Ethos of Conflict & the 2015 Israeli Elections

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commentary

The March 2015 Israeli elections provided much drama and surprise. Pre-election polling indicated a slight lead for the dovish leader Isaac Herzog over the incumbent hawkish Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, with the gap growing in favor of a Herzog victory as the elections neared. Herzog's advantage was also manifested by the priority Israelis gave to economic issues. Polls conducted before the elections, like the January 2015 Peace Index Poll, indicated that more voters reported that economic issues were most important to them (43%) than those that marked security issues as their main concern (34%). In addition, more Israelis believed that a government headed by Herzog will deal with economic issues better than one headed by Netanyahu (52% vs. 30%). However, in the end, Netanyahu won an unprecedented fourth term, thus becoming one of the longest-serving Prime Ministers in Israel's history. In this article, we analyze the election results based on a key concept from our own research - the Ethos of Conflict.

According to Ethos of Conflict theory, developed by Bar-Tal, a society that is engaged in a long intractable conflict forms a particular ethos that is affected by the conflict but also feeds back to sustain the dispute. In the Israeli context, the Ethos of Conflict includes common beliefs and narratives such as the belief about exclusive Jewish rights over land, the

Isreali Prime Minister supporters reacting to exit poll results. Photo: Oded Balilty, Associated Press.

belief that Israel is under constant existential threat, and the importance of security over any other goal. In addition, the Israeli Ethos of Conflict includes a positive self-image that stands in contrast to negative views of its rivals ('we want peace but they only want to destroy us') and contains beliefs about Israel as the only victim in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and as a target of hostility from the whole world. Turning back to the recent elections, it could be argued that Netanyahu's victory was mainly due to his ability to utilize the Israeli Ethos of Conflict, as described above, better than his competitors in a period when such an ethos dominates and is shared by most of the sectors in the Israeli society.

At first glance, the above conclusion seems to contradict the common notion that in these elections, the Israeli society was divided between separate groups that claimed to represent different world views, including different approaches to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

S-CAR and Community Lodgings

By Besufekad Feleke, MS Alumnus, bfeleke@masonlive.gmu.edu

network

In 2010, I became involved with Community Lodgings, a non-profit organization that looks to lift families from homelessness and instability to independence and self-sufficiency. Some of the services that Community Lodgings provides to help with this include transitional housing, affordable housing, job training, youth education programs, financial training, and budget monitoring.

Besufekad Feleke.
Photo: Besufekad Feleke.

Community Lodgings was founded in 1987 by eight Episcopal churches with the goal of building a strong foundation for a better life for working and poor families transitioning from homelessness to self-sufficiency in Alexandria, Virginia. Incidentally, many of the people that this organization serves are individuals who have become homeless as a result of domestic abuse. Thus, many of these services are designed to provide individuals with the needed support to help ease some of their hardships and uncertainty and to better cope with their circumstances. Over the years, these very important services have come to be recognized by the Catalogue for Philanthropy, which identified Community Lodgings as "one of the best small charities in the Washington DC area."

When I joined this organization, I was tasked to teach individuals how to better manage their money, which is also known as financial literacy. In many cases, I was informed that these individuals mismanaged their funds and found themselves in debt and, as such, could not move out of their transitional houses within the 2-year period earmarked for them to be reintegrated back into society. The financial literacy program was thus supposed to help with this. With my many years of experience in the financial sector, I thought this would be an easy job.

One of the very first people I worked with was a young mother with two children. She was a very focused and determined lady who had fled an abusive husband in her native country and had made it all the way to the United States to start a new life. Although I was meeting with her regularly and offering her advice, her financial situation seemed to be getting worse. Later on, I came to learn that she was struggling with the idea of struggling in a new country. "Being in need in different country is hard to cope with, the challenge of language, to figure out where to get help, to feel shame and traveling thousands of miles to face poverty and rejection is a devastating experience for an immigrant to face" she said. As is the case with many immigrants, she was struggling with the change in culture and the financial burden of being a single mother. I had failed to consider this factor when I started to offer her financial advice.

