Michael Ben-Avie · Yossi Ives
Kate Loewenthal *Editors*

Applied Jewish Values in Social Sciences and Psychology

Springer

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Making a Jewish Contribution to the Social Sciences: What Are Jewish Social Values and Why Do They Matter?

Yossi Ives

This volume brings together 15 essays that illustrate the new insight that can be generated in the social sciences by drawing upon Jewish ideas and sources. The authors and topics featured are very diverse, across genders, ages and countries, but they have a common interest in interweaving Jewish concepts in pursuit of research into social issues. This volume reflects the work of scholars who have drawn upon Jewish concepts and sources to add richness to their studies of real-world social issues across a range of the social scientific disciplines. Thus, this volume aims to serve as bridge between the Jewish heritage and the social sciences and their related professional disciplines. This opening chapter has four main purposes:

- To explain conceptually and methodologically what the Jewish Social Values project stands for
- To make the case for why this is important and, in particular, why this is a legitimate Jewish concern
- To clarify the definition of Jewish social values
- To introduce the chapters of this book

Judaism is a lived culture that has adapted to and survived the vastly changing circumstances of millennia. Beginning its journey in antiquity, through the Greek and Roman eras, the medieval period, the Renaissance and the advent of the modern and then postmodern world, Judaism has equipped its adherents with many tools to cope with the challenges and to rebuild successively after turmoil and destruction. During this long and varied history, the Jewish people nurtured and attenuated their particular values of family and community, of learning and charity. The values that enabled Jews not only to survive but moreover to contribute significantly to human development are, we believe, worthy of analysis for confronting the social challenges of our own time.

Those unfamiliar with Judaic scholarship are unlikely to be aware of the truly vast body of literature that was generated by its scholars. The Hebrew Bible has

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generated a vast array of commentaries across the centuries, many of which explore the spiritual and moral lessons of its teachings. Thousands of commentaries and super-commentaries were written on the Talmud, major and minor legal codes were produced, upon which thousands of commentaries were written, and a vast number of responsa (rabbinic responses to contemporary issues) were published addressing diverse aspects of Jewish life and law. Jewish mystical, philosophical and ethical works add significant riches to the scholarly inheritance of Judaism. This extensive library is still mostly unavailable to those not conversant in Rabbinic Hebrew, Judaeo-Aramaic or Yiddish and is written in a manner that would be largely inaccessible to those uninitiated in traditional Jewish scholarship. The largest part of this literary heritage remains closed to mainstream Western scholarship, even if recent decades have seen a relative profusion of English translation of many key texts.

A major concern when considering social scientific research that seeks to engage with a faith-based body of knowledge and community experience is how a critical scientific approach is to be reconciled with the religious truth claims of Judaism. This creative tension is an inherent element of the approach we seek to explore, and our success will in part be determined by our success at striking an appropriate balance. However, we are clear that our purpose is not to make assertions based on the divine authority attributed to religious texts, as if setting up Judaic values as a judge of scientific findings. Rather, as Rabbi J. B. Soloveitchick (1964) argued: 'Religious values, doctrines and concepts may be and have been translated into cultural categories enjoyed and cherished even by secular man. All the references throughout the ages to universal religion, philosophical religion, *et cetera*, are related to the cultural aspect of the faith experience of which not only the community of believers but a pragmatic, utilitarian society avails itself.'[1] In this vein, Rabbi Jonathan Sacks (2005a) cites the Catholic theologian Jacques Maritain: 'Thus it is that, men possessing quite different, even opposite metaphysical or religious outlooks, can converge, not by virtue of any identity of doctrine, but by virtue of an analogical similitude in practical principles, toward the same practical conclusions, and can share in the same practical secular faith, provided that they similarly revere, perhaps for quite diverse reasons, truth and intelligence, human dignity, freedom, brotherly love, and the absolute value of moral good.'

Even halachah, religious Jewish law, offers a creative resource for the mainstream social scientific work as it incorporates general moral principles, which can be deployed in discovering authentically Jewish answers to contemporary problems. While this may seem obvious in relation to Judaic teaching on interpersonal issues—such as gossip and laws governing neighbours—we would argue that even ritual laws and practices—such as Sabbath observances and dietary laws—offer valuable insights.[2] For example, Marc Stern (2005) identifies the relevance of Jew-

[1] Berger (2003) interprets the Rav's position thus: 'Even though dialogue among believers concentrating on social issues has a religious dimension, it does not presume to enter that innermost realm [of private, religious experience], and its value therefore outweighs its residual dangers.'

[2] This is consistent with a substantial Jewish tradition of suggesting utilitarian reasons for biblical commandments. The tradition of ta'amei hamitsvot. The Maimonidean tradition distinguishes between the rationality of commandments and the basis of their normativity.

ish values to such areas as payment mechanisms for healthcare provision and the role of markets in setting environmental protection policies. Jeffrey Ballabon (2005) suggests that the thorny area of welfare reform, whereby conflicting ethics of supporting the weak and ending dependence clash, is an area where Jewish values should not be inactive. A leading contemporary authority maintains that that there ought to be a Jewish response to many of the social problems on the contemporary agenda that are 'applicable to non-Jews as well as to Jews'.

Moral principles may also be located in Jewish sources which are not halachic: the rich narrative portions of the Five Books of Moses and the prophetic works on the one hand,[3] aggadic (rabbinic homiletic and exegetical) sources on the other.[4] Halachah itself incorporates a morality of aspiration (doing what is noble if not obligatory) as well as a morality of duty. Jewish ethics is not restricted to the categories of what is forbidden, permitted or required; it also speaks about what is encouraged (but not required) and what is discouraged (but not forbidden). Values are, thus, interwoven with the legal framework of Judaism.

Similarly, studies in Jewish social values do not pass judgement on particular Judaic notions, setting up science as a judge of Judaic values. Rather, the aim is to explore whether specific Judaic ideas may be helpful in addressing particular social phenomena and whether the insights drawn from Jewish experience have the capacity to offer new and constructive perspectives on aspects of the social world. The aim is not to determine whether or not a particular Jewish teaching is correct, but whether we can find ways of using these ideas to reveal new possibilities for addressing contemporary social challenges, to generate practically useful ideas to be considered by academics, professionals and policy-makers.

The interactions presented between Judaic ideas and social scientific methodology are viewed as a dialogue. Our understanding of Judaic teaching and Jewish experience may, in turn, be enriched by this exercise in cross-discipline scholarship.[5] Traditional Jewish scholarship should welcome the clarification and insight to be derived from working with social scientific models of research and investigation, no less that it may itself seek to contribute to social scientific development. We acknowledge the two-way nature of knowledge sharing; we value the mutual enrichment this approach enables.

We distinguish between being judgemental and expressing a value judgement. The former involves hypercriticism of people's choices without giving careful consideration to exigencies, while the latter involves critical analysis of societal trends and policy decisions. It is vital that scholars are able to make value judgements,

[3] See, e.g. the use by Tamari (2005) p. 245 of Amos 1−5 on the ethical demand for the giving of charity to non-Jews as well as to Jews.

[4] See, e.g. the use by Dorff (2008, 156f.), of Deut. Rabbah on 1:15 in relation to behaviour towards parents.

[5] Sacks quotes Rav Kook, Musar avikha p. 96: 'The narrow-mindedness that leads one to see whatever is outside the bounds of one's own people…as ugly and defiled is a terrible darkness that causes general destruction to the entire edifice of spiritual good, the light of which every refined soul hopes for.' See Ben Nun (1991).

contributing to our particular blend of Jewish and social scientific perspectives on moral and practical aspects of the social condition.

Judaism is a religion, system of law, history, culture and the lived experience that is ethnically and religiously specific. Although Judaism functions within a broader geopolitical context, for the largest part, it addresses the concerns of its adherents and therefore is mostly relevant to Jews. However, we argue that inherent in those particular experiences and ethnically focused teachings are ethics and values of a more universal nature. Contained within the heritage of a specific heritage are ideas and insights that transcend the circumstances in which they emerged or are practiced. It is our conviction that concepts and principles which are Judaic in origin may nevertheless contribute to a scholarly debate and discussion about issues that concern people of other religions or none. Judaism has extensive legal and ethical literature that presents perceptions about the human condition and the nature of human interaction that we suggest has relevance outside the confines of religious practice and belief of its target audience. The essays in this volume illustrate that they contain broader notions of social ethics that can contribute to the marketplace of ideas and can inform how we address social issues.

To be sure, not every insight derived from Judaism will be relevant to or transferable outside of a strictly Jewish context, nor will they all be relevant to modern-day conditions. It is not appropriate to simply transport either texts or practices to the issues of modern society without carefully considering their relevance to the context in question. It is necessary to bring the vast Judaic heritage into collaboration with established disciplines to contribute towards creating effective social solutions. Jewish social values should be more active in academia, the professions and public discourse. We do not assume that all ideas and practices within the Jewish community are effective; it has its own challenges and limitations. We do not propose to share those problems beyond the Jewish community as we assume that others would rather we kept those for ourselves! By contrast, we seek to share those potentially useful insights that our analysis suggests could bring benefit to others.

In recent years, the religion–science debate has flared up anew. Polarising voices have gained ascendancy, suggesting that religion and scientific endeavour are necessarily sworn adversaries. This unhelpful development is liable to drive a wedge between two distinct but potentially collaborating orientations. Religious leaders can accept the benefit that social scientific endeavour has contributed to our understanding of the human condition, including sociology, psychology, education and social policy. In turn, social scientific scholars should be willing to consider the contribution that ideas derived from religious thought may be able to contribute to their disciplines. Modern Western societies are struggling to contain many problematic social phenomena—such as drug misuse, antisocial behaviour and family breakdown. It would not be advisable to reject the contribution derived from religious communities or texts. Ours is an effort to build a bridge between two traditions—Judaic and social scientific—which we believe will benefit both traditions.

Meaning of Jewish Social Values

Now, briefly, a few comments about what is meant by Jewish social values:

Jewish—Jewish teaching is rarely monolithic. The multivolume Talmud, a compendium of the first five centuries of the common era (CE) of Jewish learning and arguably the main text of traditional Jewish scholarship (Steinsaltz 1976), draws together energetic debates and divergent opinions on thousands of topics. Subsequent Jewish scholarship has similarly accommodated widely divergent opinion on theology, law and ethics. Therefore, in this volume, we do not attempt to present a single Jewish viewpoint—which is at odds with the heritage itself—but to explore genuine Judaic ideas inspired by, or draw from, this scholarly heritage. In doing this, we seek to offer a Jewish voice to the social scientific and professional discourse, rather than provide definitive halachic rulings.

Furthermore, it is acknowledged that there is a measure of subjectivity in one's selection and interpretation of Jewish sources, just as most social scientists recognise that their work is not wholly objective (Smith 1998). What we advocate is reasoned argument, whereby preferences are justified in a transparent manner, and there is 'credibility' to the standpoints taking on both Jewish and social scientific issues. The Jewish Social Values project embraces a diversity of perspectives, not only consensus or even dominant views, including positions regarded as *arguable,* rather than entirely eccentric, by mainstream thought in the respective disciplines.

Social—Our focus is mainly on what we term 'social values'. For the sake of clarification, we distinguish between social policy, social action and social values. 'Social *policy*' covers issues such as economics, equality, the political system, democracy and human rights, while 'social *action*' addresses issues of fairness and direct action, such as environmentalism, Third World debt, animal rights, ecological sustainability and poverty reduction. By contrast, we use the term 'social values' to refer primarily to the everyday issues of people's lives—personal, family, community and society—and the wider forces that directly impact upon them, although inevitably there is some overlap with social *policy* and social *action* issues. The parameters of these categories are somewhat subjective and porous, and we expect that their boundaries will alter as the research evolves.

Values Allport (1961, p. 543) described value priorities as the 'dominating force in life'. Yet, reviews of the value construct have noted the confusion and inconsistency around the terms that are used to describe the mental schemata people used to base their judgements upon (see Rohan 2000; Hitlin and Piliavin 2004). In recent decades, the construct of 'values' has been at times neglected and, when discussed, is used to refer to a multitude of notions, such as norms and preferences. Rohan (2000) explained that values theory has struggles with credibility because the term 'values' is open to abuse and overuse, and issues of definition are a prime cause of this.

The focus in much of this literature is on the value that something has for a person, in other words, how desirable something is, emphasising its valence or the emotional pull. For example, for Kluckhohn (1951, p. 395), Feather (1996, p. 222)

and Schwartz (1999, p. 24), a value is a 'conception of the desirable', namely, that it appeals to them most. More explicitly, Rokeach (1973, p. 5) defines a value as a 'mode of conduct or being that is personally or socially preferable'.

Many theorists adopt a cynical view, perceiving values as a self-serving construct to add legitimacy or self-satisfaction to a personally desirable choice. Kluckhohn (1951, p. 400) suggests that values are used by people to 'get what they want and need from other individuals in personal and emotional terms', and Rokeach (1973, p. 168) describes values as 'an ingenious language admirably suited to the enlightenment of all kinds of self-interest…to permit rationalized justification of self-interest.' Spinoza (1644/1994, p. 160) stated: 'We neither strive for, nor will, neither want, nor desire anything because we judge it to be good; on the contrary, we judge something to be good because we strive for it, will it, want it, and desire it.' According to this understanding of values, they are subjective, self-serving and restricted to interpersonal ethics.

By contrast, the term value could be conceptualised as an ideal that coheres with a person's principles, with 'the connotation of being objectively positive in some way' (Heider 1958, p. 223). Accordingly, it may be preferable even if not personally desirable. The conception of values used here views them as primarily about striving towards an altruistic ideal, rather than a self-serving end. If what is intended is strong personal preferences (e.g. 'I value my time'), Rohan (2000) suggests the term 'attitude' is more appropriate. As Rohan notes, values relate to what one 'ought' rather than what one may 'want'. To this extent, we follow Rohan (2000, p. 264) who concludes that value judgements are such that 'concern the capacity of entities to enable best possible living', as opposed to more narcissistic aims.

Schwartz (1996, p. 2) suggested that value priorities are the product of 'three universal requirements of human existence: biological needs, requisites for coordinated social interaction, and demands of group survival and functioning.' According to Rohan (2000, p. 262), 'the assumption that has been characteristic of value theories: All of the value types in the human value system are important in some way to human functioning—otherwise, why would they be part of the universally shared value system structure?' Rohan's comment aptly captures much of the values literature. Underpinning the notion of values from a Jewish perspective is that it is based on questioning one's preferences against a higher value.

Another key point to highlight is how from the point of view of Judaism, we argue, values operate on two levels. A characteristic of Jewish values is the application of values to real-life situations. For example, kindness (chessed) is a high-level value; some of its many applications include visiting the sick, returning a lost object and comforting a mourner, which in Judaism are all values in their own right. Thus, there are high-level values, which are abstract notions higher up on the goal hierarchy, and there are more practical guides to action—these may be variously termed values and meta-values. Rohan (2000) limits 'values' to abstract, transsituational guides, but for us, ultimately values are action-oriented; they are (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004, p. 364) 'ideal ends within an action situation.' The more practical type of values has been termed 'values expressive attitudes' (see Maio and Olson 2000). These levels share some features in common with Rokeach's terminal–instrumental division.

However, it needs to be recognised that values can be in competition and even conflict with each other, and the person makes judgements about how to manage those values. The values *system* is the mechanism that processes the ongoing organising and mediation of values (Schwartz and Bilsky 1990); 'the value system is a stable meaning-producing superordinate cognitive structure' (Rohan 2000, p. 257). The values system is, in turn, part of a wider self-regulatory system that controls all aspects of the person, including bodily functions (see Carver 2007).

An Ethic of Engagement

Our endeavour to facilitate a Jewish contribution to the social sciences is motivated by a set of values rooted in Jewish values themselves. Judaism is often regarded as a particularistic religion—based on a particular divine covenant, with particular promises and obligations for a particular people. Alongside this, however, the classical Jewish sources also contain a strong element of universalism, a sense of Jewish religious obligation towards humanity in general. That universal strain at times fell silent during periods of extreme oppression, but this instinct has repeatedly resurfaced when the opportunity arose.

Reference is commonly made to the concept of *tikkun olam,* literally 'repair of the world'. The concept is used in the Mishnah (Gittin 4:2), the earliest rabbinic law code dating to the early third century CE, with reference to a number of concrete changes made to the *halachah* on the grounds of an ethically grounded sense of social convenience, some of which address issues of universal relevance. For example, the use of the concept in relation to the extent of a physician's liability for negligence has been advanced in modern times as a relevant contribution to modern debates on health-care policy (Freundel 2005, p. 332, citing Tosefta Gittin 3:13) or as a basis for the introduction of a 'Preparation for Marriage' course, aimed at reducing the divorce rate (Dorff 2007, p. 136).

The concept also achieved prominence in kabbalistic thought, referring to the process of the repair of an aspect of the natural order that was shattered through the very process of creation (Rosenthal 2005; Ballabon 2005). Though conceived there as a mystical and spiritual idea, rather than a demand for social action, it has been used by some thinkers as a metaphor for repair of a broken social world (Sacks 2005). I concur with the view that *tikkun olam* refers to the Judaic ethic of addressing social challenges, rather than an expression of universalism, and is the least grounded on Judaism ethics of responsibility (Neumann 2011).

Proverbs (3:17) observes: 'Her [Torah's] ways are ways of pleasantness (*darchei no'am*), and her paths are paths of peace'. *Darchei no'am* has been invoked as a religious basis for advancing Jewish social values (Blidstein 2005). The Talmud (Gittin 61a; Tosephta Gittin 3:13–14, and codified in Maimonides Kings 10:12) invokes *darchei shalom* (way of peace), specifically in relation to Jewish obligations to non-Jews, specifying the obligation to visit their sick, bury their dead and support

their poor (Blidstein 2005), to foster 'ways of peace'. Maimonides connects this to Psalms (145:9) 'God is good to all and His mercy is on all his creatures.'

While some interpret this view as a pragmatic and somewhat diffident attitude towards obligation beyond the Jewish community, it should be noted that *darchei shalom* is deployed by the Mishnah (Gittin 5:8) to advocate a whole range of mainstream social conventions aimed at furthering civilised conduct.[6] For example, it is prohibited to seize objects found by a deaf-mute or a mentally disabled person due to *darchei shalom*. Thus, Hoffman (1969) challenges the claim that this ethic is purely utilitarian: 'Are we to refrain from robbing the deaf-mute and mentally deficient in order to appear as their good friends?' Hoffman, therefore, concludes that 'it cannot be the purpose of these rabbinical rules to *obtain* peaceful relations, but rather to *offer* and *promote* peace; not to seek *peace*, but to *create* peace. The rules have been established, not for the sake of *our* peace, but for the peace and welfare of *all men*.'[7]

Several major rabbinic authorities state[8] that *darchei shalom* (encouraging ways of peace) 'is not just a means to keep Judaism safe from non-Jewish hatred' and applies 'even when there is no fear of recrimination'. Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Israel, Rabbi Yehuda Unterman similarly considers that the principle 'flows from the core ethical teachings of the Torah.'[9] The terminology of 'the ways of peace' may suggest an origin in circumstances when altruism to others was informed by Jewish self-interest (Sacks 2005; Stern 2005), but that does not inhibit interpretations true to the spirit of the tradition, which seek to transcend the particular circumstances of the concept's origins.

Wurtzberger (1981) draws attention to the more general ethical precept to do 'the right and the good' (*veasita hayashar vehatov*), a precept found (unlike the other concepts) in the Pentateuch itself (*Deut*. 6:18; 12:28). Others still have propounded

[6] Moreover, it should be noted that among the rules created due to darkhei shalom are such that impact on biblical law, whereby financial loss incurred or where, were it not for darkhei shalom, such activity would be proscribed (see Gittin 5:9).

[7] Hoffman deduces this from the phraseology of this teaching, mipnei darchei shalom (to promote ways of peace) and not the more common mipenei hashalom (for the sake of peace). This is consistent with the overriding priority granted to peace in Jewish teaching (see Maimonides Mishneh Torah Laws of Chanukah 4:14).

[8] Rabbi Yaakov Emden, She'ilat Yaavetz 1:41; Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Israel, Rabbi Yehuda Unterman, Shevet Miyehudah 3:70 cited in http://www.on1foot.org/text/rav-unterman-shevet-myehuda-370. The Rashba (Gittin 61a, ha detanya) mentions that Rashi understands *darchei shalom* to be identical with avoidance of anti-Semitic recrimination. Rashba challenges this and asserts that one buries non-Jews even in instances in which failure to do so would not provoke charges of discrimination. A similar halachic position is advanced by Ritva (Gittin 61a, veha d'amrinan), Bach (CM 151), GRA (CM 151:20, 335:12 and 367:1), Be'er Heitev (YD 251:1) and Shach (CM 335:12).

[9] This understanding is consistent with Rabbenu Yona's commentary to Avot 2:3: 'a person should pray for peace in the entire world and to feel pain when others suffer…a person should not make his supplications and requests solely for his own needs, rather he should pray for all human beings that they be in a peaceful environment.' This approach is further underpinned by the multiple references in classic Jewish texts (e.g. Kiddushin 32b; Berachot 17a) reporting expressions of respect and assistance that leading Rabbinic figures accorded to gentiles.

the view that Jewish ethics are derived in part from the story of creation, which by definition binds all humankind equally. Accordingly, there are those who argue that Judaic teachings of a moral nature are essentially part of the pre-Mosaic code binding all humankind. As Nissim Gaon (Preface to Talmud Berachot) put it: 'all commands that flow from reason and human understanding have obligated humanity since God first created man on earth' (similarly Chizkuni Genesis 7:21), a view which has been described as 'as close as Judaism comes to natural law' (Sacks 2005, p. 123).

However, it is argued here that there is no need to 'hook' a universalist concern for the wider world on a particular concept or ethic, but rather that there is an overriding Jewish imperative to contribute to the wider world.[10] It is not a law or teaching of Judaism; it *is* Judaism. It is a core theme of Jewish teachings and practice to seek to have a positive impact outside the Jewish community as an expression of responsibility and genuine concern for the welfare of those beyond its community.

Universalism in Jewish Thought

At the heart of Jewish ethics is the concept of *Yishuvo shel olam* (civilising the world),[11] the precept that every human being has an obligation and, thus, a right to be a productive part of society. The rabbis of the Talmud (Gittin Mishnah 4:5, 41a) based this on the biblical verse (Isaiah 45:18) 'He did not create it to be a wasteland, but for it to be inhabited.' The Talmud considers this of sufficient legal force to revoke both personal property rights and other mandated laws of the Torah. Arguably, the most important statement in Judaism is the verse (Deuteronomy 6:4) 'Hear O Israel, the Lord is your God, the Lord is one.' The Jewish biblical commentator, *Rashi,* explains this verse as referring to a universal eschatological aspiration.

The Bible itself, especially the prophetic writings, expresses concern for how its values are viewed by other nations. Although primarily concerned with the behaviour and fate of the Children of Israel, the biblical writings reveal a universal message. The Hebrew prophets (Isaiah 42:6; 49:6) called upon the Israelites to be 'light unto the nations.' Amos and other prophets delivered messages for people other than their own and in Jeremiah (1:5): 'I have set you as a prophet to the nations.' An entire book of the Bible tells the story of Jonah, a Hebrew prophet who was sent to the ancient (gentile) metropolis of Nineveh, but whose reluctance to fulfil the mission set the scene for a dramatic tale. Eleventh-century rabbi Judah the Pious (Sefer Hassidim 1124) interpreted the book of Jonah as indicating that Jews

[10] The Bible references to the needs of the stranger for support and protection far outnumbers its references to almost any other command. The kabbalist Rabbi Haim Vital (Shaarei Kedusha 1:5) wrote that 'one should love all people, including gentiles,' and Rabbi Phineas Elijah of Vilna in Sefer Haberit 2:13 cites numerous sources to this effect.

[11] See Yalkut Shimoni (1:13): 'God formed Adam out of dust from all over the world….Therefore, no one can declare to any people that they do not belong….'

have a moral responsibility for those not of their own faith: 'If one sees a gentile committing a transgression, if one can protest then one should, since the Holy One, blessed is He, sent Jonah to Nineveh to cause them to repent.' Moses (Deut 4:6) referred to the Law as 'your wisdom and understanding in the eyes of the nations'. In his prayer at the inauguration of the Temple, King Solomon (1 Kings 8:41) describes the Temple as a place where the Lord hears the prayers of people who will come from 'a faraway country'. Jewish law regards the entire human race as bound by seven Noahide Laws, including prohibitions against theft, murder, adultery and animal cruelty. Within a Jewish polity, some authorities consider it the responsibility of the Jewish courts to apply and enforce these laws.

Traditional Jewish texts attribute great weight to *Chilul Hashem* (based on Leviticus 22:32), literally desecrating God's name, referring to immoral act committed by Jews that may bring an external opprobrium upon God and His teachings (Ex. 32:12; Joel 2:17; Ps. 79:10). Causing non-Jews to lose respect for Judaism, thereby diminishing the positive impact it may have on the gentile world, is regarded as a serious matter (Ethics of the Fathers 4:4), and in the Bible (Deut 32:27–29), bringing God into disrepute is a cause for dismay. Protecting the reputation of Judaism is considered so important that the Talmud (Yevamot 79a) states that it is preferable to compromise Torah law than to bring it into disrepute. The Talmud (Jerusalem Talmud Baba Metzia Chapter 2) cites a series of stories of Jews who returned lost objects to non-Jews despite not being obligated to do so, and in each case, the story ends with the delighted beneficiary proclaiming 'Praised be the God of Israel'.

Traditional rabbinic teaching suggests that both Moses and Joshua translated the Torah, or at least parts of it, into multifarious languages. On the verse in Deuteronomy (1:5) that tells that on the Eastern bank of the river Jordan Moses began explaining the Torah, the Talmud (Sotah, 36a) states that the Torah was translated into 70 languages. Many of the traditional Jewish biblical commentators follow this line also regarding Joshua's inscribing the Torah on stone (Joshua 8:32; See Saadia Gaon, Kimhi, Gersonides, although they disagree as to what precisely was written). This translating must have been for the benefit of the wider world as for the Israelites themselves it would have been wholly unnecessary.

Every blessing in Judaism begins by referring to God as *melech haolam,* Sovereign of the World, rather than a specifically Jewish God, suggesting a universal sentiment that finds practical expression in the teaching by the great sage Hillel to 'Love all people and draw them close to Torah' (Ethics of the Fathers 1:12). Similarly, the Talmud (Shabbat 54b) states: 'whoever can forbid his household [to commit a sin] but does not, is seized for [the sins of] his household. [If he can forbid] his fellow citizens [but does not] he is seized for [the sins of] his fellow citizens. [If he can forbid] the whole world [but does not] he is seized for [the sins of] the whole world'. This source is cited also by Rabbi Sacks (2005, p. 122) in advocating a Jewish 'ethics of responsibility', arguing that 'can entails ought': We bear responsibility for whatever we could have prevented but did not.

This embracing sentiment is pervasive across the vast Judaic literature—manifest to all who wish to see it. For example, a well-known story in the Talmud (Chullin 7a) tells of the legendary sage rabbi Pinchas ben Yair who was on a charity mission, when he came upon a river called Ginai:

> He said, 'Ginai, split your waters, so that I may cross through you.' The river answered, 'You are trying to do the will of your Maker, but you may or may not succeed [As he may fail to raise the money (Rashi)], while I will certainly accomplish the will of my Maker and continue to flow.' Rabbi Pinchas said, 'If you do not split, I decree that water shall never flow again through you,' at which the river split…. There was an Arab merchant with them. Said he: 'Split also for him, lest they say "this is how they behave towards a walking partner"', whereupon the river split yet again.

This story portrays a huge miracle, the scale of splitting of the Red Sea, conducted purely to avoid the suggestion that a rabbi was inconsiderate to a non-Jewish co-traveller.

This universal sentiment has been articulated by some of the leading rabbinic figures of recent times. For example, Ben-Zion Uziel, pre-state Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Israel (Palestine), wrote: 'Each [self-respecting nation] desires to establish a link of love and friendship among all nations, for the enrichment of the human storehouse of intellectual and ethical ideas and for the uncovering of the secrets of nature (Angel 1999, p. 109).' Rav Kook, pre-state Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Israel (Palestine) argued that Jews should be concerned for the material and spiritual state of all human beings: 'The highest position in the love of people must be taken by the love of man, and it must extend to all men, despite all difference of opinion, religion and faith, despite all distinctions of race and climate.'[12]

The Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi M. M. Schneerson (1984, p. 613) greatly emphasised a Jewish contribution to the moral condition of the world at large: 'A Jew should not be satisfied with fulfilling the commandments of the Torah. Rather, he has an obligation to do all possible to be a positive influence upon the nations of the world around him.' Rabbi Sacks (2005) likewise argues for looking to the Jewish heritage to make a wider contribution to human progress: 'No one should seek to impose his or her religious convictions on society, but we should seek to bring the insights of our respective faiths to the public conversation about the principles for which we stand and the values we share.' Rabbi J. B. Soloveitchick (1964) claims that 'We are the bearers of a double charismatic load, that of the dignity of man, and that of the sanctity of the covenantal community…the universal human and the exclusive covenantal confrontation.'

[12] Rav Kook, Mussar Avikha, 92, 96, cited in Yoel Ben Nun, 'Nationalism, Humanity and Knesset Israel', in Benjamin Ish-Shalom and Shalom Rosenberg (eds.) *The World of Rav Kook's Thought.* Although at times it would appear from the writings of Rav Kook that he attributed this inclusive approach to the truly righteous (see Orot Hakodesh vol. 3, p. 349), the extensive writing on this topic suggests that he believed that any person could go some way towards attaining this wider level of concern (see sources in Ben Nun above).

Making a *Jewish* Contribution

In the modern era, Jews as individuals have contributed hugely to virtually every profession and discipline, from sociology to psychology, from jurisprudence to biology. However, typically, these have not been *Jewish* contributions but contributions made by individuals of Jewish persuasion or origin. Jewish ideas were rarely expressly drawn upon by theorists and thinkers in the social scientists and when they were, often it was so they could be caricatured or maligned. What we are advocating is a genuinely Jewish contribution, one that capitalises on several thousand years of thinking and teaching and that is authentic and true to itself (Novak 1992) .

Unlike many Eastern religions, and in contrast to Christianity, Judaism directs extensive and detailed attention to matters of everyday living. Traditional Jewish texts, across dozens of generations, deal extensively with social concerns and address highly practical issues in a rigorous and comprehensive manner. The weight of traditional Jewish learning leans towards real-life issues, rather than focusing primarily on matters of theology and philosophy. Jewish learning has produced a vast array of laws, teaching and lore in relation to family relationships, community services and societal problems. Consequently, Jewish families and communities over thousands of years have been laboratories of applied Jewish ethics. The study of these texts and the communities that were most influenced by them may provide valuable insight into issues of family, community and society.

A distinction has rightly been drawn between Jewish contributions motivated (merely) by a desire 'to illustrate the relevance of traditional Judaism to contemporary society' rather than 'directly participating in the social debate' (Bieler 2005, p. 156). We are advocating that Jewish ideas should be more represented in our efforts to tackle social challenges and improve the functionality of society for all. For precedents, we can look to the development of Jewish medical ethics and Jewish business ethics that have risen to prominence in recent decades.

Jewish Medical and Business Ethics

The 1960s saw the rise of Jewish medical ethics, prompted by the publication of Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits' (1959) landmark text, *Jewish Medical Ethics.* Since then, dozens of papers and books have been published, much of it for a wider non-Jewish readership. There are now courses in leading universities around the world that include Jewish ethics in their medical ethics programs, and Judaic perspectives are regularly sought and valued on major medical ethics debates.

In the 1980s, a similar trend occurred with Jewish business ethics, with a growing publication of substantial works championed by Meir Tamari. It is now relatively commonplace to find Jewish ethical perspectives in mainstream business ethics journals, and several organisations contribute Jewish values to the broad debate on contemporary business ethics. For example, the *Journal of Business Ethics* over the

last three decades has published multiple studies on Jewish ethics, covering such topics as money-lending practices (Lippman 2008), conflict of interest (Fogel and Friedman 2008) and bankruptcy (Tamari 1990).

However, in our analysis, while many papers on Jewish business ethics present a Talmudic or Halakhic perspective with great erudition and eloquence, their application to modern-day realities is comparatively less developed. By contrast, Jewish medical ethics has become more integrated within the general field of medical ethics, and scholarly articles regularly discuss medical issues in a multidisciplinary manner.

While Jewish ethics in the aforementioned areas have a way to go to make the full impact of which their proponents believe they are capable the considerable success they currently enjoy and the respect by which they are widely held offer a model for Jewish social ethics. Social issues are a specialism of Judaism and their contribution to this domain could be even greater. The development and expansion of the Jewish medical and business ethics disciplines give an indication as to the potential Jewish social values can make. Resisting the temptation to address purely abstract theoretical issues, or to couch the discussion in exclusively theological terms of reference, they have directly enriched the worlds of medicine and business. We seek to enable a similar contribution to the social scientific disciplines and professional practices that impact on families and communities.

The Current State of Jewish Social Values

The domain of social issues is truly vast, and in not all areas would a Judaic contribution be equally strong, but it is our contention that the work of mapping out this field from a Judaic and interdisciplinary point of view has hardly begun. In 2009, Tag Institute commissioned a literature search (in the English language) of both popular and scholarly publication on Jewish social values, focusing on family values. The results of this search revealed a rather limited amount of serious research that met our goals. Subsequent supplementary searches conducted by Tag Institute staff have so far confirmed the paucity of suitable literature.

While there is a high volume of articles and books on social issues from a Jewish perspective, our assessment is that there is a rather limited amount of useable scholarly work. Serious research is typically restricted to issues of direct relevance or interest to the Jewish community, and little effort has been invested in rendering Jewish social values relevant to a wider audience. There are only a few good examples of multidisciplinary work that integrate a solid understanding of Judaic ethics with a meaningful grasp of the social scientific research. For example, Jonathan Sacks (1990) addresses the issue of poverty and wealth creation. Sacks addresses several key issues relevant to today's economic challenges, including managing effective wealth redistribution in a manner that does not damage the system upon which it depends and mediating the conflicting rights of workers and their employer.

Elliott Dorff (2003) suggests that Jewish values place a premium on privacy and restricts the use of free speech if disparaging to others. He carefully applies a nuanced Judaic ethic to contemporary situations, including spying on employees and breaches of privacy in name of national security. An article on prison reform by Shmuly Yanklowitz (2007) calls for a reassessment of the role of incarceration. Drawing on biblical and rabbinical teachings on *Arei Miklat* (cities of refuge) and punishment more generally, the article makes a powerful argument for prisons to put greater emphasis on human dignity and rehabilitation.

David Novak maintains that rabbinic law adopts a restitutive approach to justice as opposed to the more retributive approach he detects in the US criminal justice system. He argues that 'Judaism has a long and varied tradition in reflecting on the causes of violent crimes and in developing strategies to deal with this grave problem. Therefore, it should be of interest to those searching for insights and guidance from the various moral and legal systems that have contributed to Western civilisation'.

However, much of the writing by these and other authors are fundamentally theological or philosophical. They often address their topics in quite an abstract manner, focusing on the key points rather than drilling down into the practical issues. Additionally, being rooted in faith language, their arguments generally do not translate well to the concerns of social scientists or the related professions. Thus, a significant gap remains to provide a social scientific input that is informed by a Judaic impulse that draws from traditional Jewish wisdom or experience.

Summary of the Book

This book consists of three parts. The first part addresses issues relating to education, the second part deals with psychological wellbeing and the final part focuses on societal and global issues. What follows is a brief summary of the chapters:

Self-Regulation on Schools In this chapter, the findings from research studies that were conducted in Jewish settings are applied to urban schools that serve low-income minority youth. The longitudinal study demonstrated that Judaism's social values have much to offer the wider community by sharpening questions, contributing towards solving pressing educational challenges and adding a distinctive values orientation.

Sensitivity to Disability Jewish perspectives on disabilities informed the creation of two prosocial interventions to enhance typical children's sensitivity, intentions and attitudes towards children with special needs. The first intervention involved a four-part curriculum designed to teach typical students about autism, blindness, cerebral palsy and deafness. The second intervention introduced a children's television show, which highlights the special strengths and abilities of individuals with disabilities.

Bullying and Social Exclusion A new concept of inadvertent social exclusion is introduced, suggesting that some young people become excluded unintentionally through the process of group dynamics—a concept that is enhanced through the prism of Jewish social values. The chapter presents qualitative and quantitative data on the interventions this concept inspired to sensitise young people and their older carers to this issue.

Moral Education for Adolescents This chapter explores the development of an educational approach that not only provides an intellectual framework for ethical deliberation but also imparts the necessary tools for moral training. Ira Bedzow argues that a Jewish approach to ethical development foregrounds action and that moral education requires the instilling of both the knowledge and the will to live a morally motivated life.

Values-Based Parenting At the heart of this proposition is the idea that parents adopting values language (practical moral constructs such as respect for the elderly or consideration for others) when raising their children may offer an effective method of fostering sustainable good behaviour. Using moral constructs to encourage behaviour choices convey and reinforce the binding nature of values based on moral imperatives. Value-based parenting gives parents a valuable tool, putting moral values at the heart of the family's and child's choice-making.

Mental Health This chapter suggests a clinical approach to the integration of Jewish spiritual beliefs and practices into standard cognitive-behavioral therapy for a variety of mental health disorders, incorporating Jewish principles and values within the course of psychological treatment. The authors show how drawing upon the psychological insights contained within the Jewish tradition can have emotionally transformative effects.

Ritual and Wellbeing Contrary to the typically negative view of ritual found in key psychological texts, this chapter draws on a new trend according to which religious ritual offers a range of positive mental health benefits, from reduced anxiety to meaning in life and sense of community. Adopting a phenomenological perspective, it examines two key rituals: the tranquillity and fulfilment respondents ascribed to Sabbath observance and the strengthening of identity from wearing a headdress for Jewish and Muslim women.

Depression Jewish thought contains strong elements of both positive psychology and logotherapy. This chapter draws upon Jewish teaching to suggest that happiness and emotional wellbeing requires positive attitudes and emotions as well as a sense of purpose and striving to achieve a higher goal. After drawing parallels between Jewish ideas and those found in positive psychology and logotherapy, the chapter explores a framework for incorporating elements of both into therapeutic applications.

Transmitting Values Drawing on the vibrant practices of the traditional Passover meal (Seder), this chapter presents a Jewish approach to parent–child interaction that adds insight, in particular, to the area of parent–child conversational discourse.

Presenting eight principles for parents to effectively convey values in the context of wider research, the chapter suggests that the methods used at the Seder offer particularly useful ideas for parents to use for optimal parent–child interactions.

Ageing While often the way ageing affects us is beyond our control, the rabbis claim that those whose later years are filled with meaning and purpose experience ageing in a qualitatively different way. Research on ageing has increasingly recognised the concept of 'ageing well', but this chapter explores Judaic conceptions of ageing for new insight into ageing enrichment. It reports on innovative initiatives designed to facilitate 'ageing enrichment' devised to mitigate the sense of marginalisation that often accompanies old age.

Solitary Confinement in Prison Challenging the increasing use of solitary confinement in prison in the USA and elsewhere, this chapter explores the social aspect that underpins the commission of criminal acts. An innovative conception of crime as resulting from a person's dislocation and detachment from society is presented and on this basis, a strong call is made to consider ways of responding to crime that do more to resocialise offenders and to reduce the use of measures that reinforce social isolation.

Market Competition This chapter presents the principles of free market and competition and continues with an exposition of Judaic ethical and legal parameters for competition and for intervention in the economy. It sets out circumstances under which curbs on competition would be legitimate. It shows how Jewish law affords a safety net where one side in the vendor–consumer relationship does not have proper knowledge, limits the profit margin on basic commodities and forbids predatory pricing that is destructive of competitors.

Humanitarian Volunteerism Based on a case study of the international volunteering program of Israeli humanitarian organisation, this chapter examines the role of values in motivating volunteers and guiding their choices. The two authors each contribute a distinct section, one from the perspective of the founder/director and the second an independent researcher. A fascinating picture emerges of the interplay between values and other motivations, which raises important ideas for volunteering organisations.

Conclusion

Ethics of the fathers cites two authorities on the most vital principles. On the one hand we are told (1:2) in the name of Rabbi Simeon the Righteous that the 'world stands on three things: on Torah (Jewish scholarship), on Avoda (religious service, primarily prayer and rituals, and on Gemillut Chassadim (acts of loving-kindness).' Later (1:18), we read in the name of Rabbi Simeon ben Gamliel that the 'world exists on three things: on justice, truth and peace.' Scholars have sought to understand

the relationship between these two statements.[13] I humbly suggest that we have here two triangles, which combine to constitute the six points of the Jewish star. The clue is in the change in terminology from the world *stands* to the world *exists* and in the order in which the teachings were placed.

The word stands implies the base upon which the world rests, its raison d'être, whereas exists suggests the conditions of its survival and success. Our world, the Jewish world, the world as perceived through a Jewish lens, is one that stems from the particularistic set of commitments, beliefs and practices. Ultimately, Jewish teaching is clear (Rashi Genesis 1:1): The whole of the universe was created for the sake of the spiritual values and mission of Judaism. It is this that underpins the whole enterprise of creation. However, for this grand plan to be realised, for it to continue to exist, these foundations need to be supplemented with the more universal values of justice, truth and peace. All three of these values are intrinsically universal—and so the teachings of Judaism portray them. 'One law for all' is a regular biblical refrain (e.g. Exodus 12:49; Numbers 15:15). Truth shall sprout from the ground (Psalms 85:12); it is true for everyone or, by definition, it is not truth at all (Maimonides, Eight Chapters, ch. 4; Tanya ch. 13). Peace, likewise, is the principle that difference shall be overcome and division shall be healed.

To interest ourselves only with the three universal principles and neglect the three particular ones will deprive the Judaic enterprise of its foundations. However, those who exclusively focus on the particularistic values are denying the world of its ability to properly exist, to thrive and to progress. It is not a choice of the one triangle or the other; we need the two overlaid one on the other, forming a Star of David.

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[13] For example, the commentary Tiferet Yisrael explains the contradiction by distinguishing between thriving (which is dependent of the first three) and surviving (for which it is sufficient to have the latter three).

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Part I
Education

Chapter 2
Self-Regulation Among Students: Sharpening the Questions

Michael Ben-Avie

Introduction

The ideas embedded within this chapter emerged during the writing of two articles by Ben-Avie and Comer (2005, 2010) on the intersection between the Yale Child Study Center's School Development Program (SDP) and Jewish education. James P. Comer, M.D., founded SDP in 1968 to turn around low-performing, dysfunctional schools that serve urban, minority youth. Comer, who is African-American, was interested in seeing whether predictors of youth development and student learning were the same for two different groups of youth on opposite sides of the spectrum in terms of socioeconomic status and familial commitment to education: students in urban, minority schools and students in Jewish day schools; this was found to be the case, especially in terms of the importance of relationships (teacher–student, student interpersonal, and home–school). This research set in motion a study of the childhood roots of adult Jewish quality of life, which encompassed Jewish schools, camps, and youth movements. When the opportunity emerged to conduct a 6-year longitudinal outcome evaluation of an urban school district's implementation of the Smaller Learning Communities (SLC) initiative, it would have been sufficient to use the evaluation strategies and research instruments that SDP honed in urban schools throughout the country. Instead, the decision was made to draw upon the findings from the childhood roots of Jewish adult quality of life research, which underscored the importance of an internal psychological process—self regulation. Thus, instead of continuing previous research in urban settings in a new urban setting, the pattern actually was (1) research in an urban setting, (2) research in the Jewish community, and (3) research in an urban setting. What was the unique contribution of the Jewish

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research to understanding the learning and development of youth placed at risk? Thus, the research areas that emerged as important in Jewish educational settings, and not Judaism per se, were demonstrated to have value when investigating the extent to which schools promote the learning and development of youth.

The purpose of this chapter is to show that research that combines Jewish ideas and practices with the concepts and methods of the social sciences should not a priori be excluded from the public discourse on public education. In this chapter, the findings from research studies that were conducted in Jewish schools, camps, and youth groups are applied to urban schools that serve low-income, minority youth. The importance of these findings emerge from the realization that school reform today does not tend to address students' formation of a relationship with a group and the needs of society. Instead, there is a narrow focus on higher standards, better instruction, and more rigorous testing. Helping students to multiply their options and decreasing the number of those who are underprepared for future careers are youth development topics that go far beyond introducing a "developmentally appropriate" curriculum, raising standards, or establishing accountability measures. The longitudinal study in an urban setting demonstrated that the knowledge created in the Jewish community and Judaism's social values have much to offer the wider community by sharpening questions, contributing towards solving pressing educational challenges, and adding a distinctive values orientation.

Overview of Chapter

In this chapter, different approaches are presented on how to interweave Jewish texts and practices with social science research. On one level, Jewish ideas and values informed the development of a research instrument, the *Learning and Development Inventory (LDI),* which was then used in urban public schools to evaluate the effectiveness of federally funded grants. In another instance, psychological concepts (e.g., future orientation) are explored in Jewish educative settings and then used to provide an explanatory framework for the success of urban, minority students. So, too, research from the social sciences and Jewish ideas and practices (e.g., Jewish teachings that discourage self-absorption and encourage awareness to people's interdependence) are seamlessly interwoven with social science research in order to address educational change.

Student Learning and Development: Self-Regulation

With self-regulation, success depends on having awareness of a problem and of an ideal outcome, skills to map out a strategy to solve the problem, and having a willingness and skill in persisting at and refining the strategy until a positive outcome is achieved. Students strengthen their self-regulation when they have an orientation

to the future and engage in goal setting as a way of articulating ideal outcomes. It is questioned as to what is the developmental process through which students increase their self-regulation capacity and what are the risks of inadequate self-regulation. Psychological development in students entails the increasing self-regulation of the natural psychological processes by voluntary ones. Luria (1976) outlines the voluntary psychological processes as "the laws of logical thought, active remembering, selective attention, and acts of the will in general which form the basis for the most complex and characteristic higher forms of human activity" (p. 5). According to Pintrich and Schunk (2003), successful self-regulation leads to effective social relations with peers, teachers, and family members; to high academic performance; and to optimal life opportunities. When students have inadequate self-regulation capability, asking them to set challenging goals can mean setting them up for failure. For these students, the end result is senseless violence, increased vulnerability, and/or diminished life outcomes.

Baumeister et al. (2010) explain that the term self-regulation is often used as a synonym for self-control. They write that "Regulation means change, but not just any change. Rather, it means bringing behavior into line with some standard" (p. 70). What is the challenge that students face when developing their self-regulation capacity? The key teaching of the Jewish text known as *Path of the Just* is that we must think. Frankel (2007) writes in his discussion of the text, "That might seem like an obvious lesson, but it takes work to put it into practice … How about our interactions with others? Do we really think about the effect our words might have and even what effect we would want them to have? THINK! Think about where you are, think about where you want to go, think about how you're going to get there. Think about the long term and think about the short term. In fact, think about everything you do."

If, however, students were to "think!" all the time, the outcome may be counterproductive. As an award for thinking about everything that they do, students may feel justified in indulging now and then in self-injurious or maladaptive behavior. Continuously regulating behavior and emotions leads to ego depletion, an internal state in which mental energy reserves are exhausted (Baumeister et al. 2007). When students are faced with too many choices, they tend to become self-paralyzed. They may experience a numbness of the mind or a considerable lack of awareness of the environment around them. They may get into accidents or find themselves engaging in reckless behaviors. Conscious decision-making is intense in its consumption of attentional resources. Students' successful self-regulation, and thus optimal performance, entails the ability to allocate and manage regulatory resources, so that high awareness and consciousness prevails when making key decisions, but quickly switches to habit when possible to conserve resources (see Carver and Scheier 1998). Effective, conscious self-regulation is the ability to overcome obstacles and focus on tasks using proactive and deliberative self-management (Schmeichel and Baumeister 2007). By contrast, the effectiveness of automatic self-regulation is measured by its efficiency and speed and its ability to function without active or conscious intervention (Carver 2007).

Research on Self-Regulation

Self-regulation can be (and often is) initiated and pursued automatically (see Fitzsimons and Bargh 2007 for an extensive review). Moreover, acting on the basis of a conscious intention can be less effective than reacting by instinct, as it can take longer to form the intention than actually carry out the action itself (Kelso 1995). Unconscious self-regulation does not deplete the person's limited self-regulatory capacity, as it happens automatically. Thus, it is more efficient for self-regulation to happen outside of conscious awareness and guidance (Bargh and Gollwitzer 1994). Once the person has established mental intentions to react in particular ways, the appropriate responses and the control processes necessary to implement them can be activated by social or environmental cues, without the need for the intervention of conscious choice. Once students have set a goal in their mind, it will be "shielded" or protected from distraction and derailment (Shah et al. 2002).

While we often have a heroic conception of self-regulation, whereby we valorize the person who exercises enormous self-restraint, effective self-management is best achieved when good choice making becomes habitual. A key way this can be done is through social and environmental cues that serve as subconscious stimulants, which trigger good behaviors. Gollwitzer and Schall (1998) refer to this as "implementation intentions," whereby if students link their behavior with the appearance of a particular external event or feature, this dramatically increases the likelihood that they will instinctively react in accordance with their original intention. This is because their mind is already pre-programmed to respond in the more adaptive manner, reducing the amount of conscious effort required to ensure an effective reaction. Another way of thinking about "implementation intentions" is to call them "if-then-plans."

These if-then-plans (implementation intentions) create a mental pairing of situational cues and courses of action that would normally be applicable to habitual activities (Gollwitzer and Schall 1998). Significantly, research shows that implementation intentions lead to speedy enactment of the desired behavior even under heavy cognitive load, when the person's self-regulatory capabilities are at their weakest. Implementation intentions facilitate goal-attainment by heightening the accessibility of both the forthcoming critical situation and the desired response, such that even if one is otherwise engaged, the desired reaction should occur automatically, swiftly, and efficiently (Gollwitzer et al. 2007, p. 213). Such mental priming is particularly useful when dealing with actions that are unpleasant or easy to forget (Gollwitzer et al. 2007). Delegating implementation to habit or "standard operating procedures" enhances self-control in the face of distractions and temptations by making the desired response automatic, thus helping the person resist temptation and distraction (Gollwitzer 1996).

Teachers may guide the class as a group to conceive of alternative ways to behave when a student rolls his eyes at another student's suggestion while engaged in a team project. As a group, they may decide on which course of action they will take if they should encounter this situation (to use Peter Gollwitzer's (1996) phrase, "If situation x is encountered, then I will perform behavior y"). In essence, this course

of action then becomes the standard to which students would regulate their behavior. Because they prepared themselves ahead of time, the likelihood is increased that their response would be below the threshold of choice. When an identical situation does occur, the students as a group could later analyze their thoughts at the time, their actions, and whether they met the standard. It is not the purpose of if-then-plans (implementation intentions) to preclude the use of conscious choice making. There are numerous situations in which implementation intentions would not work (i.e., when there are no external cues). Nevertheless, creating mental intentions supported by the external cues can dramatically improve the chances of a person making the right choice and will often ensure that this is achieved with little distraction or effort, therefore enabling the right choice to come at no cost to the attention and focus needed for other pressing concerns.

Belongingness is a Reason to Self-Regulate

Students' self-regulation is enhanced when students have a sense of belongingness or connectedness to family, friends, school, youth group, etc. In turn, this provides them with the commitment that they need to override self-absorbed and self-indulgent behaviors. Baumeister et al. (2010) note that belongingness is a reason to self-regulate (p. 74). As they write, "We suggested that expending limited resources for the sake of self-control is the price people pay to gain acceptance in society and thereby satisfy their fundamental need to belong. Put simply, people exert self-control for the rewards it can bring them in return … Belongingness motivates self-control and virtuous choices" (p. 78). This self-identification strengthens students' resolve to follow the standards and customary ways of behaving of the schools, even at the cost of impulsive behaviors that give them great pleasure in the here and now. Consistent with this approach, Baumeister and Vohs (2004) define self-regulation as "how a person exerts control over his or her own responses so as to pursue goals and live up to standards" (p. 500).

Students who grow up in poorly functioning, disruptive, and/or insecure family networks and communities often do not experience the quantity and quality of interactions needed to adequately promote their self-regulation and thereby their academic learning. Students' connectedness with others promotes their engagement in educationally purposeful activities (Comer et al. 1999) and provides them with a sense of belongingness, which is a reason to self-regulate. In the 6-year longitudinal study described below, it was observed that the students with fewer adults who cared about them were more vulnerable to loneliness in school. The students who indicated "zero adults" care about what happens to them also had the highest rates of agreement with the following item, significantly differing from all the other students: "During this school year, another student has bullied me." These findings indicate that least-connected students had more challenges with interpersonal relations than more-connected students. One of the most important predictors of self-regulation was found to be the students' scores on this item: "At school, I try to hide my feelings from everyone."

The least-connected students also tended to have the lowest scores on "I have some very good friends at this school," while the most-connected students had the top scores. Has the Internet alleviated students' loneliness? Miller (2012) described a poll of 1000 people aged 18–35 conducted by Macmillan Cancer Support. The poll found that the average person has 237 Facebook friends, but just two whom they could rely on when faced with a serious problem. He writes, "Worryingly around a quarter of respondents said they had just one true friend while one in eight said they had no one at all" (p. 1). Kahlil Oppenheimer (2013), a Brandeis student, wrote in the campus newspaper *The Justice:*

> As of writing this article, I have 1052 friends on Facebook, but it only feels equally, if not less, reassuring than my four close childhood friends. I was initially surprised by this observation, because more is better, right? But the connections I have made and maintained over Facebook and the persona I've created for myself feel artificial in comparison with real life. I cannot even imagine how content I'd feel if I had 1052 friends in real life and four Facebook friends (p. 7).

Oppenheimer concluded the article by saying, "We belong online and are alone in person."

For a school to shape students' self-regulation (and thereby their potential to enhance the societies in which they will live as adults), school reform cannot focus only on how the students have to change. It is all about relationships, including among all those who have a stake in the life success of the students. Teachers, too, have to change the way they work and interact with others. Promoting a sense of connectedness among students is one of the most important childhood roots of adult quality of life. In *The Childhood Roots of Adult Happiness*, Edward Hallowell (2002) states, "A connected childhood is the most reliable key to a happy life" (p. 91). The word "connected" in this statement refers to young people's connectedness to family and school. Hallowell's statement is based on the results of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, which found that connectedness to school and home were the two most important protective factors for adolescents. The National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health is a study mandated by Congress to identify risk and protective factors at the family, school, and individual levels as they relate to emotional health, violence, substance abuse, and sexuality in adolescents (American Youth Policy Forum 2004). Clearly, family connectedness and school connectedness were identified as protective against almost every health risk and likely to improve student well-being. On the other side of the equation, students' development relies on their self-regulation. Learning and development are not spectator sports.

A Jewish Approach to Self-Regulation

Consider that students may know which of the two possible courses of action is in their best interests, and even understand the benefits and harms that are involved. When provoked by desire, however, their impulses may rule and they may act in

ways they later regret. Judaism offers models of both building up self-regulation. Judaism's approach to promoting students' self-regulation stands in contrast to "character" initiatives which focus on the sublimation and transformation of negative traits (e.g., reducing students' temptation to engage in disruptive, nonacademic behaviors in the classroom). Instead, the intent of the Jewish approach is to enhance and bolster students' capacity for self-regulation by focusing on cognitive-behavioral elements.

The Judaic tradition brings into play—in the lives of its strict adherents—continuous opportunities for comparatively manageable exercises in self-regulation, which build up a general capacity for using the conscious mind to make effective choices. Through negotiating a multitude of occasions for making relatively nontaxing but nevertheless meaningful acts of restraint, students develop an acceptance and predisposition towards rejecting temptation and making principled decisions. Highly demanding choices would create a high level of temporary malfunction, as students would suffer a considerable depletion in their self-regulatory capacity. Yet, the kind of efforts required in the practices which are described below are not so demanding that they cannot be inserted quite readily into a normal way of living without overwhelming the conscious mind.

Jewish ideas and practices offer insight into how cognitive-behavioral techniques may "disrupt" unconscious, internal responses to complex choices and, instead, raise the decision-making process to the level of conscious choice—so that students may intentionally regulate their responses. These techniques are part of the Mussar movement. The word "mussar" appears in the book of Proverbs, and it can mean "disciplined learning," "education," or "instruction." The Mussar movement emerged in nineteenth-century Eastern Europe to further spiritual and ethical development. The intent of the techniques is to disrupt unthinking, reactive behavior. Consider that the Yeshiva of New Haven uses Rabbi Moshe Chaim Luzzatto's (1738) *Mesillat Yesharim (Path of the Just)* to instruct the students. In discussing the trait of watchfulness in Chap. 2, he writes: "The idea of watchfulness is for a man to exercise caution in his actions and his undertakings; that is, to deliberate and watch over his actions and his accustomed ways to determine whether or not they are good, so as not to abandon his soul to the danger of destruction, and not to walk according to the promptings of habit as a blind man in pitch darkness."

To illustrate, Jews who are scrupulous in their adherence to the kosher dietary laws have a clear moral mandate for guiding their selection of foods. On a daily basis, observant Jews are required to consider their choices and refrain from eating certain foods and thus selecting other choices. Recently, Tag scholar Shmuly Yanklowitz added a new dimension known as *Tav HaYosher* (ethical seal). The Tav HaYosher is a local, grassroots initiative to bring workers, restaurant owners, and community members together to create workplaces in kosher restaurants that are just and committed to human rights. Thus, in the areas in which the ethical seal is practiced, the choice is not only whether the leafy vegetables have been carefully checked to ensure that they have no bugs. Rather, the choice is whether the restaurant workers receive fair pay and have a safe work environment. The treatment of workers is not often thought about by people who are dining at a restaurant. This is

the type of mindfulness and intentionality upon which self-regulation is strengthened. Through it, a compass emerges that guides students as they make specific choices and take specific actions necessary to navigate in a complex society. This points the way to seeing that systems of meaning and values are critically important to the development of self-regulation, according to our colleague Isaac Schechter (2013) from the Institute for Applied Research and Community Collaboration.

A school or individual class could introduce a model of moral decision-making into the practices of the class, asking participants in the project to only purchase ethical food choices, to carefully assess the caloric content of foods, record the food they eat in a journal *before* they put it in their mouths, put a coin in a charity box for hungry children before eating any treats, institute meat-free days (to mirror the Jewish rule of not eating meat and dairy products together or one after another), to go for a period of time without any snacks or junk food, to do some exercises before eating, and so on. These and similar practices could help inculcate in students that eating should be a thoughtful practice, in which decisions and choices are made. In this way, students will increase their capacity for thinking before taking action and exercising personal control. The more they do so over time, the more deliberate their present and future actions will be.

Sefer HaHinukh, a thirteenth-century anonymous work which explains the reasons behind Jewish laws, explains that "the mind is drawn after one's action;" meaning that students' behaviors start to affect the way their minds work" (section "Positive 16"). The book explains that this is the reason for the practices of Judaism. The example the author offers is of eating unleavened bread on Passover and refraining from eating regular bread for 7 days. Small acts of self-regulation help to create a more self-regulated mind. These acts build up self-regulatory capacity. Small acts of self-restraint repeated continuously every day will enable self-regulation capacity to grow incrementally without causing major ego depletion. For example, the US military requires all soldiers to make their beds for the sake of promoting productivity throughout the remaining day. If one accomplishes a small but significant task early in one's day (such as making a bed), one feels a small sense of pride and therefore is more likely to be incentivized to complete further tasks throughout the day, maintaining a more regimented mindset (McRaven 2014). Moreover, through continuously engaging in these acts, students become increasingly habituated; so they gain twice: once by building capacity and, twice, by attaining a comparatively high level of automation. Once students have reached a high level of automation, the task is to set the bar a bit higher and repeat the cycle. This is the Jewish concept of personal growth and character development.

A Note on Jewish Sources

There is no uniform, unbroken approach to education in Jewish sources. In this chapter, Proverbs, the Mishna, the Talmud, Rashi, Luzzato, the Mussar movement, Hasidut, and so on are made without distinctions among them. Some concepts men-

tioned are well known; others are known primarily within their particular communities (e.g., in this chapter appears the concept of *hachlata le'atid,* which is translated as future resolve). The use of Jewish sources in this chapter reflects Daf Yomi, the daily study of one page of the Talmud, in which concepts from a myriad of Jewish sources may be introduced to elucidate the issues on the page.

Two Jewish Ways to Build Self-Regulation Capacity

Consider the "Disconnect to Connect" initiative (Schechter, personal communication, 2013). Every week, on the Jewish Sabbath, observant Jewish students refrain from using cell phones and social media for 25 hours because no electrical devices (e.g., cell phones, computers, and televisions) are used. They disconnect despite their fervent desire to stay connected to their friends. Jewish students' non-use of social media on the Sabbath has become engrained in their consciousness so that the non-use has become habituated (it is "below the threshold of choice"). Despite the high dependence on connectivity (bordering on addiction!) during weekdays, on the Sabbath, observant students demonstrate an incredible level of self-discipline. This capacity to exercise self-restraint—so vital for successfully accomplishing adult quality of life—is inculcated through a complex system of rituals and restrictions that develop the psyche to accept the need for and generate the capacity to be able to exercise choice even in the face of considerable temptation. Without their cell phones and access to social media, observant Jewish students tend to connect more with the people who are physically around them. Thus, the intent of our "Disconnect to Connect" initiative is to promote "electronic downtime" among students, increase their self-regulation, and encourage them to connect more with those who are physically close to them.

Those who are newly observant have to wean themselves away from the use of cell phones and social media on the Sabbath. There are two approaches within Judaism that provide guides for behavior in this instance. One approach is for students to fully admit how much they feel the urge to use social media and then build self-regulatory capacity by placing their cell phones in plain sight and resisting the temptation each and every time they see the phones. This approach may be called the "Rashi" approach after a statement made by this towering Jewish scholar. Jonathan Feiner, our colleague from the Institute for Applied Research and Community Collaboration (personal communication, 2013), notes that within each commandment, there are numerous details with profound psychological insights. For example, in analyzing the kosher dietary laws, Rashi quotes an ancient Jewish text (Leviticus 20:26) that states, "Do not say, I dislike the flesh of the pig, but rather, I like it but God has decreed that I abstain from it." It builds more self-regulatory muscle to admit that one desires to eat non-Kosher food and then refrains from doing so than to convince oneself that the food is disgusting. With this, once students make the decision to refrain from certain foods or using the Internet on the Sabbath, they then do not need to rethink their decision every time they see food. In other words,

they do not experience ego depletion because refraining is below the threshold of choice. This is an illustration of the twofold nature of self-regulation: increasing the capacity (the "muscle") and habituating the behavior so it is a preferred automatic response.

The problem with this approach is that it requires students to deliberately strain their self-regulation. Another approach is consistent with the Mussar movement. In this approach, students would decide between two options. For example, one could leave the cell phone in plain sight or one could hide the cell phone. Mussar teaches students to select the option in which they do not set themselves up for failure. In this case, the preferable path would be to hide the cell phone and thus not put oneself in a situation where temptation lurks.

When becoming religious, some may not have (yet!) the self-regulatory capacity to do this. As a first step, they may learn the laws regarding the use of cell phones on the Sabbath, and the reasons for these laws. As a second step, they may talk with observant Jews to learn their strategies. For the next step, they may pay attention to what they are thinking and feeling when they reach for the cell phone. Then they may steadily increase the amount of time that they refrain from using cell phones. In this case, the idea is to build self-regulation capacity through comparatively easy steps and then habituate them as much as possible to reduce the self-regulation load.

Some Examples of Cognitive-Behavioral Approaches Based on Jewish Ideas and Practices

Social and Environmental Context

Students' social and environmental context may promote effective self-regulation or subvert it. To illustrate, the Jewish laws of *muktzah* (items that are set aside so that they are not moved on the Sabbath) offer a complex set of ideas about how to create an environment that is Sabbath-friendly. Observant students do not touch tools whose main purpose is for something forbidden on the Sabbath unless they plan to use them for something permitted (e.g., a hammer). Something that has no permissible use on the Sabbath (e.g., a pen) may not be used at all. If the *muktzah* item is in their way, students may use their elbows, for example, instead of their hands to move it so that they are less likely to unthinkingly use it. In short, there is a whole system in place to keep students well within their self-regulation capacity so that they do not flirt with a collapse of self-regulation. While exercising the comparatively manageable acts of restraint just described, the student is still building up self-regulation muscle strength. It is sufficiently strenuous to give some benefits while not requiring the kind of exertion that could lead to too much depletion. Walking this fine line is what Judaism is all about. The same may be said for the kosher dietary laws and many other aspects of Jewish law. Whereby under some circumstances there are leniencies to allow for self-regulation capacity not to be stretched

to breaking point because a self-regulation collapse is very damaging to future success at self-regulation. The priority is to support students in developing the ability to manage their own thoughts, emotions, and actions. In this case, building self-regulation capacity will come secondarily and should wait for low-risk situations.

