and non-verbal expression, and explains the process of creating the Mismatch Form. According to Waisman, mismatch can be regarded as an example of the abiding incongruity of the speaking body, existing outside of verbal intelligibility. She argues that the mismatch can be considered as a tool aiding the speaker in the intricacies of communication. Waisman mentions Butler's (1997, *ibid.*) claim that:

> All performativity rests on the production of authority; every
> performative is to be legitimate. Plausibly, mismatches are a way
> to mark the performativity of an utterance, emphasizing its
> communicative power. (p.175).

I made a special effort to note the contexts in which emotional expression can be traced by way of laughter.

	Total Times laughed	personal context	family context	national context	professional context	study context
Rania	75	8	34	19	12	2
Amal	16	4	9	3		
Majda	2			1	1	
Nur	38	20	1	11	6	
Halla	1	1				

Laughter occurred in personal and family contexts, while the national, professional and study contexts caused less emotional expressions of this kind. I assume that laughter expressed embarrassment, anxiety, pride and joy. Therefore, laughter sometimes testified to a difficult experience, sometimes to a positive one, and often to a mixed emotional experience. The mismatch between a painful content and a physical expression of laughter may be a manifestation of comfort, but also express unease at the very exposure of personal contents. It appears that alongside the willingness to share personal emotional contents, the interviewees felt tension, doubts and difficulty as a result of exposing themselves before me, who is identified with the 'others'.

In the Literature Review, I discussed the concept of the social unconscious (Rendom, 1995; Toder, 1995; Vulcan, 2001; Weinberg, 2008; Hazan, 2011) as an essential component in relationships among people from different groups in conflict with each other. The interviewees' cooperation was also influenced by the 'foreignness' between us, which was expressed non-verbally. This implies

that a part of them wanted to engage with my study, while another part held
back. This chapter highlighted the dual attitude of the subjects to the study and
me. Explicit statements of wishing me to present and conceptualise their
experiences and views were present alongside an essential experience of 'us' and
'them'. Eventually, very rich content emerged alongside doubts, reservations,
and fear of handing information to an interviewer from the dominant majority.
These are presented in the following chapters.

Chapter 5: Becoming a Therapist

In this chapter I analyse the theme which was raised most frequently by the interviewees: their training as bibliotherapists. I describe their choice of bibliotherapy as a profession, their experiences during their training periods, and their evaluation of these periods. An important aspect of this is the interviewees' experiences of the dynamics among students and their dynamics with the lecturers. I emphasise their opinions about the contents studied and the language of the texts. Furthermore, I touch on a crucial issue that is discussed further in Chapter 8, their views and positions on the adequacy of bibliotherapy for understanding and working within Arab culture.

1. Professional motivations

The reasons for the interviewees' choice to study bibliotherapy are diverse.

Rania claimed that she got to study bibliotherapy because of her closeness to her father, who loved books and literature very much. This bound her tightly to literature and from there to bibliotherapy.

"*I saw that a book is, like, something that gave my dad meaning. He always had a book with him, during his weekly medical treatments, he invited friends home and they talked about books. I saw how my dad had books as a cure and as company [...] I remembered well from my childhood that when he stood shaving in the morning he recited poetry, and there were poems we knew by heart. If he went to pay his respects to someone whose wife had died then he brought him a book that some poet wrote after his wife had died. He wrote to my mother too, to this day she has three notebooks that he wrote for her, and I feel that I absorbed it very strongly from there [...] In my* (paternal) *grandma's house, which was a poor, rented house, but it had a library. It's a family that was raised on books, these are things that I, like, grew up on without calling them by professional names and without calling it bibliotherapy.*"

Amal, in contrast, chose to study bibliotherapy wishing to acquire a professional tool. Amal's love of writing and literature also contributed to her decision.

"*I was accepted to work in hospitals, with a patient class where I could fit in, to teach children during hospitalisation [...] Why did I come to bibliotherapy? Because I said to myself: switch! Something different. I called the University of Haifa, the whole issue came up of studying for a diploma in expressive therapy, and I said: I write in all sorts of languages, and I love writing, and I love stories, and tell lots of them, so I said: o.k., this is my track.*"

Majda described a strong bond to reading, an early maturity, and a personal affinity to therapeutic occupations. Acquaintance with a profession that combines these two fields – literature and therapy – seemed suitable to her.

"*Why did I choose bibliotherapy? All my life, since I remember, at the age of 13, I read Freud's books and all sorts of books and even things that now I think weren't for my age, and this probably has to do with my personality, and what kind of girl I was [...] It's no wonder that I ended up in a therapeutic profession [...] When I graduated I said: I have to think about a postgraduate degree. Then I began to think about it, and there were all kind of offers, and then I heard about bibliotherapy. I really love literature, love to read, love the theatre, and suddenly I thought: wow, this is a combination of both [...] I think you don't end up in a therapeutic degree by accident [...] It's a role you begin to play in your family. Everyone has their own "scratch"* [psychological issue]*. I think I was the parental child. I really wanted to grow up.*"

Nur described reading as a life saver. Although she grew up in a home where reading was not encouraged, the ability to read allowed her to bear difficult life situations. Nur told a story of her own personal experience of therapeutic reading:

"We didn't have a library at home, and yet I read a lot as a child. I read books, whatever I could lay my hands on [...] I can think that in retrospect this is what saved me from degeneration, and this is what led to the development of my personality. Because a first degree relative of mine went and killed himself, he didn't have this space of music or books, maybe this is why he did it to himself, because he didn't have anything. Like Winnicott says, an intermediary space? Something to help the soul, reading, stories, music – these are things that enrich you. This is what helped me to survive. In the library I read endlessly, and I was a very rejected child, because a child who reads is not so loved, especially in an environment that is not so... The kids read, but the general atmosphere didn't encourage reading [...] I used to go to some tree behind the school and read poems there."

Halla reached the profession of bibliotherapy from several directions that were related to literature: the inspiration of three formative figures: her sister and two teachers; reading was a form of comfort for her; it was also a default choice after not being accepted for a psychology degree. In addition, Halla spoke passionately about her strong attraction to reading, writing and literature. Reading she conceived as pure pleasure, as an essential bubble that has developed through the years.

"*How did I encounter bibliotherapy? For a long long time I wanted to study psychology, and I wasn't accepted [...] I was heartbroken [...] I arrived at literature, I believe, because first of all my elder sister studied literature, so I think the most concrete things is my sister's influence, but it's not just that. I mean, I look back at secondary school, it was a period that very much anchored the love of words in me. I remember two teachers who were very much seminal teachers, very significant in my experience, and I delighted in words through them [...] A teacher called Sarit* (alias)*. It was really because of her that I loved to write, loved to read [...] I wasn't a bookworm, I think the role I assumed when I was young, 14-15 of age, to help my mother raise my brothers, I think it really overshadowed or consumed a significant part of my free time I had for myself [...] There wasn't a massive amount of reading*

done at home, but I used to look at the straw bookcase we had in the house, really
small, full of books [...] I used to tell myself: Halla, sweep the house, and then there's
a very interesting book there, take it and start reading. My consolation was in
telling myself: you have a book to read. It entered my life in the most comforting
and calming and good way. Sometimes I couldn't help myself. I mean, I remember
many moments, with a broom in my hand, sitting on the floor and taking a book,
sitting down and reading and reading and reading. A long time had passed, and my
mom came back home and said to me: "you still haven't finished sweeping?" And
then I would understand that it's actually been a long time [...] These were very very
much my moments. Moments in which I'd created a bubble for myself, which was
very essential, and when I was reading inside this bubble I'd smile [...] I'd go on, full
of new strength. I also see my development, my dialogue with the book, when I was
at secondary school age, the reading was in stealth. When I realised what kind of
drug it is [...] I think these are the small places that connected me to literature and
to what literature can do for the mind. I didn't know it was bibliotherapy, but I
understand that really I was captured by the magic of reading and writing and
what they can do."

The motivations for choosing the profession of bibliotherapy are diverse, and
include both attraction to literature and recognition of its therapeutic elements.
All the interviewees expressed closeness and desire for words, books and
literature. Three of the interviewees were raised in homes in which there were
books, and reading was highly regarded by first degree relatives who read a lot.
Two of the interviewees said that they did not grow up in homes that encouraged
reading, but nevertheless chose reading, which was described as a survival
resource at times of distress and difficulty, and as a consolation for rejection,
loneliness, and the load of daily chores. Evidently, though, the love of reading can
paradoxically also be a cause of social isolation, since reading is not socially
valued like other public activities such as the various branches of sports for
example. All interviewees mentioned key figures, be they educated poetic fathers
or inspiring teachers, the power of whose love for literature gave them social and

psychological permission to read, and eventually gave rise to their personal attraction to the profession.

On the basis of their love of literature, they arrived at its therapeutic aspect. One interviewee described a lack in tools for teaching purposes, and therefore turned to studies to complete her toolbox for emotional work. One interviewee spoke both about personal attraction to books from an early age and her parental/nursing role within her family, which brought about the joy of discovery when she understood that there was a field of bibliotherapy that combined therapy and literature.

Even when the profession was considered a second choice after psychology, reading was described as a relaxing medicine. As children and adolescents, the interviewees naturally did not know about the young field of bibliotherapy. None of the interviewees were disposed to translate their love of literature to professional undergraduate studies, such as teaching literature. Only once they had graduated and searched for a specific professional direction, the combination of reading and writing with therapy seemed to present itself as a viable professional choice. Next, we will get acquainted with their impressions of the bibliotherapy training programme.

2. Account of the training

Bibliotherapy training for graduates at the University of Haifa takes place three days a week over three years, as well as a practicum in which the students are required to experience therapeutic work. The full tuition fees of the complete programme are 44,000 NIS (£7300) which is common for postgraduate degrees in Israel. Grants of 1,500 NIS (£250) p.a. are given to students with economic difficulties, as well as two scholarships for outstanding achievement of 10,000

NIS (£1600). Studies take place in Hebrew. All the art therapies in Israel are currently awaiting recognition by the Health Ministry.

Rania: *"I had to speak Hebrew. I brought* Mahmud Darwish's[27] *poetry to class and translated it. They always asked me to read in Arabic and then translate [...] I really love translating."*

"Not just translating, connecting too [...] to hear all sorts of things that I'm not familiar with and don't understand and get accustomed to them."[28]

"Even if I brought a song by Fairuz[29] for example, who's very well known, nobody knew who she is."

"We study group therapy in such a way that a teacher walks in the classroom and doesn't say a word, and we have to speak and record, take notes and analyse."

In practicum: "*I had therapy with Jews too. In my training in the final year at the hospital. I ran a group for Jewish women."*

Amal: *"During the studies there were practical workshops like the connection between musical instruments and family members."*

"Everyone wrote in Hebrew, I too wrote in Hebrew."

"Each one of us had to do an activity, and I did one called "the connection to the bridge" [a rhyming Hebrew phrase] *about the bridge between the peoples."*

Majda: *"We studied for four days, plus supplements that I paid 250 percent for [...] the fees for the third year were 24,000 Shekels* (£3800) *[...] There was one year that the dean gave me a scholarship."*

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[27] A renowned Palestinian poet, considered by many to be the Palestinian national poet.
[28] When there are a number of quotes which touch on the main topic from different angles then each quote is brought in a new line to make it easier for the reader.
[29] A Lebanese singer whose songs are heard all over the Arab world and is a source of Lebanese national pride.

"We studied Winnicott. Klein and Ogden are not studied during the whole programme."

"We didn't have Arabic speaking supervisors [...] I was always in the role of the translator, all the time."

Nur: *"Each course added its own touch [...] In the course 'the family story', the lecturer asked us to choose a picture and write the family stories, our relationship with the family, the relationship among the siblings [...] There was also a course of Lecturer D on writing and its meaning."*

"It wasn't easy to write, wasn't easy to deal with the very difficult contents, because I really have a past which isn't simple, all sorts of things that I've been through, traumas I had in the family. I've experienced very severe behaviour towards me, and it's very difficult to touch it."

Halla: *"In one of the exercises in the first year, we discussed the issue of heroics; Hanuka[30] was at the background, and the lecturer said: "we want to know each other through cases in which each of us thinks they were brave". And indeed, at first everyone spoke about bravery in the political sense."*

In practicum: *"Practical work in the first year was mainly observation, group therapy, and emotional accompaniment[31] of children, without entering the therapy room on our own [...] In the second and third years, I was assigned to a mental health station. [...] The therapy for children involved working with the parents [...] In the supervisions I got feedback, reflection and evaluation of my actions and the difficulties I faced [...] There was individual and group training both through the university and the station, which meant four sessions of supervision."*

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[30] Hanuka is an eight day Jewish festival commemorating the successful Hasmonean Revolt (2nd century BC).
[31] During the first year of practicum students are required to do a "benevolent hour" of psychological containment and support which is not therapy.

Each of the interviewees stressed a different element in her account of the training. All five referred to the fact they are Arab Israeli citizens as an element which was present. Two interviewees noted the many times in which they had to translate texts from Arabic to Hebrew. Two different interviewees noted the experiential character of the training, and its emphasis on personal emotional work within the group. I will expand on these elements below.

3. Assessment of the training

3.1 Positive assessment

I begin the analysis of the interviewees' assessment of the training by presenting the positive points they mentioned.

Rania: *"They* (students and lecturers) *told me: "how interesting and nice to have you here" [...] I graduated with a lot of esteem and a lot of admiration [...] There was something in these studies that was a dream come true, unlike my first degree. I want it, I've dreamt about it, I want it for myself, no matter what I'll end up doing with it, and I came out of the studies with lots of realisations. It's something I feel I gained from these studies. I often think that even if these studies were a form of enrichment and a therapy for me, and did me good, this is enough for me."*

Amal: *"The programme was interesting and contributed a lot."*

Majda: *"I think that the study programme in bibliotherapy is wonderful, it encourages personal development very much [...] They had big plans for me, lecturer A and B, they told me: "we're going to send you to a very good practising place"."*

"One of the lecturers told me: "read the poem in Arabic, even if we don't understand", and I read in Arabic more than once."

Nur: *"I've developed a lot on the inter-personal level during the studies."*

Halla: *"In terms of the practicum, it's very significant and essential [...] I felt that a place where I get many different forms of supervision allowed me to look at things. It's complementary, not contradictory [...] The training gave me the ability to observe and look beyond the written word [...] It allowed me to really express myself, to consider the meanings, to delight in words, not once and not twice it really lifted me up. I feel that music, painting, art, nature does it, but I believe that words know how to do it amazingly [...] I really want, like, to keep my modesty, but there's something there from God, something extremely divine."*

All the interviewees used superlatives in describing the training's significant contribution to their personal development and growth, the encouraging and close attitude of the lecturers, and their very special connection to words. One interviewee emphasised the presence of Arabic in the training. Dwelling on the warm attitude of the lecturers as well as their request to read texts in Arabic indicates their desire for equality and social integration on the one hand, and on the other hand their wish to downplay or deny the power relations which are vividly present in the classroom.

3.2 Negative assessment

Besides their positive assessments, the interviewees honestly and painfully shared their negative assessments too. The complete picture of their negative assessment will emerge sequentially and accumulatively from the five remaining subsections in combination.

Rania: *"Today, in retrospect, it's very hard for me to come and recommend to someone: "go for it and it'll be great". There were moments which weren't great [...] I can look at it as a challenge, but not for everyone. It was difficult for me that my*

professor never heard of Taha Hussein,[32] *as we're not talking about some anonymous figure [...] What makes me angry today is – look at me, recognise me as an Arab, it's very important to me. At school I studied the poetry of Rachel and Bialik,*[33] *and I went to a daytrip to Tel Aviv, and went to see where these poets had lived. I say: 'sorry, but just like I'm doing it.' "*

Majda: *"You suddenly find yourself with students who I'm not proud to be part of. I think that all the training programmes are not really deep. I think that a lot of theoretical thinkers I knew, even Klein, who I think it's very important to teach, as someone who developed the whole area of therapy through play, she wasn't taught. And instead there were all sorts of courses I wouldn't include in the study programme."*

"The tuition fees were crazy [...] We're not supposed to pay so much."

"I didn't know this profession has no recognition, they didn't really explain what the purpose of this diploma is, and only wrote at the end: "there is no recognition yet by the Council of Higher Education" [...] I think they should be level with the students."

In practicum: *"In the first year I didn't have a place to do my observations. In the second year lecturer B told me to turn to the psychological service of a hospital, but she didn't help me with this. And in the third year, lecturer C said: "they're going to open an extension for the Arab public in the hospital, and you'll be working there. You'll be ours", and they counted on it. During the first month of study I didn't have a place to practice, why? They waited for them to open this extension and they didn't."*

"After graduation I was very frustrated by the work offered, and I think the places that took me didn't take me because of being trained in bibliotherapy as much as my social work."

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[32] An Egyptian writer who wrote dozens of books and as a critic shaped the face of Arabic literature.
[33] Famous Jewish Israeli poets.

"The whole status of therapy by expression and creation within the systems of therapy and education is not respected, they're considered less professional. I'm not a member of the Art Therapists Union."

"Promotion is one of the problems for Arabs: how do you get to be a supervisor and to the university? The custom is that one member brings another. We (Arab Israeli citizens) *are promoted less, who's going to promote me? [...] During the masters degree I wanted very much to write a thesis, I was in a thesis writing track. But for two years one supervisor passed me to the next. One claimed that he couldn't tutor research in the Arab sector, another said he can't do it, until eventually I ended up without a thesis."*

Nur: *"None of the lecturers included Arabic texts in the entire syllabus, and it's not like we are in short supply [...] The texts which are studied in the training programme are strictly of Western culture, and not Eastern culture. There're texts in Arabic which are so bibilotherapeutic. I gave a copy of Ahlam Mosteghanemi[34] to one lecturer, and told another lecturer about her. Only in the course taught by a third lecturer we studied a poem of Mahmud Darwish* (see note19), *and later there was no time to teach it."*

"It's very problematic that they only accept one Arab in every class. Why don't they take two? Why? If they took in more than one, my entire experience would've been different. It's very difficult to study in a group in which there's only one Arab, don't they put themselves in my shoes? [...] I asked them what the policy was. Many applied, once they had accepted two, then the number dropped. I'm sure that quality people are applying."

Halla: *"The gap between the first and second years and between the second and third years is huge. I mean in terms of the practicum where students emotionally accompany children* (see note 22) *and then to enter with this boy or girl into the*

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[34] An Algerian poet and writer. Published three novels and three books of poetry.

therapy room on your own. It frustrated me, often I felt a great difficulty in how to bridge this gap. "

"Maybe the burden is necessary, the burden of time and bringing contents, to share, and physically being present in two separate supervisions. It's a burden it isn't always easy to deal with, even though I can understand the rationale."

The depth of negative assessment of the training is strikingly greater and more diverse than the level of positive assessment. Admittedly, one of the interviewees did not have any criticism. This complete lack of criticism may be variously interpreted: first, as a behavioural disposition to emphasise positive elements while downgrading negative elements; second, as the outcome of her older age, which sees reality in a rounder and possibly more reconciled manner. She could be expressing a less aggravated view; or perhaps her refraining from critique was due mainly to the fact that she graduated many years ago, and this element was less dominant in her memory. In these respects she stood out relative to the other interviewees. But another referred in detail to seven topics: the low level of students and the materials taught; the expensive fees; the profession being unrecognised, and the lecturers being less than candid on this issue; lack of assistance in finding a place for practical work; lack of clear promotional track for Arab Israeli citizens in academia both in terms of available positions and in getting supervision for an M.A. thesis.

In addition, another interviewee noted the lack of symmetry between her deep knowledge of the world of Jewish literature and the programme lecturers' lack of knowledge of the world of Arab literature. Furthermore, there was sharp criticism of the custom of accepting only a single AIC student in every class. Even if this is not an intentional policy, it appears to emanate lack of empathy and is seen as evidencing alienation of the training staff from them. Though none of the interviewees expressed a sense of discrimination directly, it is strongly implied in their words.

3.3 The contents studied

> The map of forces that unfolds in situations of a majority facing
> a minority allows us to observe the relationships forming
> within culture as relationships between political forces. A
> central tool in this politics of culture is the institution of the
> literary canon... Groups of literary texts which gained a
> favourite status in a certain culture and in a certain period are
> a definitive realisation of such political power (Haver, 2007,
> p.311).

Beside the significant personal impressions of the training period of each of the interviewees, I was also exposed to their clear and penetrating positions on all the elements which were either missing from the training or inappropriately taught.

Rania: *"When they said "nursery rhymes" I didn't understand what nursery rhymes are. I had to ask: "excuse me, what's that?". So they told me that these are songs you sing before bedtime. Now, at the same moment that the Jewish students connect with Israeli nursery rhymes, I connect with a nursery rhyme which is Arab..."*

"Do you know anything about Mahmud Darwish at all? [...] I'm a bit angry with the Jews in the sense of, every psychologist with a Jewish grandmother, she will be mentioned, why not look for who was a psychologist in the Arab world? The Jews don't know either Taha Hussein or Fairuz, and they invite all bibliotherapists to a seminar and talk about the Holocaust! And I don't have a problem with that, but I sat there and just looked for somebody to say something, that there's more in the world than Jews. I wasn't there as one of the other guests, I arrived as a proper bibliotherapist [...] I was really looking for someone to tell me: "oh, you're here too". I missed that a lot."

"In the last seminar, the entire seminar was about the Holocaust."

Amal: *"The contents we studied were interesting."*

Majda: *"There are no Arab contents in the programme."*

"Some weeks ago I asked a music therapist who's Arab "why did you leave?" – 'Because everyone there is Jewish! I'm not going to supervision because they are with Jews.'"

Nur: *"There's total disregard of Arabic literature by the university [...] It saddens me that educated people disregard it [...] I would've expected something else from them. We have a lot of writers and there's no interest, if I see a book of Tzuria Shalev,*[35] *I'm very interested. This is related to the superiority with which Jewish society regards Arab society. It's a shame. Maybe you* (the Jews) *are the People of the Book and should be interested in other books? I hope your thesis brings it out. If in training I don't take Arab culture into account, though it's alive in the Middle East, this is very problematic because you're representatives of society. For example, I used to want to study music* (in university)*, but now I don't want to, because it'll all be only Western. I'll go to small institutions, because I don't want to go to an institution that disregards my culture. "*

Halla: *"The school year was loaded with difficult political and conflictual acts [...] Only once* (in the context of Hanuka) *I expressed my opinions despite it all. Not at the most personal level, I mean this space, you can really bring political stories and personal stories, it didn't prevent it [...]* (However) *there was no reference to it even though the outside reality stepped in, and there was no initiative by the lecturers to say: one moment, we can't go on this way."*

"There is no mention of huge stories that take place outside. It was very frustrating during my studies at university. The big story is, really, everything that happens here in the country and on the international level in relation to the state and in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian struggle. I mean, you can't disregard the text

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[35] A Jewish novelist.

*called The Flotilla, o.k.? You can brand it as a political story, not let it into the
rooms of academia, but at the end of the day political stories are stories too [...] I
think these places were very much pushed aside, very much suppressed in the
studies [...] You can't go on this way, and shut your eyes, and say that what's
happening outside belongs outside. We are outside. For brief moments we're inside,
most of the time we're outside. The lecturers didn't manage to do it because, today
I understand that it requires strength and courage to bring this topic up for
discussion without turning it into a political discussion [...] The wider political story
is no less important than the text, whether it is a romantic or a social text which
got some attention [...] We need some kind of filter to clean up and to really reach
other spaces with more security, confidence, and greater ability to give, and the
ability to receive too."*

Four of the interviewees were critical of the contents brought in the training, and
expressed their frustration about its total disregard of Arabic texts, Arab writers,
and their own identity as Arab Israeli citizens. The interviewees challenged the
lack of reciprocity and the one directional relationship that the training and its
lecturers have with their AIC students, and sharply criticised the marginalisation
of Arabic literature. One of the interviewees expressed her frustration about the
lack of reference to outside reality as a text in every way. In other words,
according to this observation, real events are 'texts'. In her opinion, political
texts would invite discussion of important unspoken-about material.

As a bibliotherapist who works with mixed groups of Jews and AICs, I recognised
the instructors wish to avoid a discussion with political overtones. This
avoidance stems from the sense of threat and fear of both instructor and
participants, which is related to the difficulty of being in a mixed group of
populations in conflict. The possibility of casting any participants in a non-
complimentary light gives rise to complicated emotions. The fact that the Jewish
participants have relatives in the army adds fuel to the fire. Therefore, the use of
political texts derived from external reality as texts to facilitate discussion and

contemplation is an interesting and challenging suggestion. In other words, framing instruction in an open inclusive way – one which sees antagonistic situations as opportunities for learning is not an easy task.

3.4 The language of the texts

> Not to speak in one's native language, to inhabit sonorities and arguments cut off from the body's nocturnal memory, from the bitter-sweet sleep of childhood... What did you dream up concerning those new people you spoke to in an artificial language, a prosthesis? (Kristeva, 2009, p. 9).

Kristeva's words capture my subjects' experience of the interview, the training, and their lives in general as well as my own experience of interviewing them, and not least the complexity of writing this thesis in a second language.

Rania: *"Translation for me was something of an effort all the time, and the effort was double, it was difficult."*

Majda: *"When I went to the supervisors to recommend books to me* (they replied:) *'find the counterpart of this in Arabic'."*
"I think there should be Arabic speaking supervisors."

Nur: *"There's an attempt in the programme to erase the Arabic language."*

Halla: *"There was no initiative of the lecturers to bring original texts of different languages translated, and offer them not as a fig leaf, to offer them as the most*

authentic place possible [...] Every language has its rhythm, even when we translate
languages something of the rhythm remains, there's something in the rhythm
which is stronger than any attempt to turn the language, to turn a text from X to Y
and think it really became Y as a text on its own."

As discussed above, the issue of language has a unique significance in my study. Hebrew, my mother language – the language of my thinking and writing – was also the language in which the interviews were held. Hebrew is also the language of the interviewees' training and their professional language. English, in which the study is written, is the language of my thesis supervisors and the University of Sussex. Two non-vernacular languages further influenced the study. First, the language of therapy, which is the interviewees' and my language of professional knowledge and practice, and second, the sociological language of my supervisors.

There are huge differences in the subtleties, the emotional shades, and sometimes in the route to memories which were coded in these various languages. My meaning here is the differences between different cultural languages and not word languages. Illouz (2012) draws the difference between therapeutic and sociological discourse based on Weber (1958, in Illus 2012) and Bourdieu (1984, in Illus 2012):

> Freud created, almost singlehandedly, a new language for
> describing the mind, discussing it and treating it. But as he did so
> he touched what has become one of the dominant and problematic
> signs of modern life, i.e. the private sphere (*ibid p.111).*

Illouz claims that the private therapeutic language has been dominant in Western discourse, and made sociological language (of collective processes and phenomena) secondary.

These many aspects of the issue of the differences among languages brought me closer to the experience of lasting frustration, which the interviewees described concerning the training and in general. Moreover, I have had my own share of frustration writing up the study, because I had trouble making myself clearly understood in English, which is a second language to me. The focus of my study is therapeutic, and therefore I stuck to the language of therapy, which is common to the interviewees and me but not always to my supervisors.

Coping with the challenge of having to handle several languages requires strength, and therefore the interviewees described the absence of Arabic from the training as a significant difficulty. In this light, I turn next to examine the interviewees' relationships with their classmates and lecturers in the training.

3.5 The dynamics among students

The study group, which included theoretical and practical studies, had about 20 students in total, studying together for three intensive days in a circle without being separated by desks. The interviewees shared with me their experiences of the relationships that had formed between them and the rest of the study group.

Rania: *"I sat in a classroom where everyone was Jewish."*

"To study bibliotherapy you have to have a very open minded personality, and be ready for all sort of things in order to survive [...] There were many times when I felt that the class had great difficulties with me. I felt: you're the Arab and we're the Jews, and when we studied group therapy, the lecturer said that Rania had become the scapegoat in the classroom [...] During the war in Gaza, there was something politically very strong, and I sat in class and sometimes cried, and I told them how when I come home, on the one hand I watch news reports they don't see. I watched Al-Jazira, and saw the places in Gaza where people got killed, I cared a lot and cried about my people who stood against the army. On the other hand I was worried and cried about my classmate who went to the war [...] In my society, a soldier who goes in and kills children and is killed, what's there to be sorry about?

It was a situation I couldn't separate from the studies. I couldn't sit down and only study bibliotherapy. It takes me back to what lecturer A told me during one lesson, about me taking on the role of a bridge, and what is this metaphor of a bridge, how much can a bridge carry? Lecturer A felt it very strongly, also in the bit of how much I was translating, and also, like, being a bridge all the time."

"One day I brought the poetry of Mahmud Darwish to class and translated it, the word 'shahid'[36] appeared there. As I was reading, one of the students, whose brother was killed in the war in Lebanon, got up and looked at me like I'm some kind of murderer, she left the class dramatically. Why? Because the word 'shahid' was there, which in Arabic means love, that someone is willing to die for love. For her, the connotation of the word 'shahid' did something that she got up and left class, and for me, even if I respect and understand, I didn't know then what happened with her brother."

Amal: *"I was the only Arab in the group of bibliotherapists."*

"Each one of us had to do an activity, and I did "the connection to the bridge" about the bridge between the peoples. She (a religious Jewish student) *said something about before and after and what brings them together, so I remembered that I'm a bridge between the two peoples, so that the passage goes through me, and since then me and my classmate became closer to each other."*

"One of the students told me at the end of the year: "I wonder how you felt among us". I truly didn't understand who 'us' were. I said: "among who?" My culture is a human culture, not a national culture [...] She said: "no, I meant that you're the only Arab in the group". I don't feel that you're Jews and I'm Arab [...]I told her. I don't have a sense for this cultural problem, this national problem. One of the students told me: "You have no accent". I said to her: "what sort of accent should I have?" I don't have this categorisation of nationality and religion. I respect the person as a person."

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[36] Shahid is a name given to a Muslim who was killed during the performance of a religious command or war.

Majda: *"During the bibliotherapy studies I was the only Arabic speaker."*

"My contact with some people was extremely authentic, there were all sorts of good relationships, and I think that there are places where this encounter is made possible."