When I started at S-CAR, some of the classes I took made me realize how important culture and identity were to many conflict situations. As such, I started to include a cultural awareness program with my financial literacy classes as I realized that my teaching cultural literacy was an important component in trying to help individuals in these situations. If an organization like Community Lodgings did not exist to providing these services, many people would really struggle to cope. If an institution like S-CAR did not exist, the challenges of people learning to cope would be disregarded by those trying to help. ■

Distinguished Alumni Award

Tatsushi Arai, a 2005 PhD alumnus, was awarded the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution Distinguished Alumni Award on April 23, 2015. Tatsushi is an associate professor of peacebuilding and conflict transformation at the School for International Training Graduate Institute, a resarch associate at the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research. He is a fellow of the Center for Peacemaking Practice at S-CAR.

Fulbright Awards

Susan F. Hirsch, professor of Conflict Resolution and Anthropology, was named a 2015-2016 Fulbright Scholar for Malta. Her projects are titled *Advancing Sociolegal Studies in Malta* (Teaching), and *Integration through Family Law: Migrants, Islam, and 21st Century Maltese Society* (Research).

Sarah Rose-Jensen, a PhD Candidate, was awarded the 2015-16 Fulbright U.S. Student Award to Cambodia. Her project explores land rights social mobilization in Cambodia.

Tatsushi Arai (left) and S-CAR Dean Kevin Avruch (right). Photo: John Boal Photography.

Launch of "Gender Liberation" in Malta

By Thanos Gatsias, PhD Candidate and Teaching Coordinator in Malta, agatsias@gmu.edu

H.E. Marie Louise Coleiro Preca, President of Malta (middle) with the Board of Gender Liberation. Photo: Stefan Stafrace Photography.

On April 25, 2015, the official launch of 'Gender Liberation,' an NGO that works toward informing, connecting, and empowering gender-diverse communities in Malta and Gozo, took place in Valletta. The launch came a few short weeks after Malta introduced the Gender Identity Act, a law that provides transparent and readily accessible gender identity recognition procedures for trans individuals. The historic law also safeguards the bodily integrity of intersex people from the moment of birth, and protects the right to free gender expression for all the people of Malta and Gozo.

Pyt Farrugia, a student in the Dual MA Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediterranean Security, is one of the founders of Gender Liberation and currently serves as the organization's Outreach and Advocacy Officer. Farrugia has been for several years an active member of civil society in Malta, particularly working on issues of gender equality and social justice, with a focus on the gender-variant community. He hopes that the work of the organization, which was founded under the auspices of the President's Foundation for the Wellbeing of Society, will instigate a real and sustained commitment among social constituencies in Malta to secure the wellbeing and self-determination of the trans community and all minority groups in the country.

The mission of 'Gender Liberation' is "to connect, inform, and empower gender-diverse, intersex and trans people in Malta and Gozo through community-led initiatives, and explore established categories of sex, gender, and sexuality in the Mediterranean region, through respectful and fruitful public dialogue." Among other objectives, the organization focuses on "building communities, reaching out to individuals who are marginalized, and prioritizing voices that are ignored, in order to empower people who have been rendered powerless by stigma and other strategies of social exclusion." Despite being in the first months of its existence, the organization, through its much-needed and inspired work, has managed already to make an impression on the island and has been invited by Social Dialogue and Civil Liberties Minister, Helena Dalli, to participate in the country's LGBTIQ Consultative Council, a body that has been set up to advise the government and prepare policy and legislation addressing LGBTIQ concerns.

While speaking to a lively audience of more than 100 people, Farrugia made reference to three pillars which the Organization's work will center on, so as to bring about positive change: the intersectionality of oppression, the difficulties inherent in a rigidly enforced gender binary, and the need for solidarity in order to strengthen the trans★ community from within and build bridges to society at large. "It is our duty to make ourselves instruments and signs of the kind of society we believe must exist," said Farrugia, "to establish solidarity, and ultimately to identify with one another.... There's nothing quite so beautiful as the moment when somebody steps outside of fear and shame, to live in the fullness of their truth."