Social Exclusion

Bullying often occurs unintentionally, through group dynamics that result in some students being excluded, explains Tag Institute's Rivkie Ives. This is particularly pronounced among students, who are typically less aware of the consequences of their actions and who are typically less attuned to the reactions of their peers. In Jewish teaching, there is a great deal of emphasis on paying attention to the negative consequences of one's actions. *Arvut* (mutual responsibility) is a concept that regards a deficiency in another as a deficiency in oneself. Attention is drawn to seemingly innocent expressions that could offend or hurt others. In addition, there is a strong strain in the Judaic literature encouraging group inclusion and ensuring the needs of the vulnerable. Ives has developed cognitive-behavioral exercises in the form of games that groups of students play to raise their awareness of the choices that they make when interacting with other students. Over time, the games condition the students to avoid words and gestures that socially exclude others.

Self-Regulation and Future Orientation

Zimmerman (1990) explains the link between thinking about the long term and self-regulation. Based on a review of research studies on self-regulation, Zimmerman explains that "in terms of metacognitive processes, self-regulated learners plan, set goals, and self-evaluate at various points during the process of acquisition" (pp. 4–5). Philip Zimbardo and John Boyd (2008) observe that, "Being Jewish is likely to push one toward future orientation, because Jewish tradition honors scholarship and education as a means of personal and community advancement. Education in academic settings is all about goal-setting, planning, delayed gratification, and anticipating rewards for progress, the building blocks of a solid future-orientation foundation" (p. 141).

Goal-setting is a specific cognitive-behavioral exercise and may promote students' self-regulation and future resolve. A traditional Jewish method of stretching students' orientation to the future is through having the students publicly make a *hachlata le'atid* (future resolve). Writing in the context of healing, grief, and regret, Estelle Frankel (2003) explains that a *hachlata le'atid* "involves projecting oneself into the project and imaging doing things differently from the way on has done them before. Specifically, it involves developing the intention never again to repeat the destructive patterns of the past. This resolve will ultimately be tested when we

find ourselves in a situation parallel to the one in which we previously had erred" (p. 147).

A *hachlata* may involve matters great and small. Students, for example, may make a *hachlata* to focus their attention on improving in one specific area, learning a particular sacred text, or changing a behavior. A *hachlata* may be made at any time for any behavior. A student may make a *hachlata* to refrain from idle gossip about other students or study extra hard to prepare for an exam. The point of a *hachlata* is that it is a commitment made in public. Often, each student in a class or group may make his or her own unique future resolve and the group as a whole encourages everyone to attain their desired outcomes. Teachers, family members, and other adults may guide the students in the fulfillment of their future resolves. A student may make the resolve to engage in a certain behavior but may lack the knowledge and skills to do so. An adult or older student may teach the necessary knowledge and skills, and a parent may stay on top of the student's progress in attaining the desired outcome. Thus, fulfillment of a *hachlata* may rest upon the relationships that students have with adults and older students.

One way in which the adults help students attain their desired outcomes is through helping them write or articulate all the small steps that they need to take over time in order to complete a long-term goal. If students make a future resolve to improve their performance on tests in a specific subject area, adults can guide the students in publicly declaring during weekly group meetings the specific academic habits of mind (e.g., study skills, time management) that they will use and the instrumental actions that they will take over the course of the week to achieve this far-away goal. A student may commit, for example, to seeking extra help from the teacher on Wednesday, solving practice problems for 35 min on three specific evenings, setting up a study group with classmates and meeting with the group at least once during the week, and so forth. The following week, the students publically describe their achievements (or lack thereof) from the previous week and declare the specific actions that they will take over the course of this week. In this way, students learn to regulate their behavior to accomplish far-away goals.

However, in classrooms in which bullying, cliques, or even just snobbery are present (even though hidden), students are loath to expose their weaknesses. Hence the importance of teachers making such a *hachlata le'atid* in front of each other and the students as a model to the students.

Applying These Approaches to Nonreligious Youth

While extensive work has been done to demonstrate the critical harm wrought through failed self-regulation, little is known about how to effectively raise self-regulation (especially outside of religious settings) and its impact on character development. Approaches that include values and mindfulness (or thoughtful behavior) are important, but only part of the puzzle. Tag scholar Tzvi Pirutinsky suggests opportunities to practice self-control, social reinforcement, modeling, and

self-monitoring, as well as asserting cognitive control over behavior as other pieces (personal communication, 2013). The following sections address the implications for educational change initiatives. Well-intentioned, but ineffective initiatives will continue to be promoted unless development is the aim of education, and developmental principles are the underlying science of education. When students develop well, they learn well.

Implications for Educational Change

A flurry of strategic partnerships were formed around 1992, subsequent to the New American Schools Development Corporation's funding for new models of education. Many of these partnerships offered hope that "break-the-mold" school designs would fundamentally change how schools educate students and thereby impact their developmental trajectories. For example, our Yale School Development Program (SDP) formed a strategic partnership with Theodore Sizer's Coalition of Essential Schools at Brown University, Howard Gardner's Project Zero at Harvard University, and Janet Shitla's Education Development Center. Few of the strategic partnerships still exist. Instead, current approaches to educational reform have a focus that is too narrow to be useful in promoting on a large scale both the learning and development of students. A remedy to this narrow focus emerges from ideas embedded within Jewish texts and practices.

What does it take to promote students' self-regulation? Most of the ambitious school reform initiatives have failed because they did not succeed in changing people's underlying notion of the foundational science of education. For example, across the USA today, new Common Core State Standards (CCSS) are being implemented. They tend to address such academic content areas as English/language arts and mathematics. CCSS for youth development have yet to be articulated. Today's initiatives to reform schools tend to reflect the notion that education is often almost entirely about mastering utilitarian skills. Learning today has become increasingly individualized and even commoditized. In this modern framework, education is a way for one person to gain sufficient mastery of a part of the world to be able to gain credentials, a degree, a job, etc. By way of contrast, the idea of learning in Judaism always relates back to the kind of society we are looking to create. In Judaic terms, education is something in which the whole of society has a claim. A person is not studying primarily for some specific goal, but rather because society needs people who have learned and developed well.

Student background demographics (which are not amenable to change) and performance on standardized tests still guide education and outcome evaluations. Consider the report template provided by the US government to school districts that received SLC grants. These districts were to supply student demographic information (e.g., gender, ethnicity), the total number of students receiving a regular diploma, and the number of graduates who enrolled in postsecondary education, apprenticeship, or advanced training for the semester following graduation. In terms

of student performance, school districts were required to report annually on school-level and district-level student outcomes for state English/language arts and mathematics standardized tests as well as graduation rates. An additional report template was developed by Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. This template focused on school structures (e.g., interdisciplinary teaching), building district support, curriculum, etc. In terms of "continuous program improvement," an indicator was "Teams use school-wide student achievement and attendance data to reflect on their practice at the end of each year."

What is missing in today's school reform initiatives is a focus on promoting both the learning and development of students in a balanced manner. This is critical because students who develop well, learn well (Comer et al. 1999). The Biblical book of *Proverbs* (22:6) says, "Educate a child according to its way, even when he is aged he shall not depart from it," suggesting that education is about setting a young person on a life path, not merely enabling the acquisition of knowledge. This perspective on education is at the heart of the Judaic approach to learning, in which knowledge is not "an axe with which to chop" (*Ethics of the Fathers* 4:5), a utilitarian tool, but a process of growth and maturation. Thus, the intent of this section is to set the stage for making the case that Jewish ideas and research in educative settings should not a priori be excluded from the public discourse on public education (Yanklowitz 2013).

The Childhood Roots of Adult Quality of Life

In between two research projects on school reform in dysfunctional urban schools, research was conducted in Jewish schools, camps, and youth movements as part of a study of the childhood roots of adult quality of life (the "childhood roots" study). The topic of self-regulation emerged as important. In Jewish educative settings, young people are expected to bring their behavior in line with standards. The standards are expressed in terms of *middot* or values.

There is a tendency for people to think of values as simply "being nice to people," says Yossi Ives, the founder of Tag International Development and Tag Institute for Jewish Social Development. He advocates for a conception of values that is based on "judicious action: A values orientation looks at every action as the product of a choice, and it adopts the view that it is important to make good and effective choices." He notes that values are not ethics. Ethics is about an overtly moral perspective: a philosophical exploration of the rights and wrongs of an issue. Values, by way of contrast, looks at the priorities for people's choices—how what they value influences their behavior (2013, private communication). How do youth learn values?

Within a Jewish context, the sacred texts and mores offer people a framework that permeates their actions with meaning. A sense of meaning is enacted through these "mores." Mores are "customary ways persons treat the occupants of social roles and enact the expectations regarding conduct embodied in their own" (Hansen 1993, p. 654). An example of Jewish mores is explained best as interrupting the

"white noise" of the people in our everyday lives who we tend not to notice. If the students were to behave respectfully to the teachers but not to the secretaries and the janitors, it would be said that the students are not conducting themselves properly according to Jewish mores. Likewise, if older children were to take advantage of their age and not help younger children, the older students would not be engaging in right action.

Thus, students enact mores through their everyday interactions with others. Students who refrain from socially excluding other students—and stand up for these students when they are a target of disdain—are examples of the internalization of Jewish social values and behavior in line with the mores of the Jewish community. Often, social exclusion is not a preplanned act. In our Jewish day school studies, 74% disagreed that "When another student is being made fun of in a humiliating way, I join in the laughter." By way of contrast, in our studies of urban high schools, 43% disagreed.

For Jewish educators, the most desired outcome from instilling a sense of sacredness and/or spirituality among students is right action, which requires self-regulation. The psychological process that mediates between study and action may be termed "mindfulness," to employ Ellen Langer's (1994) term. The more one studies a subject, the more likely it is that his or her mind will be occupied with topics relating to that subject. Moreover, the very method of study and the symbolic systems employed impress upon individuals' ways of thinking. To illustrate, embedded within the sacred texts of the Jewish sociocultural community are value-concepts that contain information of past generations. Through the study of the community's sacred texts, students' cognitive structures develop "which select and categorize information, and serve as reference frames for thinking and acting" (Pepitone and Triandis 1987, p. 481). For example, studying the concept of tzedakah (righteous action) awakens children's selective attention to events and individuals in the environment that compel a tzedakah action. In other words, one might say that they undertook an ethical action because tzedakah required it of them.

Menschlichkeit refers to the qualities of becoming a better person and the demonstration of self-regulation. To what extent is "menschlichkeit" associated with students' engagement in learning? In order to demonstrate the link between students' interpersonal relationships and academic learning, we constructed two scales from items on the *Learning and Development in Jewish Schools: Student Survey*—menschlichkeit and intellectual engagement. The survey was administered at a Jewish day school as part of the childhood roots of Jewish adult quality of life study ($n=246$). The relationship was observed to be strong[1]. This means that the higher the students' scores on menschlichkeit, the higher their scores on the scale that measures intellectual engagement. In order to investigate this phenomena further in-depth, the items that measure menschlichkeit and intellectual engagement were modified for students in public schools and administered as part of the longitudinal study that was conducted as part of the outcome evaluation of the SLC initiative.

[1] ($r=.732$, $p<.001$).

An internal compass for navigating in a complex society requires a high level of self-regulation. According to Jewish thought, however, personal control and restraint are not developmental outcomes per se; rather, the outcome is societal. As intermediate institutions, schools have the potential to enhance the societies in which the students will live as adults. As Seth Kaplan (personal communication, 2013) explains, human flourishing depends on many important factors that are not easily measured. Among the most important of these are the intermediate institutions—organizations, families, places of worship, schools, values, and norms—that shape behavior. These play important roles encouraging habits, setting standards of conduct, and incentivizing activity that help individuals, communities, and society at large function better.

Self-regulation among the students occurs in schools that are characterized by intentionality to shape students' wholeness and "who-ness" in a manner that is aligned with societal outcomes. Wholeness emerges when there is a balance among all the students' domains or pathways of development. When development is uneven, there is an overemphasis on one aspect of that development to the detriment of overall development in the present and, possibly, in the future. To illustrate the latter, if students' cognitive development has been overemphasized to the detriment of their social development, they may be at grade level in their learning, but may be unable to successfully engage in teamwork and group problem-solving (which may ultimately impact their academic achievement).

Students need an education that will enable them to handle technology, the sciences, and all the contradictions that are involved in the social world to empathize with and care about people who are not as successful as they are. Today's students need an education that trains them to assess, decide, and act in ways that are good for themselves and society (Ben-Avie et al. 2003). Jewish texts teach that being well-educated does not guarantee that people will use their education well. A vital component of education is to provide students with sufficient opportunities to recognize that it is not just their knowledge base that is important but also what they do with their knowledge (Sternberg 2001). In this way, students develop a "who-ness."

As an intermediate institution, schools have the potential to positively impact students' developmental trajectories so that they develop a wholeness and a whoness. A study of 1010 students in six Jewish day schools (Ben-Avie and Comer 2005) focused on connectedness to school and home. The study found that 14 factors related to learning and development. Among the most interesting findings of the study was that the three most important predictors in whether these students were meeting or exceeding the desired developmental outcomes were associated with connectedness—teacher–student relations, student interpersonal relations, and home–school relations. Community is an important predictor of adult quality of life.

Self-regulation interventions that are currently being implemented in schools tend to have a narrow focus on specific academic skills and not on students' character or future quality of life. For example, the Self-Regulation Empowerment Program (SREP) was designed to help middle- and high school students become self-directed learners by teaching them to use learning tactics during specific academic tasks (Cleary et al. 2008, p. 74). By way of contrast, the quality of life constructs described above address whether the students are good people. Do they engage in

right action? Are they developing an internal compass to navigate in a complex society? Are the students developing a sense of connectedness with adults and other students? Research in Jewish schools, camps, and youth movements indicated that these are important questions to ask.

Self-Regulation and Whole School Reform

This section describes how the "childhood roots" study sharpened the research questions in the evaluation of the US federally funded Smaller Learning Communities (SLC) initiative in an urban school district, and focused attention on areas of research that emerged as important in the studies of Jewish schools, camps, and youth movements. The aim of the section is to show how research on Jewish ideas and practices may inform research in urban schools. This is consistent with the overall purpose of the chapter, which advocates that research findings from studies of Jewish schools, camps, and youth movements should not a priori be excluded from the public discourse on public education (Yanklowitz 2013).

The types of data that are traditionally collected for outcome evaluations of educational and psychological interventions include students' performance on standardized tests (e.g., Connecticut Academic Performance Test, which measures performance in mathematics, science, reading, and writing), SAT scores, Advanced Placement scores, student behavior (i.e., disciplinary referrals), and graduation rates. All these data points were collected for the SLC outcome evaluation. However, the Jewish childhood roots study also pointed to the importance of investigating various aspects of students' development. These aspects include connectedness to home and school, students' sense that many adults care about them, right action based on values, the qualities of a good person, students' internal compass and self-regulation, and students' future orientation and overall intentionality. The main research instrument that was designed to measure the impact of the SLC school reform initiative in these domains was the *LDI*[2].

[2] The core of the *Learning and Development Inventory* (*LDI*) was initially piloted and field tested at schools affiliated with the Yale Child Study Center's School Development Program. Subsequently, the core was customized and administered to children and adolescents attending Jewish schools, youth groups, and camps. The findings from these research studies in Jewish developmental settings informed the subsequent versions of *LDI*. The current version of *LDI* is a derivative of the initial core, the surveys for Jewish youth, plus additional scales that were aligned with the requirements of federally-funded outcome evaluations. The current version of *LDI* has now been administered in schools in different states as part of outcome evaluations of federally funded interventions that were designed to promote students' learning and development.

Data analyses were conducted on the responses to the survey to discern whether the survey meets statisticians' criteria for being a reliable survey. This was found to be the case: The internal consistency reliability for *LDI* was found to be in the high range (.93). Factor analysis was conducted and two factors emerged: (1) Learning and Development; and (2) Self-Regulation ("personal control"). Internal consistency reliability was then conducted on each of these factors: Learning and Development (50 items, alpha = .932) and Self-Regulation (29 items, alpha = .871).

For the longitudinal study, all the students were included. Instead of random sampling, all the students in the city's three high schools participated in the study. In 2009, the 9th-grade students completed the *LDI*. Each subsequent year, the students once again completed *LDI*. Thus, it is possible to compare the scores of the students when they were freshmen (Time 1), sophomores (Time 2), juniors (Time 3), and seniors (Time 4). In total, there were 7395 completed surveys during the course of the study.

Across the schools, the most important predictor of Grade Point Average (GPA) was the students' scores on the scale that measures self-regulation.[3] It is worthwhile to note that high school students' level of self-regulation is amenable to change in a way that background demographics (e.g., ethnicity, gender, and parents' income level) are not. The three high schools in the school district were categorized according to the extent to which their underlying operating systems functioned well. The students in the high-functioning school had the lowest levels of self-regulation during their freshmen and sophomore years. The students in the low-functioning school initially had the highest levels of self-regulation. By their senior year, the students at the high-functioning school had the highest levels of self-regulation. The results above suggest that maturation is not necessarily the best explanation for the positive changes experienced by the students at the high-functioning school. If maturation were the best explanation, then all the students would have experienced the same positive changes in self-regulation, regardless of the school setting.

Students' Self-Regulation and Adults Who Care About Them

Students develop the motivation to achieve in school and in life through their interactions with adults as they navigate through school, home, work, and recreational activities. Students will, however, decline to exercise personal self-control and restraint unless they have formed healthy relationships with teachers, other related professionals, staff, and peers. In particular, until students make learning their own, they need to be engaged with teachers who value learning. The relationship is important because it fosters students' emotional attachment to knowledge (Ben-Avie et al. 2003). Supportive relationships enhance students' engagement and motivate them to continue to study and learn. Whenever instructional activities become too abstract, whenever students become disinterested and disillusioned, the generative relationships that students have with others—and with their own selves—have the power to sustain them in the learning process.

The study showed that not all students formed an important relationship with at least one teacher in school. They were the students who "floated through the day." They tended to strongly agree or agree that they settle for just passing courses. Their scores on this statement negatively correlated with their scores on self-regulation.

[3] $F(2, 7394) = 18.068$, $p < .001$).

This means that the students who agreed that they settle for just passing courses had the lowest levels of self-regulation. It is noteworthy that 26% of the students strongly agreed or agreed that "At least one of my teachers has told me that he or she does not think I'll ever make anything of myself." A linear progress was found when this statement was considered in conjunction with "I settle for just passing courses." Three subgroups emerged based on their responses to the statement about having at least one teacher tell them they will not make anything of themselves. One group comprised students who strongly agreed or agreed with the statement about the teachers. They had the highest scores on the statement about (not) settling for just passing courses, significantly differing from the other two groups.

The students in the three urban high schools were asked to indicate about how many adults in their lives (at home, at school, and in the community) care about what happens to them. They were provided with the following response options:

- 0 adults
- 1 adult
- 2–5 adults
- 6–12 adults
- 13–25 adults
- More than 25

The students who indicated zero or one adult had significantly lower scores on self-regulation and overall learning and development than the students who indicated a number greater than six. Engaging in academic habits of mind (time management, study skills, consistent study patterns, etc.) in order to earn a solid GPA requires self-regulation. As students develop the internal motivation to self-regulate, they need adults around them who care about what happens to them and either pull or push them when they falter in their studying. The students who indicated that "more than 25" adults cared about them had the highest GPAs; they were followed by the students who indicated that "13–25" adults cared about them. The students who had the lowest GPAs were those who indicated "zero" adults cared about them; they were followed by the students who indicated "2–5" adults cared about them. Moreover, the students who indicated that either 13–25 adults or "more than 25 adults" care about them reported the fewest interpersonal relationship challenges, significantly differing from the other students. The students who indicated that more than 25 adults care about them had a score of 67 (on a scale of 1–100). The students who indicated 1 adult had a score of 46. Thus, the students who felt that many adults care about them had the highest levels of self-regulation, academic achievement, development, and competency in social situations.

Seeking Adult Guidance

Maladaptive behaviors that impede learning and development emerge, in part, when students have yet to develop the level of self-regulation necessary for consistently practicing academic habits of mind (which includes time management, study hab-

its, and the process of inquiry that is common to all academic disciplines) and the self-advocacy that is the result of an orientation to the future. University students, for example, tend to drop out when they find themselves in a difficult situation and do not engage in goal-directed activities to resolve the situation. Seeking help is an effective problem-solving strategy; however, students tend not to seek help until a situation escalates beyond recovery.

A sense of not feeling that many adults cared about them influenced whether the least connected students turned to adults for help. When a student was worried about a friend, he/she would not feel comfortable talking to an adult about the friend. When making a decision about the future, the least-connected students tended to not seek advice from an adult at school. Consider the students' responses to this item: "When things go wrong, I tell at least one adult in my life about it." The least-connected students had the lowest scores on this item, and the most-connected students had the highest scores. Students were also asked whether they would find an adult—either in school or outside school—if they were having a personal problem. A linear progression was observed in the responses of the students to this item: The students who indicated "zero" adults cared about them had the very lowest score followed by the students who indicated "2–5" adults and so forth until the students who indicated "more than 25." The same pattern was found in the students' responses to "If I have some type of crisis during the school day, I know that there is an adult in the building who will help me." Thus, a consistent pattern emerges in which the students who indicated that few adults cared about them were not likely to turn to adults when faced with a personal issue or "when things go wrong," even when the worry was about a friend. This pattern increases the vulnerability of the least-connected students, given that seeking guidance is an effective problem-solving strategy.

Disrupting Students' Unconscious Internal Responses

We typically are aware of how our responses are triggered by things and people outside ourselves, but our responses are triggered much more powerfully from within. Our colleague Trudy Rashkind Steinfeld (2009, personal communication) offers the following analogy: Just think of two students on the schoolyard reacting to the same taunts—One remains relatively unaffected while the other is dumping his book bag on the ground and getting ready to fight. Something is going on inside each of them, and each knows that he is having a response, but almost certainly each is oblivious about many *specifics* of that response. Most of our internal responses actually operate unconsciously. Someone will say a few words to us about something that has not even happened yet and our mood will suddenly change. The new mood is not something we consciously direct ourselves to feel; it is something that "just comes up" from somewhere within. The student preparing to fight on the schoolyard has heard just a few words challenging his manhood, but he is suddenly awash in images

stored over a lifetime as well as in instantaneously created vivid images of the future, and all of those images trigger a powerful emotional and behavioral response.

There is an aspect of self-regulation that is important in this context. *Proverbs* 16:32 states that "He who is slow to anger is better than the strong man, and a master of his passions is better than a conqueror of a city." One way in which students disrupt interpersonal relations is through displays of anger. Close to one third (30%) of the urban students in the longitudinal study strongly agreed or agreed that "It is very hard to get me angry." As the students matured, they were more apt to handle difficult social interactions. For example, the older the students were, the more likely they were to have high scores on "If I get annoyed at another student, I am able to put my annoyance aside after thinking about the situation for a short time." So, too, the student scored highly on "It is very hard to get me angry."

In terms of demonstrating empathy with other students, no change was observed in the students' responses over time to this item: "If a student is being bullied or mistreated, another student will usually stand up for him/her." This is an indicator that the anti-bullying initiative that the schools implemented did not compel the students to act. This finding suggests that the concepts embedded within the initiatives in the schools, including the anti-bullying initiative, did not awaken the students' selective attention to events and individuals in the schools in a way that they would feel they have no choice but to act. It is troubling that only 57% of the students strongly agreed or agreed that "Most teachers at school care whether I am a good person."

The mistake that the city's SLC initiative made was to focus only on the students. The Jewish childhood roots study underscored the importance of the adults changing the way they work and interact with one another so that the students would develop emotional regulation and engage in right action. A complementary configuration of education, to use Cremin's (1976) term, emerges through creating a functional community. In a functioning community, there is a common language that is shared among educators and parents, which enables educators, administrators, parents, and community members to align activities and curricular units with the aspects of development that they most desire to promote. This common language derives from a knowledge of youth development and a shared sense of the aim of education (i.e., adult quality of life in that particular community).

Whether students experience a "conspiracy on their behalf" depends on the intentionality of the adults in the community to promote agreed-upon aspects of behavior and the adults' efficacy in doing so. The "conspiracy" comes to fruition when the adults have a clear sense of the norms of the group that they themselves would want to psychologically inhabit and have clear methods for encouraging the students to form a relationship with this group. If the adults do not form a relationship with this "recreated" community and act accordingly, then the students will not have images in their minds of adult quality of life, as defined by the group. As a result, they will not "catch" a climate of self-regulation and right action. The highest levels of development are attained through actions—through using one's education well.

The first step in helping students become concerned about those around them and the larger society is to discourage their self-absorption, which is the point of

Jewish *middot* (soul traits). The second stage is eloquently articulated by Rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburgh (2001), who explained: "It is taught in Hassidism that one of the most effective ways to begin the process of soul purification is not necessarily by intense, inner spiritual work, but by doing good for others. Sometimes we are so absorbed in our own selves, even for positive reasons, that we lose sight of the broader reality around us" (p. 46).

The students in the three urban schools were asked to indicate the strength of their agreement with this item: "I believe that I will make a positive contribution to society during my lifetime." Of the students, 10% said, "This isn't a concern of mine," 35% said, "maybe," and 55% said, "definitely." What is the relationship between self-regulation and the students' level of agreement with this statement? The students who indicated that "This isn't a concern of mine" tended to have the lowest scores on the scale that measures self-regulation. For example, they had far more trouble than the other students in staying out of fights in school. When they do not behave in class, they attribute this misbehavior to "that's just the kind of person I am" and "I'm just not able to control myself." In terms of academic achievement, the students who said, "This isn't a concern of mine" had the lowest GPA.

By way of contrast, the students who indicated that they will "definitely" make a positive contribution had the highest self-regulation scores. For example, they had the highest score on finding it easy to sit "comfortably and calmly" in their seat at school and the highest score on "My behavior in school is never a problem." So, too, the students who felt that they would definitely make a positive contribution to society had the highest scores on the scale that measures future orientation. For example, they had the highest scores on "Thinking about the future I want makes me do more now to get that future (e.g., studying, staying focused, saving money, practicing skills I'll need in the future)" and "I am willing to put up with difficulties in order to achieve something I feel is meaningful."

What specific cognitive-behavioral exercise may disrupt students' unconscious internal responses? A way in which adults help students attain their desired outcomes is through helping them strengthen the "muscle" of their self-regulation. Just as self-regulation has the properties of a "strength" insofar as it becomes easily depleted, it also shares those qualities inasmuch as it can be gradually enhanced and built up like physical muscle (Schmeichel and Baumeister 2007). Thus, it is important to develop a way of helping students who have a low self-regulation threshold to raise the bar at which they become depleted of self-regulatory capacity.

Of course, teaching students critical thinking skills is certainly one way to guide students' choices. Incentives and disincentives are also realistic methods. However, the most effective way to promote students learning and development is to ensure that they have the capacity to self-manage and practice right action. Consider that students may know which of the two possible courses of action are in their best interests, and even understand the benefits and harms that are involved. When provoked by desire, their impulses may rule and they act in ways they later regret.

Of the students, 40% agreed that "There are times when I feel uncomfortable about something I've done because the person I think I am wouldn't do that." Fifty-nine percent agreed that "I separate myself from a group of people my age if they

are doing something I don't want to do." Only about a third of the students (39%) disagreed that "I remain silent if my friends are going to do something harmful." These items were important predictors of self-regulation.[4]

Tag Institute scholar David Baruch explains, "The Chassidic text called *M'or Eynayim* (a Chenobyll sefer) discusses the distinction between doing something because it is a choice (i.e., free will) or because it is simply your *ratzon* (desire). Doing something because you want to (i.e., impulse) is not really an exercise of choice. Choice is when you see the options and you utilize your free will to decide based on a moral value. Maybe the increase emphasis on free will and choice among religious communities actually sets the stage to be more aware of the choice to self-regulate." The corollary of this, however, is that if everything is free-choice, the person becomes exhausted—which is why students need some aspect of choice to be mechanized or habituated (2013, personal communication).

Underlying the Jewish approach to developing a compass to navigate in a complex society is to prepare beforehand how one will act in trying situations. This requires a mindfulness and intentionality about one's sense of self, how one behaves in a particular context (comparisons with others and with one's self in other contexts and at other times), and the value of the task or process in manifesting one's true self, and the need to maintain a consistent frame of reference about the world and about the self. Laurin et al. (2011) conducted a set of studies that examined how exposure to religion influences self-regulation. They define self-regulation as "the diverse set of processes through which the self alters its own responses or inner states in a goal-directed manner" (p. 1). Self-regulation in a religious context works in tandem with *temptation resistance*—"refraining from behaving in ways that derail goal pursuit: In other words, temptation resistance occurs when goal pursuers ignore, inhibit, or distract themselves from stimuli that would push them further away from the goal object" (p. 2).

Future Orientation

Self-regulation and future orientation are closely related. Comer (1997) points out that there are some students who will thrive regardless of the school they attend. For almost all students, however, the school they attend influences their self-regulation and thereby their learning. Takanishi and colleagues (1997), in reviewing indicators of adolescent well-being, point to research that "perceptions of future opportunity" are "linked to educational achievement and involvement in post-secondary education" (p. 430). They continue that, "adolescents who perceive future opportunities are more likely to move into constructive, positive adult roles in society" (p. 437).

Present and future orientations tend to be important influences on a student's behavior and the two are not necessarily opposites of each other (i.e., a person can be both highly future- and present-oriented). Present orientation impacts a student's

[4] [$F(1, 7394) = 204.206$, $p < .001$].

immediate, day-to-day behavior. Students who indicated that they plan to attend a 4-year college, and who had family members who attended college, were not only more future-oriented but also less present-oriented than their peers who had other educational plans or who would be the first in their families to attend college. These results possibly explain their "magical thinking," in that students may have future aspirations for attending college, but they are engaged or preoccupied with present activities and, therefore, do not engage in self-regulatory activities in the here and now to obtain their most desired outcomes.

The students who formed healthy relationships with their teachers and staff tended to have significantly higher scores on the scale that measures future orientation. For example, they tended to have higher scores on the following items: "I write in my day planner all the small steps that I have to take over time in order to accomplish a far-away goal," "When I set goals, I usually follow all the way through to completing them," and "Thinking about the future I want makes me do more now to get that future."

Since the schools serve urban, minority youth, teachers' expectations about the students' futures were low. The teachers whose students participated in the longitudinal study completed a parallel survey in which they said that "I have run out of ideas on how to deal with at least one person here" (40% agreement) and "We have some young people who nobody could deal with" (38% agreement). The teachers had not recognized that the way that they worked and interacted with others had the potential to raise students' levels of self-regulation and to change the trajectory of their development. The *LDI,* which emerged from Jewish ideas and practices, helped to counteract these notions as the results were discussed during teacher workshops and added to the objectives of the initiative.

Conclusion

Tag Institute for Social Development is a think tank and research center that promotes interdisciplinary research. The research integrates insights from Jewish texts and practice with the methods and concepts of the social sciences. The aim is to design interventions that contribute to the well-being of individuals, families, communities, and the wider society.

One of the most fundamental teachings of Judaism is the existence of free will and the ensuing responsibility for, and consequences of, action. Laurin et al. (2011) define self-regulation as "the diverse set of processes through which the self alters its own responses or inner states in a goal-directed manner" (p. 1). The results of the longitudinal study (2002–2011) that we conducted in an urban school district as part of an independent evaluation of the SLC initiative demonstrate this point. The students ($n = 7395$) were asked to respond on the *LDI* (Ben-Avie et al. 2001) to the following question: "Most of the time, when I do well in school the major reason is…" The response options were luck, ability, and being prepared. The students who indicated "being prepared" had the highest self-regulation scores, significantly

differing from those who said "luck." Without a sense that they have the free will to determine outcomes and that they are responsible for their choices (or they are disappointed by past failures after unskilled effort), students will tend not to regulate their behavior and emotions towards these outcomes.

The Talmud (Berachot 63a) has an expression: "the kids become (adult) goats." Students grow up to become adults on the basis of the qualities they have been helped to acquire as youth. We therefore have a great deal invested in the kinds of attitudes, values, and life skills of students. Yet, in practice it would seem that most of the focus is on providing students with an education that focuses primarily on one aspect of development, cognitive development, which often overlooks the developmental aspect of learning. Jewish tradition honors scholarship and education for the purpose of community advancement. In Jewish thought, every learner is learning on behalf of everyone else. Learning is always societal. Thus, the childhood roots of Jewish, adult quality of life research project has implications not only for urban schools and Jewish education, but also for the wider range of educative settings in the USA and abroad.

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Chapter 3
Informing Our Interventions with the Wisdom of the Sages: Biblical and Rabbinic Inspiration for Fostering Sensitivity Towards Individuals with Disabilities

Nava R. Silton

Introduction

This chapter presents Jewish perspectives on disabilities based on biblical and rabbinic sources that inform the creation of two prosocial interventions to enhance typical children's sensitivity to children with special needs. A basic tenet that underlies Jewish thinking is the principle that all human beings are created "*B'tselem Elokim* (in the Image of God)" (Genesis 1: Verse 27). This spark or image of God is present in each human being, regardless of skin color, religion, nationality, gender, or ability. But there are a variety of rich traditions that have impelled us towards our interventions, and they include the notion of *Imitatio Dei* (imitating God), especially as reflected in our biblical figures, daily blessings, and shocking but true anecdotes about revered rabbis who had to learn tolerance and the value and beauty of individuals with disabilities.

A number of prominent figures in the Torah suffered from disabilities—Yitzchak (Isaac) (Genesis 27:1) with a visual disability; Leah, with her "weak eyes" (Genesis 29:17); and Yaakov (Jacob), who is not only thought to have had a visual disability at the end of life (Genesis 32:25–31) but a limp (48:8–20) and to have been somewhat of a domestic loner in his earlier life (Genesis 25:29). All of these *Avot* and *Imahot* (biblical patriarchs and matriarchs) figure significantly in the history of our nation despite their disabilities (Greene 2006).

Moshe Rabbenu (Moses) was the greatest of our prophets and leaders in the *Tanach*, the Jewish Bible. Yet he was extremely sensitive about his speech disability.

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Although there is more than one translation of the Hebrew expression pertaining to his speech disorder, *"Kvad Peh U'Kvad Lashon"* (Exodus 4:10), most commentators perceive this phrase to signify that Moshe suffered from a speech defect, though some construe the phraseology to be a lack of eloquence or fluency in the Egyptian language (Jewish Publication Society (JPS) Torah Commentary, Nachum Sarna, p. 21). God's response to Moshe in Verse 11 invites the intriguing notion of hidden gifts and missions that the disabled might possess and share. "And the Lord said to him, who gives man speech? Who makes him dumb or deaf? Seeing or blind? Is it not I, the Lord? Now go and I will be with you." God sees in Moshe a strength and leadership quality that is exceptional despite his apparent speech impediment. Not only does He recognize his talent, but He promises to support him and be with him. We see that God has a special plan and has granted Moshe a unique role despite his disability. We can imitate God's faith and encouragement of Moshe. Moshe is to be an agent of God, deliver a most important message to Pharaoh, the oppressor of the Hebrews, and transmit the precious *Torah* itself. Likewise, we may consider that there is some grand design behind an individual's apparent disability, and we must work to recognize, support, and foster the hidden talents of those with disabilities.

The notion of *imitatio dei* is central to Jewish thinking and practice. In our daily prayerbook, we read: The Lord is faithful in all His ways and loving in all His deeds (Psalm 145:17). The Rabbis comment: "As the Holy One is faithful, you too must be faithful. As the Holy One is loving, you too must be loving. Follow the Lord your God (Deuteronomy 13:5)." What does this mean? Is it possible for a mortal to truly follow in God's ways? The verse means to teach us that we should follow the attributes of the Holy One, praised be He. "As He clothes the naked, you should clothe the naked. The Bible teaches us that the Holy One visited the sick, you should visit the sick. The Holy One visited those who mourned; you too should visit one who mourns. The Holy One buried the dead; you too should bury the dead (Sifre Deuteronomy, Ekev)."

Later in the Book of Psalms, we witness God's concern about those with disabilities. God searches for a solution to the suffering of those with disabilities. "The Lord gives sight to the blind. The Lord raises those who are bowed down (Psalms 146)." This theme is later picked up in the *Siddur,* the Jewish prayerbook. Each morning during *Birchot Hashachar* (blessings of the dawn) a Jew thanks God for his/her physical blessings. One can never take these blessings for granted. For instance, we thank God for granting sight to the blind, for freeing the bound, for raising those bowed down, and for making firm the steps of man. Although these blessings are intoned by the individual, they are phrased in the plural. While most Jewish prayers are offered in the plural since we are always concerned about community, in this case, the plural form also reminds us of those who do not benefit from these blessings.

Just as Jewish prayers reflect sensitivity to individuals with disabilities, so, too, the Talmud focuses on this theme. Below are several rabbinic teachings that reflect Jewish thinking about individuals with disabilities and the perceptions we ought to have of them. *Talmud Tractate Taanit 20B* records a story that initially describes shocking rabbinic behavior. It once happened that Rabbi Elazar, the son of Rabbi Shimon, was returning home from the house of his teacher. While he had been away, he had grown exceedingly proud of himself and felt he was superior to others, since

he had learned much Torah in his teacher's house. On his way, Rabbi Elazar met a certain man who was extremely ugly. Recognizing the Torah scholar, the man said to Rabbi Elazar, "Shalom to you, my teacher." But Rabbi Elazar did not return his greeting. Instead he said, "Worthless person, how ugly you are! Are all the people of your city as ugly as you?" The man said to Rabbi Elazar, "I do not know, but you should tell the craftsman who fashioned me, how ugly is this vessel that you made! It is not my fault that I am ugly. If you have any complaints, you can make them to God himself, for it is He who made me the way I am." As soon as Rabbi Elazar understood what he had done, he replied, "I have sinned toward you. Forgive me!" The man replied, "I will not forgive you until you go to the craftsman who made me and say, "How ugly is this vessel that you made!" The man turned away. Rabbi Elazar chased after him and when he arrived home, he was greeted by his townspeople, "Shalom to you, teacher, teacher, master, master."

The man whom Rabbi Elazar had insulted addressed the townspeople, "To whom do you speak with such deference? Calling him your teacher?" They said, "We are greeting the scholar, who is following you." And then the man replied, "If this man is a Torah scholar, let there not be many like him in Israel!" Astonished by his remark, the townsman said to him, "Why do you say such things?" The man recounted the entire episode. Shocked by the story, the townspeople insisted, "Even so, you must forgive him, for he is a great scholar." The man replied, "For your sake, I will forgive him, if he agrees to guard himself against arrogance and pride and does not become accustomed to behaving the way he did." Immediately, Rabbi Elazar entered the academy and said, "A person should always endeavor to be gentle in his relations with other people, like the reed that yields even to a gentle breeze; he should not be hard, like a cedar that stands firm against a strong wind. It is a person's hardness and arrogance toward other people that lead him to sin. Moreover, we learn that on account of its pliant nature, the reed was privileged to supply the pen used to write the *Torah* scroll, *Tefillin* and *Mezuzot*," all of which imbue us with our Jewish way of life (Talmud Tractate Taanit, 20b).

A second Talmudic story from *Sefer Ha'Agadah*: Brachot 2 (58 a) introduces us to Rav Sheshet, a blind scholar. On one occasion, when all of the people went out to welcome the king, Rav Sheshet arose and traveled with them. A certain heretic came across him and said, "Sound pitchers are taken to the river, but why should cracked ones go there?" Rav Sheshet replied, "I will show you that I know more than you." When the first legion passed by and a shout arose, the heretic said, "The King is coming." But Rav Sheshet retorted, "He has not yet come." When a second legion passed by, and again a shout arose, the heretic said again, "The King is coming now," but Rav Sheshet once more retorted, "Not yet." When a third legion passed by in perfect silence, Rav Sheshet said to the heretic, "Now it is certain that the king is coming." The heretic asked, "How do you know this?" Rav Sheshet replied, because royalty on earth is like royalty in heaven, about which it is written, "The Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake, "a still voice." (I Kings, Chap. 19:12). Thus we learn that individuals with disabilities frequently compensate for their impairments by sharpening their senses that are intact. Despite his visual disability, Rav Sheshet was capable of hearing "a still voice." We need to

recognize the blessings of individuals with disabilities and perceive the hidden skills that so many of those with disabilities possess.

The following fascinating rabbinic stories reflect pedagogic techniques that seem particularly sensitive to the needs of those with disabilities and diverse learning styles:

1. Rabbi Pereidah of the third century tutored a student who needed to repeat a lesson 400 times before he learned it. Despite his status as a respected scholar, Rabbi Pereidah took on this struggling student. Once the rabbi had an important celebration and the student was so distracted by the timing of the rabbi's celebration that he could not learn the lesson even with 400 repetitions. Therefore, Rabbi Pereidah taught him another 400 times (*Talmud, Eruvin 54b*).
2. Rabbi Haninah sought permission to divide the verses of the Torah into smaller bits so that his students could more readily recall the verses. Legally, one is to recite them as they are written (in a complete sentence), however, he was not deterred by this and persevered until he found an appropriate way to help his students learn *(Talmud, Ta'anit 27b)*.
3. Rabbi Yochanan noted that each of the 40 days that Moshe spent on *Har (Mount) Sinai*, God taught him the entire Torah, but each day Moshe forgot it. The Jerusalem Talmud suggests that the continual forgetting deliberately occurred so to encourage slower learners to realize that even learning difficulties can be overcome.

Lest one think that these notions and positive techniques are relics of the past, the last story presents the sensitive actions of a contemporary rabbi, Shlomo Zalman Auerbach (1910–1995), who was one of the greatest rabbinic scholars of the twentieth century. Auerbach was a lifelong resident of Jerusalem and was renowned for the compassion and consideration he showed orphans, widows, and others whom society often ignores. This anecdote is recounted in Chanoch Teller's (1995) biography, *And from Jerusalem, His Word*.

The concerned parents of a child with disabilities once consulted Rabbi Shlomo Zalman Auerbach on which institution they should select for their son. They were considering two facilities, each one boasting specific advantages over the other. The rabbi listened attentively to their description and then asked, "Where is the boy, what does he say about all of this?" The parents peered at one another in astonishment. They conceded that it had never occurred to them to discuss the matter with their son. "And frankly," the father added, "I don't see much point in discussing it. This is not something that he grasps." Rabbi Shlomo Zalman disapproved, "You are committing a sin against the soul of this child! You intend to evict him from his home and consign him to a strange place with a regimented atmosphere. Where is the boy?" the Rabbi demanded. "I would like to discuss the matter with him personally." The couple brought their son before the sage. "What is your name my boy?" he asked. "Akiva," the child replied. "How do you do Akiva? My name is Shlomo Zalman. I am the *Gadol Hador*, the greatest Torah authority of this generation, and everyone listens to me. You are going to enter a special school now and I would like you to represent me and look after all of the religious matters in your new home."

The boy's eyes were riveted to the *sage's* face, and the parents sat with their mouths agape as the Rav continued. "I shall now grant you *Smicha*, which makes you a rabbi, and I want you to use this honor wisely." The rabbi gently stroked the child's cheek and saw that he was eager to fulfill his part of the agreement.

Over the years, when Akiva had an opportunity to spend a Shabbos at home, he insisted that as the local rabbi, he had a responsibility to remain with his community. After all, he had been charged with this responsibility by none other than the *Gadol HaDor* (Teller 1995).

If only Auerbach's sensitive attitudes towards individuals with disabilities could be adopted by those who treasure the teachings of Judaism. Our Torah, which depicts both the beautiful fabric and the ugly nature of human kind, deputizes us to carry out the prosocial lessons of empathy, sensitivity, and encouragement towards our children and our fellow human. We are galvanized in the spirit of *Imitatio Dei* to recognize the leadership abilities of Moshe despite his speech disability, the auditory skills of a man who is blind (in the Rav Sheshet Story), and the commendable commitment of a child with disabilities, promoted to an unlikely rabbinic post in the Rabbi Auerbach story. Each child and adult should be made to feel uniquely useful.

Introducing the Interventions

The astories above carry with them a unifying theme and we can learn a variety of key lessons from these biblical and rabbinic teachings. First, it is imperative to recognize that all individuals are created in God's image. Taking this into account, society must learn to respect all people, even those with disabilities, since we all serve as containers for God's spirit. Additionally, it is important for one to recognize that although those with disabilities may be disadvantaged in particular areas, they may possess strengths in other realms that far exceed the abilities of typical individuals. It is crucial that we impress these concepts upon our children, teaching them from a young age how to value and accept all people despite their differing abilities.

These are not lofty merely aspirations, but there is an impressive number of researchers who can help us realize these goals. We present here research interventions that are targeted towards teaching about disabilities and enhancing the positive behavioral intentions and cognitive attitudes of our typical youth towards their peers with disabilities. These interventions are wonderfully creative and practical and will hopefully help us realize these aspirations.

The central research question of both research interventions investigates how best to foster typical children's knowledge, understanding, behavioral intentions, and cognitive attitudes towards their peers with special needs. Previous interventions have sought similar goals but with minimal success. For instance, researchers have attempted to increase typical children's knowledge and sensitivity to children with blindness (Siperstein and Bak 1980), physical handicap (Morgan et al. 1998), Tourette's syndrome (Friedrich et al. 1996), obesity (Bell and Morgan 2000), and

autism (Swaim and Morgan 2001; Campbell et al. 2004) but with no effect, minimal effect, or a negative effect on typical children's intentions and attitudes. Therefore, these two research-based interventions offer novel approaches towards teaching about disabilities and attempting to foster positive behavioral intentions and cognitive attitudes in typical elementary school children.

Of course it is hoped that teaching typical children about their peers with disabilities may help these affected children conquer difficult aspects of their disorders. The interventions encourage typical children to take interest in and initiate appropriate social interactions with them. So, these relationships could enhance the school environment and ideally promote children with disabilities' interest and success in social interaction and initiation as well as promoting typical children's social–emotional intelligence, understanding, and sensitivity (Disalvo and Oswald 2002).

The first intervention proposes a four-part curricular intervention for fifth- and sixth-grade elementary school-aged children, involving an instructional video which incorporates four forms of information: descriptive, explanatory, peer strategies and strengths information about children with autism, cerebral palsy, blindness, and deafness. The second part of the intervention involves creating a simulation museum wherein typical children have an opportunity to "try on" the aforementioned disabilities by attempting to empathize and place themselves in the shoes of their peers with disabilities. For instance, to simulate cerebral palsy, they will attempt to write using oven mitts and weights on their bodies. To simulate autism, they will be challenged to complete a complex figures task while wearing an itchy sweater and being overloaded with auditory and visual images. Finally, to simulate blindness and deafness, they will use blindfolds and a book of braille, sound-reduction headphones and a children's book of sign language. The next part of the curricular intervention will challenge the typical elementary school children to deliberate over four moral dilemmas. Each dilemma will pertain to how a typical child might respond to help and potentially eliminate the potential embarrassment of a peer with a disability (autism, cerebral palsy, blindness, and deafness) while also maintaining their own social acceptance among their peers. The last part of the intervention will encourage typical children to work along with their typical peers in groups to innovate a helpful invention for their peers with disabilities. They will design the potential intervention using both illustrations and words and will then present their inventions to all of the intervention participants.

The second intervention involves the creation of a proposed research-based children's television program catered to second- and third-grade elementary school children and is intended to encourage typical children to be more knowledgeable, sensitive, and socially interested in their peers with disabilities. The show, *Realabilities*, features four protagonists, Uno (with autism), Melody (with a visual impairment), Seemore (with a hearing impairment), and Rolly (with a physical disability). Despite their disabilities, they all manage to harness innate strengths to protect their school from bullies. Researchers will test the proposed characters, storyboards, and animated segments of *Realabilities*. Quantitative (using modified versions of the Adjective Checklist (ACL) (Siperstein 1977) and the Shared

Activities Questionnaire (SAQ) (Morgan et al. 1996) and qualitative questions (based on show comprehension and viewing preferences) will test the program's efficacy for enhancing the positive behavioral intentions and cognitive attitudes of typical children towards children with special needs.

Brief Summary of the Relevant Literature

Background Research Information for the Four-Part Curricular Intervention

In previous interventions, descriptive (Swaim and Morgan 2001) and explanatory information (Campbell et al. 2004) alone about autism did not appear to substantially effect positive changes in students' attitudes and intentions towards these peers with disabilities. In her video-based intervention, incorporating descriptive, explanatory, peer strategies, and strengths information, Silton (2009) noted that only videos portraying peer strategies and strengths information effected modest improvements in typical elementary school students' behavioral intentions and cognitive attitudes towards students with disabilities. Moreover, Silton's (2009) most fascinating finding suggested that the actors who played the children with autism in the video had improved in sensitivity and empathy following the filming. Thus, the simulation of the disability itself appeared to have a strong impact on enhancing sensitivity levels of the video actors (Silton 2009). Taken together, Silton's (2009) findings seemed to suggest that having children simulate disabilities and be exposed to the combination of descriptive, explanatory, peer strategies, and strengths information about disabilities may be most helpful in enhancing their behavioral intentions and cognitive attitudes towards children with special needs.

Descriptive, explanatory, peer strategies, and strengths information were thus presented to elementary school students in the first portion (the video portion) of the four-part curricular intervention in order to assess if these four forms of information were useful in enhancing typical elementary school children's sensitivity towards children with autism, cerebral palsy, blindness, and deafness. The following information provides a theoretical basis for employing these four forms of information in a research intervention to foster sensitivity towards children with disabilities.

Descriptive, Explanatory, Peer Strategies and Strengths Information

Descriptive Information

The use of descriptive information is based on Heider's (1958) *cognitive consistency theory*, which posits that perceived similarity with another is a positive

experience and increases likeability. Cognitive consistency theory further posits that likeability and interpersonal attraction may be augmented if similar attitudes are held towards another target, such as a person, object, or activity. For instance, a typical peer may be more attracted to an unfamiliar student with a disability if the former learns that he/she shares a similar interest in video gaming.

Explanatory Information

The proposed benefit of providing explanatory information is built on tenets of social attribution theory (Heider 1958; Kelley 1967). In its most basic form, social attribution theory is a model of motivation based on humans' tendency to form causal and coherent interpretations of others' behaviors, such as, "Why is the new student in the class rocking back and forth (Weiner 1993)?" Attribution theory posits that an individual's perceived responsibility or control of his/her behavior influences others' affective responses (e.g., anger or sympathy), which consequently influence others' behavioral intentions (e.g., willingness to help). Social attribution theory has been demonstrated among children. For instance, Juvonen (1992) discovered that peers showed less sympathy and more anger, and offered less social support, when they perceived that a hypothetical peer was responsible for his atypical behaviors.

Peer Strategies Information

In his social learning theory, Bandura (1977) posits that one acquires new behavior by observing the modeled behavior and by receiving a model of reinforcement as in the case of vicarious learning. Thus, learning will only occur when a behavior is properly modeled and reinforced. This notion has caused many parents and school districts to favor mainstreaming children with disabilities in schools where typical children can model appropriate behaviors for them; however, typical children do not only have to be present in the classroom to be effective peer models; their actions and behaviors must be attended to and perceived accurately. Bandura (1977) noted the interdependence of personal and environmental factors causing continued reciprocal interactions among the person, his/her behavior, and the situation or environment. Therefore, children with disabilities, who do not receive specific instruction or interventions to promote socialization in a mainstreamed classroom, will be unlikely to attend to their peer models. Moreover, since various studies allude to typical peers' preferences for interacting with one another over their atypical peers, children with disabilities will be less likely to attend to their typical peers if their typical peers are uninterested in interacting with them. Galvanizing typical children into interacting with their peers with disabilities and teaching them peer strategies is a crucial step in improving the social interaction capabilities and experiences of students with disabilities.

Strengths Information

Strengths information derives from affect/effort theory, which proposes that individuals may become less involved and less likely to put forth effort in interacting and becoming friendly with individuals whom they perceive in a negative manner (Rosenthal 1989). For instance, negative information or information focused on a child's disability or lack of capabilities may prevent typical children from interacting with children with disabilities. In contrast, presenting strengths information or information pertaining to the special abilities of individuals with disabilities may encourage typical children to interact and form positive intentions and attitudes towards their peers with disabilities.

The following comprehensive dissertation study provides a variety of fascinating findings pertaining to inclusion considerations and hands-on sensitivity training as to what may be ideal ingredients for enhancing sensitivity to children with special needs. This study particularly helped inform the third part of the curricular intervention, the moral dilemma session.

Inclusion Considerations

Abramson's (2004) dissertation shockingly showed that students in inclusion schools were the least likely to report sensitive attitudes towards individuals with disabilities compared to those in partial or noninclusive schools. For instance, 60 % of noninclusive schools, 40 % of inclusive schools, 29 % of self-contained classrooms and 10.5 % of resource rooms endorsed the fact that individuals with disabilities could prepare for a test. Another finding suggested that 54 % of students in noninclusive schools believed that individuals with disabilities could participate in classroom discussions compared to 46 % of inclusive schools (Abramson 2004). Abramson (2004) suggests that this may largely be due to the fact that no formal training in disabilities was provided to students in the inclusive settings. While their schools may have accommodated individuals with disabilities, the students did not receive direct sensitivity or moral dilemma training. Moreover, these Yeshiva students (students who attend a Jewish day school for religious and secular studies) may be highly motivated towards *Chochma* (wisdom) and achievement and thus may believe that their achievement may be threatened by involving students with disabilities. Yuker (1994) suggests that labels without training can often be harmful with respect to sensitivity towards children with special needs. "Ideals minus action can promote an awareness of disabilities with the accent on the 'dis'" (Yuker 1994). A large amount of knowledge along with an immediate and intense interaction minus a follow-up and modeling can promote a negative attitude (Abramson 2004). In summary, Yeshiva students may not possess the same knowledge of politically correct ways to respond to sensitivity tools. Inclusion of individuals with special needs may also clash with their competitive, academic ideals. Finally, while

Yeshivot may have a theoretical understanding of those with disabilities, they may not have hands-on sensitivity and moral dilemma training.

Cognitive consistency theory (Festinger 1957) inspired the invention session, the fourth part of the curricular intervention. Cognitive dissonance theory suggests that when one induces an individual to act in a certain way, his/her attitude may begin to align with that action. In this manner, if a student involves him/herself in altruistic acts, the student may in turn become more altruistic and empathic. Meir Schneerson posited that it is essential for schools to focus more on altruistic and charitable acts (Abramson 2004). Thus, the fourth part of the curricular intervention involves an invention session to encourage typical children to "exercise their altruism" and deliberate over which tools would aid their peers with disabilities.

Finally, the success of the Tikvah program (program for Jewish campers with special needs) at Camp Ramah informed the debriefing session following the intervention. The Tikvah program affords typical campers exposure and hands-on training on how to interact with fellow campers with special needs. All campers and staff are oriented at the outset of the camp session. The Tikvah staff fields any inquiries about developmental disabilities, and typical campers are encouraged to interact with campers in Tikvah. Of the typical campers, 72 % stated that Tikvah positively influenced their perceptions of individuals with disability, and only 28 % had unchanged perceptions. Fifty-eight percent reported that their involvement enhanced their experience, while 20 % were neutral. Finally, 76 % thought that the level of Tikvah's integration in the camp was appropriate, while 22 % desired more integration in the future. Following a summer spent in the Tikvah program, a survey of parents of campers in the Tikvah program revealed that five eighths of Tikvah parents saw improvement in their children's social skills, and six eighths saw positive changes in their children's cognitive and academic skills. For instance, they noted improvements in their children's attention span, written and oral skills, etc. The camp may be an especially important time for exposure to individuals with disabilities, since campers are not faced with the same academic pressures (Parker 1998) as students in the competitive Yeshiva system (as was evident in Abramson's aforementioned (2004) study).

From these three empirical studies, it is apparent that an intervention would be most beneficial if it could (a) teach descriptive, explanatory, peer strategies and strengths information to enhance behavioral intentions and cognitive attitudes of typical students towards individuals with disabilities (Silton 2009), (b) incorporate a simulation of a disabilities element (Silton 2009), (c) include moral dilemma and hands-on sensitivity training (Abramson 2004), (d) challenge typical children to consider what might help their fellow peers with special needs to align their actions and beliefs as discussed in cognitive consistency theory (Festinger 1957), and finally (e) encourage children to ask questions about various disabilities (Parker 1998).

In order to fulfill these various needs, the proposed curricular intervention for fifth and sixth graders attempts to provide a program about disabilities that would fulfill all of these important recommendations. In this way, the intervention will

continue the legacy of our great Talmudic scholars who went to great lengths to extend the utmost respect to their fellow man with special needs.

Curricular Intervention

a. To enhance cognitive attitudes and behavioral intentions, Silton's (2009) videos will be used and will be expanded upon to include video-based peer strategies and strengths information for autism and additional disabilities (i.e., physical disabilities and visual and hearing impairments).
b. To establish a simulation of disabilities, the curriculum will require students to create a simulation museum wherein each student can "try on" different disabilities by visiting various booths in the museum. This simulation is based on Silton's (2009) finding that actors playing the roles of individuals with autism in the intervention videos showed the most substantial improvement in behavioral intentions and cognitive attitudes towards their peers with special needs.
c. Typical students will solve or work through moral education dilemmas pertaining to their associations with individuals with special needs. These dilemmas will help prepare them for how they should respond to various ethically challenging situations pertaining to their peers with special needs. Friedman (1996) suggests that "utilizing hypothetical moral dilemma discussions that are open-ended" encourages students to reason through ethical dilemmas based on their own thinking process (Abramson 2004)."
d. Students will participate in an invention session to pursue an altruistic act, as directed by Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory (1957).
e. Students will be encouraged to ask any further questions about various disabilities during the debriefing following the intervention.

Study Results upon Implementing the Four-Part Curricular Intervention

Study Methods

Participants

Fifty-four fifth and sixth grade students (26 fifth graders and 28 sixth graders) from a Jewish day school in Manhattan, New York, participated in the four-day intervention. There was a relatively even match of boys (n = 26) and girls (n = 29), and all students identified themselves as white.

Procedure

The students received a brief demographic form highlighting their age, gender, and grade level, the SAQ, and the ACL. They then participated in the four-day curricular intervention. On the first day of the intervention, the students viewed an informational video on autism, cerebral palsy, deafness, and blindness which featured descriptive, explanatory, peer strategies and strengths information. On the second day, the students participated in a simulation museum, where they "tried on" all the aforementioned disabilities at four booths. On the third day of the intervention, they attempted to solve four moral dilemmas; each moral dilemma pertained to each of the four disabilities. Finally, the students designed clever tools for individuals with disabilities to use on the fourth and final day of the intervention. Following this invention session, the students completed the post-test measures of the SAQ, the ACL, and were debriefed. In addition, after each of the four sessions, the students were asked to identify what they gleaned from each lesson and which of the four activities from the four-day intervention was most impressive and meaningful for them.

Instruments *(pre- and posttests)*:

The researchers administered the following measures both before and following the curricular intervention: The SAQ (Morgan et al. 1996) and the ACL (Siperstein 1977, Siperstein and Bak 1977).

1. *The SAQ* (*SAQ-Self;* Morgan et al. 1996) is a 24-item experimental scale that evaluates the behavioral intentions and interest of a child in engaging in social, academic, and recreational activities with a target child (Campbell et al. 2004; Morgan et al. 1996; Swaim and Morgan 2001). The SAQ-Self evaluates an individual's own preferences for engagement in activities with a target child. The three activity areas of the SAQ-Self include General Social (e.g., preference to eat lunch with the target child), Academic (e.g., preference to work on math problems with the target child), and Recreational (e.g., preference to attend a ball game with the child). Children rate their interest in engaging with the target child in these activities by circling a (1) smile (denoting yes), (2) a neutral face (denoting maybe), or (3) a frown (denoting no). This measure is thus already usable by children at a second to third grade reading level. The child rater circles the item that best represents how he/she feels about engaging in an activity with the target child. Scores are 5 (Yes, Definitely), 4 (Probably), 3 (Maybe), 2 (Probably Not), and 1 (No, Definitely Not). There are total scores and a score for each of the three activity areas, with higher scores indicating a greater willingness to share in an activity with the target child. With regard to the internal reliability of the SAQ, there is a reported alpha of .95 for the SAQ total score, .88 for the General Social subscale score, .87 for the Academic subscale score, and .90 for the Recreational subscale score (Morgan et al. 1996). The SAQ-Self in Silton's (2009) study had acceptable internal reliability with an alpha of .95 for the total score, .87 for the General Social subscale score, .88 for the Academic subscale score, and .90 for the Recreational subscale score.

2. *The ACL* (Siperstein 1977, Siperstein and Bak 1977) is a commonly used measure for examining elementary school children's cognitive attitudes towards individuals with disabilities. The ACL is a checklist composed of 32 adjectives, half of which feature positive values (e.g., smart, neat) and half of which feature negative values (e.g., dumb, sloppy). After reviewing the list of adjectives, the child rater circles which adjectives best describe the target child. To derive a score for the ACL, one subtracts the total negative from the total positive adjectives used and adds a constant of 20 (Campbell et al. 2004; Siperstein and Bak 1977). Scores typically range from four to 36, with scores above 20 signifying positive attitudes and scores below 20 signifying negative attitudes. Factor analysis confirmed construct validity for both positive and negative values of the adjectives (Campbell et al. 2004). Also, previous research reports acceptable internal reliability with an alpha of .81 in a study of sensitivity towards handicapped children (Siperstein 1977), and also an alpha of .91 in a study of sensitivity towards children with autism (Swaim and Morgan 2001). In Silton's (2009) study, the ACL had acceptable internal reliability with an alpha of .75.

Results

While there were no significant differences between pre- and post-test measures in the Manhattan Day School study, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed significant differences for age on the Social SAQ pretest, $F = (2, 49) = 3.354$, $p < .05$ with post hoc least significant difference (LSD) tests revealing that 12-year-olds showed significantly less sensitivity than 10- and 11-year-olds ($p < .05$). Similarly, the Social SAQ posttest, $F = (2, 49) = 4.365$, $p < .05$, with post hoc LSD tests indicated that 12-year-olds showed less sensitivity than 10- ($p < .05$) and 11-year-olds ($p < .01$). Findings also demonstrated differences on the Recreational SAQ posttest with post hoc LSD tests showing that 12-year-olds presented less sensitivity than 10- and 11-year-olds ($p < .05$). Finally, the Total SAQ posttest, $F\,(2, 48) = 3.265$, $p < .05$ with post hoc LSD tests indicated that 12-year-olds showed less sensitivity than 11-year-olds ($p < .05$). One-way ANOVA also revealed a trend for gender wherein girls were more likely to engage in social activities with children with disabilities than boys on the Social SAQ pretest, $F = (1, 51) = 2.838$, $p = .098$ and on the Social SAQ posttest, $F = (1, 51) = 2.801$, $p = 1.00$.

Finally, open-ended questions revealed that students most enjoyed and were impacted by the autism and deafness simulations. They also favored the invention session and simulation museum.

Background Research Information for Realabilities

Realabilities is a show with a strong stop bullying platform which is also targeted towards enhancing the behavioral intentions and cognitive attitudes of typical

children towards children with disabilities by emphasizing the potential strengths of children with disabilities. *Realabilities* is unique in that it features characters with disabilities as the principal characters and portrays them in a strong light. Very few other shows overtly discuss disabilities and highlight the strengths that these special characters may possess (in addition to their limitations). The show also benefits from strong prosocial messages to not only eradicate bullying, but to promote empathy, sharing, cooperation, and helping behaviors. The appeal of each episode derives from the various bullying obstacles the Realability team must cleverly traverse by creatively harnessing their specific strengths, which are associated with their disability. Each episode begins with a bullying episode, and one of the Realability team members intervenes and galvanizes his/her other team members to diffuse the situation in a creative, fun, and remarkable way. The research below highlights the theoretical underpinnings and research justification for the creation of *Realabilities*.

Strengths Information and the Affect/Effort Theory

The affect/effort theory (Rosenthal 1963) posits that expectations influence an individual's affect and the amount of effort he/she puts forth. When a child is presented with a negative expectation of a social interaction partner, he/she is less involved, interacts less, and is less friendly towards the social interaction partner, even if the social partner does not possess significant emotional or behavioral issues. Unfortunately, children without disabilities become aware of differences in their peers with disabilities, they may be less motivated to interact with them since they may have low expectations of the latter's social capabilities. However, learning about potential special abilities or strengths of children with disabilities may inspire positive expectations in typical children and encourage them to take a more active interest in their special peers.

Protagonists with Disabilities Research suggests that children with disabilities are more at risk for developing negative attitudes towards disabilities due to their pathetic portrayal on TV, where they are often depicted as sick, pitiful, aggressive, or dangerous (Sprafkin 1984). The impetus behind this children's television program is to bolster positive expectations by portraying the strengths and special abilities that many children with disabilities possess, rather than create negative expectancies by solely focusing on impairments. For instance, the research suggests that some children with autism may display savant skills (Iavarone et al. 2007), enhanced spatial memory (Caron et al. 2004, p. 478), and superior perceptual skills (Mottron et al. 2006). Individuals with hearing impairment may possess enhanced peripheral vision and other visual abilities (Bosworth and Dobkins 2002), while individuals with visual impairment may exhibit a greater interest in, and/or talent for, music than their sighted peers (Matawa 2009, p. 260). This reliance on sound and interest in music helps to develop and strengthen their ability to sing, play

instruments, and even to acquire exceptional pitch, sense of rhythm, and retention of melodies and lyrics. Similarly, individuals who are wheelchair-bound often develop greater upper body strength due to exercising those muscles more frequently which also helps to prevent muscle atrophy. Thus, the *Realability* characters will encourage children with varying disabilities to be perceived in a positive light by portraying the potential strengths of children with disabilities. Finally, the program is designed to inspire typical children to be more sensitive, interested, and to possess more favorable images of their peers with disabilities.