"There were those for which I was the Arab pet. That I (the Jew) *will be a bleeding heart by treating you* (the Arab Israeli citizen) *nicely. Someone once told me: "well done for being here". I said to her: "why?" She answered: "because, look, we're here, nineteen of the twenty are* Ashkenazim, *and you're the only Arab". Meaning, the Arab who reached the exalted status reached only by pure* Ashkenazim, *you're different! You're one of the good Arabs who're more tolerable [...] At first it was like: we won't argue with you, we'll let you speak. But I know that for plenty of people it wasn't easy. There was someone there more religious and Haredi,*[37] *I suffered madly from her aggression, but I also had good friends that I enjoyed my relationship with."*

Nur: *"They accept only one Arab in every year."*

"Some people were very tolerant, and there were also extreme people there. It wasn't easy on the group level, and I suffered a lot, especially when I brought the story of the cafe.[38] *Many didn't identify with me, three or four sympathised with the cafe owner, said he was afraid. But I know he wasn't, and we had someone who fought in the Lebanon war. He said it troubled him a lot that there's an Arab in the group. Everyone joined this voice. It was very difficult for me. Later on they put the relationship right, but the moment you're told such a thing it blocks you off [...] There were some that I'd invited home, and then they told me: "we can't pay you the same courtesy". They literally told me that."*

"Although the experience was very unpleasant, I also learned a lot of things. Their attention to music, to literature, there're many things about them that I miss too. It's not exactly black or white [...] Later on I sued the Jewish cafe owner, and was

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[37] Ultra orthodox.
[38] Nur shared with the group that she was kicked out of a café during a war for wearing traditional Arab clothes.

happy about the compensations, with which I bought books in Arabic, and then they respected me a lot in the group, and it was easier for them to identify with me."

Halla: *"I was the only Arab student out of nineteen."*

"It's not easy to stand as the only student facing nineteen and say my statement [...] There was an army officer in the group, and he returned (from the war), *and started telling a very pastoral story, and all about going to some remote land and coming back a hero, and geese and a rainbow in the cloud, and I had to stop and say: "that's not it". I think this was a direct political reference, that had opened a crack which was good for discussion, but it was the one and only occurrence."*

In addition, Halla referred in this context to a situation in which she shared with the student group a political poem which 'speaks her' – the poem '*Revenge*' by Mohamed Taha Ali[39]: *"The reactions were very diverse. I was very happy about the diversity, and there's no doubt that this is not a simple text to relate to, definitely within a one hour discussion. There was discussion around themes that were raised by the text, of refugees, war, struggle, identity, collective vs. individual, how every generation carries the key or the horse, which is a symbol of the deserted Palestinian home, and of course there were emotional responses, which I'd divide to two: emotions in the sense that it really raises quite a few and not simple feelings of guilt, anger, frustration, confusion and fear and suspicion. Some truly dared to search for me through the texts as a woman and to touch my heart here [...] In this way you don't disregard the political story, and also locate me through the political story. The political story of Mohamed Ali Taha, but also my mother's or the Palestinian people I belong to [...] I came out really breath taken, because the text can be very much disguised, you can follow the collective, socio-political, while the personal can get swallowed [...] I was very happy I didn't recoil from touching the personal through the political [...] When we talk about the political then the connection there is much stronger because it is personal."*

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[39] An Arab Israeli poet living in Nazareth. The poem *Revenge* deals with the complex relationship between the two peoples after the catastrophe of the Nakba.

All five interviewees stressed the fact that they were the only Arab Israeli citizens in a group of Jewish students. Yet the interviewees noted their good relationships with some of their classmates. Studying in the training programme invited constant personal exposure. An asymmetrical group of students whose members belong to two peoples in conflict and in minority-majority relations gave rise to complex challenges.

It emerges from the words of the interviewees that the fact that they are AICs was ever present in the experience of their integration into the group. It is evident that all the interviewees referred to experiences of personal and national otherness as a loaded issue. In the situation of a continual conflict between the two national groups, this political reality entered the classroom despite the lecturers refraining from touching it. The interviewees described a sense of explosiveness, stigmatisation, otherness and alienation in the classroom by the manner of the Jewish students' attitudes towards them. This hostility coexisted with occurrences of mutual closeness and understanding. Their self-perception as AICs was described as being sometimes a cause for a painful internal rift. Many survival strategies are required in order to overcome the challenge of their integration into the study group.

3.6 The dynamics between interviewees and lecturers

The interviewees referred to the complexity of their personal relationship with the training's lecturers.

Rania: *"When I was accepted they* (the lecturers) *told me: "Rania, you will succeed!", and I went with that very much."*

"Lecturer A spoke about the fact that I took upon myself the role of a bridge."

"I felt the lecturers trusted in my ability, and this had a positive effect."

Amal: *"Lecturer Z said a wonderful statement that goes with me to this day: "you don't have to share what you wrote with others, you can keep it only for yourselves". I really liked her classes. I loved the reflection, she'd always hit the mark with her reflections [...] The lecturers allowed me not to share personal stuff written in the workshop with the group."*

Majda: *"Lecturer A really appreciated me, everyone knew I was her favourite girl. There was something wonderful about lecturer A. There was something really parental for me."*

With lecturer C: *"she always said: 'so charming and amazing, you're a bibliotherapist and with your own language and your mottos and your fighting spirit'."*

"Lecturer G really loved me, but sometimes she would throw words my way, like: "my daughter lives in a settlement (in the West Bank)". *She reminded me where she's coming from and what she believed and thought my place should be. Like the Arab who'd been taken out of his village and they built a settlement on his land and you should preferably also leave your place, and I think my fighting spirit wasn't easy for her."*

Nur: *"I had very interesting relationships with my lecturers, with lecturer A and B."*

"Lecturer V is very close to my heart. We're still in contact to this day."

Halla: *"One day we were asked – the entire university – to go out for a minute of silence about the fact that Gilad Shalit[40] was still in captivity. The lecturer told us and we all went out, without asking who's interested. I really didn't like the political involvement. If they never opened political issues it would've been glum,*

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[40] An Israeli soldier who was abducted by Palestinian forces and kept in captivity for five years.

but definitely to enforce one worldview is even more glum and dangerous. It's a
very one sided act, which greatly limits dialogue, choice, the possibility of another
decision to be heard. It left tension [...] When they opened the discussion of heroics
in Hanuka, I appreciate places like these a lot, because it gives you a choice, a
dialogue where you can neutralise and share experiences and emotions."

Most accounts of the lectures are positive when it comes to personal relationships, but not so when it touches on political issues. Concerning the dynamics of relationships between the interviewees and lecturers, two main tendencies emerge. On the one hand there is the warm, respectful and containing attitude of the training's lecturers, which was noted by four of the interviewees. On the other hand two interviewees noted in detail events of insensitivity on the part of the training's lecturers who seemed immune to the fact that there are Arab Israeli citizens in the class. Once again, it appears that the political enters the classroom, and the contact between the interviewees and lecturers was heavily loaded. From the words of the interviewees it emerges that as far as they were concerned, no way had been found for coping with the changing political reality of the relations between majority and minority groups during the training.

In summary, the interviewees have chosen to study and practice bibliotherapy mainly because they have a deep and lasting connection with the world of books and literature as a comforting factor (this is one of the universal functions of books). Some grew up in homes in which there were books and close figures who loved literature, and encouraged them to read. Some discovered books on their own, seemingly as an essential resource in coping with rejection, loneliness and the load of chores. Sometimes, reading was the cause of social isolation, while at other times it was used as therapy. In this context, it is important to note that reading books in childhood and adolescence was noted by the interviewees to be bibliotherapy without knowing it at the time, meaning, they had experienced the

therapeutic qualities of texts prior to the training period, and therefore chose to professionalise this resource.

The interviewees' account of their training revealed complex and even contradictory attitudes. On the one hand they benefited from the training and the lecturers' warm and sympathetic attitude, which had a significant contribution to their growth and personal development. They also noted positively their friendly relations with Jewish students in the group. On the other hand, there was detailed criticism of different aspects of the training. This criticism can be arranged along two main axes: the axis of the adequacy of the training to Arab Israeli society in terms of language, the literary contents studied, and cultural sensitivity. The second axis is the axis of the social integration of the Arab Israeli citizen students, each being the only one in her class, into a training programme in a Jewish university.

On the axis of adequacy, much attention was given to the fact that at least one lecturer brought the Arabic language to class, and her request of the interviewee to read in Arabic was described as a contributing experience to her development. Nevertheless, the interviewees emphasised that the training compartmentalises and tends to erase the Arabic language and its distinct literary world. This erasure made all the women feel that they encountered lack of empathy, discrimination and alienation.

The interviewees raised the need for recognition and acquaintance with Arabic texts of Arab writers in the Arabic language both in the classroom and in wider Jewish society. Bringing texts from Arab literature and in Arabic would be a significant contribution to improving their feelings and respect for the training programme and sense of professional identity. Texts from Arab literature are also a necessary and fundamental element of their bibliotherapeutic work with the AIC population. They are not exposed in training to Arabic terminology or all

the necessary body of knowledge in order to work with their AIC clients. There is a strong consensus that the training needs to provide Arab-aware skills for therapeutic work with children and adults in AIS, given how the cultural codes are different from the customs of what is seen as Western society. The inclusion of AIC supervisors in the training programme would allow for a fuller form of professionalisation, extending the knowledge of cultural differences.

The axis of social integration includes their feelings in the group of bibliotherapy students. Besides friendly and even close relationships with their training colleagues, the interviewees felt a sense of exclusion which gave rise to a feeling of inferiority. Alternatively, they experienced patronage as being deemed the 'good Arabs' who can be 'tolerated', as opposed to the rest of 'their' people. On top of the regular study assignments, they have had to cope with their experience of being constantly reminded of their 'otherness'. Being the only AICs in groups of about 20 Jews, they were prevented from relying on a 'fellow sufferer', which might have decreased their sense of not belonging. A study group in which Jews and AICs study together is also a meeting place of two group identities in a situation of an asymmetric relationship. Sometimes, this reality causes an internal rift between divided self-perceptions of the interviewees. The group is a microcosm of Israeli social reality as shaped by the Jewish-Palestinian conflict, even if it goes unmentioned. The interviewees emphasised their role as a bridge between the peoples, including the great and sometimes exhausting effort required of them in their one sided role as translators (I will discuss this aspect in detail in chapter 8).

It was important for the interviewees to emphasise that national political events, including conflicts that take place outside the classroom, cannot be ignored but must be addressed in the classroom, because they have a large impact on the reality of both groups. So far, lecturers have not taken political events into account, nor how these impact both groups. Politics and current affairs are related to what takes place mentally; they are present in the classroom even if

the proper way to raise them has not been found yet. As a result of the great effort required of them in order to 'survive' in the training, they cannot recommend studying bibliotherapy the way they did to everyone in AIS.

As discussed, the training has a significant and challenging role in the lives of the interviewees. In the next chapter, I discuss in detail the first challenging place in the lives of these women, which is the family home.

Chapter 6: The family story

> Tell me a story, the child says. Tell me a story. Tell me a story, daddy,
> please. The father then sits down and tells a story to his son. Or else
> he lies down in the dark beside him, the two of them in the child's
> bed, and begins to speak, as if there were nothing left in the world
> but his voice, telling a story in the dark to his son (Auster, 1982,
> p.166).[41]

I believe that a personal story is an orally transmitted narrative, in which there is a plot, characters, ideas and messages. In the Methodology chapter, I discussed the words of Spector-Marzel (2008) whose approach is that the life story is anchored in the context in which it is told, and that it brings to light a collective aspect. This means, that a life story contains motifs which are shaped in light of the dominant social norms, rules and expectations. The combination of personal and collective commemoration demonstrates a strategy of 'entwined narratives', in which the personal story is anchored in the community's macro narrative (Garden and Garden, 1988, cited in Spector-Marzel, *ibid.*).

Illouz (2008) describes the penetration of capitalism in any culture, and emphasises the contradictions it creates. Alongside the significant changes that take place in the job market, the development of modern capitalism badly harmed the family cell. The entry of women to the job market undermined men's and women's traditional roles. Social institutions (the market and state) may facilitate this change and while often liberating women to a degree, through gaining paid work, provide new support systems for the family cell. Consequently, the family becomes a source of conflicts. Illouz claims that this characterisation illustrates the social confusion created by modern capitalism, which demands many skills from both men and women, which require their

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[41] This text was mentioned by one of the interviewees.

individual effort while simultaneously assuming that women continue to fulfil their traditional roles.

Women's status in AIS has traditionally been inferior to the status of men. Their main task has been seen to be bearers of many children,[42] all of whom will belong to their husbands. They have traditionally had no decision-making role in the family. Women marry early by arranged marriages, without always being consulted on the matter. It has to be stated, however, that as education and income levels rise, more and more love-marriages are taking place. (Habbash, 1977, in Jeraissi, 1991).

Once a woman bears a child, particularly a male child, her family status improves. The preference for male children shows itself in all facets of social life, in their family status, their education, in inheritance customs (particularly as concerns land ownership) which ensure their economic status, etc. The role of adolescent daughters is defined customarily as a substitute mother for their younger brothers, educating the younger children and supporting the males of the family and their father's relatives. They are brought up to be modest, obedient, good housekeepers and educators of children (Haj-Yihye, 1994).

These disparities between AIC men and women reappear in Khouri-Wattad's more recent study (2009) of women AIC teachers. She highlights significant gender differences arising from the different self-images of each gender. Male AIC teachers tended to represent an ideal self-image, as having found all the right answers independently. Women teachers, by contrast, tended to describe themselves as lacking the tools to cope with problems. Abu-Baker (2000) has acutely remarked that the higher a woman's education is, the further up the professional ladder she climbs, the greater this dissonance becomes between her

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[42] The birth rate, however, has been falling among Moslem Arab Israeli families since 2000, from 4.7 children per woman in 2000 to 3.9 in 2007 (Central Bureau of Statistics,2010).

own expectations and the familial and social reality of gender inequality. The lack of any solution to their daily hardship at both the micro and macro level has a negative effect on these women's sense of wellbeing.

Many Israeli studies, by both Jewish and AIC scholars, have explored how women AICs cope with these discriminations and lifestyle changes (Jeraissi, 1991; Sa'ar, 1993; Wiener-Levi, 1993; Araf Ali, 1997; Khashivon, 1997; Haj-Yihye, 2006). Of course, the changes brought about by women gaining education and a career have brought both improvements and costs for women all over the world, but their effects on AIC women have their own unique character. All scholars, and especially Abu-Baker (2009), claim that the particular Arab form of male hegemony extends to every aspect of daily life, causing extensive mental and social stress. Rejecting the academic consensus, Abu-Baker holds that the lion's share of the benefits of modernisation for women have, ironically, gone to their men. Women are taking on roles hitherto reserved for men (e.g. earning money), but men give them no help in their customary female duties for fear of being mocked by their society. According to Haj-Yihye (1995), contact with Jewish society has accelerated the rate of social change in AIS, but many of the changes remain technical, and do not enter the value system. They have been changes of state not of value.

Like many minorities around the world (Jews, Chinese etc.) , the Arab Israeli minority conceives of education as a social and political tool, the educated are seen as agents of change, whose role is to set processes in motion, and pave the way for the struggle of the AIC population (Abu Asba, 2006, 2007; Mustafa, 2006; Mustafa and Arar, 2009). For example, one aspect which concerns women's education is that for women to appear unaccompanied in public violates the traditional norm that women stay at home, and that when she goes out she should always be accompanied by one of her male family members. Aburabia (2007) and Abu Lughod (1990) claim that women AICs are developing new strategies of following tradition in order to maintain and protect the process of

change. Thus, young women will agree to dress according to the religious tradition, and so surrender some of their independence, but only so that they are accessing formal education. This dynamic allows them to occupy a position midway between the two extremes of the social change process – tradition and individual self-fulfilment.

Another change, noted by Khalikhal (2005), is a rise in the percentage of unmarried women AICs, without a corresponding rise in the rate of unmarried AIC men. She attributes this phenomenon to AIC women postponing marriage until they finish their studies. By the time they complete their studies, men of their own age or older have already found younger women to marry, thus leaving these educated women single. Furthermore, highly educated women tend to adopt the Western values of equal importance to marriage and career, which brands them as inferior 'goods' in AIS.

The interviewees' stories bring a voice which immediately and 'colourfully' narrates the sociological findings mentioned so far. The concerns of bibliotherapists in general, and AIC bibliotherapists in particular, are well encapsulated in the personal story of Fadwa Tukan, one of the most prominent modern poets of the Palestinian people. Tukan broke through the wall of silence that patriarchal society had erected round her. She went from being an object to being a subject. The autobiography of Faduwa Tukan gave a unique platform for a personal and collective gender protest. She spoke for herself and for all Palestinian women, crying in defiance against the society's leaders, tradition and culture – and their masculine enforcers – who wanted to shape her personality and decide her fate. Based on Tukan's words, I examined the interviewees' personal, family and collective stories in depth, wishing to learn about the connection of the personal and family stories to the collective story – I will discuss this in further detail in Chapter 8 on the conflict and its repercussions. Here I discuss the family as a key conduit through which these women first learned about wider issues.

1. The first family figure to be mentioned

In many ways the interviewees related their work to their family backgrounds. In some ways this comes with the professional territory: therapists are required to analyse or 'know themselves' before they are allowed to practise, and as we have seen, the training programme involves elements of self-reflection. However, the family stories which emerged, often spontaneously, suggest a distinctive outlook on the sequence of family events, told to the interviewees by family figures. The first thing I examined in relation to the family story is the identity of the first family figure cited. For all the interviewees, it was a male figure, in case of four of them it was their father. One interviewee mentioned her husband.

Rania: *"When I was born, my dad wanted to call me by a name that starts with the same initial as my brother and sister."*

Amal: *"I remember that as an adolescent, my dad brought me the book* The Little Prince*."*

Majda: *"During a trip to Eilat with my husband, I got a phone call from a manager at work."*

Nur: *"My dad died some years ago, and another first degree relative of mine died a few years back."*

Halla: *"My dad was born in the south. My mom was born in a village that was driven out."*

Noting this figure can teach us about its centrality, prominence and significance in the life of the interviewees. Ogden (1989) discusses the first therapy session, and sees a unique value in the first sentences the client speaks. The anxiety of beginning something new, according to Ogden, gives rise to valuable personal material and a focal point. The first figure to be mentioned is especially significant, therefore, being the figure most present in the interviewees'

consciousness, whose memory requires no conscious effort and comes up spontaneously.

2. Representations of parents

During the training, a lot of room is given to reflection on the family stories of students, and much significance is given to the connection between these stories and the students' personal development. Thus, most of the interviewees described their relationships with their parents in detail, and therefore they are the first ones I discuss.

Rania: *"My dad's illness started when I was born, and I developed a life story for myself, that once upon a time there was a happy family, a couple in love, and two beautiful children, until I was born [...] My mom always said that my dad took a look at me and said: "what a beautiful girl". This sentence was very important for me, something of hope. My bond was very very much with my dad, but unfortunately it went along with the illness. He grew up in a poor home [...] My dad was one of the first Arab members of a free profession in Israel. It wasn't a trivial thing in our society here."*

"Dad wrote three notebooks of love poems for mom."

"My mom's house was a rich house, but I never saw books there. They were five sisters. My mom knows only too well how to make herself present [...] I don't remember her singing me to sleep, telling me stories, or playing with me. All she knew how to give me as far as I'm concerned was guilt. In my childhood, there was always criticism from her on how I don't understand that dad is ill, how come I want to have a birthday party, and asking them to buy me a Barbie. Even today she sits opposite me and criticises – my tummy, the hair and the clothes. On the other hand, she's always been a devoted woman, if not to us then to dad. On the phone she's a great person to talk to. During the crisis I've been through she came to my house, and when I used to wake up anxious in the middle of the night she'd hug me. Today, my mom has no siblings here, her uncles are in an Arab country which is in hostile relationships with Israel."

Amal: *"We're five daughters. My dad's mom told him: 'the girls need money and respect, so they can get married. You don't have money. You have to study'." Dad did a first and a second degree at a university. He was a teacher, and then an inspector in a government ministry so that his daughters would marry well, and have a good life. This is Arab mentality. What made him respected is not his money but his diplomas. My dad had a strong contact with the culture [...] At first he didn't know Hebrew, he went to study, gave everything he had to fit in [...] Dad wanted us all to study."*

"Dad spoke a lot about how he married my mom. He'd loved a distant relative of his from abroad, which I was named after, but his parents made him marry my mom. Why? Because she's an only child in her family, her parents had died and she had no one, and she had many lands under her name, and who's going to take all the lands? This was also something cultural. So he went along and married her."

"Dad was always waiting for a son, the daughters weren't enough for him. If my brother was born second, we wouldn't have had a big family."

"Mom was an orphaned child, she was raised by a grandmother. She was also a teacher, started working, and then left."

"Dad never cheated on her. That's what I believe, they had a very good life."

Majda: *"I think I was the parental child in the family."*

Nur: *"I came from a very oppressive family, very traditional, having a hard time with women's liberation. Especially my dad, and he hated books, couldn't stand it if someone read the paper, and couldn't stand it that I read before going to bed. I had such a silencing father [...] If I go on dealing with my childhood and what happened there then I'll get depressed and mad."*

"Dad was a person who didn't know how to read and write. My mom was a communist. They got married, and along the years he managed to degenerate her intellectually. My dad oppressed my mom for years."

Halla: *"My dad decided in his youth to leave his parents' house. He came to an area where there were land owners, a large part of them Arabs with plots. They were looking for workers for weeding and ploughing and cleaning and planting seeds etc. My dad worked for a time with a very well known Palestinian family, and faced the hardships of life and daily livelihood from an early age, it's not easy, perhaps in very very difficult life circumstances, a boy is forced to go out to the big world at fifteen or fourteen. He left the greenhouse of mom and dad, to spread wings and cope with difficult employers and exploitation [...] His transition from a uniquely Arab culture to a Hebrew culture and from 'the child of' to his own man at a very young age isn't taken for granted [...] He worked to earn a living, however he also knew that he wants to be his own boss, and he decided at some very early stage to take on the whole business of orange picking. He created a contracting business. 25 Palestinian Arabs worked vigorously under him. In my childhood, dad was very busy with the business, and at some point he fell ill and he went through a long healing process."*

"*My mom lived in a village and when she was 5-6, the army – the* Hagana[43]*, the* Lechi[44] *– came into the village. After a not so simple battle between the locals* (the Arabs) *and the army, the people of the village were forced to escape. They escaped and fled because there was a very big danger. So I have a mother whose home was taken. Her family moved through many villages and towns. She was a* fallach[45]*, had a blind father and a stepmom who was good to her. She was an only daughter. She migrated from here to there, but also when you leave everything, or are forced to leave home, it takes many many years to build it up from scratch [...] During my childhood my mom was very busy."*

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[43] The military organisation of the Jewish settlement in Palestine during the British mandate.

[44] The *Lechi* – acronym for Israel's Freedom Fighters – was a Jewish underground that acted against the British administration.

[45] The term *fallach* (peasant) was originally used to distinguish between the nomadic Bedouins and the agricultural population of the local villages.

"There were all sorts of interpersonal intrigues between my mom and my dad."

Each interviewee tells a unique story about her parents. Three interviewees emphasised that their parents' marriage stemmed from material and class interests. It is evident from the manner in which their stories were told as well as their contents that the interviewees do not share their parents' ideals. These stories reveal the dual aspects of belonging and otherness, and mainly the yearning not to have the same type of marriage as their parents, and be careful of being drawn into playing a prewritten role.

Nevertheless, their personal sense of belonging to the collective narrative is evident. Bar-On (1987) presents Israeli society – Jewish and Arab alike – as a post traumatic society. The Holocaust, the Nakba, and the continual conflict were all present in the interview in both my subjects' mind and my own.

As mentioned, only one interviewee did not refer in any detail to her parental figures. However, she curiously described her place within the family as that of a parental child. It seems that this respondent understood the main focus of this study to be about the training of bibliotherapists (to a greater extent than the rest), in relation to which she cooperated in a particularly detailed, wide and deep manner. She raised her family story only very briefly, unlike the other interviewees who discussed the matter of their familial stories alongside their personal lives.

3. Attitudes to family figures

3.1 Father

<div align="center">

That my rival had

A mother

Waiting for him,

Or a father

Who would put his right hand over

The heart's place in his chest

Whenever his son was late

Even by just a quarter-hour

After he is due –

Then I would not kill him,

If I overcame him.

Poems (Heb.), Muhammad Taha Ali, p. 227

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Rania: *"My relationship with my dad was a relationship of strong love, which I hardly see around in many fathers, which went along with fear of his death [...] I was very much glued to him. Dad always wanted to kiss me. I sat on his knees until I was ashamed [...] When I was interviewed for bibliotherapy too, he was the topic of the interview."*

Amal: *"My dad is particularly significant. Dad took care of me all through my childhood. My dad gave me a direction, and before he passed away he was the only one who supported me [...] Now I'm in a relationship, if my dad were still alive I wouldn't have this relationship, because my partner wouldn't have been enough. Dad wanted me to marry someone with great abilities. Anyone I was in a relationship with, dad had the final word. He blocked off all the men, maybe for the best."*

Nur: *"I was very strong minded with my dad. I said: "I'm going to study, no matter what you say". He oppressed my mom for years [...] I always say that there's a victim in the oppressor too."*

Halla: *"My dad had ambition. A 15 year-old boy nowadays can't cope with a difficult life like he had. The life they led, that they managed to struggle and grow out of and not give up on themselves in difficult life situations, and move forward."*

An appreciative and even idolising attitude to their fathers is a central motif in the words of most interviewees. Their pictures of the father is more one dimensional compared to their mothers, which is more multidimensional and dual (see next section). As a bibliotherapist, I am familiar from children's fairytales, with the ancient universal rage of daughters towards their mothers and the daughters' attempt to rely on a strong man. Rich (1976) sees the complexity of the role of motherhood as an outcome of social forces. Mothers and daughters share the same social role and expectations in a culture which excludes women from power. As the daughter shares her lower status with her mother, she perceives the mother as responsible for it and the resulting damage to her self-esteem. It may be that the interviewees, like women all over the world, expressed disappointment at their mothers' heritage of weakness, dependency, and submission to the man.

3.2 Mother

> We are all prone to mother-hating because we live in a
> society that says that mothers can and should do all for their
> children (Chodorow, 1978, p.19).

Rania: *"In my experience I'm bereft of a mother, she doesn't exist, even though she's a very active person. I very much long for my mom to see me in a way*

which isn't criticism [...] When I was in a mental crisis, feelings came up of "where were you? You looked after dad, but what about me?" [...] The crisis that I went through arose in her some awareness, and she appreciates what I've been through very much. If she sat here she'd tell you: "I'm proud of her" (as expressed in the original)*. But even when she says "I'm proud of her", it's hard for me."*

Amal: *"for me dad was the main thing."*

Nur: *"My mom already started getting old, and it's not easy seeing her like that, in this situation, and a first degree relative of hers took his own life not so long ago, and she doesn't have anyone, and I can't be there. I went to get some nursing help for her after an operation she'd had."*

Halla: *"For a very large part of my life, mainly when I was young, I experienced loneliness a lot. Within a large and noisy home* (of 12 children) *I heard myself tell my mom and dad: "where are you? Why did you leave me on my own?" My mom was very present, but her presence was very scarce for me [...] I see the many hours that I spend with my mom today, they come from a girl's wish to be with mommy. A kind of compensation and correction we're both doing. I mean the intimate place, the personal that a large family can't always provide."*

Most of the interviewees described emotionally absent mothers. Fanon's work may shed light on the interviewees' relation to their parents. Fanon (1967, 1983, cited in Zonenstein, 2008) discusses the way colonialist rule shapes the mind, and describes how the relationship between conqueror and conquered are internalised by the subjugated side. According to Fanon, the conquered side struggles to survive in the world, is submissive, and considers itself to be less than fully human. The colonialist violence is

thereby internalised by the subjugated side and becomes self-addressed. This is a universal phenomenon which affects the Arab Israeli father and mother alike, but the words of the interviewees imply that their evaluation of their mothers was more severely hurt. The mothers are hurt by the dual suppression of nationality and womanhood and the interviewees react to their perception of this painful and unflattering view of their mothers.

In addition, it is evident that the interviewees were influenced by common sources of information in Israel and elsewhere, and are versed in the therapeutic discourse. The dominant therapeutic discourse in Israel gives a central place to narratives about childhood and early family relationships. The combination of the impact of modernisation with traditional family values is prominent in the interviewees' life stories.

3.3 The place of other relatives

In Arab Israeli society, the family structure is multi-generational, and many figures of the extended family share in children rearing.

Grandfather

> There evening will smile and bend down to comfort me
> Like a wonderfully affectionate granddad
> And then will fade
> In the roar of songs of wine and spices.
> (Poems (Heb.), Muhammad Taha Ali, p. 59)

Rania's grandfather: *"Granddad was a very rich man, he didn't work, he had a lot of property and he had five daughters. We heard that he drank because he wanted to forget this disaster of having only daughters. He used to sit in the*

shops downstairs and drink Arak like you drink water, he was an alcoholic. I don't remember ever seeing him sober. He always smelled of Arak."

"When I was ten, I went with my aunt one day to visit my granddad. As we were coming up the stairs, the neighbours ran and told us: "hurry, the house is on fire!" I saw my granddad with fire coming out of his pyjamas. They took him to the hospital, but the burns were in very high degree. The fire poisoned his body, and he passed away two months later. He wanted to warm up the house and turned on the kerosene heater, because he knew that I was coming over [...] The carpet burned down and he didn't notice at all because he was drunk. There was a time that I felt really guilty."

"I don't remember there being a good partnership between by granddad and grandma. The anger was turned against my grandma for not providing him with sons, as is the custom in our society. If he had a son he wouldn't have been drinking and all this wouldn't have happened."

Amal's grandfather: *"My dad's dad brought my dad to an Arab village in the north, where my mom's lands were. He told him: "you'll marry her and these lands will be yours". He decided for him who he's going to marry! And they always used to remind him of these words: "you didn't love her at first, you married her for her lands". It's a matter of an individual in a collectivist society, who doesn't have the right to decide."*

"They offered my dad who's been teaching English in a very unique method to come to Harvard to study at their expense [...] Dad happily went to his dad to tell him, what was his dad's response? "No, no, no. What, are you going to leave your daughters to me? What am I going to do with them? Your kids will be here! And don't tell me: I'm taking the girls with me. What will become of them? Who're they going to marry?" He came off the idea."

Two of the interviewees mentioned their grandfather as a significant figure in the life of their family. Both described older male figures in patriarchal

families, in which power and authority relations are very much present. In these relations, the older man is in a position of power, and the younger has no right to decide the course of his own life. The other interviewee emphasised another aspect of traditional patriarchal society – having only daughters is considered a major disaster in AIS. Even today, Arab Israeli men find it difficult to live without a son.