The launch of 'Gender Liberation' took place in the presence of the President of Malta, Her Excellency Marie-Louise Coliero Preca, who also addressed the audience. In her speech, the President stressed the importance of the necessary work that the organization carries out and sent a powerful message, noting that "we have a lot to learn from the experiences and the bravery of the trans, intersex, and gender diverse community. I hope that through Gender Liberation... we shall send a message about the dignity of all people in Malta and Gozo, in the Mediterranean region, and in the world."

The S-CAR community, in its turn, hails the founding of the organization and wishes the best to Farrugia and the other members of 'Gender Liberation' in their future efforts. More on the work of 'Gender Liberation' may be found on the organization's webpage, genderliberation.com, as well as on their Facebook page: facebook.com/genderliberationNGO. ■

initiatives

2015 Celebration of Achievements

By Claudine Kuradusenge, MS Alumna and Events Coordinator, ckuradus@masonlive.gmu.edu

events

The end of each school year is a call for reflection. Many of us look back and reflect on the decisions we have taken and the projects we have either led or were a part of, and also celebrate our accomplishments. This year, S-CAR wanted not only to highlight the different events, conferences, and renowned speakers that came to share their knowledge with the community, but to also congratulate our students and alumni who made a difference

S-CAR faculty, students and alumni at the 2015 Celebration of Achievements. Photo: Claudine Kuradusenge.

in their respective communities in advancing the field of conflict resolution.

In order to demonstrate the diversity of our student body, this year showcased Master's theses, PhD dissertations, special projects, and internship experiences. The idea behind this event was to help students present their achievements, lead discussions on topics that interested them, and receive feedback to help them move forward. The aim was to empower all levels of the S-CAR community to come together and exchange ideas, create connections, and look for inspiration. By building bridges between the undergraduate, Masters, and doctoral students, this event celebrated S-CAR as a community.

Through roundtable discussions and featured speakers, the participants had the chance to have in-depth conversations about their projects and lessons learned and to share their knowledge with the community and peers. In small groups, the participants were able to have meaningful discussions, expand on topics, and brainstorm on the implementation and values of specific concepts.

In addition to the student and faculty round-table presentations and discussions, S-CAR featured two speakers who are, in different ways, creatively advancing peace studies and using history and art as ways to understand conflict and transcend its devastating impact. Tatsushi Arai, S-CAR alumnus and 2015 Mason Alumnus of the Year, presented on the concept of conflict history to illustrate how contested historical narratives and meanings have an important impact of the development and transformation of intercommunal and international conflicts. Using a method of applied practice, he has facilitated dialogues and trainings and created workshops on psychoanalysis and memory in the contexts of U.S.-Afghan-Pakistan relations and the Taiwan Straits.

The second featured speaker was Michael Verdon, an undergraduate student enrolled in Art and Visual Technology with a minor in Conflict Analysis and Resolution. In search of ways to combine both degrees, Michael got involved in *Burning Man* - a concept based on community building and community healing. As a way to unite a society after a tragedy, Michael and his team, with the help of that particular community, have been the engineers of several temples. At their completion, these temples serve as a symbol of resilience and perseverance aiming to bring people together and create a space for reflection, moving forward, and healing. In addition to this, the community was also invited to bring items that represent their losses, pain, suffering, and struggle. And finally to complete the process, the temples were burned, which is to serve as a transformative way for the communities to start a new chapter and move on. His latest project, The Temple of Transformation, was recently exhibited at Mason's Fairfax Campus. Everybody was invited to bring mementos that symbolized remembrance, loss, fear, and forgiveness and all of these items were placed within the structure, which was floated out onto Mason Pond and set on fire on May 8, 2015 at 8:30pm.