Study Results upon Implementing Realabilities

Study Methods

Participants

There were 166 children (75 boys [45.7 %] and 89 girls [54.3 %]) in second (51.8 %; n = 86) and third grade (47.6 %; n = 79) who participated in the *Realabilities* television show intervention. Three (1.8 %) of the students were 6 years of age, 64 (38.6 %) were 7 years of age, 66 (39.8 %) were 8, and 31 (18.7 %) were 9 years of age. All students identified themselves as "white," except one who self-identified as Latino. Seventy nine children (36 boys [45.6%] and 43 girls [54.4%]) in in second (58.2 %, n = 46) and third grade (41.8 %, n = 33) who participated in the television show intervention were from a Jewish day school in Manhattan, New York, and 87 (39 boys (45.9 %) and 46 girls (54.1 %) in first (1.1 %, n = 1), second (46.0 %, n = 40), and third (52.9 %, n = 46) of the children were from Jewish day schools in Baltimore, MD.

Procedure

The researchers administered abridged versions of the SAQ, a behavioral intention measure, and the ACL, a cognitive attitudinal measure to 166 elementary school children both prior to and following the viewing of three episodes of *Realabilities*. The children were then debriefed and were encouraged to discuss recommendations they would make for future iterations of the show.

Results

Fortunately, research results from testing the first three episodes of *Realabilities* (see Appendix A) in multiple second- and third-grade classrooms (N = 166) in Baltimore, MD (N = 87) and Manhattan, NY (N = 79) suggest highly statistically significant improvements in behavioral intentions and cognitive attitudes of typical

elementary school children towards on-screen characters with disabilities and towards children with disabilities, in general, following the three-episode viewing. We expect that testing the efficacy of 12 episodes of *Realabilities* will help determine whether this is one of the first interventions to enhance typical children's cognitive attitudes towards peers with disabilities. If so, this effort would contribute greatly to the developmental, education and disability literature and, most importantly, could improve the social ties between typical children and their peers with special needs.

Descriptive Analysis

Of the students, 46 (28.0 %) preferred the Pilot Real Goal Episode, 36 (21.3 %) preferred Chemistry Craze, starring Uno, the character with autism, and 78 (46.7 %) preferred the Play Nice Episode, starring Melody, the character with blindness. Fifty-nine (37.3 %) of the students selected Melody, the female character who is blind, as their favorite character in the show. The remaining students selected Ezra (20.9 %, $n = 33$), the male typical character; Seemore (14.6 %, $n = 23$), the male character with a hearing impairment; Rolly (13.3 %, $n = 21$), the male character with a physical disability; and Uno (5.1 %, $n = 8$) as their favorite characters in the show.

Main Analysis

Paired samples t-tests indicated that children reported significantly more positive cognitive attitudes on the ACL following the three-episode television show intervention. Children reported more positive cognitive attitudes on the ACL towards hypothetical children presenting with blindness, $t\ (156) = -11.719$, $p < .001$, deafness, $t\ (155) = -10.694$, $p < .001$, physical disability, $t\ (155) = -10.154$, $p < .001$ and towards children with autism, $t\ (151) = -2.101$, $p < .001$.

Paired samples t-tests also revealed that children reported significantly more positive behavioral intentions on the SAQ following the three-episode television show intervention. More specifically, children reported more positive behavioral intentions on the SAQ towards hypothetical children with blindness following the show on the SAQ Total, $t\ (149) = -5.393$, $p < .001$, on the SAQ Academic subtest, $t\ (154) = -6.245$, $p < .001$, on the SAQ Social subtest, $t\ (153) = -4.398$, $p < .001$ and on the SAQ Recreational subtest, $t\ (153) = -2.343$, $p < .01$. Children also showed significantly more positive behavioral intentions towards hypothetical peers presenting with deafness after the show on the SAQ Total, $t\ (142) = -3.878$, $p < .001$, on the SAQ Academic subtest, $t\ (149) = -4.131$, $p < .001$, on the SAQ Social subtest, $t\ (152) = -3.635$, $p < .001$ and a trend on the SAQ Recreational subtest, $t\ (151) = -1.913$, $p = .058$. Additionally, children showed significantly more positive behavioral intentions towards hypothetical peers with physical disabilities after the three-episode intervention on the SAQ Total, $t\ (147) = -4.541$, $p < .001$, on the SAQ Academic subtest, $t\ (152) = -3.395$, $p < .001$, on the SAQ Social

subtest, t (153) = − 3.106, $p < .01$, and on the SAQ Recreational subtest, t (149) = − 4.266, $p < .001$. Finally, children showed significantly more positive behavioral intentions towards hypothetical peers with autism after the three show episodes on the SAQ Total, t (141) = − 5.326, $p < .001$, on the SAQ Academic subtest, t (142) = − 5.327, $p < .001$, on the SAQ Social subtest, t (143) = − 3.621, $p < .001$, and on the SAQ Recreational subtest, t (143) = − 4.385, $p < .001$.

Discussion

Fortunately, the findings of the four-part curricular intervention and particularly the promising research findings upon testing *Realabilities* suggest that actions can be taken to foster sensitivity towards individuals with special needs and to encourage typical children to recognize the special strengths of children with disabilities. The principal results of the four-part curricular intervention suggested that 12-year-old participants were significantly less likely than 10- and 11-year-olds to report an interest in interacting socially and recreationally with individuals with disabilities. This finding aligns with studies indicating a negative relationship between age and attitudes (Bell and Morgan 2000). Additionally, girls showed a trend of more positive intentions than boys, which is consistent with literature noting girls' more positive intentions towards peers with disabilities (Friedrich et al. 1996). This intervention contributed to delineating which key ingredients are necessary to teach typical elementary school students how to be more sensitive and socially interested and interactive with children with disabilities. The second intervention, the *Realabilities* TV show, especially demonstrated positive outcomes in fostering sensitivity. Following the three-episode intervention, participants showed significantly more favorable cognitive attitudes and behavioral intentions towards children presenting with one of the following disorders: paraplegia, visual impairment, hearing impairment, or autism. These findings are especially illuminating because while some interventions have shown a minimal increase in behavioral intentions following a sensitivity intervention, very few have shown such significant change from pre- to posttest in their behavioral intentions and fewer have been successful at substantially improving the cognitive attitudes of children without disabilities towards children with disabilities.

These interventions will help typical students recognize that their peers with disabilities may be the next Moshe that they may have the opportunity to be the next Rabbi Haninah or Rabbi Pereidah. Since theory bolsters each part of the curricular intervention and the *Realabilities* series, the interventions will also seek to inform theory. In this way, the promising findings from these interventions will hopefully help to close the sensitivity gap not only in the Jewish world but well beyond.

Conclusion to Chapter

Yossi Ives

The foregoing chapter presented ideas drawn from Judaism that display respect and appreciation for people with disabilities and reports the innovative approach to sensitising typical children to the unique characteristics of, and challenges faced by, children with disabilities. However, in the process of trying to mitigate a prejudicial attitude towards people with disabilities, we have at times spawned an aggressive, judgemental attitude towards those who struggle with this. Where this occurs, we replace one prejudice with another. One element of the Judaic view on this topic is the need to show understanding to both groups.

Inherent in Silton's approach is a lack of judgementalism about how able-bodied people relate to those who are disabled. It recognises that being critical towards those who have difficulty relating to or handling people with disabilities is neither fair nor productive. While insensitivity towards someone disabled is surely wrong, it is nevertheless understandable that some people will find it difficult to deal with such phenomena because of lack of experience or knowledge. Many able-bodied people have difficulty dealing with and knowing how to address people with disabilities. Silton notes that previous interventions have often not been effective. She is therefore right to suggest that the best way to enable people to become more sensitive and better equipped to interact with people with disabilities is through education. The successful results of her innovative interventions in experiential sensitivity training are testament to this.

A Judaic Approach to Sensitivity

This epilogue to Silton's chapter shall briefly present a Jewish perspective that recognises that it is not always easy for people to know how to address someone significantly different from themselves and that even extremely intelligent and pious individuals in unprepared state can act in ways that seem highly inappropriate. The mark of decency is not in possessing an instinctive ability to understand or relate to people with disabilities, but in one's ability to learn through familiarity and being informed how to appreciate the unique qualities of each individual, whatever their physical or mental abilities in a given area.

Silton cites a startling story in the Talmud (Taanit 20a–b) about a great sage, Rabbi Elazar, who came across a deformed man and reacted with horror instead of compassion. At face value, it seems like an indictment of an otherwise great person. However, when we study the text more closely, it reveals a more subtle and profound psychological drama.

In the story, having been chastised and made to repent, Rabbi Elazar went to the house of study where he delivered a sermon: "A man should always be gentle [lit.

flexible] as the reed and let him never be unyielding as the cedar". Why did R. Elazar teach about being flexible, rather than being tolerant and nonjudgemental? Was that not the lesson of the story?

Also, the story is replete with an unusually high level of detail about where Rabbi Elazar was coming from and on what he was riding. It says, he "was coming from Migdal Gedor, from the house of his teacher, and he was riding leisurely on his ass by the riverside and was feeling happy and elated because he had studied much Torah. He chanced upon a man with disfigurements [lit. an exceedingly ugly man] who greeted him…". How do these details add to the story?

Finally, R. Elazar begins addressing the man in third person and then switches to second person. At the beginning of the story, we are told that Rabbi Elazar "did not return his salutation but instead said to him, 'worthless one, how ugly you are. Are all your fellow citizens as ugly as you are?'" But having descended from his donkey to apologise, Rabbi Elazar switches to second person saying, "I submit myself to you, forgive me".

This story teaches how wrong it is to hurt the feelings of someone with a disfigurement, but it also reveals the difficulty that even a great sage can have when he encounters unprepared someone with a severe disability. This rabbi was one of the greatest scholars of his generation—a generation blessed with titanic geniuses (such as Rabbi Akiva). He was a giant among giants, and that he, too, reacted badly suggests to us that this is a difficulty that anyone can face when presented unawares with someone who challenges their sense of "normal".

The Talmudic passage, thus, took care to note that he had *chanced* upon the person; he was totally unprepared for this encounter. For all his brilliance and scholarship, he never met someone like this and did not immediately know how to handle it. The Talmud provides several additional details that reinforce this state of bewilderment. We are informed that he came from the rarefied environment of "his rabbi's house". The place from which he came is Migdal Gedor. Rabbi Shai Piron, an Israeli scholar, notes (Ahavat Ha'adam ukvod Habriyot 2006) that this name means "the barricaded tower", signifying a secluded and elevated location. He was raised on a donkey meandering along the river, looking down upon passers-by from an elevated position. His mind was occupied with the profound learning he has been only recently immersed in with his teacher. And then, out of the blue, he encounters something shocking to his system and for which he had no ready response—a man who was seriously disfigured and exceedingly unpleasant in appearance.

What this man did was turn the tables completely, telling Rabbi Elazar that while he may suffer a disfigurement, comparatively speaking it was Rabbi Elazar who had the disability, as he was seemingly unable to figure out how to cope with difference. He highlighted to Rabbi Elazar that he had a "learning difficulty", whereby the limitations in his thinking prevented him from recognising that he was no less a creation of God than was the great rabbi. This is so elementary and obvious, yet this great rabbi had momentarily become confused; this can only be because he suffered from a disability of his own—a difficulty coping with diversity. Rabbi Elazar quickly recognised this. He therefore lowered himself from his donkey to be on equal footing with the man; he then went further and prostrated himself putting

himself lower than the man who now towered above him. Rabbi Elazar was acknowledging that in some way he had a deficiency that the disfigured man did not, in which case he could look up to him.

This may be the reason that after obtaining forgiveness from the man, Rabbi Elazar lectured about the importance of flexibility. He called upon people to be bendable and supple, because the issue here was not about prejudice towards people with disabilities per se but about adopting rigid expectations and react poorly when they are upset. In effect, Rabbi Elazar said: "don't be fixed in your thinking, rather be open-minded about people".

The story thus has two complimentary lessons: how wrong it is to mistreat someone on account of their disability and how easy it is for even decent and noble people to struggle when faced with a disabled person. The Talmud tells us this story not only to teach us to never disrespect someone on account of their physical appearance but also to alert us to how unfortunately natural it is for this to occur. Even a great sage needed to be educated about this.

With this in mind, we can understand the ruling of the Talmud (Berachot 58b) that if a person encounters someone with major physical differences—including such people as hunchbacks and dwarves—he or she should make a blessing acknowledging that "God makes people different". At first glance, this may seem outrageous—making a special blessing just because one meets someone with a physical impairment is treating that person like an "other", a freak, or an anomaly. The idea of making a blessing before doing something (almost all blessings must be said prior to the act) is to encourage pause for reflection. A blessing before fulfilling a religious ritual or eating some food is designed to facilitate a moment's contemplation about the value or purpose of the forthcoming act. Similarly, the blessing said upon seeing someone who is disabled or disfigured is intended to help the person absorb the reality that people are different and to prepare an adequate reaction to this situation. Rather than it being an offence to those with an unusual appearance, it is designed to prompt a proper, sensitive reaction—one, however, that may not be instinctive because human beings struggle with such things.

In the Shulchan Aruch (Orach Chaim 128:30), the Code of Jewish Law, we are told about those kohanim (members of the priestly class) who are fit to deliver the priestly blessings in the synagogue. It lists a range of deformities of the hands that disqualify the kohein for participating in this ritual. Again, many may feel disquiet about disqualification on this basis. However, when understood in light of the above, we can see how Jewish law is recognising that many worshippers may have difficulty knowing how to deal with deformity and may respond with shock, thereby causing offence. In fact, this is the reason given: "because the people will stare at him". It is the problem of able-bodied people who may not be so able-minded and react inappropriately. We see this clearly from the ruling that if the person with the disfigurement is a regular in town—defined as living there for 30 days—then he may carry out the priestly blessings because "people will be used to him".

So we see that Judaic teaching recognises that many people struggle to cope with people who are strikingly different, leading to potential offence been given. While intolerance is clearly rejected, so is trite judgementalism towards ordinary people

who may react clumsily if not rehearsed for such situations. Most of us are naturally "disabled" insofar as we find coping with acute different psychically straining and sometimes overwhelming. Rather than condemning people who struggle with this, a Judaic approach would advocate a more compassionate and understanding stance that acknowledges that this may not be easy for them. Instead of condemnation, what is required are efforts to promote sensitivity towards people with disabilities so that they are prepared for interacting with such people and they are helped to understand the kinds of behaviours that are appropriate for the various situations they may encounter. Silton's interventions are therefore a highly valuable contribution towards improving the life experience not only for those disabled but indeed for all people.

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Chapter 4
Addressing Social Exclusion in Schools and Youth Groups

Rivkie Ives

Individuals strive to be a part of a group, even though this may have required that they relinquish parts of their individuality (Forsyth 2010). The desire to belong is an inherent human need common to all people (Kune 2011; Fiske 2004; Maslow 1987). This chapter will explore how many young people fail to have this need met and adults are often unaware this is going on and lack the understanding to address it, resulting in *inadvertent social exclusion.* Drawing on Jewish social values, the chapter shall address the nature of this phenomenon, its main causes, and my research findings on how best to address it.

Comprising three main sections, the chapter begins by setting out how group dynamics may lead to inadvertent social exclusion, continues with a discussion of Judaic values that inform the issue of inclusion, and concludes with qualitative and quantitative research findings on a series of workshops designed to address this issue.

The Nature of a Group

Debate abounds as to whether groups consist merely of the sum of its individual parts or whether a new identity is created (Phoenix 2007). Asch (1952, cited in Brown 2002; Johnson and Johnson 2003) suggested that much as the molecules of oxygen and hydrogen undergo a chemical change when they become water, individuals change when they become part of a group. Power struggles may occur, as members vie for positions of power and argue about the roles, beliefs, and norms within the group.

Within all groups, an in-group/out-group dynamics will exist (Forsyth 2010). In-group members may often stereotype members of the out-group as different, thereby exacerbating the exclusion (Forsyth 2010; Brown 2007; Phoenix 2007). Individuals with low self-worth tend to be the ones that put down those that are in

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the out-group (Forsyth 2010). Studies such as those conducted by Sherif and Sherif (1953) highlight the dangers when an in-group/out-group bias develops. In their Robbers Cave experiment, the two teams they formed became violent and abusive to each other, stereotyping the members of the opposite group while working in harmony with their own.

Splintering of groups into subgroups is an automatic consequence of groups with more than seven members (Forsyth 2010), which poses particular challenges for group leaders who need to manage the group dynamics. When groups splinter, in-group and out-group biases often develop, making those in the out-group stereotyped and the butt of negative behaviour by the members of the in-group.

Group Dynamics in Schools

Schools are as much a social experience as they are an academic one (Novick 2011). Students need to feel that they belong and are accepted as members of their class (Hart and Hodson 2004); being successful academically will not satisfy their need for belonging. To be an effective educator, a teacher needs to focus on six areas of their students' development: physical, cognitive, psychological, language, social, and emotional (Ben Avie 2008; Novick 2011). Promoting high levels of social development helps them to also achieve high academic results. Ben Avie noted that the higher the children scored in their interpersonal relationships, the higher they scored on academic scales.

Beth Doll (2003) and her colleagues studied the group dynamics that took shape in a number of day schools during breaktime. During recess, there is often minimal adult supervision making it an opportune time for peer interactions, and it also allows observers to see the social interplay of children in an unhindered way. Doll (2003, p. 113) concluded that social interactions play an integral part in school life:

> Children's peer relations play a pivotal role in school mental health. Children's friendships act both as early warnings of, and preventive interventions for, socioemotional disturbance … The social support that children derive from peers contributes to their ability to cope with life stress, protects them from bullying and peer victimization, and enhances their academic performance.

Effective friendships are formed when relationships are reciprocal and emerge out of successful play between children. Those successful at creating meaningful relationships will usually do well academically and deal better with life's challenges. Poor social development often leads to poor sense of self-worth and low self-regulation, leading students to engage in bullying and other unhealthy behaviours. They may also develop poor problem-solving skills, find groupwork challenging, and be easily swayed by the behaviour of others. Children who are unsuccessful at fitting in to their class suffer from consequences later on in life (Forsyth 2010), including depression, alienation, suicide, and violence (Novick 2011). While members of extracurricular groups may choose to leave when they are unsuccessful at fitting in, this may prove difficult for students. These students will attend school everyday feeling socially inept. Yet, many teachers do not view how their students

fare socially as their concern (Ben Avie 2008); they are focused on how successful their students are academically.

Breaktime and play sessions are times when social issues at school come to the fore. Those that fare successfully at recess tend to be those that are more accepted and have more friends (Doll 2003). Yet, Doll noticed that 4% of children are not accepted by any play partner or classmate; they are either rejected or neglected. Rejected children are actively disliked and told they cannot play with those they would like to play with, while neglected children are passively disliked by not being chosen to play with their classmates. I would categorise rejected children as "bullied", as they are excluded from the games or groups, whereas neglected children are "inadvertently excluded" and suffer isolation.

Neglected children often get into conflicts during recess, signalling real issues in peer acceptance and struggle to make or maintain friendships; yet, they rarely get assistance in this matter (Doll 2003). Even when invited to play, they lack the skills to engage properly and often become disliked and thought of as unresponsive. Whatever friendships they do have are not well established and they often complain of being lonely during recess, resort to physical fighting, and are extremely sensitive to arguing and teasing. Whereas ordinarily arguments between school friends often result in compromise, this is not so with neglected children. Children, like adults, tend to attribute worse judgements on group outsiders, rendering it more difficult for a child playing with a non-friend to resolve conflicts (Asher and Renshaw 1981).

It has been long recognised (Trow et al. 1950) that a class of children function as a group; hence, we have to expect that the default dynamics of a normal group will take effect. Failure to manage them properly will lead to poor emotional health, and will ultimately affect their academic achievement. Kress and Ingall (2008) stress the importance of the teacher taking the responsibility of the social and emotional culture of their classes and setting the tone proactively and positively by being a role model of care and inclusivity.

Group Dynamics in Summer Camps

While caring relationships are the building blocks for all learning, at summer or winter camp, the intensity of social interactions is much greater; therefore, the quality of those relationships and interactions is of extreme importance (Kress and Ben Avie 2010). The social climate of the camp will be set by the norms and behaviours of the campers and counsellors. In these environments, children are expecting to be able to run away from the pressures of the classroom and engage on a social level (ACA 2012).

In camps, where children experience long periods of informal activities, struggles with social interaction may become particularly acute. Even if children are free to leave, so long as they decide to be part of the youth group and/or camp, they will suffer the pain of inadvertent exclusion.

Kress and Ben Avie (2010) conducted a study in the USA looking to evaluate various aspects of the campers' satisfaction. One of the key components to this investigation was to find out how well 525 11–13-year-olds fared socially in camp. While 96% of the children claimed that they made very good friends in camp, 38% of the children felt that there were cliques, and as many as 25% of the campers had been bullied in some way. Nearly 60% of the campers would not confide in a member of staff if they felt that a fellow camper was being mistreated or bullied. Kress and Ben Avie stated that achieving an inclusive close-knit camp requires the ongoing monitoring of the social barometer of the campers. Only through appreciating and addressing the default dynamics of groups can we proactively address the inevitable consequences that being part of a group can cause.

While the literature explains how members are affected by group dynamics, it does not seem to explain why inadvertent social exclusion occurs or what can be done to effectively thwart it.

Jewish Values on Inclusion

This section draws upon traditional Jewish social values, providing insight into both the possible causes of and solutions to inadvertent social exclusion.

The Responsibility to Be Inclusive

A key concept in Judaism is the idea of *Arvut*— mutual responsibility (Talmud and Shavuot 39a).[1] However, in Jewish thought, *Arvut* goes beyond positing that one is simply ethically bound to help others deal with *their* problem; rather, it is the statement that another's problem genuinely constitutes a problem for me too—it is, in fact, my own problem.

Halacha (Jewish law, Shulchan Aruch Harav 167:23)[2] uses the concept of *Arvut* to explain how one can recite *Kiddush*[3] for another even if the person has already recited it,[4] because if even one person has not fulfilled their *Kiddush* obligation, then there is something lacking in their own. This means that when one repeats the Kiddush for the sake of another person, they are not only doing it to help another fulfil *his or her* obligation but to settle their own *personal* obligation. The Midrash (Leviticus Rabbah 4:6) offers a parable that captures this sentiment of mutual responsibility:

[1] See also Talmud, Sanhedrin 27b based on Leviticus 26:37, cited in Rashi ad loc.

[2] Based on Rabbeinu Yonah Berachot 20a; Magen Avraham 167:40; Shulchan Aruch Orach Chaim 273:4; Mishnah Berurah s.k. 20.

[3] Sanctification over wine on the Sabbath.

[4] One is not permitted to recite blessing (containing God's name) unnecessarily (Berakhos 33a based on Exodus 20:7; *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhos Berakhos* 1:15. See *Minchas Chinukh* (30:8) who derives the prohibition from *Temurah* 4a). Kiddush may therefore only be recited once.

> A group of people were travelling in a boat. One of them took a drill and began to drill a hole beneath himself. His companions said to him: "Why are you doing this?" Replied the man: "What concern is it of yours? Am I not drilling under my own place?" Said they to him: "But you will sink the boat for us all!"

Reducing inadvertent social exclusion requires enhancing what I term "peripheral vision", picking up on that which would normally go unnoticed. We need to be alert to the negative consequences of our actions that are outside of our normal range of awareness. In Judaic teaching, responsibility extends beyond one's own group. The Bible (Leviticus 11:19) lists among the nonkosher birds the stork, called a *Chassida,* which means "kind one" in Hebrew. Says the Talmud (Chullin 63a): "It is called *Chassida* because it is kind to its near ones". The question is asked: if it is a kind bird, why then is it considered nonkosher? An answer given *(Daat Chachamim; Peninei HaChassidut)* is that it is unkosher because it shares its kindness only with birds of its own feather, whereas a kosher bird would be kind with everyone. From this perspective, compassion involves recognising and acting on the needs of those at the periphery, those on the margins who often go unnoticed.

Isolation and Exclusion

The Talmud (Taanit 23a)[5] tells of a great sage, Choni the Circler, who felt rejected by his peers and despaired of life, declaring: "Give me fellowship or give me death". A seminal incident recorded in the Talmud (Gittin 55b; Midrash Eicha Rabba 4:3) articulates the consequences of rejecting another:

> The destruction of Jerusalem came through a Kamza and a Bar Kamza. A man had a friend Kamza and an enemy Bar Kamza. He once made a party and said to his servant, Go and bring Kamza. The man went and brought Bar Kamza. When the host found him there he said, "You tell tales about me; what are you doing here? Get out". Said the other: "Since I am here, let me stay, and I will pay you for whatever I eat and drink." He refused. Then let me give you half the cost of the party. He refused. Then let me pay for the whole party. He still declined, and he took him by the hand and put him out.

The Talmud concludes that this act of exclusion resulted in disaster when the offended party went to the Roman authorities seeking revenge. Moreover, from a Judaic perspective, if a person is not seen to be opposed to bullying or exclusion, they are in part held responsible for potentially giving the impression that they would condone it. A rather striking rabbinic comment captures this point. The Midrash (Genesis Rabba) records a view that biblical Reuben was given a share of the income from the sale of Joseph and was included in the group of ten that were party to the deed. The problem with this view is that the Bible (Genesis 37:21) is clear that Reuben tried his best to save Joseph. A major commentator to the Midrash understands this to mean that Reuben had not made it clear that he opposed an attack on Joseph, which the other brothers interpreted as implicit acceptance of their hostile intentions. The best way to discourage bullying or exclusionary behaviour is for

[5] See Talmud (Avoda Zara 72b) "Said Rava: Either friends like the friends of Job or I prefer death".

group members to be active in promoting inclusivity. In Jewish thought, personal culpability is by no means the only form of guilt; standing by and doing nothing is also an offence (Leviticus 19:17; Talmud, Sanhedrin 73a; Maimonides Mishne Torah, Laws of Murder 1:14).

From Vulnerable to Victim

Exclusion can potentially trigger a worsening situation. Even a mild act of exclusion has the ability to render someone a greater potential victim. Being isolated by others leaves a person more vulnerable to greater victimisation. By contrast, when a person is included in the group, the group members offer a measure of protection. When excluded from the group, the individual is more easily targeted for abuse—both verbal and physical. We see with the biblical story of Joseph and his brothers (Genesis 37:4) that initially Joseph was just excluded by his brothers, but this triggered a dangerous dynamic of creating an "other". The result was his attempted murder and eventual sale into slavery (Genesis 37:27).

The Bible (Deuteronomy 21:4) states that if a person is found dead on the road and it is not possible to discover the cause of death, the elders of the nearest town need to enact a ceremony of penance in which they declare, "Our hands did not spill this blood". Upon this, the Talmud (Sotah 45b) asks: "Does anyone really think that the Elders of the Beth Din were murderers? Rather, for them perhaps not having left him without provisions or not having accompanied him along the way". A wayfarer who seems neglected is a ready target for bandits; a more visible interest from the community for his welfare may have afforded protection. Perhaps for this reason, Joseph sent vast gifts with his brothers when we sent them back to Canaan to collect Jacob (Genesis 43:11), even though he had urged them to return in haste, in which case all those food gifts would not have been necessary. He wanted to demonstrate that they were now being looked after, thereby enhancing their security. When someone is perceived as an outsider to a group, it leaves them vulnerable.

Casual Dislike

Jewish sources also provide valuable insight into how and why exclusion may occur: It happens inadvertently without intention to harm, but out of indifference to the feelings of others. This can happen most naturally, as people are not necessarily focused on consideration of another's perspective and may assume that their perspective is normative. Jewish ethics demand that we should not be self-absorbed and remain open to feelings of others.

One of the most important notions in traditional Judaic sources is the condemnation of *sinat chinam* (Talmud, *Gittin* 55b–56a), often translated as "causeless ha-

tred". It is argued here that, in fact, both parts of the translation are wrong. Firstly, no hatred is truly without cause, and secondly, the word *sinah* can refer to dislike rather than to hate.[6] We therefore suggest that this widespread concept actually means "casual dislike" and refers to social exclusion caused by a kind of in-group/out-group dynamic. An important Chassidic discourse by Rabbi Sholom Dov Ber of Lubavitch explains this concept:

> Sinat chinam happens when one person dislikes another just so, for no valid reason. Sometime he invents some reason for his dislike, but this is only an excuse to justify his antipathy. The real reason is his own self-importance, which does not allow space for anyone else. He is too important in his own eyes, and therefore seeks to diminish the values of others (Sefer Hamaamarim 5659 p. 56).

Similarly, Rabbi Isaiah Halevi Horowitz states: "Sometime people dislike others—not out of jealousy or competition, but—due to the poor personality traits of the one aroused. Just as people like each other due to their similarity, some people dislike others because they are different in their personality and character traits"(Shnei Luchot Habrit section 1 Shaar ha'Otiot, ot bet).

Leadership

While ensuring fairness is a task that belongs to every person, in Jewish thought, special responsibility is accorded to the leaders. They bear a direct responsibility to prevent societal wrongs, and they are held directly to blame for failures.[7] In the aforementioned story about Bar Kamza, the reason for the revenge act was that the offence occurred in the presence of rabbis who failed to intervene: "Said the other, Since the Rabbis were sitting there and did not stop him, this shows that they agreed with him. I will go and inform against them to the Government" (Gittin 55b).[8]

In particular, a leader is judged by how he or she behaves towards those on the margins. Leadership is defined by concern for the weak members of society. Thus, says the Midrash, Moses was chosen as leader when the Almighty witnessed his concern for a stray sheep:

> Moses was shepherding his father-in-laws' sheep one day, when one of them bolted. Moses followed the runaway animal until it reached a body of water where it stopped for a drink. Moses compassionately said to the sheep, "If only I had known that you thirsted for water. You must be exhausted from running…" Saying this, he scooped up the animal, placed it on his shoulders, and headed back to his flock. Said God: "If this is how he cares for the sheep of man, he is definitely fit to shepherd mine…" (Exodus Rabah 2:2).

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[6] For example, Leah, wife of Jacob, rejoiced (Genesis 29:33) at having a son for she was "snuah", which could hardly be translated as "hated", but rather "less liked".

[7] See Rashi to Numbers 31:14 that any ill that befalls the populace is put at the door of the leaders.

[8] See Midrash Lementations Rabba 4:3 that the rabbis present were uncertain whether to intervene and decided to remain silent.

The Talmud (Berachot 28a) describes a stinging encounter where the head of the Sanhedrin, Rabban Gamliel, came to seek out Rabbi Joshua in his home to resolve a dispute:

> When he [Rabban Gamliel] arrived at his [Rabbi Joshua's] home, he saw that the walls were blackened, whereupon he exclaimed, 'from the walls of your house it would appear that you are a blacksmith'. Said he in response: 'woe to a generation that has you as a leader, for you know not the suffering of scholars, nor how they earn a living or how they feed themselves'.

We may conclude from this that leaders—teachers, parents, and youth workers—carry a higher level of responsibility to ensure that those in their care are not excluded.

Countering Inadvertent Social Exclusion

The foregoing values help to clarify the nature of the kind of casual dislike that causes inadvertent exclusion, which in turn can lead to deliberate exclusion, leaving children vulnerable to bullying. They also highlight the importance of mutual responsibility, especially of teacher and youth leaders to care for the vulnerable. Rivkie Ives therefore developed research interventions aimed to increase awareness among young people and those responsible for them about the phenomenon of inadvertent social exclusion, which, it was hypothesised, would result in behaviour change.

The research framework adopted was practitioner action research seeking to make a practical difference (Stringer 1999) in the tradition of Stenhouse (1975) and Elliott (1991). Eden and Huxham (1996) distinguish between the interventionist qua researcher, whose main focus is on practice, and the researcher qua interventionist, who places greater emphasis on theory. Similarly, Heller (1986) uses capitalisation to separate *Action* research from action *Research.* This research falls into the former category.

For this study, more than 30 workshops were conducted by Rivkie Ives in London and New York for children of various age groups with a total of over 300 young people, mostly girls-only groups. These workshops provided compelling evidence that raising awareness about how inadvertent exclusion occurs is effective in changing attitudes and behaviour, as set out below. Overall, the researcher conducted workshops, for both small and large audiences, for children, teachers, and youth workers. Regardless of the nature of the audience, participants of these sessions went on to display significant progress in their awareness of group dynamics and the presence of social exclusion.

Qualitative Findings

Rivkie Ives began a pilot study by engaging with her students in a Sunday school about being more inclusive during breaktime. She started a game of tag and purposefully left three children out of the game explaining to them that it was just for a few minutes and it was not a punishment. When the game was in full swing, she told the three children to enter the game and to see what would transpire. The first child was confident and went straight into the game and was included as soon as he did. The next child was shy and just stood at the side and waited to be invited, but the invitation never came. The researcher then stopped the game and asked the other children if they had intentionally excluded this little boy. As was suspected, they did not realise they had excluded the other child; they were just not paying attention. The researcher discussed with the children how this would have affected the boy and how he might have felt. The game was then resumed and the last two children were invited to play. A little while later, Ives organised a similar activity for all of the members of the Sunday school from ages 3.5 to 12 years. Notably, the first child to invite others into the game was a boy who was part of the previous exercise. As Forsyth (2010) suggests, children are quick to recognise the need for others to be included once it is pointed out.

In the next cycle of the action research, a conceptual exercise was introduced to raise awareness. In this session, a group of 8–10-year-olds was told a story about a herd of sheep grazing in the field and realised that the grass on the other side of the fence was richer. The only hurdle to overcome was how to get over the fence. Participants discussed all of the sheep's options, and then the children were explained the various methods the sheep adopted: Some of the sheep tried to creep underneath and were not successful, others tried to push against the fence and went back dejected, others tried to climb over and were unsuccessful, others climbed on the back of their sheep mates and got over, and yet another group worked together with a few of their friends and managed to move the fence sufficiently to get through. The children went on to discuss this scenario and the various options that the sheep had chosen to employ. Thereafter, the researcher drew parallels between the children's life and the lessons they learnt from the experience. The researcher and the children discussed the consequences of stepping on top of others versus working inclusively to reach our goals. To further reinforce the message and to maximise the children's insight, the researcher brought in two books from the Sunday-school library, one discussing a bully and the other discussing an arrogant classmate. These stories were read and their lessons were discussed, and with the help of their teachers, the children created skits to show what they had learnt from these two interventions.

These interventions seem to have made an impression on the students. The researcher's observation notes record that during their breaktime, all of the children were engaged in fun activities of their choice. While some played in large groups, others enjoyed playing with one or two friends. Older children were on the lookout to help younger ones if the need arose. It was also noted that they took an added interest in helping a child with special needs. These workshops answered Paley's

(1993) question as to whether children are aware of the consequences of their behaviour on others. Regrettably, they are not, and it is up to the adults in their life to help them become more aware.

The third cycle of the action research sought to investigate whether similar results would be found with older children. Ives therefore ran a workshop for 15-year-old girls attending a leadership training course to highlight inadvertent exclusion and their responsibility as leaders to ensure inclusivity of their young charges. Various fun activities and textual learning were used to impart these points. For example, an activity was organised in which the girls were divided into smaller groups. One girl did a puzzle independently, four girls played cards, and a larger group played a ballgame. Two girls were left out and went around the groups to see who would invite them to join. The girls playing ball did invite them. A discussion was then held about the girl doing the puzzle; the researcher asked the participants to suggest in percentage terms how likely they estimated that the girl playing on her own was doing so because she felt excluded from the other games. The group judged that the lowest percentage of likelihood was 33%. This workshop helped those youth leaders to recognise how for fear of being intrusive they may assume that children playing on their own are content to do so, rather than attempting to include such children.

The researcher taught this same group of girls in an academic setting, where they were assigned to work in pairs on a learning task. It became apparent that there were an odd number of students that day. Before the researcher had a chance to address the issue, the odd student was invited to join one of the existing pairs. A few weeks later, this class was charged with running the school drama production. The researcher gathered the girls and reminded them of the social inclusion workshop in which they had participated some days earlier and were encouraged to feel responsible to make all the members of the school body feel included. Subsequent observation and reports suggest that these students displayed exemplary inclusivity in organising the drama production. For example, parent feedback acknowledged that the girls organising the production gave careful attention to ensure that the whole student body felt important and needed. The head teacher reported that they expressed concern if even one student was unhappy.

In the fourth cycle of the action research, Ives applied this approach to build up the self-esteem of young people who are in the lowest learning stream in their years. In this instance, the class was of high school girls from years 9 to 12 who lagged behind in their academic progress. As these girls resented being in the lowest group, the researcher deployed these inclusion messages and techniques to this setting with the aim of helping to demonstrate their value to themselves and to the rest of the group. The lesson began with the researcher asking the students to take hold of a long rope and then throw the remainder of the rope to another student in the group. By the time all of the students had the rope, they had created spider web that was very strong when all of them held onto it but much looser when some of them let it go. The researcher then engaged in a discussion about how the rope got so taut, and imparted to them the key message that each of them was integral to the class and that their needs were to be met by all of us. It was after this activity that students

with dyslexia and other reading difficulties proceeded to read fluently. When the social and emotional needs of students are met, they do much better academically (Ben Avie 2008; Hart and Hodson 2004).

Novick (2011) advocates involving parents in programmes to address bullying. Kress and Ingall (2008) highlight the need to address values in school and promote the involvement of parents as an aid to the school's transmission of values. Thus, I delivered similar workshops for young mothers addressing inadvertent exclusion, in the belief that promoting inclusivity would be enhanced through parents and school working together. These sessions typically overran; often participants later expound the importance of this issue to their children's teachers. Ideally, these workshops should be run in conjunction with the school, where both the teachers and parents are trained and can work in tandem.

Quantitative Findings

In addition to the observational research approach described above, in the final phase of the action research, Ives collected data from 200 participants in youth training workshops. The researcher delivered two 2-h inclusion workshops drawing together the various messages and techniques described in the previous section. After the two workshops, participants were asked to complete a questionnaire investigating the effectiveness of creating awareness of inadvertent social exclusion, as well as how effective were the inclusion games used during the workshop.

Findings from the questionnaires are as follows (Figs. 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6):

These results suggest that inadvertent social exclusion does occur and needs to be dealt with in order to ensure the social and emotional health of students and campers. It seems that the games were not only helpful in terms of bringing this point home but also empowered the participants with a clear way to affect change and increase inclusivity in their groups.

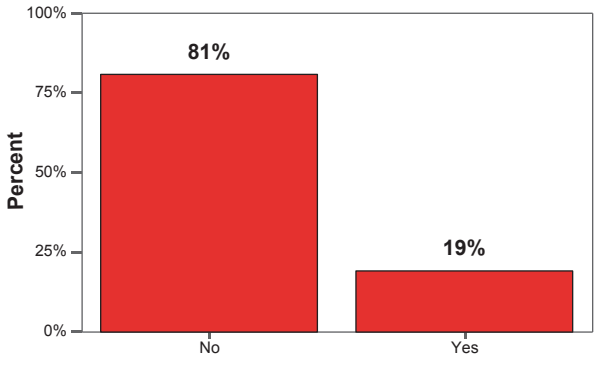

Fig. 4.1 Percent of participants reporting awareness of inadvertent social exclusion before the workshop

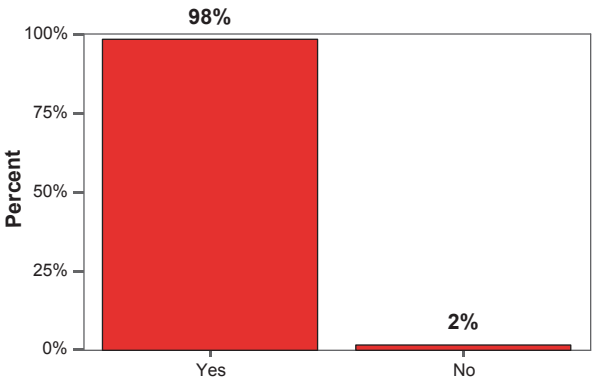

Fig. 4.2 Percent of participants reporting that they considered some children are victims of inadvertent social exclusion

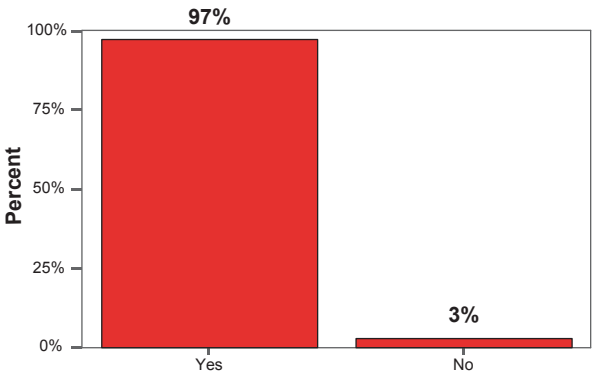

Fig. 4.3 Percent of participants reporting that the workshops helped raise their awareness of inadvertent social exclusion

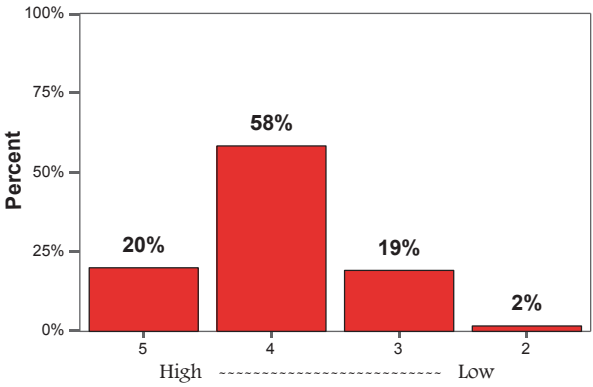

Fig. 4.4 Percent of participants reporting on the effectiveness of the games used in the workshop on a 1–5 scale

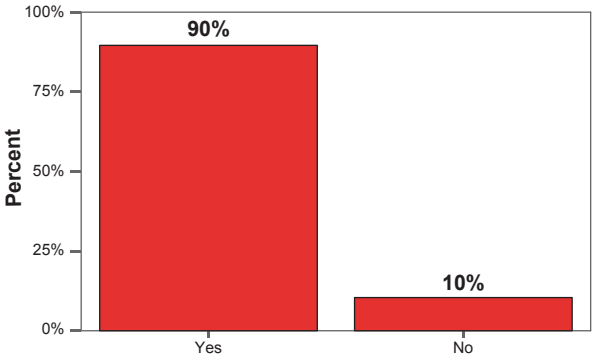

Fig. 4.5 Percent of participants reporting greater empowerment to decrease the prevalence of inadvertent social exclusion due to the workshop

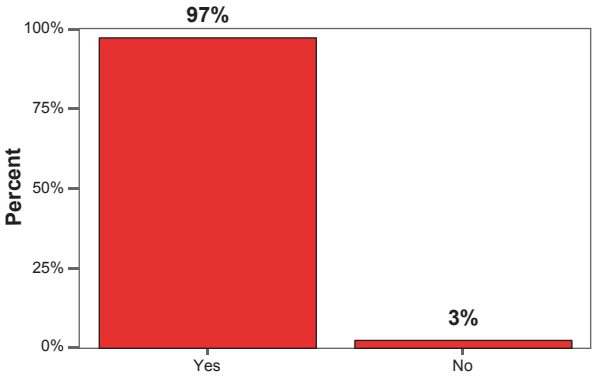

Fig. 4.6 Percent of participants reporting that the awareness and skills attained in the workshop would be of value in their work as camp counsellors

Conclusions

Greater attention to group dynamics of children in our care can help address students' need to belong. Groups have positive attributes, but negative consequences need to be managed by sensitive teachers and youth leaders. While break- and playtime are ripe for enabling friendships, they can be torturous for those who struggle in this area. By serving as role models and creating an inclusive environment, teachers and youth leaders can help manage the social dynamics of their students and participants. Teaching inclusivity is best done in a fun, nonthreatening way, whereby young people become conscious of inadvertent exclusion. Addressing needs and creating healthy relationships is a powerful way to make all children feel included and considerate of others.

Based on the researcher notes during the action research phases and drawing upon participant feedback, some additional specific lessons emerged for the effective delivery of workshops to raise awareness and change attitudes around inadvertent social exclusion:

- As exclusion is often inadvertent, sensitivity training is required to correct it.
- Training needs to be experiential and nonthreatening, helping leaders and teachers feel what it means to be ostracised and neglected.
- Sensitivity training should be done in groups to make this the norm for the group. This will promote a positive "groupthink" mentality because an individual's behaviour will be affected by the norms of the group (Cartwright 1951).
- Experiential workshops, such as hands-on interactive games and activities, are the most effective manner of promoting inclusivity.
- When running workshops for children, it is important to have other members of staff to manage the behaviour of the group prior to the workshop's onset to enable the presenter to focus on delivering the workshop rather than on controlling the group.
- Text-based learning is valuable for those in training situations, whereas children find this learning taxing. Thus, for promoting inclusivity, text-based learning should be reserved for older participants, particularly those who are at least training to be teachers and youth leaders.

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Chapter 5
Epistemology, Ethics, and Moral Education: A Methodological Justification for a Moral Curriculum Based on Jewish Social Values

Ira Bedzow

Introduction

In the book *Lost in Transition: The Dark Side of Emerging Adulthood* (2011), Christian Smith, Kari Christoffersen, Hilary Davidson, and Patricia Snell Herzog discuss the results of interviews they conducted with 230 young adults, ages 18–23, to determine what issues were facing the youth of America. Based on their interviews, the team identified five major challenges: confused moral reasoning, routine intoxication, materialistic life goals, regrettable sexual experiences, and disengagement from civic and political life. One could argue, however, that these five challenges all stem from a common failure, namely, the inability to integrate moral cognition with moral action.

The interviewees were able to answer questions concerning extreme cases of right and wrong, implying that they were given a moral education from which they learned various ethical frameworks with which to make moral judgments. Yet, when asked about their own personal lives, the interviewees did not rely on any moral theory in considering even basic questions. Rather, they deferred to how they felt towards the moral situation. Their reliance on sentiment and their use of emotional language to justify moral choices (rather than using an ethical theory) demonstrates that the interviewees possessed an embodied moral knowledge which is different from the abstract moral frameworks that they learned. This embodied moral knowledge is acquired through habitual action rather than through the intellectual exercises taught in school. When one's actions are justified by being part of an accepted mode of behavior, despite one's awareness of contradicting moral norms that are derived from ethical theory, the result is confused moral reasoning, as well as the other challenges mentioned above. Though one may perceive this as a conflict between two forms of moral justification, it is more commonly referred to

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as a moral gap between what is considered morally correct by virtue of intellectual understanding and what is considered correct or normal in common practice.

Many Christian ethicists contend that this moral gap between what moral philosophy demands and what a person is able to do can only be closed by God's grace (see Hare 2002). Jewish ethical philosophy, on the other hand, is more prone to see the problem in the current mode of moral education and its underlying assumptions regarding moral reasoning rather than in people's capacity to be good. Both secular and Christian ethics accept the assumption held in many schools of contemporary epistemology (the branch of philosophy concerned with the nature and scope of knowledge) that knowledge can be defined as the correct representation of reality. Therefore, for these ethicists, moral knowledge, like any other form of knowledge, is the result of value-free, disengaged inquiry which allows one to gain an understanding of what is universally right in the abstract. Moral action would then be the implementation of what is universally right in a given situation. In the Jewish philosophical framework for moral education which I seek to present, knowledge is a consequence of interaction and relation and is grounded in value-laden premises. It is not an independent representation of the world which corresponds to objective reality. Therefore, moral knowledge, like other forms of knowledge, is the result of continual engagement and reflection based on underlying premises. The consequence for moral education is that there is a smaller moral gap between knowledge and action in the Jewish framework. Also, the process of moral education is integrative in that moral knowledge is taught through introducing students to theoretical principles as well as inculcating moral habits that reinforce those principles.

Overview of Chapter

In this defense for an integrative approach to moral education based on Jewish social values, I will first provide a methodological account of how practical reasoning differs between the two frameworks. I will then show how a moral curriculum based on Jewish social values can serve to reduce the moral gap between moral knowledge and habits. The curriculum (whose target audience is high school freshmen and can be found at the following website: https://www.academia.edu/5297880/Moral_Curriculum) seeks to respond to the following challenge: how to create an educational program which not only provides an intellectual framework for ethical deliberation but at the same time imparts the necessary tools for moral training. In other words, how is it possible to instill in students both the knowledge and the will to live a morally motivated life of human flourishing rather than merely provide a summary of theories of moral action? The term "human flourishing" has a long history of use in theories of virtue ethics, though its meaning slightly changes within different theories. It is most commonly seen as a translation of *eudaimonia,* which is a central concept in Aristotelian ethics and political philosophy where it is conceived as the highest human good and the aim of ethics. In medieval Jewish philosophy, the term associated with human flourishing is *shlemut,* which means wholeness or completion.

The curriculum attempts to provide knowledge and the will to live a morally motivated life by establishing the "rules of the game" for ethical behavior using the standards of classroom behavior as the starting point for moral education.

In essence, the course seeks to draw out Lawrence Kohlberg's "hidden curriculum" to become part of the discourse for moral reasoning (Kohlberg 1983). A hidden curriculum consists of the unintended lessons conveyed by the classroom and the social environment of norms, values, and beliefs. The aim is to try not only to diminish misinterpretation or conflicting lessons that result from the hidden curriculum but also to use small-scale cases of moral deliberation as a means to develop skills before confronting larger questions. Each lesson includes a classroom rule, a definitional term (such as obligation, relevance, sincerity, etc.), a related case found in the students' general studies courses (with the hope to make what students study in other classes seem more relevant both to ethics and to their Jewish classes), questions that provoke reflection, cases from the Bible or Talmud (that try to open students towards religious sensitivity but not to teach religion per se), and exercises which are meant to reinforce the lesson when students are outside of the classroom. While the curriculum includes Jewish content, the readings are presented in such a way that the curriculum is not limited in its use solely to a Jewish school.

The great majority of the rules for classroom behavior (upon which the curriculum is based) come from the "Laws of Talmud Torah" from Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. The *Mishneh Torah,* or *Sefer Yad ha-Hazaka* (Book of the Strong Hand), is a code of Jewish law, compiled between 1170 and 1180 while Maimonides was living in Egypt. It consists of 14 books and details all of Jewish observance. Maimonides' sources for his code are the entire Jewish canon of his time, which includes the Bible, the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, the Tosefta, the Sifra, and the Sifre (the last three are exegetical works that expound Jewish law). He also included opinions of the Geonim and his teachers, Rabbi Isaac Alfasi and Rabbi Joseph ibn Migash.

Two Accounts of Practical Reasoning: The Scientific and the Experiential

Scientific Practical Reasoning

The modern epistemological tradition, starting with Descartes, is grounded in foundationalism, whereby theories of knowledge focus on the justification of belief and on certainty of the believer. The goal of epistemology is to clarify knowledge claims and to determine the degree of validity that knowledge claims could possess. This is true for both the rationalist school and the empiricist school; their differences are only over method. Rationalism posits that we gain knowledge through reasoning, where empiricism contends that we gain knowledge through sensory experience. While the Aristotelian notion also assumes that there is a correspondence between knowledge and an external reality, it differs with the modern conception in that

knowledge is received by the mind through the active intellect. (The active intellect is a concept in classical and medieval philosophy which refers to the formal aspect of the material intellect. The relationship between the active intellect and the material intellect has been subject to great debate over the centuries; yet, all theories accord with the general concept of hylomorphism, where being *(ousia)* is a compound of matter and form.) There is an external mediator between the knower and what is known. The modern notion, on the other hand, conceives knowledge as actively acquired through internal reflection.

If knowledge is the inner depiction of an outer reality, then it is independent of its knower. It is not affected by cultural bias or context, though bias or context may affect the ability of a person to so acquire it. Moreover, knowledge does not lie in the details of a given situation; rather, only what is universal in the situation has value as knowledge per se. For the acquisition of knowledge, an inquiring person ideally should be disengaged so as to maintain objectivity and so as not to impact his or her investigation, just as a scientist avoids interfering with his or her experiments. In the ethical sphere, a moral person first determines what aligns with universal, objective reason, that is, what is morally true, and only then would apply universal moral rules to a particular case. Though this is primarily a Kantian conception of ethical deliberation, it could easily describe utilitarian or other consequentialist processes of ethical decision-making as well. For example, once one accepts a concrete utilitarian formula of what the greatest happiness for the greatest number is, moral deliberation is only the application of the abstract formula to the current circumstances.

In addition to creating an intrinsic gap between moral reasoning and moral action, this conception of moral knowledge vis-à-vis moral action creates the potential for ethics to be an alienating force. An example of how this notion can be a means for alienation is Kant's description of his notion of respect. He writes, "The object of respect is the law only, that is, the law which we impose on ourselves, and yet recognize as necessary in itself. As a law, we are subjected to it without consulting self-love; as imposed by us on ourselves, it is a result of our will…*Respect for a person is properly only respect for the law of which he [the person worthy of respect] gives us an example"* (my italics; Kant 1949, p. 19). Moreover, he writes,

> Therefore, the law that we should further the happiness of others arises not from the presupposition that this law is an object of everyone's choice but from the fact that the form of universality, which reason requires as a condition for giving to the maxim of self-love the objective validity of law, is itself the determining ground of the will. Therefore not the object, i.e., the happiness of others, was the determining ground of the pure will but rather it was the lawful form alone. (Kant 1993, p. 35)

In other words, moral action is not motivated by a relationship of mutual concern but rather solely by an abstract, universal law. Without a visceral connection to others, people risk social isolation as well as having a potential moral gap between knowing one should respect another and actually doing so since all interaction is mediated by self-legislating law. Moreover, because the law is universal, it is external to the person despite its self-legislation; therefore, people also risk self-estrangement. Ethics becomes a matter of freedom and social atomism rather than interdependence and communal well-being.

Another consequence of this form of moral reasoning is that though each person is treated as an end, no one is treated as a human qua human. Because moral action is that which is in accord with universal principles, the particular recipient of a moral act is of no consequence per se. An extreme example of this can be seen by Kant's demand that one answer honestly a person regarding the whereabouts of someone who the person intends to murder. The person must tell the truth, even if doing so puts the other person in potential harm, because an act is only judged as moral based upon its motivation and fulfillment and not by its consequences (especially when those consequences are a result of another's actions). The determining factor is solely whether it was based on a rational adherence to the moral law or not. Morality cannot be judged by the consequences of actions since that would introduce other considerations besides the moral law as determining factors. Therefore, the reason why the person must tell the truth is as follows: If the person would lie, he or she will beyond a doubt have acted immorally since one cannot justify lying via a universal maxim. On the other hand, if the person tells the truth, it is not certain that the other person will be murdered. It is only a contingent possibility that should have no moral influence.

This extreme example also shows how this type of moral reasoning is antithetical to Jewish social values. According to Jewish law, the person inquiring after the whereabouts of the third person would be considered a *rodef,* which literally means someone who is "pursuing" another to murder him or her. According to Jewish law, the person who is asked the question is obligated to stop the person and would even be obligated to kill him if necessary, if he refuses to desist (BT *Sanhedrin* 73a). The moral concern is not whether an individual lives up to the abstract moral law, regardless of consequences; rather, moral deliberation concerns both the means and the ends of acting in a given situation, as well as the effects of one's actions on oneself and others.

In terms of moral education, conceiving moral knowledge in a foundationalist framework, where the content of ethics is distinct from its enactment, causes moral pedagogy to be limited to content that can be objectively known. Enactment, on the other hand, must be left to the individual alone to learn since it is based on a person's will. As we have seen with Christian Smith's study, no matter how many hypothetical situations a class discusses, by keeping ethics in the realm of the theoretical, students will be unable to close the moral gap and turn abstract moral knowledge into moral action.

Experiential Practical Reasoning

Though this conception of practical reason seems to be outside of the conventions of contemporary epistemology, it has a strong tradition within the pragmatist school of philosophy. Therefore, in order to accurately describe it and to give it philosophical justification, this analysis will strongly rely on the works of William James, Charles S. Peirce, and John Dewey.

According to William James, all philosophical systems are initiated by people who first have an experience and then inquire into its meaning (James 1992, p. 563). Judgment regarding whether the inquiry accurately conveys the meaning of the experience is based on how well the chosen philosophical ideas match the already-held feelings to which they are associated (James 1992, p. 841). If those ideas conjure up the desired feelings, then they are deemed to convey accurately the desired message. James calls this alignment "the sentiment of rationality." According to James, a person knows that he or she has achieved the goal of obtaining a rational conception of the world only when a feeling of ease, peace, and rest overcomes him or her. Rational comprehension is acknowledged by the transition from perplexity to relief (James 1992, p. 504). Reasoning, whether practical or theoretical, therefore, does not begin in abstracto; it presupposes a general picture of reality as determined by one's experiences. Philosophy only puts into greater focus the picture the person already sees.

To demonstrate that truth serves the teleological purpose of creating consistency and stability in a person's practical life, James uses the example of how children are generally more curious than adults. Children, who are still trying to understand their place in the world, typically possess a great amount of curiosity. Adults, on the other hand, who have already developed a routine in their daily lives, are not usually disposed towards discovering new truths (James 1992, p. 740). James calls this tendency to ignore new ideas, the acceptance of which would entail reinterpreting a person's belief system, "old fogyism" (James 1992, p. 803). Certainty is bought at the expense of facts which detract from consistency. Abnormalities are discarded as statistically insignificant or as errors in observation rather than as challenges to his or her system.

Charles S. Peirce seconds James' view that what a person deems as rational is a consequence of his or her sentiment; however, he is not as quick as James to accept that the person truly conflates what he or she deems as rational to what is real. Peirce admits that people generally do reason correctly, by which he means in agreement with reality, yet he maintains that it is only accidental that they do so. The veracity of a conclusion is independent of one's inclination to accept it, and its falsity is unrelated to a person's aversion to it. What does guide a person's inferences, if not the truth, is, according to Peirce, a habit of mind, whether inborn or acquired (Peirce 1992, p. 112).

He also shares the idea that habits influence the process by which one inference is chosen over another as well as whether inquiry should be initiated at all. For inquiry is only necessary when a person is in a state of doubt; when something is believed to be true, inquiry will be considered superfluous. As Peirce explains,

> Doubt is an uneasy and dissatisfied state from which we struggle to free ourselves and pass into a state of belief; while the latter is a calm and satisfactory state which we do not wish to avoid, or to change to a belief in anything else. On the contrary, we cling tenaciously, not merely to believing, but to believing just what we do believe. (Peirce 1992, p. 114)

As long as one's beliefs accord to his or her general habits—whether they be habits of perceptions, desires, or actions—they will be maintained without reflection. If, however, there arises a disharmony between a person's beliefs and his or her habits, then doubt will arise, which incurs the necessity for inquiry until it is resolved.

The recognition that habits influence how one integrates knowledge into daily life and opinion oftentimes leads a person to adopt a coherence theory of truth, which William James describes as follows: "True ideas are those that we can assimilate, validate, corroborate and verify. False ideas are those we cannot" (James 1992, p. 573). I would give a broader conception by saying that false ideas are those that we can neither assimilate, validate, corroborate nor verify; all else are potentially true ideas. In other words, those ideas that can be assimilated but not verified, for example, may still be considered true. Their veracity depends on how vital they are to one's goals and how easily they can cohere with other ideas in a person's schema.

Under a coherence theory of truth, one cannot make distinctions between truth, knowledge, and reality in the way the contemporary epistemology allows. When truth, knowledge, and reality are distinct, then knowledge as a representation of an external reality can be either true or false. Yet, to judge knowledge as true or not is to judge something from which one cannot remove himself or herself. Thus, it creates a contradiction since there is nothing in the knowledge one possesses that can determine the veracity of its correspondence to reality. Only something outside of the claim to correspondence can justify the claim. In other words, true knowledge cannot justify itself (Bradley 1999, p. 33).

In order to avoid this type of contradiction, a "coherence theory of truth" assumes that one accepts what one knows as a true understanding of what is real. It does not make separate steps between what one knows, "the truth," and reality. Therefore, inquiry into truth is the examination of reality; it is a process of organizing experiences in such a way that they cohere and influence a person's worldview and daily habits. However, because absolute truth is an ideal which encompasses more than all of human experience, let alone an individual's experiences, human knowledge can never attain truth in the complete sense (Joachim 1999, p. 52).

Though the way beliefs are formed is dependent upon experience, the relationship between one's ideas and one's experiences includes an additional component which serves to make the acquisition of knowledge a circular process. (Given three points, it is always possible to draw a circle that passes through all three. I use the image of a circle because it has a more fluid and natural flow than a triangle.) Not only are beliefs consequent to experience, they are also intimately linked to subsequent practical activity. Practical activity, on the other hand, plays a role in providing experiences upon which one creates and reinforces beliefs. James describes the relational structure of the triad that exists between experiences, belief, and action as follows:

> The sensory impression exists only for the sake of awakening the central process of reflection, and the central process of reflection exists only for the sake of calling forth the final act. All action is thus a *re*-action upon the outer world; and the middle stage of consideration or contemplation or thinking is only a place of transit, the bottom of a loop, both whose ends have their point of application in the outer world. (James 1992, p. 542)

The tri-faceted relationship, however, is not linear but rather circular since actions will ultimately determine which kinds of experiences a person will have. These experiences, in turn, reinforce the foundation upon which the person's philosophy is built.

The notion that beliefs are rules for action is grounded in the idea that a belief is a way to conceive of reality with the highest possible certainty and conviction.

As such, it is closer to a feeling or an emotion than merely a recognition (James 1992, p. 1021). The intensity of a belief further strengthens the connection between an idea and its corresponding movement so that the movement will occur despite any number of intermediary steps between the belief and its ultimate act of conviction. For example, the most effective way to demonstrate a belief is to act in a way that conveys it, as opposed to verbalizing the fact that one believes something. If I were to say that I trust a particular person, yet refuse to confide in him in any way, it would be difficult to accept that I trust him. Similarly, if I say that I believe that a door is locked but then try to open it by turning its handle, an onlooker would more likely venture that I thought I could open the door than that I believed it was locked. Peirce similarly asserts that beliefs are rules for action and adds that beliefs, as rules for action, are in essence habits. By the continual acting on a belief through habituated actions, its interaction with other aspects of one's worldview leads it to be integrated into one's system of beliefs. Therefore, habits also give rise to developing a different thought pattern.

John Dewey is stronger than either Peirce or James in his contention that the triad primarily begins with actions and continues towards thoughts. According to Dewey, the formation of ideas, as well as their execution, depends on habit. Even those who admit that thought is dependent upon prior experience must recognize that sensations which compose a person's perceptions also depend upon the habits of discrimination that a person develops in order to have particular sensations. As Dewey asserts, "A moderate amount of observation of a child will suffice to reveal that even such gross discriminations as black, white, red, green, are the result of some years of active dealings with things in the course of which habits have been set up" (Dewey 2008, p. 14). The more habits a person has, the more adept he or she will be to observe and evaluate experiences since habits provide the tools for cognition (Dewey 2008, p. 115). However, just as the example of a child learning to discriminate between colors shows, habits are not solely the consequence of repetition. In fact, repetition is not even a necessary component for habit formation; a strongly influencing act or experience may result in the acquisition of a habit as well. Rather, when habits are formed through repetition, it is the gradual sensitizing to certain stimuli which creates a predisposition that generates the habit. As such, habituation itself is a process of action, experience, and reflection.

Not only are thoughts the result of habituated actions, their ability to produce a desired result rests in their ability to be put to action. Habits provide a means of execution as well as a test or criterion for a person's thoughts (Dewey 2008, p. 38). If a person cannot naturally act upon a thought, if his or her actions are forced and clumsy as a result of the thought not being fully integrated into habituated practice, then contrary habits will automatically overrule it. For example, if a person tries to perform daily activities with his or her weaker hand, he or she will inevitably begin to use the dominant hand without even thinking, unless he or she continually forces himself or herself to use the weaker hand. Similarly, upholding a notion of freedom that is impossible to carry out in a particular setting devalues the notion of freedom by rendering it irrelevant. For example, Article 36 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China is worded as follows: "No state organ, public organization

or individual may compel citizens to believe in, or not to believe in, any religion; nor may they discriminate against citizens who believe in, or do not believe in, any religion. The state protects normal religious activities. No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state. Religious bodies and religious affairs are not subject to any foreign domination." "Normal religious activities" are understood as those that are state sanctioned. This is a very tenuous definition of freedom of religion for members of those faiths that are not recognized in China, such as all Protestant faiths other than the Three-Self Patriotic Movement.

Jewish Assumptions of Knowledge and Belief

Knowledge *(da'at)* in Hebrew is a relational term. Primarily used in regard to abstract ideas (but can be used with people or events), it conveys that a person has a familiarity with the object known. In one respect it is a passive receipt since familiarity is something given through contact with an object or person. Yet, in another respect, it is active since familiarity demands that the person exert himself or herself to receive and increase such knowledge. In the Bible, understanding *(bina/tevunah)* is also a relational word, yet in a different way than knowledge *(da'at)*. Knowledge (according to the Bible) is a relationship between a person and something external to him or her; understanding is when a person sees a relationship between two things external to him or her. A person must know each thing before he or she can understand how they relate to each other. As such, understanding is an expansion of knowledge. Contrary to the notion of knowledge in contemporary epistemology, where the veracity of the belief proposition is independent of the person and the effort to possess knowledge is an effort of acquisition, in the Biblical view, the veracity of knowledge *(da'at)* and understanding *(bina/tevunah)* is dependent on the relationship between the person and that which he or she knows—the effort to possess knowledge and understanding is the effort of deepening that relationship.