Grandmother

> The girl had a grandmother who loved her very much. The loving grandmother knitted her beloved granddaughter a red woollen coat and a red velvet hood. The coat and hood suited the girl so much that everyone called her Little Red Riding Hood (Grimm's Fairytales, p. 78).

Rania's grandmothers: *"My poor grandma (dad's mom) had two golden bracelets. She gave one to me at the age of ten and one to my sister. Usually you get a bracelet on your wedding, but she said: "come on, bring me the handkerchief from the closet". She loved me a lot […] My dad was her favourite. It's a kind of love that I want somebody to give to me, no matter if my hair is done, pure love. It's something that I miss a lot."*

"This grandma was a villager, had a headdress, she brings up lots of emotion in me. She used to make us a basket, she put everything good, the best of the best in the basket for us, Meluhia[46] *for example […] She used to pick the freshest leaves for us. She took care that my mom won't get dirty. Every day we used to go and get this basket from her. It's wrong to say a poor family, because it had a lot. She didn't mind sitting from morning till afternoon peeling garlic, her pleasure was to give to us. I remember her as something* (amazing)*. To this day we, all the grandchildren are reminded of her by the jars of jam and pickles."*

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[46] Meluhia is a plant of the Mallow family used in Palestinian cooking.

"She had lots of suffering and pain over my dad's illness, in addition to the fact that the healthiest uncle died of a heart attack [...] She's the woman I saw crying the most."

"My mom's mom came from an Arab country which is hostile to Israel, her entire family came from there [...] She was a woman who was always concerned for her haircut and nails. Even to the market she used to go with bright black shoes [...] I was with her a lot. When I slept over at her place, she used to wake up in the morning with a transistor next to her bed, and listen to the prayer from the church in her country, the same prayer that her family was listening to. She was always glued to the radio, and then I saw the pain, and she was crying! Crying for her homesickness, and for the fact that her family is over there and she can't see them, they can't visit her. She was very lonely here [...] Her husband slept in a different room. When I visited her, I used to sleep next to her [...] She had a large metal biscuit box with letters and photos of her family. In '82 they started handing out visas, so they started visiting grandma, the cousins from the Arab country came with their car, and on Christmas of '82 the entire family went to see them and visited the uncles."

Halla's adopted grandmother: *"I had a Jewish grandmother I'd adopted. She was a descendant of those expelled from Spain. She knew Ladino.[47] My connection with the Hebrew language or Jewish Israeli identity was through her. My mom knew Ladino because of her. She was like a mother in every way for my mom and a grandma to me. She lived in the same plot of land with us. She had a small house in a huge courtyard of guava and citrus trees and a shed. The trees in the garden were both ours and hers. This is the grandma who actually raised me in every way, I have very fond and beautiful memories of her [...] There was a period when my mom had to go out to work and someone had to look after us. My mom learned a lot of things from her, cooking, bringing up children, and all sorts of interpersonal intrigues between my mom and my dad [...] I could go into her house, open the fridge and get Kashkaval cheese and olives. Her room was so pretty and clean,*

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[47] A Latin-Jewish language spoken by descendants of the Spanish Expulsion of 1492.

shining white, exceptional. I make an effort every winter to put a bouquet of daffodils in her memory, because she used to grow white daffodils in the entrance to her house."

Only two of the interviewees mentioned their grandmothers, and yet three grandmothers were mentioned who were very significant to them. They shared sweet memories that are cherished in their hearts, somewhat in contrast to memories of their grandfathers. The interviewees emphasised the good relationships they had with their grandmothers, how much they miss them, and their personality traits. According to the interviewees, the relationship between grandmother and granddaughter was characterised by great intimacy, caring, warmth, love and emotional and mental support. The bond was mutual, and the granddaughters were a source of comfort for the grandmothers from pain and loneliness. The stories of two of the grandmothers contain their historical and national narratives. One of the grandmothers mourned her disconnection from her family's historical roots, as she was separated from them because of her marriage, and her pain accompanied her life and her relationship with her grandchildren. A third grandmother was noted in the context of a prime example of good neighbourly relations and coexistence between Jews and Arab Israeli citizens. It should be emphasised that this relationship of grandparenthood was not a result of blood relations, and they even belonged to nationalities in conflict, and still a strong and deep human bond has been formed over the years.

Aunt

Rania: *"I often slept at my aunt's house, mom's sister. She was a surrogate for the mom I was missing. I looked after her children, who had poor eyesight. She was a very very significant and present figure. She's the only one of the sisters who died a few years ago, because she was so full and giving. We felt that she couldn't take it anymore."*

Halla: *"I had an aunt who died in very very bad and difficult circumstances. My mom can't bear speaking about her, she has bitter and painful memories, and it's hard for her to discuss it [...] A very large part is concealed in my mom's heart. When my aunt was five she died. It was close to the period that the army, the* Lechi *or the* Hagana *came into the village [...] My mom tells it really vaguely, that she had a sister a year younger than her, which as it turns out either she stayed or they forgot her or they were afraid to come to the village and get her, or she was simply lost and they didn't know what happened to her. In retrospect they realised she'd died in the village, and her story is not really known to this day. If she'd gone on living she would've been my only aunt."*

Two of the interviewees mentioned sisters of their mothers as significant aunts. The one was significant in her life and the other in her absence. One aunt stood out for her exceptional devotion, something that caused her death in the family's view. The story of the dead aunt of the other interviewee is interlocked with the tragic collective story of the Palestinian people. As in any trauma, great distress is evident in the very act of raising the memory. This story leads directly to the next section, in which I locate the roots of the family story in the collective story of the Palestinian people.

4. The collective story

> When..."individuals" deal with "individuals", they are not necessarily dealing with each other as individuals; quite often they behave primarily as members of well defined and clearly distinct social categories (Tafel, 1978, from Waisman, 2010).

As mentioned in the introduction, after the war surrounding the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, Palestinians divided into the following three groups: *the refugees*, who were forcibly expelled across the new borders into other Arab states; *the uprooted*, who fled or were driven from their homes and land and moved to other Arab villages and towns within the new Israel; and *the clingers*,

who stayed put in their homes and lands. The significance of their belonging to one of these groups has shaped the historical memory of families as well as their manner of coping ever since. An examination of this constitutive event and its mention in the interviewees' stories sheds light on the collective aspect of their family stories.

Rania: *"My grandma on my dad's side came from a large place she never left, which was then a village* (and turned into a city)*."*

Amal: *"My parents were born before '48 in an Arab village. My mom stayed in '48, she didn't leave. "*

Majda: *"My parents' families provided shelter until the situation was balanced again and they could go back to the villages. We're not of the ones who escaped, and not of the ones who were expelled. I come from a village in which all the residents never left, even took in families from surrounding villages."*

Nur: *"My dad told me stories about my granddad, about Arab villages around my village which were erased and disappeared next to us. It's not simple. It wasn't easy for them, as there were always problems. He spoke about the experience of a village which is ours and we're in constant contact with – and is suddenly no longer there."*

Halla: *"My mom experienced the catastrophe of the Palestinian people firsthand She was six when the village got expelled. She moved with her mom and dad to a nearby village where they hosted them very respectfully [...] Her dad managed to build a home and become a resident in every respect [...]] My mom had a younger sister who lost in the chaos [...] It was the collective issue."*

All the interviewees referred in their stories to different aspects of the Nakba. One interviewee emphasised the destruction of the Arab villages in the vicinity of her family's home. Three of the interviewees proudly emphasised the fact that their families stayed in their homes during the Nakba, and were thus not among those who were driven off or fled, as a clear expression of *tzumud*.

It is evident from the words of all the interviewees, that the Jewish occupation was central to their family stories. These are told in detail across several generations, and deemed essential to the self-conception of Arab Israeli citizens. Haver (1999, cited in Spector-Marzel (2009) provides some interesting observations on the issue of coping with death in collective stories. He considers the close identification with the national narrative of the war of 1948, which is found in both peoples in Israeli society, to be a solution to the existential problem of death, which threatens anyone's basic sense of security:

> Opposite the certainty of his private, personal death, the war victim goes on living forever on the national plane. (*Ibid*, p.268-269).

The glorification of war victims by both Jews and AICs in Israeli society is the 'reward' for laying down one's life for the homeland. Both conflicting groups in Israel have turned death into a heroic act for the sake of the collective, and this makes it easier to understand the human emotional need to hold by the 'selected trauma' (Hazan, 2011) as a means of belonging and security. There are definitely many death stories in the collective narrative of the Jewish people.

It is not a simple matter to understand the significance of all this as a Jewish interviewer, a member of the dominant majority. In listening to the family stories of members of a minority group, I had to confront several questions, which I will try to answer next.

First, I discuss some methodological questions dealing with the form of the stories. Form comes into play in their reference to this story as a constitutive event, which has shaped both their personal and professional life. Further confirmation of this came from the interviewees' willingness to share their story fluently in depth and detail with me. The longer the conversation lasted, the higher was their commitment and readiness to share, and correspondingly their expectation that their opinions and thoughts would receive recognition and expression in the study, and consequently lead to changes in the training programme.

Though all interviewees expressed their relation to the national collective trauma with equal determination, there was great diversity in the relation of the content of their stories to the form in which they were told. Some of them also expressed caution in different ways. Already at the start of the interview, one of them addressed many personal questions to me (reversal of roles); another interviewee avoided telling her family story. These facts all testify to an ambivalent attitude towards an intimate conversation with me. This implies that the interviewees were interested in the study lending a voice to their hardships as a mistreated minority group, particularly in the training. Discussing the personal and familial matters, however, was more complicated for most of them, and they were hesitant at times.

More important still are the questions of content, about these bibliotherapists' own relation to trauma, a trauma that entwines the personal and the political. As is to be expected, the Nakba was noted as a strong and significant experience, on the basis of the stories the interviewees have heard from their older relatives. They referred both to the history and its psychological and social implications, largely unrecognised by the Jewish Israelis. As most scholars have found (Spector-Marzel, 2008; Lieblich, 2010; Shore and Tzabar-Ben Yehoshua, 2010), my study also confirms that often the personal story is directly connected to the collective one. Can the exposure of the interviewees to difficult and painful

family stories with lasting repercussions be seen as an important factor in their choice of a therapeutic profession? How can training programmes which include AIC students be designed, not to disregard this difficult collective family background?

It can be seen that the powerful position of the patriarchal head of the family is another scarlet thread woven into the interviewees' stories, and in this their stories again support the findings of other scholars (Spector-Marzel 2008, Lieblich 2010). A father who yearned for a son throughout his life; an authoritarian and oppressive grandfather; a silencing father; a father who died from illness, whose figure is very much present; a supportive and admired father, who had the power to determine his daughter's fate, including her ties with potential marriage partners. Many stories of death and sickness of the men in the family can also be found in the family stories. This stands out in particular considering the age spectrum of the interviewees (29-59). This highlights the poor health of the fathers, which may be related to the inadequacy of medical care they have received on the one hand, and the emotional and social burden troubling them on the other.

Relationships with their grandmothers were noted by two of the interviewees as highly significant in contributing to their personal development. They were remembered by virtue of their warmth, devotion and closeness to the interviewees. We may conclude that a warm and containing attitude of positive family figures contributed to the interviewees' ability to cope with national and gender marginalisation.

The profession of bibliotherapy combines an affinity to literature with an aptitude for personal connections. The interviewees' will to focus on a profession in which communication and personal bonding are major tools is based, apparently, on significant personal and family relationships and the belief

in their importance. Miller (1992) concludes that the unique skills of therapists have to do with their distressful reality no less than their natural talents. This suggests that children who developed sensitivity, a capacity for emotional sharing, and 'sophisticated antennas', had often grown up in environments in which they had to put themselves in the service of people with emotional deficits, and thus they were exposed to the therapeutic practice at early stages. Doubtlessly, acquaintance with the interviewees' family and collective stories contributes to our understanding of their professional stories.

Listening to their painful stories, when AICs even today regard Jewish people as responsible for the Nakba, was a challenging and emotionally difficult experience for me. The foremost difficulty I had as an interviewer was being flooded with guilt. This guilt, which stirred in me in relation to the morality of the Jews during the Nakba, may indicate a covert yet important layer that is usually absent from the discourse of the training and the practice of bibliotherapy.

Next, I will discuss the connection between the interviewees' family and collective stories and their beloved texts.

Chapter 7: Texts which Speak Me

The assumption that a text can provide the occasion for a more complex and rich discussion than direct speech is associated, according to Tzoran (2000), with the feeling which occurs sometimes during reading, that the text expresses our thoughts in a more eloquent form. Tzoran claims that literary speech is more precise, and this precision stems from the very complexity and multiplicity of the meaning of its statement. A dialogue with the texts broadens the world of the reader and opens new perspectives for observation. Bibliotherapists are accustomed, both during their training and their practice, to 'speak themselves' through texts. This can sometimes shed new light on their hardships as well as their client's hardships.

In the second session of the interview, I asked the respondents to choose texts which they considered 'speak them' at present, and they cooperated keenly with this request. I did not ask about texts from the past, believing that their adult perspective is a product of their training and is the central experience relevant to the aims of this study. I noticed that the interviewees' choice of a text which 'speaks them' allowed for a deeper understanding of their personalities, both by extending their discussion of their internal world and by revealing their political-national views. For me, this discussion sharpened the feelings, thoughts, and positions they described in relation to professional choices, family background and social context.

All in all, nineteen different texts were mentioned, and I present all of them here. Perhaps unsurprisingly, 17 of the 19 texts from different genres were written by various Arab writers, though interestingly, only four of them were Palestinians. All the mentioned writers were internationally acclaimed for their originality, liberalism and conscience regarding various issues, including the Jewish-Palestinian conflict in particular. They have also won prestigious prizes. More

than two thirds of the references were of Arabic poems by Arab poets. Seven poems by the same poet Mahmud Darwish were mentioned altogether by four of the interviewees. A Jewish Israeli writer and a Portuguese writer received a mention. Five of the nine writers were men and four were women. As I have often experienced in the bibliotherapy room, texts are generally chosen not only for their overt content or form, but for the personal history of the writer and his or her creation. In every culture, a person feels close to his or her compatriots, especially famous ones, and this is also the case with the interviewees. They emphasised the political and critical overtones of the poetry and its writers, and their challenge to the *status quo,* including the state of Israel and the status of women in society (particularly when women writers were concerned). The interviewees elaborated in detail on the personal history of the Palestinian national poet Mahmud Darwish and the woman writer Ahlam Mosteghanemi, whom they associated with the political situation of the Palestinians and Arab women respectively, as I discuss shortly.

Below, I initially present the actual words of the interviewees regarding texts they mentioned. Sometimes the interviewees spoke at length about the text, while at other times they expressed themselves succinctly, merely mentioning the name of a text which 'speaks them' without explaining the reasons behind their choice. Often, talking about a text was used as an opening through which direct references to significant issues emerged, which I discuss in detail in the chapter on The Palestinian-Jewish Conflict, Identities and Therapy.

Before I present the interviewees' significant texts, it is important for me to discuss the issue of translation and asymmetry in both languages, Arabic and Hebrew in general everyday use, and in particular, the translating of texts in this study. The issue of translating texts is concealed in political and national importance relevant to this study.

One of the hardest moments for me in the interviews was to hear the interviewees' justified criticism of the compartmentalization of Arabic and Arab

writers from bibliotherapeutic training. In my view as a bibliotherapist, it is vital that the participants both in therapy and training should have texts in their mother tongue. One interviewee's question to me, "Do you know who Mahmoud Darwish is?!" forced me to acknowledge my ignorance of Arabic literature in comparison to their proficiency in Israeli Jewish literature. I learnt from them that their job as a bridge between the two groups is exhausting and frustrating not only because of the translation required of them in training (from Arabic to Hebrew), but also the asymmetry and hurtful discrimination. Indeed the language and the special codes through which we communicate is the basis for acquiring a therapeutic profession.

Arabic is one of the two official languages in Israel. It is a compulsory subject for all pupils in grades 7-10 in Jewish schools, but a school not interested in teaching Arabic can opt to teach French instead. In other words, essentially, Israeli students do not have to learn Arabic and most do not know the language at all. Despite the premise that exposing Hebrew speaking pupils to the Arabic language would contribute to a shared existence, in actual fact, political motives of those in power determine policies.

The status of language reflects the political reality as expressed in the issue of translation (or non-translation) of texts from Hebrew to Arabic and vice versa. For instance, the books of the writer Ahlam Mosteghanemi (see later in the chapter) have been translated into many languages but have never officially been translated into Hebrew. The books and articles of the psychologist and researcher, Marwan Dwairy, very relevant to therapeutic work in the multicultural society of Israel, have not been officially translated into Hebrew. Only a certain section of Mahmoud Darwish's (see later in the chapter) and Fadwa Tuqan's poetry, the non-political-nationalist part, has been translated into Hebrew.

Bourdieu (1991) relates to the negation of language as a way of guarding dominant social structures. Robinson (1989) also claims that the literary and cultural canon is a kind of gentleman's agreement that hides behind its nice, aesthetic appearance, political status and national interests (Robinson 1989, p.572 in Haver 2007, p. 325). Haver (2007) emphasizes that literary texts that merit preferred status are the definite fulfillment of a political group. They are distributed through society's institutional organizations, they win support or at least a priori legitimacy of "cultural agents" and they mainly populate school and university curricula. Haver relates to texts belonging to the canon and texts rejected by it. This compartmentalized judgment presents society's norms as universal norms of general validity, seemingly a-political and without vested interests.

How much more so translations, that undergo a process of classification and compartmentalization on behalf of the institution of canon. A translation is a work recognised as fit to be translated into the language of canonic literature and as such it merits canonic status. Haver claims, in accordance with the positions of researchers that examined other fields in Israel, as I presented in the Literature Review (Raz 2010; Kamir 2007; Nitsan-Shiftan 2000), that modern Hebrew literature adopts, in different ways and various amounts, most of the canonic rulings of western literature. In other words, western classics are considered fitting to be translated into Hebrew. "In this way, eastern texts are bound by western norms that declare themselves a universal authority" (Haver, 2007). Most Palestinian literature written in Arabic in Israel is not included in the canon of Hebrew literature .

The interviewees' words reinforced the situation. They cast light on the sad reality of the bibliotherapeutic training in which they participated, wherein the fate of works in their mother tongue – Arabic, remains "out of bounds". Rachel Tzoran, the founder of the bibliotherapy programme in Israel and Haifa University (where all the interviewees were trained), expressed sadness and

shamefully shared her ignorance of Arabic texts that AIC students of bibliotherapy presented in the class 'Textual Identity' under her guidance.

"*I'm embarrassed at not being familiar with it, and promise myself to study it later.*" (from the interview with Rachel Tzoran that appears in the Literature Review). In practice, all Israeli Jewish society and all the institutions that deal with bibliotherapeutic training – have adopted (unconsciously)a view and designed a policy that maintains power relations to which we have become accustomed.

Furthermore, the term 'group unconscious' to which a number of researchers refer (see Literature Review p. 75), contributes an additional very relevant angle to my understanding of these power relations. According to these power relations "we are the good and right ones" and they are "the others, the bad and guilty ones." By these definitions the act of translating Arabic texts to Hebrew in Israel could be construed as recognizing the existence and suffering of "others" – Arab Israeli citizens; recognition that breaches the equation of suffering and self-righteousness that we are accustomed to and that we have inherited from previous generations. It seems that in order for a real change to come about a painful process of seeing and acknowledging the other is required. I attach an appendix to the thesis with the translated texts. Bringing these texts into the bibliotherapeutic repertoire would expose teachers and students to masterpieces written by Arabs and Arab Israeli citizens in particular, which would achieve one of the goals of my study.

The translation of poetry is a highly sensitive matter. For some of the poems, I was unable to find any authorised translations beyond those that exist on the internet. For this reason, I commissioned the translation services of Dr. Sharron Shatil a philosophy lecturer at the Open University in Israel, who knew these works, had the language skills required at this level and was also committed to

the ethical aims of this thesis. In the case of three poems of Mahmud Darwish, the interviewees had themselves taken the trouble to translate from Arabic to Hebrew, and then Dr. Shatil translated it from Hebrew to English. The main advantage of the interviewee's translation is that it was made by people of the same culture as the writer, who could understand the poems' subtleties. All these texts are intended for use by Hebrew speaking teachers who do not speak Arabic at all, and for whom the Hebrew translations made by the interviewees are a very important thing. For AIC bibliotherapists and students, the importance lies in the list of texts itself, since it cannot be given to them by the training staff who are working in Hebrew. All the texts are available to them in the original Arabic. Thus, the English translations of the texts, which were made by Dr Shatil from the Hebrew versions produced by the interviewees, serve only for this thesis, and it is not essential to have them officially translated.

First, I will list the texts, according to genre and the frequency of their mention by all of the interviewees.

Poetry

• 'Between Rita and my Eyes there is a Rifle', Mahmud Darwish بين ريتا وعيوني, محمود درويش بندقية

• 'The Dice Player', Mahmud Darwish لاعب النرد, محمود درويش

• 'Think of Others', Mahmud Darwish فكر بغيرك, محمود درويش

• 'The Ready Script', Mahmud Darwish سيناريو جاهز, محمود درويش

• 'The Eternity of Cactus', Mahmud Darwish أبد الصبار, محمود درويش

• 'Dialogue with Death', Mahmud Darwish حوار مع الموت, محمود درويش

• 'Rubama', Muhammad Taha Ali ربما, طه محمد علي

• 'Tea and Sleep', Muhammad Taha Ali شاي ونوم, طه محمد علي

• 'Revenge', Muhammad Taha Ali انتقام, طه محمد علي

• 'My Friend', Fadwa Tuqan صديقي, فدوى طوقان

• 'In the Beginning there was the Woman – The Female', Souad Al-Sabah في البدء كانت المرأة – أنثى, سعاد الصباح

• 'On Teaching', *The Prophet*, Khalil Gibran عن التعليم, النبي, جبران خليل جبران

Prose, Plays and Biographical Writing

• *Memory in the Flesh*, Ahlam Mosteghanemi ذاكرة الجسد, احلام مستغانمي

• *Chaos of the Senses*, Ahlam Mosteghanemi فوضى الحواس, احلام متسغانمي

• *The Rape*, Saad Allah Wannous الاغتصاب, سعد الله ونوس

• *Under the Skin*, Sigal Avni מתחת לעור , סיגל אבני

• *The Book of Disquiet*, Fernando Pessoa

1. Poetry

> Poetry is a language that is not similar, which is created in secret, sometimes absentmindedly. It does not always know the meaning of the words it says... When we become acquainted with the poetry of a certain poet, we will never know what is actually working on us with such turbulence, affects us so much, washes over us, causes us to bow, to feel redemption... Every poem is an acute occurrence. It is a state. It is silence. It is calamity. A kind of sudden clamour beyond measure, which disintegrates reality... this place is where dreams come from. The longing. The optimism. The courage to be a real person (Harkavi, 2011, p.12).

The poet Mahmud Darwish is the most famous poet of Arab Israeli citizens. He is taken to be a Palestinian symbol both poetically and politically, and he was also mentioned by four of the interviewees as a writer whose poetry has touched their heart. As with other significant figures, the interviewees knew and described his character in depth. They know the details of his life story, based

both on their familiarity with him as a public figure (they had watched his performances) and his iconic status.

Nur: *"When Mahmud Darwish was deported to Lebanon with his family, he was still a little boy. The soldiers walked behind them and he started to cry. His dad started to shout at his mother, to silence the boy. But the mother really calmed and hugged the boy. Mahmud Darwish had hatred for Israel, because he was a refugee, and in some places he actually identified with it. He was very much a person in conflict, and maybe this is why people have a hard time with him."*

Rania: *"There was a lot of deliberation and a row about where to bury him. Whether to bury him in his family's village today, or bury him in his original lands. Therefore in the end they had a funeral without a body where his lands are. It's a kind of proof that it's his lands."*

The interviewees link Darwish's story to their own family stories, which are encapsulated in the catastrophe of the Nakba. They emphasised their close identification with their national poet. As they put it, for themselves and for their people, Darwish's life and death symbolise the struggle of AICs for recognition of their stolen lands. Mahmud Darwish embodies their collective longing for the lost home and the yearning for Palestinian independence.

The interviewees emphasised the combination which characterises his poetry: *"He's a freedom fighter. His fighting is with a lot of softness"* (Majda); *"Most of his poems are very complex, and this is why a lot of people love him"* (Nur). This reconciliation of opposites, to which the interviewees were so sensitive, represents the necessary coping strategies of trained bibliotherapists, enabling them to deal with the different extremes in the therapy room. This issue came up in the pilot interview, the chapter on Becoming a Therapist, and I discuss it again below in the chapter on the conflict and its implications. An AIC bibliotherapist is challenged to cope with the contradictory repercussions of the continual conflict as well as expressions of devaluation towards her. She thus has to have inner

fortitude and ability for containment while being capable of expressions of softness and love. The interviewees also referred to the political storm that took place in Israel following the suggestion of the Minister of Education to include Darwish's poetry in the national school curriculum .[48] According to the interviewees, the Jews who are opposed to his poetry and ban it are exposed only to some poems, namely those poems which were translated to Hebrew, and are unaware of the deep emotional wound from which his poetry emerged. Jewish Israelis regard him in a one-dimensional manner, which is not a reliable representation of his essence.

Rania: *"Mahmud Darwish is known in Israeli society as hostile and inciting. This pains me. Translate all his poetry, and then let the people judge. Why is he considered hostile? Because there was a time that he was banished and a time that he was in prison."*

'Between Rita and my Eyes there is a Rifle', Mahmud Darwish (see Appendix 7).

This poem is the most prominent of the interviewees' choice of texts, mentioned by four of them. It concerns a love relationship between a Palestinian man and a Jewish woman, which is rare and unique. Two aspects came up in the way that they referred to Darwish's poem: the national aspect and the psychological aspect. His poetry expresses the torn identity of AICs, in which there is suffering, anger, discrimination and a painful sense of foreignness. It is evident from their words that Darwish verbalises their feelings, and his poetry expresses a collective AIC identity:*"He says it to her and to the Jewish people."* (Rania); *"This is a poem that stresses there are no black and white, and there's no attacker and attacked."* (Majda); *"They deported him from the country. He spoke about the experience of being a refugee, to be different, to be outside."* (Nur). From the psychological aspect, the interviewees noted their admiration of the poet's ability to express contradictory sentiments simultaneously: *"Mahmud Darwish describes Rita as someone beautiful who he's willing to give his entire life for. For me this*

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[48] Newsletter of the Institute of Middle Eastern Media Studies,28.3.2000

sentence says a lot." (Rania); *"The ambiguity of this poem is amazing. And the conflict too: such a nationalistic guy falls in love with a Jewish woman."* (Majda); *"It's "the love and the rifle." The risk involved in love and in an encounter."* (Nur). Like Darwish, they too feel close to the aggressor and have a sense of identification with it. The greatness of the poem for them lies in its ability to express mixed emotions: emotional rifles (i.e. ways to threaten and injure each other) on the one hand and a yearning for a love bond on the other. Their choice of this complicated poem is consistent with their therapeutic approach, and it shows the same ambition to cope with contrasting human feelings. Even in the political aspect of the poem, they found an element to identify with, both as having aggressive elements and as victims of aggression.

This is the only poem that was picked by several of the interviewees, the rest of the poems were all unique personal choices. I will present each individual's texts and their comments in turn.

'The Dice Player', Mahmud Darwish (see Appendix 8)

Rania: *"In this poem, I saw a message of: "enough! See what we're doing to ourselves, who's killing who, where does it begin and end?" On the one hand he asks himself: "who am I?" he speaks to the Jews, to the Arabs [...] holding by peace, bridging [...] He cries: "wake up!" [...] It touches me because it is usually said: "we are Palestinians", but who am I?"*

"In this poem, the issue of death is very much present, along with the issue of identity. It takes me back very strongly to my dad. He also knew that he was in a dangerous situation, he went for an operation in the US and he never came out of this operation [...] I connect with the certainty that writing was bibliotherapy for Darwish."

'Think of Others', Mahmud Darwish (see Appendix 9)

Majda: *"The poem 'Think of Others' is charming, amazing, amazing, amazing, amazing. I think it's so human, touching, soft, and at the same time fighting."*

'The Ready Script', Mahmud Darwish (see Appendix 10)

Nur: *"The overall scenario of the poem is that two enemies fall into a hole, and there's a snake which threatens them there, and then there's dialogue between the two: can we help each other against the snake? [...] There're places where it's not so much I'm the good and you're the bad."*

'Afraid of the Moon', Mahmud Darwish (see Appendix 11)

Nur: *"I like the concealment and exposure in this poem. Like the headgear and its removal [...] The poem is all confusion and opposites and things not understood. He speaks his internal experience through the politics. This is also my emotional experience [...] The poem also has the element of a silencing father. I had such a silencing father [...] I guess I went through something similar to him. I really identified with his poetry."*

'The Eternity of Cactus', Mahmud Darwish (see Appendix 12)

Halla: *"It's not the horse, it's me. It's no longer Mahmud Darwish, it's me because within the necessity of our distress, loneliness is much greater. When there's emotional companionship all the burden is shared. When you don't have to handle life alone, alone, alone, but you have people who help. Companionship enables you to understand that life is not alone and there's such a great benefit in sharing [...] I would very much want greater and more massive companionship that gave me directions and allowed me to ask questions, and gave me answers when I can't find them on my own."*

'Dialogue with Death', Mahmud Darwish (see Appendix 13)

Halla: *"I deal with death on the concrete level, a relative has passed away. Through the poem I'm more sober and can have a dialogue with it. Mahmud Darwish's whole book is written around his dialogue with death. He knew that death is lurking for him. And he wrote one of the strongest and most moving dialogues [...] Death is there, as a character, as an entity. It's a very very strong poem."*

The most notable thing is the precise and diverse emotional impact of Mahmud Darwish's poems on the very core of the interviewees' being. Bibliotherapy is characterised by connecting and coping with life situations through written texts, and for the interviewees Darwish facilitates this in his poems across the broadest spectrum. The contents of his poems which 'speak them' are: painful coping with loneliness, sickness and death, in Darwish's words: "Hold me, so the wind does not scatter me around" (The Dice Player); there is no black and white – opposites come together while calling for a stop to the bloodshed; the question of identity, internal rift and the encounter with the other. Resonating with the poems of Mahmud Darwish, the personal world of the interviewees is inseparably entwined with the political life in Israel.