The Celebration of Achievement event helped create a stronger bond and unity among all the participants. It also demonstrated the diversity in students and ways of practicing conflict resolution and peace studies. Now, let's look forward and focus on next year's achievements. We encourage you to reach out to us and keep us updated at scarnews@gmu.edu. ■

Student Opinion: What You Need to Know About Sexual Assault on College Campuses

By Soolmaz Abooali, PhD Candidate, sabooali@masonlive.gmu.edu

Termed a "plague" by the Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights at the United States Department of Education, Russlyn Ali, sexual violence on college campuses is rampant and a pervasive issue for both genders. One in four women and one in seven men are victims of some form of sexual violence during their college experience. Between the incoming freshman class and departing seniors, college campus populations tend to turn over every four to five years. Despite this movement, the percentage of sexual violence incidents remains consistent. More baffling than the persistence of this issue is that 70% of victims report that they knew their attackers, compared to the roughly 50% figure of all violent crime victims, and a reported 42% of them said they expect to be raped again.

In 2012, students at twenty-nine universities around the country brought legal action against the institutions, accusing them of negligence in the handling of sexual violence reports and being in violation of Title IX, the 1972 law protecting students from discrimination driven by gender. Their efforts culminated in the passage of the Campus Sexual Violence Elimination Act, known as Campus SaVE, which seeks to address the violence women face on campus by mandating institutions to develop their own policies built around four themes: transparency, accountability, education, and collaboration.

Introduced by U.S. Senator Bob Casey and House Representative Caroline Maloney, Campus SaVE has been credited as a turning point in our nation's handling of sexual misconduct on college campuses. Its effectiveness in addressing this issue is yet to be determined, as school administrators have a year to design their policies before the act takes effect in March 2014. The twenty-nine universities whose legal actions prompted it represent only one third of one percent – 0.3 % – of the accredited higher learning institutions in America. This is a rather stark statistic considering that twenty-five percent of female students and fourteen percent of male students in college experience some form of sexual violence.

Given this context, the larger question for consideration is: why did so few institutions participate in the attempt to change policy?

Sexual violence comes in several varieties, with differing definitions and connotations, most notably sexual assault, sexual harassment, and rape, the latter of which is more prominent. The US Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Statistics (DOJ/BJS) has attempted to distill rape into the framework:

Rape - [f]orced sexual intercourse including both psychological coercion as well as physical force. Forced sexual intercourse means penetration by the offender(s). [This] includes attempted rapes, male as well as female victims, and both heterosexual and homosexual rape. Attempted rape includes verbal threats of rape."

State legal definitions of rape have further muddied the waters. Georgia defines rape as an act that can only be enacted by males against females. Mississippi restricts this even further, defining rape as "assault with intent to ravish…any female of previously chaste character" (meaning virgins), while the District of Columbia requires the use of force. Across states these differences indicate a lack of consensus about what actually constitutes sexual violence and its various forms. Scholars have conducted numerous campus and nationwide studies yielding statistical data that have shed light on the seriousness of sexual violence on college campuses. Sexual violence is not an incident that contains a start and end date; its impact is long-term and ranges from health to psychological problems that include chronic illnesses, injuries, sleep disturbance, sexually transmitted infections, depression, humiliation, suicidal ideation, and trouble concentrating. In addition to unwanted pregnancy, negative effects of sexual violence for women extend to their ambition, contribution, and self-esteem, particularly for those in ethnic minority groups such as African Americans and Hispanics.

Increased research has prompted several legislative acts directed at preventing sexual violence on college campuses: i) Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990, which was renamed in 1998 to the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act; Campus Sexual Assault Victim's Bill of Rights of 1992; ii) Campus Sex Crimes and Prevention Act of 1998; iii) National Campus Safety Awareness Month of 2008; and iv) Higher Education Opportunity Act of 2008.

Soolmaz Abooali. Photo: Soolmaz Abooali.