The Hebrew word for wisdom connotes a similar view of knowledge. As seen through how it is used in the Bible, wisdom *(hokhma),* a concept that is not typically found in contemporary epistemology, is an orientated perceptual schema which allows a person to take his or her knowledge and apply it correctly to a dynamic reality. This is similar to Linda Zagzebski's idea that "wisdom is an epistemic value qualitatively different from the piling up of beliefs that have the property of justification, warrant, or certainty. Wisdom is neither a matter of the properties of propositional beliefs, nor is it a matter of the relations among such beliefs; it is a matter of grasping the whole of reality" (Zagzebski 1996, p. 50). When the Hebrew word for wisdom is used as a verb, it is always expressed in the *kal* verbal form, which indicates that the acquisition and practice of wisdom is an active process. If one could draw meaning from syntactical constraints as derived from how the word "wise" is conjugated as a verb—to be wise—it is not enough to passively consider the possible relationship between cause and effect. The truth of the wise person is

internalized in his or her sentiment and actions as a result of engaging knowledge while making decisions and creating positive habits. Based on this, Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch defines a wise person *(hakham)* as follows:

> A *Hakham* is one who takes in all that is in front of him. He recognizes things for what they are and for what they should be. Both—the nature of things and their intended purpose—are given; man need not create them. The truest *Hakham* is one who learns the nature and the purpose from the One Who assigned things their nature and purpose. (Hirsch, *Bereshis* 2000, p. 76)

According to Rabbi Hirsch, where wisdom *(hokhma)* is using one's knowledge in a way that corresponds to one's goals, intelligence *(sekhel)* is the ability to grasp ideas and concepts (Hirsch, *Bereshis* 2000, pp. 99–100, 643). The increase of one's intelligence would be a result of one's faculties. Yet, one can be intelligent without being able to apply his or her knowledge to the world. How a person turns his or her intelligence into wisdom is a result of his or her virtues.

A Talmudic example can demonstrate the accuracy of this definition. The Talmud relates that Alexander of Macedon asked the sages ten questions, one of which was "Who is called wise?" To this question, the sages replied, "Who is wise? He who can perceive consequences" (BT *Tamid* 32a). The sages' answer regarding who is considered wise is also Rabbi Shimon's answer to Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai's question of which is the proper path that a person should walk (Mishna *Avot* 2:13). To have wisdom, the knowledge a person acquires must be organized so that it allows for a coherent focus towards a goal. One's worldview must also allow for the prioritization of information according to how effective it is in maintaining that focus. In terms of perceiving consequences, a wise person must not only have a refined sense of perception but he or she must also possess the proper tools to interpret what he or she sees in order to make correct inferences. It is not a knowledge that one can possess; it is a relation to the world that one has. Through wisdom, there is a direct relationship between epistemology and ethics.

Jewish notions of belief *(emunah)* and truth *(emet)* similarly demonstrate a connection between epistemology and ethics that fits the experiential model of reasoning. *Emunah* (belief) is a reliance on something permanent and effective, such as the promises that God made to one who follows His will and who observes the Torah that He gave which shows one how to do so. It is not purely a propositional belief that justifies later action but rather "the acceptance of the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven and the yoke of the commandments," which binds the person in a relationship with God and His world (BT *Berakhot* 14b). Proclaiming the unity of God by reading the *Shema* is called "accepting upon oneself the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven," while accepting the fulfillment of the commandments as a whole while reading the second paragraph of the *Shema* is called "accepting the yoke of the commandments."

The relationship between *emet* (truth) and *emunah* (belief) can be seen through the words in the Bible of the Queen of Sheba, who states, "True *(emet)* was the word that I had heard in my country about your words and your wisdom! I had not believed *(he'emanti l-)* the words until I came and my own eyes saw; and behold—even the half of it was not told to me" (I Kings 10:6–7). The word she heard was not true in the propositional sense since it was claimed that Solomon was only half as

wise as he actually was. Rather, the truth of the word she heard was in its reliability; she did not have to see for herself if she would have only believed, or relied on, the report in the first place. More demonstrably, there is a passage in the Bible where *emet* (truth) and *ne'eman* (faithful) are juxtaposed, which highlights the similarity and difference between the two. When the people come to Jeremiah the prophet and ask him to pray for them so that God will tell them what they should do, Jeremiah tells them that he will pray for them, and he will also tell them everything that God demands. To this, the people respond, "Let Hashem [God] be a true and faithful witness against us, if we do not act according to everything that Hashem your Elohim tells you concerning us…" (Jeremiah 42:5). That Hashem is a true witness *(l'ed emet)* is meant to affirm that the people will do everything that Jeremiah tells them that God demands of them. That Hashem is a reliable witness *(v'ne'eman)* is meant to affirm that the people accept that He will make sure that the people will receive the warned consequences if they do not fulfill everything that they must do. This explanation is consistent with the understanding of *ne'eman* in the verse, "Know therefore that Hashem your Elohim, He is God; the faithful *(ne'eman)* God, who keeps covenant and mercy with them that love Him and keep His commandments to a thousand generations" (Deuteronomy 7:9; see also Isaiah 49:7). He is faithful because he keeps His covenant. In the case of Jeremiah's statement, truth is not a description of circumstances but an acceptance of an obligation. Similarly, the term "faithful" is not a reliance on facts but a reliance on the proper response to the fulfillment or not of a commitment. The difference between *emet* and *ne'eman,* at least as it is conveyed in this exchange, is more a function of time and tense, and less a matter of justifiability or veracity.

Given this relationship between *emunah* and *emet,* the distinction between theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge, or propositional truth and normative truth, becomes less stark than usually considered. The use of terms such as "belief that" and "belief in" also says as much about how a particular belief fits with other beliefs as their use says about a person's stance towards a given piece of knowledge. For example, under this conception, it is not the case that a smoker believes the proposition "smoking kills" despite the fact that he or she does not stop smoking. Rather, what occurs is that the smoker's belief in the idea that smoking kills in general is overpowered by his or her belief in the idea that the next particular cigarette he or she will smoke will not do much damage. Both beliefs entail a certain action as a direct consequence, and, when they contradict, the idea with the greater weight will determine what the person will do. The person's behavior is based on how his or her beliefs are prioritized. This idea is demonstrated in a 2009 study, where researchers found that to the extent that smoking is a source of self-esteem, warnings on cigarette packages, such as "Smoking kills," ironically stimulates smoking. On the other hand, cigarette package warnings such as "Smoking brings you and the people around you severe damage" and "Smoking makes you unattractive" reduce smoking for those who based their self-esteem on the habit. The scientists of the study explained this finding by the fact that the latter warnings may be particularly threatening to those who believe the opposite, namely that smoking raises their positive self-image. Death warnings, on the other hand, cause those with a high

smoking self-esteem to use smoking as a strategy to buffer against existential fears provoked by the death warnings (Hansen 2010).

The relationship between *emunah* and *emet* also means that the strength of one's reliance on a propositional truth influences the connection between a truth and the one who communicates that truth. Thus, "believing that" *(he'amin l-)* is really only a subset of "believing in" *(he'emin b-)*—even though different beliefs at times may contradict each other. Similarly, belief, in general, should be seen in terms of how one acts on a truth rather than as a possession of it. Therefore, while it is the case that the righteous assert or assume (meta)physical truths, the meaning of those truths for him or her is in how he or she relates to them, as Habakkuk explains, "the righteous shall live by his faith" (*emunah*; Habakkuk 2:4).

A Moral Curriculum Based on Jewish Social Values

Given that Jewish assumptions of knowledge and belief fit the experiential account, a successful program of moral education based on Jewish social values must provide tools for students to deepen their appreciation of experiences. Therefore, they must incorporate the following five components: *attention, perception, emotion, motivation, and habituation*. However, in order for there not to be a gap between theory and practice, every component must be grounded in action, whether it is the actual acts of the students or the vicarious actions stemming from various examples under discussion.

Attention

By attention, I mean the active self-urging to sustain focus. Psychological theories typically divide attention into two sorts—namely, passive, spontaneous attention and voluntary, deliberate attention. Passive attention is the result of coming into contact with something one finds interesting. It is a product of prior association and attraction. Because it does not stem from a direct willingness to attend, one is able to maintain his or her passive attention as long as he or she is able to maintain interest.

Active attention, on the other hand, cannot be continuously sustained; it acts more like the spark plug of an internal combustion engine. Maintaining attention is meant to actively shape and/or strengthen a person's desires. The key to sustaining focus, where one's perspective is continually directed to underlying assumptions of the good, is to make the focus attractive or exciting. This does not mean that one forms a conception of the good around what he or she already wants, but rather that one actively shapes one's desires. Because attraction coincides with familiarity, it is important to make moral discussions personally relevant and associated with what people are already doing. It is also important continually to adapt moral ideas to new situations and discussions so that one does not lose focus through boredom.

Until the time that a person comes to feel a sense of attachment, however, it is important to utilize voluntary, deliberate attention as a means of training.

Of course, based upon an experiential view of rationality, morality cannot be a function of objective reasoning which discovers an accurate representation of the world and a subjective will which impels the person to act according to the judgments of his or her reasoning. Consequently, morality cannot be grounded on a neutral foundation. Rather, it must be founded on a proper orientation towards that on which attention is focused. That primary focus for moral knowledge is a conception of the good. Furthermore, the acquisition of moral knowledge is dependent on giving continual attention to that conception so that the contextual complexity of any given situation is ordered in a way that the person can act in a manner consistent with the good.

An example in Jewish practice of actively directing attention is the reciting of blessings before performing a ritual. When people recite blessings before performing ritual acts, they accomplish three things. They make themselves aware of what they are doing, they make themselves aware of why they are doing it, and they draw attention to the underlying focus which gives their actions meaning.

This notion of attention is the opposite of Simone Weil's. Simone Weil describes attention as a negative effort. Though deliberate and voluntary, it is not active in the sense that a person directly attends to something. As she describes it, "Attention consists of suspending our thought, leaving it detached, empty, and ready to be penetrated by the object; it means holding in our minds, within reach of this thought, but on a lower level and not in contact with it, the diverse knowledge we have acquired which we are forced to make use of. Our thought should be in relation to all particular and already formulated thoughts, as a man on a mountain who, as he looks forward, sees also below him, without actually looking at them, a great many forests and plains. Above all our thought should be empty, waiting, not seeking anything, but ready to receive in its naked truth the object that is to penetrate it" (Weil 1951, p. 62). Weil's view of attention is based on her emphasis on passivity and self-sacrifice. Through removing any notion of self that a person may have, Weil argues, he or she allows for the other to become manifest in his or her mind.

In order to anchor moral education in a personally relevant and familiar context, the curriculum is based upon the rules of the classroom that students are already following. By making the rules explicit, the curriculum attempts to have them serve as stimuli for voluntary attention in a process that is similar to reciting blessings. Furthermore, the moral values that the classroom rules convey are presented in numerous and various ways in order to keep them interesting.

Perception

By perception, I do not mean a recognition of what objectively occurs. Moral life is complex; therefore, it is not enough to direct one's attention to a certain goal and to have clear, yet general, rules for how to attain it. Any given situation may allow for multiple descriptions, which bear competing, or even conflicting, claims. Moreover,

emphasizing different details will highlight different considerations for how to relate to a particular scenario. Perception is the ability to understand different nuances between one situation and another and between the needs of one person and another. It is a skill of recognizing the particular while still having a hold on commonalities.

In his essay "Of the Standard of Taste," David Hume uses the following story from *Don Quixote* (Chap. 13) to demonstrate both the complexity of perception and the necessity to refine one's perception to compensate for the lacuna left by general principles:

> Sancho relates that in his family were the two best wine tasters in La Mancha. They gave the two of them some wine out of a cask, and asked their opinion as to the condition and quality of the wine. One of them tried it with the tip of his tongue the other did no more than bring it to his nose. The first said the wine had a flavor of iron, the second said it had a stronger flavor of leather. The owner said the cask was clean, and that nothing had been added to the wine from which it could have gotten a flavor of either iron or leather. Nevertheless, these two great wine tasters held to what they had said. Time went by, the wine was sold, and when they came to clean out the cask, they found in it a small key hanging to a thong of leather.

The two wine tasters recognized the main qualities of the wine, just as everyone else had; however, they also perceived the faintest influences which went unnoticed by the general populace. Yet, even with their discriminatory senses of taste, they both perceived something different, both of which were present in the wine. Moreover, their contradictory descriptions of the wine in the end were both proven true, as was the taste of the wine that was determined by the general populace. The reason that more than one account can be true is because the account was of what the wine tasted like and not a scientific description of its composition. With respect to the two wine tasters, while their heightened sense of perception may be partly innate, their ability to refine their sense of taste to such a degree could also be a product of experience and training.

A great example of the importance of perception in the moral sphere is a statement by Rabbi Kalonymus Kalman Shapira who writes, "People encounter issues that appear to be contradictory, simply because they have only viewed the subject's external manifestations, and failed to penetrate its inner reality. Had they delved into the heart of the issue, they would have seen that there is really no contradiction at all; there are no questions, no answers—rather, it is all one integrated issue that branches off in different directions" (2011, p. 209). Perception is a skill that is developed not only through direct experience where one learns how general principles are manifest in particular circumstances but also through vicarious experiences that one has while studying from different texts.

Reading and discussing literary accounts that include moral content should not be considered as being in addition to the learning of moral rules; rather, it should be considered as learning them in and of themselves. Martha Nussbaum contends that the literary form is not separable from the philosophical content that it conveys. Rather, the literary form constitutes part of the content itself. Therefore, in examining questions of how a person should live, literature can serve two purposes. It can provide a rich and inclusive conception of the moral good and of the complicated ways to pursue it. Also, the narratives in certain works of literature can provide the proper tools to develop the skills necessary for a developed ethical conception.

Through the personalities of different characters, each with his or her own priorities, literary works can demonstrate possible conflicts between different values. Literary accounts also emphasize the necessity to develop a keen sense of perception in order to make moral judgments (see Nussbaum 1990).

In order to develop moral perception, the curriculum employs narratives both from the students' general studies courses (with the hope to make what students study in other classes seem relevant both to ethics and to their Jewish classes) and cases from the Bible or Talmud (that try to open students towards religious sensitivity but not to teach religion per se), as well as practical exercises that stimulate moral consideration and discussion. Each narrative or exercise is followed by questions which seek to expand the students' imaginations through proposing various perspectives which they must consider. It also compels the students to consider the subjectivity of their own perspectives in order to promote empathy with others' points of view with the hope that it will refine their own perceptions when deliberating on moral questions in the future.

Emotion and Motivation

Because, as we have seen above, actions, beliefs, and emotions play a cooperative role in the formation of a person's worldview, proper moral education cannot separate the cognition of moral principles from emotional responses to moral situations or from motivations to act morally. Rather, moral education must continually integrate the three facets of moral awareness into a unified instruction of relating to the world with a moral orientation. In the Jewish tradition, the necessity for a unified approach is best articulated by Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch. He writes,

> In Judaism, the highest moral perfection of conduct is the purpose of intellectual edification, and it is only such perfection that gives value to intellectual development. In the Jewish conception of the holiness of life, genius is not license for nonobservance of the laws of morality; on the contrary, supreme morality is the test of supreme intellect, and only in it and by it are the nobility and purity of the intellect demonstrated and proven. (Hirsch and Haberman 2000, p. 714)

According to Rabbi Hirsch, how a person acts reflects true moral knowledge. When a person says that he or she knows what the right thing to do is, but neither feels an emotional response to the situation nor is motivated to act accordingly, in truth this demonstrates his or her moral ignorance since the response conveys a closer affiliation with a conflicting belief than the one verbalized.

Given his view of the relationship between a person's intellect and his or her inclinations, Rabbi Hirsch calls for the unification of "spiritual" or "intellectual" education with "moral" education. Only the combination of the two types of knowledge can allow a person to possess both the means to live a good life and the will to do so.

> Spiritual education—training of the spirit by and for the acquisition of knowledge—and moral education—training of the will for the requirements of the moral law (the former

> accomplished through formal education, the latter by parental upbringing)—these two tasks sum up the total function of the education and raising of our young. (Hirsch 1984, p. 104)

Within this conception, the focus of education no longer emphasizes the material a student covers; rather, prominence is given to how the material covered is infused in the student's life choices.

In order to develop moral emotion and motivation, the curriculum continuously makes the examples and narratives that it employs engage the personal realm. Teachers ask students how they relate to the students' lives, what their responses were emotionally, and what they would do in those situations. Many of the exercises also ask students to act upon their emotions and beliefs in order to continually associate action with discussion and reflection.

Habituation

Habituation is more than repetition. If it were simply repetition, then moral education would be unidirectional. The "receive and accept" form of education creates a tendency towards conformism. It also engenders the fossilization of perspective and loss of creativity since students are never able to actively engage with and manipulate information in new and different situations.

Habituation, rather, is an integrative moral training that grows out of, and supplements, the "receive and accept" form of education. When children are young, parents act as rulers of the household, where children simply do as they are told. Yet, a healthy familial bond is not based upon the service of children to monarchical parents but rather upon mutual affection and concern for each other's best interests. As a child matures, therefore, parental authority ceases to be considered in terms of simple obligation and begins to approach respect for the experience and advice of one who holds no hidden agenda. Similarly, when a person seeks advice from friends or family, he or she does so knowing the advice is a suggestion and not a prescription. The person himself or herself must ultimately decide after evaluating different opinions. The interaction between family members and friends as people develop portrays the process of habituation. By discussing with others what to do, by having conversations about what was done and its effects, and by implementing in the future what was learned, a person becomes habituated into moral living.

In this form of pedagogy, emphasis is on the recognition of problems instead of the transference of knowledge or answers. Teachers in this framework hold no authority by virtue of their position; everyone is mutually engaged and participates in a relationship based on dialogue which encourages cooperation yet also promotes confidence in the student to think for himself or herself. This is not to say that teachers have no authority whatsoever; rather, what it means is that the teacher's personal moral perspective must be recognized as authoritative by virtue of his or her experience and moral engagement in the world and not by virtue of his or her position.

Moreover, the primary component of this form of education is not substantive but procedural; moral training consists of teaching how to think about moral issues

rather than what to think the moral imperative is, given a particular situation. It allows for the potential of personal transformation through moral growth since there is no stock answer to repeat or stock actions to rehearse. Class discussions consist of continual questioning and the contrasting of situations with no predetermined "received" answer, except for the foundational rules of classroom behavior.

Of course, effective moral training begins at home. The first social relations, and thus the most formidable ones, are those of the immediate family. It is through the family dynamic that children first learn how to interact with others in an environment that does not readily allow for voluntary withdrawal. Family members are forced by proximity to deal with issues that arise in everyday life of the household. An integrative approach to moral education only seeks to model the dynamic of social and familial interactions in a way that allows for the development of moral character through habituation.

This form of dialogical pedagogy, however, cannot replace the dominant method of "receive and accept" pedagogy. The two forms of education must complement each other rather than compete. It is therefore imperative that room be made within the school system for moral education via habituation but that education does not become a "student knows best for himself or herself" endeavor.

Because the moral curriculum seeks to transform behavior so that a person focuses on positive acts as much as refrains from negative ones, the curriculum requests that teachers use the following technique to discipline students, when possible: Whenever a student misbehaves, in order to counter an improper action with a proper one, the student should perform an act of kindness to another person, write down what he or she did, and have the recipient of the act of kindness sign it. The intent of such an exercise is to push students to perform more proper acts than improper acts during the day, to change the perspective from discipline by punishment to that of training, and to make students aware of the consequences of both proper and improper actions.

An Example from the Curriculum

In this section, I will explain the first lesson of the curriculum, which is provided at the end of the chapter. The lesson attempts to stimulate all aspects of the students' attention through authoritative rules, literature with which he or she is already familiar, new content, and different genres. What is most important, however, for this curriculum is that the class actually implements the rules into standards of classroom behavior and continually refers to them as students abide or break them. Otherwise, students will not be gaining new habits nor integrating new knowledge into daily habits.

The beginning of each lesson provides the general heading and topic of the lesson so that students are immediately aware of the context of each rule and its practical consequences. For example, students will be made aware that all of the rules in Chap. 1 relate to the responsibilities of teachers to students and responsibilities of

students to teachers. They will ultimately know how the teacher–student relationship is modelled after other familial and social relationships that they may have.

Each lesson continues with a definition, where a moral term is defined in a way that is easy to understand and relevant to everyday language of the students. The lesson continues with a longer discussion about the meaning of the moral term. The discussion is based either on readings that the students will have had to do for summer reading or in another class.

Every discussion section will conclude with a rhyming couplet to facilitate remembering the concept, as well as a series of questions which are meant to promote further thought and discussion of the concept.

Each lesson ends with "A Case to Consider" which uses an example from the Jewish tradition as a source of discussion and reinforcement of the concepts and values taught in the lesson.

Depending on the structure and timing of the class, for the first 5 minutes each day, the previous day's class rule and definitional term should be reviewed. Students should have the rule and definition memorized and should be able to provide a personal example of how to apply it. After the review, the new lesson should begin with an emphasis on the practical aspects of the ruling. For the remainder of the first half of class, the explanatory information should be read aloud in class, or at least summarized if the students are assigned the reading for homework, and discussed based on the questions or exercises given below. The second half of class should focus on the "Case to Consider" and its subsequent questions. If there is not enough time to discuss both the explanatory content and the "Case to Consider" in one class period, it is better to take two classes to discuss one rule than to skip either section. If a teacher has a different example that may be more fitting for the class, then he or she should note which example was used in the post-lesson teacher summary. If the examples covered in this curriculum coincide with material brought in other classes, effort should be made to integrate the lesson into the other classes as reinforcement.

There are no formal tests or quizzes in the curriculum. Instead, the examination of the students' progress should be continual and incorporated into the class discussion via the questions and exercises, as well as by homework assignments. The reason for the lack of formal testing is to promote consistent learning and not the "stop and start" method popularly used by students who cram for tests.

The first day of class, students should be asked to write the answer to the following question to be handed in to the teacher:

How would you describe your best friend and how would you describe your worst enemy?

On the last day of class, students should be asked to write the answer to the following questions to be handed in to the teacher:

What qualities in a person do you think makes a good friend? What do you think makes a bad friend? In which category would you put yourself?

Responsibilities of Students and Teachers

General Responsibilities of Students and Teachers

Parents are obligated to teach their children. Grandparents are obligated to teach their grandchildren. Children precede grandchildren in terms of priority.

Obligation—"You must"

In the book *Civil Disobedience,* one of the great books of American political history, which influenced leaders such as Mahatma Ghandi and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Henry David Thoreau writes,

> I was not born to be forced. I will breathe after my own fashion. Let us see who is the strongest. What force has a multitude? They only can force me who obey a higher law than I. They force me to become like themselves. I do not hear of *men* being *forced* to have this way or that by masses of men. What sort of life were that to live?

Thoreau is arguing against allowing the government to control a person's conscience. Everyone has a duty—an obligation—to stop the government from forcing a person to commit what he or she believes is wrong. But if he so passionately argues that no one should be forced to do something against one's own conscience, what does he mean when he writes the following?

> They only can force me who obey a higher law than I. They force me to become like themselves.

How can he claim that a person can force another to do something, especially when what is being forced is to become like the other person?

Actually, we may not realize it, but we are forced to do things all the time. When we play a game, like basketball, we are forced to only play five players at a time. At lunch, we are forced to chew with our mouths closed so that people will sit with us. In all of these cases, being forced does not seem to be a problem either because we do not notice it or because we agree to the obligation. So, we do not feel that someone or something is interfering with our liberty or our conscience.

It seems to be different when our parents tell us to clean our room or when they ground us for doing something that we were not supposed to do. In those cases, it does feel like we are being forced. But, in this case, does it seem to interfere with our liberty or our conscience? Immediately, we might say, "Of course! I don't want to clean my room or be grounded!"

Yet, if we think about it a bit longer, are not our parents just trying to help us? Is it not better to live in a clean room than a dirty room? Is it not easier to find things when the room is in order?

By forcing us to clean our room, our parents actually make it possible to have more freedom to do other things simply because we now need to spend less time looking around our room for the things we want. Similarly, when we are grounded,

we hopefully realize that what we did was wrong and that even if free to do it, we should not.

But is that not the same thing as saying that even if we could put six players on the court, we should not since it ruins the game for everyone involved? Maybe when Thoreau wrote that only those who obey a higher law than him can force him to be like them, he meant that it is not against his conscience nor his freedom to learn from others who can teach him to be better than he already is. It is just like when our parents force us to do things in order to teach us.

Obligations give us the ability to practice our liberty and obey our conscience by setting the proper ground rules. These ground rules may seem to interfere with our freedom in the short term, but in the long term they make us better players, both on and off the court. These types of obligations are usually called moral obligations.

> What at first might be an obligation
> in the end will be an education.

Questions

1. What type of obligation do parents and grandparents have?
2. Why do children take precedence over grandchildren?
3. Are parents also teachers?

A Case to Consider

There is a story in the Jewish tradition that gives an account of what happened before the Jews received the Torah. Before giving the Torah to the Jewish people, God first offered it to every nation of the world, but no one wanted to accept it. They all asked, "What does it say in the Torah?" When they heard about its contents, each nation rejected the Torah for a different reason. When God finally offered it to the Jewish people, they responded, "We will do and we will listen," meaning that they will accept the rules of the Torah as an obligation with the understanding that there will be valuable lessons to learn. (Adapted from the Talmud and the Yalkut Shimoni)

- Why do you think the various nations wanted to know what was in the Torah first before deciding whether to accept it or not? How was the attitude of the Jewish people different?
- What would be the difference if instead "We will do and we will listen," the Jewish people said, "We will listen and we will do"?

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Chapter 6
Values-Based Parenting: A Methodology for the Internalisation of Values in Young Children

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Introduction

Emde (1994) made a compelling argument that research on value acquisition is much needed and much neglected in equal measure. It is now increasingly recognised that strong values are not only important for guiding appropriate behaviour, but that they are critical to the social navigation vital to success as adults (Bugental and Goodnow 1998). While many factors, individuals and organisations contribute to the development of a young person's values, parents particularly play a significant role in what values children assume as their own and carry forward to their adult lives (Baumrind 1993; Hoffman 1991). Yet, parents often feel impotent to fashion the character development of their children. Many parents lament that they have less influence over their children's values than television or peers. Our research shows that many parents are eager to impart values to their children but feel relatively powerless to do so. Our experience also suggests that parents are keen to learn ways to be effective but need help putting the theory into practice. This chapter, therefore, presents a methodology that empowers parents to impart values to children.

There are multifarious elements that foster or inhibit the moral development of children and the effectiveness of parenting in this endeavour. Berkowitz (1997) terms these moral and meta-moral characteristics. There are broader issues that set the climate and context for successful internalisation of values, and there are narrow issues that relate directly to the methods of communicating values and ensuring their internalisation, which Darling and Steinberg (1993) termed the 'style' and 'practices' of parenting, respectively. This chapter is concerned with the latter aspect of parenting, asking 'what practices are effective in imbuing children with values?'

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What Is a 'Child'? The Philosophical Underpinnings

Our view of the nature of the child will shape our perspective on how best to develop his or her character. According to Grusec (1997, 2002), there are broadly three perspectives:

Inherently Problematic Associated with traditional Christianity, this view holds that a child is born with an innate depravity. Augustine stated: 'no one is free from sin in your sight, not even an infant whose span of earthly life is but a single day' (1:6). This view is most exemplified by the Puritans, who saw humans as inherently sinful for which only strict discipline is appropriate. Freudian psychoanalysis similarly viewed the child as dominated by the 'id', subject to compelling instincts and desires that need to be controlled. This tendency has underpinned the view that children need to be punished to instil pro-social behaviours and inhibit antisocial ones.

Inherently Good Children are naturally wholesome but become corrupted by society. Rousseau (1762/1974) said, "Everything is well when it leaves the Creator's hands." Accordingly, children raised in a democratic and supportive environment are likely to flourish into well-developed people. Piaget (1965) argued that children that are raised in a culture of equality and openness grow into moral individuals. Similarly, attachment theorists (Stayton et al. 1971) suggest that children whose parents supply them with an adequate level of attachment will naturally turn out socially adept and compliant. This perspective has led to democratic or permissive forms of parenting that shun discipline in favour of granting the child freedom and autonomy.

Clean Slate According to this view, children are neither inherently good nor bad; rather, they are the product of their upbringing. This is most evident in behaviourist thinking, which portrays the child as the product of learning experience. Accordingly, children should be inculcated with consistent habits, and parents should relate to their children with consistent expressions.

This chapter suggests a fourth approach based on classical Judaic literature, which views the child as consisting of both good and bad. Accordingly, the child is neither inherently virtuous nor naturally depraved and not even vacant of all previous tendencies. Rather, a child has the capacity to be not only both incredibly selfless and thoughtful but also troublingly selfish and thoughtless. Grusec (1997, p. 3) describes the views that 'human nature is inherently depraved' as the 'traditional view of Judeo-Christian theology'. It is incorrect to associate such a view with the Judaic tradition, which does not typically portray humans as inherently sinful.

The Judaic tradition considers that while 'sin crouches at the door' (Genesis 4:7) and 'the inclination of man is evil from his youth' (Genesis 8:21), ultimately 'God made man upright' (Ecclesiastes 7:29). In the Talmudic literature, these tendencies are termed good and evil inclinations: 'The Holy One, blessed is He, created two inclinations; the one a good inclination, the other a bad inclination' (Berachot 61b). A tension and rupture exists within the person between these two tendencies, and the challenge of the parent is to strengthen the good inclination and to enable the child

to best resist the influence of the evil inclination. Based on Ecclesiastes (10:2), 'the heart (i.e. mind) of the wise inclines to the right and the heart of the fool inclines to the left' the Midrash (Numbers Rabba 11:22) comments that 'the right' refers to the good inclination and the 'the left' refers to the bad inclination. These ideas are dotted throughout the Judaic literature. For example, the mystical text Zohar (Number 344) teaches 'There is no limb in the human body that does not contain both a good and bad inclination'.

Judaic scholars have typically tended to the view that a child is neither naturally good nor bad but rather a combination of both. This is broadly the view that Maimonides (twelfth century) wrote in his Guide to the Perplexed (3:22), Rabbi Shneor Zalman (eighteenth century) in Tanya (1:9) and Samson Raphael Hirsh (nineteenth century) in his Bible commentary (Genesis 8:21). The Judaic tradition views the person as naturally entitled to afterlife, and it is his or hers to lose (Mishnah, Sanhedrin 11:1). Matzner-Bekerman (1984, p. 107) similarly concludes that, according to Jewish teaching, the child's 'innate characteristics are neither good nor evil but have the possibility of becoming either in the course of the individual's life'. Thus, as children are not naturally endowed with virtue, parents need to be tolerant of their children as they learn to integrate values into their thinking and behaviour. Moreover, values are unlikely to find their own way into children's lives and thus have to be introduced to them by those who are charged to help them.

According to this view, it is not sufficient to not damage the child for the child to turn out well. The parent will need to work on overcoming the child's natural aggression and capacity for cruelty. Similarly, a child possesses an in-built aptitude for moral greatness, and the parent needs to nurture the child's inherent capacity for kindness and self-restraint. Grusec (1997, p. 5) argues that much of scientific theories on childhood and parenting are 'most closely linked both to the idea that children are inherently inclined to antisocial behaviour and to the notion of children as blank slates'. Based on Jewish values, this chapter advances an approach to parenting that bolsters a child's moral capacity for making good choices.

Approach to Parenting

Sears et al. (1957) concluded that parenting that focused on reward and punishment was relatively ineffective. They argued that 'love-oriented discipline' focused on issuing praise, use of reasoning and withdrawal of affection was better at developing the child's conscience than 'object-oriented discipline', using tangible rewards, physical punishment and denial of material objects and privileges. They found that the withdrawal of love from otherwise affectionate mothers was most effective in nurturing the child's internalisation of values.

Hoffman (1970) further distinguished between rewards and persuasion. He argued that parenting techniques can be divided into three categories: power assertion—mostly synonymous with Sears' object-oriented discipline; love withdrawal—nonphysical expressions of anger or disapproval; and induction—providing explanations and appealing to the child's desire to be mature. Hoffman (1983)

concluded that discipline requires all three elements; while induction provides the all-important cognitive structures, power assertion and love withdrawal provide 'motive arousal' that captures the child's attention to what the parent is saying. Power-assertive parenting without a reasoning component is harmful to the child's socialisation (Grusec and Lytton 1988; Maccoby and Martin 1983), but induction methods alone are not as effective as when combined with power assertion.

Baumrind's (1967) enduring and well-established classification distinguished between authoritarian and authoritative parenting, eschewing an overly democratic or permissive approach that makes few demands or imposes few restrictions on children, whilst also critiquing an overly dictatorial style of parenting that allows for no negotiation and brooks little independence. Authoritative parenting has been shown to facilitate high levels of social responsibility and independence. Moreover, while research suggests that punishment can be effective at behaviour modification (Larzelere 1996; Walters and Grusec 1977), it is only effective for the immediate impact but does not enable the internalisation of moral judgement (Grusce and Lytton 1988). Thus, 'the imposition of authority in the form of punishment or threat of punishment used in isolation will not be conducive to value internalisation' (Grusec 1997, p. 9).

Constructivist approaches note that simply asserting power removes the opportunity for the child to reflect on the moral dimensions of the behaviour, whereas explanation facilitates thoughtful consideration of the consequences of behaviours (Appelgate et al. 1985). Moreover, it was noted (Diestbier et al. 1975) that if the child avoids negative behaviour to avoid a hostile parental reaction, this encourages that behaviour to continue when the likelihood of being caught is low. By contrast, if the child is inducted into notions of good behaviour, the child would prefer to avoid the anxiety of failing these standards even in the absence of surveillance. Thus, internalisation of values not only results in providing a longer term basis for conformity but significantly it reduces the importance of parental supervision to ensure good behaviour. It has even been shown (Freedman 1965) that strong punishment is less effective than mild punishment because the latter enables the child to focus on the lesson and not on the fear.

Lepper (1983) concludes that with no parental pressure exerted, the child does not know there to be a problem and, therefore, does not internalise the values, and when the pressure is too great, the child only focuses on the external threat. However, when mild pressure is exerted along with an explanation, the child has the opportunity to reflect on the issue at hand, providing a growth opportunity for the child. Hence, Berkowitz and Grych (1998, p. 380) conclude 'a pattern of authoritative parenting, especially with its focus on open supportive communication, is nurturing of children's moral reasoning development'.

This authoritative approach to parenting is consistent with the Judaic view of discipline that balances a reasonable degree of assertiveness with encouragement. Proverbs (13:24) famously state that "Whoever spares the rod hates his son but if you love him, you will chasten him at an early age." The Midrash (Genesis Rabbah 54:3) notes that "All love that has no reproof with it is not true love." Yet, the Talmud (Bava Batra 21a) limits the use of force to at most the use of a leather shoelace.

The Talmud (Sotah 47a) urges to 'push away with the left hand while drawing closer with the right hand'. In Talmudic literature, the right hand is always presumed to be the stronger hand, thus giving priority to compassionate parenting. The Talmud (Gittin 6b) further warns against imposing excessive fear at home. When addressing the relationship between children and their parents, the Bible demands both respect (Exodus 20:12) and fear (Leviticus 19:3), suggesting an approach to parenting that combines both authority and kindness.

Matzner-Bekerman (1984) argues that from a Judaic perspective, the way a child is helped to evolve beyond his/her egocentric focus is through 'the integration of a solid value system' (p. 106). From this perspective, moral agency is not merely a product of knowledge but the internalisation of values: 'Judaism recognises that the home is the educational foundation for the moral development of the child' (p. 125). Thus, 'The primary responsibility for setting children on the right road towards a moral life belongs to the parents' (p. 115). While schools have existed in Jewish culture for millennia, as indeed have professional educators, the obligation has always been squarely on the parents to ensure the moral development of their children. In Judaism, moral education begins from a very young age. The Talmud (Sukka 42a) obligates the parent to begin teaching values to children from the moment they begin to speak.

Parenting Climate

As noted, Darling and Steinberg (1993) distinguish between content and context, between parenting practices and parenting styles. 'Parenting style' refers to the overall climate in which the parenting takes place, whether strict or permissive, whereas 'parenting practices' refer to the specific parenting techniques used by the parent. However, while they are generally interrelated, what most distinguishes these two major elements of parenting is that issues of negotiating conformity and dispensing discipline focus on handling disagreement, whereas the broader parenting climate is about fostering relatedness and shared interests.

While many factors contribute to children absorbing the values conveyed by a parent, arguably none is more important than the affection of the parent. Theorists have long noted that emotionally warm parents were more capable of instilling their values in their children (Sears et al. 1957; Lickona 1983), and that early affection and closeness results in long-term pro-social development (Oliner and Oliner 1988). Grusec (1997, p. 8) explains that when motivated by fear or reward, 'children are merely motivated to find ways of avoiding punishment and hiding from the parent, a condition hardly conducive to taking on their values'. Hoffman (1970) similarly viewed parental warmth as vital as it provides emotional security and reinforces the child's trust in the basic goodness of the world. However, Hoffman found that parental warmth was not as important a factor as 'induction' (namely, explaining the reasons for a course of action). Berkowitz and Grych (1998) similarly view induction as 'perhaps the single most powerful parental influence on children's moral development'.

Related to warmth is the perceived motive of the parents. When a child perceives parental instruction as being in their best interest, the child is more motivated to comply (Grusec 1997). Maccoby and Martin (1983) argue that when parents practice 'give and take' with the child, it fosters 'mutual compliance', whereby the child identifies with the goal of its caregiver. This results in a relationship that is comparatively free of conflict as the child feels it is cooperatively engaged in a joint endeavour.

Another influential factor is the behaviour of the parent. Social learning theory, and later social cognitive theory, has recognised that learning is an inherently social activity (Sims and Manz 1982). According to Bandura (1986), children learn by watching other people perform the behaviour, through observing people around them and imitating them. Therefore, an optimal way to teach values is through modelling them for the child. Moreover, when parents' behaviour contradicts their instruction, the child is likely to learn most from the observed behaviour. Parenting needs to combine both showing and telling; as Lickona (1983, p. 22) explains, children 'need to see us lead good lives, but they also need to know why we do it. For our example to have maximum impact, they need to know the values and beliefs behind it. *We need to practice what we preach, but also to preach what we practice* (emphasis added)'.

Internalisation

Early theories of parenting focused heavily on the very figure of the parent (typically the mother). Psychoanalytic theory posited childhood internalisation of parental values as a case of identifying with the aggressor to avoid anxiety and guilt, while social learning theory adopted a more positive approach, suggesting that the child genuinely identified itself with its mother. In either case, the focus was on the persona of the parent as the force driving internalisation.

However, in recent decades, attention turned to the *practices* of parenting, and internalisation was recognised as a cognitive development process. According to Hoffman, the child's moral development consists of four elements: resistance to temptation, guilt upon transgression, acceptance of responsibility for wrongdoing and moral choices being driven from an internal instinct. Grusec and Goodnow (1994) suggested two critical factors for the successful transfer of values: the child's accurate understanding and its acceptance of the message. A child may be willing to comply but fail to understand what parent is seeking, leading to a repetition of the offending behaviour. Grusec (1997, p. 11) suggested that the factors that ensure the message is understood are 'the extent to which messages or values are clearly expressed, the frequency with which they are expressed, and the consistency of their expression'. However, this analysis does not explain how a parent can ensure the value is correctly understood. Grusec (2002) suggested that more subtle teachings that require the child to decode the meaning force greater attention, but this goes against the benefit in clear communication. Grusec (1997, p. 11) added that 'assistance in seeing the wider implications of a rule or a general principle fosters the acquisition of a general moral system'. However, what is missing is clear meth-

odology for parents to effectively impart values and contextualise good behaviour within a broader moral system. Berkowitz and Grych (1998, p. 387) noted that 'unfortunately, little attention has been paid to teaching parents how to foster specifically moral characteristics in children'. This still seems to be an issue.

Values-Based Parenting Approach

The authors, therefore, developed an approach to foster the internalisation of values in children that they termed 'values-based parenting' (VBP) based on the model of authoritative parenting. In congruence with Hoffman, VBP sees a negative relationship between power assertion and the internalisation of morals and sees an inductive approach to parenting as positively related, underpinned by parental role modelling. This chapter presents the findings from their study of parenting workshops designed to enable parents to impart values to their children.

In developing the VBP approach, a traditional Judaic conception of values was used, which focuses on the more practical application of morality. While many conceptions of morality focus on abstract values such as wisdom and love, in keeping with the more practical orientation of a Judaic approach to morality, VBP views values as the immediate moral principles that guide a person's specific choices and actions. For example, a website describing itself as VBP (www.valuesbasedparenting.com) states that 'values are generally big, broad ideas such as responsibility, or compassion, or integrity'. The author of this website provides a long list of 'values' such as curiosity and spontaneity (Walsh 2010) that would be considered too abstract and insufficiently values-oriented to be included in the definition of VBP as presented here. Judaic values are often of a more practical nature, such as visiting the sick, returning a lost object or respect for parents—none of which appear in the aforementioned list (although they are manifestations of some of those values). Accordingly, in our approach, 'values' mean the principles that guide everything that people think, say and do; the moral virtues that influence the small steps by which they their live their lives.

Additionally, a values-based approach fosters making choices based upon moral considerations, rather than acting based on personal preference. This definition differs from Eyre and Eyre (1993) who based values primarily on their ability to engender happiness and personal benefits. To them, 'A true and universally acceptable "value" is one that produces behaviour that is beneficial both to the practitioner and to those on whom it is practiced' (p. 27). By contrast, VBP workshops emphasise that the main reason for values is that they lead to a functional society.

The VBP approach was designed to help parents express mutually understood and continually reinforced social values to foster positive behaviours in children. For example, by having guests, one is implementing a moral principle that for easy reference is termed 'hospitality', encouraging the practice of a more tangible value of hospitality rather than fostering a more general notion of kindness. Children who are brought up to understand the value of hospitality—reinforced by celebrating this as an honour, by storytelling and with positive messages—may then respond with more cooperation when asked to clean the house as visitors are about to arrive. A

child who may otherwise be strongly reluctant to help clean the house could drive parents to use aggressive tactics or to promise a reward in a desperate attempt to achieve compliance. However, if the child is socialised to accept the value of hospitality, he or she may be willing to comply as the concept of hospitality is deeply ingrained as the right thing to do.

Table. 6.1 shows a scenario of preparing the home for a guest, hospitality, to illustrate the distinctive values approach set out above .

In VBP, the parent helps the child internalise values that are presented as objectively proper and not due to the values suiting the wishes of the parent, by contrast to Maccoby and Martin's (1983) mutual compliance model focused on internalising the goals of the parent. Berkson (2002, p. 2), writing from the perspective of Jewish values, advises that parents 'use moral language to explain the principle violated' and 'label the action as wrong and mention the principle violated'. He advocates a 'moral perspective' to clarify that this is not a power issue of 'you against her', but a principle by which both are bound.

Self-determination theory posits that a child will flourish when enabled to enjoy autonomy with parents who are willing to see their child's perspective and who are not controlling (Grolnick and Apostoleris 2002). By contrast, when parents prioritise obedience and conformity, solve children's problems for them and marginalise the child's perspective, children become less self-regulated, are more likely to misbehave and become lower achievers (Grolnick and Ryan 1989). Grolnick and Apostoleris (2002) suggest several reasons why well-intentioned parents fail to parent in an autonomous fashion, such as: time or other pressures and children's sometimes challenging behaviour. However, they seem unable to advise how to change this, rendering their analysis of limited utility. VBP is an approach that strives for the *internalisation* of values, in which parenting success is based on the child's good choices becoming intrinsically motivated.

VBP Workshops Research Methodology

Cyprys conducted research during 2012 on the impact of using VBP to empower parents to teach values to their children. To explore the potential of VBP, Cyprys offered parents free workshops titled 'PARENT *with* VALUES'. The workshops were promoted via word of mouth and by means of flyers given out at parents' groups.

The workshops were marketed for 'those caring for children to join a stimulating and dynamic workshop for an entertaining and thought-provoking discussion' and offered participants the possibility to:

- Give your child the ability to understand your family vision and to encourage your child to join you in a journey
- Learn the skill of applying ethics in a concrete, down-to-earth way so that they serve as moral guidelines that direct our behaviour
- Create an environment that enables values to be imparted in a nonjudgmental way to children and to communicate in a way that encourages our actions to be thoughtful and positive

Table 6.1 Punishment, reward and values scenarios

Punishment	Reward	Values
Mum: Joey, there are toys all over the place, can you please help clean up this mess?	Mum: Joey, there are toys all over the place, can you please help clean up this mess?	Mum: Joey, there are toys all over the place, can you please help clean up this mess?
Joey: I'm in middle of a game right now.	Joey: I'm in middle of a game right now.	Joey: I'm in middle of a game right now.
Mum: Joey, I don't care whether you are in middle of a game. I need this done now!	Mum: I really need this done now.	Mum: I'm sorry Joey, but this is really important.
Joey: Mum, please. I can't do it now, and anyway I'm not in the mood of cleaning.	Joey: I really hate cleaning. I don't want to.	Joey: Why?
Mum: Joey, my friends are coming over in an hour, and the house is a tip. I expect you to clean away your toys.	Mum: Well, Joey, this is really important to me.	Mum: We have guests coming over.
Joey: Tell your friends not to come. I'm not up to cleaning. Anyway, it's not that bad.	Joey: So why don't you clean it then?	Joey: Why's that my problem?
Mum: Joey, I am asking you one final time to clean up your toys. If you don't, there will be consequences.	Mum: I can't as I am preparing supper. Can you clean up this moment?	Mum: What is it called when we have guests around?
Joey: Like what?	Joey: I'm not available either; it will just have to wait.	Joey: Hospitality.
Mum: I'll take away your computer.	Mum: If you do as you're told, I'll give you a reward.	Mum: What do we know about hospitality?
Joey: No you won't.	Joey: Really, what sort of reward?	Joey: You're not going to lecture me now, Mum.
Mum: How dare you speak like that?	Mum: Say, a packet of crisps.	Mum: No, but I want you to see what this is necessary, why it is important.
Joey: You have no right to take it away.	Joey: A packet of crisps? That's no reward; I get that anyway.	Joey: I know that hospitality is a good deed and so on, but what's that to do with my toys?
Mum: If you keep speaking to me this way, I will give you a good hiding.	Mum: Okay, then, so what reward do you want?	Mum: Your toys are strewn all over the floor, and the guests could easily trip up on them.
Joey: Don't threaten me; I'll call the police.	Joey: A new pair of trainers.	Joey: Could I then just make some space for them to walk past without tripping?
Mum: [shouting] Joey, get down here now—this second. Dad will be home in 5 min and I shall be telling him how you are behaving…	Mum: Don't be ridiculous, Joey, you don't deserve to have trainers just for putting your toys away.	Mum: How would you want the guests to feel if they came to your house?
	Joey: But that's what I want.	Joey: Yes, it is important to feel welcome.

Table 6.1 (Continued)

Punishment	Reward	Values
	Mum: I tell you what, if you also clean your toys for the rest of the week, I'll get you the trainers.	Mum: My concern is about how the guests will feel if the house is a mess. What do you think?
	Joey: Thanks, Mum…	
Consequence: The threat of punishment, not to mention actual punishment, stands a good chance of getting an immediate result. However, years of being controlled and overruled by parents may build up profound resentment in the child. Additionally, this aggressive approach to parenting creates a highly confrontational atmosphere that is stressful for parents and children alike.	Consequence: As long as parents can meet the escalating expectations of their children, parents may be able to continue to 'buy' their children's cooperation. However, this soon becomes unaffordable. More importantly, it creates young people with a ridiculously high sense of entitlement, setting them up for potential failure in the real world in which this attitude is a liability.	Consequence: There is still bound to be a measure of negotiation and discussion—as is indeed proper and healthy. However, parents use these dialogues as opportunities for education and moral development. If there is no other choice, the carrot or stick options are still available, but it should in most cases be possible to reach an understanding with the child based on their mutually respected values.

A series of six, 2-h workshops was held that gave an overview of the basic concepts of VBP in the format of an open discussion led by the facilitator. Topics covered the values perspective on how:

- The home can be set up to nurture and foster sound priorities
- Children can be raised in an environment that celebrates and embodies good values
- Children can be taught a moral language that inspires good choices and appropriate behaviour
- To instil values and build character through practical actions so that children can relate to them
- Motivation to 'do the right thing' can be used in place of reward or punishment

Lively, interactive discussion was facilitated, dealing with everyday parenting challenges, the need to actively live by what we want to transmit, the necessity to communicate values and make them tangible and real, and to ensure that values are grounded in daily action so that children can participate at a very young age. Three of these 2-h workshops were attended by a mixture of couples and individual parents, both mothers and fathers. In total, there were 11 couples, 12 mothers and 10 fathers. The remaining three workshops were attended by mothers, mostly of young children, with a total of 54 participants.

Large hand-held puppets were used to act out examples using role-play and dialogue to ensure an interactive and engaging experience. A family of puppets was used: grandpa, grandma, dad, mum, girl, boy and baby, 60 cm in height, with full bodies and realistic features and clothing (see Fig. 6.1). The idea was to depict fam-

Fig. 6.1 Large puppets to illustrate values

ily dynamics and explore family interactions from a values perspective. The props enabled parents to participate in communicating rather than talking about doing it and to hear what the discussion sounds like to their child. The building blocks of VBP (Fig. 6.2) were described in detail, with each step printed on a giant 'Lego' block to portray the different elements of creating a value environment.

Fig. 6.2 Values building blocks chart

Cyprys conducted a further two series of six sessions each, with each session being 1–1.5 h, and the same group of parents joined for the whole series. The first of these sessions worked as an introduction in the same way the workshops did. At the following sessions, there was the opportunity to take one specific value each time to

explore its importance and usefulness for a child and how it could be incorporated in to family life. The building blocks were used to expand the meaning and application of the value, with the group applying sayings and role models using the parent and child puppets; the giant Lego blocks were filled with ideas and suggestions for discussion during the workshop and for later use to bring this concept to life at home. The first of this series of sessions involved six women participants. The second set of sessions in this series involved 15 mothers.

Data collection was achieved through written questionnaires, oral participant feedback and researcher observations. Prior to each set of VBP workshops, parents completed a questionnaire with closed- and open-ended questions. Questions sought participants' opinions on how they felt they were currently managing as parents, how they felt parenting could go more smoothly and how likely they felt they were to incorporate new ideas or share what they had gained with members of their family.

An evaluation form was also completed at the end of each workshop to assess how appropriate and helpful the information was and to ensure parents were comfortable participating and that they felt understood. The questions also looked to discover the future benefits of a 'PARENT *with* VALUES' workshop for families and the VBP approach in general. Examples of questions include:

- Is there anything in particular that will stay with you from what you have gained?
- Do you think it is possible to incorporate values to your parenting?

Although discussions were not recorded because it was felt that this would inhibit participation, notes were given out at the workshops, and examples of sayings, role models and general ideas suggested at sessions were recorded. There was an observer at each workshop in addition to the workshop presenter to who took notes on the interactions and discussions.

VBP Workshops Research Methodology Findings

All parents who joined the VBP workshops thought that it was a worthwhile experience. They felt that they had gained a new understanding of the way their attitudes and behaviours were communicated to their child in subtle ways that they had not considered before. The overall view was that this knowledge would make them more conscious of their interactions with their child/children and they would use these situations to the full potential. Participants reported that they now had a broader way to view parent–child communications and a more practical way to apply this when sharing values at home. The parents believed that values are universal and that there is a united set of expectations of moral standards, which most parents aspire to share with their child. They generally concurred that these are not usually expressed clearly in a way that parents would like to share these ideas, as these comments from participants indicate:

> I expected that providing an explanation of values for my child would be boring and tiresome, but this has changed my perspective.
> As different as we all are, we want much the same things for our families, our communities and our world. We just need guidance on how to go about it.
> I thought of values as the "soft stuff", but this has real life examples that I can share with my kids.
> The puppets make things grounded, looking at this soft face in your hands and knowing it is up to you to find the words for it, well, it all becomes real!

There was feedback from parents that, even though the ideas and suggestions shared at the workshops were useful for use in the home, they may not use the opportunities to incorporate them when life at home becomes hectic. Participants noted how there were so many pulls on their time as parents that it was easy to overlook the topics that demand their presence and input. A particularly significant item of feedback was that the practical tools were necessary to serve as a reminder to both parent and child and would assist with the environmental and motivational aspects of sharing values. As a result, work began to create a series of values-based booklets for home use to facilitate a values interaction between a parent and child.

Observers of the workshops reported that participants across a range of backgrounds seemed interested and could find the examples and discussion relevant to their lives. Some found the use of puppets unusual at the beginning, but the majority of participants found them inviting, even making them feel comfortable and adding to the ease of the dialogues. It was recognized that people need a significant amount of practice in order to express themselves confidently about values in a home setting. There was a suggestion that short VBP video clips be placed on the website so that interactions could be watched repeatedly. Another suggestion that arose in the feedback was to create mini-puppet sets for home use and to trial how they could be incorporated into a values dialogue at home. These suggestion, it is hoped, will be followed up in future research.

Discussion

The research identified a tendency to think of values as simply 'being nice to people', and much of the literature on moral development adopts this view as well. For example, Berkowitz and Grych (1998, p. 373) state that 'moral behaviour flows from an interest in and concern for other people', and Damon (1988, p. 128) considers that 'morality is fundamentally concerned with one's obligations to others'. In fact, most examples in the literature on parenting are of teaching children not to hit or to share their toys and do not broaden to intrapersonal values. By contrast, VBP views values as 'judicious action' or 'smart choices' that may not cause obvious harm and may not affect others. It was, therefore, necessary to invest more heavily in communicating the meaning of values as deployed in VBP. So, it was explained to participants that values are about making effective choices, merely not causing harm to others. For example, time-wasting or untidiness may not damage others, but from a values perspective, it is inappropriate. A values orientation looks at every action as the product of a choice, and it adopts the view that it is important to make good and effective choices. Hoffman found that techniques that draw attention to

the impact of the child's behaviour on others, 'other-oriented induction', have limited impact on internalisation. Thus, rather than focusing exclusively on educating the child about the impact their behaviour can have on others, VBP focuses on the way that actions are created through choices and to encourage children to use values as a basis for selecting an action.

Workshop participants were also inclined to think of values in highly abstract ways. When asked to cite values, they consistently referred to notions of happiness or sadness, which are states of being more than they are values. Alternatively, participants would identify such high-level concepts like love and peace but struggled to bring the values down to a more practical level. It was also necessary to clarify that values are separate from personality traits, like being assertive or being accepting, and that fundamentally 'values' are about children *making choices*. Conversely, though, values are also not simply the desirable or undesirable action, such as hitting or sharing. The values-based approach does not suffice with telling the child it is wrong to hit another child, but contextualises this within a value set of nonviolence and peace. A conflict situation offers parents the opportunity to encourage the right values, such as 'We don't believe in violence, do we?'

VALUES Model

A key research finding was the need for parents to have a clear structured model to follow when trying to apply VBP. The authors developed a four-stage framework during the course of the research. Subsequently, Ives and Cox (2014) proposed a VALUES model that involves the following six elements—generally to be communicated in this order based on this notion that character building in young children needs to combine ideas and action. Along with Eyre and Eyre (1993), the model recognises the need for structures and methods for conveying values.

Vision (Concept)
Introduce an idea, for example 'showing hospitality,' and explain what it is. Share with them the idea of treating guests as important and ensuring they feel welcome.

Authority (Role Mode)
Provide a story or individual role model (current or historic, real or mythical) as a role model to which the child can relate that personifies and typifies the concept being conveyed. Eyre and Eyre (1993, p. 34) suggest also using negative alternatives as an explanatory device, what they call 'opposite poles' (p. 34).

Life (Action)
Relate the concept to real life, to concrete, specific behaviours to ensure that it relates to the life of child. In this case, hospitality could begin at the child's own birthday party.

Utterance (Slogan)
Use a short slogan or catchphrase to reinforce the concept, for example: 'we love having guests'. Eyre and Eyre (1993, p. 34) advocate 'memorisation of short, graphic phrases or mottoes that state a particular value in a clever and memorable way'.

Epithet (Term)
Giving the concept a name to which all can refer (e.g. hospitality).

Sustain
Ensuring the value is reinforced frequently.

Using this VALUES model, parents can encourage and role model mutually understood and continually reinforced social and cultural values to foster positive behaviours in their children. For example, children who are brought up to understand the value of hospitality—reinforced by celebrating this as an honour, by storytelling and with positive messages—may then respond with more co-operation when asked to clean the house as visitors are about to arrive. A child who may otherwise be strongly reluctant to help clean up could drive parents to use aggressive tactics or to promise a reward in a desperate attempt to achieve compliance. However, if the child is socialised to accept the value of hospitality, he or she may be willing to comply as the concept of hospitality is deeply ingrained as the right thing to do.

The VALUES model can be used to encourage any new value or behaviour, especially at a young age. For example, parents can employ this approach to encourage good behaviour at the dinner table by using the catchphrase 'let's have dinner together' and using the children's book *Eat Your Dinner* (Miller 2008) to reinforce the value of table manners.

Nurturing Values

Participants reported a high level of incomprehension from their children when spoken to in a values-based manner. A key finding of the research was that making values-based choices is a skill that needs to be developed. Firstly, the very orientation that every action is based on a choice is not something that a child can be expected to naturally recognise. Secondly, when faced with multiple choices, it is not necessarily a given that the child will react with considered reflection; this needs to be nurtured. Finally, the child can only weigh up options based upon the frames of reference that he or she has. A child's assessment of the appropriateness of a course of action is limited by the ideas of right and wrong that they have been exposed to.

VBP adopts a particular approach to 'reasoning', the act of cognitive interaction used by parents to affect behaviour modification in the child. While in many parenting theories the focus is on directing the child's attention to the potential damage that can ensue from actions, in VBP, the parent refers the child to mental constructs of appropriate or correct behaviour. For example, Higgins (1989) and Cheyen and Walters (1970) suggest that when reasoning is combined with power assertion, the child acquires clear guidelines as to what the parent expects, which can be used to direct future action. In VBP, however, the focus is not on providing the child with knowledge about predictable parental reactions but rather about notions of right and wrong. For this reason, VBP requires that the values are introduced and reinforced on an ongoing basis, not just in response to an immediate situation. Only if the child has been adequately initiated into a particular value can the parent call upon it to encourage the child to make a good choice. Eisenberg and Mussen (1989)

link altruism to moral reasoning, further confirmed by Oliner and Oliner's (1988, p. 143) finding that World War II (WWII) rescuers were guided by 'values learned from their parents'.

According to this view, parental intervention is an educational activity, and it is best to provide guidance before the child's behaviour becomes problematic. Mowrer (1960) argued that the timing of punishment is vital. When punishment was administered at the beginning of a transgression it stimulates anxiety in the child when the same transgression was initiated at some later point, thereby enabling the child to better resist temptation. By contrast, when the punishment was introduced in the midst of or are after the transgression, then during subsequent misbehavior the anxiety only kicked in once a transgression had already been committed, and then only the negative emotion of guilt was the reaction. Intervening at the earliest point is best for eliciting a healthy resistance to bad behaviour; VBP, therefore, encourages pre-emptive action.

Often, the moment of choice-making is not optimal as the child is often highly provoked or tempted, such that their reasoning capacities are heavily strained. Self-control is recognised as a key component in a child's moral development (Kochanska et al. 1997), and developing self-regulation in children is addressed in Chap. 2 of this book. Even with adults, research reveals that self-regulatory capacity is damaged when the person's emotions are aroused. Several theorists (see Carver and Scheier 1998) posit that a person has a more thoughtful and a more impulsive way of responding to situations. Mischel and Ayduk (2007) describe this as the cold and hot systems, respectively. When a person is in a 'hot' state, her or his rational faculties are impaired, and she is prone to make impulsive and ill-judged decisions. Injecting reason at this point is likely to instigate 'the cognitive cool system circumvent hot system activation' (Mischel and Ayduk 2007, p. 109). Thus, when a child is tempted to carry out a problematic act, the parents' introduction of reasoning can help to cool down the excitement and restore equilibrium.

When aroused, the child is not typically in the most-ready state to be reasoned with, which is why so often the child seems impervious to reason. Instilling well-primed values can increase the likelihood of a constructive choice being made. The more salient the helpful response is, the more likely it is for this to actually happen and for the provoked reaction to be tempered. Thus, instilling salient values on an ongoing basis is important, for it allows the parent to leverage those values to overcome the strongly provoked emotions.

Conclusions

1. Children have the in-built capacity for both good and bad. Parents need to equip the child to make best use of their capacity for good and to best cope with their capacity for bad.
2. Force or the threat of force is itself not effective as a long-term strategy and especially in the absence of supervision. Induction, explanation and reasoning enable the child to internalise values.

3. The parenting style or climate is vital for creating the warmth that underpins the parent–child interaction. Additionally, the role modelling of behaviours is a critical part of imparting values.
4. Internalisation is a cognitive (learning) process, whereby the child learns the skills to resist temptation, experience adaptive feeling upon wrongdoing and make effective choices—all sustained by intrinsic motivation.
5. Internalisation occurs successfully when the child accurately understands (as well as accepts) the parents' message(s).
6. Even well-intentioned parents will fail to be autonomy-supportive if they cannot do so in a practical, effective manner.
7. Moral development is more than the child accepting the goals of the parent; rather, it is a growing understanding of right and wrong.
8. Moral development is more than a child recognising the harm that its actions may cause others (or itself), but about working with a framework of appropriate behaviour beyond avoiding harm.
9. Moral development, therefore, requires for the ideas to be introduced to the child before the point of decision. Thus, 'discipline' is best administered preemptively. Punishment after the event is not as effective as education before it.
10. Referring to a moral concept when the child is excited about a transgression will help to cool the impulsive 'hot' mode and increase the child's self-regulatory capacity.
11. The better primed are these values, the more salient they will be and accessible when they are needed to be called upon.

Parents need to have effective means of reasoning with their child or children, ensuring the child or children properly understand. This will help the child to build an intrinsic motivation for making appropriate choices that are not limited to an acceptance of the parents' goals. This is to be done by using objective moral reasoning, not by asserting the power or authority of the parent. The skills need to address how these values are inculcated ahead of the moment of choice and in such a manner that they are readily accessible when needed.

VBP is proposed as a methodology that empowers parents to effectively communicate about values in a manner that is both conceptually and practically compelling, that can be introduced into the fabric of the everyday parenting, and that focuses on encouraging and assisting children to make smart choices rather than simply comply with the parents' wishes. VBP leverages the authority and affection of the parent to capture the child's attention, but ultimately builds a sustainable, internalised moral compass that grows the child's self-regulatory capacity over time and fosters good choice-making even in the absence of supervision.

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Part II
Psychological Wellbeing

Chapter 7
Integrating Judaism into Cognitive Behavioral Therapy

Devora Greer Shabtai, Steven Pirutinsky and David H. Rosmarin

Introduction to Chapter

Yossi Ives

The chapter that follows makes the case that ideas in cognitive behavioral psychology are compatible with and sometimes enriched by Jewish values, and it shows how such approaches have been used in clinical practice. A key argument of the chapter is that Jewish teaching identifies practice as an effective treatment modality, something still quite innovative in psychotherapeutic terms. That "changing the thinking" can lead to "changing the doing" is a fundamental operating principle of psychology, but that "changing the doing" may lead to "changing the thinking" remains a somewhat less conventional idea.

The entire psychological literature is replete with the notion that remedying or improving thinking is necessary to bring about commensurate improvements in performance and capacity to act. To many people, this would be the natural inclination of both psychology and religion, and indeed it is the thrust of the dominant religion in the West—Christianity—and all the major modern psychological theorists, such

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as Freud, Jung, Adler, Frankl, and so on. Only recently has significant mainstream interest been given to the reverse direction, through the focus in some early work in positive psychology on positive behaviors contributing to mental well-being. However, much of this work has been questioned or marginalized in favor of cultivating positive thoughts (Fredrickson 2000), which is now the dominant direction in positive psychological research. It is therefore informative that Jewish thought has always recognized the domains of thought and action as equally important for psychological well-being and has long advocated nurturing both to gain improvements in character development.

The broad thrust of Jewish teaching suggests that, more than any other factor, thoughts influence psychological well-being and that actions influence those thoughts in very significant ways. By contrast, behavioral activation theory and similar approaches aligned to cognitive behavioral psychology put the greatest emphasis on the direct impact of external conditions upon psychological well-being (Lewinsohn et al. 1976). Other applied behavioral approaches, such as relaxation training, involve physical activities to remove or reduce stressors. These types of behavioral interventions do not seek to alter perceptions and cognitions. While studies have evidenced the efficacy of new behavioral approaches (see Dimijidan et al. 2006), most recent interest has been directed toward the impact of cognitions on mental health. The action-focused research in positive psychology dealt mainly with the effects of happiness-enriching activities, such as being in nature, creative pursuits, sport, and socializing (MacPhillamy and Lewinsohn 1982; Brown and Lewinsohn 1984), whereas traditional Jewish sources focus on the positive impact of ethically driven activities. The closest to this approach is the strand in positive psychology that advocates doing acts of kindness regularly (Lyubomirsky et al. 2005).