'Rubama', Muhammad Taha Ali (see Appendix 14)

Halla: *"I am concerned with what death leaves behind, first of all from the physical aspect. People die, their bodies are buried in the ground, and they can no longer hug, kiss and lend a hand, but also what is death? After the body is withered and is severed, how far the feeling does continue, after physical death takes place. What kind of feeling, what flavour and smell does the feeling have. I also know that in time, those closest to me, they will die too, my dad and mom aren't young, and the signs of old age strike them again and again [...] By means of these texts I have some sort of dialogue with death in general, but with a future death, which can lurk behind every corner."*

'Tea and Sleep', Muhammad Taha Ali (see Appendix 15)

Halla: *"According to Taha Ali this is what a person needs in life, tea and sleep, these two simple things."*

'Revenge', Muhammad Taha Ali (see Appendix 16)

Halla: *"Every generation carries the key or the horse, which is the symbol of the deserted Palestinian home [...] The political story of Muhammad Ali Taha, is my mother story too and the story of the Palestinian people which I belong to them."*

'Look', Fadwa Tuqan (see Appendix 17)

Majda: *"I love all sorts of Arab writers who write on feminist issues."*

'In the Beginning There Was the Woman – The Female', Souad Al-Sabah (see Appendix 18)

Majda: *"It's a poem that I love very much."*

'On Teaching', The Prophet, Gibran Khalil Gibran (see Appendix 19)

Amal: *"I grew up on the stories and poems of Gibran which describe the whole issue of the relationship between parents and children. He goes into all sorts of things in life, interpersonal relationships."*

An unequivocal and predictable finding concerning the bibliotherapist interviewees is their preferred choice of the genre of poetry for self-representation. Poetry is a purified and concise textual form, which often succeeds in evoking great depth of feeling through words and tone. Poetry affords an especially open space due to its special character. One can hold on to

the words of a poem, its hidden metaphors, its allusions, its colour, encompassing such immensely significant meaning as to express an inner spirit that cannot be conveyed in ordinary language. Bakhtin (1989) claims that the language of poetry is generally monological, expressing itself through symbol and metaphor (even when the contents are ambiguous).

My sense is that the interviewees primarily selected poems as texts that charted their lives and represented their identities similarly, because as a genre, it facilitates deep and intimate emotional exposure. Furthermore, the interviewees evidently feel connected to Arabic poetry, which is written in their mother language. Two things were typically considered in the choice of poems. The fact that they are in close touch with the complicated and difficult personal reality in Israel clearly stands out, while the words of the poem express the interviewees' distress. In addition, the contents of the poems refer to interpersonal relationships, to what a person needs in life, and to the death of loved ones. Their chosen poems raise difficult life issues, which is a way for bibliotherapists as much as clients to cope with the totality of emotions that come into play in the therapy room, as well as a way to reduce the threat of the encounter with such emotions.

The lack of poems which represent other aspects of life, such as love, romance, and adventure, is particularly notable. The main attitudes emerging from their collective selection of poems manifests the fact that their personal is political. Thus the interviewees express what Illouz (2012) emphasises, that political reality is the main source of human suffering (see Literature review, p.47). Here I should add that the context of the interview was also very likely to have been determining, as itself politically framed. I suppose that the interviewees' intuitive, perhaps unconscious, choice of a monological genre, in Bakhtin's terms, stems from the situation of the interview. This is true for most of the poetry texts that the interviewees mentioned, apart from the dialogue poem 'The eternity of cactus' (Appendix 11) .

They were in part responding to my question, "What are the texts that 'speak me'?" me, a Jewish Israeli woman. The 'monological' aspect of the interviewees stands out more particularly here, as they may have reservations about engaging in a dialogue with me. In other words, the interviewees' choice of the monological genre in the situation of an interview, emphasises and strengthens the feelings of isolation they feel among Israeli Jews.

2. Prose, plays, and biographical writing

> I believe Emerson wrote some place that a library is a magic chamber in which there are many enchanted spirits. And those spirits can be resurrected and come back to life only if we open their pages (Borges, 2007, p. 9).

The genres of prose, journal and play writing, are writing and speaking styles basically similar to everyday speech. In contrast to poetry, which is organized into short sentences without regard for the strict rules of language, these genres are usually long, wordy stories replete with descriptive characterizations. In Bakhtin's terms, the interviewees' monological aspect surfaced through their bond with poetry. Thus, poetry expresses a solitary voice, a personal feeling, without other voices. Furthermore, the focus of the interviewees' interest in prose, journal and play writing, shed light on both the national and political aspects as well as the professional and personal aspects of their lives.

Ahlam Mosteghanemi

Two of the interviewees spoke with deep admiration about the Algerian writer Ahlam Mosteghanemi. She is the author of poetry and novels about Algeria's struggle against foreign domination as well as its post-independence struggle

with itself and the fate of its revolutionary ideals. Mosteghanemi is among the first Algerian women writers to be translated into English. In her writing, she follows in the footsteps of her father Muhammad Sharif, a revolutionary, political leader and writer.

Majda: *"One of the three books of Ahlam Mosteghanemi speaks about what you wear and what your identity is. Sometimes the things we wear obscure our true identity. I know that I'm concerned a lot with who I am and who I belong to."*

Nur: *"Ahlam Musteghanemi writes about creation, expression, internal processes that a person goes through […] She raises the oppression of the Algerians, including the oppression of women. She carries some kind of message, that in order to free a people you should free its women. She speaks about her connection with her father, through all the wars he's been through. Her father was a human rights activist. I really feel connected to her, to the whole issue of a woman who enters the men's writing space. There's tremendous bibliotherapeutic potential to the book, (i.e. it helped her understand what bibliotherapy is)and I don't think anybody ever wrote like that."*

The two interviewees who mentioned Mosteghanemi spoke about the great influence of her writing on them. They each emphasised a different aspect. One interviewee feels connected to the writer because in one of her stories she found her own question of belonging expressed. Mosteghanemi's books deal with Algeria's struggle against a foreign occupier, with female independence, and with political awareness. For this interviewee, Ahlam Mosteghanemi captures the complexity and difficulty of her many self-conceptions, particularly those that have to do with transitions: from a traditional to a modern society; from the personal-familial to the professional; and from her personal experiences to the common political hardship of Arab Israeli citizens. In other words, the text, which she considered 'a wise authority', gave support to the interviewee's sense of national identity and echoed her aspirations in this connection.

For the other interviewee, the life story of the writer's father sheds light on the issue of women's liberation, which she takes to be central in her life. Her interest in the text focused on political feminism and family pain. She views Mosteghanemi's books as a powerful expression of the essence of bibliotherapy, and indeed the ultimate model of bibilotherapeutic books. In the literature review I presented the essence of bibliotherapy as viewing echoes of the language of the reader's soul in the process of reading. (Tzoran, 2009). The interviewee sees in Mosteghanemi's books a sort of 'nurturing mother', illustrating different aspects of her life including the professional side. The very act of the author's writing, coupled with the story of her survival which encompasses opportunities for political freedom, constitutes a 'mainstay of hope' and empowerment for the interviewee and for her professional identity as a bibliotherapist.

The books explain the definition and practice of bibliotherapy, and can be used to assist in understanding them. I suppose that her strong sympathy with the text and its writer is also tied to the interviewee's identification with the national and social experiences of Mosteghanemi. From the interviewee's absolute declaration of identity with the book one can learn about the strength of her aspirations as a bibliotherapist, to make her voice heard in writing like the author, and of her need to strengthen her professional identity in Arabic, her cultural language. Her words clearly expressed the necessity of providing a place in training for Mosteghanemi's books which deal, among other things, with the writing process.

Under the Skin, Sigal Avni

Nur: *"She is a lesbian writer. The story describes the life of a mentally ill woman who is committed to an institution, and all her coping with the illness, the*

relationships she builds for herself, her suicidal thoughts, all these experiences that nest under the skin. She describes the intruding mother she's had, who didn't let her grow up [...] a bit like my mom, who wants to keep you little, so you don't grow up and become independent. I paid a very heavy price for it in anxieties. "

The Rape, Saad Allah Wanous

Majda: *"It's a play about an Israeli military man who rapes a Palestinian girl and in the end everybody's hurt by this affair. The beauty of this writer is that he can speak both about the vulnerability of the victim and the vulnerability of the attacker. We're in a very complicated reality, which doesn't have black and white. Everything is painted with all sorts of shades."*

The Book of Disquiet, Fernando Pessoa

Majda: *"It's a book that has a lot of internal dialogue [...] and there's the outside conduct, which is not necessarily an extension of it."*

The interviewee did not elaborate. I present her words as she chose to present them.

Only two interviewees mentioned prose, play, and biographical texts as 'speaking them'. Nevertheless, their reference to these texts is highly significant.

Furthermore, unlike poetry, which is entirely Arab or Palestinian, in these kinds of texts there is openness to writers from other cultures, including the Jewish one. In this context I presume that language is a significant factor in motivating the interviewee's choice. The language of prose and journal writing is everyday language, organized and structured, whereas poetry is often puzzling. It is difficult to contend with reading a foreign language in a genre whose language is unclear.

One of the interviewees brought a range of writers, while the other mentioned a Jewish Israeli writer who dealt with a unique issue – mental illness. Of the five literary texts belonging to the genres mentioned above, most deal again with the combination of the political and the personal by means of the issue of identity; the vulnerability of the victim and victimiser; the oppression of women; and the gap between the internal and the external.

3. Themes expressed in the choice of texts

In summary, the interviewees' responses to the invitation to talk about literature confirmed the same story that emerged in relation to the invitation to talk about their family, which is the connection of the personal to the political-national-gendered.

The reading experience of each interviewee was manifested in the way they spoke about both texts and their writers. The tone in which all of them spoke in this part of the interview testified to a combination of excitement, release and pleasure. I felt that they were communicating experiences of 'that is it exactly!'

The texts provide them with essential mental sustenance and enable them to reflect on themselves. Most of the texts they mentioned deal with their identity as AIC women and its complexity. In the therapy room, these bibliotherapists encounter a range of contrasting emotions, and cope with challenging and even extreme clients' stories of their life situations such as death and oppression. But what is obvious is that they deeply and widely rely on the texts which 'speak them'. The interviewees told of the strong, emotional affinity they developed in their encounter with Mosteghanemi's books, as described by Tzoran (2004):

Connecting with a book that includes double meanings and concurrent pleasure and pain, allows for the development of a strong emotional affinity to it, stronger and rarer than a real human meeting. The emotional arousal resulting from this meeting creates responsibility for and the promise of continuity. As in friendship, the meeting provides homelike security, and becomes a haven to return to… in the definite knowledge that it will always be waiting. (Tzoran, 2004, p.73)

Mosteghanemi (2000) dedicated one of her books to 'my teacher in the flesh, Malek Haddad' . Her words to him helped me understand the link of deep affinity generated between the books and the interviewees:

To the memory of Malek Haddad, son of Constantine, who swore after the independence of Algeria not to write in a language that was not his. The blank pages assassinate him. He died by the might of his silence to become a martyr of the Arabic language and the first writer ever to die silent, grieving and passionate on its behalf (Mosteghanemi, 2000, p.1).

Mosteghanemi gives the interviewees' personal feelings the voice of authority. It is perhaps not surprising that, as bibliotherapists, they all appreciate the power of words. The importance of this instrument (texts which 'speak them') increases immeasurably in view of the knowledge which has emerged from the chapters on Becoming a Therapist and the Family Story.

Taken together, the lack of texts which represent their experiences in the training, accompanied by their teachers' disregard for their unique internal and external realities, along with their loaded family stories, make their situation

critical, and calls for an immediate and comprehensive change. Moreover, beyond the important and immediate changes required in the training, there is also the need for good translations and publishers to make these texts available to the wider public and bibliotherapists in particular.

Like Illouz (2012), who objects to the position that distress is psychological and private and is not derived from policies and political situations, the interviewees bear the Jewish-Palestinian conflict daily on their shoulders. Yet it should be noted that politics is in their blood not in a dichotomous manner. Their perspective is complex, and it sees 'good' and 'bad' in both the Jewish and AIC side. This significant finding illuminated for me that the interviewees are women of admirable political consciousness, and the level of their difficulty in the everyday reality in Israel.

The text which 'speaks me', as a researcher, in light of these findings, and with which I also summarise is the poem 'Children of our Era' by Wisława Szymborska, the famous Polish born poet who speaks to all nations. I present a selected part of the poem here (see Appendix 19 for the poem in full).

Children of Our Era by Wislawa Szymborska

All affairs, day and night,
yours, ours, theirs,
are political affairs.
Like it or not,

your genes have a political past,

your skin a political cast,

your eyes a political aspect.

What you say has a resonance;

what you are silent about is telling.

Either way, it's political.

We have seen that texts feed the fires of the interviewees' imaginations, and supply them with powerful words and descriptions of the national narrative. In the next chapter, I present the interviewees explicit observations on the reality of their lives in the context of the conflict between the two peoples, including the conflict's influence on their identities.

Chapter 8: Bibliotherapists' Identities in the Context of the Jewish-Palestinian Conflict

> Like the pairs of foxes in the biblical story of Samson, which are
> tied to each other by their tails with a burning torch in the
> middle, so we and the Palestinians are dragging each other
> with us – despite the difference in strength, and even when we
> really try to disengage from each other – and in the process we
> set the other on fire, who is bound to us, our doppelganger, our
> disaster, and ourselves. (Grossman, 2009).

This chapter deals with the ramifications of the Palestinian-Jewish conflict both for the interviewees' identities and affiliations and for their ways of coping during their bibliotherapeutic work. In this chapter, the conflict is presented through the eyes of the interviewees. I present their views and references to the following topics: acquiring education; their experiences of discrimination and inequity; the psychological aspects of the conflict; and the dynamics of power relations between conqueror and conquered. I describe the interviewees' professional experience, their encounter with Arab Israeli citizens and Jewish clients in the therapy room, and their recommendations for bibliotherapy.

I also discuss the challenges that the interviewees face when Jewish clients direct loaded and complex emotions towards them. The Jewish clients are flooded by their anxieties and fears of AICs and the Arab nation in general, which are conceived as existential threats. The last part of this chapter discusses how adequate the "Western" therapeutic approach is to Arab Israeli society, despite its adoption by Jewish Israelis.[49] I also take note of the interviewees' recommended texts for bibliotherapeutic work with AICs, and the implications

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[49] In the Literature Review and the chapter on Reflection I refer in more detail to the term "western", its history and implications.

that these recommendations have for the more general question of an AIC-centred bibliotherapeutic training and practice.

Four theoretical frameworks shed light on the interviewees' identity in terms of their gender, social, professional and national affiliations. These frameworks are, first, Aburabia-Queder's (2008, 2010) studies about Palestinian women's response to gender based marginalisation in a patriarchal society; second, the social identity theory of Tajfel and Turner (1986); third, Bourdieu's concepts, which contribute to the understanding of social relations, hierarchy, and the power dimensions of language use; and last, the work of Bar and Bar-Gal (1995) about the split national identities of AICs.

Their multifaceted reality challenges the interviewees to negotiate their identities as women in a patriarchal society which defends women while simultaneously oppressing them. Aburabia-Queder (2008, 2010b) claims that confronting the many power structures that determine life as an AIC woman gives rise to a dual form of conduct as a survival strategy. Aburabia calls this conduct 'the politics of conformity', and claims that in order to preserve social approval, women AICs 'toe the line' of accepted norms, while at the same time eluding control to quietly realise choices and intellectual abilities. In other words, their apparent conformity to tradition allows women to avoid being seen as a threat to men and jeopardising their conservative image as respectable women. At the same time, they bend and reshape the boundaries of their freedom. For example, wearing traditional dress signifies their conformity to tradition but allows them to go out to study. The interviewees are not dressed in traditional garb; one interviewee explained how she underwent a process of secularization during the course of which she abandoned traditional dress. Either way, this duality seems also to describe the interviewees' split identities as women who have to 'play and skip' between different customs in order to fit in with their society on the one hand while trying to fulfil their personal wishes on the other.

The respondents' words correspond also with the social identity theory as conceptualised by Tajfel and Turner (1986), who claim that social identity is a crucial factor in shaping the individual's identity because most of the time we function as members of certain groups.

Social identity theory claims that the person's social group is a major source of pride and self-esteem, causing individuals to divide the world into 'them' and 'us'. According to many researchers (Coser, in Waisman 2010; Sherif, in Waisman 2010; Lewin, 1989), groups need conflict as much as they need harmony, and conflicts are essential to humans and contribute to the creation of boundaries between groups.

Moreover, the interviewees are going through a process of forming their professional identity as bibliotherapists. The formation of a professional identity can be understood, using Bourdieu's (1999, 2005) concepts, as internalising the membership in the professional field and gaining the proper tools and 'capital'. The training period is highly important, because gaining a professional identity is a process in which the individual gains the 'capital' (in Bourdieu's sense) necessary for efficient 'play' in the field of his or her expertise. In chapter 5 – Becoming a Therapist – I presented situations in which my subjects were sometimes left without the tools for professional coping. This means that insufficient 'capital' is gained by the AIC bibliotherapists during the training, which is supposed to raise their chances of success, integration and promotion, and they have to invest a lot of individual effort to gain it.

Importantly, Bourdieu (1991) emphasises the challenges of professional identity while focusing on the power dimensions of language use. Bourdieu thinks that political and social relations are anchored in language, and that linguistic behaviour reflects conflicts taking place among different groups in every society.

Language is a symbolic capital or resource in Bourdieu's terms, and it intensifies the asymmetrical relationships among various groups. Bourdieu's observations are doubly true in the social, political and professional context of the AICBs.

Bar and Bar-Gal (1995) claim that the issue of identity for AICs is riddled with contradictions. They believe these contradictions exist in the following aspects: AICs are citizens of a state which is engaged in war with the Palestinian people and Arab nation to which they belong in the wider circle; they belong to a stateless nation; they belong to a people on whose soil and motherland another people has set up an independent Jewish state, holding by symbols with which it is hard or impossible for them to identify; and they are citizens of a state which, despite all the above, demands absolute loyalty. The reality for AICs is thus one of perpetual conflict between their antagonist Palestinian and Israeli identities.

The focus of this chapter is on the manifestations of a range of conscious and complex identities in the training and the therapy room. A person's self-definition is composed of a range of his or her identities and the relationships among these identities, even more so in a situation of conflict.

1. How do you define yourself?

In the Methodology chapter, I discussed the structure of the interview, where in the first part I listened to the life stories of Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists, and in the second part focused down to ask deeper questions. The question with which I opened the second part of the interviews was: "how do you define yourself?"

Rania: *"1. Arab, 2. Christian, 3. Palestinian, 4. Israeli."*

Amal: *"I am an Israeli Arab Christian."*

Majda: "*First of all I am a human being, an Arab, a member of this society. I do see myself as Palestinian, belonging to Arab society and also belonging to the state of Israel.*"

Nur: "*I define myself as an Arab Israeli. Palestinian I can't be, because the definition is problematic. I can define myself as a Palestinian Israeli, but that's still problematic.*"

Halla: "*A feminist woman, Arab, Palestinian.*"

It can clearly be seen that the interviewees' self-definition is always composed of a number of identities rather than a single one. Interestingly, none of them mentioned a class identity. I believe that this disregard of class identity is related to the prominence of the other identities, but also perhaps to their difficulty in defining their class. This difficulty stems from the question of their reference group – if they compared themselves to Arab Israeli society, some of them might have defined themselves as upper-middle class. But in the context of the interview and in front of me as a representative of Jewish Israelis, some of them might have defined themselves as lower-middle class. Moreover, in answer to the simple question, the interviewees presented the complexity of the relationship among the identities and the diversity in their self- definitions. Only two of them mentioned the same identity first – the Arab[50] identity. The others mentioned Israeli; human being; and woman. Notably, all interviewees identify as Arab. I believe its most distinctive characteristics are the history and language. The second most frequent identity was Palestinian, which is a more specific identity, four of the five defining themselves as such. Four of them mentioned the Israeli identity as reflecting the experience of their statutory lives. Consequently, it is evident that the lingering conflict and the complicated experiences it entails exist alongside their sense of being citizens of the state. It is striking that only two of the interviewees noted their religious affiliation as one of their identities, and these were the Christians. Only one interviewee mentioned her gender, but very

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[50] See note 2.

distinctively as a political category, 'feminist'. Not being in a majority apparently defines which identity claim or identification is invoked.

As if their complex identities are not enough, the interviewees also have to cope with their affiliations and self-definitions as they are present in their daily routine. Above I presented the order of their self-definitions, and I now turn to closely examine the complexity and the relationships among the various identities.

Rania: *"I have a history. No matter what will happen, I'm from here."*

"When I was sitting at university I asked – what am I here? Am I Israeli? Something I'm very confused about myself."

Amal: *"Ever since I was born I'm in a Jewish environment, even in summer camps [...] Friends asked me why I'm not going with them to the army, and I didn't understand why not. At home they told me: "since we're exempt by law" [...] I define myself as a native minority [...] Once they used to say "Arab Israelis", then "'48 Arabs", later they called us: "'48 Palestinians". All sorts of definitions, I'm a minority within a minority within a minority."*

Majda: *"This confusion and identity crisis, it's something common to the whole of Arab society in Israel. Who are we? '48 Arabs? Palestinians living in Israel? I fight in order to belong. My belonging is not taken for granted. The state doesn't accept my belonging."*

Nur: *"The Arabs in Israel are in a very confused and complicated place in terms of identity. Who are we? Are we Palestinians? Israelis? Where do I belong? What is my reference group? It's a very much present question of personal identity. If you ask any Arab Israeli, he won't know what to tell you. Once I wanted to belong to the*

larger group of (Israeli) *society, but because I saw that I was rejected as an Arab, my group of belonging is more Arab intellectuals."*

Halla: *"I'm a lot more than a citizen of the state, than someone who knows Hebrew and studies in Israeli institutions."*

"I guess this will of mine to be in the place, on the seam, in between, in this space, which on the one hand has a unique, clear identity, and on the other hand the identity can always remain open for more options and ingredients."

"An Arab living in this country always has questions of identity. I remained in a Jewish kindergarten, which never skipped any holiday and social or religious event. My powerful childhood experiences shaped me in terms of identity, they exist within me [...] I went on to study at a university in this country, not abroad and not in an Arab country [...] The encounter with the Jewish-Israeli world in the most powerful way only added to an even more confused, split, and complicated identity. Many questions came up around who I am, what I am, around language, around the army when my friends went to the army at 18. The army has a very large part in your formation and in excitement. My choice to move and live in a mixed city was made on this basis of having grown up in a mixed city, and therefore I feel that it's right to continue the lifestyle in which I grew up [...] In my opinion, a very very good change has happened in how I conceive myself, through my encounter with NGO's of social change among women. It's the first strong place where the questions I'd been asking before received their answers. Meaning I'm a feminist, and on this background I've also known to define who I am on a national basis. I admit the process for me was in reverse. First I'd discovered myself as a woman, and only later discovered myself as a citizen with a different nationality, language and culture than the state. From the aspect of consciousness, it's something a lot deeper. It has a lot of power when the consciousness is a group consciousness and collective. I'm emotionally connected to what happened before '48 historically and narratively. The Palestinian identity enters very strongly, because my mom went through the Nakba. Every time I tell the story it hits me terribly in the stomach. I don't deny that the issue of Islam is more loaded than ever, around what happened

on 9.11. As a Muslim woman, I don't live Islam in an orthodox way, but I hold within me worldviews that are connected to Islam, to human dignity, to be honest with yourself and with others, meaning very universal things. Sometimes I want to be more Arab, sometimes more Palestinian, sometimes both. Identity, eventually, we receive and don't choose. But we have quite some room to play inside this place. This play is very invigorating, vital, and important [...] in some cases, when I hear a question that comes from wanting to stigmatise and put some label on me then I very much don't define myself."

"Very often, even in Arab society, they didn't know how to define and place me [...] I think I very much succeed in bewildering people [...] not to get fixed in one definition."

The issue of affiliation and self-definition, as the interviewees have experienced it, raises difficult questions in them and causes great reflectiveness. All five interviewees cope with the need to find a calming inner order throughout their lives. This state of affairs has deep emotional repercussions, and it causes stress and agitation. The definitions of their self-identities are not static; they are influenced by the contexts, and from childhood to this day, different identities become prominent at different times. We can clearly learn about the formation of identity from the words of one interviewee. She said that her difficult feelings changed in adulthood through her discovery of the sisterhood, which allowed many split identities to consolidate, and the feminist addition to her identity replaced distress with pride. In comparison, the other interviewees did emphasize gender and political aspects of their life stories through significant reflection, but their support groups are not defined as feminist.

But how far has the profession of bibliotherapy assisted coping with their split identities? And, conversely, to what extent has their intimate acquaintance with states of confusion and difficulty been a useful resource in the therapy room? Presumably, with their AIC colleagues and clients, who also face similar dilemmas, the interviewees can openly discuss these issues. I am hopeful that

following this study, the various training programmes will be challenged to provide room for this complexity by means of the extension of provision for Arab narrative, prose and poetic texts.

2. Situations of conflicting self-identities and stigmatisation by others

As well as coping with their split identities, the interviewees are exposed to dilemmas in their personal and professional lives, to stigmatisation by others, and to challenging situations. The interviewees shared the difficulties they experience in these contexts: the complexity of the encounter in the therapy room, the accompanying conflicts, and their relationships with their co-workers in the workplace.

Rania: *"My granddad's hotel is now run by a Jewish guy. We've received a lot of criticism that "soon the Jews will take the house away" [...] He* [The Jewish guy] *told me once: "your grandfather who passed away had fifteen grandchildren". "Fourteen", I corrected him. He said: "what about me?" But compared to the environment and society, we're doing something out of the ordinary. [...] Even today, when the Jewish guy managed really well to build bridges, they're always careful, because he's Jewish after all. There's something between Jews and Arabs, as much as we get closer – be careful [...] You can be my friend, and you can also be my enemy. It's hard."*

"I went to a translation course from Hebrew to Arabic. Who sat in this course? Only Jewish students, all of them sitting in uniform, who came to study Arabic as training for the intelligence corps.[51] *I sat among them".*

"When I was 15, I fell in love with a Lebanese relative who fought in the war between Lebanon and Israel. He got killed [...] Years later, my principal at work told me that he was in Lebanon in the army during the war [...] Maybe if I inquired, I'd discover that my principal is the one who shot the guy [...] It's very hard. Think how many conflicting things there are in my heart."

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[51] The intelligence corps is one of the corps of the Israeli Defense Force, which is based on knowledge of foreign languages.

"I brought the poem 'Everybody has a Name'[52] to the first meeting with a therapy group at a psychiatric hospital. A very sick girl in the group said: "you should apologise for bringing us this poem! Six million were killed in the holocaust!" [...] There were meetings that she was angry and refused to go in, "until you learn how to pick poems". My supervisor said to me: "this poem says every person *has a name, not every* Jew *has a name. You had every right to bring the poem." [...] I find myself in the apologising place in many situations. I didn't murder the six million!"*

Amal: *"I gave a lecture at a hospital once. One of the nurses asked me: "do you work with Israelis?" I didn't get that she meant Jews. They explained to me: "she thought you only work with Arabs" [...] I didn't know there were people who define Israelis as only Jews."*

Majda: *"I was the first Arab worker that the psychiatrist and head psychologist accepted at the clinic."*

Nur: *"In one of the trips I was with Jews, and we noticed their avoidance. I spoke Arabic and someone said this disturbed him. I said: 'pity, this is your chance to get to know it'."*

Halla: *"In a meeting with one of the parents of a child I was treating, the father came along in navy uniform. The parents were both of Eastern origin who spoke Arabic at home [...] I was deliberating till the last minute whether to expose that I am Arab. If they asked then I'd deal with it. I wanted them to initiate and not me, because this way it would be easier for me [...] It was very difficult for me."*

"I was treating a Jewish child who didn't know I'm Arab. She told me that she started learning Arabic at school, and showed me how she writes her name in Arabic. I told her that I too can write my name in Arabic, and I did. She looked at me and said: "how?" [...] Her reactions to me being Arab were of shock, fear and panic. She also said quite literally: "Mommy! How can that be?" and this issue continued between me and her for a year [...] She backed away, afraid, wary, and tried but didn't know how to digest it, but slowly she also succeeded to connect through the conversations between us with her relationship with her mother and

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[52] A poem by a Jewish poet which is customarily read on the Holocaust Memorial Day.

the communication between them. The revelation allowed her to talk about her [Jewish] *Iraqi mom who listens to Arabic songs and tells her daughter not to. The gateway might've been the language and the music, but we reached a place in which the daughter is very confused by the mother, because the mother sends her contrasting messages. She wants to and doesn't want to, likes and dislikes, and these are already therapeutic contents [...] The gift she brought at the end of therapy was a disc of Um Kulthum,*[53] *it was so touching and exciting [...] I felt that we became closer."*

All five interviewees told exceptionally deep, diverse and wide stories of painful coping with their self-definition in all areas of life, which is amplified as a result of the conflict. They feel an incessant score settling from their environment, along with a measure of jealousy. Many situations stirred them to protest. Suspicion, ambivalence, and feeling that a secret is being kept from them are common. However, what they encounter on a daily basis are their exclusion as Arab Israeli women, along with the condescension of the Jews in their environment. Situations in which they have to deal with the shock and fear of Jewish clients who stereotypically define the interviewees and direct guilt towards them are a unique challenge faced by AIC therapists, which is added to the usual challenges of the bibliotherapy room.

It is clear that the interviewees cope impressively with the degradation, which testifies to their proficiency and understanding of the depth of their role as therapists and the situation of the clients. The interviewees make use of their demonization which can be a handicap, as significant material in their therapeutic work. (See Halla's previous description of how the client's transference of hate towards her was subsequently utilized to comprehend the client's ambivalence towards her mother.) Netzer (2004) emphasises that an experienced therapist does not identify too much, get hurt or become paralysed

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[53] Fatimah ʾIbrahim al-Biltagi, known as Um Kultum, was an Egyptian singer and musician, one of the most renowned and loved singers in the Arab world.

by the materials projected onto her because she understands that she represents unconscious material for her clients. When the therapist becomes a victim of this projection, her role, usually with the help of personal supervision, is to realise that she is used as a scapegoat.

The therapeutic role is to help clients become conscious of their transferences to the therapist, contextualised by their increasing self-knowledge about difficult experiences they have been through with significant figures in their lives. In the case of one interviewee in particular, she could not identify with the contents transferred to her by the client, as this would have hindered her ability to help. She relied on her awareness and her containment ability in order to help the client become conscious of her transferences. In bibliotherapy with children, this type of work is done by means of play and creation (Lahad and Eilon, 1992).