A Tribute to Andrew Baer

By Ernest Ogbozor, PhD Candidate, eogbozor@masonlive.gmu.edu

Spotlight

March 17, 2015 will be difficult to forget for the members of the Humanitarian Action Working Group (HAWG) and others at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University. Andrew Baer, a co-founder of the group, passed away after he was involved in a car crash in Dubai while returning to the United States. Andrew will be missed for his contributions to the humanitarian group and the other community groups that he was involved in during his lifetime. The vacuum that his absence has left will be difficult to fill.

I met Andrew for the first time on December 4, 2012, at my first public event as President of the Africa Working Group (AWG). The event, "Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo: History, Status and Future Directions," was well attended by people from the George Mason campus and the Arlington community. After the event, a young man walked up to me, introduced himself, and said "Please invite me whenever you have any event on Africa." This was the first day I met Andrew, and we became good friends. Andrew was easy-going, made friends easily, and mixed freely with people from different backgrounds and cultures. After our first meeting, we maintained contact and discussed career plans.

In March 2013, Andrew participated in the Atlantic Hope Humanitarian Simulation Exercise at the Indian River College, Florida as a graduate student. He later became an active member of the Consortium for Humanitarian Services and Education (CHSE). He co-founded the Humanitarian ActionWorking Group (HAWG), the student-led humanitarian working group at S-CAR. Andrew was also the sole editor of the Humanitarian Action Monthly Newsletter (HAMN), a newsletter he founded to create awareness about the humanitarian field. In 2014, Andrew again participated in the Atlantic Hope exercise in a volunteer controller/evaluator role. Prior to the exercise, he co-authored a paper for the Consortium for Humanitarian Services and Education on how to restructure the Black Swan Prison component of the Atlantic Hope Exercise. The paper "Simulations for Sustainable Protection of Prisoners of War (PoW) and Detainees: The Atlantic Hope and Black Swan Prison Model" explored the history of protection of prisoners and how a simulation model can enhance understanding about how to protect detainees, from the point of arrest to eventual incarceration. The recommendation of the paper with respect to transportation of detainees rightly captures the causes of the recent crisis in Baltimore following the death of Freddie Gray after his arrest and transportation in police custody.

In addition, during the 2014 Atlantic Hope exercise, Andrew demonstrated his love for humanitarian affairs by playing different roles ranging from supervising hotwash debriefings to the Black Swan prison guard. Upon returning from this second Atlantic Hope exercise, he went on to co-author an article "Managing Humanitarian Crisis: The Atlantic Hope Experience," published in SCAR's Newsletter in May 2014. The article summarized the experience of the Atlantic Hope exercise as a model for teaching humanitarian action.

In addition to Andrew's active involvement in the Humanitarian Working Group, he was a member of the Nigeria project team at S-CAR whose proposal with the Center for Peace Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, Nigeria, won the United States Institute for Peace grant for sub-Saharan Africa Universities. The project "Strengthening Graduate Peace and Conflict Studies in Northern Nigeria" would not have been possible without Andrew's contribution. Andrew also played an active role in many associations and community groups. He was treasurer of the Graduate Student Associaton at S-CAR, and a volunteer with the Buckhall Volunteer Fire Department, Prince William County. Andrew had a humanitarian heart; he can be described as a humanitarian practitioner, always desirous of participating in activities that helped alleviate the plight of vulnerable people.

Andrew was well prepared for his chosen career. He obtained a BA in Government and International Politics; certificate in Prevention, Reconstruction and Stabilization; and an MS in Conflict Analysis and Resolution, all from George Mason University. In 2013-2014 academic year, Andrew was named a Boren Fellow, an award up to $30,000 to graduate students to enable them specialize in areas of study critical to US interest. He worked for the Intelligree Risk Management Company that provides security for the Kajaki Dam Reconstruction Project in Afghanistan, and also served as the Site Security Intelligence Officer, working with the US Military and Afghan Security Forces. These training and experiences were a plus to Andrew's interest and career in humanitarian issues. After his graduation in Spring 2014, he maintained contacts and involvement in Alumni activities and the other group activities that he helped to nurture while he was a student. The Humanitarian Action Working Group is a testimony to this commitment.