The forthcoming chapter suggests that a Jewish approach would include a strong emphasis on how actions alter cognitions and, in particular, how engaging in meaningful activities contributes toward greater psychological resilience and well-being. While clinical research is still required to properly examine this psychotherapeutic direction, the authors of the chapter ahead suggest from their extensive clinical experience that this approach holds much promise.

As the authors show, Judaism has deep insight into the power of action to affect the mind. They cite key source texts that a "person's heart and thoughts follow one's actions" (Aharon Halevi of Barcelona, Sefer haChinuch 16) and the advice of Maimonides (Hilchot De'ot 1:12) that to reverse such negative states as anger, a person should for a time practice placidity. This approach to human betterment and psychological well-being is not an approach within Judaism but rather is hardwired into the very fabric of the tradition. Laing (1965, p. 148) remarked: "I am quite sure that a good number of 'cures' of psychotics consist in the fact that the patient has decided, for one reason or another, once more to play at being sane." Whether this is true in relation to psychosis is famously highly controversial, but from a Judaic perspective, it is definitely so when it comes to general psychological well-being and character development. Critics complained to Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi about what they claimed was exaggerated piety of his disciples. He responded by citing the Mishna (end of Tactate Peah): "Whomever is not a cripple or blind but acts as if he were (to falsely solicit charity) will not die before becoming one of

them." So too, said the rabbi, if they fake being pious, this will eventually be their fate. He expressed this sentiment in his Chassidic classic Tanya (Chap. 14), that if a person "accustoms himself to despise evil, it will to some extent become despicable in truth." Rabbi Israel Meir haCohen, the Chafetz Chaim, advised a woman seeking work at a bank: "Better be the one to issue withdrawals than the one taking deposits, so that you inculcate the trait of generosity." To a woman who approached Rabbi M. M. Schneerson complaining that she was unhappy about her negative disposition, he responded, "Do good things and you will become good."

The authors cite *Ethics of the Fathers* (4:2) that one good deed, and conversely one bad one, brings another. The passage continues with "the reward of a good deed is the good deed and the reward of a transgression is the transgression." It is the direct effect of the deed on the person who enacts it that is the most immediate and often significant consequence, for as commentators explain, "such is the way of the world, one who does one good deed will find it easier to do another" (Bartenura) and "his sins will allow him to sin further" (Tiferet Yisrael). Midrash Tanchuma (Leviticus 10) states: "One should not be concerned merely with the one sin committed, since it is destined to bring to more severe sins. If one does a good deed, one's happiness should not be limited to this alone, because it is certain to lead to many others."

Socrates (Cahn 2012, p. 42) similarly describes sin as what "will harm and corrupt that part of ourselves that is improved by just actions and destroyed by unjust actions." The Talmud is replete with this notion, cautioning that moral corruption is a gradual process brought on by the steps toward wrongdoing. Rabbi Yonah of Gerona (in Medrash Shmuel Ethics 4:2) based on Isaiah (3:10) refers to this as the "fruits" of one's actions.

This, as the authors note citing the Talmud, is because of the powerful impact of habit. The impact of habit on behavior is well established in psychological literature, yet in Jewish thought, this is viewed not merely as a mechanical reaction to reinforcement but as shaping the person's very character. Rabbinic proverbs state "habitude becomes second nature" (Shevilei Emuna 4:5; Pachad Yitzchak, *Hergel*) and "habitude reigns supreme upon all things" (Tishbi, *Hergel*). Deeply ingrained behavior becomes integral to the person's character, in the words of Jeremiah (13:23), as the spots on a leopard's skin, which the Metzudot David commentary explains as deeply ingrained habits are hard to reverse as they seem most natural.

This idea is incorporated in many aspects of Jewish law, of which a few examples are offered here: To overcome sloth when rising in the morning, Rabbi Shlomo Ganzfried (Kitzur, Orach Chaim 1:4) notes: "once a person trains himself to do this four or five times, it will no longer be difficult." If in doubt whether a passage was recited in prayer, the rule is that if said for 30 days, the assumption is in the affirmative "since his tongue has been accustomed" (Shulchan Aruch Harav, Orach Chaim 114:10). Kosher laws require meat to be salted, yet if in doubt, many authorities rule that it may be assumed that it was done as this would be the normal habit (Taz Yoreh Deah 69:4; see Darchei Teshuva ad loc).

Thus, by drawing on this deep vein of understanding about the role of actions for psychological well-being, the following chapter highlights this less recognized

means of promoting psychological health and draws attention to how this highly developed idea in Jewish sources may contribute to applications in clinical practice.

Integrating Judaism into Cognitive Behavioral Therapy

Devora Greer Shabtai, Steven Pirutinsky and David H. Rosmarin

For the Torah is life to one who finds it, and it is a healing for all flesh (Proverbs 4:22); it will be a healing for your navel and marrow for your bones (Proverbs 3:8)

It has been documented that the vast majority of Americans believe in God or a higher power and report a religious preference (Gallup Poll 2007/2008). It is therefore not surprising that both medical and mental-health patients have expressed interest in discussing religious and spiritual issues within the context of clinical treatment (Stanley et al. 2011; Pargament 2007). To this end, a growing body of empirical research has recently explored the impact of spirituality and religion on emotional well-being. This research has uncovered that several aspects of spirituality and religion can serve as valuable resources in times of emotional distress (Pargament 1997), challenging the predominant belief among social scientists in past years that religion *contributes* to psychological turmoil (Freud 1907).

For the general population, the majority of research has tied greater basic religious observance (e.g., church attendance, Bible study) to lower levels of depression and anxiety (Koenig et al. 1993; Smith et al. 2003) and enhanced coping with life struggles (Harrison et al. 2001; Pargament 2007). This research has led to the creation of numerous spiritually integrated treatments (SITs) which have begun to pave the way for culturally appropriate services to be offered to the religious individual (Rosmarin et al. 2010a). These interventions directly address the spiritual and religious beliefs of the patient and draw upon religious content in the process of treatment (Pargament 2007). SITs have begun to be utilized in the treatment of various issues including generalized anxiety (Koszycki et al. 2011/2014), social anxiety (McCorkle et al. 2005), mental illness (Weisman de Mamani et al. 2010), addictions, physical and psychological well-being among cancer patients, family functioning (Rye et al. 2005), and stress (Oman et al. 2006).

In recent years, several attempts have been made to integrate spirituality and religion into the specific treatment modality of cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) (Barrera et al. 2012; Tan and Johnson 2005). This has been a crucial step forward as the last decade has seen a proliferation of interest in CBT as a treatment approach to a variety of mental health conditions. In addition to providing a unique theory of behavior change, CBT allows for shorter and more cost-effective therapies (Craighead et al. 1995) and has become among the most empirically validated treatments in existence today (Chambless and Ollendick 2001). Recently developed forms of spiritually integrated CBT (SI-CBT) are similar to traditional CBT but present treatment goals in a spiritual framework and utilize religious concepts and sources to counter maladaptive beliefs and cognitive distortions (Nielsen et al. 2001).

There are several reasons as to why CBT is now considered to be an "elegant approach" for treating religious patients (Johnson et al. 2000). Firstly, on the most

basic level, CBT centers itself around the core beliefs of the patient which thereby targets the patient's religious ideology from the onset. In fact, CBT is based on the very notion that one's beliefs are essential—something the religious patient is likely to already understand. Similarly, the emphasis on education and teaching as therapeutic tools are familiar to many religious individuals who are comfortable with practices such as scripture reading and religiously-based activities such as imagery, mediation, and prayer (Tan and Johnson 2005). While research in this field is still in its beginning stages, nearly 50 clinical trials have been conducted using SITs (Rosmarin et al. 2010a). One meta-analytic study compared standard CBT with forms of SI-CBT and demonstrated that both treatments were equally effective in reducing symptoms of depression at 1-week follow-up (McCullough 1999). Another more recent meta-analysis may indicate that SITs may be *more* efficacious than other treatments (Smith et al. 2007), though many clinical trials have unfortunately been plagued by significant methodological limitations. Nevertheless, SITs can be offered to the religious patient without compromising treatment efficacy and may confer some additional benefit over and above traditional psychotherapeutic approaches.

Despite these advances, SI-CBT has utilized predominantly Christian beliefs and practices within the course of treatment. However, we suggest that the Jewish tradition can contribute to our understanding of psychological treatment and can be integrated into therapy to provide an effective path toward cognitive and behavioral change. It is expected that interweaving Jewish ideas can not only deepen our general understanding of the role that psychological treatment can play in the life of the individual, but can also lead to the dissemination of a uniquely powerful form of treatment for individuals in need of psychological care, Jew and non-Jew alike.

In this chapter, we articulate a clinical approach to the integration of Jewish spirituality into CBT. We start by providing a conceptual framework describing how the core methods of CBT are consonant with, and may even embody aspects of, Jewish ideology. Subsequently, we discuss an approach to integrating Jewish principles and ideas into standard CBT and methods for utilizing Jewish spiritual practice in the treatment process. It must be noted, however, that this chapter chiefly seeks to synthesize Jewish thought with the theories and practices of CBT. Thus, while the clinical methods are clearly founded on the principles of evidence-based psychotherapy, for the most part they have not been systematically evaluated in the context of research. We share our insights with the hope of enhancing dissemination of CBT to the spiritually inclined and also providing theoretical bases for subsequent research and evaluation.

A Conceptual Framework for Judaism and CBT

The Jewish tradition has a unique perspective on the general process of emotional growth which can help to enrich a larger understanding of the role psychological treatment can play in one's life. Judaism identifies the existence of a compassionate

Being who plays an active role in assisting the individual throughout any process of positive development. As the Talmud (*Makkot* 10b) writes, "One who seeks to improve, the way is opened for him" (through divine assistance). In fact, one of the most praised actions a person could do from a Jewish standpoint is to engage in any process of *Teshuva*, or of turning back from negative habits, thoughts, or behaviors (Maimonides, Laws of Repentance 7:6–7). It is clear that Jewish ideology does not expect a person to be naturally perfect or free of error and instead encourages him to strive for positive change at whatever level he currently is, regardless of past mistakes or challenges. As King Solomon wrote, "A righteous man falters seven times and rises again" (Proverbs 24:16). In fact, from a Jewish lens, an individual's set of life circumstances—including his challenges—is clearly viewed as part of a larger plan that he or she is meant to confront and hopefully overcome. As is it is written in the Biblical book of Job (5:7), "Man is born to toil."

Accordingly, Jewish philosophical teachings establish that what is asked of the individual is not to be devoid of struggle, but rather to muster enough strength and fortitude to engage in positive behaviors *despite* the negative emotions that weigh him down. In other words, an individual is being called upon to make the *decision* to raise himself up and work to overcome his or her struggles, whether they be internal or external, despite the difficulty that often accompanies this process. The *Talmud* (*Avoda Zara* 3a) provides additional encouragement with the teaching that "A person is not given more [of a load] than he can handle." Further, Jewish teachings often frame this task within the context of a person's *Bechira,* or free will. When presented with challenges such as psychological distress, Judaism sees the individual as having the choice of whether or not to muster the determination and will to take control of his situation and squash the maladaptive thoughts and impulses that steer him away from healthy behaviors, relationships, and achieving life goals. This is entirely dependent on his or her volition. Maimonides famously discusses that individuals possess innate characteristics that can either steer them toward righteousness or wickedness, but that each person is capable, "of his own free will, with the consent of his mind, [to] bend to any path he may desire to follow" (Laws of Temperaments, Chap. 1) .

This *Bechira* is seen as a human being's greatest tool, and what enables him to direct his life according to the goals he sets out for himself even if it requires a monumental amount of work and dedication. In fact, it can be argued that the fact the individual must put in labor to reach personal achievements is in and of itself a positive thing. As Jewish sages teach, "The reward is proportional to the effort" (Ethics of our Fathers, 5:2). Several Jewish religious figures and episodes from the Bible model this process. For example, Abraham himself was tested with ten trials that both strengthened him and revealed his strength and devotion. Joseph ultimately transcended his difficult life circumstances and assumed a position of strength and leadership. King David gained self-awareness and learned from his mistakes. The story of the Jewish people serves as testament to human capacity to overcome perpetual hardship—becoming empowered to rise up to face challenges, rather than succumbing to defeat.

Moreover, Jewish philosophers perceive life itself as a battle between the positive and negative inclinations within a person and see true victory as the ability to identify, and ultimately suppress, these maladaptive drives (Path of the Just, Chap. 2). Part of this task involves making conscious decisions to take control of one's thoughts and behaviors by fortifying oneself with strategies that are not too different from those taught through CBT (these will be discussed later in the chapter).

Contemplating this Jewish view of human nature can empower the patient to know and to feel that change is possible and is dependent upon taking proactive steps when faced with distressing emotions. While a person does not choose to confront mental health issues, his or her *response* to the struggle—whether he will choose to take and pursue help or relent—is in his or her hands. Further, this view can also help shape our overall understanding of the role of psychological treatment. With an understanding that every person is meant to grapple with various challenges and acquire the proper mindset in which to do so, the treatment process can now be seen as a tool to help guide the individual and provide him with a means of working toward emotional health. Equipped with this perspective, entering therapy no longer needs to be something that elicits shame and labels the patient as "flawed," but rather both patient and practitioner can approach this as a process of positive development like any other. Incorporating these ideas and perspectives into the treatment process can help remove the shame that often fuels the cycle of depression and enable the patient to set goals for change with an understanding that the fact that one is experiencing challenge does not make him dysfunctional or "abnormal" (as each person confronts challenge in varying degrees in some domain) and instill the conviction that these challenges can indeed be overcome. This shift in perspective alone is significant as the stigma associated with treatment seeking has been a barrier to individuals across cultures (Pirutinsky et al. 2010) .

Integrating Jewish Principles and Ideas into CBT

In addition to the perspective that Judaism can offer on the general concept of seeking therapy, several principles from Jewish literature have the potential to enrich and support the content of treatment as well. CBT, developed by Beck (1963), is centered on the relationship between cognition and behavior in which cognitive processes can influence behavior, and behavioral change can influence cognitions (Dobson and Block 1988). In the clinical practice of CBT, therapists typically design strategies to influence both cognitive and behavioral pathology.

For example, a CBT technique known as "behavioral activation" encourages the individual to create structured routines of behavior and, through doing so, break free of the cycle that has reinforced negative emotions. The notion that positive change is regulated through the consistent and deliberate performance of certain preplanned behaviors is found in the writings of many classic Jewish ethical works and can similarly be introduced to the patient to help develop and instill the idea of

behavior change. Rabbi Moshe Hair Luzzato, preeminent Jewish thinker, wrote that "When a person quickens his external physical movement, he will cause his inner fervor to be aroused. However, if he reacts with lethargy when moving his limbs, his inner drive will wither." Elsewhere, he has similarly taught that "physical actions awaken one's internal emotions." The Talmud, too, uncovers the power of habit over the human psyche when it states: "One who transgresses and repeats begins to view something forbidden as now permissible to him" (Yoma 38b). A similar idea is found in the classic Jewish text *Pirkei Avos* (Ethics of our Fathers) where it teaches that "A good deed brings a good deed, and a bad deed brings a bad deed" (4:2). Further, the important Jewish work *Sefer Hachinuch* (Book of Education) teaches, "Know that a man is influenced in accordance with his actions. His heart and thoughts follow after his deeds in which he is occupied."

Thus, Jewish literature suggests that one's behavior can set off a negative cycle if not properly conditioned and offers clear ideas for how to monitor this. Jewish teaching stresses the importance of training oneself to perform positive behaviors as a replacement for the negative behaviors which a person is accustomed to, and suggests to "use dependence upon habit to create one's own remedy." To a large degree, this is what the therapist is asking of the patient, namely, to now utilize the power of habit for the *good* by consciously choosing adaptive behaviors to focus on and condition within himself.

A related idea is found in the works of Maimonides, famed Jewish philosopher of the twelfth century, who teaches the importance of behavior change and breaking negative habits. For this task, he posits a formula of the "golden mean," and explains that a person should work to alter negative behavioral tendencies and emotions (such as anger) by acting out conscious behaviors that reflect the opposite extreme. According to Maimonides, this behavioral exercise eventually leads to the desired behavior change, and ultimately contributes toward a balanced character (Laws of Temperaments, Chap. 1). It is also interesting to note that the Jewish ethicists emphasize the importance of keeping a systematic accounting of the performed behaviors that were planned through charts and ledgers. *The Path of the Just* teaches that "it is necessary that a man be meticulous in his ways and weigh them daily, like the leading merchants do when they assess all their undertakings to prevent their businesses from falling into ruin. One should schedule fixed time and hours for this and adhere to them faithfully" (p. 18). Such concepts can be used by practitioners to frame and encourage behavioral activation.

Furthermore, in the CBT model, a person's thinking plays a significant role in mediating both emotion and behavior, and cognitions are therefore targeted in therapy as a means for altering negative emotions (Beck 1976). Cognitive behavioral practitioners help people to understand how they have formed "cognitive distortions" and found "evidence" to support these false perceptions about themselves, others, and the world around them. Individuals are often not aware that they have formed these distorted beliefs. The CBT model teaches that by consciously identifying these thoughts and learning to think differently about their experiences, people can then begin to *feel* differently. Such cognitive distortions are problematic, not only because they take the individual away from reality, but also because they con-

tribute to debilitating negative emotions or avoidance of troubling situations. The idea that people can become aware of their own thought processes is a dominant theme in Jewish literature and can be deployed to help the clinician deepen this process of cognitive restructuring.

The significance of utilizing both cognitive and behavioral techniques together to combat unwanted thoughts and behaviors is found throughout Jewish ethical writings, most commonly within works of *Mussar* (ethical teachings). Prominent Jewish thinker Rabbi Bahya Ibn Pekuda contended that the negative influences upon a person come in a variety of "strategies and tricks," and that a person's strongest weapon is his very ability to monitor his own thought process. It is interesting to note that Jewish ethicists posit that in addition to external habits or compulsions that an individual becomes accustomed to, there are also *habitual thoughts,* or internal obsessions that "capture" and "enslave" a person's mind and become the entire focus of his attention and intellect. Jewish teachings encourage people to lead a life based on introspection rather than impulse—to take a step back from the inappropriate, irrational, or debilitating thoughts/feelings that emerge within them and cultivate better responses. As is written in the *Biblical book Ecclesiastes* (Chap. 5), "Be not rash with your mouth, and let your heart not be hasty to utter a word before God." And similarly, "I turned about with my heart to know and to search out and to seek wisdom and the reason of things, and to know the wickedness of folly and the foolishness of madness" (Ibid 7:25). Further, the Biblical book Proverbs teaches that "As a man thinks, so he is" (23:7) and teaches that "foresight will protect you, and discernment will guard you" (Ibid 2:11).

Similarly, the first piece of advice offered in *Ethics of Our Fathers* (1:1) is "Be cautious in judgment." Rabbi Chaim Volozhin elaborates on this and teaches people to "Think long and hard before coming to a conclusion." In other words, it is in our control to choose how to view a situation. It is up to us to try to detach from these thoughts and realize that the way we are feeling about something isn't necessarily accurate. Writings from Rabbi Luzzatto similarly taught that "a person should not pursue his thoughts thoughtlessly, the way a blind person walks in darkness" and that "he who walks in his world without contemplating his path is like a blind man who is walking along a riverbank—he is in grave danger and more likely to come to harm than to be saved" (Path of the Just, p. 14).

Similarly, the *Bible* (Hagai, 1:5) itself instructs "Let your thoughts attend to your ways." *The Path of the Just* expands on this verse and writes that the negative force within a person tries to control a person's behavior so that his mind will be distracted from positive thought and suggests that the only way to escape this "trap" is to acquire foresight (p. 15). Moreover, a person is warned against being "constantly propelled forward by impulsiveness of their habits and ways, without leaving themselves time to critically example their conduct."

These teachings imply that every person must monitor his own thought processes. However, it is expected that people experiencing mental health conditions will be in particular need of challenging their current thinking and consider whether they are correctly perceiving themselves and life around them. Through CBT, people can learn to recognize these "automatic thoughts" and challenge their veracity—such

as thoughts that tell him he is worthless or that she is not capable of achievement or growth, and that others think poorly of him or her. As emphasized by the CBT model and expanded by Jewish thought, it is the person's mind that ultimately determines his decisions and the emotional state that he is in. As King Solomon espoused, "More than all that you guard, guard your mind" (Proverbs, 4:23).

Renowned CBT psychologist David Burns categorized several classic types of distorted forms of thinking, among which include *catastrophizing* (assuming the worst will occur) and *fallacy of fairness* (constant worry of being treated unfairly; Burns 1980). Along these lines, the CBT model posits that it is a person's core *beliefs* that lie at the root of his or her automatic thoughts, ultimately determining the emotions a person will feel in a given situation (Beck 1995). Jewish teachings can also provide valuable insight that may help to supplant the specific negative assumptions themselves that often lie at the root of these pernicious cognitive distortions. For example, the belief that God plays an active role in one's daily affairs through Divine Providence (*hashgacha*) and ultimately has one's best interest in mind lies at the root of the Jewish faith (*bitachon*) can effectively countervail these and other distorted cognitions. In fact, classic Jewish thought itself espouses that trust in God can protect against feelings of worry and depression and enables an individual to maintain a sense of peace (Ibn Pekuda, *Duties of the Heart*). The importance of increasing one's trust in God's benevolence is highlighted throughout the *Bible*, particularly in the book of Genesis and the book of Psalms. This emphasis on cultivating beliefs that the world runs in accordance with a plan and that life has purpose and meaning is exactly the antidote to the core beliefs that lead people to the multitude of insecurities and feelings of hopelessness that have been shown to lie at the root of anxiety and depression. As the *Talmud* (Berachot 10a) encouraged, "Even if a sharp sword is placed on a man's neck, let him not despair of God's mercy," while fear during times of imminent danger is understandable.

Research on Trust in God

These conceptual connections between trust in God and mental health have recently been empirically tested through an extensive program of research. Initial studies suggested that attitudes toward God can be divided into both trust (e.g., "God is compassionate toward human suffering") and mistrust ("God's judgment is unfair") and can be measured using an empirically validated psychological scale (Rosmarin et al. 2009; Rosmarin et al. 2011). Furthermore, this research suggested that trust is associated with lower anxiety while mistrust is associated with higher anxiety. The mechanism for this effect appears to be that positive beliefs about God, including the belief that everything that God does is for the good, can help people to reduce the negative emotions that often accompany the uncertainty of life events and increase their tolerance for uncertainty (Rosmarin et al. 2011). If one truly believes that everything that happens is "for the best," and was strategically designed by a Creator, life becomes less anxiety-provoking.

Given these findings, Rosmarin et al. (2010b) developed and evaluated the efficacy of a treatment program to facilitate greater trust in God as an intervention for worry and stress in the Jewish community through a randomized clinical trial. Consulting with a team of Jewish religious leaders and educators, researchers created a 30-min, self-directed, spiritually based treatment program dubbed "Increase Your Trust in God." The program is comprised of Jewish religious stories, anecdotes, and spiritual activities including gratitude exercises and prayer. Once this program was completed, a sample of 125 Jewish individuals with elevated levels of stress and worry received either spiritually based treatment, progressive muscle relaxation (an established treatment for stress and worry), or a control condition. Examples of the interventions used in the spiritually based treatment are described in the Appendix. Participants in each active condition completed their programs once each day for a 2-week period. All participants completed self-report measures of spiritual and psychological functioning prior to, immediately after, and 6–8 weeks following the study period. Participants who received the spiritually based treatment reported large reductions of stress, worry, and depression in comparison to other groups (Rosmarin et al. 2010b). Thus, it appears that the integration of the Jewish religious construct of trust in Divine Providence (*bitachon*) in clinical treatment can be an effective tool for reducing anxiety and stress among those who desire a religiously informed treatment.

The underlying theory for this effect is that when an individual perceives that there is a knowledgeable, powerful, and benevolent entity overseeing his or her life, it is likely that negative appraisals of perceived danger will be reduced, as well as the need for certainty and predictability. Conversely, an individual who experiences mistrust in God and therefore has less tolerance for unpredictable or uncertain events will most likely feel worry when confronted with uncertain life events. Equipped with a belief in a higher power, life is no longer thought to be subject to random sequence but rather events fit into a meaningful context that is actively overseen. Therefore, situations that are unpredictable or uncertain no longer pose the same threat, and therefore do not trigger the same amount of fear as in people who contend that their life is purely in their own hands—or in no hands at all.

The conceptual and practical outcomes which emerge from this body of research serve as a rich example of how Jewish ideals can significantly contribute to both psychological theory and practice. While almost all psychology of religion research has targeted Christian communities, research on trust in God, a concept arising from Judaism, is one of the first bodies of research on religious *beliefs*. These findings have therefore provided important insight for the broader field of psychology of religion as to the role of religious faith and belief in anxiety and affective disorders.

Conclusion

Rabbi Shlomo Wolbe, a leading expert on Jewish pedagogical theory, stressed that there are two crucial steps in the process of both self-development of oneself and education of others. The first phase consists of *zriya*, or "planting" the proper

framework of thoughts and perspectives within the individual. This phase consists of laying the internal groundwork for the values and outlook one will ultimately govern his life around. This planting is furthered by *binyan*, or building the individual, of "constructing" the various healthy behaviors and actions that will lead to a meaningful and productive existence. Essentially, this is what is occurring during the therapeutic process. Over the course of life, the individual experiencing psychological turmoil has acquired faulty perceptions of himself and of reality, and is at a loss as to how to break the destructive cycles. Through CBT, the therapist is serving as an *educator*, teaching the patient how to reshape and rebuild his ways of viewing himself and the world and guiding him to alter the maladaptive behaviors that contribute to the psychological symptoms he or she is experiencing. When Jewish ideas and practices are interwoven with the concepts and techniques of CBT, an enhanced version of CBT emerges that has broad relevance. Until now, SI-CBT has utilized predominantly Christian beliefs and practices within the course of treatment. However, as shown, the Jewish tradition has a significant amount to contribute to our understanding of psychological treatment which can in turn be integrated into therapy to provide an effective path toward cognitive and behavioral change. While the Jewish principles discussed support and deepen the rationale for the methods of CBT, it also puts into perspective the nature of this treatment and perhaps even the nature of various psychological symptoms in general. Awareness of the Jewish concepts set out in this chapter can help to alleviate psychological distress and this can be viewed and approached in a similar manner to any other normative process of emotional growth, rather than as something permanently debilitating that is beyond one's reach.

Appendix

Religiously integrated CBT often includes having the patient engage in meditative exercises based upon scripture in order to help the patient directly enhance his or her mood. The benefits of increasing one's trust in God provide ample opportunity for such a form of meditative practice. The following four exercises have been utilized in the clinical trial discussed above, and have since been used in a self-directed program that has been disseminated in the Jewish community:

Exercise 1

The following exercise is designed to enhance the patient's belief and trust in an all-knowing Creator who is in control of his or her life:

Please take a moment to think of a person who you trust. This special individual may be a doctor, a teacher, a parent, a friend, or any other person who you feel has taken care of us in our lives.

Now, take some time to think about why this person is trustworthy in your eyes. Think of what it is about this person that makes you trust in him/her.

Perhaps they are compassionate, empathetic, and loving. Maybe they are capable and strong and you are confident that they can help you. They may have knowledge about what your needs are. Maybe they did something that you consider to be heroic.

When you are ready, try to take another few seconds and see how it feels to think of this person as God's messenger. Try to picture that God sent them to you, to help you some way in your life.

Finally, take another moment or two and try to feel that God has tremendous love for you. Try to feel that God gave you the gift of this person's presence in your life out of deep caring for your personal happiness and well-being.

Exercise 2

The next exercise is aimed at helping the patient experience a sense of gratitude to God:

Please take a look at the list of words on the following screen. The item you pick should be something that you value very dearly—the more significant and important, the better.

- Your hands or your legs
- Your sense of sight or hearing
- Your general health
- A family member (e.g., spouse, parent or child)
- A good friend
- A teacher
- Your home
- Your job or vocation
- Something else of great value

Now, this may be unpleasant to do, but please take a moment to picture what your life would be like without the item you chose from the list. Try to think about how your life may be different without the item. You may also wish to think about how having the item has made your life more convenient and happy.

Now, take another moment and try to think of the item as a gift from God. Imagine God giving you the item with the full knowledge of what it does for you in your life. Try to imagine that God knew how difficult your life would be without this item and therefore God gave it to you so you could be happier.

Now, take another moment and try to feel that God has tremendous love for you personally. Try to feel that God gave you the item as an act of great love and care.

Finally, please take a moment to thank God verbally for taking care of you by giving you the gift of this item. Feel free to phrase your thanks whichever way you like, but the more specific and heartfelt you can be the better. If you would prefer not to verbalize your thanks out loud, just try to work up as great a sense of appreciation to God for the item as you can.

Exercise 3

The following exercise is aimed at helping the patient to continue increasing faith in an omnipotent God:

Let us do another exercise to try to build our trust in God. Please start by thinking about a stressful time in the past when things turned out ok in the end. It does not have to be an overt miracle—any experience that you had when you felt that things turned out better than you expected will be just fine.

Try to think about how you felt before the situation was resolved. Recall what was stressing you out at the time. What were the anticipated consequences you were concerned about?

Now, try to think about God's knowledge at the time you were stressed. Think about how God "knew" that the situation would turn out ok in the end. What would it have been like for you to have that knowledge at the time?

Now, try to think about God's involvement in the situation. What did God do to make the situation turn out ok? What might have happened had some random force been in charge and not God?

Finally, try to think about the outcome of the situation as a gift from God. Try to imagine that God loves you and cares about you deeply and that is why God helped things to turn out ok in the end.

Exercise 4

This last exercise is designed to help the patient apply this belief to daily events:

For the fourth and final exercise, we are going to try to develop our sense of trust in God in some basic life activities. The goal of this exercise is to feel increased trust in God. Here are some examples:

1. Try to feel trust in God that the next time you go to the refrigerator, there will be some food there for you to eat. Trust that God has kept your fridge running so that the food inside will be cool and fresh when you open the door.
2. Try to feel trust in God that the next time you flip a light switch, the lights will turn on or off as you desire. Trust that God has kept the electrical system functioning and the circuitry and light bulb filaments intact so the system will operate as you want it to.
3. Try to feel trust in God that the next time you attempt to stand up, your body will be able to rise. Trust that God will enable your muscles, ligaments, and bones to accomplish the task of getting out of your chair.

If none of these examples speak to you, feel free to come up with your own. However, whatever you choose should be something that an intelligent secular person would be confident in for "natural" reasons. One of the difficulties of trusting in God is that one must make all the efforts that will reasonably produce one's goals, and then know that it is really God making everything happen. It is a test! After you have every natural reason to believe that things will work out, can you think and feel that God is behind it all?

Also, it is possible that despite your trust in God, the outcome you desire will not actually happen. For example, your refrigerator may really not be working the next time you go to open it! If this occurs, try to think of a reason why this may have been in your best interests (e.g., maybe there was some rotten food in your fridge and you would have gotten sick had you eaten it) and try to feel trust that God made this happen for your best interests.

Please take a moment to try to feel trust in God for in area of your life.

Prayer. We are now done with our readings and exercises, but there is one final thing to do. Increasing one's trust in God is not an easy thing to do. As such, it makes sense to ask for some assistance. So, we would like to take a moment to pray to God to give us the guidance, wisdom, strength, and courage to experience increased trust in God in our lives.

Using our own words, let us pray for an increase in our levels of trust in God. As we pray, let us try to realize that the task of increasing one's trust in God is a big one, and that it would be nice to have some help from up above to accomplish it.

If prayer is not a regular thing for you, that is perfectly fine. Just try your best to articulate your desires verbally by speaking softly and simply from the heart.

In addition to the above exercises, the therapist can also choose among the many scriptural verses and prayers which reflect this idea and have the patient devote time to reciting them weekly in order to replace anxiety-provoking thoughts. Positive affirmations, known as "coping statements" are often used in the course of CBT. Countless Jewish prayers and psalms can serve to reinforce the psychologically curative effects of increased trust in God. Examples of these verses include:

"Trust in the Lord with all your heart, and lean not on your own understanding; In all your ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct your paths" (Proverbs 3:5); "He gives power to the faint and weary; and to him who has no might He increases strength. Even youths shall faint and be weary, and young men shall stumble and fall exhausted; but those who wait for the Lord [who expect, look for, and hope in Him] shall change and renew their strength and power; they shall lift their wings and mount up [close to God] as eagles [mount up to the sun]; they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint or become tired" (Isaiah 40:29–31); "The Lord is good to all and his mercies are upon all his creatures" (Psalms 145:9); "The Lord is close to the brokenhearted and saves those who are crushed in spirit. The righteous person may have many troubles,

but the Lord delivers him from them all" (Psalms 34:17–19); "Many thoughts are in the heart of man, but only those in accordance with God's plan will endure" (Proverbs)

Focusing on these ideas can help the patient to internalize that there is a loving, omnipotent Being that is taking care of his needs who wants to hear his prayers, desires, and concerns. Similarly, several Jewish prayers provide the opportunity for an individual to apply this trust and turn directly to God to ask for help, including the prayer:

"Heal us, God so that we shall be cured, redeem us so that we shall be redeemed. Bring about cure and healing for all our illnesses, and all our pains, and all our sufferings, because You are Almighty, the merciful and trustworthy Healer"; "Place peace, goodness, blessing, life, grace, kindness, righteousness and mercy upon us" (Amidah prayer)

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Chapter 8
Religious Ritual and Wellbeing

Kate Miriam Loewenthal and Simon Dein

Is there more to ritual than mere habit?

Religious ritual has had a bad press from psychology in the twentieth century, notably from two of the century's most eloquent and influential psychologists, Freud and Maslow. Freud's (1907) paper *Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices* offered compelling descriptions of similarities between obsessive actions and religious practices in that both involve a self-perpetuating cycle of anxiety arousal when the ritual is not performed, assuaged by the performance of the ritual. The driver for both obsessive actions and religious ritual is anxiety. Freud's further suggestion that religion was a collective neurosis has served to inhibit serious empirical study of ritual. If one follows Freud's argument, religious ritual is at best habit held in place by the mechanism of anxiety reduction. Once this truth is exposed, ritual is exposed as irksome and pointless—a nuisance.

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Eloquent derogation of ritual continued with Maslow's (1964) *Religions, Values and Peak Experience:* "Religion as a set of habits, behaviors, dogmas, forms, which at the extreme becomes entirely legalistic and bureaucratic, conventional, empty, and in the truest meaning of the word, anti-religious. The mystic experience, the illumination, the great awakening, along with the charismatic seer who started the whole thing, are forgotten, lost, or transformed into their opposites. Organised religion…finally may become the major enem(y) of the religious experience and the religious experiencer."

Maslow's sentiments are in line with and foreshadow the development of spirituality in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (see Heelas and Woodhead 2005). The spirituality ethos promotes the fostering of positive feelings and experiences in the individual, in contrast with religiosity which promotes collectively agreed, divinely originated moral rulings about thought, speech and behaviour as well as feelings and experiences.

In contrast to Freud and Maslow, a number of social scientists have observed that religious ritual offers a range of positive mental health benefits.

It has been suggested that ritual, worship and prayer affirm faith and invoke aid and comfort by a deity when the individual is unable to control the everyday world. Rituals can reduce anxiety and uncertainty and offer structures for emotional expression (Benson and Stark 1996; Hinde 1999; Pruyser 1968), create meaning in life, foster personal identity and overcome ambivalence and ambiguity (Erikson 1963). Rituals can serve as forms of communication, binding people together, enhancing social organisation and sense of community. Other suggestions include Jacobs' (1992) observation based on cross-cultural evidence that ritual may limit mental disturbance via its cathartic effects and its potential to create emotional distancing. Victor Turner (1975) suggests that rituals assist those engaged in them in the pursuit of resolving conflicts and restoring psychic and social equilibrium. The ritual of confession common to many religious traditions is recognised as an effective way of achieving catharsis (Pennebaker 1997).

From a religious point of view the "aim" of rituals is to connect to the sacred; for the believer the social and psychological "benefits" are of secondary importance.

Current empirical work on ritual (e.g. Pargament 1997; Koenig et al. 2012) confirms these social-scientific claims: Ritual is one of the so-called positive methods of religious coping which result in positive mental health outcomes for individuals under stress.

Recently there has been a strong growth of interest in understanding human behaviour from the phenomenological and experiential perspectives. We have been examining some religious rituals and customs using this approach, looking at experiential accounts of ritual.

The First Study: Sabbath Observance

In the first study to be described here, Sabbath-observant Jews were interviewed. The specifics of observance can vary between groups and individuals, but for all, the Sabbath (Shabbat/Shabbos) is the weekly day of rest and observance in Judaism

as prescribed in the fourth commandment. It is ushered in by lighting candles just before sunset and is a time for contemplation, study and prayer with an emphasis on family gathering through the Sabbath meals. For those who observe it, Shabbat is a precious gift from G-d, a day of great joy eagerly awaited throughout the week, a time when one can set aside all weekday concerns and devote oneself to higher pursuits rather than a day of restrictions. In Jewish literature, poetry and music, Shabbat is described as a bride or queen, as in the popular Shabbat hymn *Lecha Dodi Likrat Kallah* (come, my beloved, to meet the [Sabbath] bride).

The study used qualitative analysis, and the number of participants recruited (13) was guided by the aim of achieving conceptual saturation (not by statistical power considerations; e.g. Elliott et al. 1999). A purposive sample was recruited; criteria for inclusion were that participants should be adult (over 18), Jewish and self-defined as Sabbath-observant. Nine were recruited in London, UK, and four in New York; there were seven men and six women, of whom five were now married, six single and two widowed. The age range was 20–81 (mean 44.2). Participants were offered the options of face-to-face interviews (chosen by seven) or, if preferred, by telephone or written responses (chosen by six). Eight interviews were conducted by a male interviewer and five by a female interviewer. Interviews were semi-structured and lasted approximately 1 h. We asked:

(a) Age, sex, occupation.
(b) How long have you been an observant Jew?
(c) Tell me about your experience of observing the Sabbath.
(d) Describe a "typical" Sabbath. What do you do?
(e) In what ways does the Sabbath differ from the other days of the week?
(f) Do you feel differently during the Sabbath compared to the other weekdays? In what way(s)?
(g) Do you feel the Sabbath has benefits for your wellbeing? What are these?
(h) Does the Sabbath influence your relationship with other people? How?
(i) What aspects of observing the Sabbath make you feel good?
(j) Are there any negative effects of observing the Sabbath?

We used thematic analysis, using the procedures for establishing reliability recommended by Elliott et al. (1999). Three broad themes were identified (Dein and Loewenthal 2013). In the quotes that follow, we use the Ashkenazi pronunciation Shabbos as preferred and used by most interviewees. The themes were:

1. *Shabbos is different from other days of the week*. The observance of Shabbos includes not doing weekday work, handling money, using telephone, computing or transport and other mundane activities. The research participants said that this offers not only rest and relaxation, but a powerful sense of freedom, enhanced spirituality and the opportunity to reflect on ultimate values. Most people felt free from their daily worries and preoccupations, and mood is better.

Shabbos is a safe haven. We step away from our worries and involvement with worldly activities. One is innately aware of an elevated atmosphere.

Shabbos is different from other days of the week. I completely unplug from the rest of the world. I shut down electronically. It's a spiritual day. I focus on what matters most, reflect on the week, take a step back from the roles of real life. Spend time with family and friends.

Shabbos seems to have an elevating effect. Also the community comes together so there is a warm atmosphere in the home and at Shul…. On Shabbos one feels positive in general.

Shabbos is a completely different experience to every other working day of the week. It provides a weekly focus and important things in life and not on the ephemeral. One does not have to deal with daily stresses and strains and with the difficulties that throw up every day. We are taught that we are obligated to feel happy on Shabbos. Of course it has tremendous benefits. Too many to list here but just separating oneself from every day serious issues and deadlines I do believe the break has health and constitutional benefits. For me it helps to put the passage of life into perspective.

Shabbos is different to other days of the week. I act differently, dress differently. You do not need to worry about errands, there is nothing you can do about them on Shabbos. It is Shabbos, you should enjoy it. The pressure is off, you do not have to perform to the world. People at Shul can help you through any troubles you might be having.

I feel more relaxed. I do not worry about school work. When it is over the chaos of the real world is back. If you forget to do something there is nothing you can do on Shabbos so your worries are irrelevant.

I feel at peace with myself and the creator on Shabbos. As I developed individually, so did my Shabbos.

However, the release from weekday concerns and activities produced paradoxical effects for some. A vacuum was created into which worries and concern can rush, and it can be difficult to deal with the inability to take action.

If you forget to do something there is nothing you can do on Shabbos so your worries are irrelevant. Sometimes because you cannot do anything about them. However, since you cannot get distracted by electronics you have more time to think about things so bad thoughts tend to escalate.

On Friday nights it can be more challenging set aside in one's mind whatever serious concerns one may be dealing with (although) usually by Shabbos day it is easier not to focus on them so much and a break is a very healthy one.

2. *Shabbos preparation fills the week.*

The idea of Shabbos was present during the week—something to be anticipated, normally with pleasure and relief, and as something for which practical and sometimes spiritual preparations were to be made well in advance, often on a daily basis.

I suppose in a way Shabbos really starts on a Wednesday morning. In the psalm of the day 94 (for Wednesday) at the end we add a couple of verses from the next psalm 95 which happen to be the opening verses of Kabbolas Shabbos which we say as a Shabbos begins on Friday evening. This sort of gives us an impression or hint we are counting down to Shabbos which is fast approaching. Then we carry on with Wednesday, Thursday….

It takes the focus of the whole week, though often (it's in the) background, submerged by weekday concerns. But each day I do a bit for Shabbos, shopping, baking, cooking, so that it is not too much of a last minute rush.

I look forward to Shabbos to get away from things just when bored your mind tends to wander. Stressed out week, cannot wait for Shabbos.

3. *Deepening relationships.*

The freedom from work and weekday commitments and meals with family and/or friends gave the opportunity to improve and deepen the quality of family and other social relationships.

I have made lots of friends in Shabbos. We interact more with friends and family on Shabbos than in the week. Also the nature of the interaction is different in that in the week—often we speak to achieve physical and operational goals "did you buy laundry detergent?" On Shabbos we actually communicate and discuss where we are in life and stock take.

There is a feeling of wellbeing gathering. The family sit down, talk together, sing and enjoy. The kids come from school excited asking "when is Shabbos?" They bring things from school: drawings, stories, divrei torah (stories, parables and other material based on biblical and rabbinic sources). I learn with them on Shabbos.

I can finally talk to people for hours on end without the usual hustle and bustle of the work week, which normally get in the way.

It allows us to speak without technology blocking our pathway.

It is time to share with one's family, children, friends, and to enjoy the company of guests. There are no phone calls, e-mails, daily grind. It helps one to remember the inevitability of one's mortality so I would hope with help one to be better, kinder and more tolerant person.

Problems Observing Shabbos

Three of those interviewed noted specific problems with Shabbos observance, even in a relatively tolerant multicultural society. These were related to the need to leave work on Friday in time to reach home well before sunset. In winter this can mean having to leave work very early. Communication with managers and colleagues can be difficult.

The only negative effects observing Shabbos—it is a little challenging to explain to others especially in the work place.

I used to explain to colleagues about not being able to teach or attend meetings, or do other work on Friday afternoon and in winter etc. I have always been fortunate in having colleagues who are respectful and understanding. I have always tried not to exploit their good nature and always tried to pull my weight, do my fair share of work, making sure I do some of the horrible chores, if necessary working through some or even all of Saturday night.

Our Conclusions About Ritual from the Sabbath Study

Goldberg (1986) concluded that the Sabbath is a special day, offering time to contemplate, withdrawal and rest from mundane concerns and deepening relationships. These aspects can potentially improve feelings of mental wellbeing. Our findings are in agreement with Goldberg's, indicating that the 30-year interval has not—on our evidence—affected the experiences of Sabbath observance.

It did not appear that Sabbath observance was driven solely or even at all by the process that Freud suggested, namely, that observance involves a set of habits observed because failure to do so would result in anxiety and guilt. While these feelings may play a role, our research participants indicated that the motivations experienced are positive: pleasant, eager anticipation in preparation, heightened spiritual awareness and deepened interpersonal relationships.

Maslow's concern that ritual observance would inhibit or stifle spiritual experience is not confirmed by our evidence. Contrary to Maslow's suggestion, there were widespread reports that during the Sabbath, one's mind is free of weekday concerns and electronic distractions and one is able to contemplate, study and discuss profound issues: the nature of the divine, for example, or the purpose of existence.

The weekly work-free day has been adopted in many cultures and religions. In slavery and in some totalitarian regimes, the work-free day has often been abolished. In secularised countries, the work-free day clings on in tattered form, denuded of its spiritual significance, and often only available in a manner that makes family togetherness difficult or impossible, for example, by varying the free days of different workers and work places. We suggest that the work-free day even in its vestigial form is a humane institution, and with religious customs and rituals it can retain integrity as a time of existential and spiritual refreshment and deepening of relationships.

Second Study: Head Covering by Women

In this study, we examined a different aspect of ritual—dress codes—and we looked at how a particular aspect of dress codes functioned for women in the expression and development of religious identity. We focused on women's head covering in Islam and Judaism. Other religious traditions also have dress codes and standards of modesty, including head covering, but we confined ourselves to the experiences of women in two religious traditions.

As we started the study, we took the decision that our theoretical perspectives would focus on two potentially important aspects:

1. Identity

Views on the development of religious identity have shifted. Early work looked at religious *conversion*—whether individuals remained in the religion of their family of origin or shifted their religious identity and whether this shift happened suddenly or gradually (e.g. Scobie 1975). Later work recognised the complexity of themes (or motifs; Lofland and Skonovd 1981), moved towards the view of continual lifelong development (Day 1993; Fowler 1981) and also attributed importance to acts of describing religious change (e.g. Staples and Mauss 1987). Two early and influential theories are social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel and Turner 1986) and Marcia's development (1966) of Erikson's view of identity. SIT has been concerned with identity based on group membership and intergroup relations, while Marcia's proposals (and the work which followed) have rested heavily on the Eriksonian (1963) idea that identity development is the outcome of adolescence. These theories give negligible attention to the notion of lifelong process in the development of identity, but contain important features.

This study drew on Breakwell's (1986, 2010) *identity process theory (IPT)* which sees identity as a *dynamic process,* involving constant self-monitoring and assimilation of and accommodation to the social context. Identity involves structured, hier-

Table 8.1 Acculturation strategies. (Based on Fig. 1, Acculturation strategies, in Berry 1997)

	Importance of own-group identity and values		
Importance of relationships with wider society		High	Low
	High	*Integration*	*Assimilation*
	Low	*Separation/segregation*	*Marginalisation*

archical content, with elements varying in centrality and salience and with values appended to elements. The content of identity includes both social elements (group memberships, roles, etc.) and individual elements (values, beliefs, etc.). Changes in social context can call forth changes in identity, depending on personal relevance and involvement, amount of change demanded and how negative the change is considered to be. An important feature of IPT is the notion of threat to identity—threats to esteem, efficacy, distinctiveness or continuity will trigger coping, and responses to diminish threat may be of any kind.

2. *Acculturation strategies*

We also found Berry's (1997) suggestions about acculturation strategies helpful in understanding the importance of political/historical factors: integration and segregation result from a positively valued own-group identity and assimilation and marginalisation from unvalued own-group identity (Table 8.1).

Clothing has been said to play a major role in the expression of religious identity. There is some sociological and anthropological literature (e.g. Humphreys and Brown 2002; Boswell 2005) but negligible social psychology.

Methods

This work focused on the issues surrounding dress codes regarding head covering for Muslim and Jewish women. First, these dress codes and their variations are described, with the focus on head covering.

Translated (mainly Internet) sources of *Sharia* (Islamic law) and *Halacha* (Jewish law) on modest dress are used to set the context of religious rulings in which women wrestle with decisions about head covering.

Descriptions of women's attitudes to, and experiences of, head covering are drawn from open-ended questionnaires ($n=6$), semi-structured interviews ($n=5$; two from previous projects), conversations and observations, mainly in small acculturating communities in the UK. All questionnaires, interviews and conversations were with women. In the Jewish community, observations and conversations were as a participant in the community. Among the Muslims, some material was gathered in Saudi Arabia (thanks to Lamis Al Sulaim) and in conversations with friends. Peek's (2005) study of Muslim women in the USA was also used as a source of material. Belzen (2010) in *Towards a Cultural Psychology of Religion* argues for a hermeneutical approach involving a wide range of sources, as used here.

Some Religious Rulings on Head Covering: Islam

A *hijab* or *ḥijāb* is a veil which covers the hair. It is worn by Muslim women particularly in front of non-related adult males.

According to Islamic scholarship, *hijab* is given the wider meaning of modesty, privacy and morality. The Qu'ran mentions the use of covering and veiling with the words *khimār* (خمار) and *jilbab* (جلباب, not *hijab*), respectively. Still another definition is metaphysical, where al-hijab refers to "the veil which separates man or the world from God".

Hijab is required on women in public in countries such as Iran and Saudi Arabia, but is banned in schools in France, Turkey and formerly also in Tunisia. Wearing a *hijab* is left for individuals to decide in most of the world.

The term *hijab* or veil is not used in the Qur'an to refer to an article of clothing for women or men, rather it refers to a spatial curtain that divides or provides privacy. The Qur'an instructs the male believers (Muslims) to talk to wives of Prophet Muhammad behind a *hijab*. This *hijab* was the responsibility of the men and not the wives of Prophet Muhammad. However, in later Muslim societies this instruction, specific to the wives of Prophet Muhammad, was generalised, leading to the segregation of Muslim men and women. The modesty in Qur'an concerns both men's and women's gaze, gait, garments and genitalia. The clothing for women involves *khumūr* over the necklines and *jilbab* (cloaks) in public so that they may be identified and not harmed. Guidelines for covering of the entire body except for the hands, the feet and the face are found in texts of *Figh* and *Hadith* that are developed later.

Judaism The Talmud in Tractate *Ketubot* states that married Jewish women may not appear in public with their hair uncovered. This prohibition is described as a biblical law, and a verse from the Torah is cited to substantiate it.

Two levels of obligatory hair covering are then delineated: complete and partial covering. Partial coverage of the hair fulfils the more basic standard of "*Dat Moshe*" or the "Law of Moses". This level is the one that the Rabbis say is alluded to in the Bible. Complete coverage of the hair, though not mentioned in the Torah, is still necessary in order to satisfy the requirements of *Dat Yehudit* or "conduct deemed proper for a Jewish woman" (Ask the Rabbi 12.7.12).

Sheitel (שייטל) is the Yiddish word for a wig worn by some Orthodox Jewish married women in order to conform to the requirement of Jewish law to cover their hair. This practice is part of the modesty-related dress standard called *tzniut.*

The *Shulchan Aruch* (code of Jewish law) cites the opinion of Rabbi Joshua Boaz ben Simon Baruch that wearing of wigs is a permitted form of hair covering.

In some Hasidic sects, *sheitels* are avoided as they can give the impression that the wearer's head is uncovered. In other groups, women wear some type of covering over the *sheitel* to avoid this misconception. In significant contrast, the Lubavitcher Rebbe encouraged all married Jewish women to wear only *sheitels*. He suggested that if they were to exert a benign influence in society as communal leaders, profes-

sionals and the like, they would create a good impression if their hair covering was in the form of a sheitel.

Most orthodox married women (especially Sephardim) and Israeli National Religious do not wear wigs because their rabbis believe that wigs are insufficiently modest and that other head coverings, such as a hat or *tichel kerchief,* are more suitable (Wikipedia 12.07.2012).

Many/most married orthodox women will cover their hair in the home (as well as in public).

Studies of Religious Change in Relation to Head Covering

There have been some (social-scientific) studies describing religious change in both Islam (e.g. Peek 2005) and Judaism (e.g. Loewenthal 1988).

In both faith traditions, women report head/hair covering as a hot topic, involving the sense of identity and strong feelings. Political/historical factors are important.

The decision to cover the head/hair is seen as a major reflection and determinant of identity.

We now describe some important themes in women's own experiences of head covering and the decisions surrounding it.

1. Historical and political factors

Several women highlighted the importance of the political-historical factors contextualising their decisions to adopt religious head covering. Often the decision was taken as a deliberate and potentially risky way of asserting spiritual identity.

Before World War II,

> My grandmother in Germany wore a *sheitel* (wig). During the war she was in concentration camp, was (very exceptionally) rescued, became a refugee, and there were no facilities (for *sheitels*). Some years after the war it became possible for her to wear a *sheitel* (they became available). When she put on a *sheitel* (again) we were all very proud of her (for asserting the identity for which she had suffered so much). (Jewish)

In Stalinist Russia,

> My father was sent to Siberia for teaching Judaism. We kept Judaism, every time the neighbours became suspicious we had to move to a different city. We trembled to hear the knock on the door (from the KGB)…after the war, I left Russia, I was married and living in a provincial city where my husband was a Rabbi, the synagogue president came to visit me. He explained: "Here you can be modern, you don't have be oppressed, you don't have to wear a wig (*sheitel*)." I told him my family's history, and told him: "You are an important person, a justice of the peace, but if Stalin could not make me behave, I don't think you can." (Jewish)

After 9/11,

> "…my mum wants me to take my headscarf off because she's terrified that someone is going to hurt me." The students said that at this time it was more important than ever to declare their Muslim identities and faith in Islam…another girl saw that some of the girls

were afraid to wear their *hijab*, but she said "We have to keep our identity…fear G-d and have strength." (Muslim; from Peek 2005)

Sometimes, however, the decision may have strong pragmatic elements.

In some countries the reason is that it is the only (legally) acceptable dress code; girls simply do not think whether they want to wear it (*Hijab*) or not. (Muslim)

2. *Spirituality/religious ruling*

For both Jews and Muslims, head/hair covering is understood to be a religious commandment. To disobey would be wrong, going against religious law, and there are spiritual/mystical aspects.

It is a requirement in Jewish Law as set out in the Torah. (Jewish)

Appreciating the mystical significance & tremendous benefits that such self-control can have. (Jewish)

Wearing *hijab* can imply that one is representing Islam, which means that one is abiding by Islamic rules in all aspects of life. (Muslim)

(Wearing *Hijab* makes one) "more aware of God on a daily basis and hopefully become more practicing as a Muslim in many other ways." (Muslim)

3. *Relations with men*

The message here is that head covering and other aspects of modest dressing give both Jewish and Muslim women a sense that they are safe from masculine attention, and in Judaism, where hair covering is done at marriage, hair covering builds a closeness to the husband.

To create a unique intimacy and the deepest bond with one's husband. (Jewish)

By keeping such a crucial aspect of a woman's whole persona for the unique benefit of her husband is a key tool in building their whole relationship, trust & bond over time. (Jewish)

It helps create a kind of wall around the holiness of marriage. (Jewish)

Provides a sense of privacy, modesty and morality and also women wearing *hijab* can control how much man can see them or cannot, so that they feel protected. (Muslim)

To be modest in dress. Women, more than men, are judged by their looks so they might be wearing *hijab* because they don't want to be judged by their looks. It's one less thing to worry about at a time when women are obsessed with looks and image, when you wear *hijab* you are less aware of trying to look "right" all the time with the perfect hair and clothes. (Muslim)

4. *Identity*

Head/hair covering is a key feature of identity expression and is seen as indicating ones distinct difference from the surrounding society.

> It is also a good example to one's children as to how we are a different people and have different ethics and code from others in society. (Jewish)

> When I got married, it wasn't really a question—it was my Jewish identity, in my family. (Jewish)

> Asserting her Islamic identity, and wanting to be distinguishable from people from other faiths. (Muslim)

> To make Muslim women distinguishable from others. (Muslim)

Conclusions About Head Covering

Women's decisions about the ways in which they cover their heads are reported as crucial in the development of adult religious identity. Head-covering decisions are embedded in decisions about relations to the host culture, acculturation strategies and the salience of religious identity. Community norms and family play a role, as do exhortations by religious leadership and peers, especially in ascribing close causal connections between modest dress including head covering and spirituality.

From the experiential perspective, the notion of development is clearly useful—women see their decisions about head covering as key features of personal and spiritual identity development. Head covering and dress are seen not only as expressions of identity, but as ways managing of identity. Spiritual growth is thus not seen as a solely inner process, but one in which behaviour and ritual—in this case with respect to dress—exert an influence deserving more attention from social psychologists.

Head/hair covering may be a feature valued by those following a separatist acculturation strategy: Close relations with members of wider society are not valued, while own-group identity, values and relationships are important. *Hijab* has been seen as creating barriers:

> In religious, academic and popular discourses the *hijab* and other "modesty issues" have become over-signified as symbols of Muslim women's identity…a focus on clothing and modesty represent the ironies, contradictions and delicate negotiations that Muslim women constantly undertake. In most contexts, their visibility enhances and hinders the impact of their work. (Aune et al. 2013)

The adoption of a *sheitel* (wig) rather than a more noticeable cloth head covering may be a symptom of an integrationist strategy, in which relations with members of the host culture are valued, as well as own-group identity, values and relationships. The less noticeable wig may not create the "barrier" understood by the wearing of a cloth head covering.

Acculturation strategy has important implications for decisions about identity and what is regarded as a threat. From the IPT perspective, we can see several examples of the role played by head/hair covering in responding to identity threat. The decision about covering may throw up further challenges and changes.

Head covering for women in Islam and Judaism has been and is a hot topic for women in both religions. It appears to be a crucial feature in religious identity, apparently closely linked to profound issues of faith, relationships between the sexes and spirituality.

Overall, what women have to say about head covering seems removed from the suggestion that this is a ritual driven by anxiety and the need to reduce it.

Final Conclusion

We opened this chapter by asking whether ritual was habit, empty of meaning and/or driven by anxiety and the need to reduce it.

These early twentieth-century suggestions have contributed to the still derogatory view of ritual.

The two rituals we have investigated do not seem to be empty, meaningless habits for those who carry them out or driven by anxiety and the need to reduce it.

Sabbath observance involves spiritual inspiration, focus on purpose and meaning and a deepening of personal relationships. Head covering involves crucial decisions about identity, carries major spiritual significance and is felt to foster and signal crucial features of the relations between women and men.

Combining these conclusions, we see the reported impacts of ritual on spirituality, the sense of identity and meaning in life and the very powerful impacts on the forms and levels of social relationships.

There is more to be done in examining a wider range of rituals. We believe this will broaden and deepen the understanding of ritual and will offer messages that may be helpful in a wide range of contexts.

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Chapter 9
Addressing Depression Through Purpose and Happiness

Simon Dein and Yossi Ives

Depression is a growing phenomenon in modern life, which takes a huge personal, familial and societal toll. Over the decades, numerous psychological approaches have been developed to heal people suffering from this debilitating condition or, at least, to mitigate its effects. Multiple clinical, psychoanalytic and behavioural approaches have been in use for a century and more, and more recently, a growing trend in cognitive approaches has predominated. However, humanist, spiritual and existentialist approaches are also widely practiced, often to address the psychologically well person seeking to manifest himself or herself, rather than giving almost exclusive attention to the unwell problem the person is experiencing.

Within this broad latter tradition, logotherapy has become increasingly recognised as a powerful way of fostering psychological wellbeing. Logotherapy (meaning-based therapy) is a prominent psychological system founded by Victor Frankl, a holocaust survivor, who drew upon his own concentration camp experience to suggest that having a sense of meaning in life is vital to coping with psychological stress. His key idea is that we all possess a 'will to meaning' (a need for meaning in life) and that a lack of attachment to a higher life purpose results in profound existential aimlessness. Frankl, therefore, suggested that there is a close link between depression and experiencing a lack of sense of purpose. In this chapter, we suggest that while a life of purposefulness contributes to wellbeing, it brings a concomitant risk that a strong attachment to a goal may actually foster frustration when it fails to materialise and lead to dysphoria when it does. Having a sense of purpose is perhaps insufficient to deal with depression, which is often underpinned by negative toxic thoughts. We, therefore, draw upon a Judaic framework to suggest that logotherapy would be most effective when combined with approaches from positive psychology.

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In recent years, positive psychology has gained both popularity and credibility as a less pathology-oriented approach to wellbeing. This 'positive turn' in psychology has shifted the focus from how to mitigate illness and suffering to a way of promoting and enhancing wellbeing and happiness. We also suggest that focusing only on positive emotions without a higher sense of purpose may require a person to engage in an exhaustive and repetitive cycle of emotional enhancement as the person lacks a goal or driving force to inspire him or her. We suggest that this may be conceptualised as pull and push. Activities to enhance positive emotions (positive psychology) provide the push, whereas activities that connect a person with a higher purpose (logotherapy) provide the pull. In Judaic terms, this conforms to the verse from Psalms (34:15; 37:27), which states 'turn from evil and do good'. Rabbinic teaching draws from this verse that a person need to both do things that distance him or her from negative things (avoiding negative emotions) whilst also striving to pursue good ones (striving towards a higher goal).

While there is indeed a great deal of emphasis on positive attitudes and emotions in the Judaic literature and practice, we shall show that this is counterbalanced by great emphasis on instilling a sense of purpose and striving to achieve a higher goal. This chapter will begin with a brief introduction to Judaism and depression and will continue by looking at key positive emotions that are fostered by Jewish teachings and now advanced in the positive psychology literature. Thereafter, the chapter will continue with an exploration of some key ideas of logotherapy and how those are reinforced by teachings in Judaism. The chapter will conclude by drawing on Judaic principles to explore a framework for incorporating elements of both logotherapy and positive psychology and will suggest directions for future research into therapeutic applications.

Depression, Judaism and Positive Psychology

Simon Dein, coauthor of this chapter, is a Jewish psychiatrist who for over 10 years practiced psychiatry in the Chasidic community of London. While living there, he gained some understanding as to how Jewish values facilitated coping with depression, and this section explores how Jewish texts, and particularly the Jewish values they describe, inform understanding and management of what psychiatrists might refer to as depression. We shall explore from both Judaic and positive psychology perspectives how joy, optimism, humour and positive thinking can protect individuals against depression in the wake of adversity.

While there is some work suggesting people of Jewish descent experience higher rates of depression than other religious groups, that shall not be the focus of this chapter. Depression rates are highest in Jewish people of Eastern European descent and there has been some suggestion that genetic factors may be implicated. However, this may be an artefact of the way Eastern European Jews are more likely than Irish or Italian Catholics to express negative affects (see Levav et al. 1997). Either way, traditional Jewish sources describe a range of psychopathology that corresponds to what we are familiar with today (Loewenthal 1995), including depressive

disorders. There are several examples in the Bible of what contemporary scholars would define as clinical depression. Saul, the first king of Israel, experienced episodes of depression. While he loved his protégé, David, at the same time, he was also desperately jealous of him, and he was afraid that the people around him were plotting against him. Periodically, he sank into deep despair and desolation and experienced anger outbursts (See 1 Samuel 16). King Saul obtained some temporary relief from melancholy while David played his harp. This story indicates that external measures—including therapy, medication, physical exercise, making art or listening to music—can help to alleviate the anguish of depression. The prophet Elijah similarly suffered episodes of deep melancholy. He was rejected by his society and felt that all his work had been a failure. While in this low state of despair, he fled into the wilderness, sat down under a tree and prayed for his own death. "Enough!" he cried. "Please, God, take my life, for I am no better than my fathers" (1 Kings 19:4). The Book of Psalms describes the full range of human despair.

Although by no means rejecting the findings of modern biological psychiatry and its emphasis on disordered neurotransmitters, Judaic sources, it is suggested, understand depression as being heavily attitudinal. According to Ethics of the Fathers (4:1), a foundational Jewish text, "Who is truly wealthy? One, who is content with his portion". A Chassidic story is told about a poor man who once complained to the Maggid of Mezritch (1704–1772) about his poverty. The Maggid told him to consult Rebbe Zusha of Anipoli (1718?–1800) for advice. Rebbe Zusha, who himself suffered extreme poverty and poor health, questioned in all sincerity, "I don't know why the Maggid sent you to me, I've got everything I need". In terms of bad events, contemplating the good in the bad may help mitigate the psychological effects of these events. Understanding that what we see as bad events may actually be for the best (although we cannot see this in the present) may provide another perspective on misfortune and help us to cope with adversity. The Talmud reports rabbinic teachers that always believed in the positive. Nachum Ish Gamzo (Taanit 21a) even when seeming calamity struck pronounced "this too is for the good". His student Rabbi Akiva taught that "A person should be in the habit of saying that whatever God does is for the best" (Talmud Berachot 60b).

According to Jewish thought, dissatisfaction with the world is a normal part of life, whereas sadness and depression are not. The Torah itself underscores the importance of happiness, which is a religious obligation for Jews, as stated in the book of Deuteronomy (26:11): "You shall rejoice in all the good that God has given you." In twelfth-century Spain, Yehudah Halevi (1075–1141) stated "It is not in accordance with the spirit of the Torah to worry and feel anguish throughout one's life; one who does so transgresses God's commandment to be content with what you have been given" (quoted in Ozarowski 2014). In a similar vein, Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–1888) argued that "Judaism never considered pain, sorrow, self-affliction or sadness to be valid goals. The opposite is true—one should pursue happiness, bliss, cheer, joy and delight" (quoted in Marder 2004).