So far I have looked at the dilemmas which emerge from Palestinian-Jewish relations, the conflict, and the interviewees' coping with the collective and family stories, which were discussed in chapter 6. As if this is not enough, the bibliotherapists interviewed also cope with complex situations which arise in their Arab Israeli society. These are related to the changes AIS is undergoing as a society in rapid transition.

3. A society in transition

Many contemporary societies are going through significant changes. But in Arab Israeli society, which I have discussed as characteristically patriarchal and traditional, these changes are among the more extreme. As I discussed in the Introduction, it is currently showing many of the symptoms of a society in rapid transition from the traditional to the modern. This transition influences the collective position on different issues, as they emerge from the words of the interviewees. In particular, I will focus on issues of religion and gender, which have shaped their identity as bibliotherapists.

Amal: *"Nowadays, the father doesn't tell his son who to marry and what to study, as was done to my dad. Nowadays, girls travel abroad to study. There's a drastic change in these matters."*

"The Arab kids here hear Hebrew daily, know Hebrew culture; nowadays, through Facebook and TV I know the whole world [...] Even in terms of the music that young people listen to, it's Trance music and not the classical Arabic music [...] No child speaks pure Arabic. Always Arabic in which there are Hebrew expressions."

"I have a Christian Arab friend who wanted to marry a Muslim. Her parents were against it [...] She went on to marry a Christian German they can't have a conversation with. Now things are somewhat different."

Nur: *"I come from a traditional family, from a religious home. I went through a very long process of secularisation. I used to wear headgear, and slowly sobered up on the issue of religion. I asked myself: "what is this dress code about? A cover of thoughts? A cover of emotions?" I studied eight years straight at university [...] Now I feel a lot better with myself."*

"It's very hard for an Arab girl like me to find a mate. There aren't that many educated guys. I even thought about someone Christian. But the problem is – the issue of religion."

Halla: *"Most women, when they get married, they move to the husband's village, they are foreign and strange, and it's a different status in terms of their integration and recognition. This is how it was like in the past, when my parents got married. Today the view is different, some move to live in the village, and after a few years they manage to move to the city, I can see that this conception is changing."*

Three of the bibliotherapists referred to their society as a society in transition, and emphasised the dramatic changes in themselves as part of this. Their words clearly indicate that AIS is gradually providing more room for personal

independence, including choice of residence, education, life partners and even the matter of defining one's faith in terms of the designated religion of birth.

I suggest that these social and national-political challenges are connected to the interviewee's very choice of a therapeutic profession. It is a field in which an integral part of the role is to be a lever for change. Someone who can access his or her own complexity will have the skills to help the complexities of clients. Their personal acquaintance with significant dilemmas and their recognition as well as faith in their ability to bring about change on the micro level enhance their abilities, and seem to contribute to their therapeutic ability.

I learnt that it is possible to create a process to select students and the course content from the interviewees' impressive abilities. Selecting students for good training should also take into account the complexity level of the students personally and socially-politically. This is in addition to examining the level in which the students impart faith in their ability to create change. Moreover, from the early stages and throughout the training programme a distinguished place should be included to develop abilities that include complexities and strengthening faith in ability to create change, with obvious reference to the social-political context, including conflict.

One of the important levers for personal and social change is education. We will focus next on the interviewees' attitudes to gaining an education.

4. Attitudes to education

Evidently all five interviewees in this study are highly educated women. It is also evident that their choice of training and profession is driven on many levels by a sense of personal vocation. However, as Abu-Asba (2007) points out, gaining an education is crucial to socioeconomic status and the standard and quality of

living of minorities in general and women in particular. The interviewees apply this aspect of their lives and recognise its importance well.

Rania: *"When I was studying in university, I felt that I was doing something for myself, for my fulfilment. I was proud also for the fact that I'm not like my mother."*

Amal: *"My dad's mom told him a very interesting sentence about society: 'you have to study because the daughters need to have honour, so they get married. And we all studied'."*

Majda: *"After graduation I did all sorts of professional trainings: treating sex offence victims, group instruction and psychotherapy school."*

Nur: *"I read a lot of professional literature, history, as well as fiction. There were days when I read hundreds of pages per day."*

Halla: *"My dad used to say: "education is a tool in the struggle". It was very important in the family that we study and move ahead in life. Education is very much essential, especially for women. Men can manage, women less so."*

All five women emphasised the great importance of education in general and in Arab Israeli society in particular. In every society, minority groups take education to be supremely important, and invest in it as an instrument of social mobility (Francis and Archer, 2004).

 From the words of the interviewees, it emerges that they associate education (or adopted their relatives' views about it) with the ability to gain three essential things: self-fulfilment and empowerment; family honour, as a result of the supreme importance given to education and achievement in Arab Israeli society; and the means to cope with the struggles of their daily life in that society. In the introduction (p.24), I presented Abu-Baker's (2008) strong words on the subject of female discrimination in acquiring an education in Arab society. The interviewee's words highlight that education seems to be paradoxically both a tool for women's emancipation from patriarchal expectations, as well as a sign of family honour. Education, for the bibliotherapists, is not only a means but a goal

in itself. None of them were satisfied with basic academic training alone: bibliotherapeutic training is only offered at postgraduate level. The interviewees' investment in education is thus far from minimal, and manifests their wish for enrichment as well as passion for personal growth and development and for a critical resource of social mobility.

As educated and socially involved women, they have strong positions and insights about the issue of the Jewish-Palestinian conflict.

5. Bibliotherapeutic perspectives on the Jewish-Palestinian conflict

> The stranger resides within us: the dark side of our identity...
> To recognise him within ourselves saves us the need to hate
> the other (Kristeva, 2009, p.9).

The social identity theory presented by Tajfel and Turner (1986) is significant for the present discussion. Their stand is in keeping with the term coined by Foulkes (1964) 'the social unconscious', by which collectivism is in our spirit and mental health is a function of belonging that man feels towards the society around him together with his own unique expression (see Literature review ,p.76). Observing the individual stems from his being an integral part of Israeli society, a society that is multicultural, multinational and multi-religious, as clearly and succinctly phrased by Bar and Bar-Gal (1995), who discuss the dialectics of fear. According to them, the disposition to attribute positive motives to 'our side' and negative motives to 'their side' causes mutual suspicion between the two groups, and mistrust of the other side's intentions and statements. In Israel, the Jews focus their suspicion on the Palestinians, and they are called 'enemies of the state'. There is difficulty for both groups in handling the complexity and containing the fact that the state and the other people can be simultaneously good, positive and contributing, as well as bad, negative and harmful. A general inability about containing this complexity on the internal

level of the individual and on the group level is manifested in the intensification of contrasting emotions. Mutual suspicion increases the pattern of 'self-fulfilling prophecies' about the attitude of the two groups, and prevents the possibility of trust developing between them. Zonenstein (2008) studied the coping of groups of Jews in Israel with their identity in joint meetings with groups of Palestinians. She claims that the sense of threat plays a major role in the construction of the national identity, by providing a sense of cohesion in the face of a common enemy. Zonenstein emphasises that during the meetings of the two groups, a competition usually arises over who is more threatened, and this discourse is typically confrontational and an 'all or nothing' war over the status of victim.

I now present the interviewees' views on this issue in detail. I focus on the question as to whether their training as bibliotherapists, with its particular emphasis on the containment of complexity, and which also encompasses complex attitudes to existing reality, is evident in their opinions. Views that bibliotherapists are trained to characteristically exhibit include: empathy for the other, which is in this case the other nation in the conflict; recognition of the similarities between the sides of any conflict; a moderate measure of suspicion and mistrust of the conquering people; and the ability to critically examine the 'we' which is their own society.

Rania: *"We're two peoples who carry around a lot of feelings of victimisation, and each people settles the score on the other. I often tell my Jewish friends: "I wonder, if the Jews didn't have the Arabs, what would they've done with these feelings? You forget how much you suffered in the holocaust. Is this what you want, to let others suffer?"*

Majda: *"The state injected a lie into my sect, and they believed it. This way they'll accept us [...] We're the good Arab."*

Nur: "*It's like when people came from the holocaust, they were the strongest fighters, because they were starved. It's a terrible experience [...] The poverty in Gaza really pays off for Hamas, because what would happen if there's peace? It'll be*

kicked out. This is why every time there's an agreement between Abu Mazen and Netanyahu they start shooting rockets."

"The Jews were also oppressed by the Nazis, and unconsciously they're passing it on. We're a people, even before Israel came along, who's accustomed to oppression and unused to democracy. It's the conqueror and conquered, and it pays off for both to be together. I'm sure that if they didn't treat the story of the Nakba with oppression, it wouldn't have prospered and grown so much. But if you let it go and say: 'you want to do something? Go ahead. Action..'."

"Oppression, for what? Why? Because he thinks differently than you? [...] I believe that peace will come when the Jews let go of the holocaust for a bit, and the Arabs let go of the Nakba for a bit. Because both these myths have the misery – you can never have a dialogue with the other side. How long are we going to go on crying about the past? It's time to take responsibility."

"With us too, our members of Knesset (Israeli parliament) *really agitate. When you read the papers, can't you be critical about what's written? When I read* Al Madina[54] *I hear all sorts of foul speech about the state. Maybe you should learn to seek help in a pleasant form? There will be those who'll listen to you when you knock on their door. "*

"When we speak about the Nakba, we don't really speak about the Nakba, we're speaking about the personal trauma of each one of us."

"As soon as some regime becomes oppressive, like in Gaza, the women take the brunt of it."

Halla: *"I don't deny that the issue of Islam is more loaded than ever, because it is no longer in the local sphere, but in the international sphere, surrounding what happened on 9.11 in the USA . But every chance I get, and there's a direct question from another, I try not to make things pretty, that Islam has things it's not easy to hear."*

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[54] An Arabic newspaper in Israel.

Four of the bibliotherapists discussed the conflict with impressive subtlety, illuminating the issue from different angles, and clearly refusing to take sides in any simple sense. Their subtle positions raise the question of how far their general education, and particularly their training in bibliotherapy, contributed to their multifaceted humanistic worldview, which is sensitive to both peoples. On the one hand they blame the other group – the Jews – when the Palestinian people are conquered, as often happens in situations of conflict. On the other hand, uncommonly for situations of conflict, they simultaneously and even severely criticise the society to which they belong. Furthermore, they express rare empathy in these situations, by seeing both the Palestinians and the Jews as victims of themselves and the relationship between them. It is important to note that all four refer to the issue by way of generalisation (typically for situations of conflict), which keeps a distance from the conflict while using the third person plural for Jews and Palestinians alike. I understood the aversion of one of the interviewees to directly relate to politics, as her choice of a suitable strategy. Coping with a difficult political reality can sometimes be accomplished through the desire to deepen the understanding of group dynamics between peoples in conflict and sometimes by avoiding discussion of the subject.

As might be expected for bibliotherapists, they are inclined to use explanations based on the psychological approach in addition to political or historical descriptions. Bibliotherapy adds a further dimension to therapy, by making central its use of stories passed from generation to generation, in which there are classical depictions of 'goodies' and 'baddies' on the one hand, and on the other a wide range of solutions to conflicts. Furthermore, many readers prefer the words of the written text as 'speaking them', as we saw in chapter 7, because these texts are deemed best suited for expressing feelings accurately and sensitively.

Every interviewee chose to bring an angle on the conflict. The interviewees display an understanding that the conflict is a regressive manifestation of two

peoples well acquainted with suffering, in which each side projects its weaknesses and victimisation history on the other. They recognise the psychological origins of the need to hate the other and consider it a monster, and how this need blocks the way for a more mature solution. Each side considers itself as the just victim and the other as an aggressor, and this process includes demonisation and dehumanisation. Only recognising each other's victimisation will allow us to learn from experience and accept responsibility.

In addition, one of the interviewees emphasised the issue of violence as a direct result of economic distress. Another explicitly blamed the state for actively stigmatising and removing a group from its national affiliation. Three of the bibliotherapists emphasised the connection between the personal and communal. They pointed out that dealing with a national catastrophe is often related to personal traumas. Not only the Nakba, but 9.11 too, deeply influenced them on a personal level, though it happened a great distance away from the local conflict. In particular, one interviewee emphasised that women are the first to pay the price for the oppression of a people.

After looking in depth into the interviewees' views on the two sides of the conflict and its personal repercussions, I will present another aspect of the conflict in the life of the interviewees, which is their experience of discrimination and inequity as Arab Israeli citizens, manifested in their daily lives in the state of Israel.

6. Bibliotherapeutic perspectives on equity issues

> Pain is
> When the housewife forsakes hanging up the clothes to dry
> And is content that the flag should be
> Without stain (Mahmud Darwish, *State of Siege*, 2002,
> p.13).

The national Palestinian poet Darwish eloquently describes the sacrifice accompanied by despair of the Palestinian housewife. Darwish turns his loneliness to a secret dialogic listener and not through direct dialogue.

The mystery emphasizes and strengthens the feeling of helplessness the housewife experiences under siege, as too, the reader. In addition the poem describes the traditional culture in which a woman's job is reduced to housework in contrast to the revolutionary progress of the interviewees' generation who have realised themselves professionally. Nonetheless, as part of a minority group in the state of Israel, and also as women, the interviewees encounter discrimination and inequity. As mentioned in the introduction, Sami Smooha (2002) coins the term 'ethnic democracy' to apply to states which regard themselves and are regarded by the West as democracies, but at the same time function within the national home as an instrument in the hands of the national majority. The control of the minority by the majority in an ethnic democracy is meant to block off threats from the minority as perceived by the majority. Do the interviewees feel discrimination as a perceived threat to the Jewish majority? I will try to answer this question by means of their descriptions.

Rania: *"When my principal wanted to accept me to work they told him – but she's Arab, and it's a government job, and maybe they'll do some shady deals with her."*

During the interview with Amal, her Jewish friend who joined the interview said *"we travelled abroad together for a further education course and Amal told me: "let's leave early, don't forget I'm Arab. They'll ask me: "where do you come from? Where did you get your passport?". They'll crucify me and let you go, not because I may be suspicious. Because my nationality is Arab and yours is Jewish."*

Majda: *"I think the Arabs' identification with this country comes from the place in which the victim identifies with the aggressor, so as not to feel and not to cope with the discrimination [...] That's what happens with minorities, who abolish their*

identity and adopt any identity given to them by the ruling strong majority only so they'll accept us."

"There's a lot of discrimination in my life, I think that a lot of what I should receive I don't receive. My options and opportunities are also fewer than others."

"A relative of mine worked in the electricity company for ten years. He was very very much appreciated and he got recommendations, but at the end they didn't give him tenure. I think it's because he's Arab and for no other reason [...] I think it's not fair, they should accept us because of our abilities [...] Look at me without the glasses of Jews and Arabs."

Nur: *"Democracy? We're in dark times in this country. Today if I want to put up posters for a concert of an Arab singer, I wonder very much if I can, because the atmosphere is very much anti, intolerant, tense and unpleasant."*

Halla: *"I applied for some job and the manager asked me what I was, meaning if I'm a Muslim Arab. I told him: "Is this question relevant to the interview? I have no intention of answering". When the contract was over and I wanted to continue, I didn't get accepted to work."*

Indeed, all the interviewees have experienced inequity and discrimination from the dominant ethnic group – the Jews – and described difficult professional situations as a consequence. It emerges from their words, that this is a daily routine experience. It is evident that despite the declaration of human rights and the wish to respect and offer equal treatment to every person in the democratic state of Israel, the interviewees do not enjoy such treatment.

They are exposed to a wide and deep range of 'penalties' due to being AICs: alienation, aggression, low status, lack of opportunities, lack of recognition of their abilities and effort. These combine to block their right to make a living and compartmentalise them. Sometimes they are pushed to the point of having to abolish themselves in order to be accepted, and their national identity becomes a

risk to their life. It is an experience we have already seen in the descriptions of their training programme as bibliotherapists, in the chapter on Becoming a Therapist. The inequity and discrimination during the training period were manifested by the compartmentalisation of Arabic literature and language and in being the only AIC student in every class. How can they cope with such an offensive reality? From where do they draw strength in order to cope? How far do they take the daily painful events as a challenge? Their experiences at their parents' house, their training in bibliotherapy, and their experience in a therapeutic profession all stress complex values, conceptions and outlook. Does this allow the interviewees to maintain therapeutic relations with their clients while having feelings of discrimination and inequity? In the next chapter, the Discussion, I will try to answer these questions, but first we will get to know other aspects of their lives.

So far, we have learned about the personal, social, and national identities of the research subjects in the context of Arab Israeli society. As noted, they are a minority society historically defined through a clash with the majority society, most notably the Jewish-Palestinian conflict. Here I will add the element of their bibliotherapeutic identity to the general picture, exploring the adequacy of bibliotherapy for AIC clients. I turn to the interviewees' professional experience, and the influence of the conflict on the field of therapy.

7. Bibliotherapy for Arab Israeli citizen clients

7.1 The adequacy of therapeutic approaches for Arab Israeli society

> 'Maktub.' said the Merchant finally.
> 'What does that mean?'
> 'You would have to be born an Arab to understand, but in your
> language it would be something like "it is written." (Coelho,
> 1988, p. 53).

The interviewees work in several places, some public and some private, among which are schools, hospitals and mental health stations. Some of them meet clients in a private clinic, in individual or family sessions. Some of them are also group instructors in the institutions in which they work. The numbers of their clients range from few to more than ten. Most of their clients are Arab Israeli citizens, while a few are Jewish. How far is bibliotherapy integrated into the cultural history of Arab civilisation? And how does it aid AIC clients in therapy?

Rania: *"Our society is an ace in storytelling [...] Even the concept of storytelling started in Arab society. Paulo Coelho wrote about this [...] In Arab society there's the* Arauwi[55] *who brought stories he'd collected and told them. He would sit in some café, men would sit down around him. "*

Amal: *"I told them once in a workshop I've delivered, that the first bibliotherapist was Scheherazade. She told the king a story, and in a particular bit, after he'd already began to identify with one of the heroes of the story, she stopped it and said: "we'll speak tomorrow". In this way I thought everyone would be excited by bibliotherapy."*

Bibliotherapy in its broadest sense is indeed deeply rooted in the history of Arab culture, as two of the interviewees noted. They mentioned the special link between Arab culture and the world of stories on their own initiative. It is clear that the attribution of the act of storytelling to Arab culture from its early history was a source of pride for the interviewees. A story told verbally in front of an audience and passed from generation to generation has throughout the history of human civilisation, and the Arab one in particular, been a means to convey values, behavioural patterns, norms and worldviews. This process contains bibliotherapeutic elements – assisting the individual in coping and the group sense of social belonging.

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[55] A wandering Arabic storyteller.

However, there is a significant difference between "Western" therapy and therapy that is adequate for Arab Israeli society, which is a traditional, patriarchal and collectivist society, as I have discussed in the chapter on The Family Story. Therapy has to be changed to suit AIS, emphasising a specific cultural sensitivity. In the Literature Review I cited Dwairy (2006), an AIC psychologist who is an expert on culturally sensitive therapy for AIS. He claims that Western therapy, in which therapists are interested and encourage expressions of feelings, complex emotions and ambivalence towards authority figures, as well as emphasise an inner focus of control, is inadequate for a traditional Arab society like AIS. Furthermore, encouraging personal separation between the individual and his or her family does not promote mental health in a collectivist society, where the individual is part of the society and *hamula* in which he or she lives.

Alongside Dwairy's unequivocal stand I presented additional opinions in the literature review (Lambert and Lambert 1984; Natour and Lazovsky 2007; Shemer 2009; Pinpeter-Rosenblu 2009; Nahas 2009; Schechtman 2010) that emphasise cultural sensitivity, adaptation to acceptable norms, openness and mutual learning. All these, according to the researchers, will permit the use of therapy for Arab citizens in Israel. The interviewees' professional experience is crucial both for understanding the difficulties and problematic of "Western" therapy in the context of AIS and for gathering their recommendations for culturally sensitive bibliotherapy. The interviewees discovered this by experience, and sometimes their words supplement and reinforce the words of the psychologist Dwairy whilst at the same time honing and demonstrating their cultural adjustment.

Their words are brought in the following order: first, I present the features of their therapeutic work which highlight cultural differences; second, I layout their recommendations in light of their professional experiences.

Rania: *"The father of a child I'm treating calls me "Ya Binti"* (my daughter)*, for us it's a way of paying respect. A client's mother who gives me a hug doesn't do it from lack of observing boundaries, and it's important to understand that. When you don't understand the culture the interpretation is different."*

"I interviewed a battered Arab girl, I asked her how she's doing, and she said 'Mabsuta' (happy)*. Even a mother after a disaster will answer 'A Hamd Al Allah'* (thanks to God) *to this question. For us, to answer differently is to deny God."*

"An Arab woman who wants to keep the family peace will conceal things. She feels bad, but she doesn't want to bring it out."

"A divorced Arab woman won't say that she misses men. For an Arab woman it's a shame to say that she misses sex."

"Culturally, I'm very aware of what I wear to work. I come properly dressed, not with a T-shirt. We're taught that this is the custom and also a matter of culture and values."

"You have to respect honour, concealments and denial. It'll be a mistake to tell a battered woman: "you have the right to go to the police". You have to be aware of these sensitivities. I once worked with a client who was involved in incest, and I know that if I went with justice the father would've killed his daughter. Even though you have the duty to report, you have to be very creative and not to file a complaint. 'Don't be right, be smart'."

"When you answer: "thanks to God" during a disaster, you have to be culturally empathetic. To look at it as if it were a screen and enter through the back door."

"In therapy with an Arab woman during a time of mourning, I will look for a text for her about a woman who says "A Hamd Al Allah" and goes through difficult things. With a client who'd denied being in love, I looked for a text about a woman who got married and suddenly remembered her first love. I will always look for an Arabic text, which comes from Arab culture, and has a character in a similar situation to the situation of the client."

Amal: *"Arab society is a collectivist society, that the general good is above the good of the individual. This means that if the collective wants something, the will of the individual isn't important [...] Most therapists or clinical psychologists come from Western schools."*

"An Arab girl told me in a group: 'tell my parents what feelings are'."

"We in Arab society know feelings, we feel. We know how to mourn and we have joy, but to be in touch directly with the child's feelings, and to ask it: "what do you feel?" – that doesn't exist."

"There're differences between Western and Arab societies in the physical aspects of therapy too. For example, for us, when you look an adult in the eyes, it's not considered good. You should lower the eyes and head and show that you agree with what the adult says. Let the adult speak and not interrupt – this is one of the manners that are taught in Arab society. In the West, not to look someone in the eyes, it can be: 'what, is he not paying attention'?"

"Therapeutic work with the parents in Arab society is first of all about the importance of the relationship with the child, and the grades only second. When the parents started to recognise that the child is an individual, and didn't focus only on what the grandfather would think about the bad grade which is written in the report, things started to change. A mother told me: "now I understand that I should be with him and not against him all the time". In other words, she constantly heard bad things about her child from the teachers, and pounced on him."

"When the child with learning disabilities started to know his strengths he started to know that if I want to learn something, it's for my sake. If I want to get a passing grade in English it's for me, me, me, not for my mother."

"In order to make contact with Arab youth you have to know the culture. You don't want to treat an adolescent and encourage him to stand against his parents, but not that he'll give in to his parents' will too. You want to strengthen him so that he'll know where he's going. It's very important. A therapist can't treat an Arab youth and tell him at the age of 18: "stand up for your opinion, leave home, throw

away your parents". This will bring about a collision between the guy and the family."

"The advantage of a collectivist society is that it gives the child the feeling that his family looks after him all the time [...] I realised that my family will protect me."

Majda: *"One of the changes it was terribly important for me to bring was that therapy for children is therapy for children and parents, and it's impossible to have therapy without educating the parents [...] The attitude of the Ministry of Education was that we only treat the child. And I said: "that's not possible. When you meet the parents then you're treating the child". And that brought about plenty of changes. Now the principal wants to give me more hours from the school's timetable."*

Nur: *"In the Arab sector there's less openness to speak about feelings. People feel that they're unused to it. The whole emotional culture doesn't exist in the homes, unless it's a very exceptional home[...] Jewish clients prefer to go to a Jewish rather than an Arab therapist, because they feel that perhaps an Arab therapist can be judgmental about them."*

Halla: *"Many powerful things exist in the cultural differences."*

All the interviewees discussed the issue of cultural differences in detail. As I have said in previous chapters, "Western" norms in the field of therapy are far from adequate for AIS (just as for orthodox Jews in Israel or for any believing society). Therapists in a society that highly regards group cohesion cannot fully adopt ways of "Western" therapy, which is based on the individual and his or her feelings. AIC therapists are required to invest much effort in order to create a unique and flexible therapeutic framework. It is important to note, in this context, that this need arises in other societies in the world, as we saw in the Literature review and the sub-chapter 'Culturally sensitive therapy in the world'. However, although the interviewees do not define themselves as scholars, their descriptions clearly reinforce the claims of the scholars (Lambert and Lambert, 1984; Dwairy, 2006; Natour and Lazovsky, 2007; Nahas, 2009; Pinpeter-

Rosenblu, 2009; Shemer, 2009; Schechtman, 2010), extend available knowledge about the level of cultural competence required, and offer alternative therapeutic interventions, more suitable to AIC clients.

Similarly enlightening insights also appeared in the pilot interview. Suzan also encapsulated the inadequacy of the "Western" therapy format for her society, in which, although people experience emotions as strongly as anyone else, it is often unacceptable to speak about emotions and family secrets. Turning to therapy itself is conceived, sometimes, as a cause for social shame, which may disgrace the family. Suzan shared a relevant Arabic idiom with me, which is *tusur beita* (a good woman washes the dirty laundry in private). In the same way as the image of the woman in Darwish's poem (2002) as presented in Chapter 6, here too the gender aspect stands out. In other words, women are responsible for both the specific and the metaphorical laundry.

As mentioned, while sharing and talking about feelings is one of the central features of "Western" therapy, in AIS, similar to other societies in the world and like some parts of Israeli Jewish society (particularly the Orthodox), you do not focus and do not speak about feelings. In particular, parents (mothers and fathers alike) do not tend to ask their children about their feelings, while putting great weight on their achievements, even telling the *hamula* about them. In other words, in AIS (as in many other societies around the globe), the family's attitude depends on public achievements a lot more than on emotional literacy such as the skill and effort required to reach these achievements. In addition, we learn from the interviewees about body language as an important element in a therapeutic relationship, even when the therapy is carried out through the indirect means of texts and reading.

An AIC bibliotherapist lives the social norms of her society, and does not interpret them through "Western" eyes. A central challenge of her work and her

therapeutic interventions, as an agent of change in the therapy room, is the need to combine the two – respect for a tradition which has existed for many generations and for the accepted norms and customs of AIS, while adapting the relevant elements of "Western" therapy methods, which she encountered mainly during her training and professional experience in Jewish institutions.

Every therapeutic relationship must emphasise the gradual build-up of trust out of meaningful acceptance of cultural behaviours. This is important for finding a course for conceptual change among parents. In her therapeutic work with children, the bibliotherapist must accommodate the 'administration of the therapy' to an in built situation in which there is no separation between the child and its extended family. Therefore, it is very important to include the figures surrounding the client in the therapy sessions. Empathy and understanding are central also in the bibliotherapists' role of enlisting the parents to recognise the needs of children and view them as subjects. Here their knowledge of Arab Israeli culture is doubly important, in which the emotional welfare of the child is not always central, and its role is to bring honour and prestige to the family.

The subjects provided a rich account of the importance of caution when they encounter concealment and avoidance of emotional exposure. They stated that while in the "Western" therapy room (in their own words), every desire and problematic emotion can be legitimately expressed, in their society emotions which involve deep shame are sometimes denied. The unique effort required by the AICBs in these situations is to find an adequate way in which non-communicating clients can be brought to openness in a non-threatening manner. The interviewees therefore seemed spontaneously to support Dwairy's preference for indirect ways in therapy sessions with AIC clients. This, of course, supports the use of bibliotherapy, or other expressive therapies, themselves, as a preferred method over classical 'talking therapies', and still less, Freudian-style psychoanalysis. The challenge and difficulty of the role of the bibliotherapist comes into the fore in the issue of reporting to the authorities in cases of abuse,

which is required by law, particularly when the report touches on questions of life and death.

The interviewees added to relevant knowledge by conceptualising the need to find the golden mean of being 'wise and not right'. The significant weight of managing cultural sensitivity came up again when the interviewees referred to recommended texts for therapeutic work with AIC clients. Next, I present these texts and their explanations for choosing them.

7.2 Appropriate texts for Arab Israeli citizen clients

The interviews provided the opportunity to compose a list of recommended texts for use in therapy sessions with Arab Israeli citizen clients. This list complements the texts mentioned in chapter 7. Texts from either of these lists would be useful for designing future practice. However, the texts which 'speak' the interviewees are particularly suitable for the training period, and for experiential workshops the bibliotherapy students undergo. In other words, it could be expected that these texts would spur identification among AIC students and a productive and challenging discussion among Jewish students.

The texts brought below are suitable for work with children, adolescents and adults. Sometimes, texts which 'speak' the interviewees may also be good for therapeutic work with clients (for example, when the clients are adults). Generally, for every population there are suitable relevant texts in terms of the age and the conflicts it faces.

• *The Days*, Taha Hussein الايام لطه حسين

• *Nursery Rhymes* by Fadel Ali اغاني للاطفال للشاعر فضل علي

• *Yearn for My Mother's Bread*, Mahmud Darwish أحن إلى خبز أمي للشاعر والكاتب محمود درويش

• *Just a Picture*, Haifa Bitar مجرد صورة لهيفا بيطان

• *Stories* by Haifa Bitar

• *Stories from the Textbooks of 'Al-Muchtar'* قصص من كتب المختار هبنس الصغير لغسان كنفاني

• *The Little Lamp*, Rhassan Kanafani

• *The Little Prince*, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry

• Fairytales – *Little Red Riding Hood*, *Cinderella* and more

• *A Farewell Song* by Fairuz أغاني فيروز

• *Why the Cock has a Coxcomb*, Folktale

Rania: *"The writer Taha Hussein is an Egyptian who grew up in a very poor village, and went blind at the age of three, and he grew up to be very gifted. He memorised the Koran as a blind child. They sent him to France to study in the Sorbonne, where he became dean of Arabic literature all over the world, and he wrote books. He has an autobiography called* The Days – Al-Hayyam – *in three volumes. I did part of my practicum with blind children, I brought Taha Hussein to them, the idea that you can come from a very poor place and reach far."*

"For my first sessions with a 40 year old client I brought Arabic poems of the local poet Fadel Ali. The poem 'Whatever He Wants' *was brought to the first session, and although it's a nursery rhyme with a general content, it invites conversation about different wishes, and legitimises the differences between people. "*

"A client asked me to bring a known poem by Mahmud Darwish, which describes yearning for the mother. A poem she'd known by heart. Through it she shared her fear of the image of her dead mother."