The last message I received from Andrew while he was in Afghanistan, on March 6, 2015, said "I will be in Afghanistan until the 17th, landing in DC on the 18th and DC for 4 weeks of break before heading back to Afghanistan." The wish of Andrew did not come true, but the Humanitarian Working Group members will never forget his contributions to the group. The group will honor Andrew by identifying with the fund the at White Sulphur Springs (WSS) that his familiy has established in his honor, and will also ensure that the Humanitarian Action Monthly Newsletter (HAMN) that he founded continues. Adieu, Andrew Eyvan Baer. ■

Ernest Ogbozor and Andrew Baer, Co-founders of the Humanitarian Action Working Group. Photo Ariana Tuchman, Consortium for Humanitarian Services and Education.

This notion of "divided Israel" was reflected by the large number of sectorial parties who took part in the elections and found expression in their leaders' rhetoric. For example, Netanyahu ruled out a future coalition with Herzog's party - the Zionist Union - when he said, "I think that what we have here is a clear choice between two paths." Netanyahu's path was strongly associated with the Ethos of Conflict as exemplified by his response to a report about Israel's housing crisis: "When we talk about housing costs and cost of living, I never forget life itself: The biggest challenge of our lives is preventing Iran from going nuclear." In addition, Netanyahu claimed that, "Whoever today moves to establish a Palestinian state and withdraw from territory is giving territory to Islamic extremists against the State of Israel." He also warned voters of the 'definite danger' that Herzog would establish a government," with the support of the Arabs."

Yet a closer look at the election campaigns shows that contrary to Netanyahu's claims, his political rivals did not actually challenge the Israeli Ethos of Conflict. For example, the more dovish Labor party, chose to run in these elections under the new patriotic name, "the Zionist Union." Its campaign mostly focused on economic issues such as the rising cost of living and the housing crisis, hoping to attract Netanyahu's middle and lower class voters, who are especially affected by these problems.

Netanyahu's competitors chose to focus on economic issues rather than challenge Netanyahu's positions on the conflict also because they assumed (perhaps rightly so) that most segments in the Jewish-Israeli society adhere to the Ethos of Conflict and hence hold views of the Israeli-Arab conflict that do not differ much from Netanyahu's formal positions. This includes many voters from Herzog's own 'Zionist Union'. Looking at public polls can be instructive in demonstrating the way the Ethos of Conflict prevails across most political divides in Israel. For example, a 2012 INSS poll revealed that 67% of the Jewish public thought that the Arabs' aim is to conquer all of Israel. In fact, the most common answer, representing 45% of the sample, was that the Arabs want to conquer all Israel and destroy Jewish population. Moreover, 68% of Jewish respondents (Peace Index Poll, May 2014) defined the level of security-military risk to Israel as very high and 63% thought that "The whole world is against us" (Peace Index Poll, August 2014). Interestingly, though 60% of respondents identifying as right-wing tended to agree with the latter statement, 52% of those who locate themselves in the political center or in the moderate left also held this belief.

Ethos of Conflict provides a way to look at political reality, but it is much more than that. It may be seen as a meta-ideology: a framework that overrides the various ideologies that exist in societies engulfed in intergroup conflict. In Israel, it is also an intrinsic part of the national identity and hence forms a well-defined collective with a clear social identity. Society members are constantly exposed to the Ethos content. It is everywhere – it appears in school textbooks and leaves its marks on popular cultural products and media discourse. Its presence induces basic emotions such as fear and hate. This is what makes Ethos of Conflict so powerful, and why people cling to it so strongly, sometimes contrary to their own interests.

Neta Oren (left) and Oded Adomi Leshem (right). Photo: Mason Creative Services and Oded Adomi Leshem respectively.