Renowned for his writing on joy is Rabbi Nachman of Bratzlav who taught (*Likkutei Etzot*, Joy 30): "*Mitzvah gedolah lihiyot b'simcha tamid*—it is a great virtue to be ever joyful, and to overcome feelings of sorrow and melancholy". Judaism

has endorsed the idea that overcoming negative thoughts can improve the way we feel, pre-empting the modern cognitive behavioural movement. The Baal Shem Tov (1698–1760) noted that if we rearrange the letters of the Hebrew word for "thought"—*machshavah*—we get the word "*b'simcha*—with joy", teaching us that we can often overcome depression by changing the way we think.

We shall now briefly review some key ideas from three Jewish thinkers to illustrate how psychological wellbeing and, in particular, depression are addressed in Jewish thought. The focus shall be on teachings from the works of Moses Maimonides (1138–1204), Rabbi Schneur Zalman (1745–1812) and Rebbe Nachman of Bratslav (1772–1810) that can be contextualised in relation to recent findings in positive psychology.

Moses Maimonides

Maimonides may be seen as a pioneer in positive psychology, pre-empting many of the factors which contemporary psychology have found to be conducive to better mental health. He stated that inspiration (prophecy) could not come when depressed (Hilchot Yesodei haTorah 7:4; Guide 2:36) but only through joy. He highlighted the importance of emotional and physical wellness. Specifically, he mentioned the importance of fostering ethical and altruistic behaviour, noting that a person is most happy when giving and sharing with others (Hilchot Megilla 2:17). He discussed how performing many small acts of charity over time was more conducive to building character than one tremendous act for the equivalent philanthropic value. He argued that we are inwardly changed by our own behaviour and, therefore, become more compassionate (on Ethics of the Father 3:15). Consistent with contemporary views on the importance of the social environment for health, he emphasised the role of social surroundings impacting individual behaviour and mood.

Maimonides recommended we look for teachers, mentors and friends to uplift our daily conduct. In order to maximise mental health, he recommended enhancing emotions such as optimism, gratitude and admiration; these can weaken the force of negative emotions such as anger which can lead to depression, for "the life of angry person is not truly life" (Hilchot De'ot 2:3). He attributed much importance to mindfulness for establishing a healthy lifestyle. His writings pre-empt the insights of modern day cognitive behaviour therapy and mindfulness, especially the role of distraction in addressing negative cognitions.

In relation to awe and beauty, Maimonides explained (2007, Guide for the Perplexed Chapters 3 and 45) that the ancient holy temple in Jerusalem was designed to inspire worshippers with awe, humility and veneration, and the ascetic beauty of the temple was intended to engage multiple senses and was meant to be uplifting, highlighting the importance of beauty for lifting mood. The Talmud (Berachot 57b) states that "three things restore a man's good spirits: beautiful sounds, sights and smells and three things increase a man's self-esteem, a beautiful dwelling, a beautiful wife and beautiful clothes". In this respect, Maimonides (1975, Eight Chapters, Chapter 5) suggested that one who suffers with depression may improve his mood

by listening to singing and all kinds of instrumental music, by strolling through beautiful gardens and splendid buildings, by gazing upon beautiful pictures and other things that liven the mind and dissipate gloomy moods.

Tanya

The Baal Shem Tov, the founder of Hasidism, asserted that depression was negative and held a person back from development and fulfilment. Following this, Rabbi Schneur Zalman dedicated much discussion in *Tanya* (1973), a mystical text, to reviewing strategies for dealing with periodic depression. In the third chapter, he describes how the emotional dimension of man is a direct outgrowth of three intellectual faculties—knowledge, wisdom and understanding—and continues later (Chapter 12) to explicate that mind can control emotions and that fear is a product of our thoughts which comprise experience. Tanya contains a fairly lengthy discussion of various states of mind that can trouble a person and urges the person not to be discouraged by such moods and not lapse into a state of depression.

Loewenthal (1992) points out that depression or melancholy may be seen as spiritual struggles, which in themselves can promote change, but according to Tanya, it very much depends on the kind of melancholy. Tanya (Chapter 31) differentiates between two types of "feeling bad". The depression that dulls a person's sensitivity and should be avoided is termed *atzvut*, "sadness". The type of feeling bad that spurs a person towards positive activity is referred to as *merirut*, "bitterness". If atzvut is brought on by a feeling of guilt for some undesirable action in the past, there is a legitimate outlet in merirut. It then goes on to discuss the basic difference between the two states in that merirut is energising, inducing an inner urge to rectify the past and improve the future, whereas atzvut is paralysing, inducing depression and inertia; hence, it must be ruled out completely. While seemingly similar, Tanya insists that they are actually opposites. Dissatisfaction and lack of contentment are healthy reactions as expressions of aspiration and a desire to grow and achieve. By contrast, depression drags a person down and leads to passivity and inactivity. Based on this, Majesky (1992) comments that if a person feels bad about something that has happened and he or she dwells on how terrible it is, those are negative thoughts that contribute nothing positive; whereas if reflecting on the past prompts a person to act to make a change, it is a positive emotion.

Nachman of Bratslav

Rebbi Nachman of Bratslav notoriously suffered from severe depression, and for him, joy was an integral part of worship and could help alleviate the symptoms of depression. He said joy was not incidental to the spiritual quest, it was vital. Nothing is as liberating as joy to free the mind and fill it with tranquillity. For Nachman, depression was the antithesis of *simcha* (joy), for "it is a great Mitzvah to be happy

always" (Likutei Moharan 11:24). He insisted it was important that a person struggled to remain steadfast and avoid depression, and he taught that since depression did tremendous damage, a person should use every ploy he can think of to bring himself to joy. If despite being happy a person feels down, he suggested drawing strength from happier times until eventually joy will return. He advocated that if a person was unhappy, he or she should pretend to feel happy by smiling and acting happy so that genuine joy will follow. He advised to sing a tune to find new life and joy. In his view, "it is a great thing to hear music from a holy person playing on an instrument for the sake of heaven. Because through this the spirit of depression is dispelled and the person merits happiness" (Likutei Moharan 54).

Nachman emphasised cultivating joy and advocated searching deep within to find something good about themselves. In his story of the seven beggars, he tells of a Tzaddik (righteous person) who could become very depressed and melancholy, which caused him great difficulty. The route out of depression was reflecting on the positives in life, focusing on that which he could be thankful for. He noted that when a person is on the lowest level, it is easy for him to find something with which to uplift himself (Likutei Halachot, Yore Deah, Reshit Hagez 46).

Jewish Values, Positive Psychology and Psychological Wellbeing

We shall now discuss Jewish values in relation to gratitude, optimism and humour as key examples of the Jewish approach to mental and emotional wellbeing. The field of positive psychology founded by Martin Seligman and his American colleagues about 15 years ago has grown exponentially. Central to this field has been a focus on such topics as hope and optimism, flourishing, gratitude and wisdom, love of learning, friendship and harmonious marriage, the mind–body relationship, resilience and happiness. The Torah and Talmud discuss many areas which are conducive to better mental health and are compatible with the ideas propounded by, and consistent with the findings of, positive psychology.

Gratitude

Judaism emphasises gratitude and the importance of being thankful. A number of medieval Jewish thinkers argued that gratitude was a fundamental principle underlying all the Torah's commandments. For instance, eleventh-century ethicist Bachya Ibn Pakuda in his work *Chovot HaLevavot* (1973) argues that gratitude to God for his kindness is what necessitates adherence to all his laws. Gratitude is viewed as a religious imperative integral to our relationship with man and with God. According to Jewish tradition, the first words spoken immediately upon waking each morning (the *Modh Ani* prayer) express gratitude to God for the gift of life.

Judaism teaches that we must thank God for everything that we experience. *Birkat ha'mazon*—the after-meal blessing, as well as the numerous blessings to

be recited at many other occasions, indicate the central importance of gratitude in Judaism. Every rite of passage, from weddings to funerals, involves expectations to thank God for all the good He has done for us despite whatever difficulties which we may be facing. This attitude of gratitude is not confined to the personal relationship with God. From the commandment to respect for parents for our upbringing (Exodus 20:11 see *Sefer haChinuch*, mitzvah 33), to the prohibition against displaying hostility to Egyptians because we benefited from their hospitality (Deut. 23:8), the Torah is replete with teachings concerning gratitude and firm warnings against ingratitude (see Talmud Bava Kama 92b).

Gratitude has attracted substantial academic attention by psychologists in recent years. Psychological research demonstrates that writing down five things for which one is grateful at the end of each day has the ability to reduce depression, increase happiness and improve relationships more than any other positive psychology treatment or technique (Emmons and McCullough 2003). Gratitude is defined as the reliable emotional response that one has to receiving benefits. It has been shown to positively correlate with subjective levels of happiness, as well as prosocial behaviour, self-efficacy and self-worth. Moreover, this connection with happiness is found in both student and non-student populations and persists even when controlling for extraversion, neuroticism and agreeableness. Gratitude also fights stress, materialism and negative self-comparisons.

The relationship between gratitude and wellbeing has been empirically tested among a Jewish sample. Through an online survey (Rosmarin et al. 2011), the researchers looked at 405 adults of varying religious backgrounds and used gratitude questionnaires that measured both religious and nonreligious expressions of gratitude. These results were then compared to measures of religious commitment (determined by a person's degree of belief in god, importance of religion and religious identity). Happiness, satisfaction with life, positive and negative affects, and physical and mental health were measured using validated scales or adaptations of them. The research found that general gratitude was predicted for all the outcome variables. Gratitude in general, as other studies have shown, impacted positively on mental health and wellbeing. They found that influence of gratitude was more potent when associated with religious commitment and gratitude was directed specifically towards God.

Sergeant and Mongrain (2011) divided 200 moderately depressed people into two groups. Over 7 days, one group listened daily to music designed to elevate mood, while the other group completed an online "gratitude exercise" every night, asking them to list "five things that happened during the day that [they] were grateful for." At five different points (start of study, end of study week and 1, 3 and 6 months post-study), the researchers looked at the participants' depressive symptoms, happiness and satisfaction with life in general. The researchers found was that both groups were less depressed 6 months post-study, but the self-critical individuals in the gratitude group reported a greater boost in overall happiness than any of the other participants. Rosmarin, Krumrai and Pargament (in press) note that anxiety and depression are prevalent responses to trauma and bereavement. However, gratitude and spirituality may be therapeutic for individuals experiencing

anxiety and depression in response to a loss. Their study examined the relationships between gratitude, spiritual/religious variables, anxiety and depression across multiple religious groups. Statistically significant correlations emerged between all variables, suggesting that gratitude and spirituality were related to lower levels of anxiety and depression.

Hope and Optimism

While Judaism teaches belief in an Almighty God who created and controls the entire universe, it simultaneously teaches an almost contradictory idea: prayer and the possibility to change the state of affairs. Judaism teaches to never accept things as they are; rather, to always hope and remain optimistic. Typical of this sentiment is the following passage from the Talmud (Berachot 10a), "Even when a sharp sword lies upon a person's throat, they should not give up seeking salvation". Implicit in the concept of prayer, which is central to Judaism, is the idea that things do not have to be as they are. Prayer is based on the notion that no matter how difficult things may be, we still maintain that God can change them (see *Brachot* 10a; Maharal, *Netiv Ha'avodah* Chapter 2; R. Joseph Albo, *Sefer Ha'ikarim* 4:18). Optimism, the cognitive component of hope, is repeatedly emphasised in the Talmud. Rabbi Akiva, as noted, was the paragon of Jewish optimism. The Talmud (Makot 24b) relates the various reactions of rabbinic sages in response to the destruction of the temple. While the other rabbis cried in despair upon seeing the destruction, Rabbi Akiva responded with laughter, declaring that in the ruins he foresaw a bright future revival. It was Rabbi Akiva's optimism that gave the sages the hope ("Akiva you have comforted us", they responded) they needed to endure Roman rule and to perpetuate Judaism for future generations. *Avot de Rabbi Natan,* the Geonic commentary to Ethics of the Fathers, also speaks of Rabbi Akiva's optimism in his personal life, which allowed him to surmount numerous setbacks to attain his unrivalled degree of scholarship. Optimism, it seems to suggest, can protect individuals against depression when experiencing negative life events.

As per the teachings cited above, research has found that the capacities to experience joy, interest, contentment and love might be construed as fundamental human strengths that yield multiple interrelated benefits (Fredrickson 2000). From a positive psychology perspective, optimism is a key component of hope and is associated with both physical and mental health (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000). The positive emotions of joy, interest, contentment, pride and love appear to have a complementary effect: They broaden people's momentary thought–action repertoires, widening the array of the thoughts and actions that come to mind. During periods of joyfulness, physiological and biochemical changes take place that give us a sense of wellbeing, completely altering negative outlooks on life. It is a lasting resource, a reservoir that impacts wellbeing and performance, and may even impact longevity.

Much like the foregoing Jewish teachings that positivity and joy may be nurtured to increase hope and alleviate helplessness and despair, contemporary psychologists such as Seligman (2006) note that a talent for joy, like any other, can be cultivated. Seligman developed this concept through his study on "learned helplessness", ac-

cording to which a certain reoccurring negative event is out of the person's control (Maier and Seligman 1976). He found that optimism prevented such learned helplessness. The pessimist sees bad things as permanent and pervasive and good things as temporary and narrowly focused. In contrast, the optimist views bad things as temporary and narrowly focused and good things as permanent and pervasive. Using his knowledge about conditioning people to be helpless, Seligman invited pessimists to learn to be optimists by thinking about their reactions to adversity in a new way. The resulting optimism—one that grew from pessimism—is a learned optimism.

Humour

Humour is also recognised as beneficial. The Talmud is highly critical of *letzanut,* mockery or frivolous laughter (Ethics of the Fathers 3:13), yet it also saw the benefit in humour. The Talmud (Shabbat 30b) tells of the great sage Rava who would begin each lesson with an item of humour. The Talmud (Taanit 22a) tells a remarkable story: "Once when Rabbi Beruka met the prophet Elijah in the marketplace, Rabbi Beruka asked him, 'Show me someone who is assured a place in the World to Come (Heaven)'. Elijah pointed to two ordinary looking people, whereupon Rabbi Beruka inquired with them about their occupation. 'We are jesters and we make people laugh when they are sad', they replied." Maimonides prescribed laughter for those in distress, implying it may contribute to the healing of those who were ill; he even suggested: "one should strengthen the body's vital power by telling the patient joyful stories and by relating news that distracts his mind and makes him laugh. One should select people who can cheer him up and serve him and to care for him" (in Rosner 1990 p. 47).

In line with Maimonides' views on humour improving wellbeing, recent work confirms that humour may elevate mood (Martin 2007). Kuiper (2012) asserts that humour may be protective in the face of adversity. Martin (2008) further confirms the relationship between humour and physical and psychological health. Capps (2006) examined the psychological benefits of humour in terms of moderating life stressors and its effect on depression. In general, the conclusion suggested that humour may facilitate coping with stress in life and it may also help a person overcome depression. There is evidence that humour is beneficial in helping people to think more positively in disaster situations as it stimulates a positive-thinking style helpful to coping with difficulties (Lyubomirsky and Tucker 1998).

Summary of Judaism and Positive Psychology

We see from the foregoing brief exploration of Jewish sources that key ideas in positive psychology appear in Jewish texts, even though they appeared in historical periods and cultural environments, that differed considerably from contemporary Western society. These Jewish ideas enrich our understanding of those concepts,

not merely predate them. The way these scholars, cited above, express the value of gratitude, joy, hope and optimism and the healing potential of positive support and enhance current findings in the rapidly emerging field of positive psychology.

The field of positive psychology is about positive subjective experience: wellbeing and satisfaction (past), joy, the sensual pleasures, and happiness (present) and constructive cognitions about the future—optimism, hope and faith. This field not only examines the factors related to mental wellbeing, it also provides important suggestions as to how these positive factors may be incorporated into therapeutic modalities. A meta-analysis by Sin and Lyubomirsky (2009) confirms that positive psychology interventions are efficacious in alleviating depression just as they are in enhancing happiness and wellbeing.

Logotherapy and Judaism

Logotherapy and meaning-oriented approaches to psychological healing and wellbeing are predicated on the principle that human flourishing requires a person to be imbued with a sense of purpose, that "the striving to find a meaning in one's life is the primary motivational force in man" (Frankl 1963 p. 154). Steger (2012) suggests that meaning in life involves people feeling that their lives matter, making sense of their lives and determining a broader purpose for their lives. According to Victor Frankl, the founder of logotherapy, human beings possess a spiritual meaning-seeking faculty—variously termed spirit, conscience, noetic or soul—which he distinguished from the mind, the rational and operational capacitates that regulate the person's thoughts and conduct. Humans, therefore, have a "metaphysical hunger" or "need" for meaning which, if repressed, will look for way to assert itself. This spiritual faculty seeks self-manifestation and connection with a greater objective, to thereby attain self-transcending meaning. When this need is ignored, a person can experience a personal crisis. In many cases, this manifests as depression caused by an inner void resulting from a 'meaning vacuum'. According to Frankl, often psychologists medicate people for psychotic and neurotic disorders, which are really spiritual–existential ones. While most other psychological approaches focus on the rational and mental aspects of the person, logotherapy focuses on the spiritual aspect of the person.

Frankl argues that there is nothing repressive about striving for a higher ideal. Echoing a rabbinic expression that "there is none freer that one occupied with Torah" (Ethics of the Fathers 6:2), Frankl argues that this is actually the source of real freedom. He viewed freedom in the positive sense of "freedom to", rather than "freedom from" as per the famous distinction made by Isaiah Berlin (Cowen 2014). While Frankl was comfortable with and often used religious language, he noted (1986) that "within the framework of logotherapy 'spiritual' does not have a religious connotation, but refers to the specifically human dimension". The Lubavitch Rebbe, Rabbi M. M Schneerson (2013), wrote approvingly of Frankl's writings, and Leo Baeck (in Bulka 1972, 1975) identified logotherapy as "the Jewish psychotherapy"—although Bulka (1972, 1975) is cautious not to claim a specific link

to Judaism, but rather a strong "congeniality". This may not be surprising, as its founder identified with Judaism, unlike Freud who famously quipped that his only contribution to Judaism was his lack of denial as to his ethnic origin. Frankl (1966) made overt reference to Judaism in his writings, perhaps most notably his comparing his distinction between creative and experiential meaning to the Judaic notion of Shabbat by contrast to the 6 days of work. In explaining that self-actualisation is the product of pursuing higher values, Frankl (1969 p. 55) cites the sage Hillel, "But if I am for my own self only, what am I?" (Ethics of the Fathers 1:14), and comments, "it is a characteristic constituent of human existence that it transcends itself, that it reaches out for something other than itself."

Shared Ideas Between Logotherapy and Judaism

There are so many shared ideas between logotherapy and Judaic teachings, but more significantly, its core principles are in close sympathy with Jewish ones. For example, "freedom of will" is a fundamental tenet of logotherapy, claiming that humans are free to choose, which reflects the Biblical verse (Duet 30:15) "I hereby put before you life and good, death and bad; you shall choose life." Ethics of the fathers (3:15) states: "Everything is foreseen, but freedom of choice is given." The Talmud states often that moral decisions are a person's free choice (Berachot 33b) and whether a person is righteous or wicked is not predetermined (Nidda 16b). Similarly, another core principle of logotherapy is "will to meaning", saying that every aspect of our lives contain the potential for meaning, which in Judaism is also a cardinal idea. Proverbs (3:6) expects us to "know Him in all your ways", and Ethics of the Fathers (2:12) urges "Let all your actions be for the sake of the name of Heaven," which Maimonides (1975, Eight Chapters, Chapter 5) suggests is the essence of Judaism.

According to logotherapy, achieving self-transcendence and meaning leads to genuine happiness. To Frankl, any challenge can be faced if the person is inspired by a higher cause and is elevated beyond their psychophysical state, enabling the person to respond in a meaning-laden way to even profoundly difficult situations. Rising above one's limitations enables the person to gain perspective and thus cope better with stretching circumstances, which is consistent with much of the adult development literature. Key Jewish texts refer to the person as bound as by a rope to Above (Tanya 2:5; Nefesh haChaim 1:5). Two Chassidic stories illustrate this: On a wintery day, the elderly Rabbi Meir of Premishlan (1703–1773) made his steady way up a steep icy mountain, which others dared not do for fear of mortal injury. Upon being asked how he managed this feat, he replied: "If a man is bound up on high, he doesn't fall down below" (Chabad 2014). Ives (2008) cited another story: As a young boy, the Tzemach Tzedek of Lubavitch (1600–1661) reached higher than his peers in a ladder-climbing competition. He explained how he did it: "My friends looked down at how much they had already accomplished and so became scared. I looked up at just how much more I had yet to achieve, and so never got frightened". Jewish sources suggest that depression can result from unachieved

goals and the occurrence of adverse events. Unachieved goals can result in lowered self-esteem and a sense of failure. The "treatment", therefore, is to set realistic goals from the outset.

Life itself possesses unconditional meaningfulness regardless of the circumstance (Frankl 1963). Attachment to a higher purpose allows people to transcend themselves and the limitations of their situation. By doing so, the person does not become automatically transformed but does gain the ability to better cope with his or her own thoughts and emotions. To Frankl, working to fulfil their life's meaning is the way to achieve self-actualisation: "Human existence is essentially self-transcendence rather than self-actualization" (1968 p. 175). Logotherapy aims to help release the inner resources of a person so that the healing process can begin. Challenges are viewed as an opportunity to discover and develop. Job states (5:7), "Man is born to toil", which the Talmud (Sanhedrin 99b) interprets to mean "the toil of Torah", striving for a higher goal. On the verse (Duet. 13:4), "God is testing you so as to know whether…" Likkutei Torah of Rabbi Shneur Zalman (Deut 19b) explains (echoing Nachmanides on this verse) that the test helps the person to grow in his or her knowledge.

Discovering significance and meaning in one's suffering and emotional conflict helps the person to handle it. According to Frankl (1973 p. xii), the "right kind of suffering—facing your fate without flinching—is the highest achievement that has been granted to man". In Jewish teaching, suffering is similarly viewed as having positive benefits. Psalms (94:12) reads, "Fortunate is the one who God chastises", upon which the Talmud (Berachot 5a) comments that "suffering is precious" and may be "chastisement of love" designed to help a person grow, and one should thus "rejoice in suffering" (Berachot 60b, Shabbat 88b). It relates an incident (Shabbat 33a) in which the sage Rabbi Pinchas ben Yair wept upon seen the horrific wounds on the body of his son-in-law Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai caused by living in a cave, hiding from the Romans. When the former exclaimed, "woe to me that I have seen you thus", the latter responded, "Rather you are fortunate, for this is how I reached where I am".

Logotherapy and Depression

Logotherapy offers various approaches to foster self-transcendence, such as "paradoxical intention" (making light of the problem to thereby detach from it), "de-reflection" (refocusing on someone positive or on a higher purpose, to divert attention from self-absorption and negative thoughts or feelings) and "Socratic dialogue" (a process of self-examination). The emphasis on humour and refocusing on positive thoughts gives logotherapy much in common with positive psychology, but in the former, the focus needs to be on something higher, not just something positive. Perhaps, it may be said that from a logotherapeutic perspective, the answer to depression (feeling low) is elevation (reaching high). As Cowen (2014) notes, "The dynamics of self-transcendence do not require that one acknowledge or even seek the spiritual within oneself. All that is required is that a person ask of his/herself

the question, 'Is there something that life asks of me?' By shifting the focus from one's psychophysical level towards a higher purpose beyond oneself, this meaning-oriented faculty is released. The person then can accept that even challenges are a worthwhile part of life, as 'life is a question, life is a task'" (Frankl, in Cowen 2005 p. 75).

Research has substantiated the significant role of meaning in psychological well-being. Individuals with a sense of purpose and meaning report greater life satisfaction, more positive emotions, higher levels of optimism and better self-esteem (Ryan and Deci 2001; Steger et al. 2009). People who possess a strong sense of life meaning also report more positive perceptions of the world (McGregor et al. 1998) and more positive future orientations (Steger et al. 2008), including greater hope and optimism (Mascaro and Rosen 2006). There is also some evidence that they are better at coping with life challenges (Jim et al. 2006). Having a sense of meaning is also associated with a wide range of positive emotions (King et al. 2006; Steger et al. 2006), such as high morale (Ryff 1989), love, joy, vitality (Steger et al. 2006) and life satisfaction (Steger 2006; Steger et al. 2006). From a Judaic perspective, a sense of purposelessness is linked to poor mental health, for as the Talmud states (Kethubot 59b), "idleness leads to madness".

It is, therefore, not surprising that finding meaning in life is also linked to a reduction in depression. Folkman and colleagues have found that positive meaning predicted recovery from depressed mood (Folkman et al. 1996). As Steger notes (2012 p. 8), "One of the most pervasive findings is that meaning in life is inversely related to depression in Americans", and he cites multiple studies to this effect. A meta-analysis established the correlation with depression as 46 among older adults (Pinquart 2002).

Framework for Combining Positive Psychology and Logotherapy

While logotherapy and positive psychology are often portrayed as mutually sympathetic and enhancing—especially by proponents of the latter—we suggest that there is a significant dichotomy between them. The main thrust of positive psychology is on enhancing the person's sense of wellbeing by dwelling on those personal strengths and sources of positivity that can inspire the person to be happy, but at the very heart of logotherapy is the view that focusing on a purpose that is beyond oneself is the only way to create sustainable happiness. While positive psychology does incorporate the idea of pursuing a higher purpose, this is a comparatively marginal element. Similarly, while logotherapy incorporates an "experiential" meaning, which focuses the person savouring beauty, goodness or meaning in other themselves, other or nature, ultimately it is "attitudinal", meaning focused on engaging with a higher meaning that it views as most important to wellbeing.

While the "positive turn" in psychology is a welcome relief from the almost exclusive focus on negative aspects of mental health, critics (e.g. Miller 2008) have noted that it averts its eyes too readily from people's real limitations over which

positive thinking will have limited impact. The expectation to always be positive can, itself, become an unbearable burden. Whilst positive psychology approaches encourage a person to work with their strengths, rather than to attempt to change their personality (Haidt 2006), it is important to recognise the harsh reality that people are often confronted and thus forced to deal with issues that do not work to their strength—in which case struggle rather than "flow" is most likely. Indeed, life is not only positive, and recognising and dealing with the negative has its place too (Held 2013), although it may be argued that logotherapy is overly focused on suffering and death, true to its existentialist roots. Following the argument made from logotherapy, without the "pull" of a higher purpose maintaining continuous positivity requires a repetitive and, for many, exhaustive cycle of continual reinforcement.

Logotherapy is heavily based on discovery of enlightenment, in which a person becomes intrinsically transformed into a person attached to a significant meaning. By contrast, the majority of approaches in positive psychology may be termed "cognitive-behavioural" and arguably require ongoing investment to deliver their benefits. In other words, if ultimately a person does not have a reason for living, whose life is not characterised by what Frankl terms "man's search for meaning", then they are, to use a metaphor from the previous section, not bound above and are liable to slip on the icy slopes of life. Learning hope is important to help a person to persist in pursuing challenging goals, but meaning is what we hold onto when inevitably, and for whatever reason, we fail in to achieve our goals.

By contrast, whilst logotherapy shows how living life as a goal fosters a life-affirming sense of purpose, there is a risk that failure to achieve that purpose will only exacerbate a person's sense of desperation. Critiques of logotherapy (e.g. Niemann 2011) have highlighted that many people coming to therapy are struggling for the very clarity that logotherapy is dependent upon. Someone overcome by negative toxic thoughts may find they lack the inner resources to cope with depression. Moreover, as Shek (2003) highlights, Frankl's approach does not show a sufficiently clear link between meaning and happiness—a gap that a positive psychology approach can fill. Relief from crippling negative thoughts and adopting a more adaptive attitude towards one's life, as advocated by positive psychology, can therefore create the basis for a person to be able to reflect upon something more profound and/or long term.

In the minds of some people, their perception that they are failing to fulfil their life purpose may itself become a source of guilt, internal shame and frustration. Self-acceptance and appreciating life as it is are arguably as important for many people as the pursuit of a future purpose. The literature of goal setting shows that setting lofty goals can lead to negative affect if not chosen proportionately to the person's capabilities (Kanfer and Ackerman 1989). Moreover, while initially achieving a goal will prove motivational, it will ultimately lead to dysphoria (Carver and Scheier 1998), requiring the setting of yet another goal. This cycle of goal-setting is highly suited for many, especially mentally healthy people, but is of questionable suitability for many who are psychologically struggling.

As we have set out above, Jewish thought contains strong elements of both positive psychology and logotherapy. On the one hand, a major thrust of Jewish teach-

ing focuses on the refinement of character and developing religious version of many of the virtues advocated in positive psychology, such as gratitude, trust, hope and compassion. On the other hand, there is no mistaking that, from the point of view of Jewish thought, each person's life and the whole world has a purpose, and our role is to fulfil our own purpose and the wider purpose of creation—by comparison to which all other pursuits are unimportant and only through which a person can achieve true happiness (see Derech Hashem 1:2; Tanya Chapter 36). We, therefore, suggest that positive psychology and logotherapy are both important and a framework for synthesising the two would be of great value. Indeed, several scholars have suggested integrations between these two orientations, most notably Meaning-Centred Counseling and Therapy (MCCT), propounded by Wong (1999, 2012), although MCCT integrates a wide range of other therapeutic approaches.

This chapter begins to set out how Judaic teaching combines both elements in recognition that fulfilment and happiness are intertwined and need to be pursued in tandem. From a Judaic point of view, following a life purpose is of primary importance, but in order to do so, we need to bolster our emotional and mental wellbeing. Rabbi Shneur Zalman (Tanya Chapter 26) compares this to a depressed fighter, who is likely to lose even if he is technically superior. Judaism holds together a paradox that focuses on the person in their human realities, whilst directing his or her gaze upwards. To some extent, this sentiment is captured in the Chassidic teaching that Rebbe Zusha of Anipoli is reported to have said that a person should walk around with two notes in his pocket, one containing the Talmudic teaching, "The entire world was created for me" (Sanhedrin 4:5) and another citing the Biblical verse (Genesis 18:27) in which Abraham says, "I am but dust and ashes". Life, from this perspective, is at once about happiness and self-actualisation, whilst it is also about finding meaning through self-transcendence.

Therapeutic Implications and Further Research

In the above, we have underscored the emphasis on positive attitudes and emotions in the Judaic literature and practice; this is counterbalanced by great emphasis on instilling a sense of purpose and striving to achieve a higher goal. As Bulka (1975) points out, Frankl's logotherapy is appropriate to the secularist as well as to the religious person. The meaning principle is closely linked to spirituality; the quest for the ultimate meaning of life involves many of the same issues as do religions: issues such as who we are and where we are going. Logotherapy is a spiritual therapy, which transcends religious affiliation and can be efficacious in the treatment of anyone who is depressed.

Frankl (1959) developed the three basic aspects of logotherapy: the freedom of will, the will to meaning and the meaning of Life. Therapeutic interventions should focus both on the provision of a sense of meaning and purpose and the fostering of positive emotions. MCCT (Wong 1999, 2012), as mentioned above, exemplifies this approach. It is hybrid, resulting from the combination of existential therapy and cognitive psychology. As Wong points out, positive psychology and meaning-

centred therapy inhabit different universes and possess different world views and values. Wong notes that not only is meaning essential for healing and wellbeing but positive psychological constructs such as optimism are influenced by meaning—tying together logotherapy with positive psychology.

In MCCT, various cognitive therapeutic techniques are deployed to promote personal meaning. Existential probing is used to uncover the meaning and purpose of events and actions. Contextualising is used to place the problem in a larger context. These two assessment tools focus on discovering the deeper meaning of presenting problems and the client's ultimate concerns. The person is helped to create a personal meaning profile and to identify effective coping strategies used to help the clients cope with life's demands and pursue meaningful life goals. The difference between this form of therapy and the medical model is that clients are treated as fellow human beings worthy of dignity and respect because of their rationality, spirituality and their potential to heal themselves and grow—clients are not treated simply as clinical cases with a problem to be fixed.

Future research in this area should examine how life meaning impacts optimism, joy, gratitude and other positive psychological constructs and vice versa. Recent research has heeded to this call, and positive psychologists such as Peterson (2013) see meaningful work, love, play and service to be the major domains of a good life. However, positive psychology is concerned with the pursuit of happiness, often ignoring the importance of suffering and meaning. We advocate that while logotherapists should acquaint themselves with the empirical findings of positive psychology, so too should positive psychologists be informed about Frankl's insights. Another focus pertains to the efficacy of psychotherapies incorporating meaning-centred approaches with positive psychological interventions to explore which positive psychological interventions are most helpful.

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Part III
Society and Beyond

Chapter 10
Passover Rituals as Model for Parental Transmission of Values

Yossi Ives

Main Themes of Modern Parenting Theory

Research on parenting for moral values and socialisation in the last half century or so can perhaps be summarised in three broad phases: (1) from the late 1950s until the late 1970s, parenting research took a decisive shift towards the use of reasoning to discipline and nurture children; (2) during the 1980s and much of the 1990s, parenting research saw a fascinating upsurge of interest in the role the child plays in the parenting process; and (3) in the late 1990s onwards, there began an overt focus on the relational dynamic between the parent and child, sometimes referred to as the 'relational turn'. This chapter presents a Jewish approach to parent–child interaction that adds insight to this latter direction in parenting research, and in particular to the area of parent–child conversational discourse that is set within this relational framework.

The Role of the Parent and the Use of Reasoning

The seminal study by Sears et al. (1957) argued that 'love-oriented discipline', focused on issuing praise, use of reasoning and withdrawal of affection, was better at developing the child's conscience than 'object-oriented discipline', using tangible rewards, physical punishment and denial of material objects and privileges. Hoffman (1970) refined this approach, suggesting that inductive parenting, in which the parent provides explanations about appropriate behaviour and appeals to the child's desire to be mature, was the most effective approach, so long as it is backed up by a measure of 'power assertion'. Hoffman (1983) concluded that induction provides

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the critical cognitive structures, whereas power assertion and love withdrawal provide 'motive arousal' that captures the child's attention to what the parent is saying.

Baumrind's (1967) enduring and well-established classification distinguished between authoritarian and authoritative parenting, eschewing an overly democratic or permissive approach that makes few demands or imposes few restrictions on children, whilst also critiquing an overly dictatorial style of parenting that allows for no negotiation and tolerates little independence. Authoritative parenting has been shown to facilitate high levels of social responsibility and independence, and it facilitates the internalisation of moral judgement (Grusec and Lytton 1988). Simply asserting power removes the opportunity for the child to reflect on the moral dimension of the behaviour, whereas offering the child an explanation fosters thoughtful consideration of the consequences of behaviours (Applegate et al. 1985). Moreover, it was noted (Dienstbier et al. 1975) that if the child avoids negative behaviour to avoid a hostile parental reaction, this encourages that behaviour to continue when the likelihood of being caught is low. Berkowitz and Grych (2000, p. 380) conclude that a 'pattern of authoritative parenting, especially with its focus on open supportive communication, is nurturing of children's moral reasoning development'.

Focus on the Role and Qualities of the Child

It is increasingly recognised that children have significant influence on how discipline situations play themselves out and, by extension, how values are negotiated. Children are active players in how values are constructed in discipline encounters (Kuczynski et al. 1997; Loulis and Kuczynski 1997). How children react to various disciplining practices is thought to have as much influence on parental strategies as the impact of parental strategies on the children. This is particularly so as parents will consider outcome expectancies when deciding how to dispense discipline (Holden et al. 1997). Moreover, it is now understood that what a child takes from parental discipline is mediated by the perceptions of the child and, in particular, the child's judgement as to whether the parent is being fair or acting appropriately under the circumstances (Kuczynski et al. 1997). Extensive research supports the notion that the particulars of the child bear heavily on the parent's choice of strategies as well as its effectiveness (Grusec 2002).

The Dynamic Between the Parent and Child

Relational theorists argue that parenting is neither entirely about parental transmission nor about the temperaments of the individual child. Parenting cannot be conceived as dominated by the parent's will, as invariably children have their own perceptions, temperaments and individual social circumstances (Kuczynski and Grusec 1997). Moreover, children are receiving influences from a variety of sourc-

es, especially once they go to school and are exposed to teachers and peers. Nor is it possible that children are entirely autonomous in constructing their own values, as invariably there will be significant parental influence. Hence, effective parenting needs to be based on awareness of the interaction between the two. The relational approach views parenting as socialisation, a process of 'continuous collaboration' (Grusec 2002, p. 146).

Thompson et al. (2006, p. 269) explain that 'far more important than rewards and punishments are the relational incentives that exist within the family, including the young child's desire to maintain an environment of cooperation with each parent and to be perceived by the adult as a good (and competent) person'.

The parenting practices and techniques that lead to moral socialisation are only effective if supported by a sympathetic and cooperative relationship context. Children are more motivated to cooperate with the expectations of parents if doing so helps to secure an affectionate relationship. Thompson et al. (2006, p. 282) suggest that the parent–child relationship provides the young child with 'an introduction into a relational system of reciprocity that supports moral conduct by sensitizing the child to the mutual obligations of close relationships'.

Parent–Child Conversational Discourse

Helping children to understand their parent's values serves to prepare them to deal with situations that bring them into potential conflict with the values they were exposed to at home (Padilla-Walker and Thompson 2005). Research increasingly suggests that parent–child conversations are the most effective way of achieving this. Thompson et al. (2006, p. 286) note that 'as such proactive conversations occur with greater frequency in early and middle childhood, they provide significant forums for children's developing understanding of values and appropriation of them'.

Thompson (1998a) explains that however gentle and understanding a parent may be when dispensing discipline, it is inevitably a battle of wills and is typically experienced by the child as a power struggle. These situations are therefore not ideal opportunities for children to engage in understanding values. Crockenberg and Litman (1990) further point out that in a confrontation situation between the parent and child, it is highly likely that a child will be galvanising her cognitive resources to best negotiate for her preference rather than processing the value messages of the parent. Thompson et al. (2006, p. 286) therefore conclude that values 'are more likely to be discussed and understood outside of the discipline encounter, in conversations when the adult seeks to proactively prearm children against challenges to parental values'.

Thompson et al. (2003) present a compelling case that discussions which parents hold with children to review past events contribute positively to conscience development in young children. While research (Laible and Thompson 2000) suggests that using these opportunities to highlight other people's feelings was more effective than discussing rule or moral evaluations, it needs to be understood that

virtually all of the research focuses on aggressive behaviour towards other children. To promote the broader internalisation of values, it is necessary for children to learn more than how to control or diffuse their aggression. If the socialisation of values aims to nurture a sense of identity or purpose, for example, this requires widening the parental discourse beyond the impact of our actions on others.

While parent–child conversations that sensitise children to 'the human dimensions of misbehaviour and good behaviour, and help young children to comprehend the effects of their actions on how people feel' (Thompson et al. 2006, p. 286) are perhaps most effective when trying to minimise aggressive behaviour, logically this would not be the case for all aspects of personality or moral development. Little research has been conducted that has a bearing on this field of parenting. This chapter, therefore, explores ideas that may hold promise for future empirical research into potentially effective methods of parental interaction and, in particular, parent–child conversations.

While these ideas about the impact of parent-child conversational discourse are in accordance with the earlier findings on inductive approaches to parenting, this new research has shown that an impact can be had on small children. Most significantly, they show that this affects the way a child interacts in the parenting encounter, rather than the earlier near-exclusive focus on the parent as active agent and the child as mostly passive recipient. These conclusions also extend the role of reasoning and conversation beyond the moment of disciplining to prepare children, but also to behave appropriately when faced with choices. Thus, deepening our understanding of how moral development can be best handled in non-conflict situations would be productive in expanding our understanding of moral development in the parenting context.

Principles of Child-Oriented Interaction at the Passover Seder

The Passover meal, known widely by its Hebrew name 'Seder', is the Jewish prototype of parent–child interaction, rooted in the original Biblical command to engage with one's children in conveying the Passover story and message. Over multiple generations, the Seder has developed into a complex and varied format for stimulating and sustaining parent–child interaction. This chapter proposes that the practices associated with the Seder meal offer models for optimal moral development of children in the modern family setting. Eight principles of child–parent interaction will be presented after a brief description of the Passover Seder, for those unfamiliar. Passover takes place each year from the eve of the fifteenth of the Hebrew month of Nissan, typically corresponding with mid-April. For an entire week, no leavened food may be consumed (such as bread or biscuits), to commemorate the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. The Passover Seder is a highly structured meal (seder actually means 'order') focused around imparting the Pesach experience to the younger generation. The main components of the meal are the consumption of matzah (wafers or unleavened bread), bitter herbs and wine and reading the Hag-

gadah, a text about the Exodus. Much more about this setting will emerge from the discussion to follow.

Principle 1—Storytelling
Based on the Biblical command (Exodus 13:8) 'you shall tell to your children', the rabbinic authorities rule that the Passover needs to be presented to children as a story. The Bible (Exodus 10:2) says about the events that Passover commemorates 'that you shall tell over to your children and your children's children…' The obligation associated with Passover night is therefore *sippur yetziat mitzrayim*, the telling of the story of the Exodus. A person who conveys the facts about Passover but does not relate the story has not properly carried out the task. Although mentioning the Exodus is a daily obligation (Maimonides Hilchot Kriat Shema 1:3), according to many commentators (e.g. Minchat Chinuch positive mitzvah 21), the main distinction of the Seder is that it must be related as a story. Furthermore, the storytelling should be elaborate and generous; or, in the words of the Haggadah, 'one who tells at length the story of the Exodus from Egypt is to be praised'. Numerous other commentators (e.g. Chayei Adam 130:11; Aruch Laner, Sukkah 28a) identify the method of storytelling as intended to instil the Passover message most powerfully into the mind of the child.

Principle 2—Question and Answer
In relation to teaching children about Passover, the Bible (Exodus 13:14) says: 'It shall be when your child shall *ask* later what is this service which you are doing'. Based on this wording, the rabbis conclude that the Passover message must be conveyed via questions and answers. Moreover, it was derived from this that *the child* must be the one asking the questions. A more recent text (Derech Pikudecha mitzvah 21) explains the psychological logic as follows:

> Through the medium of questions and answers the matter becomes firmly entrenched in the child's mind, as the story comes to him through his own request. Since the child had a difficulty and sought an explanation, through this the matter becomes more firmly entrenched in his mind than if this information was passed him without him having asked for it first.

Therefore, the Haggadah begins with the child asking four set questions about the main features of the rituals of the Seder night, which sets the tone for the whole evening. Some authorities (Teshuvot vHanhagot Vol. 2 Chap. 236) rule that if the child does not know to recite the text of the Four Questions (a set format towards the beginning of the Seder in which children ask 'why this night is different from all other nights' and enquire about four key changes that occur at the Seder), it is the duty of the parent to encourage the child to ask those questions nonetheless. Other authorities note that simply reciting the text without comprehension is insufficient (Piskei Teshuvot 472:14), and that the main point is that the child asks questions as the rituals are actually carried out during the course of the evening (Sha'ar haTziun ibid 2). Interestingly, Rav Kook (Olat Raya vol 2 pp. 266–267) suggests that the Four Questions were composed to provide even the weakest child with prompts to ask questions. Rav Kook thus suggests that the structure of the Four Questions is designed to begin by highlighting the smallest changes in the hope that the child

catches on and begins to ask on its own. While some authorities (listed in Menachem Kasher, Haggadah Shelema p. 202–204) suggest that the parent, not the child, asks the questions, all opinions concur that the exchange between the parent and child should follow the question–answer format. For this reason, before the Haggadah begins, various unusual rituals are introduced, such as dipping a vegetable into salt water, to provide opportunities for the child to raise questions (Seder Lel Pesach, Ki Tov p. 43).

Principle 3—Create Curiosity

Given the priority placed on the participation of children, numerous practices were instituted to increase the child's interests, in the words of the Talmud (Pesachim 108b) 'to surprise the children' or (ibid 104b) 'to make things interesting for the children'. Maimonides (Hilchot Chametz uMatzah 7:3) rules: 'One should make changes on that night, so that the children will notice and ask: why is this night different from other nights?' Thus, rabbis in the Talmud proposed to give roasted nuts to children to arouse their curiosity as to why they are getting this unexpected treat. Shulchan Aruch (Orach Chaim 472:16) codifies this practice with the reason 'so that the children will notice a difference and ask questions'. Shulchan Aruch Harav (ibid 31) notes that although there is no real answer to this question, it is hoped that once the child's interest is piqued, it will lead to the asking of other relevant questions. Mishnah Berurah (ibid 50) explains that this will stimulate the child to notice other changes as well. The Talmud (ibid 104b) similarly cites an early custom to remove the table before the meal, to provoke the child to question this unusual practice. To illustrate this, the Talmud relates: '[young] Abaye was sitting before Rabba and saw that he had moved away the table [before the meal]. He said to him: we haven't yet eaten, so why is the table being removed?' Ritva (Hilchot Seder Haggadah p. 10) records that his teacher, Nachmanidies, had a custom that upon removing the table (before the meal), he would declare, 'let us recite grace after meals, because we have already eaten much' in order to intrigue the children. Likewise, a vegetable is dipped before the meal and a second cup of wine is poured but left undrunk—all to draw the attention of the child. A portion of matzah is broken off and hidden away, so the child may wonder why the food is being put away before any has been eaten. Thus, the Seder uses innovation to generate interest in the child by introducing some unpredictability and an element of surprise.

Principle 4—Create Optimal Conditions

Sleepy children will struggle to learn, while bored children will be reluctant to do so. For these reasons, Rabbi Akiva is reported in the Talmud (Pesachim 109a) to have closed his House of Study early on Passover eve so that the Seder would start promptly and the children would not get tired and fall asleep. This is codified in the Shulchan Aruch (472:1) that the Seder should commence immediately on the return of the worshippers at synagogue, so that the children will be able to be awake for the Seder. Furthermore, the mediaeval Talmudic commentator Rashbam (Pesachim 109a) interprets Rabbi Akiva's early closure of the House of Study as indicating that parents needed to return home to ensure that the children are put to bed so they are fresh when night comes to participate fully in the Seder. This has now become a

widespread custom, including in the author's childhood home, to see that children rest during the day. Rashbam adds that the Passover meal is served after the Haggadah is read so that the children will not become drowsy after a large meal and fail to engage.

Principle 5—Child Participation
Children are supposed from a young age to participate in all the rituals of the evening, including drinking the wine. While there is some debate in Jewish law around the specific age at which various rituals become age appropriate (see next principle), all opinions concur that children should participate in all activities. For example, Shulchan Aruch Harav (Orach Chaim 472:25) states 'Children of a suitable age to be educated in rituals should have a cup for wine put before them'. Moreover, numerous innovative rituals were developed to involve children in the activities of the night. For example, based on a passage in the Talmud (Pesachim 109a) about 'snatching the Matzah', a custom has evolved whereby the children are enabled to take active part in the evenings proceedings. Similarly, Kaf haChaim (473:133) cites the custom to wrap a piece of matzah in cloth and tie it to the child's shoulder, and the child parades around the room impersonating the Israelites leaving Egypt. A key custom is to have the child hide a portion of matzah required for the ritual which must then be found, with the rationale that it helps to prevent the child from falling asleep (Chok Yaakov 472). Shulchan Aruch (473:6) notes that the Haggadah must be read in a language that the children understand and should be explained at a level that they can comprehend. Before the Seder, some are accustomed to invite the children to explain the 15 steps of the Seder (Chag haMatzot 28:12 note 22).

Principle 6—Age and Development-Stage Appropriate
Much as there is significant debate around child development and the various stages therein, Jewish law debates the exact age or development stage that is appropriate for including small children in the rituals of the Seder. The Mishnah (Pesachim 10:4) states, 'the father should teach in accordance with the mental capacity of the child'. The matzah and wine are to be consumed whilst leaning to one's left and there is some discussion as to whether this would be comfortable for children. Most halachic authorities (Chok Yaakov 472:27; Ben Ish Chai 96:28) rule that a child of around 5–6 should lean, although other authorities (Moadim Uzmanim Vol. 2 Chap. 257) state that this is more appropriate for older children. Shulchan Aruch Harav (Orach Chaim 472:25) notes that the child should be given the rituals so long as they are capable of understanding their meaning. Many authorities suggest giving the child smaller quantities, suitable to their own age and size (Mishnah Berurah 472:47); however, it is common practice, as noted by the Maharil, that even very young children are given a cup for wine, but that the amount is not important and it can be grape juice (Piskei Halachot 472:13). When it comes to giving the child matzah to eat, Maimonides (Hilchot Chametz uMatzah 6:10) rules that, 'a child who can eat bread … is to be given to each a portion (kazayit) of matzah'. However, here too, later authorities (Shemirat Shabbat Kehilchata Chap. 32 note 80) state that the rules which control the quantity and speed of eating the relevant portion do not apply to children. It is noted (Piskei Teshuvot 472:13) that this principle governing

inclusion of children in the practices of the Seder applies to the other rituals of the night, such as eating Marror (bitter herbs), Korech (sandwich of matzah and bitter herbs) and Afikoman (the final piece of matzah eating at the end of the Seder). So, broadly the view is that once a child is capable of understanding, the parent is obligated to initiate the child in the rituals, but that even from a very young age the child should be included.

Principle 7—Learn Through Modelling and Illustrating

Numerous practices emerged around the ritual of the Seder that aim to bring the Passover story to life. Maimonides (ibid 7:6) and Shulchan Aruch Harav (472:7) write that 'A person is obligated to show in a demonstrable fashion that he has left Egypt'. When explaining the meaning of matzah and marror, the reader is to hold up or point to the referred-to item. The leader dramatically splits a matzah in two, illustrating the 'bread of affliction'. Pillows are brought to the table to dramatise the idea of reclining whilst feasting. Food is dipped into a paste that is supposed to resemble mortar, representing the backbreaking work the Israelites were forced to undertake as Egyptian slaves. Some sources (Magen Avraham 473:22; Teshuvot Maharshal 88) cite a custom in which a portion of matzah is placed on the shoulder mimicking the Exodus, with some sources (Dvar Yom b'Yomo Vol. 1 p. 26b) adding that the matzah is to be carried around the room in a bag on someone's shoulder, whereupon the bearer is asked 'from whence do you come?' and to which the response should be 'from Egypt'. These and similar customs, that vary from family to family and from community to community, serve to render the message of Passover more concrete and accessible to children.

Principle 8—Tailoring the Message and Reaching Out to the Challenging Child

The Haggadah is designed to address a variety of children, recognising that not all children are alike. Most notably, the Haggadah (based upon the Jerusalem Talmud Pesachim 10:4) discusses four types of children that may need to be engaged with: the wise, wicked, simple and clueless. Not only are all four types recognised as having a place at the Seder, each is spoken to in accordance with its own needs. For example, for the clueless child, literally the 'one who does not even know how to ask', the Haggadah advises, 'you open the discussion for him'. Rav Kook (Olat Raya Vol. 2 pp. 266–7) suggests that the Four Questions were composed specifically to aid the clueless child, who would not be able to formulate his or her own questions. According to Eliyahu Ki Tov (Seder Lel Pesach p. 85), the largest part of the Haggadah is actually taken up by addressing the questions of the wicked child, which perhaps even more emphatically highlights the importance of inclusivity. Jewish law (Shulchan Aruch Harav 473:42) necessitates that even though, as noted, the child is supposed to ask questions, should the child fail to do so, the parent must still provide the answers. Maimonides (Hilchot Chametz uMatzah 7:2) rules that if the child is young or foolish, the parent should explain it to him in simple terms that the child can relate to, whereas if the child is mature or clever, the parent should provide more comprehensive and challenging content.

Discussion

The relational turn in parenting research, as noted earlier, has directed attention towards several key issues that had been previously overlooked. It has drawn closer attention to the impact that the manner of parental communication has on what children will learn from the parent–child interaction. Laible (2004) has shown that conscience development seems to be more advanced in children whose mothers adopted a more rational form of communication, such as justifying and clarifying their expectations; being critical or hurtful to the child led to the opposite effect. Other research (Kochanska et al. 2003) has similarly found that talking to young children about past misbehaviour in an effective conversational manner that fostered communication rather than blame or ridicule was a positive influence on their mental moral capacities. By learning the parent's perspective, the child's mental horizons and capacity for perspective-taking is enhanced, leading to accelerated personal development (Thompson et al. 2006). This chapter seeks to extend this orientation, suggesting that parents should proactively create optimal opportunities for learning and for internalising values by adopting similar methods to those that feature at a Seder night ceremony, such as a question-and-answer format (principle 2) and child participation (principle 5). Adopting methods to stimulate the child's interest is particularly significant, given the broad acceptance in the literature that boredom and learning are mutually exclusive (Kanevsky and Keighley 2003). Hidi (1990) showed that 'interest is a mental resource' and that making information interesting increases the child's capacity to learn.

The relational approach to parenting has given greater prominence to child–parent conversations. Research has found that 'mothers who use a more elaborative style of discourse, characterized by rich embellishment of the narrative structure of shared recall, have offspring who are more advanced in conscience development than the children of mothers with a more sparse, pragmatic discourse style' (Thompson et al. 2006, p. 287). It is suggested that such a narrative approach provides richer insight for the child. Based upon the Judaic sources presented earlier, it may be suggested that the narrative approach itself is a particularly effective manner of imparting a message to small children (principle 1). In keeping with Laible and Thompson (2000), it may be argued further that the narrative form contributes somewhat to a warm and close parent–child bond that has been long associated with effective parenting. Stories are rich in emotional content, and research by Laible and Song (2006) suggests that emotionally rich storytelling is a highly effective method of fostering a child's socio-emotional development. Developmental experiences are characterised by (1) cognitive processing that leads to a sense of wellbeing that, in turn, promotes future interest (Comer cited in Ben-Avie et al. 2003) and (2) a reorientation of the self into a larger context. An effective way of promoting relationships is by enticing children to become involved in role-playing learning activities that are related to narratives.

Research that focuses on the role of the child has highlighted how even the most well-meaning and positive parenting strategies depend heavily on how the individu-

al child responds to the intervention, which, in turn, depends on a variety of factors, including the situational context. Even proven parenting practices may fail if the child has overindulged on sugar or is overtired. The approaches highlighted above from the Seder night rituals provide insight into how to create optimal conditions through ensuring the child is not bored or exhausted (principle 4), by preparing the child to be receptive by generating curiosity (principle 3) and through engaging with the child in an matter appropriate to its age and development stage (principle 6). Children vary significantly in their aptitudes and orientations and therefore parental interactions need to be adapted to meet the child's abilities and interests (Grusec 2002), as the response of an inquisitive child will be different from a child with learning difficulties (principle 8).

Research that focuses on the parental role has tended towards the use of reasoning and persuasion in the moral development of children. This dominant strain in parenting theory has argued that effective parenting requires clear explanations (Hoffman 1970) that generate thoughtful considerations in children (Applegate et al. 1985). Many of the practices incorporated into the Seder ritual aim to foster clear parent–child communication and encourage the child to reflect on the lessons those rituals contain. This is highlighted most strongly in the way that the communication employs stories (principle 1), a question-and-answer format (principle 2) and in the way that the parent models and illustrates the learning for maximum clarity and impact (principle 7).

Conclusion

This chapter sought to explore the features of the Jewish Passover Seder which is heavily focused on parent–child interaction with the intent of transmitting identity and traditional values, suggesting that they contain valuable insights for modern-day parenting. To achieve this, it grouped together the multifarious customs and practices of the Seder into eight parenting principles and integrated them into the evidence-based research on parenting. In particular, the chapter drew upon a more recent strand of parenting research that focuses on the relational aspects, and suggests that the methods used at the Seder offer particularly useful ideas for parents to use for optimal parent–child interactions. These ideas have not been tested in practice, which will form, it is hoped, the subject of future papers. The author encourages other scholars to take up this research strand, as research into imparting values through parenting is still a vastly underdeveloped area of research. One path towards conducting further research is to focus on the function of adult–child communication during ritual enactments (Ben-Avie, personal communication). Of particular interest would be a study that assessed the impact of the approaches presented, such as whether concentration or retention are increased through learning through a question-and-answer format or whether enacting stories at the family table are effective at imparting a sense of values or whether involving children in rituals reduced child boredom.

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Chapter 11
Valuing the Aged: Studies in Ageing Enrichment

Yossi Ives and Lisa Levene

Each one of us has something meaningful to give, especially older people who have typically accumulated valuable knowledge and life experiences. Yet, in reality, our society often ignores older people and undervalues their contribution. This chapter presents a positive conception of old age inspired by Judaic values, and reports on three practical initiatives that were undertaken to leverage the skills and experience of older people to benefit others and to thereby enrich the ageing experience.

Traditional Jewish thought emphasises the importance of our elders and the value of benefiting from their wisdom. This sentiment prompted us to explore developing activities and interventions to actively reverse the trend of how current society views and treats its older members. Our goal was to enable older people to be involved in meaningful activity that would allow them to impart something of themselves to others in order to facilitate "ageing enrichment." While there are numerous issues that impact the lives of older people, from physical health to empowerment, we focus on the issue of ageing enrichment, in particular, exploring how continual giving may positively affect their lives.

Jewish Values and Ageing Enrichment

Elders Are a Resource In the Jewish tradition, elders are viewed as a resource. In their old age, people have a valuable contribution to make, as Psalms (92:15) says, "They will still bring forth fruit in old age; they will be lively and invigorated." Deuteronomy (32:7) suggests looking to learn lessons for the future from stories of the past, "Remember the days of old, consider the years of each generation; ask

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your father, and he will tell you, your elders, and they will say to you." Job (12:12) states, "With old age comes wisdom, and understanding with length of days," upon which the biblical commentator Malbim explains that someone who has tested ideas repeatedly, throughout the years of life, gains a wisdom and knowledge which stands the test of time. This idea is expressed in the Talmud (Megillah 31b): "Even if the elders tell you to destroy, and the youngsters tell you to build, you should destroy and not build, for the 'destruction' of older people is really building, and the 'building' of young people is really destruction." The Midrash (Exodus Rabba 3:6) states, "Anyone who takes advice from the elders will not stumble." Older people are viewed as having reached the pinnacle; "The end of the matter is better than the beginning," says Ecclesiastes (7:8).

Elders are viewed as the transmitters of knowledge. Ethics of the Fathers opens with "Moses received Torah at Sinai. He passed it to Joshua; and Joshua to the Elders…" and includes a passage (4:20) that trumpets the benefits of learning from elders: "Rabbi Yossi ben Judah said 'He that learns from the young, to what is he like? To one who eats unripe grapes and drinks wine from his winepress. And he who learns from the aged, to what is he like? To one who eats ripe grapes and drinks old wine.'" The Bible (Leviticus 19:32) commands us to "rise up before the aged, and honour the face of the older person." Elders have accumulated wisdom through experience, for which reason regardless of who the older person is, Jewish law rules that they must be respected, for "how many events has he experienced in his life" (Talmud, *Kiddushin* 32b) .

Two Types of "Ageing" Ageing is not viewed in Judaic traditional texts as a unified construct. At a very basic level, there are two perspectives that are born out of Judaic literature. The first recognises that growing older can be a difficult and problematic process, devoid of dignity. Conversely, Jewish teachings highlight that a life of development and learning results in a continued maturing of the character into old age irrespective of the typical enfeeblement of the physique. The following aphorism in the Mishnah (Kinin 3:6) captures the varying experience of ageing: "The elders of the sages, their mind becomes more settled as they get older; whereas the minds of elders of the ignorant becomes ever more confused as they get old."

Thus, there are two types of old age: the first being someone who throughout his life has accumulated wisdom and noble traits. She serves as a model for the generation behind her and thereby serves a vital function in society. By contrast, old age can easily become a burden to the person and to his surroundings with few redeeming factors (Cohen 2014). Longevity, like everything else in the human condition, is not viewed by this Mishnah as an unqualified good. According to Rabbi Shear Yashuv Cohen, the Rabbis were highlighting that the more meaningful a person's old age, the more positive it will be. The value and meaning of old age is based on having some contribution to make to society. If society has no role for their elders, or if the older people have nothing to occupy their time and energies, then there is a breakdown of society and of the silver years (Cohen 2014).

The Talmud (46b) describes a town where people never die, but when the inhabitants grow tired of life they leave the walls of the city and meet the angel of

death. We find a similar idea expressed in the Midrash (*Yalkut Shimoni* Proverbs 943) which describes a woman who grew very old and had become tired of life. When she asked her rabbi what to do, he advised her to stop attending synagogue every day, and 3 days later she passed away. The sources thus recognise that there can come a time when a person may feel there is nothing further to live for. While old age is a "crowning glory" (Proverbs 16:31) and a great blessing, it can also be a time when "the light of the sun is dimmed" (Ecclesiastes 12:2).

The Talmud (*Yevamot* 62b) teaches that just as there is never a time to stop learning, there is never a time to quit teaching. Rabbi Akiva says, "Even though a man learnt Torah in his youth he must still learn Torah in his old age. Even though a man had students in his youth he must also have students in his old age." A person needs a sense of purpose in order to thrive in life. Based on the verse in Job (Job 4:11) that, "The old lion perishes for lack of prey," the Talmud quotes Rabbi Yossi who says, "A person only ever dies from having nothing to do."

Ageing Enrichment: A Paradigm for the "Middle Old"

The foregoing ideas about the role of older people are highly relevant to addressing recent demographic changes. Life expectancy has risen dramatically in recent years (CIA World Factbook 2012). In Western countries, the average people can expect to live more than 10 years longer than just a few decades ago, and to do so for an unprecedented number of years in reasonably good health. This represents a major blessing but also raises acute challenges. A generally unrecognised problem accompanies this transformation. Much as younger people do not gain satisfaction and fulfilment from mere self-indulgence and relaxation, older people similarly need to feel they are valued and needed.

Many older people are finding that the dream of long life turns into a nightmare of loneliness and boredom. Most try to stay positive and remind themselves that they should be grateful for a long life and good health, but many experience a gnawing sense that they are sitting out life. There is a critical need to consider how to make them feel genuinely included in society—to treat seniors as useful and valuable people. Birren (2000, p. 13) suggests that we "should study not only the dynamics of extended life expectancy, but also the issue of how the gift of long life may be used."

The challenge described above is not true of the entire ageing experience. Many people feel great relief upon retirement, having spent decades labouring under work pressures or conforming to rigid office routines. Many retirees are indeed exuberant at their new-found freedom and the time and flexibility to indulge in their hobbies and interests. The literature suggests that while some people suffer a crisis around retirement—with perhaps up to a third experiencing some adjustment difficulties (Bosse et al. 1991)—most people will find that retirement opens up a variety of leisure or work options (O'Riordan 2011).

As people become increasingly infirm, their concerns are primarily around welfare and healthcare, and they look for society to accommodate their needs—in ways

small (priority seating on buses) and large (senior citizen's homes). The elderly who are frail or infirm perhaps *are* looking for our sympathy, empathy and compassion; they hope to be valued and respected for the contribution they *once* made, rather than for the contribution they may *still* make. However, even frail elders need meaningful moments of celebration, elevation and acknowledgment—and many would be delighted to make a difference were they given a chance. Wong (2000) defines successful ageing as "having a positive meaning and purpose in life, even when one's physical health is failing."

Enriched and meaningful ageing is particularly significant for a demographic described here as the "middle old"—people who are not newly retired yet who are not infirm. They are mobile and healthy, but are not fulfilled; they want to feel useful, and would want to engage in challenging and meaningful tasks.

Enriching Ageing The Judaic sources presented earlier, it is argued, suggest that older people would benefit from greater possibilities to feel valued and fulfilled. It is therefore essential that opportunities exist that allow them to make a valuable and valued contribution. They deserve respect not merely for their *age* but for their *ability*. This shift is termed "ageing enrichment," enabling older people to develop and grow while also making a contribution commensurate with their capabilities. In consultation with various experts, three avenues were identified to foster enrichment: continual learning, meaning and giving. The authors chose to focus on the theme of continual giving, to explore ways of enabling older people to make a contribution that they felt was meaningful and important and that capitalised on their skills—and to study the impact that has on their sense of purpose.

The term "ageing enrichment" is used here to refer to two distinct but interwoven aspects. It refers to a state in which older people who so wish are enabled to play a role in society that looks to engage with them in the fullest way possible. It also refers to the recognition that by playing a productive role in society they will, in turn, themselves become enriched. "Ageing enrichment" means ensuring that older people have the opportunities to achieve their full potential by providing opportunities for people who are so inclined to bring the skills they have accumulated during a lifetime to make a difference to themselves and society. The studies therefore sought to create ways of channelling the skills of older people towards activities that deploy their unique abilities and which, in turn, grant them a greater sense of enrichment.