"The writer Haifa Bitar is a Syrian ophthalmologist, who started writing stories after she'd divorced and went through a mental crisis herself. She writes stories

about women and their suffering. She has twenty books, novels and short stories. I chose to bring the story Just a Picture *to a client, because it describes the thoughts and feelings of a girl who's fallen in love, and recreates in her imagination the moments she had with her beloved [...] It's important that the text comes from Arab culture."*

Amal: *"I took most of the stories in my therapeutic work from 'Al Muchtar', familiar texts for schoolchildren [...] I explained what we're going to do, I read it once, on a slide, a computer, a presentation, or told them by heart."*

"The children's tale kandeel Al-Sarir (The Little Lamp) *by Rhassan Kanafani (a Palestinian writer) is suitable for bibilotherapeutic work: once upon a time there was a princess who lived in the palace with her father the king. One day her father told her: "I will leave you the kingdom if you manage to bring the sun into the city". Eventually her father died, and the daughter began to look for the sun. She searched and searched but couldn't find it. All this time an old man tried to get into the palace, but the guards saw the old man and chased him off the palace. But the old man never gave up and continued to try. One day the princess heard the old man saying to the guard: "the princess wants to bring the sun into the palace, why don't you open the door for me?" She heard his words and asked them to destroy all the doors and walls of the palace. The guards did as she commanded. The people of the city came from all over the kingdom with small lamps in their hands, and a great light flooded the palace, like the light of the sun [...] The story deals with interpersonal communication, with the walls between people, with how to lower the walls so that the light can get in. It's a story I've been using a lot."*

"The Little Prince is very therapeutic. I use it in the context of disability. I used it in hospitals and for dealing with separation. The prince goes to the flowers and tells them: "since I didn't grow you, you're strangers to me. Maybe the flower that I left there is by itself, but since I grew it, it means more to me, I love it more". It's a story dealing with connection and disconnection."

Majda: *"Texts I've used with children: fairytales,* Cinderella, Little Red Riding Hood*, in all languages and versions, something international."*

Nur: *"In therapy with children I use texts. The writer Rhassan Kanafani has a children's story, the only one he's written,* "The Little Lamp". *He was born in Acre, and was taken out of Acre during 1948. He had a very sad experience with this exile, and he became one of the fighters against the state of Israel. His feelings interest me. The moment you see a text by a fighter you see the person beyond the fighter, and it connects you to his story. He had a niece who died with him, he wrote the stories for her. When I work with this story I ask: how can you bring the sun in? Meaning the joy, the vitality. The story is especially suited for people who can feel helpless and with no way out. Children mainly ask themselves: how can you really bring the sun into the palace? It's a story that ponders this question."*

Halla: *"I brought a farewell song of Fairuz to a farewell meeting with a client, and it was really proper."*

"I brought the story Why the Cock has a Coxcomb, *a folktale, to an adolescent client. The story deals with the individual vs. the collective. This client had many difficulties with his family to do with his identity. Meaning that he was studying in a Jewish school and he's Arab, his identity is very complicated. In the story there's a boy who dares, out of all the people in the village, to go out and discover that the sun rises without the cock calling, and at that moment the cock felt ashamed, and its coxcomb turned red. The issue of daring, where do we hide and where do we hide less, and how truly the lack of courage of people tells itself, because a lot of people were afraid to go out, knowing that the cock hasn't called for two mornings. Only this child stepped outside and met the sun. All the other texts I brought him were in Hebrew, because I knew Hebrew texts were much more accessible to him."*

Texts in Arabic, among others by of Rhassan Kanafani and Taha Hussein, are mentioned as fundamental texts in therapeutic work with children. Poems of the

poets Fadel Ali and Mahmud Darwish were noted as were the works of Haifa Bitar, through which the importance of cultural sensitivity was emphasised. One interviewee stressed the relevance of texts by women for therapy with women in general and in situations of family crisis in particular. Alongside these texts, they also mentioned using widespread fairytales and stories. The genre of fairytales is characterized, among other things, by desires that represent the problems and pain of man. Fulfillment of these wishes provides the listeners with hope.

Likewise, the interviewees claim that most appropriate texts for bibliotherapeutic work with children are familiar and known texts. Still, it is important to note that the respondents were sensitive to the subject of therapy, i.e. the child. It was recommended that texts should be in whichever language the child understands better, Hebrew or Arabic, because AIC children in Israel sometimes study in bilingual institutions and connect also with Hebrew texts. Nevertheless, each interviewee emphasised different aspects of the texts, which can be understood both as illuminating feelings related to personal and family affairs and as related to the political aspect. The central themes are: interpersonal communication; helplessness and a sense of having no way out; identity and courage; connection and separation; emerging from distress to great achievements. I believe we can regard all these aspects as different facets of a whole, which deals with the power of the individual to change his or her situation for the better.

7.3 The uses of bibliotherapy in a divided society

One crucial issue was not mentioned at all by the interviewees. The issue being what is the therapeutic 'meta-goal' of the interviewees' bibliotherapeutic work with Arab Israeli citizens? In other words, do the interviewees strive for their clients to accept the complex and difficult external reality of the political conflict through therapy, or struggle to change this reality? While I did not ask the interviewees directly about the goal of their therapy, this is still an important and interesting question.

One hypothesis is that all of us in this region, and my subjects in particular, live in a difficult and exhausting reality, which to a large extent is concerned with bare survival. Addressing this issue requires some level of disengagement. Open mindedness and reflection are not typical of people whose everyday life is so demanding, and involves an incessant struggle to obtain the bare necessities. Bibliotherapists in particular, whose main concern is to promote welfare and minimise immediate and pressing distress, may not enjoy the conditions which enable such a high level of reflexivity.

However, their lack of reference to what we might describe as 'the politics of therapy' may also have other reasons. The first is that throughout the interview, the interviewees were encouraged to respond as therapists rather than political activists, and the whole interview was focused on the fact that they are bibliotherapists, although they evidently possess a clear political worldview. Bibliotherapy emphasises the individual, his or her welfare, and making a change in his or her emotional, familial and social state. For the interviewees, the therapy room is a complex enough arena, in which they have to focus on the needs of the clients. If their clients are children, they also have to conceptualise their feelings and thoughts, mainly for the sake of their parents who are often intentionally present in the room too. They have to find the golden mean between the characteristics of Arab Israeli society and culture and the therapeutic principles of their training, and thus balance the needs of the individual client and the needs of the family, *hamula*, and society as a very significant collective. Outside the bibliotherapy room, they face discrimination on a daily basis as a minority which has been through a terrible national catastrophe, and which is not recognised as a collective to this day. They have solid, complex and powerful positions on all this. The explanation here is therefore that they have committed themselves to a framework that values personal change, and to its challenges, and also were foregrounding this commitment in the context of an interview with me.

For these reasons, this issue of the role of bibliotherapy in a divided society is completely absent from the interview. Nevertheless, in my estimation, if an adult or child client of any of these five therapists expressed his or her will to change reality politically, collectively or nationally, I think the interviewees would be equipped to accommodate this will. They would not avoid this issue despite the fact that their training, as mentioned, completely avoids dealing with political aspects. From my acquaintance with the interviewees, they neither passively accept things, nor feel a sense of helplessness before external reality. On the contrary, they are active and socially involved women in AIS and the wider society. They are well aware of their discrimination and inequity, as seen in the chapter on The Family Story, and they strive and act in order to change this.

In summary, this chapter gave an overview of the way that the research subjects cope with an Arab Israeli social relationship with the Jewish majority. The chapter outlined in detail the complexity and difficulty both inside the therapy room and outside of it. Each of the subjects has a multifarious and complex identity map of her own. There is one common identity – the identity as an Arab – which was noted by all subjects. The Arabic language is an essential part of their identity, and a significant layer for them, as we saw also in chapter 5 on 'Becoming a Therapist' and chapter 7 on 'Texts which Speak Me'. We have learned that the significant weight that language carries for them encounters blindness, disregard and even revulsion from the Jewish society in Israel, and therefore a further alienation is added to their split identities.

In their personal life as well as the therapy room the bibliotherapists encounter many difficulties. According to them, people on each side of the conflict experience anxieties of extinction in relation to each other, and thus their ability to recognise the subjectivity of the other is limited. Yet I was particularly impressed that the interviewees describe a symmetry between Jews and Arabs in Israel, each side clinging to its past traumas against the other side. I was sorry to

learn that the interviewees often find themselves being used as objects of hostility and aggression, and the hate of the 'evil other' is turned towards them.

In a therapeutic situation in which the therapist is an AIC and the client is Jewish, the typical balance of power of Israeli society changes considerably. A unique asymmetrical situation exists in such conditions, in which the AIC therapist, who is in a position of authority, which is also a position of power, faces a Jewish client, who is in a (not necessarily conscious) position which requires him or her to relinquish the power to which he or she is accustomed.

Such a dissonance creates a challenging and difficult dynamic for both therapist and client. I saw that the interviewees cope simultaneously with their vulnerability to the aggressive transferences towards them and with the personal, family and social wounds of their clients. For example, one of the interviewees, who was facing abuse by a Jewish participant in a bibliotherapy group for bringing a poem which is customarily read on Jewish memorial days, contained the participant and gave her attention during the session, understanding that it is a case of transference. The bibliotherapists' mature professionalism is also manifested in their ability to lay the complexity of containing ethnic and national-scale divisions 'on the table', as in their recommendation in chapter 5 to refer in the training to the wider political situation as a significant story.

It is evident that understanding the influence of power relations in society on transference relations in therapy is highly important. The more we bibliotherapists, particularly those who treat members of the 'other' people, understand the extent of this influence and nature of its possible repercussions, the clearer is the importance of opening the issue up as part of the therapeutic situation. We can understand from the interviewees' descriptions that providing room for the different emotions that rise in a Jewish-Palestinian encounter in the

therapy room provides a chance of creating a protective space, which will eventually not be ruled only by feelings of fear and hate, but use them to promote therapy despite the problematic past.

The issue of being a 'culturally sensitive' therapist was also emphasised as a highly significant issue, amongst one of the most important raised by the interviewees. The interviewees, who constantly face this issue in their personal and professional lives, emphasised the need to conceptualise adequate tools for the uniqueness of emotional bibliotherapy in AIS.

This chapter has therefore clarified the tensions which characterise the lives of the interviewees in the shadow of the conflict. Following the chapters on Becoming a Therapist, The Family Story, and Texts Which Speak Me, we can clearly observe the prominent element of the narrative approach, as outlined in the Methodology chapter, which emphasises the importance of the individual's personal story within the collective story. The intertwining of the personal and collective stories is an exhilarating discovery to which I have not been exposed in my personal and professional experience as a Jewish bibliotherapist in Israel. One of the elements of the narrative method used in my research is the focus on the individual story's connection to the story of his or her group, and indeed, I saw that all of the interviewees referred to the considerable ramifications of the continual conflict for their personal and professional practice. As mentioned, the interviewees stand out in terms of their being able to exercise their subtle and multidimensional reflective ability. For me, this chapter brings out my sense of being privileged to hear their considered views on the complexity of the Jewish-Palestinian conflict.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and Recommendation

This study had to face sensitivities, complex dilemmas, and obvious ethical issues, which I have already discussed in detail. Despite all these, I must begin this closing chapter by saying that after my sessions with the interviewees, I found myself enormously grateful that all five interviewees fully cooperated on the professional level, and most of them also provided details of their personal stories. The extent of their cooperation is what allowed the knowledge to emerge and the fulfilment of a rare research opportunity in a number of aspects. Ironically, perhaps, at the end of the day, my being Jewish assisted me in that they particularly appreciated my readiness to listen and give them room to express their feelings and the space to discuss their practical recommendations. I am in full admiration and appreciation of the complexity presented by the interviewees. Certainly, the fact I reached them through a common teacher whom we all appreciated – Rachel Tzoran – helped to open a window for discussion, as well as a window to their hearts. The interviews were an opportunity for them to examine their training and professional experience, and especially to give expression to the reality in which they live. They laid out fascinating materials before me, and their words form the basis of a significant body of both theoretical and practical knowledge.

The women seemed to expect the thesis to lead to change in the training and this, together with our collegiality as women as discussed in the methodology chapter (Melman, 1995), created a bond that cut across the limitations of culture, religion and nationality.

None of the customary approaches to therapy presume to change social, political and national institutions making up the "reality" in which they operate. But on the other hand, therapies in general and bibliotherapy in particular are designed to acknowledge and address any kind of personal pain. Analysing the words of

the interviewees, we learn that on the one hand they too recognised the huge potential of bibliotherapy, which facilitates contact with personal, family, social, political and national distresses. They hope that clients, Arab Israeli citizens as much as Jews, can be treated and relieved by means of various texts. The interviewees are aware of the bibliotherapeutic power on the basis of lasting life experiences. They placed an emphasis on the unique connections of bibliotherapy and Arab society. The central position of the storyteller, the *Arawi*, highlights Arab society's sense of deep connection with stories. On the other hand, touching political and social meaning directly as part of the bibliotherapeutic process is still a challenge for the training of bibliotherapists. The interviewees uphold the conception of the personal as political and vice versa. They pointed out power relations, stereotypes and prejudices, and turned attention to the experience of otherness which characterises their identity. On the one hand, the interviewees increased our understanding of the intensity of the repercussions of being AICs for their training and work as bibliotherapists. On the other hand, they displayed deep and perceptive awareness of situations in which dealing with the collective trauma can be used as a defence against a range of personal heartaches.

The issue of otherness was a significant factor throughout the process of my research. I am a Hebrew speaking Jew, which is an 'other' for the AIC subjects whose mother tongue is Arabic, and who are 'other' to me. For my English speaking British supervisors, who live in a different continent, I am an 'other' and they are 'other' to me. Each of us involved in the study was born in a different place, and influenced by a different culture, norms, values, professional training, life experience and even news reports. A well-known sentence from an Israeli song succinctly expresses this state of affairs: "things you see from there, you cannot see from here." (Jacob Rotblit), and this is the feeling I had at all stages of the research.

When an AIC bibliotherapist in Israel enters the therapy room, in which she would treat mostly AICs, but also Jewish clients, she often finds herself struggling under the burden, and always carrying various elements on her back. Among these are first and foremost her many and sometimes contrasting personal identities. She belongs to a traditional, patriarchal, collectivist society in transition, which is influenced by individualism while maintaining its own distinctive values, which are somewhat different from the values of the Jewish majority and "Western" culture. She can also never put to one side her belonging to a minority group which is discriminated against by the majority. From a completely different direction, she carries her literary world, her education and her training as a bibliotherapist. Next, I will expand on each of these aspects a little in order to highlight the findings of this study.

1. Identity struggles: resources for bibliotherapists

In chapter 8 on Bibliotherapists' Identities in the Context of the Jewish-Palestinian Conflict we saw how the scholars (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Bar and Bar-Gal, 1995; Bourdieu, 1999, 2005; Aburabia-Queder, 2008, 2010) analyse the issue of the self- definition of a person, which is always made up of a range of identities, and the relationship among these identities. Bar and Bar-Gal layout the complexity of the issue of the identity of Arab Israeli citizens in a situation of prolonged Jewish-Palestinian conflict. They shed light on the impossible position of AICs, in which they are required to identify with the state in which they live, which is defined as the state of the Jewish people and is continually at war with their people. We explicitly saw the rifted identities of the interviewees in the chapter on The Jewish-Palestinian Conflict, Identities and Therapy, and that their deep reflection on the issue of identity confirmed the claims of the above mentioned scholars. They ponder questions such as: who are we? Are we Palestinian? Israelis? To whom do we belong and who belongs to us? What is our reference group? As one of the interviewees said: *"An Arab living in this country always has questions of identity. The encounter with the Jewish-Israeli world in the most powerful way only added to an even more confused, split, and*

complicated identity [...]Identity, eventually, we receive and don't choose." Another interviewee added another aspect: *"This confusion and identity crisis, it's something common to the whole of Arab society in Israel[...] I fight in order to belong [...]The state doesn't accept my belonging".*

All the interviewees also face the challenge of finding an inner order within their many identities, as well as the deep emotional consequences and the tension that it caused by this complicated situation. The woman sitting in the therapist's chair is herself coping with much confusion and the need to find a comfortable place for her self-definition. How can a bibliotherapist be available for work with clients who turn to therapy due to various emotional difficulties, when the bibliotherapist herself is coping with a deep identity dilemma? Where do the resources and strength come from?

The sources of the interviewees' strength are to be found in their personal connection to creative expression (writing or music) since early childhood; in strong bonds with friends; and for most, in family support too. This appears to be their way to find containment, process the emotional whirlpools, and face their clients. All interviewees referred to at least one significant (first degree) family relationship, which continues on a daily basis. In addition, they carry positive emotional experiences and childhood memories that have strengthened their confidence. For all of them except one, there was a family figure in the past who was an anchor of support and confidence in her abilities. Secondly, a main source for all interviewees is their strong connection to the field of reading and writing. Their own experiences of solace in literature were a medicine for their own pain for many years. An essential and important resource for them is their high linguistic competence and mature emotional expression. Language allows for the expression of subtle emotions, and the aspect of processing difficult experiences is more available to them. The expression of emotions and the ability to verbalise and conceptualise – the power of words – are all sources of empowerment. They advance the interviewees' ability to reflect on their inner chaos, to understand

complexity, to not be shaken by challenging situations in the therapy room, and to contain transferences that clients direct towards them.

2. A society in transition as a challenge to proficiency in bibliotherapy

When a bibliotherapist enters the therapy room, she also carries her social affiliation and its consequences on her back. In the chapter on The Family Story, I presented the findings of studies which described the way Arab Israeli women cope with changes that their societies are undergoing (Abu-Lughod, 1990; Jeraissi, 1991; Sa'ar, 1993; Wiener-Levi, 1993; Haj-Yihye, 1994, 2006; Araf Ali , 1997; Khashivon, 1997; Khalikhal, 2005; Aburabia-Queder, 2007; Abu Baker, 2009). These scholars emphasise that the exposure to modernisation and the changes that follow it take place in the shadow of the traditional patriarchy, in which men and the elderly dominate and determine fates. A number of interviewees confirmed the claims of these scholars when they described the fathers of the family as determining: who would be the appropriate partner for them, the place of residence of the young couple, whether and where to gain education and whether to be exposed to fine literature. These scholars also claim that the changes in traditional Arab Israeli society often end up doubling the chores of women – housework and childrearing in addition to gaining education and going out to work, without their partner stepping in to help.

All these cause mental and social distress. A woman is required to function like a superwoman, and according to these scholars, AIS (in addition to many other societies around the world) is still far from adopting both the principles of social justice and gender equality between men and women and the application of these principles. Aburabia-Queder (2008, 2010) emphasises one particular aspect in this context, which is that in order to survive, women develop various strategies. On the one hand they 'toe the line' of acceptable social norms, while on the other hand they flex and redraw the boundaries of their freedom and wishes. My findings on this issue are not one dimensional, and partially disagree with the claims of these scholars, except those of Aburabia-Queder. I can think of

two possible explanations for the gap between my findings and those of other scholars. One is that the considerable range of ages (29-60) is wide enough to reflect a society in transition, in which the father acquires new qualities in the lives of the interviewees. The other explanation is that the figures they refer to are themselves reflections of their society in transition. The father or husband was the first to be mentioned by the interviewees as a much loved and valued figure. The grandfather, on the other hand, was noted as authoritarian and forceful, which manifests the dramatic changes which their society is undergoing. As one interviewee said: *"Nowadays, the father doesn't tell his son who to marry and what to study, as was done to my dad"*.

Unexpectedly for me, I found three of the interviewees to be single. One was married but notably in later life, and only one is a mother of three children. They are all working, educated women, supporting themselves, and investing greatly in their professional development. Two contrasting explanations of this situation can be given. The first is the great difficulty of women in gaining access to conditions which enable both professional and family achievements simultaneously. On the other hand, it may be that educated and professional AIC women have difficulty finding partners after their own hearts, who can match their achievements (as is the case in many other places too). Furthermore, adhering to the fulfilment of the traditional womanly role is not first among their priorities. The AIC bibliotherapists refuse to conform to the dictates of tradition, they are pioneers by the very fact that they chose to study a profession that is uncommon in their society, and their lives are not determined by a prewritten script. Their ability for courageous reflection and critical thinking, which opposes male supremacy, came up in the chapter on Texts which Speak Me as well. It presented their identification with texts that challenge the oppression of women, like the texts of Ahlam Mosteghanemi and Fadwa Tuqan, which emphasise the demand for women's liberation and rights. All the interviewees became more aware of women's rights and needs as a result of the training. One interviewee in particular emphasised that her world has 'opened up' during the training, and she gained knowledge about alternative lifestyles. We can learn that in addition

to womens' organisations, the training also contributed to their awareness of the importance of women's liberation, and of striving for its realisation in society. The training, which prioritises the connection to our inner life, apparently allows women to draw power and strength; grow stronger and independent of mind and will; not to settle for a traditional role.

3. Belonging to a discriminated against minority group as both a constraint and a resource in bibliotherapy

To continue the metaphor used in the previous sections, an Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapist carries on her back, in addition to the load already described, her belonging to a disadvantaged and discriminated minority group. The interviewees' experiences of inequity and discrimination in many deplorable contexts – during training, on memorial days, and in their options for promotion at work – support Smooha's definition of Israel as an ethnic democracy.

Coping with this reality would be very difficult for anyone, and requires special mental and functional resources. Among the resources which allow them to function as bibliotherapists despite these difficulties are: the interviewees' awareness of themselves and the circumstances of their lives, the families in which they grew up, and their national history. Especially important is their awareness of the complicated reality of their lives in the state of Israel, together with their honesty, will to share, and willingness to act in order to change their own life situation mainly professionally and stand up for their rights. To no lesser degree, they rely on their great investment in gaining knowledge and experience from the profession of bibliotherapy. From my experience as a bibliotherapist, I can definitely say that wounded therapists, who go through helpful therapy themselves, offer better therapy to their clients, and use their life experiences and the therapy they have received as a vital resource. The intensiveness of the wounds mentioned in the interviewees' narrative, together with their reflective ability, indicate a high degree of mental fortitude.

4. The conflict as a dark cloud in the skies of the bibliotherapists

An Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapist bears the burden of collective memory, and the continual Jewish-Palestinian conflict and its heavy price, which are laid out next, mainly as they appear in the bibliotherapy room. In the Literature Review I discussed the use of reader response theory during bibliotherapy training. This theory emphasises the active role of the reader in the interpretation of the text, and the conditions which allow for various personal transferences of the client to the text, mediated by the bibliotherapist (Iser, 1975). Hall (2006) extends the concept further, and in addition to personal transference speaks of 'cultural transference' to a text, in which the persuasive power of the text is decoded on the basis of the historical and social background of the readers. Many scholars (Foulkes , 1964,1974 ; Bar and Bar-Gal, 1995 ; Dalal, 1995; Javier and Rendon, 1995; Vulcan, 2001; Weinberg, 2008, 2009; Hazan, 2011) also use the concept of the 'social unconscious' to shed light on the conflictual relationship between the two peoples. This includes the human disposition to collectively define enemies as a cluster of unwanted representations of the individual and the group, which is used as an object of negative transferences.

The interviewees' ability to direct the spotlight on concealed and unconscious factors of the on-going conflict in addition to revealed ones deepens our understanding of the existential struggle between the two peoples. The relationship of victim and victimiser, according to the interviewees as well as existing literature on the subject is passed on unconsciously from one generation to the next. The Jews 'carry' the wounds inflicted by the Nazis over to the Palestinians, while the Palestinians 'carry' the wounds of the Nakba. Each side holds by its chosen historical trauma and does not let go, and is therefore unavailable for dialogue. This suggests the investment people have in trauma at a deep ontological level – i.e. their identity has been shaped by the past or present experiences of hostility.The interviewees' words encourage thought about using

processes of text transference as a helpful medium in discussing the connection between spirit and society. Examining their words about textual choice contributes to broadening the term 'text transference' from its intimate and individual character as presented in the 'reader's response theory' to the social-political arena. Similarly, Illouz (2012), claims that the feeling of anger is political and not private. They clarified my understanding that beside the caution and hurt conveyed by texts with political meaning, they have great relevance for personal and professional life. And yet, we need to appreciate that sometimes the relation between personal and collective trauma goes in the other direction. This was described by the interviewees, and also mentioned in the interview with Rachel Tzoran, which I presented in the Literature Review. For example, in her course on a textual identity card, one of the AIC students brought a story to class which deals with the repercussions of the Nakba, thinking the discussion would focus on the political aspect. As Tzoran said:

> She admitted that she had not known what she was bringing.
> She thought it was a national tale attacking Jews, but she found
> it telling the story of her own abandonment. Out of a story
> painted in the colours of nationalism rose a story of personal
> identity.

The interviewees claim that internal anxieties are often projected on the collective conflict. Furthermore, the political situation is used when it is difficult to encounter personal wounds. They understand that sometimes the centrality of the political and the enlisting of stereotypes is done as a defence against the personal pain of rejection and abandonment. The role of the therapist in the bibliotherapy room, as well as that of a lecturer in the training, is to turn attention to this difficulty. Two interviewees described this situation well: *"Texts can be very well disguised, you can follow the collective, socio-political, while the personal can get swallowed up". "When we speak about the Nakba, we don't really speak about the Nakba, we're speaking about something deeper within us, which identifies with the external story. The personal trauma of each one of us"*. These words illustrate that in the process of transference to a text there are various emotional layers. Emphasising the painful social-collective identity sometimes

covers personal themes, which could directly reopen old wounds. In other words, adherence to one viewpoint can darken, if not erase, significant elements in our souls. We have to be in dialogue with our own emotions as well as those of our clients, through observation that combines the social political context with the personal.

5. Cultural sensitivity as fundamental in bibliotherapy

As mentioned, the principles and characteristics of Arab Israeli culture are often different from the principles of what is understood as Western culture, adopted by Jewish therapists in Israel. In agreement with existing studies presented in the Literature Review ((Dalal (2002); Elias (1976); Fanon (1982); Dwairy, (2002, 2006); D'ardenne, and Mahtani (1989); Hazut (2005); Littlewood and Lipsedge (1993); Natour and Lazovsky (2007); Pinpeter-Rosenblu (2009); Remington and Dacosta (1989); Shechtman (2010); Shemmer (2009)), the bibliotherapists recommended finding creative ways that ensure both the clients' personal safety and the norms of Arab Israeli society. Finding this golden mean, as mentioned, is a central challenge for the interviewees.

An explicit recommendation of the interviewees is to prefer an indirect medium of therapy over direct therapy. Of course, this is precisely the character of bibliotherapy, which, like all the expressive therapies, uses an art form – written text in this case – as a medium for discussion, rather than asking clients to talk directly about themselves. This allows for poetic, metaphorical expression, which allows for emotional contact, which is difficult to directly express. Conducive texts for this purpose are Arabic texts, because they facilitate identification, discussion in the clients' native language, and dealing with contents described in a close and familiar manner.

Another important difference between the two cultures concerns one of the main principles of child raising in "Western" society in general, and consequently in

the therapy room as well, which is that the child is in the centre, and so are its needs, wishes, feelings and welfare. In AIS, however (as well as other traditional societies in the world and segments of Jewish Israeli society), the adults (mainly the old and the men as part of the family and the *hamula*) are at the centre and not the child. As a result, everything which brings honour and prestige to the status of the adults and the family is highlighted. Roles and accomplishments are put on show not only for the sake of the nuclear family, but for the entire *hamula*, and they are a matter of family pride or shame. As the child is required to satisfy the adults, its inner motivation and acting for its own sake is deemed secondary. In situations in which the child encounters difficulties, which often becomes general knowledge, the child and its family are exposed to shame and offence by the extended family and *hamula*. Nevertheless, it clearly cannot be ignored that belonging to the *hamula*, which is large and rooted in its place for generations, provides inner security and wraps individuals in a calming sense of protection.

Consequently, as opposed to the exclusivity of the "Western" therapy room, which was adopted by Jewish therapists in Israel, the Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists emphasise that in their work with AIC clients, the bibliotherapy room is not exclusive to the client. On the contrary, thought is given along with an explicit recommendation to include significant figures in the life of the client (parents and teachers) in the bibliotherapy sessions, to ensure the effectiveness of therapy. It was recommended that considerable weight be given to instructing the parents as part of the therapy of the child. In such instruction, there is room to focus on the child, and grant importance to its needs and feelings. This means recognising and acknowledging the needs of the child above family honour and prestige. The interviewees' advice is to encourage all the figures surrounding the child to regard and treat the child as a subject, and develop its sense of competence in order to improve its self-esteem and feelings. AIC children and adults in Israel are exposed to an individualistic lifestyle, alongside group pressure to keep their collective identity. Therefore, encouraging independence of the kind which directly confronts the parents, family and authority figures is inadequate and often unwanted in the bibliotherapy room. But this does not

mean that the adolescent is not to be encouraged to recognise his or her strengths and personal aspirations. We can learn that it is necessary to include culturally sensitive courses and supervision in the training, and that there is a fundamental flaw in the training of bibliotherapists, while they are based exclusively on the principles of the "Western" therapeutic approach.

6. The bibliotherapist's world of books

When she enters the bibliotherapy room, the Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapist, in addition to the heavy load she is carrying on her back, also proudly carries her world of books, the associations accompanying these books, and her attitude to reading and gaining education. The findings of the study highlight two aspects. The first focuses on the question, why would an AIC woman choose to train in a profession that is so alien to her society? It emerges from the study that the bibliotherapists have had a deep and healing connection with books since childhood. They all described entering a vital magic bubble by dedicating themselves to the story, and their great need of comfort by means of the experience of reading. Their world of books allows them to enter an imagined reality for a while, through which they tend to the pains and torments of external reality. All the interviewees expressed closeness and desire for words, books and literature. They have all chosen to study a profession which manifests their hearts' desire and their lust for knowledge with which to cope with the difficult reality of their lives.