That is also why Netanyahu's use of the Ethos of Conflict to mobilize electorates was so successful and went beyond partisan considerations that may have been on voters' minds. As noted above, his competitors' strategy was to focus on other issues, leaving the contentious Israeli-Palestinian conflict at the margins of their campaigns. On Election Day, Netanyahu exploited this vacuum by addressing Jewish-Israelis' well-nurtured "fear from the Arabs." "The [Israeli] Arabs are coming by the masses to the ballots," he warned, explicitly calling Jewish-Israelis to counter-balance the votes of 20% of Israeli citizens who are Palestinian-Arabs that would presumably "take over the country if we let them." As shown in the polls cited above, fear is at the core of the Israeli Ethos of Conflict and as a psychological construct is activated automatically and requires very little in terms of cognitive effort. Evoking the Ethos of Conflict was apparently very effective. The Jewish-Israeli society chose a pseudo-protector who will defend the Ethos of Conflict over a leader that could (potentially) bring about change.

Failing to debate over elements of the Ethos of Conflict was not always the case in Israeli politics. During the 80s and 90s, the two main parties focused their campaigns on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and on their different approaches to its solution. During these decades, Labor claimed that Israel has a partner for peace in the Arab world, and that a peace agreement can ensure Israel's security more efficaciously than a war ever could. Public polls at this period indicated a general weakening of the Ethos of Conflict as a unifying element in Israeli society. However, since 2000 the adherence of Jewish-Israelis to the Ethos of Conflict has strengthened again. Of course, these trends were influenced by events in the conflict, such as the increasing violence in the region since 2000. But some major events in the conflict, such as the Oslo accords, were also influenced by changes in the Ethos of Conflict that preceded these events. Thus, change of leadership is not enough for resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Changes in the dominance of the Ethos of Conflict in all societies involved in this conflict — whether as a cause or as a result of a change in leadership — is also necessary for achieving such a resolution. ■

What You Need to Know About Sexual Assault on College Campuses

Most widely known amongst these acts is the 1998 legislation, now commonly referred to as the Clery Act. Under this act, schools receiving Title IV financial assistance funding for students must disclose their policy on sexual assault, the programs they provide to promote awareness of sexual assault, and their annual statistics for sex offenses. In conjunction with the Clery Act, Congress funds the Office of Violence Against Women, which encourages the development of programs intended to address dating violence, stalking, and sexual assault on college campuses.

Advocates and college administrations have responded to this legislation by implementing awareness and risk reduction and preventative measures. Programs of this nature are aimed at increasing students' knowledge about the dangers of sexual violence, teaching women strategies for reducing their likelihood of being victimized, and educating bystanders about how to recognize situations which promote sexual violence and how to intervene in a safe and effective manner. Examples of such programs include the Men's Project, Green Dot program, and the Bringing in the Bystander program.

The use of alcohol is an additional and intricately related factor frequently theorized to play a causal role in sexual violence on college campuses. Approximately 50-70% of all sexual violence cases involve alcohol. A report produced by the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) College Task Force in April of 2002 asserts that preconceived expectations of alcohol's effects may be just as important as its actual pharmacological effects, a sadly credible analog of the placebo effect. Alcohol may lead to perpetrators ignoring refusal cues or misperceiving sexual interest. It can also affect victims, causing them to disregard risk cues. Socially, alcohol is often used as a justification, a mechanism by which victims are blamed, and a weapon in sexual violence. Its use has led to unwanted, pressured, or "regretted" sexual activities becoming common occurrences among college students. A male college student described the following about parties at his (non-fraternity) house:

"Girls are continually fed drinks of alcohol. It's mainly to party but my roomies are also aware of the inhibition-lowering effects. I've seen an old roomie block doors when girls want to leave his room; and other times I've driven women home who can't remember much of an evening yet sex did occur. Rarely if ever has a night of drinking for my roommate ended without sex. I know it isn't necessarily and assuredly sexual assault, but with the amount of liquor in the house I question the amount of consent a lot."

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