Three Ageing Enrichment Projects

Tag Institute for Social Development is a think tank and research centre that undertakes social scientific research that applies Jewish social values to addressing contemporary social challenges. Tag Institute's ageing enrichment project was based on the foregoing considerations to tackle the isolation and marginalisation of older people. The project leader, Lisa Levene, established an expert advisory board to guide the process of analysis and action. The purpose of the investigation was to re-

fine and clarify ideas that could lead to a practical project addressing the quality of life of older people. Through this process, three initiatives were launched to explore the potential for ageing enrichment:

1. *Mentoring experience*—Connecting the experience of seniors to provide direction and support to younger people
2. *Treasured moments*—Creating and displaying short films of older people sharing their wisdom
3. *Creative giving*—Enabling older people to use their creative talents to help communities in developing countries

Maintaining an active life is important for ageing well (Ekerdt 1986). Volunteering is an impactful way towards enrichment. Peacock and O'Quin (2006) write:

> Among the benefits is a sense of altruism, which has been noted to contribute to positive affect among older participants (Dulin and Hill 2003). Also, those who engage in community service for altruistic reasons report higher life satisfaction (Dulin et al. 2001). Indeed, increasing ties to the community—in particular, relationship ties to younger members of the community—can decrease loneliness, foster the development of new roles, and provide purpose and meaning in a life stage where limited opportunities for such may exist.

All three initiatives were designed to recognise and capitalise on the capabilities of older people through intergenerational activities that could enrich their lives while benefiting others. This chapter will focus mainly on the first of the three ageing enrichment initiatives, but will briefly address the other two.

Mentoring Experience Initiative

This initiative matched and facilitated an older mentor supporting a younger mentee, carried out in collaboration with the Jewish Volunteering Network (JVN) which promotes volunteering and the voluntary sector within the UK Jewish community. The mentors were mostly fully or partly retired experienced professionals and the mentees were either in the business or charity sectors.

JVN used its website and database to attract both mentors and mentees. Tag created a full-colour leaflet that explained the background to the project. In practice, many of the mentors came through personal contacts of the organisers. A group of 25 potential mentors attended a presentation to inform them about the project and to confirm their interest, with the goal of recruiting 10–15 mentors. At the event, forms were distributed asking for a range of information, but many participants found the questions alien. For example, some of the participants indicated that they did not like the word "retired" and did not consider themselves so because they continue "working" in some capacity. In the end, much of the recruitment occurred via face-to-face interviews. As a result, 16 suitable people expressed interest, of which 11 were actually able to take part in the current pilot project. One of these mentors, who was highly excited by the project, was appointed "Mentor Champion" to act as the first point of contact for the other mentors. Tag and the Mentor Champion

interviewed each mentor on an individual basis in order to create biographies. The assumption was that there would be little difficulty attracting mentees.

JVN ran a tailor-made mentor training session for the mentors while simultaneously marketing the programme to attract mentees through its website and through directly contacting the heads of large Jewish communal and charitable organisations. Eleven mentees were matched to mentors. Some mentees were recommended through TrainE-TraidE, a Jewish work-training organisation in London, but most of the mentees came through the network of Jewish chief executives. The profile of the mentors was as follows: seven were former professionals such as accountants, lawyers and psychologists, one had been an entrepreneur, one still was an entrepreneur and a further two had been leaders of communal organisations. The profile of the mentees was as follows: six were leaders of charities, four were entrepreneurs and one was from a corporate organisation. Letters were sent to the chief executives asking them to nominate mentees; in fact, four of the CEOs put themselves forward. Mentees were provided with guidance notes explaining what mentoring offered. At this point, two mentees had only one session with their mentor, while the rest had formed a continuing relationship.

Halfway through the mentoring a supervision session was held for the mentors. Some mentors were looking to take on additional mentees, but a dearth of suitable mentees prevented this from happening. The average length of mentoring sessions was 45 min to 1 h. Of the 11 mentors, eight were regarded as successful with between 3–6 sessions; one pairing exceeded ten sessions and continued beyond the timeline of the project; three parings ended after only 1–2 sessions. In anticipation of the close of the pilot, all mentees were asked to complete feedback forms. Mentors were provided with 25 written questions ahead of a focus group discussion, and those that could not give their feedback verbally supplied written responses, which provided rich insight into the successes and challenges of the project.

Research Methodology

The mentoring initiative adopted an action research methodology which involves the *intent* to affect social change, to study an actual intervention instigated by the researcher (Eden and Huxham 1996) and which combines action (change, improvement) with research (understanding, knowledge), allowing both to be achieved simultaneously (Dick 2002). The research framework consisted of four main stages:

- Diagnose—Gather data about the context and identify a need
- Plan action—Formulate and secure agreement for the intervention
- Take action—Introduce and monitor the change
- Evaluate—Analyse results

We were not looking to use a formal measure to define success, but rather to gain a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities for ageing enrichment. Evaluation was based on participants' oral and written feedback, focus groups with

mentors and semi-structured interviews with the project managers from both Tag and JVN. It assessed the effectiveness of the initiative and what lessons could be taken for future action (Robson 2003).

Data collection involved (1) participant feedback via structured feedback forms at the completion of the pilot project completed by both mentors and mentees. Informal feedback provided through e-mail and phone exchanges between the organisers and participants was also used. (2) Two focus groups were held with the mentors at the midpoint of the project and at its conclusion. A particular benefit of focus groups is the group interaction which enables the key issues to rise to the surface (Krueger and Casey 2000). (3) Reviews and interviews were held with the project managers to garner insight into the challenges and process involved. A semi-structured interview approach was used, defined by Robson (2003, p. 270) as "predetermined questions, but the order can be modified based upon the interviewer's perception of what seems most appropriate."

Data analysis was conducted using coding methods from grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990) that offer a particular style of analysing data (Robson 2003, p. 191). Data analysis involved four steps (based primarily on Charmaz 2008):

- Initial (open) coding
- Early memos
- Focused (selective) coding
- Advanced memos

Case Study

David had recently started his food business, having previously worked in a senior position in the medical profession. This career change, what he termed "an unconventional career switch," was daunting, as in his own words he had "no prior business experience or knowledge whatsoever." While he felt that his business idea was sound and was "starting to show success," he felt he was struggling to adjust his personal management and business management skills to suit his new career.

David sought a mentor to help him prioritise his efforts, make clear choices about key business decisions and to better manage his finances. As far as David was concerned, "My mentor helped me tremendously in all these areas by guiding me to create appropriate systems to make my business function more effectively. This included (but was not limited to) seeking and finding an accountant and web designer who were perfectly suited to my needs. Both I and my business are continuously reaping the rewards from these changes." Although most of the mentor—mentee relationships lasted for around 6 months and involved 3–4 sessions, David had his mentor for 7 months and had at least ten mentoring sessions. He was also willing to recommend others to the project for mentoring.

Asked whether the mentoring met his expectations, David responded:

> It has far exceeded my expectations in every area—with respect to my mentor himself; the quality of the expertise and advice he has given me; the amount I have learned and gained from the experience of working with him; and, the benefits and progress my business has

made from the invaluable help and guidance I have received from him. My mentor has put himself out tremendously and gone far beyond what I envisaged to be the role of mentor, taking an active role in my business (while always ensuring that I make the final decision on anything).

Mentee Benefits

The mentees were unanimous in their enthusiasm for the project, even if many were at first sceptical. "Can't thank you enough for the opportunity," the words of one mentee, was representative of feedback received. The mentees mentioned numerous benefits in their feedback, such as "improved life balance," but the main benefits are clustered below:

Knowledge and Advice Several mentees made reference to the "wealth of knowledge" and "concrete professional advice" they felt they had received. For example, one mentee felt the project "enables younger people to have the opportunity of discussing work problems and issues with an objective, interested older person."

Space for Reflection Several mentees noted how the mentoring allowed them to "put things into perspective" and provided a "Confidential space" in which they were "able to reflect." For example one mentee commented: "I really enjoyed taking time out to reflect on my work and talk through issues that I was facing." Another wrote: "I was seeking and have found a confidential space to discuss work-related challenges with some who is non-judgemental and non-directional but honestly reflects back my situation in a way that allows me to better deal with it."

Professional Development Often the mentees were new to positions of responsibility and valued the guidance of someone who had already had those experiences: "I think the mentoring experience helped me to mature and to assess the competing demands on my time more objectively, and to choose to steer a path that meets my own aspirations." Another mentee felt the mentoring "has been a positive influence on both my effectiveness and functioning. I can look at certain decisions I have made or ways that I have approached issues and can trace my actions back to discussions had with my mentor."

Confidence to Make Tough Decisions Perhaps the most important benefit cited by the mentees was the way the mentor was a source of strength: "I have benefitted from being able to talk through the issues and concerns and through my discussions have found the fortitude to execute difficult decisions and actions." Another wrote: "I have gained the confidence to challenge some bad practice/difficult and interfering relationships. Finally, my mentor quickly saw that I needed to develop confidence in certain areas and challenged me to try several new things. I took on roles in the areas of leadership that I have never tried before."

Mentoring and Enrichment

While the mentees identified clear benefits, it was more difficult to discern whether there were benefits to the mentors. The study discovered that those candidates most suited for mentoring already feel most empowered; yet, those who are least empowered may not be the most suited for mentoring. As one of the organisers noted: "For a project such as this you are likely to attract those mentors that are not representative of the older population. They are likely to be specialists in their field and confident in their abilities." When mentors were asked specifically whether they felt being a mentor was enriching, many deflected the question: "We are not doing it to benefit ourselves, but to help others/give something back." It seems that talk of enrichment may not be so enriching! However, participants acknowledged a measure of satisfaction from having made such a positive impact on their mentees. Unsurprisingly, those who had an unsuccessful match did not express that positivity, although one said that he imagined that a successful match would be satisfying. "To an extent" was a response by a mentor to the question of whether the project added to their sense of purpose and fulfilment, which sums up the general reaction.

The mentors were all surprised by how much the mentees had benefited, and none had realised that they had so much to give. For example, one of the organisers summarised this sentiment thus: "The project highlighted to the mentors how much they had to give without even realising it. In many cases it was not just the obvious experience that was of benefit to the mentee but the 'throw-away' comments and just the 'common-sense' statements." This was echoed by such comments from mentors as: "Today not everyone has family support, so older counsel can be invaluable even if it's just commonsense tools and life experience that you are imparting." Additionally, the project facilitated the engagement of older people with younger people in a way that they would never otherwise have had the opportunity to do so. A couple of mentors said that this made them "feel younger." The results of the study tentatively suggest that while mentoring enhances ageing enrichment, it is most suited for people with an identifiable skill set. The next section summarises practical lessons derived from these initiatives.

Lessons Learned

A report on this initiative published by Tag and JVN details the lessons and conclusions, so this chapter will summarise the main points:

Mentor—Mentee Relationship and Fit The quality of the relationship is vitally important in mentoring (Kram 1983; Palmer and McDowall 2010). For example, one mentee wrote: "I really appreciated her time and enjoyed getting to know her," while another noted: "The mentor I was matched with was very warm and friendly and we got along well." Tellingly, all but one mentee were willing to have their feedback shared with their mentor. Mentors became frustrated when the relation-

ship did not work, such as when feedback was lacking (see below). A good fit between mentor and mentee is vital. For example, a successful partnership was established between a young entrepreneur and a mentor who had similarly been an entrepreneur. One mentee commented: "I would say it mainly works for me because I have a specific need at this point in time and the match with my mentor is very good." However, the "fit" of personality and life skills may be key, not the specific profession or background, as this mentee's comment illustrates: "I had expected the mentor to have had actual professional work experience, but she had pointed out to me that she had only experience in voluntary organisations. This, however, did not reduce her knowledge and the insight gained has been very useful." By contrast, another mentee felt that the mentors "need to come from similar professional backgrounds if the mentoring is to be from a professional perspective."

Recruitment and Communication Recruitment of mentees proved challenging, with a greater demand than supply from the mentors for mentees. The organisers were wary of extending an open invitation for mentees, lest they were inundated with unsuitable candidates. This more cautious approach led to a shortage of suitable mentees. Additionally, the organisers and the mentors felt that the low uptake from mentees is because younger people are unaware of the benefits of an older mentor. One mentor asked: "How do we educate younger people on the importance of valuing older people's experience?" One of the organisers summed it up as follows: "Mentees don't know what they are missing until they experience it. So how do we educate them?" Finding mentors was not easy either. Mentors were mainly recruited directly through personal networks. Mentors said that the personal approach made them feel valued and appreciated, and that without that personal connection there may have been difficulties persuading people. More effective communication and wider recruitment channels are both critically important to raise awareness of the project and to promote participation.

A significant source of discontent for a minority of mentors was the lack of communication from mentees. Some complained that the mentees did not tell them whether they wished to continue or did not let the mentor know whether the proffered advice was useful. One of the organisers stated: "Without feedback of some kind from the mentee, the mentor doesn't gain fulfilment." This suggests that it was the knowledge that the advice was helpful that made mentoring a satisfying experience, confirming the key theme of the ageing enrichment project. If the giving is not acknowledged, then the mentoring does not fulfil the objective of ageing enrichment. Mentor feedback was unanimous that mentees need better guidance on communication: "Going forward we need to ensure there [will be] a contract and/or guidance given to the mentee which makes it incumbent on them to give feedback. It's a means of recognising their mentor's efforts but is really simple etiquette that makes such a profound impact."

Mentor and Mentee Training Formal mentor training at the outset of the project was well received; the guidance on the nature of mentoring and how it differs from giving advice and valued the exercises on questioning styles, active listening and

giving feedback were particularly welcomed. By contrast, the mentors' reaction to the midway expert-facilitated debriefing and consultation session was varied. While the broad consensus was, as one mentor stated, that the "training was adequate," some mentors felt there was no need for an external moderator and that they would have been better handled between themselves, given their wealth of life experience. This concurs with the ageing enrichment perspective that maximising their contribution makes the mentoring experience more meaningful.

Both mentors and mentees felt that mentees would have benefited from more preparation. Only the mentors received structured orientation, whereas the mentees only received a written document explaining the initiative; because unlike the cohort of mentors who all joined the project at the same time, the mentees did not start together making providing training more difficult. This led many participants to feel that the mentees lacked preparation. For example, one mentee wrote: "I wasn't really sure what to expect from mentoring. I think that I could have gained more from the relationship if there were parameters or guidelines available to me earlier, as I had not had a mentor in the past." Another mentee said much the same: "It would be useful to have had examples of positive mentor—mentee relationships and how other people used mentors to help them at work. I would have been able to draw on these to make better use of the time." Similarly, one of the mentors argued that "the positivity of the project is enhanced if it is 'mentee led', that is if the mentee is motivated to want to learn from their senior mentor and ascertain what skills the older person can give them."

Qualities Needed in a Mentor An issue arose that older people may not be familiar with the latest technology or communication methods. As one of the organisers commented, "There is a tremendous generation difference between mentors and mentees; both mentors and mentees need to recognise this." From the organisers there was a sense that those who still had a foot in the professional world were the most suited to mentor on work-related issues. For those who had been retired for a long time, the view was that typically "they lose the touch of working life nowadays" and would do better mentoring on personal rather than on work-related issues. A partner organisation with a work focus failed to propose many candidates because they felt that "some of the mentors are too old to be matched with their young entrepreneurs," especially as they often lack social media experience. Furthermore, in the words of one organiser, "it takes a certain kind of person to be a mentor," to be able to offer something that would be genuinely of value to a mentee.

Duration of Mentoring The mentoring contracts were for a 6-month period, with one session per month. Some mentees expressed the view that they would have wanted the mentoring to extend for a longer period: "I would like the relationship to continue for a longer period until the change I have tried to institute has been fully embedded." Another wrote: "I feel that six sessions is probably the minimum." Finally, a mentee was resigned to losing his menteeship: "If my particular situation has not resolved within 6 months then more would obviously be useful but if that's not the deal—fair enough." Indeed, the case study featured above described a mentoring partnership that lasted for 7 months and no fewer than ten sessions. However,

while no mentees thought the period or number of sessions should be fewer, some mentees articulated the view that the contract was of an appropriate length. "Original estimation seems fair." And another wrote: "We had six sessions one month apart as planned. This worked well, and though we were both sad that it came to an end, we both agreed that it is good to have a focussed time with a definite ending, as it really concentrates the mentees mind!"

Treasured Moments Project

To learn whether inviting older people to share some of their wisdom on camera would result in a sense of ageing enrichment, a series of professional videos were created, capturing a key life message of older people that can inspire and guide younger people.

A purposive sample was recruited (Cohen et al. 2003), with inclusion criteria that participants should be over 65, have a message they would like to share and be confident speaking to a camera. Thus, to some extent, the cohort was self-selecting, which was found to overly limit the suitability of this approach. A total of 15 people were approached, recommended by staff and friends of Tag Institute, of which 8 people actually created videos: three men, three women and one couple. All were British, although two participants had immigrated to Israel a few years before. The ages of participants ranged from 71 to 95, with the mean age being 82.5 years. Sites of filming ranged from people's own homes to places where they volunteered and Tag Institute's office, depending on the participants' convenience and where they felt most comfortable.

In preparation for the videos, each participant was given an orientation and helped to choose a topic for their video, although specific guidance was given to not over-prepare the interviewee to ensure that their message was as authentic as possible. Questions to explore suitability and their interest included personal and professional background, key interests and hobbies, highs and lows in life, most valuable experiences and identifying an aspect of their life of which they were most proud. The interviewer was trained to tease out a reoccurring theme(s) and to check those with the interviewees by repeating it back to them, and also to clarify that it was a message(s) that they were comfortable to express on film. At this meeting, each participant was asked to prepare photos and other documents that may be suitable to feature in their film, especially ones that related to their message.

A second appointment was then set for the filming. Before the interview actually began, the interviewer asked participants a series of questions relating to the role of older people in society:

How do you feel that people your age are viewed by society? Interviewees were divided between (1) those who said they had a positive attitude which resulted in attracting a positive attitude from others, (2) those who felt that within their own family they were treated well, but they are not valued or appreciated by society in general and (3) those who felt that "people generally look at older people with impatience, are uninterested in what they have to say, and that older people many

times feel patronised." The general sentiment was that "people look at old people and don't realise that they have had a life… People have done such interesting things and when others look at a person who looks frail you don't realise what lies inside."

Do you feel that seniors are valued? Some interviewees adopted the view that older people are valued if they offer something of value, "If a person is active and doing something positive he is valued." Another stated the need to attract positivity from others: "If people talk about loneliness and illness, then that's the message that people will receive." Another key refrain was that those who enjoyed close family relationships felt fulfilled. For the reasons just mentioned, most of the interviewees personally felt largely valued, but their perception was that most of their peers were not as fortunate in this respect.

Do you think that older people are able to play a full part in society? Some felt that "older people should recognise their limitations." One respondent commented, "10 years ago I was able to do more than I can do now. Realistically you get tired as you get older, so it is harder physically. I still think that I have a lot to offer." Another thought that, "To get older people involved you need to get them involved in a task and fully reward them for this." However, some interviewees felt that it is not made easy for older people to play an active role in society: "Senior citizens are the last ones to be considered, not the first."

What do you feel are the good things about being in the older age group? A common theme was the wisdom they have gained: "You've had experience because you've talked to people, and accumulated the knowledge of the world." For one respondent this has led to a more respectful attitude towards them, "I get more respect and appreciation than I have ever had before." A second theme was the benefit of time, both for leisure purposes and to dedicate to communal activities: "Being able to do leisure things, holidays that you couldn't do when you were working, as well as take a more active part in community activities."

What, if anything, would you like to see different in the role of older people? Some participants were of the view that it was appropriate for older people to be in leadership roles: "There comes a point where you have to stand back and let younger people get on with it." Some felt that there were available opportunities for older people. However, others expressed the view that older people should be helped to be more employable, which they felt would alleviate loneliness and contribute towards people feeling valued.

What are you hoping will be achieved with the film project? Two main themes emerged. Some expressed the hope that the initiative would "awaken the energies that are dormant in people so they can utilise them for the best of the community." Others highlighted how through the films people were learning to focus on what makes them special and what they already have and are. As one respondent said, "I want to get out the message to people: Don't seek to achieve what those around you are achieving. Evaluate your own skills and potential and work to that. Take pride in that."

What about creating your own film would give you most satisfaction? One respondent felt that just being asked to create the film was fulfilling, and said that doing it gave him "A sense of achievement." Several people said it would give them

satisfaction to help others to "understand the value and importance of giving and the importance of understanding where you've come from and where you are going." One respondent felt the satisfaction would be highest if the film was "shown to young people, particularly young people that aren't such high achievers."

During filming, to prompt the interviewees, questions were asked to help generate an energetic response. So, for example, participants were asked, "Imagine you have a room full of classroom students/your peers/your great-great-grandchildren sitting in front of you; what message/piece of advice/aspect of yourself would you want to share?" Other questions asked included: "Are there any reoccurring themes that you feel have played dominance on your personal or professional life, that people might benefit from?" and "What do you feel about the term 'retiring at 65?'"

Assessing Impact

To assess the impact of the participation in this filming project, a semi-structured interview was held with each participant. We also sought feedback from a range of relevant individuals and organisations, such as the participant's family members and staff in organisations working with older people. As we discovered with the mentoring experience initiative, many of the participants themselves were reluctant to state explicitly that they have gained from participation, although by their reactions it is clear that they seemed to have benefited from the experience. A female participant wrote after the filming, "I have been smiling and also tearful…Many thanks, I hope it will be useful." A male participant stated, "It is a boost to my morale!" and other participant noted, "Video received. It is absolutely wonderful!!!" and "a job well done." An email from a family member of a participant highlights the intergenerational impact, "You really made my day when I got your email!! I just got the file you sent me it looks really good! I'm a massive fan of my grandmother as well, my grandmother is a very special lady." Members of partner organisations commented, "This is so great," and "I think these videos are amazing; Tag must have spent a lot of money doing this—and what interesting characters."

For some participants, being invited to speak on camera was a novel and even transformational experience—"It is such a new experience to see oneself in this way; I hope I got it right" was one response—as this comment from a participant's rabbi indicates:

> She was telling me that she has had such wonderful feedback from the film. She couldn't get over the fact the people were taking a serious interest in her and who she is. She went on to say that in over 80 years she had never felt like this before. The fact that people wanted to talk to her, about her life, and in such an impressive way was so overwhelming!! She then added that throughout her life she had never felt important or even recognised. She told me that when she was 50, she was sharing a room with her mother for a family simcha [celebration] and that in the morning her mother turned to her and said "you know that I have never realised that you are actually a nice person." Not even her mother noticed her. You have given this lady a voice!! Until now she had been working for the community, using her skills, supporting others, but I don't think she realised how meaningful her life is, and how fondly and highly regarded she is considered in the community.

An unusual outcome of this project was that the municipality of Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad) in Russia entered into an agreement with Tag Institute to replicate this project. They created a series of films for local television that feature their "treasured moments" and portray a positive image of older people.

The major limitation of the initiative is that it is most suited for people who are already confident and enriched—those who would be willing and able to speak on camera in an articulate manner. It was not found to be a suitable method for widespread direct-impact enhancing of ageing enrichment, or as a way of benefiting those most in need of ageing enrichment. However, this research discovered that the initiative was highly effective in changing public attitudes about older people, although this was not the stated aim of the initiative. Further research would be useful to explore the indirect impact that this type of initiative may have on how older people feel about themselves due to changes in the perception of others.

Creative Giving

A third ageing enrichment initiative was launched to enable older people to use their creative talents to benefit individuals and communities in developing countries. This initiative, still in its infancy, is being delivered in collaboration with older people organisations in the UK. It is recognised that as people retire they often turn attention to pursuing creative hobbies, but they often lack a way of channelling their enthusiasm towards a fulfilling purpose. In partnership with Tag Institute's sister organisation Tag International Development, the initiative aims to enable older people to produce creative objects that can benefit vulnerable people in countries around the world.

To date, hundreds of hand-knitted bears and handmade pieces of jewellery have been created and shared with people in Guatemala, Myanmar, Indonesia, Burundi and Kenya. To test the ageing enrichment potential of the initiative, photos were taken of the beneficiaries with their gifts, which were shared with their creators to understand the impact of seeing their handiwork finding its way and bringing happiness to such remote locations.

Initial indications are that participants find it rewarding to know that their efforts are going to benefit those who need it. So far we have some confirmation that it is more fulfilling for those creating the objects when they know they have an exciting and worthy purpose. For example, until our initiative the ladies knitting the bears were doing so to fill their time and did not know whether they would ever get used and, if so, how. The knowledge that the bears were being used and that they were being shared in such faraway places to people who have limited worldly possessions proved to be satisfying. The manager of the old person's centre that knitted the bears commented, "It's great that we can knit for you as we need a purpose with our knitting, and they like knitting for children the most…" On a separate occasion she wrote, "I will show my ladies that have knitted the bears the photos next week when I see them. The photos will keep them motivated to knit more bears!"

Initial indications also suggest that most participants prefer to create items they are already familiar with. In most cases, the enrichment is derived from what the objects get used for, not by the level of creativity involved. Efforts to encourage participants to create new items were not always successful. In one significant instant, however, the knitting project gave rise to the creation of specially designed dolls for teaching maternal health. Despite the innovative and impactful nature of this act of "creative giving," it was not found that this had a greater enrichment impact than the knitting of the bears. Perhaps for the cohort most likely to be knitting, the premium is on contributing something useful and not about the size or nature of that contribution. This is an interesting and important question for future research.

General Conclusion

Taken together, the three ageing enrichment initiatives confirmed that the most active and involved older people do generally feel fulfilled. Some of these people are also inclined to believe that opportunities exist for them to be as fulfilled as they are. However, the preponderance of opinion, even from those who themselves feel enriched, is that too few opportunities exist for older people and more should be done to create an inviting context for that to happen. Two of the three initiatives, it was discovered, were primarily relevant to the most able of the cohort, who arguably are least in need of ageing enrichment intervention. To benefit those who feel most marginalised and undervalued, our focus should be on finding ways of adding meaning and value to the activities that older people are already interested in doing rather than introducing new approaches that they are unlikely to be familiar with. In the future, research should focus on widening the range of activities that celebrate the elderly and all of their contributions—not, necessarily, just "creative" ones—to society. Further research is required to identify enrichment-enhancing activities that are suitable for the least empowered older people.

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Chapter 12
Solitary Confinement and Prison Reform: A Jewish Paradigm

Shlomo Bolts and Yossi Ives

Introduction to Chapter

Yossi Ives

Relational Dimension to Crime in Judaic Thought

Crime is generally relational, representing a dysfunctional method in which people relate to each other, rather than an act of a person toward him or herself. Crime is, therefore, social. We may describe it as antisocial as it is "hostile to the social order or norms" (Dictionary 2014), but this obscures the fact that it is very much an activity within society and impacts upon people and society (see Burnside and Baker 2004). Truly antisocial behavior would cause little harm to most people as it would involve a person or people disconnecting from society and choosing to have nothing to do with other people. So, the inherent problem of crime is its social nature. The criminal orientation may, therefore, be found in the social orientation of the offender. The criminal's attitude toward crime is often reflective of his or her attitude toward society. As Schluter (2004, p. 21) notes, the "break up of relational bonding in society has weakened our sense of duty or obligation," something he termed The R-Factor (Schluter and Lee 1993).

The chapter to follow is underpinned by a conception that from a Judaic perspective, crime is the product of a social orientation, sometimes quite conscious, that

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turns the criminal against society and pushes them toward a harmful subculture in which crime is acceptable. This conception, therefore, views the effective response to crime as, wherever possible, to restore the damaged social relations that enabled the crime to occur in the first place. Following on from this, it may be suggested that the prison system, which is the most widespread and elaborate reaction to crime in Western societies, needs to lend itself to fostering of wholesome social relations so as to treat crime at its root. Fundamentally, this approach calls for a complete rethink of the modern criminal justice system, which relies on removal of the offender from society and punishment as a deterrent, with the effect of reifying and confirming the offender's social disconnect. It is especially opposed to the more extreme socially dislocating punishments that serve to reinforce a radical otherness in the criminal, such as the not uncommon practice of solitary confinement or extended lockdowns in prisons—the main focus of the chapter.

The Role of Prison in Traditional Jewish Sources

The Judaic tradition recognizes there is a legitimate place for prisons, but it is generally not viewed as a method of punishment and its role is far more prescribed than has become common in the modern era. The Bible (Leviticus 242; Numbers 15:34) already contains the concept of detention for someone awaiting punishment. The Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 78b) cites a debate whether imprisonment should be restricted only to capital offences, which is indeed the view of the majority of the rabbis and is also the view of the Sifra (to Numbers ibid). Similarly, the Jerusalem Talmud (Sanhedrin 7:8) states that so long as there are credible allegations relating to a capital offence (judged by whether there are witnesses to the offence), even before the guilt is proven, the accused is held in detention. This view is confirmed by the Rabbenu Nissim (Sanhedrin 56a) who similarly gives an example of a capital offence. Somewhat controversially, the Talmud (Sanhedrin 81b) allows for incarceration for cases where the person is judged by a high court to deserve capital punishment, but due to legal restrictions or loopholes, the normal punishment cannot be meted out. Maimonides (Law of Murder 4:5) extends this provision to such crimes as ordering another's murder, where strictly speaking the crime would otherwise go unpunished.

Viewing imprisonment as detention rather than intended for punishment leads to some interesting consequences. The Sifra (Numbers 14:34) seems to suggest that prisoners convicted of a capital offence should be kept separately from other prisoners, for as one commentator (Siftei Chachamim ibid) explains, "lest the other prisoners imagine that as they are placed together that they are also going to be put to death and endure unnecessary anguish." Another consequence is that as the reason is to avoid a risk that the accused will abscond, bail is rarely allowed (Rashi Sanhedrin 88a; Maimonides Laws of Murder 4:3).

For noncapital offences, the broad consensus in Judaic texts is that incarceration is only to be used as a means of enforcing a law but not as a form of punishment (see Rashi Talmud Pesachim 91a; response of Rif 146). Rashba (responsa vol. 1 response 1069) takes the view that even if someone is judged to have the means to repay a loan, imprisonment is impermissible. Maimonides (Laws of Borrowing 4:1) and Rabeinu Asher (response 68:10) are more ambiguous, stating their opposition to incarceration but referring to a case where the borrower lacks the money to repay his loan—leaving open the question of what would be the case if he or she did. While some opinions (Darkei Moshe on Tur Choshen Mishpat 97; Rabbi E Y Waldenberg) suggest that where the borrower has the funds, incarceration is permissible as a pressure tactic, major authorities (such as Magid Mishnah on Maimonides ibid and Bet Yosef on Tur Choshen Mishpat 97) state unambiguously that "It is clear that in no place do we find a physical imposition over a monetary obligation." Several important halachic authorities (Rivash response 484; Chidushei HaGershuni ibid; Maharashdam ibid 390; Tumim 97:13) state emphatically that imprisonment has no basis in Jewish law, yet they acknowledge that some Jewish courts had practiced this and said that he felt powerless to overrule this practice, given that it was undertaken to combat fraud. Still, they restrict its use only to a case where there is clear evidence that a borrower is unlawfully seeking to dispose of his possessions. Moreover, major commentators (Bach ibid) view the Rivash as remaining opposed to all such incarceration. The code of Jewish law (ibid 97:15) is split, with Rabbi Joseph Karo ruling that incarceration is never allowed and the gloss of Rabbi Moses Isserlis permitting this in the event that the borrower is deliberately avoiding payment.

Taken together, we detect a wariness about treating prison as a solution for crime. At best, it is to be used for detention purposes for those awaiting trial or to protect the public, and at worst, it may be conceived as a pressure tactic to combat fraud. There is little scope in traditional Jewish sources for widespread use of imprisonment and certainly not as a mainstream method of punishment.

What Is Crime?

Most crime begins with an error of judgment. It usually results from a person denying their emotional ties to another. We only kill people in reality that we have first killed in our heads. Except in exceptional cases (such as extreme provocation, under the influence of substances, or mentally deranged), people do not harm people they care about. The Talmud (Sotah 3a) states that no person commits a sin unless a spirit of madness enters them. Clearly, not all sinners are mad, so we may conclude that in the Talmudic view, wrongdoing is caused by a sharp departure from reasonable thinking (see Tanya 1:14 for a similar view).

What is the madness that enables crime? Perhaps, in part, it is the cognitive distortion that transforms people into the "other," stripping them of their integrity as a human being. The criminal puts himself outside of society, believing that he and

others live by different rules. By doing so, it becomes possible to behave toward others with utter disregard for their well-being. As such, crime is fundamentally relational, involving as it does the exit of the criminal from mainstream society and his entry into an alternative subculture in which crime is acceptable. Criminal psychology recognizes how social disaffection—not merely antisocial behavior but the entry into an alternative, brutal social world—is the main process that leads to violence (Pease 2011).

That is why the rabbis viewed socially disaffected behavior so severely. Ethics of the Fathers (2:4) urges not to separate oneself from the community and doing so, Maimonides rules (Laws of Repentance 4:2), counts among those practices that bar a person from gaining atonement. Maimonides further rules (Ibid 3:11) that "One who separates himself from the ways of the public, even if he did not commit any sins but simply distanced himself from society—such a person has no place in afterlife." We see this sentiment expressed throughout traditional Judaic literature. For example, the Talmud (Berachot 6b) states that "one who prays behind the Synagogue is considered wicked," which is interpreted as criticism for antisocial behavior (Maharal, Netivot Olam vol. 1 p. 90). Why should it matter so much that a person separates himself from society? Because dislocation from community provides the platform for antisocial behavior and an individual who feels repelled from the community might feel attracted to harmful subcultures. Therefore, turning *away* from society is a typical first step to turning *against* society.

What Is Punishment?

From this perspective, punishment is often about confronting the criminal with opposing view, insisting that everyone is part of society and that their view that they are outside the rules is incorrect and unacceptable. Repentance—the process by which a person repudiates their previous wrongdoing—involves the person reversing their rejection of others.

Therefore, the Bible (Exodus 22:2) requires a criminal who stole to work as an indentured servant for his victim, both paying off the debt and establishing closer relations between the two parties. As Baker (2004, p. 73) notes, justice is more than punishing the wrongdoer but about righting the wrong, which includes "putting right the relationship between the victim and the offender." For moral crimes, punishment could include a public lashing, which though painful and traumatic, would end in the criminal's repentance and reintegration into society. Judaism did not coddle criminals; when punishments were deemed necessary for the criminal's reform, they were dealt out. Yet, it would be a mistake to confuse the punishments of Judaism with the punishments of the modern criminal justice system and an even greater mistake to call for more extreme punishments in modern times based on the seeming harshness of Biblical punishments.

While punishments then and now caused the criminal pain, suffering, or discomfort, the logic behind these afflictions was different. Punishments in Judaism used pain to deter a criminal and to pull him from a negative subculture, yet this pain

was followed by reintegration. The modern criminal justice system, though arguably less physically painful for the criminal, regularly misses the critical reintegrative component of punishment. The criminal often remains mired in his harmful subculture, rather than accepting a role as a productive member of society, thereby increasing the chances of recidivism.

From the criminal who had forfeited his life, punishment was not intended to provide a path to restoration, but for those condemned to any other form of punishment, the ultimate goal was to fix the damage that led the person astray. Casting a person out of society was not a biblical form of punishment and appeared in the latter Second Temple period, when the authority and control of the rabbinate was in decline (see Talmud, Moed Katan 16a-b). Excommunication was regarded as the most severe punishment and was used very sparingly. Medieval rabbis even forbade people using the Hebrew word for excommunication—Cherem—without good reason.

The Talmudic teaching on the biblical Cities of Refuge (Makkot 3:6, 3:8) expresses a view that even a person who by virtue of wrongdoing was forced to suffer confinement was nevertheless supposed to live among society. Therefore, numerous regulations were instituted to ensure that the "refugee" to this town was capable of maintaining a reasonably normal life. Moreover, quite strikingly, the Talmud (Makkot 10b) insists that a town in which most of the inhabitants were murderers would be rendered invalid. Furthermore, it had to be a town in which lived "elders," which in Talmudic parlance means scholars and sages, which would ensure there was a sound moral character to the place.

Modern prisons disconnect people from human relations and sever them from society. If indeed crime is fundamentally a rejection of social norms, it is unhelpful for the primary response to be the reinforcement of social dislocation. From a Judaic perspective, social contact is a basic human need. While Maslow (1943) viewed human sociability as a medium need that a person seeks to fulfill after their food and safety needs have been met, arguably from a Judaic perspective, sociability is no less a basic human need than food. The Talmud (Taanit 23a) tells of a great sage, Choni the Circler, who felt rejected by his peers and despaired of life, declaring: "Give me fellowship or give me death." The Talmudic sage Ravi declared "Either friends like the friends of Job or I prefer death" (Avoda Zara 72b). Being cut off from society is regarded as a terrible hardship akin to death (Rashi Genesis 28:13), which is why a blind (Nedarim 64a) or leprous (Nedarim 54b) person has also been described in this way as historically these conditions prevented a person from full participation in society. When we cut off from society those people who already have shown a tendency to social disaffection, we only further the possibilities of exacerbated disaffection. Thus, as Burnside and Schluter (2004, p. 10) suggest that "a society that promotes inclusion and relationship to a maximum has the best chance of reducing crime to the minimum." They, therefore, argue that "there needs to be a sustained and determined effort to strengthen family and community relations" to combat criminality. They lament that prisons instead of fostering much-needed maturity, often "induce a state of arrested development."

Solitary Confinement

While the foregoing calls into question the effectiveness of putting criminals into prison as a method of correction and rehabilitation, it exposes the problematic nature of solitary confinement. We are not satisfied with cutting the criminal from society through incarceration, but we proceed to isolate the prisoner within the prison, increasing the social dislocation even further. Some prisoners in solitary confinement are placed there because other prisoners present a safety risk to them or they present a safety risk to others. However, as the chapter shall argue, in most cases, confinement is intended to be a disciplinary measure, often for accumulating a series of rather minor rule infractions.

Because solitary confinement employs an extreme logic of deterrence with reduced possibilities for rehabilitation, it is in some ways a logical outgrowth of the general paradigm of punishment within the modern criminal justice system. It is this conception that the chapter ahead will address.

A Jewish Approach to Prison Reform: Alternative Paradigms for a Failed System

Shlomo Bolts

This chapter will explore how Jewish values, as derived from classic Judaic texts, may work to change ideas and attitudes on solitary confinement and encourage prison reform. Solitary confinement began in the USA in 1829 when the City of Philadelphia completed a correctional facility designed to reform inmates through their complete isolation from evil and corrupting influences. Prisoners ate, worked, and slept in solitary cells, and they were moved through the halls with hoods over their heads, so they could not see or be seen. This system became world famous; Alexis de Tocqueville made a special trip to Philadelphia to see the prison and complimented its "perfect" and "profound silence" (in Grassian 2006, pp. 340–341).

By the time Charles Dickens visited the prison in 1842, however, the luster had worn off. Dickens likened the plight of a solitarily confined prisoner to that of "a man buried alive…dead to everything but torturing anxieties and horrible despair" (Grassian 2006, p. 341). In 1890, the US Supreme Court ruled the Philadelphia Penitentiary's arrangement illegal due to violations against the Eighth Amendment, banning cruel and unusual punishment. The written decision noted that even after a short time in confinement, many prisoners fell into a "semi-fatuous condition, from which it was impossible to arouse them" (New York City Bar Association 2011, p. 7; Goldman and Brimmer, Item 2).

This decision came too late to stop the global spread of solitary confinement or the confinement and isolation of detainees from human contact. In 1842, English authorities opened the Pentonville Penitentiary, where "the solitude and silence drove

some to madness," and released prisoners suffered "bouts of hysteria and crying" (Jackson 2002, Chap. 1, p. 11). During the second half of the nineteenth century, the "Pennsylvania system" emerged as the norm in many countries of Western Europe and became a permanent feature of prison systems worldwide (Smith 2008a, pp. 57–58; Smith 2008b, p. 3; Shalev 2008, p. 3). Today, solitary confinement is a routine practice. Scandinavian countries use solitary confinement as an integral part of pretrial prison procedure, and death row inmates in Bulgaria, Ukraine, Abkhazia, and Mongolia are all placed in solitary confinement until their execution, while long-term solitary confinement is legally mandated in Brazil and Argentina (Mendez 2011, p. 8; Smith 2008b, p. 5).

As in the 1800s, today the USA has the dubious distinction of leadership in the recent expansion of solitary confinement. Between 1995 and 2000 (the last time systematic nationwide data were gathered), the US prison population in solitary confinement expanded 40%, from roughly 58,000 people to roughly 81,000 people (Gibbons and Katzenbach 2006, p. 56). From 1980–2009, the US prison population as a whole exploded from 25,000 people to 219,000 people, and solitary confinement from 1995–2000 was expanding more rapidly than the overall prison population (Gibbons and Katzenbach 2006; James 2014, p. 1). Statistics gathered since 2007 reveal that, in just eight states and in federal prisons, there are now over 40,000 solitarily confined prisoners (Casella and Ridgeway 2012a, para. 7).

Solitary confinement was identified as an inhumane practice in the 1800s, and it remains so today. Recent studies have confirmed the initial impressions of observers that extended solitary confinement is dehumanizing and psychologically devastating to the prisoner. International human rights organizations have expressed concerns that solitary confinement, including as practiced in the USA, violates the International Convention Against Torture and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Physicians for Human Rights 2012; Amnesty International USA 2012; Human Rights Watch 2012; "Solitary Confinement Should Be Banned in Most Cases" 2011). Solitary confinement is primarily justified as a punishment for the "worst of the worst," while, in practice, the majority of US prisoners enter confinement for their own safety or for minor rule violations (Gibbons and Katzenbach 2006, p. 56).[1] Pragmatically, solitary confinement is meant to keep us safe, but prisoners in Arizona grew more violent after their confinement, and prisoners who entered society directly from confinement in Washington State were more likely to commit further crimes (Gibbons and Katzenbach 2006, p. 55).

The use of solitary confinement in America's prison system does not exist in a vacuum. It is not purely a matter of prison management policy, but rather it is based on broad societal attitudes on crime and punishment. This chapter shall argue that much of the modern prison system seeks to isolate wrongdoers and that this is a failed proposition when examined from the perspective of traditional Jewish texts. Jewish values on crime and punishment, instead, emphasize that the isolation

[1] The census figures show 44,371 prisoners in protective custody (for their safety) and disciplinary segregation (minor infractions) or 55% of total confined prisoners. This is an underestimation because not all prisoners in administrative segregation are placed there because they pose a threat.

of wrongdoers from society is the root of their criminality. To institute successful prison reform, then, Jewish values would encourage the reintegration of wrongdoers into society, instead of their isolation. Aspiring prison reformers can gain much by implementing these values in their work as may be seen in the author's research findings from recent activities to promote awareness about solitary confinement in prisons.

Causes and Critiques of Solitary Confinement

The modern criminal justice system is based, fundamentally, on the idea that isolating wrongdoers is the most humane and effective way to ensure they do not harm the broader society. Solitary confinement, which is premised on the near-total isolation of the "worst of the worst" from the wider world, constitutes an extreme manifestation of this belief. This can be demonstrated if we look at the two main "waves" of solitary confinement expansion in the modern world. The first wave, which ran from the late 1700s to mid-1800s, earned a blistering critique from Michel Foucault in his classic work *Discipline and Punish* (1975); the second wave is ongoing since the early 1980s. Foucault's critique of modern criminal justice is explored, followed by a discussion of its relevance for the ongoing second wave of solitary confinement expansion.

Wave One: The Advent of the Prison System

With the onset of the Enlightenment, with its focus on the equal rights of man, popular opinion turned sharply against punishments that involved public spectacles and physical affliction of the body, which were often quite grotesque (Foucault, pp. 3–6). Prisons became the punishment of choice for law enforcement, particularly after the French Constituent Assembly's criminal code of 1789 (pp. 116–117). At the time, it was considered that imprisonment had a number of features to recommend it. Firstly, imprisonment was regarded as a "light penalty," which aligned with Enlightenment ideas on human dignity. Secondly, the prison experience was fairly standardized from prisoner to prisoner, corresponding to the ideal of equality in punishment. Thirdly, and most importantly, imprisonment seemed the diametric opposite of the inhumane punishments of the past. The hated and recently deposed Ancien Regime had publicly and physically tortured the criminal, so the revolutionary government of 1789 chose a punishment that was hidden from the public and left the body unmolested. The logic that "one has security for someone, one does not punish him" was the main appeal of prisons over more public and utilitarian options, such as the chain gang. The idea that public punishments were shameful, and that "having security" by removing the criminal from the public was laudable, became a normative value of criminal justice (p. 118).

If prisons were an improvement over their predecessor punishments, Foucault is keen to point out that they had a dark side as well. As intangible afflictions on the emotions or senses replaced tangible afflictions to the body, a "substitution of ob-

jects" of judgment took place. Now, in addition to judgment being passed on criminal acts themselves, "judgment is also passed on the passions, instincts, anomalies, infirmities, maladjustments, effects of environment and heredity" (p. 17). In addition, a key element of the medieval system was not repudiated: the idea that more severe crimes merit greater pain. Foucault calls this belief a "trace of torture" that "has not been overcome, but which is enveloped, increasingly, by the non-corporeal nature of the penal system" (p. 16). In medieval times, penalties might escalate from the pillory to the rack to public dismemberment. When physical punishment became unacceptable, the "trace of torture" increasingly took non-corporeal form. The 1789 Constituent Assembly proposed as an especially severe penalty, the *cachot,* in which "imprisonment is augmented by various measures (solitude, a deprivation of light, restrictions on food)" (p. 117). This cachot penalty is very close to contemporary solitary confinement.

Forty years after the advent of the cachot, the Philadelphia Penitentiary emerged as the first prison explicitly devoted to solitary confinement, initiating a massive expansion of the practice. Even after the use of solitary confinement began to fade in the late 1800s, its legacy remained. Criminal justice continued to be based on the ideas of "substitution of objects," wherein judgment extends beyond the criminal acts themselves, and "having security for someone," which prioritizes private punishments. These basic attitudes remained strong even in democracies, such as France and the USA. As we will see, these attitudes allowed solitary confinement to make a roaring comeback a century later.

Wave Two: Expansion Since the 1970s

On October 22, 1983, two corrections officers in Marion Prison, IL, were killed in separate stabbing incidents. For the next 23 *years,* all inmates at the prison were placed under a "permanent lockdown," comprising 22–23 h a day of solitary confinement. The prison director at the time, Norman Carlson, later explained his decision saying, "There is no way to control a very small subset of the inmate population who show absolutely no concern for human life" (Taylor 1998, p. 2). Carlson's actions at Marion Prison were viewed at the time as a success, and usage of confinement greatly expanded over the next 30 years. By 2000, the population in solitary confinement was at 81,000 people and was expanding at a yearly rate of 7 % (Gibbons and Katzenbach 2006, p. 56).

One reason for the dramatic recent expansion of solitary confinement is the expansion in the overall prison population over the past four decades. In 1970, the total state and federal prison population was less than 190,000 (Pew Charitable Trusts 2007, p. ii). However, due to subsequent changes in sentencing and corrections policies, the prison population rocketed upward to 2 million people.[2] Solitary confinement began expanding in the 1980s in response to this growth in the overall prison population as corrections officials used solitary confinement to discipline

[2] For example, "three strikes" laws allowed prosecutors to charge those guilty of three minor crimes as if they had committed a serious crime. Reduced usage of parole and increased usage of determinate sentencing also limited the possibility of early prisoner release on good behavior. See Chap. 2 of Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow* (2010) for further information.

inmates in overcrowded prisons. The New York Bar Association's Committee on Human Rights explains:

> The relentless rise in prison population over the past thirty years, during which the United States became the country with the highest rate of incarceration, created severe conditions of overcrowding…prison administrators struggled to devise means to control the expanding numbers of inmates. Supermax [Solitary] confinement became one method to address the problems resulting from this rapid increase of prison population (New York City Bar Association 2011, pp. 8–9).

The use of solitary confinement as a tool of disciplinary control becomes clear when we examine the language employed to justify it. Carlson employed solitary confinement because he saw no other way to "control a very small subset of the inmate population." Similarly, the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) code permits solitary confinement when "no other available course of action will adequately punish that inmate to deter her or him from violating BOP rules again" (Federal Bureau of Prisons 2006, Section 541.20). In short, solitary confinement has expanded due to its function as the most severe method of non-corporeal punishment available to prison administrators to be employed when all other disciplinary techniques have failed. From 1995 to 2000, a full 68 % of growth in solitary confinement was classified by the BOP as "disciplinary segregation" (Gibbons and Katzenbach 2006, p. 56).

Thus, we can see that the current practice of solitary confinement is similarly based on a substitution of objects since the punishment passes holistic judgment on—and carries out punitive discipline against—the prisoner's emotions and social environment. Even as modern prisons replace corporal punishment with non-corporeal isolation, based on the principle of "having security," they retain the "trace of torture" idea that more severe crimes merit greater pain. The BOP code acknowledges that solitary confinement is a particularly severe punishment for particularly unruly inmates as it inflicts greater suffering upon these inmates in hopes of deterring them from future violations. However, as was stated above, studies have shown that confinement can actually make prisoners *more* disruptive and *more* likely to commit crimes upon release (Gibbons and Katzenbach 2006, p. 55). For this reason, it is time to consider alternative ideas on crime and punishment.

A Jewish Approach to Crime and Punishment

In our analysis, Jewish values on crime and punishment look askance at the isolation of an individual as a means to prevent criminal activity. On the contrary, many quintessential cases of sins "between man and his friend" (*bein adam lechavero*) in the Torah are portrayed as a *consequence* of the sinner's isolation from his fellow. Before crimes against a fellow man are even psychologically possible, the prospective wrongdoer must first sever social bonds between himself and his eventual victim. In order to prevent criminal activity, then, the Jewish-values answer is to *reintegrate* the wrongdoer into society and to *restore* broken social bonds. Jewish attitudes toward crime and punishment will now be explored through their ethical teachings and Biblical stories and through *Halachic* civil law.

Ethical Teachings

The medieval commentator Maimonides states "One who separates himself from the ways of the public, even if he did not commit any sins but simply distanced himself from society—such a person has no place in afterlife" (Laws of Repentance 3:11). What moral teaching can be meant by such a harsh penalty for someone who "did not commit any sins"? When someone removes himself from society and severs his social bonds, he hurts not only himself but also those who shared the bonds with him. Even if he himself was able to avoid wrongdoing, his former associates are more likely to commit crimes since he removed himself from them, and he, therefore, loses his place in the world to come. The classic text *Ethics of Our Fathers* (4:7) thus cautions: "Do not separate yourself from the community."

The *Egla Arufa* (Axed Heifer) ceremony reflects the Torah's sentiment that crime does not occur in a vacuum but stems from a failure of social relations as a whole. If a corpse is found in a field, and further information on the crime is unavailable, elders from the nearest town must conduct a public ceremony in which they ax the neck of a heifer and declare "Our hands did not spill this blood" (Deuteronomy 21:7). Are the town elders suspected of murder? The Talmud, Judaism's main exegetical text, answers: "Does anyone really think that the Elders of the *Beth Din* [Law Court] were murderers? Rather, for them perhaps not having left him with provisions or not having accompanied him along the way" (*Sotah* 45b). By tradition, a public declaration of social ties affords the traveler increased spiritual protection, and the elders might have left him exposed by not "having accompanied him along the way."

The story of Cain and Abel constitutes the first murder recorded in the Torah. These two brothers, both sons of the first man Adam, each bring a sacrifice to God. However, only Abel's sacrifice is accepted, distressing his brother Cain, who then kills Abel in a fit of jealousy. The irrationality of Cain's actions is evident in this narrative. Since God can accept two sacrifices as well as one, the rejection of Cain's sacrifice bears no relation to Abel's actions, and God even tells Cain before the killing that "If you improve yourself, you will be forgiven" (Genesis 4:7). A clue to Cain's thinking may be found in his response to being challenged for his murderous act: "Am I my brother's keeper?" (4:9). Cain had already mentally separated himself from Abel, and this rejection of the bonds of brotherhood was what made his crime psychologically possible. Hence, after the murder, God asks Cain "Where is your brother?" (Ibid), highlighting to Cain the social bonds he has rejected.

Joseph, another victim of brotherly hatred in the Torah, though the second youngest of 12 sons, was his father Jacob's favorite and had dreams of family leadership. This aroused the enmity of his older brothers, who faked his death and sold him to a passing Ishmaelite caravan (Genesis 37:1–28). What was the brothers' mindset as they hatched their plot to rid themselves of Joseph? The Torah records, "His [Joseph's] brothers saw it was he whom their father loved most of all his brothers so they hated him. They could not speak to him peaceably" (37:4). Commentator Ibn Ezra remarks that the brothers' hatred ran so deep that they could not speak peaceably to him on even routine matters. Similarly, Samson Raphael Hirsch says that the brothers interpreted anything Joseph said as an expression of hostility. Even

the most rudimentary social relationship is impossible when mundane statements are viewed as hostile. Therefore, we see from these interpretations that Joseph's brothers had effectively severed their social bonds with him before the sale. Indeed, as the moment of ambush approaches, they—like Cain—do not see their future victim as a brother. They see only a threat: "They said to each other, 'Here comes the dreamer! Let us kill him'" (37:19).

The practices of solitary confinement only push prisoners closer to such an antisocial mindset. In current solitary confinement practices, prisoners typically spend 22–23 h a day alone in closed cells with no windows and with food delivered to them through a tiny slot. Therefore, contrary to the dictum "Do not separate yourself from the community," confined prisoners are forcibly separated from their social environment. On a typical day, the main social interaction experienced by solitarily confined prisoners is when they are handcuffed and escorted to another cell for solitary recreation (Rodriguez 2012a, Sect. 4). Since handcuffing is rarely a pleasant experience, prisoners learn to expect negative social interactions such that they "cannot speak peaceably" with others. By our analysis of Jewish texts, then, we should not be surprised that solitary confinement can at times increase criminality.

Jewish Laws on Crime and Punishment

In keeping with the idea that social isolation is a precursor to wrongdoing, Talmudic injunctions on crime and punishment view strengthened social bonds as a means for preventing harmful behavior, displaying an overarching emphasis on ensuring the wrongdoer remains integrated within society. Talmudic punishments maintain if not strengthen the wrongdoer's social bonds and are set with a particular eye to the wrongdoer's social ties.

Civil Penalties for Assault

In many contemporary legal codes, an individual convicted of nonfatal assault might face imprisonment and be assessed a fine payable to the government. Civil penalties are considered to be a transaction between the perpetrator and the government, in which the perpetrator must pay off a debt (in money or time served) incurred during the crime. In Jewish law, the perpetrator is free to go once he corrects for the damage he has caused by compensating the victim for injuries resulting from the assault. Contrary to popular impressions of the Biblical phrase "an eye for an eye," Talmudic law considers monetary payment sufficient penalty: "You might think that where he put out his eye, the offender's eye should be put out…as in the case of smiting a beast compensation is to be paid, so also in the case of smiting a man compensation is to be paid" (*Baba Kama* 83b).

So, Jewish civil penalties for nonfatal assault differ from most contemporary legal codes in that the principle of criminal justice that Foucault called "substitution of objects" is not employed. The act of assault is not considered a reflection on the perpetrator's overall being because the perpetrator is cleared of charges after

compensating the victim for damages. Significantly, in Talmudic law, a key element of restoration to innocence involves seeking forgiveness. Atonement, spiritual redemption, cannot be secured through repentance until the perpetrator has also sought to repair social ties with the victim (Baba Kama 92b) .

Slavery as Punishment for Theft

"[The thief] shall make restitution; if he has nothing, he shall be sold for his theft" (Exodus 22:1). Thus, Maimonides rules that when the thief cannot pay restitution, he is sold into indentured servitude to his victim (Maimonides, Laws of Slaves 1:1). As punishment for breaking into someone's house, a thief without the means to pay damages lives for an extended period in that person's home!

Although the householder might be frightened of his once-intruder-now-servant, the householder is prevailed upon not to keep his new servant at arm's length. Leviticus commands that the servant be treated like an ordinary house resident: "Like a laborer or a resident shall he be with you" (25: 39–40). Moreover, "A master must treat his servant with brotherly love" (Maimonides ibid 1:9), and the master must include the slave alongside his son and daughter in festival celebrations: "You should rejoice before God—you, your son, your daughter, your slave" (Deuteronomy 16:11 and 16:14). Such is the master's obligation to ensure the slave's happiness and well-being that the Talmud states, "Whoever buys a Hebrew slave is like buying a master for himself" (*Kiddushin* 20a).

These laws of indentured servitude are civil law without the Foucaldian "trace of torture," in which pain is inflicted on the criminal to deter future crimes. Jewish law instead concentrates on the ruptured social ties that constitute the underlying cause of the crime and works to mend them. In a break-in theft, the thief shows a particular lack of empathy to the householder's sense of home as a "safe space." Restitution is, thus, combined with rehabilitation as the thief is made to become a long-term member of the very home he violated. By the end of his servitude, the thief would likely come to develop empathy toward whomever he had violated. Furthermore, to ensure integration to society, Jewish law dictates that upon release, the slave "should do no work that identifies him as a slave" so as to avoid degrading his self-esteem (Rashi to Leviticus 25:39–40). Maimonides also recommends that the slave "work at the profession at which he worked previously…For his self-image is depressed because of his being sold" (Laws of Slaves 1:7).

By contrast, a growing body of scientific research has shown that solitary confinement causes physical changes that can inhibit the prisoner from resuming his old life. Studies measuring neural firing in the brain through electrodes (electroencephalography) have found that brain waves reduce their speed after just a week in solitary confinement. After 6 months, confined prisoners can experience a loss in brain function equal to what would be caused by significant head trauma (Gawande 2009, para. 19). Psychologist Stuart Grassian states that these changes are manifest in symptoms "characteristic of stupor and delirium" that leave the prisoner both hypervigilant and unable to process external stimuli (2006, p. 331). Longitudinal studies have shown that symptoms of hypervigilance and intolerance of social interaction can persist for decades, leaving the former prisoner "socially impoverished

and withdrawn" (p. 353) and inhibited from returning to his old profession. By our analysis, Judaism would advocate an approach that better preserved the prisoner's sanity, dignity, and social skills.

The Punishment of Lashes

Safeguards in Jewish law against demeaning the wrongdoer even extend to the lashing penalty, which is sometimes employed as punishment for acts of sexual or ritual impurity (*Makkot* 13a). This penalty seems very harsh to the modern reader, and this discussion should not be construed as supporting the revival of the lashing penalty. However, if we wish to better understand Jewish values on crime and punishment, we should consider the context in which these laws were made. At the time the Talmud was written, the main non-Jewish society nearby was the Roman Empire, which mandated the torture and public humiliation of criminals, especially if they were poor (Pollonen 2004). When we consider this fact, Jewish legal precepts on lashings were unusual for their demarcations against public degradation.

To begin with, Jewish law regarding the lashing penalty is analogous to Jewish law on monetary damages in that wrongdoers can avoid punishment by performing an act to repair the damage they have caused. Resh Lakish states that a transgressor is only liable for lashes if he expressly refuses to perform such an act. Rabbi Yochanan argues that even if the transgressor refuses, he should not be punished as long as it is *possible* for him to carry out the act (Makkot 15a-b). However, even assuming the transgressor does become liable to lashes, there are still safeguards in place to protect the wrongdoer's dignity: "Forty shall he strike him, he shall not add; lest he strike him an additional blow beyond these, and your brother will be degraded in your eyes" (Deuteronomy 25: 3).

Punishment must avoid degrading the criminal. The lashing is automatically halted if the criminal degrades himself: "If the offender befouled himself…he is discharged" (Makkot 22b), to ensure that, when the lashing penalty is completed, the offender is restored to his membership in society. Rabbi Chanania ben Gamliel, explicating the Torah phrase "your brother will be degraded in your eyes," says that "having received the flogging [the offender is considered] 'thy brother'" (Makkot 23a). The goal of lashings is to rebuild social ties that were broken, transforming the "wicked one" into "thy brother." The Judaic attitude toward treatment of the criminal is that at no stage is the principle of "love thy fellow as thyself" (Leviticus 19:18) suspended. The Talmud calls for even the delivery of executions to be conducted in as kindly a manner as possible in fulfillment of this central ethic of the Torah (*Sanhedrin* 45a; *Ketubot* 37b). Conviction for a crime, even a serious one, does not remove the person's normal rights to dignity and compassion.

By contrast, "Cell extraction" is an example of a practice associated with solitary confinement that is based on the dehumanization of prisoners. If solitarily confined prisoners are uncooperative, security staff may enter the cell to remove ("extract") and subdue them (Kupers 2010). These extractions are often accompanied by extreme levels of force and degradation as prison staff are authorized to strip the prisoner naked and to employ restraint chairs, spit masks, electroshock shields, and pepper spray until the prisoner is subdued. While these authorizations ensure the

safety of security staff, they also are open to potential abuse by staff. During cell extractions, prisoners have been exposed to pepper spray for 25 min, hogtied naked for 72 consecutive hours, beaten to the point of serious injury, and even killed due to excessive use of pepper spray and electroshock shields (St. John 2013; Hench 2013; Macy in Casella and Ridgeway 2012b; Rahmeen in American Civil Liberties Union of Connecticut 2012; Rodriguez 2012b; Taleb 2012). It seems that such levels of aggression would be found to be unacceptable if used against civilians but are tolerated when meted out against convicted criminals. In this analysis, the prisoner has in part had their right to compassion and dignity suspended, in what may be termed reverse antisocial behavior.

Jewish Values as Applied to the Modern Prison System

We have seen that Jewish attitudes toward crime and punishment emphasize social alienation as the cause of crime and restoration of social bonds as the remedy. A Judaic perspective on the modern penal system would address many of the Foucaultian critiques. Foucault criticized the modern penal system for its logic of "substitution of objects," in which crimes are considered a reflection of the criminal's overall being. Jewish teaching concurs that committing a crime does not reduce a person to that of a criminal as the aim is to quickly restore the "wicked one" to a "brother" once the penalty has been enforced. Foucault also criticized the modern penal system for its logic of "having security," in which the prisoner's social ties with society are severed for safety purposes. Judaism appears to reject this logic, such that a burglar might be employed by his victim.

Similar arrangements are found in one of the most successful prisons for rehabilitating serious offenders. At Bastøy Prison in Norway, each prisoner holds a dignified job and can move freely throughout the complex. For after hours, the prison offers luxurious activities such as sunbathing, fishing, and horseback riding. Despite legitimate concerns that such generous treatment will not deter prisoners from future crimes, Bastøy had a recidivism rate of just 16 % in 2012. Overall, Norwegian prisons had a recidivism rate of only 20 % in 2012 as compared to 43 % for US prisons in 2011 (Sutter 2012). These successes imply that the generous practices of indentured servitude, as enshrined in Jewish law, are more relevant to the modern prison system than they first appear.

Solitary confinement is employed primarily for disciplinary purposes to isolate problematic prisoners under the logic of "having security." By contrast, from a Jewish perspective, imprisonment should be primarily to rehabilitate prisoners and reintegrate them into society. Within this paradigm, problematic prisoners would instead be given more attention in order to reestablish the social bonds that were severed as a prerequisite to the prisoner's current antisocial behavior. A contemporary example of this approach is Maine State Prison, where solitary confinement is being gradually phased out and misbehaving prisoners are placed under an individualized rehabilitation plan that they jointly devise with security staff and social work-

ers. Contacts with prison staff initially increase, and the prisoner is given positive incentives to improve his behavior. Only as the prisoner's behavior improves are contacts reduced to the level of the general prison population. Significant reductions in violent prisoner behavior have been reported since the enactment of this reform (Barber 2012). A Jewish perspective on the prison system rejects the "substitution of objects," instead giving the perpetrator a chance to reestablish severed bonds with society.

Prison Reform Initiative in Action

Research was conducted to explore whether sharing this perspective can be effective in mobilizing support for prison reform. Uri L'Tzedek (ULT), an Orthodox Jewish social action organization, and Tag Institute, a Jewish social research center, conducted activities to mobilize interest and activity about the prevalence of solitary confinement in the US penal system. Our activities suggested that fostering feelings of emotional connection among participants could prove particularly effective in the outreach efforts of prison reformers. This stands to reason as empathy with prisoners reduces the social distance between former prisoners and the general population, giving perpetrators of crimes a better chance to rejoin productive society.

Data was gathered from a Study Day on solitary confinement and from a social media campaign 1 month later. Both were aimed primarily at young observant Jews interested in social justice, who can be taken as the subject population of the research. At the Study Day's first session, participants heard a first-hand account of the prison system from a rehabilitated prisoner and then were requested to write words or phrases they associated with the word "prison." By contrast, the Study Day's second session presented Jewish textual sources and juridical interpretations on crime and punishment. Following this second session, participants were asked to record their self-confidence, both before and after the session, regarding Jewish texts and Jewish values on crime and punishment. Finally, the social media campaign consisted of petitions, event announcements, news articles, and blog posts on solitary confinement. Interest was gauged by the number of unique page views for each link.

Study Day Session One

Following the first session that featured a former prisoner, ULT staff handed out blank sheets of paper to the 13 respondents at the session and asked them to write the first words or phrases that came to their minds over the next minute at mention of the word "prison." Words or phrases listed by each respondent were subdivided into five categories:

1. *Assertions of injustice:* The word "injustice" or a synonym is used explicitly. The prison system is described using words or phrases that can only be interpreted negatively.

2. *Expressions of empathy:* Respondents list emotions that they imagine are felt by current or former prisoners.
3. *Statements of fact*: Respondents describe the prison system without using loaded language that evinces a certain position.
4. *References to media*: Representations of the prison system in popular media are cited.
5. *Admissions of ignorance*: Respondents admit that they have limited information.