The second aspect concerns the influence of the attitude to education in the homes in which they were raised. Abu Asba (2006, 2007) claims that turning to higher education among the Arab Israeli minority is done from a conception of education as a social and political tool, and from seeing the educated as agents of change, whose role is to motivate processes and lead the way in the AICs' struggle for equality. The findings of this study agree with the scholar, and strengthen our understanding that "a person is the image of the landscape of his homeland" (Tschernichowski, 1966). Most of the interviewees had a parent

whose encouragement and blessing for gaining education were highly significant and important for them. Rania's father was himself among the pioneering AICs who studied a liberal profession; Amal's father repeatedly stressed the importance of education as a means for gaining respect and status, as his father did to him; Halla's father saw education as a tool in the struggle; Majda's many and varied areas of study testify to a belief in the power of education and professionalisation; Nur, as the daughter of an ideologically motivated woman, has studied for many years in academia despite her father's objection, and unequivocally claims that she survived due to reading, and owes her personal development to books. The study allows me to say that there is a good chance that an AICB would have had parents who encouraged their family to gain education. I also suggest that AICBs would likely pass on their blessing and belief in academic studies and professional development to their children and their clients, despite the many difficulties.

There is room to note, in this context, that some of the interviewees emphasised the efficacy of the bibilotherapeutic medium of stories and writing to AIC clients despite its current limitations. Yet they also note that it has to be used with caution, because it may deter, being associated with study failures. As one interviewee said: *"Bibliotherapy can be threatening initially. People think it's something that only educated and intelligent people can work with it […] But later on they experienced the power of expression and creation"*.

7. The bibliotherapy training

There is no doubt that the Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapist in the therapy room bases herself among other things on her training, despite the fact that it lacks crucial components. No studies have yet been published, which look at the structure of their training in mixed groups of AICs and Jews. The findings of my study give expression to their experiences of studying in a Jewish university, which is an inter cultural space. The training is described as enriching and contributing to personal development, as providing containment and warmth in

a deep and significant process of growth. But as I have emphasised, the training completely ignores the features of Arab Israeli society and culture. Furthermore, the absence of Arabic texts, nor any institutional reference to them, during three years of training gives rise to distress and severe criticism. This is worse when they find themselves as the only AIC student in every year.

The findings of the study illuminate the complex situation in which AIC bibliotherapy students find themselves during the training, in the meeting point between the different societies, loaded with experiences of fugitiveness, foreignness and alienation, alongside powerful experiences of empowerment, personal development and gaining a complex outlook. In addition to academic assignments, they have to invest a great effort in their unique role as translators. Nevertheless, they view themselves as a 'bridge' and an 'interface' between the two peoples, despite the hardships of this role: *"I took upon myself the role of a bridge. How much can a bridge carry?"*

During the training, different types of relationships are formed between the isolated AIC bibliotherapy student and her classmates. The interviewees feel close and even friendly with some of the Jews, while another part makes them feel sometimes like the 'Arab pet', who provides her Jewish classmates with the opportunity to feel noble and a bleeding-heart. Often they feel that they are being patronised by the Jewish students, while at times of terrorist attacks and wars they are torn between their empathy for their people and for their male student friends at the front. Among other elements, they also encounter tension in the relationship with their lecturers on account of political differences; alienation arising from the compartmentalisation of the Arabic language and their texts; disregard for their people's national trauma while a 'place of honour' is reserved for the Jewish holocaust; and the difficulty of the training staff to hold a discussion of political events and their consequences.

The honesty of the interviewees, their cooperation with the study and their exceptional conceptual ability could make a unique contribution to the training in which I teach, as well as to the general practice of bibliotherapy. This year already, Arabic literature and writers were included in the curriculum and the experiential workshops; one of the interviewees joined the teaching staff in the training programme due to my intervention and she is an important resource for the AIC student she teaches as well as the whole staff; and culturally sensitive supervision is emphasised. But a great challenge still faces the training staff, to professionalise in leading discussions in which the political is a bubbling undercurrent, as Mahmud Darwish illuminated in his poem "Between Rita and My Eyes there is a Rifle". A way is required to put the 'text' of political reality and its impact 'on the table', while simultaneously containing the power of fear, terror and the mutual hostility of both peoples.

8. Summary of recommendations

The point of a study like this one must be to enable policy change as well as academic understanding. I conclude, therefore, by offering a set of recommendations, which are applicable immediately and in the future. The conclusions are based on the interviewees' personal experiences as well as their professional and practical experiences with clients. They also reflect the interviewees' own recommendations.

8.1 Recommendations for training

• Every effort should be made so that in every year there would be more than a single Arab Israeli student.

• The training should provide more critical discussion about gender and its repercussions on both personal and professional life, as almost everyone who professionalises in bibliotherapy is a woman.

• Arabic texts by Arab writers in Arabic should be recognised and acknowledged. This is also an explicit expectation of the interviewees in this thesis.

All students – Jews and Arab Israeli citizens –should be exposed to texts and critical reading in both languages.

Jewish pupils in Israel should learn Arabic just as Arab pupils learn Hebrew as an integral part of the curriculum.

Jewish teachers in Israel who instruct Arab students should learn Arabic, particularly in the field of bibliotherapy.

• Awareness and sensitivity to Arab cultural issues should be developed among the whole staff of lecturers and supervisors in the training. This includes courses devoted to working skills for bibliotherapeutic work with children and adults in Arab Israeli society.

• Arab Israeli supervisors and lecturers should be included in the training.

• It is worthwhile devoting a structured space in the classroom to national political events, including situations of conflict, which take into account external reality, guided by the lecturers of the training, including bringing literary texts which deal with the political, through which painful issues can be touched.

• The bibliotherapeutic tool should be handled with caution, since the process of working with texts may remind some clients of study failures, and the anxiety may be intensified by contact with them.

• It is worth being fully level with students about the status of bibliotherapists in Israel and the lack of official recognition of the profession.

• The whole framework of the training should assume full responsibility for coordinating and finding suitable work for each of the AIC bibliotherapy students. A place should be found to allow them full professional development and the fulfilment of their potential, based in part on culturally sensitive observation.

• It is worthwhile creating a generally agreed framework and syllabus with statutory obligations that all expressive therapy training programmes involving AIC bibliotherapy students should follow.

8.2 Recommendations for the therapy room

• There should be recognition and awareness of the personal-collective load carried by everyone involved in the bibliotherapy room. The Arab Israeli child and parent, the Jewish Israeli child and adult and the AIC bibliotherapist are all influenced by the continual conflict. The professionalism and therapeutic maturity of the AICBs is manifested in their ability to contain this complexity, cope with dilemmas and difficulties arising because of it, and find proper therapeutic solutions for them.

• The policies and supervision in places that treat AIC children should recognise the necessity of including the parents in therapeutic work.

• Great respect should be paid to tradition first and foremost, building trust gradually, and interpreting the behavioural and verbal codes in the bibliotherapy room while respecting Arab Israeli culture. Only after completing this stage, the required basis would exist for enrichment of Arab Israeli families with further tools, even those to which they were never previously exposed.

• It is worthwhile recognising the unique situation of AICBs in work teams, in order to integrate them into the teams in the best and most equal basis. There is potentially great benefit in allowing the bibliotherapist to express her dilemmas and distress in relation to the national and social situation in the country during supervision. Furthermore, the findings of the study emphasise the importance of group containment, for example, in staff meetings in which therapists from discriminated minority groups can directly express the complexity of their existence.

• Staff meetings should also include an element of peer learning, which is of great importance for AICBs, who were the only ones of their society in the classroom,

so that they can experience feedback of closeness and familiarity from other AIC colleagues.

• It is worthwhile developing a training format, which takes into account the cultural differences in every framework.

• The toolbox of bibliotherapy should be expanded because it is insufficient as it is.

• In cases of lawful duty to report an abuse of a client to welfare, personal safety of both the clients and the therapist herself should be ensured first of all. In these cases, a creative way should be found to ensure the safety of the abused, like enlisting adults from the extended family who have the power to look after the child. When it seems that trust cannot be established with figures of the extended family, the bibliotherapist must approach welfare in the professional and proper way.

• Ways of sorting, integrating and promoting AICBs should be formalised so as to guarantee their equal status, that would not rest on means which are only open to Jews, such as 'a friend brings a friend'.

9. Suggestions for future research

The question of the knowledge gained in the professional training of bibliotherapists in Israel in general (women, men, Jews, Arab Israeli citizens, and indeed members of other ethnic minorities in Israel) and its relevance to the fieldwork is worthy of further research. How adequate is the knowledge provided in the training process of bibliotherapists for the actual therapeutic work? In addition, what is the right balance between the bodies of universal knowledge taught in the training – theoretical knowledge, practical knowledge and experiential training – and between specific knowledge about selected populations? This study focused on the experiences and conceptions of the AIC bibliotherapists in Israel. There are many more minority groups in the world, and it is relevant to examine the question of the adequacy of the training for therapeutic professions to these groups. It is interesting to ponder whether the

conclusions of the present study are specific to the Arab Israeli population in Israel, or do they resemble the case of other groups? It would also be worthwhile comparing the findings of this study with the views of Jewish Israeli bibliotherapists about their relationships with AIC colleagues, friends and acquaintances as well as the conflict in general, about therapeutic change and the profession, and their part in changing the social unconscious. I hope the material presented here will advance the field of theory and practice of bibliotherapy in Israel, and that my study will pave the way for more research in this new and unique field.

Chapter 10: A Personal Reflection

A topic such as this one cannot conclude only with a list of practical recommendations, important as they are. Nor indeed can I end this study without a more personal discussion of how it has challenged, and even arguably, changed me. I have already suggested this in my discussions of the ethical elements of working with AIC bibliotherapists as a Jewish-Israeli practitioner, and implied it in my description of Tzoran's work, as a graduate of her course. In this final chapter though, I want to concentrate on my personal connection with the topic of adopting 'westernism' in Israel and its influence on therapy. It is important for me to share the process I underwent that dealt with my approach in presenting findings, that began with pretentiously conveying the interviewees' words neutrally and ended in understanding the way to present data, a finding influenced by my story – the interviewer – in a personal-social-cultural-national and political context. In addition, I shall conclude this last chapter through my encounter with an extensive literature on inter-culture and its deep influence on me.

1. The assumptions I make regarding Jewish and Arab cultures and the concept "western" as applied to psychotherapy and in general

My significant encounters with European and American culture known in Israel as western culture already occurred in my childhood. I shall begin with a personal story.

As a child, I loved to stay with my grandmother who lived in the centre of Jerusalem. "Grandma Ruti" (as we called her), escaped from Nazi Germany in 1935, just in time before the outbreak of war. Grandma spoke to her grandchildren in Hebrew and to the rest of the family (her sons and brothers) in her mother tongue, German. Her feeling of belonging to her roots in pre-war Europe was apparent in her day-to-day routine. I remember how important it was to her to take me to concerts. I remember the fancy dress I wore for the

occasion and the splendour at the entrance to the hall. Once, Pablo Casals, the renowned cellist and composer, arrived in Israel at the invitation of his friend Isaac Stern, the violinist, to conduct the orchestra. Grandma Ruti told me repeatedly the name of the European guest and his American friend (the fact is, I still remember them). She was happy and proud to endow her granddaughter with the metaphoric music that accompanied and moulded her life before the war.

Grandma Ruti lived in King George Street. The British foreignness of King George Street, is described in Amos Oz's (2002) book in the same way as I perceived it.[56]

> since George V Avenue (not only because of its name)always seemed to me as a child to be an extension of that wonderful London Town I knew from films: King George V Avenue with its rows of grand, official-looking buildings extending on both sides of the road in a continuous uniform façade, without those gaps of sad neglect-stricken yards defaced by rubbish and rusting metal that separated the houses in our own areas....Here on either side of the street was an uninterrupted proud façade whose doors and lace curtained windows all spoke discreetly of wealth, respectability, soft voices, and fine manners. .. other worlds, whiffs of wealth from distant continents, scents of brightly lit , bustling cities, ladies and gentlemen who met to drink coffee and cream in wood panelled rooms, sat in elegant cafes under gold chandeliers, went arm in arm to the ballet or opera, seeing the lives of great artistes.... Here the doorways of the buildings were adorned with black glass plates of lawyers, brokers and doctors. (Oz, 2002)

A sign on the street had my grandmother's name "Dr. Ruth Hess, Paediatrician". The plaque was written in Hebrew but Grandma Ruti healed, thought and felt in German.

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[56] Amos Oz is one of the foremost writers in Israel.

The researchers' opinions that discuss the complexities of 'western' influence on Israel whose opinions I presented in the Literature review (Raz 2010, Kamir 2007, Nitsan-Shiftan 2000, Rolnik 2007, Prager 1987), the writing of Amos Oz and the story of Grandma Ruti's integration in Israel, explain the strong will of the Jews in Israel to belong to society representatives that are thought of as prestigious, from whom they were forcibly severed. The eyes of Israeli Jews still look up to 'western' culture from which they have been uprooted, expelled and turned into refugees. I, belonging to Jewish Israeli society and identifying with the exceptional trauma the Jews experienced in the Holocaust – the planned murder of 6 million Jews – I can understand, as I mentioned in the Literature Review, the sociological and historical factors that caused the Jews to preserve 'western intellectual culture' in many areas, including therapy. The point of my research is to give expression to this sensitive situation in my profession as a bibliotherapist, in my therapeutic practice and also in class with students. Yet, I nevertheless hope for change out of faith in the power of small changes to assist in generating bigger changes.

2. My approach to presenting data – or better, listening to their stories

The basis for writing narrative research like mine is presented in the writing of Spector-Marzel (2010) who claims that the interviewees' voices must be clearly heard, mainly through an abundance of quotations. Even so she and Roper (2003) emphasize that the researcher, as also the interrogatee, is telling a story, and as such is presenting a story of their stories. Spector-Marzel and Roper each stress the need for deep reflection on the methods in which the researcher influenced the interrogatee's story and the various factors that guided her when reading the interviews, their presentation and interpretation. Roper (2003), highlights another point:

> In the biographical enterprise there is no alternative but that
> we cultivate sensitivity to how our subjects felt then, according
> to how the evidence of their lives makes us feel now. It is a case
> of allowing ourselves, through a process of empathetic
> imagination, to be projected into and to hold and process the
> emotional impulses conveyed through the evidence of past texts
> (Roper 2003, p. 30).

The thought that accompanied me at the start of the writing process was that the sensitivity of the research obliges me to pay homage to the author without adding to the analysis or interpretation on my part. Moreover, my promise with regard to maintaining anonymity did not permit me to add complete interviews to the research appendices and so, in each chapter, I presented many relevant quotes of the interviewees. I related to my job as a researcher coming to the research not from a position defined as a 'possessor of knowledge', but as someone contributing to the expression and exposition of the AICBs' experiences and views. I tried to be present in the text while offering a considerable, central place to the interviewees' story in their own language, through their eyes, and so I have presented all their relevant responses and observations in full.

Now, as I reflect on my research, I know that objectivity and neutrality are not absolute possibilities. The many quotes of the interviewees are not my withdrawing responsibility from trying to derive significance from the interviewees' stories. I presented their voices from a strong, illuminating place, as I wanted. Each interview was a meeting of two women; each one was there with her interview story and also brought her narrative to the meeting. We both influenced the interview story that developed and consolidated. My desire to strengthen the interviewees and give them a platform to express their views and criticism, shaped the manner of the interview as well as its analysis and producing a written text. All this contributes to my realization that one should

not refer to writing research as a neutral 'report' but as a story influenced by all its participants (interviewees and researcher). The interviewees did not just recreate their stories, without relating to the interaction created. The stories I depict in the research are also connected to my understanding of the interview as a result of my views, from my life story and in context with the social, political, Jewish debate in Israel, and from the Palestinian conflict.

Looking back I understand that as much as the stories were powerful and included, on the one hand, descriptions of their personal lives and on the other, the collective story, mainly the *Nakba*, and the more the interviewees dedicated themselves for the good of the research and their voices were 'fuller', so the method in which I portrayed things was more forceful. In other words, "at the heart of research exists the relation between the general and the personal". (Chase 1995, p.22 in Shor & Tsabar-Ben Yehoshua 2010 p.217)

My narrative – the researcher – was present by choosing to bring many quotes, especially the interviewees' words. One can observe the way the research is presented as a reciprocal relationship between me and the interviewee. Indeed, I could not remain indifferent to the material I was exposed to. The knowledge and stories augmented my insight of AICs lives and Israeli Jews in general, and the field of therapy in particular, because I conducted research directly related to multicultural Israeli society in which I live and work. The study affected me professionally and personally and mainly empowered my professionalism as a supervisory lecturer and as a therapist. Moreover, the actual process of writing allowed me to survey the fields of therapy in Israeli society and brought to the surface my own blind spots and those of the society to which I belong. Today, I look at therapeutic training and the academic world differently. In other words, due to the collaboration of the interviewees I became more professional and the motif of gratitude affected the method of writing.

3. The implications of my study for the work in English on inter-cultural therapy

The extensive literature in the field of inter-cultural therapy improved my understanding of the universal significance and the wide historical context of power relations, and about cultural differences in the therapy room of various societies in the world. Furthermore, my tool box as a therapist and student supervisor in bibliotherapy has been enriched and I adopted the viewpoint of Einshtein (2012) that "to look at culture in Israel without looking at the relations and stereotypes within and between groups in the world is an incomplete view of the multicultural vista."

Dalal's (2002) discussion that deals with the creation of racism and superstition, helped me observe clients and therapists coping with the phenomenon and its implications, beyond the specific context of the 'Israeli case'. I was influenced by the way Dalal studied the psychoanalytic approach that focuses on man's inner being and from his conclusions that the tendency towards this approach ignores the presence of social, political and cultural processes in the therapy room. In his words: "The majority treats notions of race and racism as secondary phenomena and not of import in themselves."

The basic psychoanalytical approach is one of the central anchors of various therapists' training in Israel. The importance that Dalal refers to, in social cultural contexts, clarified the fact for me that focusing only on the inner world of clients could create blindness both in evaluating the client and in a mistaken therapeutic approach.

Furthermore, I was influenced by the opinion that Dalal presents, of therapists' understanding of their great responsibility all over the world. How important it is to insist on caution as we tend to generalize people by their ethnic and racial identity and to develop awareness of cultural influences in order to ensure sensitivity and multicultural ability.

These words arise in line with the position of Fanon(1967) that deals with understanding how the soul is molded by a colonial regime and describes how relations between conqueror and conquered are internalized. The conquered internalize the attitude of supremacy of the conqueror in relations between them and the conqueror maintains the feeling of supremacy. It can therefore be understood that split identities and self-image of AICs raised questions about the identity of the majority group – Israeli Jews. In other words, as Fanon says one can find similar characteristics between majority and minority groups in the world and the 'Israeli case'. Moreover, Fanon's words highlighted my professional experience as a bibliotherapist and demonstrated the ambition of stereotypical victims to be 'like everyone else'. In the past I supervised a group of six year old Ethiopian children. In one of our meetings I read them a poem by Hillel (1977)[57] *A story of cats*. The story in the poem is about a black cat and a white cat who want to change their colours – the black one aspires to be white and the white one to be black. I invited the children to act out the story. During the time they played the role of the cats they enthusiastically chanted the words of the song: "What did the pitch black one do? Jumped into a barrel of whitewash" (Hillel, 1977).

Dalal and Fanon's descriptions demonstrate the extensive historical sources and the world of associations that connects black to white deep inside us, and helped me understand the children's need to 'be white' as a wish to be transformed into enlightened, positive and more 'equal'. Similar to Dalal, Remington and Dacosta's article (1989) 'Ethnocultural factors in resident supervision: black supervisor and white supervisees', teaches us about the powerful fantasies of discriminated groups. I associate their words to the need of clients to be in therapy with a 'strong' therapist to convey the idealization conceptualized by Kohut (2005). Conveying idealization expresses, according to Kohut, the need to be valued thanks to a relationship with 'an ideal and successful' therapist similar to a child's language: "My father is a policeman and I am the son of my father". Remington and Dacosta emphasize the social context in the relationship as the

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[57] O. Hillel is an Israeli poet and writer.

factor that sometimes causes duality on the part of the client in its different forms as in the example they present of a black therapist and white client. In parallel, therapists from majority groups could feel 'minimised' too when they are assigned clients from minority groups in their community work. Complexity in this relationship is relevant to the therapy room in Israel. The interviewees described feelings of aggression and shock on the part of their clients because they were Arab Israeli citizens.

Another fascinating learning point from Dacosta and Remington deals with the term "overcompensation indulgence" or "pseudo-sameness" and stresses the fear behind them. Their achievements clarified the interviewees' words, describing their relationship with their teachers during training as sometimes characterized by refraining from relating to the social-cultural differences in the classroom and in private sessions. In other words, when things are not open and honest they emerge in various forms. Thus is it so important for the success of the therapy or training to identify and relate to this complexity at an early stage.

D'ardenne and Mahtani (1989) also relate to the power relations issue in the counseling/therapy room and present a trans-cultural counselor's model that can be learnt and implemented in training programmes in Israel. I was particularly inspired by the fact that they emphasize respectful treatment for the specific culture of the client compared to the assertion of the therapist that what is culturally 'correct' is a claim forced on the client. They criticize the situation in which white counselors present themselves as experts with formal credentials as well as an ethnocentric view that their mode of counseling is best.

Instead of allowing clients to follow blindly after a formidable and dominant therapist, D'ardenne and Mahtani suggest a measure of humility by therapists in their work. The perception whereby the counselor is the expert is replaced, by their recommendation, with a joint negotiation between client and counselor who discuss together the aim of their joint meetings after the client has received a clear explanation of the counselor's approach. Like the position of Tudar

(2007) (see Literature review p.74), D'ardenne and Mahtani emphasize the importance of testing the foundations and values that influence the counselors in their professional work. These words are of practical importance for me and my colleagues in coping with the cultural differences often present like an 'elephant in the room'.

During the complicated journey that I underwent in the process of writing this study I understood how naïve I was at its start. Today, as a therapist, instructor and lecturer I try to conduct my work with caution, humility and even skepticism. My wish to be a bibliotherapist originated from a dream of gaining a deeper understanding of the human mind and my love of reading. As a result of the need to conduct such a relevant study for therapeutic work in Israel, I gained personal, emotional and intellectual growth. Basic to bibliotherapeutic work and practice in Israel is observing the effect of conflict between two nations, the phenomena of racism, suppression and cultural differences. This larger picture that combines political awareness and cultural sensitivity is critical to a brighter, clearer understanding of the human mind in order for the therapy to yield results.

My own ancestral family's history of suffering as Jews and the suffering AIC's raise the hope that the two groups can learn from each other's suffering, how to build more bridges and not leave only one to carry the bridge on his own back. The way that a 'westernised' therapy which has come out of a profoundly Jewish experience can become a more cross-cultural Israel-Palestinian therapy is hopefully, a project like mine that can develop and help to shed light. In this way, therapy can still be useful in political-traumatized societies, once the conception of that therapy has matured and transformed as a sensitive culture.

Now, some months after analyzing the data and writing conclusions I can point to a hopeful sign. As a direct and immediate implementation of the findings of this study, based on interviewees' recommendations, changes have already been instigated in the Jerusalem bibliotherapy training where I teach. All the literary

texts translated from Arabic to Hebrew are accessible to students; as are texts and articles relating to the complexity of the translation issue; articles that deal with culture sensitive therapy in the world and Israel; texts and articles that discuss the difficulty of therapy when the language of the therapist and client are not the same (Kitron 1991). These important fields have all been added to the syllabus. All students – Jews and AIC's – are exposed to texts and critical reading in both languages. In addition, there is an emphasis on social cultural transference of the text. As a creative arts therapist instructor in the education system working in schools and kindergartens, I organized a study group in Arabic for therapists. Naturally this is only a partial solution. But it is a start.

"Even when you walk in the thickness of a forest
You are taking political steps
On political ground"
"Children of Our Era", by Wislawa Szymborska.

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Appendix 1

Culturally Sensitive Model of Handling Incest and Sexual Abuse (Abu Bakr and Dwairy, 2003, in: Natour and Lazovsky, 2007).

The model is made up of five stages:

1. **Verification:** often, the party who becomes privy to the secret of the abuse is a professional in contact with the child, such as a teacher, counsellor, doctor, nurse or social worker. The professional must verify the offense against the victim while maintaining complete confidentiality.

2. **Mapping of Family Structure:** at this stage the professionals involved gather information about the victim's family. The goal is to locate a central figure of the family, such as an uncle, a grandfather, or another relative, who can be brought in on the circumstances of the abuse. This figure is known as the *Tanib* (تانيب), who consults professionals regarding family problems.

3. **Sharing the Case of Abuse with the Nuclear Family**: the *Tanib* knows the nuclear family better than the therapeutic staff, and therefore he is invited to meetings of the therapeutic staff, to decide who and how to tell about the abuse. The family is given two options: the first is reporting to the police, in which case immediate legal proceedings lead to the arrest of the abuser; the second option is to undergo a certain ritual as prescribed to them.

4. **Repudiation Ritual, Apology and Retribution of the Abuser:** in the presence of the therapeutic staff, the *Tanib*, representatives of the family, the victim, and the abuser, a ritual is held, in which the family repudiates the actions of the abuser, and he or she is required to apologise to the victim and his or her family. It is the right of the nuclear family to declare a "*Bara'a"*, meaning the rejection of the offender and his or her exclusion from the family or community. If the offender refuses to cooperate, the case is reported to the police, to initiate legal proceedings.

5. Therapeutic Intervention: the therapy given to the victim, offender and relatives of the victim (particularly the parents) is supposed to take each party into consideration. Professionals are supposed to consider the ecological environmental theory while diagnosing and planning the therapy. It is the duty of the therapeutic staff to evaluate the efficiency of the victim's and offender's therapy. The offender must prove that he or she has serious intentions to reform, in order to go back to living with his or her family and community.

Appendix 2

University of Sussex

Participant Information Sheet

The Life Stories of Arab Israeli Citizen Bibliotherapists in Israel

By Tamar Angel

You have been invited to take part in an academic study. Before you decide whether or not to participate, it is important that you understand the reasons for conducting the study and what it would involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully.

I am conducting research as a doctorate student in the education department of the University of Sussex. The purpose of the study is to understand the professional experience of Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists in Israel, and the meaning they give to their professional experience. The benefits of participating would be to advance the understanding of the bibliotherapeutic experience. There are only a handful of bibliotherapists in Israel who are Arab Israeli citizens, and therefore your participation is vital for the research and highly appreciated.

It is up to you whether or not to participate. If you do decide to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form. Even after signing the form, you are still free to withdraw at any stage and without giving a reason.

The study is based on deep personal open interviews. I will begin by inviting you to tell me your life story, to take me through the significant stations of your life, and describe any experience or event you wish to share with me. I expect that each interview will be held in two sessions of about two hours each. I would be grateful if you could make yourself available for this amount of time.

We will speak about a range of topics and issues, and as I said, you are encouraged to go into any experience or express any opinion you wish.

The subjects I hope we will discuss include:

- The story of your life from childhood to today.

- Your professional identity – the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of an Arab Israeli woman bibliotherapist in Israel from your student days to your work as a therapist – dealing with all relevant issues. We could perhaps go into the sort of relations you have with your clients and your working environment. It is important to note, in this context, that we must maintain the anonymity of clients in this study, and I will appreciate your help in avoiding any identifying details of your clients.

- Your social context – your thoughts and feelings as an Arab Israeli citizen working in your town/village.

- Your thoughts and feelings about political and national issues.

- Any topic or issue you think is important for me to hear about — please feel free to bring it up in the interview.

I will greatly appreciate it if you bring any texts that have been significant to you throughout your life and have a symbolic meaning for you to the interview, for example: fairy tales, written and oral stories, poems etc.

It is important for me to note that all materials will be kept confidential throughout the stages of the study, and will not be presented to anyone, excluding my supervisor, the translator and the transcriber, who will sign a confidentiality agreement before seeing the material. All the research materials will be stored securely, according to the research governance and ethics policies of the University of Sussex. Materials will be sent only to the personal address of the transcriber and translator, and destroyed after use. However, because there is only a small number of Arab Israeli citizen bibliotherapists, there is some risk that you may be identified as part of a group. To guarantee the highest level of privacy, names and details will be disguised.

Participation would require us to meet twice for an open personal interview. You will decide the place and time of the interview, but I would appreciate it if you gave me a number of options to choose from. It would be best to choose a place where you would feel completely at ease, and where we would be able to hold the interview without other people interrupting or getting involved in any way.

In order to maintain confidentiality and privacy, if ever I decide to publish an article based on this research, I promise to let you see it prior to publication, and change the details if you feel that your confidentiality or privacy may be compromised.

The research has been approved by the Social Sciences Ethics Committee at the University of Sussex. For further information, I am always at your service.

Thank you

With kind regards

Tamar Angel

Therapy Studies, the David Yellin Academic College of Education,

7 Ma'agal Beit Ha-Midrash street, Beit Ha-Kerem,

P.O.B 3578 Jerusalem 91035

Phone: 0508285585

Email: tamar.angel18@gmail.com

My supervisor's email: M.Jolly@sussex.ac.uk

Appendix 3

Interview Guide

Dear xxxxx   ,

I am very pleased that you agreed to take part in my doctoral research study, and help me with it. I wish to assure you once again that your interview with me will remain strictly anonymous, and your confidentiality will be fully maintained.

The interview will be an open one. It will start by me inviting you to tell me your life-story, to take me through the significant periods of your life, and describe any experience or event you wish to share with me.

You will pick the place of the interview. The two of us will take part in the interview alone, and so it would be best to choose a place where you will feel completely at ease, and where we will be able to conduct the interview without disturbance, without other people interrupting, interfering or getting involved in any way. Any time or place you choose will be fine by me, just give me a few options to choose from.

I expect that each interview will take a few hours, and be conducted over 2-3 sessions. I would be grateful if you could make yourself available for this amount of time.

We will speak about a range of topics and issues, and as I said, you are encouraged to go into any experience or express any opinion you wish.

The subjects I hope we will touch on include:

- The story of your life from childhood to today.

- Your professional identity – the thoughts, feelings and experiences of an Arab Israeli women bibliotherapist in Israel – from your student days to your work as a therapist, dealing with all the issues you have had to face. We could perhaps go into the sort of relations you have with your clients and with your working environment.

It is important for me to note, in this context, that we must maintain the anonymity of clients in this study, and I would appreciate your help in avoiding giving identifying details of those with whom you have worked.

- Your social context — your thoughts and emotions as an Arab Israeli woman working in your town/village.

- Your thoughts and feelings about political and national issues.

Any topic or issue you think is important for me to hear about – please feel free to bring it up in the interview.

I will appreciate it greatly if you bring significant texts for you throughout your life to the interview with you – fairy tales, written and oral stories, poems etc. – texts which you feel can 'speak' you.

I am also enclosing a brief guide about the nature of my research, which provides a bit more detail about the kind of interview we would have. It also explains that I will require your written consent for me to record and use the interview.

With kind regards

Tamar Angel

Therapy Studies, the David Yellin Academic College of Education,

7 Ma'agal Beit Ha-Midrash street, Beit Ha-Kerem,

P.O.B 3578 Jerusalem 91035

The purpose of the interview in this study is to understand the experience of Arab Israeli bibliotherapists in Israel, and the meaning they give to this experience. Depth interviews usually begin with an initial and general opening question, which invites the interviewees to tell their story. The story you tell will

not be interrupted by further questions, and my role will be to listen to the story. The interview has to be recorded, and I must receive your permission to do so. At the first stage of the interview, I will ask you, as mentioned, to tell your life story. The second stage will include questions of further clarification, and in addition, a conversation about 'texts which speak you'. I will be glad to hear your thoughts on these texts: why have you chosen them? What part of the text speaks to your heart? As mentioned, the interviews have to be recorded. The need to record every word during the interview is based on the assumption that each word expresses a significant opinion and emotion, and its replacement by a different word may distort the intention of the interviewees.

It is important for me to note that all material will be strictly kept throughout the stages of the study, and will not be presented to anyone.

Appendix 4

US

University of Sussex

Consent Form for Participation in Research leading to a Doctorate Thesis at the University of Sussex, UK

The Life Stories of the Arab Israeli Citizen Bibliotherapists in Israel

By Tamar Angel

I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project. The project was explained to me, and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for reference. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to*:*

- Be interviewed by the researcher.

- Allow the interview to be audio taped.

I understand that my name and personal details will be disguised in order to prevent my identity from being made public.

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

Name:

_____

Signature

_____

Date:

_____

Appendix 5

Rare words and Technical Concepts used by the Interviewees

Rania: cradling[58], surrender themselves[59].

Amal: shuddering[60], 'you will decide his fate', sensed[61], desolate[62].

Majda: resources[63], rift[64], a polarised society[65].

Nur: helplessness[66], degenerate[67], wonderings[68], vague[69], 'the therapeutic situation in the sector is very virginal'.

Halla: (heartbreak[70], 'a welcoming manner'[71], 'to ladle'[72], 'to spread wings', 'I echoed', fluent[73], affluent[74], elusive[75], 'to beguile'[76], interwoven[77], and more.

Slang Expressions used by the Interviewees

Rania: 'there is the bit that…', 'totally[78] (kind)', 'totally (in love with them)', 'spot on'[79], 'it's not fair'[80], 'big mouth', 'for sure', 'for real'[81], great[82], 'something else'[83], 'to spend a dime'.

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[58] *Mearsel*, מערסל.
[59] *Mitmasrim*, מתמסרים.
[60] *Metaltel*, מטלטל.
[61] *Chava*, חווה.
[62] *Nidach*, נידח.
[63] *Mashabim*, משאבים.
[64] *Shesa*, שסע.
[65] *Chevra Mekutevet*, חברה מקוטבת.
[66] *Choser Onim*, חוסר אונים.
[67] *Le-naven*, לנוון.
[68] *Tehiot*, תהיות.
[69] *Meurpalot*, מעורפלות.
[70] *Shivron lev*, שברון לב.
[71] *Sever Panim Yafot*, סבר פנים יפות.
[72] *Lidlot*, לדלות.
[73] *Rehuta*, רהוטה.
[74] *Meshupa'at*, משופעת.
[75] *Chamakmak*, חמקמק.
[76] *le-ta'atea*, לתעתע.
[77] *Shazur*, שזור.

Amal: 'totally a waste of time', 'the dime has dropped', 'I squeezed the juice out of him', 'gave everything he had', 'to climb off the tall horse', gang[84], 'egging on'[85], 'tackle'[86].

Majda: scratch[87], 'cry baby', 'bleeding heart', 'pet Arab'.

Nur: scratched, 'cry baby', 'will lose his head'[88], 'laid one on her', 'take his nerves out on me'.

Halla: : 'it totally got in'.

International and Foreign Terms used by the Interviewees[89]

Rania: junior, senior, relax, easy, I am proud of her, to continue, fight, Old Testament, New Testament, storyteller.

Amal: case, unfinished business, o.k., debate, background, switch, S.O.S., oxygen, surround, shut eyes, for language, globalisation, over.

Majda: well being.

Nur: to let it go, connecting, relationship, whatever, she was very stuck, welcome to the club.

Halla: switch, input (twice), label, common-sense (twice), pure, statement, timing issue (3 times), scale, on-off, mind, built in.

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[78] *Mah Ze,* מה זה.
[79] *Metuktak,* מתוקתק.
[80] The word 'fair' is itself a slang Hebrew term.
[81] *Ashkara,* אשכרה (an Arabic word).
[82] *Achla,* אחלה (an Arabic word).
[83] *Be-ramot,* ברמות (a slang term for "very very much")
[84] *Chevre,* חבר'ה.
[85] *Firgun,* פירגון.
[86] The word 'tackle', which has a close Hebrew equivalent, is used as a slang word.
[87] *Srita,* שריטה, in the sense of an emotional wound.
[88] *Yitcharfen,* יתחרפן.
[89] Throughout this section, the mentioned English words were actually used by the interviewees.

Appendix 6

"Between Rita and my Eyes There is a Rifle", by Mahmud Darwish

Between Rita and my eyes

There is a rifle

And whoever knows Rita

Kneels and plays

To the divinity in those honey-coloured eyes

And I kissed Rita

When she was young

And I remember how she approached

And how my arm covered the loveliest of braids

And I remember Rita

The way a sparrow remembers its stream

Ah, Rita

Between us there are a million sparrows and

images

And many a rendezvous

Fired at by a rifle

Rita's name was a feast in my mouth

Rita's body was a wedding in my blood

And I was lost in Rita for two years

And for two years she slept on my arm

And we made promises

Over the most beautiful of cups

And we burned in the wine of our lips

And we were born again

Ah, Rita!

What before this rifle could have turned my eyes from yours

Except a nap or two or honey – colored clouds

Once upon a time

Oh, the silence of dusk

In the morning my moon migrated to a far place

Towards those honey –colored eyes

And the city swept away all the singers

And Rita

Between Rita and my eyes—

A rifle

The Legacy of Mahmoud Darwish. In: *A conference of international writers and scholars honoring the life and creative work of Palestinian poet and author Mahmoud Darwish (1941-2008)* Los Angeles,CA, 5 November 2009. UCLA International Institute.
http://www.international.ucla.edu/cnes/conferences/darwish/

Appendix 7

"The Dice Player", by Mahmud Darwish

The last poem published before his death in July 2008

Who am I to tell you
What I tell you?
I'm not a stone polished by water
To become a face
Nor am I a bamboo stick carved by the wind
To become a flute….

I'm a dice player
Sometimes I win sometimes I lose
I'm like you
Or a little less than you
I was born beside the well
And the three trees as lonely as nuns
I was born with no celebration or midwife
And was given my name by chance
And belonged to a family
By chance
I inherited its features, habits,
And sickness.

First – A flaw in its veins,
And high blood pressure
Second -shyness to address the mother, the father,
And the grandmother – the tree
Third - hoping to heal from the flu
With a cup of hot chamomile
Fourth - laziness in speaking of the deer and the lark

Fifth – boredom during winter nights

Sixth – big failure in singing ...

I played no role in what I was

It was by chance that I became

A male...

And by chance that I saw a moon

Pale as a lemon, teasing the wakeful girls

And I never strove

To find

A beauty spot in the most secret places of my body!

I could have not existed

By chance my father could have not married my mother

Or I could have been

Like my sister who screamed and then died

Not knowing

That she had lived only one hour

Not knowing who gave birth to her…

Or like the eggs of doves that shattered

Before the chicks came out of the stony shell

It was by chance that I became

A survivor of a bus crash

When I was late for a school trip

Because I forgot existence and its conditions

When I sat at night to read a love story,

I played the role of the author,

And the role of the lover – the victim

So I became the martyr of love in the novel

and a survivor in the road accident.

I have no role of kidding with the sea,

But I am a reckless boy,

A fan of being around the magnetism of water

Calling: Come to me!

Nor do I have a role of a maritime survivor

I was saved by a human gull

Who saw the waves hunting me and paralysing my hands

I could have not been infected

With the madness of the *Jahili*

Mu'alaqaat if the door of the house had faced North

Not overlooking the sea

If the army patrol did not see the village fire

Baking the night

If the fifteen martyrs had rebuilt the barricades,

If that village had not broken,

I could have become an olive tree

Or a geography teacher

Or an expert in the kingdom of ants

Or a guardian of an echo!

Who am I to tell you

What I tell you

At the church's door?

I am nothing but a throw of the dice

Between predator and prey

I gained more awareness

Not to be happy with my moonlit night

But to be a witness to the massacre.

I survived by chance: I was smaller than a military target

And bigger than a bee fluttering among the flowers of the fence

And I was anxious for my brothers and my father

Anxious for the welfare of the time made of glass

Anxious for my cat and my rabbit

And anxious for a wakeful moon over the high mosque minaret.

And I feared for the grapes of our vines

that suspend like the breasts of our dog...

Fear walked with me and I walked with it

Barefoot, forgetting my little memories and wishes

About tomorrow – there is no time for tomorrow –

I walk, dash, run, ascend, descend, shout, bark, howl, hasten, slow down,
hurry, dry up, walk, fly, see, do not see, stumble, become yellow, green, blue,
torn, break into tears, thirsty, tired, fall down, get up, run, forget, see, do not see,
remember, hear, observe, chat, hallucinate, whisper, scream, unable, groan, go
mad, lost, decrease, increase, fall, lifted up and descend, bleed and lose
consciousness.

I was fortunate that the wolves disappeared from there

By chance, or escaped from the army.

I have no role in life,

Except that I,

when it taught me its hymns,

I said: is there more?

and I lit its lamp

Then tried to fix it...

I could have not been a swallow

If the wind had wished it so for me

And the wind is the traveller's luck...

I went north, east, west,

But the south was harsh, lacked obedience for me,

For the south is my country

I became a metaphor of a swallow, so I will rise above my debris

In the spring, in the autumn...

Baptising my feathers in the clouds of the lake

And afterwards prolonging my greeting

Of the immortal Nazarene

Because in him is the spirit of God

And God is the fate of the prophet...

And I am fortunate to be the neighbour of the Divine...

And unfortunate that the cross

Is the eternal ladder to our tomorrow!

Who am I to tell you

What I tell you

Who am I?

I could have not been inspired

Inspiration is the fate of the lonely

The poem is a throw of the dice

On a sieve of darkness

That may or may not glow

And then speech falls like feathers on the sand/

I have no role in the poem

Except to obey its rhythm

The movement of feelings, one balancing the other

And intuition that pulls meaning down

And unconsciousness within the echo of the words

And an image of myself which moved

From my own self to another

And my self reliance

And my longing for the fountain.

I have no role in the poem,

Unless the inspiration stops

And inspiration is the luck of skill, if it strives

I could have not fallen in love with the girl
Who asked me: What time is it?
If I had not been on my way to the cinema...
She could have not been as mysterious as
She is, or a dark ambiguous thought...

This is how words are born. I train my heart
To love so it has enough room for roses and thorns...
My synonyms are Sufi. My desires are sensible
And I would not be who I am now unless
The two meet: I, and my feminine I
O Love! What are you? How much are you yourself
And not yourself. Love! Blow upon us
Thunderstorms so we become what you love
For us, from the becoming of the heavenly within the physical.
And melt into an overflowing estuary.
You – visible or invisible –
Have no form
And we love you when we love by chance
You are the luck of the miserable.
I am unfortunate to have repeatedly survived
The death of love
And I am fortunate that I am still fragile enough
To enter the test!

The experiencing lover says within himself:
Love is our sincere lie
And then his lover hears him,
And says: love comes and goes
Like lightning and storms.

To life I say: slow down, wait for me

Till the residue in my cup is dried...

In the garden roses are allowed, and the air cannot

Separate from the rose.

Wait for me so that the nightingales do not escape me

And then I will mistake the tune.

In the square, the minstrels tighten the strings of their instruments,

for the farewell song. Slow down! Make me brief

So the song does not last long,

and then the sound will fall silent between the preludes,

Which is bilateral and has a unilateral finale:

Long live life!

Slow down, hug me so the wind will not scatter me around.

Even upon the wind, I cannot escape the alphabet.

If I did not stand on a mountain,

I would have been happy with an eagle's cell: no light is higher!

But such glory, crowned with an infinite blue gold

Is hard to visit: the lonely remains lonely there,

And he cannot land on his feet

For the eagle does not walk

And the human does not fly

The summit that looks like an abyss

The high solitude of a mountain!

I have no role in what I was

Or will be...

It is luck. And Luck has no name

We may call it the blacksmith of our fate

Or call it the heavenly mail carrier

Call it the carpenter of the newborn's crib or the deceased's coffin

Call it the servant of gods in legends

For which we wrote the text

And hid behind the Olympic ...

The hungry shell vendors believed them

And we thought the bad-stomached gold masters liars

And unfortunately for the author, fantasy

Is reality on theatre floors.

Behind the scenes things change

The question is not: when?

But: why? How? And who?

I could have not existed

And the caravan could have fallen

Into a trap, and the family could have lost

A son

The one who is writing this poem

letter by letter, draining and draining

For this disaster

With black blood, not the colour of a raven

Nor its voice,

But of the whole night

Squeezed entirely

Drop by drop, by the hands of luck and talent

Poetry could have earned more if

He was not, no one else, a Hoopoe

On the brink of an abyss

Perhaps he said: If I were someone else,

Then I would become me, once again

This is how I jest: Narcissus was not as beautiful

As he thought. But his servants

Entangled him with his mirror. And he prolonged his observation

In the air distilled with water...

If he were able to see beyond himself,

He would have fallen for the girl staring at him,

Oblivious to the deer running between the lilies and the daisies...

If he were a bit more clever,

He would have shattered his mirror

And your mind is the others...

And if he were free, he would not have become a legend...

The mirage is the traveller's book in the desert ...

Without it, without the mirage, he would not go on

In search of water. This is a cloud – he says

And carries a jug of hope in one hand, and with the other

Pressing his waist. Beating his steps on the sand

To collect the clouds in a hole. And the mirage calls on him,

Seducing him, deceiving him, and then lifting him: call

If you can call! And he calls: water, and water, and water!

And writes a line on the sand: if it were not for the mirage,

I would not be alive now.

It is the traveller's luck that hope is

The twin of despair, or its spontaneous poetry

When the sky looks grey

And I see a flower grow all of a sudden

From the cracks of a fence

I do not say: the sky is grey

I contemplate the flower for long

And say to her: what a day!

To two of my friends I say at the start of night:

If we have to dream let it be

Like us... And simple

Like: we will have a hungry dinner together in two days

The three of us

Celebrating the truth of the prophecy in our dream

That the three did not lose one

In the last two days

Let us celebrate the sonata, the lonely tune of the moon

And the forgiveness of death who saw us together, happy,

And turned the blind eye!

I don't say: life farther away is real

And its places fantastic

But I say: life, here, is possible

And by chance, the land became a holy land

Not because its lakes, its heights, its trees

Are the reflection of the gardens of Eden above

But because a prophet had walked there

And prayed on a rock and it cried

And the hill fell in fear of God,

Unconscious

And by chance the slopes to the fields became

A museum of flying dust...

Because thousands of soldiers died there

From both sides, in defence of these two leaders

Who said: Lets have it! And waited for the spoils in

Two silky tents on both sides...

Soldiers often die without knowing

Till now who was victorious!

And by chance some storytellers lived and said:

If the others beat the others

Our human history would have different headlines

I love you green. Green land, an apple

Shining in light and water. Green. Your night is

Green. Your dawn is green. My eye visits gently...

Like the gentleness of a mother's hand, in a handful of air.

I'm a seed of your seeds, green...

This poem is not written by one poet

It could have not been lyrical

Who am I to tell you

What I tell you?

I could have not been me

I could have not been here...

My plane could have crashed

In a morning hour,

And being lucky that I am a morning sleeper

I was late for the plane

I could have not seen Damascus and Cairo

Nor the Louvre and the enchanting cities

If I walked slowly,

The rifle could have cut my shadow

from the wakeful cedar tree

If I walked faster,

I could have been broken to pieces

And become a fleeting thought

If I dreamed too much,

I could have lost my memory.

It is my fortune that I sleep alone

And listen to my body

And believe my talent in discovering pain

And call the physician ten minutes before death

Ten minutes, enough to live in chance

And disappoint the void

Who am I to disappoint the void?

Who am I?

Who am I?

The poem was translated to Hebrew from Arabic during the training by one of the interviewees. Free, unofficial English translation by Sharon Shatil, 7.2012

Appendix 8

"Think of the others", by Mahmud Darwish

While making breakfast

Think of others

Don't forget the pigeon's feed.

While fighting your wars

Think of others

Don't forget those who want peace.

While paying your water bill

Think of others

Those who are drinking the clouds.

While walking home

Think of others

Don't forget the people of the tents.

While sleeping and counting planets

Think of others

There are those who don't have a place to sleep.

While liberating yourself with metaphors

Think of others

Those who lost the right to speak.

While thinking of the distant others

Think of yourself

Say I wish I were a candle in the dark.

The Legacy of Mahmoud Darwish. In: *A conference of international writers and scholars honoring the life and creative work of Palestinian poet and author Mahmoud Darwish (1941-2008)* Los Angeles,CA, 5 November 2009. UCLA International Institute.

http://www.international.ucla.edu/cnes/conferences/darwish/

Appendix 9

"A Ready Script", by Mahmud Darwish

Let's assume that we both fell,

the enemy and I,

fell from space

into a hole . . .

what happens then?

A ready script:

In the beginning we wait for fate,

The rescuers might find us here

And drop a safety rope our way,

He'd say: I'm first

I'd say: I'm first

He'd curse me and I'd curse him

"From whence comes my help"

before the rope reaches us...

What might happen if a snake

Would come to us

As one of the scenes of the script

And hiss to swallow us two frightened ones

He and I?

The script says:

We will partner up in killing the snake

to survive together

or apart . . .

Darwish, M., 2008. A ready script. Translated from Arabic by Fady Joudah. *The American Poetry Review*, 37 (6), p.11.

Appendix 10

"Afraid of the Moon", by Mahmud Darwish

Conceal me like the moon

I wish our mirror was stone

A thousand secrets I have

And your breasts are naked

And eyes on the trees.

And you, do not conceal the stars

The sons of yesterday are carried in our hands for long

My daughter was a canal,

There are no swings to the moon

Conceal me for my solitude

And take the sun and moon

Conceal me like the moon.

The poem was translated from Arabic to Hebrew during the interview by one of the interviewees. Free, unofficial English translation by Sharon Shatil, 7.2012

Appendix 11

"The Eternity of Cactus", by Mahmud Darwish

– Where are you taking me, father?

– Where the wind takes us, my son...

... As the two were leaving the plain where

Bonaparte's soldiers surveyed

the shadows on the old wall of Acre –

a father said to his son: Don't be afraid. Don't

 be afraid of the drone of bullet's! Stay close

to the ground so you'll survive! We'll survive and climb

a mountain in the north and return when

the soldiers return to their distant families.

 – Who will live in the house after us,

 father?

 – It will remain as it is, as it has always been,

my son!

He felt for his key the way he would feel for

his limbs and was reassured. He said

as they climbed through a fence of thorns:

Remember, my son, here, the British crucified

your father on the thorns of a cactus for two nights

and he didn't confessed. You will grow up,

 my son, and tell those who inherit their guns

the story of blood on iron...

 – Why did you leave the horse alone?

 – To keep the house company, my son

 Houses die when their inhabitants are gone...

Eternity opens its gates from a distance

to the traffic of night. The wolves of the wilderness

howl at a frightened moon. And a father

says to his son: Be strong like your grandfather!

Climb with me the last hill of oaks,

my son, and remember: Here the Janissary fell

from the mule of war. So be steadfast with me

and we'll return.

 – When, Father?

 – Tomorrow. Perhaps in two days, my son.

A reckless tomorrow chewed at the wind

behind them through the long nights of winter

The soldiers of Yehushua ben Nun built

their citadel from the stones of their house. Out of breath

on the path to Qana: Here

Jesus passed one day. Here

he turned water into wine and said

 many things about love. My son, remember

tomorrow. Remember crusader citadels

gnawed at by April weeds after

The soldiers departed...

Darwish, M., 2000. *Why Did you Leave the Horse Alone*? Translated from Arabic
to Hebrew by Muhammed Hamza Ghanaim. Translated from Arabic to English by
Jeffrey Sacks , 2006. Brooklyn NY: Archipelago Books.

Darwish, M*.,* 1995. *Limadba tarakta al-bisam wabidan.* Beirut, Lebanon: Riad al
Rayyes.

Appendix 12

"Dialogue with Death", by Mahmud Darwish,
From 'MURAL' (2000)

Death! Wait for me outside the earth,

In your country, until I finish

Some passing talk with what remains of my life

near your tent. Wait for me until I finish

reading Tarafah. The existentialists

temp me to exhaust every moment

with freedom, Justice, and the wine of gods...

Death! Wait for me, until I finish

the funeral arrangements in this fragile spring,

when I was born, when I would prevent the sermonizers

from repeating what they said about the sad country

and the resistance of olives and figs in the face

of time and its army. I will tell them: Pour me

in the *Nun,* where my soul gulps

Surat al Rahman in the Quran. And walk

silently with me in my forefathers' footsteps.

And on the flute's stride in my eternity.

Don't place violets on my grave: violets are

for the depressed, to remind the dead of love's

premature death. Place seven green ears

of wheat on the coffin instead, and some

anemones, if either can be found. Otherwise, leave the roses

of the church to the church and the weddings.

Death! wait, until I pack my suitcase:

my toothbrush, my soup,

my electric razor, cologne, and clothes.

Is the climate temperate there?

Do conditions change in the eternal whiteness

or do they remain the same in autumn

as in winter? Are some books enough

to entertain me in timelessness, or will I need

a library? And what's the spoken language there:

colloquial for all, or classical Arabic?

...Death, wait, wait

until I recover my mind's clarity in spring,

and my health, so you'll be noble hunter

who doesn't hunt the doe near the spring. Let the relation

between us be friendly and open: you have of my life

what's yours when I feel it up...

and of you I have contemplating the stars and the planets:

no one's ever contempletely died. Those should

 change their residence and form.

Death, my shadow that leads me,

the third of two, the color

of hesitation in emerald and chrysolite,

peacock blood, sniper of the wolf's

heart, imagination's illness – have a seat

on the chair and set you hunting tools

aside under my window. Hang your heavy keys

on the house door and don't stare

at my arteries to detect the final

weakness. You are stronger than

the medical establishment. Stronger than

the respiratory system and powerful honey,

and you don't need my disease to kill me.

Darwish, M., 2009. *If I were another.* Translated from Arabic to English by Fady Joudah. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Appendix 13

"Rubama", by Muhammad Taha Ali

Perhaps in my dream last night I saw myself dying,

Death,

I looked it in the eyes,

I felt it,

I was present within it.

Truth is, I never knew that death, in most its moves,

Flows with such tenderness,

Senses,

White, warm,

And not tight.

Waking slumber,

Pleasant,

In any case, without pain and dread.

Perhaps our fear of death is excessive,

Coming from our overflowing will to live

Perhaps. But, what I cannot truly imagine

About my death,

Is only the evil that

Instinctive,

Destructive

Is grabbing us,

Getting cold with death, that

Soon we separate from our loved ones,

Not to see them anymore,

Not even to be able to just think about them.

Taha, Ali M., 2006. *Poems*. Translated in to Hebrew by Anton Shamas. Tel Aviv: Andalus Publishing .Free, unofficial English translation by Sharon Shatil, 7/2012

Appendix 14

"Tea and Sleep", by Muhammad Taha Ali

If, over this world, there's a ruler

who holds in his hand bestowal and seizure,

at whose command seeds are sown,

as with his will the harvest ripens,

I turn in prayer, asking him

to decree for the hour of my demise,

when my days are drawing to an end,

that I'll be sitting and taking a sip

of weak tea with a little sugar

from my favourite glass

in the gentlest shade of the late afternoon

during the summer.

And if not tea and afternoon,

then let it be the hour

of my sweet sleep just before dawn.

And may my compensation be –

if in fact I see compensation –

I who during my time in this world

didn't split open an ant's belly,

and never deprived an orphan of money,

didn't cheat on measures of oil

or violate a swallow's veil;

who always lit a lamp

at the shrine of our lord, Shihab a-Din,

on Friday evenings,

and never sought to beat my friends

or neighbours at games,

or even those I simply knew;

I who stole neither wheat nor grain

and did not pilfer tools

would ask –

that now, for me, it be ordained

that once a month,

or every other,

I be allowed to see

the one my vision has been denied –

since that day I parted

from her when we were young.

But as for the pleasures of the world to come,

all I'll ask

of them will be –

the bliss of sleep, and tea.

Taha, Ali M., 2006. *So What? New and Selected Poems, 1971-2005*. Translated by Peter Cole, Yahya Hijazi, and Gabriel Levin. Port Townsend, WA: Copper Canyon Press.

Appendix 15

"Revenge", by Taha Muhammad Ali

At times ... I wish
I could meet in a duel
the man who killed my father
and razed our home,
expelling me
into
a narrow country.
And if he killed me,
I'd rest at last,
and if I were ready—
I would take my revenge!

*

But if it came to light,
when my rival appeared,
that he had a mother
waiting for him,
or a father who'd put
his right hand over
the heart's place in his chest
whenever his son was late
even by just a quarter-hour
for a meeting they'd set—
then I would not kill him,
even if I could.

*

Likewise ... I
would not murder him
if it were soon made clear
that he had a brother or sisters
who loved him and constantly longed to see him.
Or if he had a wife to greet him
and children who
couldn't bear his absence

and whom his gifts would thrill.
Or if he had
friends or companions,
neighbours he knew
or allies from prison
or a hospital room,
or classmates from his school ...
asking about him
and sending him regards.

*

But if he turned
out to be on his own—
cut off like a branch from a tree—
without a mother or father,
with neither a brother nor sister,
wifeless, without a child,
and without kin or neighbours or friends,
colleagues or companions,
then I'd add not a thing to his pain
within that aloneness—
not the torment of death,
and not the sorrow of passing away.
Instead I'd be content
to ignore him when I passed him by
on the street—as I
convinced myself
that paying him no attention
in itself was a kind of revenge.

Translated by Peter Cole, Yahya Hijazi and Gabriel Levin, *Nazareth April, 2006*

* "Revenge" was initially published by TWO LINES: World Writing in
Translation in 2006, along with a short introduction to the poet and the poem
by Peter Cole. The poem was read by Taha Muhammad Ali and Peter Cole at the
11th Dodge Poetry Festival in Stanhope, New Jersey. This poem is distributed by
the Common Ground News Service (CGNews). Available at:
www.commongroundnews.org.
www.catranslation.org. Copyright permission obtained for publication.

Appendix 16

"Look", by Fadwa Tuqan

Look here,

The red rock is tied to my chest

With the chains of foolish fate

With the chains of imbecile time

Look at them, how they trample down

My fruits and my flowers

With the time they disqualified my selfhood

With the universe they eroded my life

Nimmer, N,. 1996. *An Arab mix – selected literary works of the Arab world*.
Nazareth: The Department of Arab Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture (in
Hebrew). Free, unofficial English translation by Sharon Shatil, 7/2012.

Appendix 17

"In the Beginning there was the Woman – The Female", by Souad Al-Sabah

I could have

Like all women of the world

Court a woman

I could have sipped coffee

In the warmth of my bed

And chat on the phone

Indiscriminately

For days and hours

***

I could have beautified

Put makeup

Dandified

Get a tan in the sun

Dance above the waves like

All the cutie pies

I could wear jewellery

And be as luxuriant as queens

I could never do anything,

Not read anything,

Not write anything,

Just be free for lights, fashion, and travel.

***

I could never refuse

Never get angry

Never reproach in the face of disaster

***

I could swallow the tears

Evade the questions of history

And avoid reflection

***

I could escape the screams of the aching

And the outcries of the worn out

And the revolt of the thousands of the dead

***

But I betrayed all the laws of women

And chose confrontation by words.

Nimmer, N., 1996. *An Arab mix – selected literary works of the Arab world*.
Nazareth: The Department of Arab Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture (in
Hebrew). Free, unofficial English translation by Sharon Shatil, 7/2012.

Appendix 18

"On Teaching", by Gibran Khalil Gibran

No man can reveal to you aught but that which already lies half asleep in the dawning of our knowledge.

The teacher who walks in the shadow of the temple, among his followers, gives not of his wisdom but rather of his faith and his lovingness.

If he is indeed wise he does not bid you enter the house of wisdom, but rather leads you to the threshold of your own mind.

The astronomer may speak to you of his understanding of space, but he cannot give you his understanding.

The musician may sing to you of the rhythm which is in all space, but he cannot give you the ear which arrests the rhythm nor the voice that echoes it.

And he who is versed in the science of numbers can tell of the regions of weight and measure, but he cannot conduct you thither.

For the vision of one man lends not its wings to another man.

And even as each one of you stands alone in God's knowledge, so must each one of you be alone in his knowledge of God and in his understanding of the earth.

Gibran, Kh. G., 1923.*The Prophet*. New York : Alfred A. Knopf.

Appendix 19

"Children of Our Era", by Wislawa Szymborska,

We are children of our era;
Our era is political.

All affairs, day and night,
Yours, ours, theirs,
Are political affairs.

Like it or not,
Your genes have a political past,
Your skin a political cast,
Your eyes a political aspect.

What you say has a resonance;
What you are silent about is telling.
Either way, it's political.

Even when you walk in the thickness of a forest
You are taking political steps
On political ground.

Even non political poems are political,
And above us shines the moon,
By now no longer lunar.
To be or not to be, that is the question.
What a question, my dear, reply with ease:
A political question.

You don't even have to be a human being
To be politically significant.
Crude oil will do,
Or concentrated feed, or recycled material.

Or even a conference table whose shape
Was disputed for months:
Around what table should we negotiate
Life and death, round or square?

Meanwhile people were killed,
Animals perished,
Houses burned down in flames.
And fields grew wild,
Just as in times of old,
Less political.

Everything you do you are political
There is nothing that does not come out political
You are political, I am political
How I would want it not to be political
I also want it not to be political
You are political, I am political.

Szymborska, W., 2000. *Miracle fair*. Translated into English by Joanna Trzeciak.
New York: W.W. Norton.