A sense of injustice seemed to be the lowest common denominator as more respondents included words in this category than any other. However, those who felt empathy were particularly adamant as those who referenced empathy often included multiple words or more lengthy phrases belonging to this category. This suggests that efforts to cultivate increased empathy, or feelings of emotional connection, with prisoners could pay particular dividends.

Study Day Session Two

The second Study Day session consisted of a talk that used textual sources to present a general picture on Jewish values of punishment. The talk emphasized two values prevalent in Jewish texts, specifically prevention of excessive shame or pain and avoidance of degradation to the human body. Unlike the first session, which appealed to participants' emotions, the second session appealed to logic through textual analyses. Immediately after the second session, the 10 participants in this session were given a questionnaire on which they rated the following on a 1–10 scale:

1. Participant's understanding of Jewish sources on punishment before the talk
2. Participant's understanding of Jewish sources on punishment after the talk
3. Participant's understanding of the Jewish moral outlook on punishment before the talk
4. Participant's understanding of the Jewish moral outlook on punishment after the talk

To measure respondents' perceived gains in understanding due to the talk, we compared responses to questions 1 and 2 and to questions 3 and 4. We observed that three respondents in particular were highly convinced by the values messaging of the second session as their self-rating on question 4 was markedly higher than their self-rating on question 3. Meanwhile, a larger number of respondents recorded a smaller increase in their understanding of Jewish sources due to the talk. As in the previous session, those who responded based on *pathos,* their sympathetic feelings, were especially adamant. While specific logical arguments had an impact, moral arguments that changed the emotional disposition of respondents appeared to have an even larger effect.

Social Media Campaign

As a follow-up to the Day of Learning, ULT launched a social media campaign 1 month later that included a petition on prison reform legislation, the announcement of a book club, two news articles, a short reflection, and two blog posts. In each

of the two blog posts, an author described his personal experiences working with prison inmates. The two blog posts giving personal experiences of the prison system were enormously popular, indicating high demand for such accounts among ULT contacts. Furthermore, a blog post on a routine arts and crafts event attracted even more attention than an account of yearly High Holiday services, indicating that ULT contacts are especially interested in learning more about prisoners' regular routines. Information of this type can induce respondents to feel greater empathy with prisoners, so it is striking that such data attracted the greatest interest. The results of the social media campaign reinforce conclusions from the Day of Learning that working to heighten empathy toward prisoners can be an effective mobilization tool.

Conclusion

This chapter presented solitary confinement within a broader conception of the purpose of incarceration and of punishment more widely. By way of engaging in Foucault's critique of modern incarceration, the chapter identified solitary confinement as taking to its logical extreme the view that prisoners are in prison because they are regarded as (a) bad people, who (b) need to be kept out of society. This chapter further argued that a Judaic perspective is predicated on the view that crime is often the result of social alienation and that a key goal of punishment must be about helping with reintegration. Based on this analysis, the chapter suggests that a reduction in the use of solitary confinement would result in improved outcomes in prisons as such recent experiments in prisons have shown.

It is further argued that sharing this perspective on the causes of crime and the appropriate manner in which it may be addressed would help to change public attitudes on the acceptability of solitary confinement. Research on the effectiveness of a study day run by ULT and Tag, at which participants were exposed to first-hand prisoner accounts and Jewish texts on crime and punishment, indicated that sharing such knowledge increased empathy with prisoners. This suggests that not only is crime a consequence of lack of empathy on the part of the criminal but meting out effective punishment requires a measure of empathy toward the criminal. Efforts to combat solitary confinement will benefit from activities that combine fostering empathy with imparting a clear understanding about the appropriate function of both punishment and prisons.

Raising awareness of Jewish values on crime and punishment, as set out in this chapter, could have a positive impact on prison reform efforts. These values provide the theoretical tools to challenge the current norms of criminal justice; instead of isolating and shaming wrongdoers, we should encourage the reintegration of prisoners into society. Jewish values also provide a practical guide for the work of prison reformers. Within their own networks, prison reformers can promote awareness about the experiences of criminals before, during, and after their prison sentences in order to induce empathy toward the prisoner. Punishments will still be necessary, but when society recognizes that reintegration of the prisoner is also necessary, it will become easier to change the antisocial thought patterns that make crime possible.

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Chapter 13
Economic and Ethical Foundations of Fair Pricing and Fair Trading: Contemporary Practices and Jewish Tradition

Stephen King and Shimon Cowen

Monopoly, Competition and Fairness

Stephen King

The concept of a 'market price' is one of the legal and economic concepts which underpin competition law as to what is the normal, fair or reasonable market price. The standard template used in economics and antitrust legal cases is of the competitive market, sometimes called the "workably competitive" market.

The idea is that there are enough businesses in competition with one another that the prices can be pushed down to the point where there is a *fair* return on the investment (as distinct from an inflated and unfair return). In this model, there are no barriers to entry (or to exit) so that the actors in the economy will not make *above*-market returns; however, they will also not make *below*-market returns and exit the industry. So, in a sense, the idea of a fair return or a market price, as in when a person is getting a reasonable return on one's capital or investment, is usually called a competitive market price.

Market power and monopoly are the antithesis of the competitive market, but not all monopoly is necessarily bad, with the condition that the monopoly is regulated and subjected to controls which bring it to a fairness similar to that which a competitive market would otherwise achieve. There is, first of all, what is called, 'a natural monopoly'. There can be situations in a market where to have more than one producer is simply technically inefficient, in terms of producing the goods and

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services and delivering them efficiently to customers. A good example is electricity distribution lines. It would be completely absurd if another company were to come along and put up a second set of poles along a suburban street and string more lines along to bring competitive electricity to people's houses. Doing so would create additional competition, but the duplicate lines would be simply wasteful.

The same situation arose with early toll roads, toll bridges and electricity. The reason why electricity ended up being a state enterprise in most Western countries, with the exception of the USA, is because competition in electricity systems led to bankruptcy, takeovers, more bankruptcy, more takeover and you would continually have this process of an unstable market where a monopoly would form again over time. In the USA, instead of having a state provider, they outlawed competition and said there would be a single, private provider.

So, there can be legitimate private monopolies, such as these natural monopolies. Such monopolies will tend to need regulations and so wherever you see them, for example in Australia, such as with toll roads, port systems, electricity, parts of gas networks, you find there is a regulator who tries to decide what a fair price is and sets the price. They look at what price gives the owner of that firm a fair return on investment. That is essentially what is called rate of return regulation—a term used in the USA. By contrast, this term tends not to be used in Australia, as regulators do not like that term, but what they do in Australia is rate of return regulation anyway.

Can there be other situations where you have private monopoly where that is desirable? The answer is yes. The most obvious case is you have firms that gain market power, just simply by being better than competitors. Why is Google a massive search engine? Google did not start as a massive search engine. It was not even the first one; there were a number of search engines before Google. Yahoo preceded Google as did Look Smart. Google gained market share because it was better, because the algorithm that it used to provide search results for internet users provided better results. So over time, increasing numbers of people started using Google. It gained market power, it became the monolith it is today, by outcompeting its competitors. And as a matter of economics, you do not want to stop that. That is the engine of innovation; that is the engine of growth.

One thing economists know very well about the last 300 years of human history is that it is an unusual period of growth. Over the previous millennia, growth was very slow, very flat, often fractions of percent per year. Then, suddenly the world experienced the industrial revolution and growth exploded exponentially. What drives that is technological change and innovation. No matter how one runs the numbers, this ends up being what drives growth in Western countries. This is not something that should be impeded; yet allowing this to go apace necessarily means the economy will see dramatic innovation, with those leading the innovation gaining market share, gaining a position of market power, which may potentially result in a monopoly. But then, often with more innovation by a competitor, the old monopoly is driven out, and the new competitor gets the monopoly and we have theories of rolling or temporary monopoly. There are situations where a firm has market power but they may only have it for a decade and then it disappears.

Should natural monopolies be publicly or privately owned? There is a trade-off between public and private ownership. Under public ownership, there tends to be a

gold-plated public service; whereas private ownership opens things up to all sorts of regulatory gaming. If there is private ownership, there is an obvious need to regulate; but even under public ownership there is also a need to regulate—namely to regulate the public service incentives and try bring them more in line with the private; to ensure they meet half way. So, there is often no optimal ownership in these situations; rather there is a trading off of different objectives. Thus, there are essentially two groups of monopolies to consider—public and private—when we think of pricing and interventions for fair pricing. These will cover the electricity distribution system, the telephone system which has been private for many years, and a national broadband network that could be another example of a private firm offering what needs to be a regulated service.

The Option of Positive State Interventions

The regulators set what they think is a fair price, what they regard as a reasonable return of investment. But what is a reasonable return? This is difficult to define. Companies generally consider a reasonable return to be a great deal larger than what consumers typically consider reasonable. Currently, there is much debate and enquiry going on into the process of establishing a fair return and into the related appeals process; because there is a commonly held view that current systems are not working particularly well from the consumers' perspective. For this reason, regulators have been more inclined to take more interventionist decisions under the current regulatory process, as the interests of consumers are perceived to be insufficiently protected. Firms have been able to pick which matters to appeal. They only appeal the aspects of the regulatory ruling for which they think the price can go up, rather than go down, and they will avoid seeking a review that might lead to a lower price. This puts too much control into the hands of companies, leading to discussion about the fairness of the process. Increased state intervention may in such circumstances lead to an overall fairer system.

In a situation where a small number of corporations dominate the marketplace but the situation is short of a monopoly, there is no justification or benefit in the government intervening to regulate or set prices. It is not illegal to charge above a market price or fair market price. There is no law in Australia or in the USA or in Europe, as a general law, that says you cannot charge 20%, 30% or more above a competitive market price. So price regulation only applies to regulated monopolies, the natural monopolies, which are very small in number. For all other markets and industries, such as grocers and banks—the modern equivalents of what are essential commodities—there is no legal intervention to set the price for those products, for two simple reasons.

The first one is, 'what on earth is the correct price?' Regulators would have to second guess the correct price, and when they do that, they inevitably kill competition. If, for example, the regulators say they are going to set a maximum price—saying one can charge up to a price for petrol, but one cannot charge above that price—as has, in fact, been tried in some countries—what happens is that everyone

charges the maximum price, it just becomes obvious. Every competitor says, ‘well, I'll charge that price, everyone else charges that price’. No one wants to start a price war. Once a government has kindly told the market what price they should all choose, it becomes very simple. This scenario occurred with the telecommunications industry in Australia in the early 1990s, and given the consequences it was abandoned. Another great example is with the cement industry in Denmark. Cement is used in building; it is a key commodity in construction. The Danish government considered that the prices were varying too much across the country, so it intervened to set a fair price, which resulted in everyone in the country setting that price, and it became apparent the competition had entirely disappeared.

The other reason is that if you set a price for commodities or services, it tends to kill off innovation. There is no point in innovating if the government will step in and declare, ‘since you have found a cheaper way of doing something, now the price you are allowed to charge is cheaper’. A company may have invested hundreds of millions of dollars inventing that new, more efficient process, inventing a new drug, inventing a new way of getting that product to market. Should government step in and state, ‘that’s great, but now we’re going to regulate your return’, that would remove the incentive for companies to invest in innovation. For those reasons, the standard approach in economics adopted around the world is to try and make sure that markets stay open, not to restrict the price of those firms, but instead to ensure that they cannot exploit their market power to stop new competition from emerging.

The preservation of competition does not require positive intervention by government to help weaker companies to compete, such as offering subsidies to shore up inefficient industries. Such an idea of unsustainable competition was highly popular in economics, and more broadly in public debate, until the 1940s. If you look at the US approach to competition, it was quite different to the European idea of competition. In Europe, the conception of competition was based on not having too much competition, because it was viewed as ruinous. The American view came to be predominant in the 1950s, 1960s and until today, viewing the propping up of unsustainable competition as more harmful than helpful. Can there be situations of ruinous competition? Yes, there are many industries over time that face new entry and go bankrupt and people get hurt. The alternative is to try to halt progress, which is clearly undesirable.

A simple example of this is the elimination of the smithing industry when the automobile was introduced in the late 1800s. The smithing industry, which serviced horse-drawn transport, not only claimed that the automobile would drive them out of business, they further claimed that it was inherently ruinous. They were successful in having a law passed in England that a person had to walk in front of a car and carry a red flag and ring a bell to warn people that an ‘evil automobile’ was coming. Fortunately, after a few years it was realized that trying to prevent or curtail automobile use was foolish and the law was repealed. That is a classic example of when innovation and new competition simply wiped out an industry. ‘Smith’ is a common last name, but blacksmiths are not common. That is an unfortunate side of progress.

Most economists would say that the appropriate response to the destruction of industries by new competition is to set a safety net. While economic progress benefits most of us, it hurts some people and damages some corporations and industries. Therefore, what is needed is a safety net—provided by industry or government—that enables the plight of those people to be eased, through retraining into a new profession—whether they are unemployed smiths on account of the automobile or unemployed retailers because the Internet is wiping out their businesses. This is the role that economists consider to be the role for the government. Such intervention does not aim to stop competition from working, but it tries to catch the victims and help them get back on their feet and back into the market place and in a new area.

Negative Intervention: Stopping Anticompetitive Behaviour

Competition and consumer law relate to various activities which can be used to harm competition if a company holds a position of market power. Such a situation may well result not only in charging consumers above the genuine market price, but is also liable to lead to other practices that aim to stop competitors or potential competitors coming in and undercutting the monopolizing company. This kind of behaviour is destructive to competition, but it is grievously so when practiced by corporations with market power. It is market power, rather than the price, that is the core of antitrust laws or competition laws around the world.

One case of this is price discrimination. Not all cases of price discrimination are bad, but it can be bad when it is used by a corporation with market power, whether nationally or internationally. There is a US House of Representatives Committee at the moment investigating exactly the same issue concerning software pricing. Adobe announced a new suite of products which can be purchased and downloaded via the Internet. For a US customer, the price is approximately $ 1250, but if purchased or download from an Australian IP address the price is twice as much. The same is also true in reverse: goods and services purchased from a computer with an Australian IP address may be priced lower than goods and services sold to outside of the country. Now as this is becoming an increasingly regular occurrence and with the rapid increase in the rate of Internet sales, along with the ability for people to purchase their goods and services overseas, this is starting to create real problems for many companies. We are starting to see a range of activities where domestic sellers are saying, ‘We don’t want individuals to just go and buy on the internet from overseas because at the moment we get the higher prices, and we don’t want those lower priced imports, even if they are the exact same good, such as software downloaded over the internet. They are coming into our country and undercutting our prices’. The problem is that international firms are setting higher wholesale prices in other countries than their own. This is something that governments are examining at the moment.

Competition law deals with firms with market power by giving them obligations which firms that lack market power or monopolies do not have. A critical aspect of competition law is the creation of obligation and liability in regard to competitive conduct that is commensurate with a firm's size or market power.

An example from the grocery industry—the Safeway bread case in Australia—will illustrate how obligations can be differentiated depending on the market power of the company. Say a Safeway (Woolworths) buyer notices that Tip Top bakers are selling cheap bread to a grocery competitor down the road. The Safeway buyer then goes over to Tip Top and threatens that if it continues to sell bread at that cheap price to the store down the road, Safeway will remove all its products from it stores. Given the strong market position of a leading supermarket chain, this puts Tip Top in a very difficult position. Were it not a Safeway buyer, but a small grocer, that made this demand, then Tip Top's likely reaction is going to be 'Okay, we make business decisions every day; you are one small part of our business. You are one buyer, but you don't dictate to us what price we charge your competitors'. In the absence of any anti-competition law, if that small grocery store behaved that way by removing Tip Top bread it would have little, if any, impact on the market. But when Safeway behaved that way, Tip Top felt it had no choice to put up the price to the store down the road, rather than risk its products not being stocked on the shelves of a major outlet. That is how the court case began, in order to protect the smaller retailers from aggressive anti-competition practices by market leaders. Tip Top admitted liability and acknowledged that they had breached competition law. The court also found in a number of instances that Safeway had broken the law by misusing it market power to force prices to be raised for smaller retailers.

This behaviour, when practiced by a firm that does not have market power, is relatively benign, whereas when a firm with market power does the same thing it distorts the market. That is why the competition law creates obligations on firms that have market power which are not imposed on firms that do not have market power. Competition law therefore insists that a firm which has a substantial degree of power in the market cannot take advantage of that power for an anticompetitive purpose, such as forcing out its competitors from the market.

Similarly, such firms may not set up entry barriers to stop new firms from entering the market. They also may not practice predatory pricing—temporarily charging below cost—against a new entrant to artificially force them out of the market. These obligations for firms with market power are an effective alternative to price regulation.

Considerations from Religious Tradition

Shimon Cowen

Competition and Fairness

The market relationship is a relationship of two sides: either vendor and consumer or producer and vendor or, sometimes, a direct relationship of producer and consumer. Of course, there can, and generally will, be more 'middlemen', but at this

simple level we see a variety of scenarios in which two parties face each other in an exchange relationship. That relationship can often be described in terms of price. What makes the price—and this dimension of the relationship—a fair one encompasses a variety of answers. Two polar responses to this are: on the one hand, the concept of the free market with open competition, as found in classical *laissez faire* capitalism, where supply and demand in an open market will determine this price. On the other, there is an 'interventionist' view, such as one finds in centralized, and in recent history, socialist states. This latter views the State authorities as best equipped to determine price 'in the public interest'. Many countries have a mix of market competition and public regulation.

The Jewish tradition does not prescribe a specific economic (and concomitant political) system. Rather, it establishes ethical and legal parameters for competition and for the intervention of communal or public bodies in the economic life of the community. The tradition can therefore envisage scenarios of significantly unrestricted competition as determinant of prices; but, it also grants the community the right to set prices, and in some circumstances makes this mandatory.

There is, first of all, a parameter which determines whether, in certain circumstances, competition shall be permitted. This is set out in the Talmud (*Bava Batra* 21b) in a theoretical circumstance where an individual practices a trade in a restricted neighbourhood (described in the Talmud as an 'alley') which also constitutes the individual's market. There are views that an entrant may be barred from setting up a similar trade in the same locality if that will necessarily ruin the trade of the first person, given the size of the market. The competition posed by another entrant to the market will not only lower the income of the first trader but does so to the extent that it induces the first trader to leave his or her business. This is explained in terms of 'opportunity cost': 'Provided the competitive tactic does not entirely ruin a rival's particular source of income, the court will not enjoin a business initiative unless the complainant's livelihood, as a result, is driven below his opportunity-cost earnings' (Levine 2005). On the other hand, where the market is sufficiently large to support more than one trader or artisan, the entrant will not be barred, and competition is understood to be a good, and certainly permissible, thing, as it can bring down the market price for customers (See *Shulchan Aruch*, *Choshen Mishpat* 228:18). Conditions are thereby optimalized in situations that involve both a vendor and manufacturer or producer and customer. Clearly, then, the existence of a 'small' monopoly will be granted only when competition would prove ruinous in the assessment of the court. This means that the price charged by the small monopoly is 'fair': It is *just* enough for him or her to stay in business. If the existing trader was capable of competing with a competitor and remains in business, then the entry of another competitor may not be barred, and this competition would, in turn, establish a fair price. In contemporary society, to the extent that markets are no longer local and vendors are open to custom beyond their localities, there will be less restriction on the entry of new economic entrants (Ariel 1989).

Where, as in general circumstances, free competition is both permitted and welcomed and establishes market prices, the halachic tradition still imposes a parameter upon the vendor–consumer relationship in regard to price. The Jewish tradition

applies a prohibition on *ono'ah* ('exploitation' or 'oppression') in buying and selling. A central aspect of this prohibition is deployed where one side in the vendor–consumer relationship does not have proper knowledge of the market price of the goods exchanged in circumstances such as this. Such exploitation is considered to have occurred when a vendor charges a consumer 20% or more above the market price of the goods in question, or when the consumer underpaid the vendor, who was similarly ignorant of the market price. The customer paid willingly because he or she desired the commodity, but was in the dark in regard to the price at which it could have been purchased. (This, of course, takes into account the additional factors which may legitimately make the same item more expensive in certain circumstances than in others. Remoteness of location and freight, or an all-night retail venue may add costs to the same item, just as the 'exclusiveness' and extra costs of a prestigious store may also add costs.)

There are, in fact, several principles inherent in this approach: Firstly, to charge *any* amount above the market price is considered exploitative. Secondly, only when one charges a full 20% above the market price can a repayment of the overcharged amount be demanded; beneath a 20% price hike above the market price, the purchaser is considered to have forgiven the overcharge. Thirdly, although with a 20% hike above the fair price the overcharge must be returned, the sale goes through, but if the overcharge is higher than 20%, the sale itself is invalid and the price must be fully refunded. For a full review of these halachic regulations, see Wahrhaftig (1988).

Normally exploitation *(ono'ah)* is due to an ignorance of the market price of the item for which one overpaid. Therefore, when the buyer *knows*, or is informed by the other side in the transaction, that he or she is paying more or receiving less than the market price—by any amount—and the transaction is nevertheless undertaken, there is no exploitation and no redress *(Shulchan Aruch Harav, Choshen Mishpat 4:8)*. An exception to this is when sheer necessity compels a person to go through with a transaction, even though he or she knows that the price is exorbitant. Thus, a person fleeing a tyrannical arrest engages a barge man to be ferried across the river at an exorbitant price, or a person with a desperately sick family member overpays for a medicine: in such cases there *is* exploitation, and redress of the overcharging can be sought (or negation of the sale, where relevant, if the overcharging exceeded 20%) *even though* the price was *known* by the financial victim to be exorbitant (Wahrhaftig 1980).

The question arises whether a monopoly or cartel situation (unregulated by a public body or responsible person), which charges a demonstrably unfair price, is also in the category of 'exploitation' (and is thus prohibited even though one knows and still pays). During the twelfth century, this question was posed to a leading rabbinic authority, Rabbi Shimon ben Zemach Duran (known by his acronym Tashbetz, Responsa *Tashbetz*, 3:151). The case was of a group—a cartel—of Jewish wool merchants who agreed between them to sell wool to the local Moslem population at one price and at a somewhat heightened price to their own Jewish coreligionists. The differential price for the Muslim population revealed that the price presented by this cartel to the Jewish population was an unfair one. The Rabbinic *responsum*

was to the effect that the conduct of the cartel was forbidden as *ono'ah*, exploitation (see Wahrhaftig 1980 who expresses several qualifications in relation to this ruling). In other words, not only misinformation or misunderstanding about market price in a competitive market but also compulsion through monopoly or cartel behaviour to accept a single exorbitant price may be a source of exploitation. The latter would seem to be when the price is demonstrably[1] considerably more than it would be under normal competition in present circumstances.

Pricing Activity

Regardless of the level of concentration or diffusion in competition, there are certain mandatory parameters in the pricing of goods set out in Jewish tradition. The first of these relates to a Talmudic ordinance (*Bava Batra* 90a) limiting the margin of profit or mark-up to be made on certain basic commodities essential for life *('chayei nefesh')*. Traditionally, these were instantiated as 'wine, flour and oil'. Once these have been obtained from the producer, they may not be resold, after costs and labour, by more than 20% (*S'ma* 37 on *Shulchan Aruch Choshen Mishpat* 231; see also Adlerstein 1987). Other authorities regard these items simply as examples and extend the category to include all main foodstuffs, as distinct from such edibles that merely enhance foods, such as spices, to which the 20% mark-up rule would not apply. In this view, which appears to be the most accepted halachic ruling (*Shulchan aruch Harav, Choshen Mishpat* 3:17; see *Imrei Yaakov*, *ibid* 60), 'bread and fowl' would also be included in the category of commodities 'essential for life'. It is the obligation of the court (through its supervision, *piku'ach beit din*) to see to it that resellers of these commodities do not add more than the 20% permissible maximum mark-up.

Although exceeding the 20% mark-up would be in breach of Jewish law, if most resellers of these basic commodities do not listen to the rabbinic court, the individual was not compelled to heed the restriction at a personal loss. Such would be

[1] It seems to the present writer that this might be revealed through investigation of the factors in the price of the monopoly item, where the prices of those factors are individually known in competitive market conditions for those individual factors. A sense of the role and price of factors and the notion of a 'reasonable profit' is expressed in responsum (#9:1) of Rabbi Yaakov Avraham Cohen, printed in *Mischar k'halachah—Hilchot ono'ah u'mekach to'os*, 5762. He writes that 'where all but one seller get together to bring down prices and drive that individual out of the market, and that solitary seller, calculating his costs and income, sells at reasonable price, one who bought from that solitary seller, cannot accuse him of *ono'ah* [because his price is significantly above the market price]'. In other words, just as there is a *reasonable* profit (which permits an individual not to participate in a price war without being liable for overcharging vis-a-vis the new market price), perhaps we can argue that there can be an identifiably *unreasonable* price and profit—calculable from the comparison of costs and income—which is unacceptable *when* this is upheld through monopoly or cartel conduct. As noted below, vendors can only come together to enforce a minimum price, when this is done with the approval of responsible public figure (which in secular terms would be called a regulator).

the case where non-Jewish vendors are in this market, who did not feel bound by the edict of a rabbinic ruling. A contemporary authority (Responsa *Shevet HaLevi* 4:1:4), however, states: 'The halachic authorities write that this is talking where the other vendors who raise the prices are non-Jews who will not listen to the *Bet Din* [rabbinic court]. For if they are Jews it is incumbent upon them to listen to the view of Torah and if they do not listen, woe to them in this world and the next; and for our many of our sins a number of those who do not conduct themselves according to halachah include even the good ones amongst us'. Thus, it would seem that in a market where the traders will abide by the court ruling, Jewish law would require that every effort be exerted to supervise the mark-up rule on essential food commodities.

Another area in which pricing activity is limited is in the concept of predatory pricing, which is also forbidden by Jewish law, as this is something which is destructive of competitors and undermines fair competition. A firm may not sell below cost or at prices so low that this would destroy the opposition (Responsa *T'shurat Shai* 2:4), as this is regarded as a form of harm *(n'zikin)*. Whilst rabbinic teaching praised competition, this came with the proviso: 'that a competitive tactic is legitimate only if a rival is capable of counteracting it' (Levine 2005, p. 123). A contemporary authority writes that a rival firm can do things to draw customers to it (as in the case given in the Talmud) by distributing presents to children or by lowering prices, and another firm cannot prevent it from doing so, unless it reduces the prices to the level at which an ordinary trader cannot survive (*Pitchei Choshen, Hilchot G'neivah v'ono'ah* 6:3). 'Price dumping' is a related form of predatory pricing in which a person or company sells at a reduced price in a market other than the home market of the monopoly in order to destroy competition in those external markets.[2]

Whilst guilds (associations of merchants and manufacturers) have a right to come together to agree upon minimum prices and other trade practices, this is only with the assent of a respected and responsible communal figure *(adam chashuv)*, who is, in effect, a regulator (Maimonides, *Hilchot Mechira* 14:11). They may also act in the absence of a person of such stature, but it is then incumbent upon the community

[2] Rabbi Wahrhaftig (1988) writes: 'Although an agreement among merchants or members of a worker's organization will usually concern only internal affairs, there may also be external ramifications. This is true where merchants fix a minimum price, beneath which no merchant is permitted to sell. The possibility exists that they will fix a high price without economic justification. This problem is more severe today when the consumer is apt to find himself facing a giant corporation, perhaps a monopoly, and therefore is in need of protection from arbitrary price fixing. Although the Talmud did not face the phenomenon of monopolistic corporations, it attempts to deal with this problem by restricting the power of guilds to regulate themselves. The *Gemara* (Bava Batra 9a) requires the assent of the local 'important person' [Note: There is a difference of opinion concerning the identity of the 'important person', whether the leader of the community, a Torah scholar, or both. cf. *Shita Mekubetzet,* ad. loc.] in order to validate the internal regulations of a guild. This is meant to secure an objective review, which takes into account other concerns, such as the public interest, aside from the interest of the members of the guild (cf. Ramban, ad. loc.). From the Meiri (BB *ad. loc*.), it appears that even with the concurrence of the 'important person' regulations which are injurious to the community are invalid if they have not been agreed to by the citizens themselves'.

to take other measures to ensure competitive prices (Maimonides ibid 14:10)[3]. The community may, in any event, take measures through its representatives to control prices and to apply suitable sanctions to those who disregard them (Maimonides, ibid 14:9. See practical examples in Wahrhaftig 1988).

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[3] Rabbi Wahrhaftig (ibid) continues, in this scenario: 'On the other hand, if there is no local 'important person', there is no review of the decisions of the guild. How then, can the consumer's interests be protected? This question also exists where there has not been a formal enactment by the members of the guild, as they can always form a monopoly or voluntarily cooperate among themselves in order to fix minimum prices, at the expense of the community. There are many forms that this can take, and it is quite prevalent today. The halachic remedy to this situation is to take countermeasures, either by inviting merchants or tradesmen from the outside to break the monopoly, or by organizing a consumer strike (*Responsa Mabit,* 1237; *cf. Responsa Maharival,* 1115; *Lechem Rav,* 216; Dr. N. Rakover, *Haganat HaTzarchan, (Studies in Mishpat Ivri,* v. 16), p. 30.) Practically, this is very difficult to organize successfully. The *Halacha* is able to enforce a consumer strike by use of a compulsorily binding agreement among the townspeople'.

Chapter 14
Role of Values for Motivation and Direction of International Development Volunteers: A Case Study of Tevel b'Tzedek

Yossi Ives, Micha Odenheimer and Chen Levin-Schleider

Introduction—by Yossi Ives

The chapter that follows presents the unique experience of Tevel b'Tzedek, an Israeli charity that takes young adults on service missions to developing countries, in leveraging values to motivate and guide the volunteers. A key issue brought up repeatedly by young people is the principle brought in Jewish law that *aniyei ircha kodmin*—"the poor of one's own city come first" or in common parlance "charity begins at home" (Browne 1922). Many of the volunteers were struggling with the justification for helping abroad when Jewish values seem to imply that it is of secondary importance to helping one's own. This introduction will address these issues and will also discuss why there is no actual Jewish law mandating this, although, as Tevel b'Tzedek advocates, there is an overarching Jewish imperative to help around the world.

Charity Starts at Home?

The Talmud (Bava Metzia 71a) presents a hierarchy of priority when distributing charity:

> [The Bible states] "When you lend money to My people, the poor with you" (Exodus 22:25), My people [Israelites] and a gentile, My people take precedence; poor and rich, the poor come first; your own [family's] poor and the poor of your town, you own poor

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> are ahead; the poor of your town and those of another town, those of your own town come before.

This is confirmed in the Tanna d'bbei Eliyahu (Chapter 27):

> If a man has abundant provisions in his house and wishes to set some aside for the sustenance of the needy, what order is he to follow? First he should take care of his father and his mother. If he has some provisions left, he should take care of his brother and his sister. If he still has some provisions left, he should take care of the members of his household. If he again has some provisions left, he should take care of the members of his family. Then he should take care of the people in his immediate neighborhood. Next he should take care of the people on his street. Finally he should provide charity freely throughout Israel.

Thus, it is argued that from a Judaic point of view until such time that the needs of Jewish people are satisfied that efforts and resources should be exclusively directed internally. However, this argument for Jewish isolationism does not hold up to scrutiny. First, the most valuable contribution that the Jewish people can make to the world is sharing knowledge, which does not require abundant resources. The Midrash (Rabba Numbers 21:16) draws a distinction between pouring water from one jug to another, whereby the more poured the less remains, and lighting one candle from another, which shares light without diminishing the original candle. Sharing knowledge falls into the Talmudic category (Bava Kama 20a) of "one person gains, whilst the other loses nothing".

However, even in relation to sharing material resources, which are finite and subject to what economist term zero-sum game (Bowles 2004), Jewish isolationism based on this teaching is fallacious. Halachic jurisprudence is based on juggling competing legal and moral considerations. For example, Jewish charity law (Ketubot 67b; Mishneh Torah, Hilchot Matnat Aniyim 7:3; Shulchan Aruch Yoreh Deah 250:1) also states that a wealthy person who has fallen on hard times should be helped back to their former glory by means of charity. Yet, in practice Jewish law does not advocate diverting funds from feeding hungry children to fund the lavish lifestyle of a former business tycoon.[1] Thus, it would be wrong to take a single Jewish law in isolation.

There is a hierarchy of obligation; hence, the poor of our own city come first. But first implies a second and third—and indeed the responsibility does not end at the gates of our own town. Priority does not imply exclusivity; first does not mean only. For if we follow that logic, it would not begin in your town either, as it would not extended beyond one's own family. Such a conception could develop a myopic, morally noxious outlook, which major rabbinic authorities reject. Rabbi Moses Sofer rules (She'elot uTeshuvot Yoreh Deah vol 2 responsa 231), "We only say ainyei ircha kodmin if both parties need food or clothing. However, if the poor of your town have sufficient to subsist but not in abundance, then the very poor of another

[1] Shita Mekubetzet to Ketubot 67b cites the Geonim that the rule applies only in the event that the person's poverty has not yet become known and there is a likelihood that it will soon be averted. Rabbi Samuel de Modena argues that the rule only applies where there are grounds to fear the person's mental deterioration (Responsa Maharashdam Yoreh Deah response 166). Contemporary Rabbi Eliezer Melamed suggests that this is only a temporary solution to allow him to become more gradually accustomed to a more modest lifestyle (Peninei Halacha, Likutim 2 (5566) pp. 125−126).

town take precedence." Rabbi Moses Alshich commented (Torat Moshe, Deut) that giving charity to those living further away is a higher form of charity, given that you are less likely to meet the recipient.

Rabbi Yechiel Michel Epstein (Aruch Hashulchan Yoreh Deah 251:4) highlights that if the local poor are the only priority, no one would ever feel obligated to help anyone other than family members: "If one says that a person is only obligated to the level nearest to them and not all to the next level thereafter, it is well known that every wealthy person has many poorer relatives, and especially people of ordinary income, which would mean that the poor who don't have wealthy relatives will die from hunger. Therefore it is appears to me that the rule means that the wealthier person needs to give some support to his poorer relatives but must also support the poor who are not his relatives; only that to his relatives he should be more generous than to those who are not."[2] Moreover, Rabbi Yuval Cherlow (2012) noted that "it is difficult today to define 'our town's poor'". The global village has brought us all much closer, and the 'geographic town' has become increasingly less significant."

It is true that in Judaism special importance is attached to looking after those nearest to us. The Torah teaches (Leviticus 25:36), "Let him live by your side as your kinsman" and Isaiah (58:7) urged, "Do not to ignore your own kin". Adult obligations to children vary considerably depending on the relationship between the adult and child. If the relationship was that of parent and offspring, the obligations are far greater. Likewise, the charitable requirements towards members of one's own people are greater than towards a non-member. In Jewish law, not everyone is treated equally. Support to the Jewish poor is legally mandated and could be compelled (Shulchan Aruch Yoreh Deah 248), whereas support for gentiles is left to voluntary agreement.

Prof. Yaakov Blidstein (2012) argues that giving precedence to family is entirely uncontroversial and would universally be regarded and legitimate and humanitarian. The laws of every country give precedence to its own nationals, thereby discriminating against foreign nationals. Similarly, in Judaism there is a notion of the peoplehood and therefore in Jewish law while Jews have obligations to both Jews and non-Jews, they are not equivalent. Nevertheless, Blidstein points out that Maimonides perceives some sort of equality in relation to some social obligations. Thus, Maimonides states that "it appears to me" that "resident-aliens" should be extended the same courtesies and kindness as a native Israelite.

If It Is a Core Judaic Principle, Why Is It Not Commanded?

It may be argued that if concern for the wider world is a central concern of Judaism, it would be expected that there would be a clear commandment to this effect. However, in fact, the opposite is true. The most vital principles of Judaism are generally

[2] However, see Tzedaka uMishpat Chapter 3 Note 20, a broad discussion about whether a person may give all his charity to relatives. However, those who use aniyei ircha kodmin to limit humanitarian concern to Jews should note that the code also gives precedence to rabbis over laypersons and to residents of the Holy Land over others.

not given expression in law because they precede and underpin the law. The law provides the details but not the principles, the latter which are confirmed through the laws upon which they are based. Many of the most central themes in Jewish belief and practice are not covered by any biblical commandment, for the very reason that they are so encompassing, as can be seen from the examples below:

Repentance is one of the central values in Judaism; hundreds of rabbinic teachings and entire volumes valorize its central importance. Yet, Maimonides (Laws of Repentance 7:5) does not regard repentance as a biblical command, by contrast to Nachmanides (Deut 20:11). Similarly with regard to prayer, although Maimonides (Sefer Hamitzvot 5, based on Sifri 41) rules that there is a biblical obligation for prayer (Deut 11:15), Nachmanides (on this verse) argues that there is no such obligation. Yet, it is universally accepted that prayer is a central aspect of Judaism. Many times the Bible urges one to be holy (e.g. Leviticus 19:2); the core driver for most of the laws of Judaism. Yet, while Nachmanides (on this verse) and the Sefer Charedim (21:13) cite "You shall be holy" (Leviticus 19:2) as a biblical command, Maimonides and Sefer HaChinuch do not consider it as such. Maimonides himself explains his reasoning (Introduction, Sefer HaMitzvot) that it is too general to qualify as a command. Maimonides (Sanhedrin 11, introduction) listed 13 fundamental principles of faith, rejection of which excludes oneself from the Jewish covenant. Yet, it is not clear that he regards most of these principles as biblically or even rabbinically mandated in law.

Most significantly, it is not clear if even something as fundamental as the belief in God is a biblical commandment. Important medieval works (e.g. BaHaG) question Maimonides' view that belief in God is a biblical obligation given that the commandment itself presupposes a belief in that God. Abravanel (Rosh Amana 4) suggests that Maimonides does not regard belief in God as a commandment, but rather that the obligation to believe that God is the first and most perfect being—which some (Derech Mitzvotecha, p. 88) argue is the kabbalists' view.

Precisely because these religious fundaments are so woven into myriad Jewish practices and beliefs, they are not granted their own mandate; their very centrality renders them a principle not a law. Where it can be *demonstrated* that a clear theme runs through Jewish teaching and practice, then it may be rightly considered that the absence of a biblical mandate speaks of its centrality rather than its marginality. The notion of wider concern in Judaism is a central theme across Jewish teaching (see Chap. 1, this volume); therefore, there is no separate commandment to this effect.

This chapter has two sections. The first presents the ideas of the founder of Tevel b'Tzedek showing how values are deployed as a central theme in motivating and shaping the volunteer experience. The second section presents the findings of an independent researcher, showing how values influenced the choice of program and volunteering experience.

The following will explore the role of values in motivating and influencing volunteers for international development by way of exploring the unique educational approach of an Israeli-Jewish international development and social justice organization called Tevel B'Tzedek (or Tevel for short). It was established in 2006, operating in Israel and Nepal, and since the earthquake that occurred in 2010, it has also operated in Haiti.

A highly distinctive feature of the organization is its focus on education and, in particular, on inculcating in volunteers a strong sense of values. Its main program involves taking groups of young adults on volunteering missions to Nepal. The chapter begins with an explanation of the values orientation and education system by the organization's founder and director Rabbi Micha Odenheimer. The chapter then continues with a detailed report of a year-long investigation into its educational methodology by Chen Levin-Schleider. While this chapter is based on a case study methodology, through exploring the principles underpinning this unique approach, it is hoped that other similar organizations will be able to adapt this model to their own needs.

The Role of Jewish Ethical Wisdom in the Global Community of Humanity

Micha Odenheimer

Tevel b'Tzedek (henceforth Tevel) is an organization that promotes the sustainable development of communities in need through the universal and Jewish philosophies that draw all of humankind together. A relatively young nongovernmental organization (NGO), it is our responsibility at Tevel to bring Jewish and ethical wisdom—engaging in and with tikkun olam (fixing the world)—to international economies and communities. We support and urge focus on the regulation of international corporations, and we promote grass-roots democracy in all of the communities of the world. We listen closely to the voices of our global community and layer their calls with traditional Jewish wisdom, thus, making it clear that a certain truth about our humanity has been (largely) ignored by modern developments—that none of us will be free until all of us are free. When we gain awareness of how interwoven we are with all of humanity, we begin the work, in partnership with other spiritual traditions, to create a new ethic for the global age and community.

Tevel uses an in-house model for change. Authentic, successful change requires time and consistency. Our model approach is led by local staff who stay in communities for 3–4 years, and they ensure the quality and sustainability of the projects. We focus our efforts on improving communities' relationships with education, media, agriculture and public health while simultaneously encouraging (and educating communities on) women's and children's empowerment. These fields of focus lay the foundation for a self-sustaining community that can not only support itself for far longer than before but also share all it has learned with surrounding villages and communities in need. Tevel strives every day to bring humanity together to improve the human condition of the world through positive human interaction.

The process of preparing young volunteers for international development work begins by framing and basing the preparation in teaching Judaic values. We approach the teaching of values from within a specific tradition and a dynamic context. Because we are inspired by Judaism, the Jewish tradition and experience are a major touchstone for us; the dynamism comes through the juxtaposition of the tradition and its values with the critical challenges of contemporary global reality.

From its inception, one of Tevel's stated goals has been to create a Jewish platform for facing global poverty in a world that has become increasingly integrated economically and environmentally. Our education program, which is founded on basic Jewish concepts of social and economic justice and on the dignity of all humans as made in the image of God, is a crucial part of our approach.

Tevel's Educational Strategy

Our educational strategy is based on two synergetic emphases. On one hand, we work to stretch the horizons of Judaism, as it is often taught today, by recovering and reclaiming the universal aspects of the Jewish tradition, especially regarding economic, social and environmental justice and universal human solidarity. We teach that these aspects of Judaism are a core part of the Jewish spiritual and ethical mission. On the other hand, even while emphasizing the universal aspect of Judaism, we draw strength from and encourage Jewish peoplehood because we believe that universal human solidarity should not and need not come at the expense of our intimate connection and familiarity with our own tradition and community. We seek to demonstrate that Jewish learning, celebration and community can be an emotional and spiritual foundation for activism in creating a better world for all. For most of the last 300 years since the enlightenment, Jewish universalism and a concern for social justice on one hand, and a focus on preserving Jewish particularism and cultural survival on the other, have been perceived as in opposition to each other. In Tevel we assert that the time has come to integrate, rather than separate, these two foci, strengthening both as one.

We nurture this integrated approach, first of all, through the texts and topics we explore. Our programs all feature a curriculum of Jewish studies that is integrated with studies in globalization, poverty, development and community, as well as on sensitizing our approach to one-on-one interactions between human beings. Second, we create a living, breathing community of Jews with an active Jewish life and ongoing Jewish learning. This community is also, in an intensive and focused way, a vessel for experiencing life in vulnerable rural villages and slums while transforming the lives of the populations there. By combining the warmth and richness of Jewish life, with a strong, sincere attempt to address urgent global and universal problems, we aim to create a new kind of understanding in which the specificity of ethnic and religious identity can serve as a foundation and catalyst for activism of the broadest sort. By creating deep ties of friendship between our Jewish community and the countries in which we serve, through our local staff as well as the community groups and volunteer groups with whom we work, we show how deepening our own identity can help connect us, not isolate us, from others.

In terms of teaching values, we present to our participants a broad picture of the world and its power structures, emphasizing the often only partially understood underpinnings of the forces that determine conditions for people all over the world, including the poorest populations. Our primary, but not exclusive, focus is on the world economy and the process of economic globalization. We discuss the history

of economic globalization and argue that globalization in its current form is not simply the result of innovations in science, technology and communications, but it emerges from a set of value-laden assumptions about human nature. Specifically, we develop a critique of neo-liberal, corporate capitalism and its unregulated "free market" approach, furthermore, calling for a balance between the concepts that inspire this approach—including the notion that innovation and progress are the result of the selfish human desire for personal economic gain. We base this critique on ideas and norms that we see as central to the Jewish tradition. Some of these ideas, such as the need for at least relative social and economic equality, are clear-cut in the Jewish sources. Others are the subject of ongoing discussion and debate within Judaism (e.g. the level of competition that is desirable and permissible within the economy); the very fact that ideas about economic justice are part of an ongoing debate that began several millennia ago is itself mind opening to those who until now have taken the current economic order for granted.

Although we welcome (and always receive from some of our participants) push-back, disagreement and debate, we present the Jewish values of the organization without apologies or equivocation, backed by Jewish texts from the Bible to contemporary philosophers. Here are some examples of these values: (a) the belief that human beings find fulfilment in community and have a need for love, recognition and meaning, not only personal gain; (b) the belief that human beings must find a way to balance the right for private property and the pursuit of personal gain with a broad and encompassing vision of the common good; (c) the value in creating a society that does not suffer from huge divides between an indebted poor and a wealthy and privileged class; (d) the knowledge that human beings are extremely vulnerable to influence and thus strong boundaries must be created between decision makers and special interests; (e) the idea that certain aspects of the economy (such as basic foodstuffs) should not be subject to market manipulation because they are crucial to the sustenance of human life; and (f) the history and notion of responsibility that leads to activism, protest and also individual and collective attempts to change the world for the better.

Global and Local Issues

Much time in our orientation course is devoted to the question of globalization and its effect on the poor, with the aim of opening our participants up to the broadest possible perspective. We will discuss the significance of this approach later in this chapter. There are two other levels included in our curriculum. We teach about community, its significance, meaning and structure and how it can be strengthened, while modelling community in our daily life. And we teach as well about the one-on-one encounter with others, as we attempt to sensitize our volunteers to the responsibility we have for each other's emotional wellbeing and the extent to which sensitivity, respect, warmth and patience are crucial tools for engaging individuals within communities and creating healing and change. In both these cases, we rely on traditional Jewish sources as well as other ideas and awareness-creating practices.

As part of our educational program, we also focus on the actual conditions of poverty. We ask our participants to explore the question: What does it mean to be poor? Using studies and observations based on what the poor themselves have reported, we reconceive poverty not as a question of money but of wellbeing and ill-being that include, and are affected by, multiple dimensions. We argue that poverty is as much about vulnerability as it is about day-to-day luxuries or comforts. And we attempt to inculcate in our participants the consciousness that, as part of a tiny minority of Westerners who will ever experience life in a poor rural village or urban slum in the developing world, their significance as witnesses may be as important as their volunteer efforts.

It is important to mention one other value-laden discussion—the discussion of cultural influence. When working in a rural village in Nepal, for example, how can we be sure that the influence we bring is a good, and not a destructive, influence? Do we have the right to intervene and change the patterns of life in a village through the ideas and techniques we bring? What about our presence in the village itself, with our cameras and our dress code? What subliminal messages are we bringing to the village? How does our presence affect the village's young people, for example? How will our women's empowerment program affect relations between the women and their husbands? Perhaps even more basically, what is the attitude with which we ourselves should approach the task of volunteering? What is the balance between idealism and arrogance in our desire to "save the world"? What is the relationship between fixing the world (tikkun olam) and fixing ourselves (tikkun halev)?

In teaching values, we believe that questions are sometimes at least as important as answers. Particularly in regard to the delicate questions of cultural influence, we believe that sensitization and ongoing questioning are at least as important as "solid" answers. Still, we do emphasize the fact that none of the villages (not to mention the neighbourhoods) in which we work are culturally "intact"; that all are going through periods of intense crisis that threaten the future of the village—at least partly due to globalization (including work migration, introduction of the money economy and consumer goods, the creation of new forms of income gaps, population growth, climate change, deforestation, etc.). We are thus not an outside influence "contaminating" an (until now) intact culture, but a potentially mitigating influence, bringing positive aspects of globalization—and there are many—to places that have been vulnerable to some of its negative influences. This opens the discussion to a complex reflection on our intended and actual impact on the village and its culture.

Returning to the question of Jewish identity and particularism, one of the contributions we hope Tevel can make in the field of values is to point out how consciousness and involvement in our own cultural particularity, when engaging in efforts to improve lives for others, can have a crucial and positive effect. Development work, whether by secular organizations or religious missionaries, has often been based on a kind of unarticulated assumption that "development" aims to bring a universal code of values to tribal or ethnic groups that are lost in their own outdated and very specific worldview. By emphasizing that we are also "particular", that we are engaged in this work as part of our involvement in our own religious and ethnic identity and culture, we open the way for recognition of the value of particularism

and cultural identity as well for those with whom we work. This idea has been reaffirmed for us through the responses of several of our Nepali staff to our Jewishness: "We are inspired by your dedication to your identity and culture, and it makes us more determined to explore and strengthen the positive aspects of our own identity."

In fact, the developing world is a mosaic of tribes and ethnicities, all searching to continue to draw strength from their origins while connecting to the global world in a healthy and enriching way. The need for both recognizing and valuing cultural uniqueness while concurrently connecting to an encompassing global ethic is of great urgency today. We can find a model for this, potentially, in the Jewish concept of the "seven Noahide commandments" that are incumbent, according to our tradition, on all of humankind. The diverse nations of the world do not have to become Jews in order to be good people and merit the kingdom of heaven, but there is a need for a minimalistic (but profound), universal and ethical covenant incumbent on all nations and human beings. Searching for, and modelling, a sensitive, modern articulation of this balance between universalism and particularism is part of Tevel's mission.

The Influence of Jewish Values on the Work Done by Volunteers

The aim is that teaching values should influence the actual work done by volunteers. For example, let us say we are trying to bring water for agriculture to a dry, hungry community in central Nepal. We find a solution—to deepen an already existing reservoir and double its capacity. Part of the staff pushes to do it right away. But volunteers and other staff, trained in our value system, say that such a move must come as part of a process of community building, only with the full cooperation and enthusiastic participation of representatives from every sector in the village. "There must be a plan", one volunteer says, "to ensure that the distribution of the water is not confined to the most powerful groups in the village, but also reaches the marginalized."

As another example, a volunteer might say he/she is frustrated by his/her role in the youth group where he/she is working. Then he/she would remember our teaching on how recognizing the tzelem elokim (the divine image) in another through simple acts of honouring their presence is empowering and strengthening to them. Through this awareness, the volunteer attains renewed patience, She/he is not merely oriented to measurable accomplishments, although these are important, but towards the quality of human relationships. In a short time, these volunteers see that their patience and presence have created an atmosphere of empowerment and trust. Through this, the youth group flourishes in the slum area in which we are working.

The participants' volunteering is crucial. It creates opportunities to feel the power of transformational work, thus giving "fuel" to the fire and passion young people have to create a better world, by showing them that it is possible. The combination of teaching and values, learning and service, study and action is what makes personal transformation and the creation of community happen.

Making Jewish Values Cohesive with Volunteering

In order to make the teaching relevant to the volunteering, we first attempt to show, for example, the impact of globalization on the country we are in (e.g. Nepal) and on the specific context of our work (rural village in crisis, city slum). Second, we emphasize how the long-term aims of our work in the village, building sustainable community, are an important solution to the challenges the poor in the world face. By looking at the broadest possible context of poverty, showing how it is reflected in our work areas, and then attempting to create a solution that goes to the root of the problem, we create volunteers who are motivated as well as creative in their thinking. Also, because of the value we place on intellectual engagement, we create an organization whose staff and volunteers are constantly learning, thinking and improving our plans, activities and strategies—creating a feedback loop that is extremely important for the work. In terms of sensitization to human interaction, by teaching the spiritual and healing power of compassionate attention to others, as taught in the Jewish tradition, we focus strong emphasis on the quality of human interaction. This is both important in and of itself and also gives volunteers a sense of meaning in the early stages of volunteering, when they might otherwise lose patience because results have not yet been attained.

On the level of the effectiveness of the volunteering the teaching helps the groups to coalesce and work as teams. Because the volunteering is backed by a worldview and engages volunteers intellectually, it helps to create a common language and context shared by the volunteering teams. Moreover, the interpersonal and intercultural sensitivities as well as the explorations of questions of justice that we work on in the orientation month create a keener ability to see the complexity of seemingly simple village life and to act with greater wisdom in mapping problems and finding solutions. Also, many Jews nurse feelings of trauma, as well as pride, in connection with their Jewish identity. In particular, the history of excluding Jews and persecuting them, combined with internal negative attitudes towards non-Jews and the outside world, often complicate young peoples' Jewish identity. By connecting Jewish learning and community life to work for the impoverished in a cross-cultural setting, wounds are healed: tikkun olam becomes tikkun halev. The intellectual engagement helps ensure that their experiences in the developing world are later applied to structural injustices that exist in their home communities as well. Thereby, the volunteering is not just a one-time adventure but part of a broader effort to learn about and influence the world that will continue throughout lives.

Volunteers' Responses to Being Taught Judaic Values

Volunteers respond to the various aspects of the teachings in different ways; but overall, the combination of intellectual engagement and community-building experience is successful in inculcating a strong sense of belonging and identification

with the organization and its approach as well as an intellectual and spiritual commitment to activism. These reactions result in high levels of motivation and dedication during the volunteering period and the ability to work as teams in difficult village or slum environments. One way this can be measured is in the high number of program graduates for whom, according to their own reports, the experience in Nepal is transformative and highly influential in their choice of studies and career and in their continued social activism. The time invested in teaching values and creating community will pay off in many ways: in terms of the actual work in the field, the ongoing learning and thinking of the organization and the continued commitment of the volunteers to a life of engagement in the common good.

Leveraging Values for Development: A Case Study of Tevel b'Tzedek

Chen Levin-Schleider

Researchers have long been interested in the reasons that people are willing to devote their time to others or to the public for no payment, in particular in an industrialized society that is commonly seen as materialistic and individualistic (Shapiro 1989). In the past, it was believed that people who volunteer do so for altruistic reasons, they have "good" values, and they care about people and the world situation (Nidal-Shimoni 2007). Today we know that altruism is not enough to explain why someone begins to volunteer or why he or she continues over time (Nidal-Shimoni 2007).

Background on Tevel b'Tzedek

As a journalist by profession, Rabbi Micha Odenheimer (note: for brevity, in the remainder of the chapter, he is referred to by his surname only) covered such topics as poverty, globalization and human rights in many countries, including Somalia, Ethiopia, Iraq, Burma, Haiti, Nepal, Bangladesh and Indonesia. Concurrently, during a family trip to India, he encountered many Israeli tourists, and there formed his idea to connect Israelis and Jews to the developing world and social justice. Odenheimer sought to establish a program in a developing country, where there were substantial social and economic gaps between that country and those abroad. Nepal was selected, according to Odenheimer (2008) because of its comfortable climate ("weather there pretty much good all year"), economic considerations ("I've seen where you can rent a huge house for the volunteers for really small [amounts of] money") and the possibility for successful cooperation with local organizations.

The organization runs international development projects, working to improve the lives of marginalized communities in Nepal, combined with educational volunteer programs that aim to influence Israelis and Jews who take part in them, adding a moral dimension to the volunteers' encounters with Nepal.

Its goal is to create a community of Israelis and Jews in Israel and abroad, which will focus on the key issues relating to global poverty, social disparities and environmental destruction out of a deep commitment to Jewish tradition and social and environmental justice. The organization believes that the world is becoming increasingly global and that it is incumbent upon all people to be concerned for the fate of the world's most poor and vulnerable as well as the integrity of the Earth. Odenheimer believes that traditional Jewish sources possess wisdom that could have shed light on these critical issues.

Tevel was established as a charity in Israel and, in the early years, operated under Israeli law and with approval for initial activities from the authorities in Nepal. In 2010 a local subsidiary organization was established called "Niaiak Sensar" (Tevel b'Tzedek in Nepalese), which functions as Tevel's local partner.

Tevel operates an integrated community development model. The model includes five main areas of work: (1) agriculture and creating sources of income, (2) the empowerment of women, (3) health and sanitation, (4) formal and informal education for children and youth, all in order to (5) avoid the high influx into urban slums. The idea underlying the model is that a significant change in the life of a community must occur across several dimensions at once. The projects are long term and sustainable through developing integrated teams consisting of local staff and the international volunteers.

Tevel runs three main programs: (1) "Tevel in the Community", also known as the "long-term program"; (2) "Volunteering along the Way", also called the "short-term program" or "the trekkers program", lasts 5 weeks and involves a shortened 1-week orientation followed by 4 weeks of activity and (3) "Friends of Tevel", which is designed for professionals in fields that are relevant to international development, such as agriculture, education, health and media.

This study examined the "Tevel in the Community", which is the oldest program of the organization, active since 2007, with more than 250 graduates. This is an intensive program of 4 months, and, under its auspices, two cycles of volunteers go out every year: in Spring (February–May) and Winter (October–February). Most of the volunteers are Israelis but some are Diaspora Jews, especially from Canada and the USA. Twenty to twenty-four volunteers participate in each cycle. The participants are accompanied by several staff members, some of them graduates of previous cycles, who work along with the Nepalese professional staff who lead the program.

In addition to vocational training, the program is designed to encourage participants to become activists and leaders in the field of social justice and to provide them with a place to volunteer and engage in meaningful action. The first month is devoted to a broad orientation program, during which the following topics are studied:

- Nepali language: a brief but intense course in Nepalese, in order to gain basic conversational skills
- Nepalese culture: lectures on cultural, social and political situations in Nepal
- Globalization: examining the impact of globalization on relations between the developed and developing world

- Social justice and human rights: an examination of social phenomena in Nepal and in the developing world in general, with emphasis on the rights of women and children
- Environment: investigating the effects of human society on the environment and the connections between the environment and social justice
- Jewish thought: a study of texts from Jewish sources dealing with social and environmental justice, from biblical texts to modern thinkers

The educational aspect continues even after the orientation; throughout the volunteering program, participants learn pertinent ideas corresponding with the day-to-day work in which the volunteers engage in their communities.

After the month of orientation, the volunteers choose where in Nepal they want to volunteer, out of the places available, and choose the subject in which they wish to engage. The next 3 months combine a process of increasing the intensity of volunteering along with bimonthly seminars held throughout Nepal. The purpose of the seminars is to expand the education of volunteers, strengthen team spirit and facilitate the sharing of ideas and experiences. During the last week in Nepal, the volunteer activities focus on personal and group summations and documenting the material and work from their months of volunteering. During this week, the organization's goal is to encourage volunteers to consider how they can continue with a commitment to social and environmental justice and apply what they learned in Nepal after returning home.

Volunteers undergo a process of screening to ensure they are compatible from the personal and group aspects, which also enables the organization to build diverse groups including participants of various backgrounds, ages and different interests. Volunteers must have a minimum age of 21, but there is no maximum age. By virtue of being an organization with a Jewish character, candidates who have no connection to the Jewish faith do not generally apply, except one case of a young Arab woman who applied and was accepted for the program.

The processing of application includes having them complete a questionnaire and participate in a group interview and a personal interview. In addition, applicants are required to write an essay on one of the following subjects: interests and achievements, thoughts and opinions about one of the areas mentioned in the program (social and economic justice, the environment, social justice in Judaism, globalization, human rights), why they want to participate in the program and what they expect to gain from participation, and finally a significant turning point in life or a person who had a significant impact on their lives.

Methodology

This study adopted a qualitative-constructivist research methodology in which the researcher chooses "to use his own and other people as the main tool for gathering information" (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p. 39). More specifically, this study adopted a phenomenological approach, in which the researcher gathers information

from the participants who were personally involved, as he/she strives to explore the meaning of the phenomena in the context of their daily lives (Shkedi 2003). In this study, data were collected through in-depth interviews, a common research tool in qualitative research and especially in the phenomenological approach, which allows for the phenomenon to be described from the perspective of the participants (Sabar Ben-Yehoshua 1995). The purpose of an in-depth interview is to capture the life experience of the participant and their personal world as well as their point of view and their perception of the phenomenon under study (Fontana and Frey 2000). The study used semi-structured interviews, which have the advantage of providing flexibility for the investigator, allowing the interview to generate questions in accordance with the issues raised by the interviewee (Sabar Ben-Yehoshua 1995). Before conducting the interviews, two exploratory interviews were conducted with two volunteers to examine key issues and generate relevant questions.

This chapter is based on a more extensive research project carried out in 2012–2013 as part of the author's master's degree thesis in social work at Ben-Gurion University. The study population consisted of 22 men and women who volunteered for community development activities under the program. In addition, interviews were conducted with the staff who are currently working in the organization, all of whom had previously volunteered in the same program. The volunteers in the study were quite diverse, coming from different religious backgrounds. As self-defined, four were religious, two traditional, three formerly religious people, nine secular and three declined to define the nature or level of their religiosity. Interviewees' ages ranged from age 20 to 38. Regarding gender, 15 were women and 7 were men. The volunteers interviewed had participated in various volunteering cycles, ranging from the first group of participants to the thirteenth one, which was the last group at the time of the study. Out of 22 volunteers who were interviewed, 7 remained to work in the organization, of which 4 were working at the time of the study and 3 had done so in the past.

Study participants were asked questions by the researcher about Jewish values and values in general that may have influenced their decision to volunteer and how those values are expressed, about their personal and professional background, regarding their activities as a volunteer and about their satisfaction with volunteer work. After each interview, the researcher wrote her impressions and the key points raised. All interviews were taped with the knowledge and consent of the interviewees and fully transcribed. The interviews were conducted mostly in the homes of volunteers or cafes, while some of the interviews with staff took place at the offices of the organization.

In addition, since a rigorous screening process for selecting volunteers was conducted, observations were made on group dynamics as part of the screening process. Due to the sensitivity of this occasion for applicants, and in accordance with the wishes of the coordinators, there was no opportunity to participate in personal interviews. To complete this part, the coordinators who conducted the screenings were interviewed, both the current coordinators and those who have filled this role in the past.

Observation is a primary way of collecting data in qualitative research (Sabar Ben-Yehoshua 1995). The degree of involvement of the researcher is reflected in the type of observations he or she conducts, ranging across a continuum from the researcher's self-conception as an objective external viewer to a self-conception of an internal participant involved subjectively (Shkedi 2003). In this study, two nonparticipatory observations were conducted to observe the dynamics of the group during the screening process for places on cycles 13 and 14, who were to leave for volunteering in March 2013 and February 2014, respectively. Observation data were thus collected with minimal contact, if any, with the participants. The purpose of the observations was to examine the role of values in the practice of the organization, in particular how it was reflected in the screening process of volunteers.

Written materials, such as personal diaries, were also obtained. The researcher also collected a variety of textual and visual materials: 13 essays were obtained from candidates, who, as noted, were required to present a written submission and were also interviewed. Articles that were published in print media on the activities of the organization and videos produced by participants were also gathered from Tevel's website.

The goal of data analysis in qualitative research is to interpret the phenomena and to enable tentative generalizations to similar contexts (Gavton 2001). The present analysis was based on a content analysis model. Content analysis is a research technique for the systematic production of valid, replicable inferences while setting the findings in its particular context (Sabar Ben-Yehoshua 1995). There are two levels to the process of analysis in qualitative research: First, the researcher analyses the visible and direct content that has been gathered, sorts the data into useful categories, selects the units of analysis, categorizes content (e.g. themes, words, phrases and ideas) and draws conclusions. At the second level, the researcher can rely on his/her understanding and intuition to interpret the conclusions that have been drawn and indicate more implicit content (Sabar Ben-Yehoshua 1995).

Expanding Horizons of Motivation

The literature on the motives of volunteers is based on the pioneering research of Sills, who identified two types of motives for volunteering: (1) motives orientated towards others (altruistic)—such as a desire to help another, especially those who are unfortunate, religious or humanistic motivations, striving to correct social and environmental injustices and working for the benefit of future generations and (2) self-oriented motives—such as the desire for satisfaction and a good feeling from worthwhile activities, filling and using leisure time purposefully, raising of self-esteem and career development and improving skills and personal interest (Sills 1957, cited by Gidron 1977).

Scholars have tended to explain involvement in volunteering by reference to the benefits involved (Haski-Leventhal et al. 2009). Volunteer work is not a one-way activity in which only the volunteer gives, but it is an activity that includes rewards

(Gidron 1977). The reference to "rewards" is just another way of describing the self-oriented motives noted by Sills. According to the findings of the 2004 Social Survey conducted by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, people engaged in voluntary activities are characterized by somewhat greater life satisfaction compared to those who do not engage in volunteer activity (Gromb 2012).

Volunteer activity often includes elements of religious and/or humanitarian values, a dimension of social solidarity and some aspect of personal gain, a desire to provide succour and help to others as well as curiosity and the search for new experiences (Katz and Haski-Leventhal 2008; Clary et al. 1996; Smith 1981). Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991) argue that the motivation for volunteering generally stems from a combination of different motives, circumstances and values.

Similarly, the cohort of volunteers in this study varied in their motivations; some focused on more extrinsic goals and some seeking more intrinsic goals. A sense of values was evident in the responses of most of the participants in the study, but to significantly varying degrees. As we shall see, a key objective of the Tevel program was to foreground values in the motivation and orientation of the participants. The main method through which this was pursued was educational input, including the study of Jewish values.

Volunteers in the study were asked about their motivations to volunteer in the field of international development. Answers given included two types of motives: (a) personal, utilitarian, self-orientated and (b) moral, ideological. Personal-utilitarian motives mentioned by the volunteers included the feelings associated with meaningful activity, satisfaction or career change or progression, personal development, desire for a unique experience or adventure and a desire to volunteer in a stable framework. Ideological-moral motives, that were mentioned, related to the desire to help others and the desire to realize the values of Judaism—in particular the value of tikkun olam.

All respondents mentioned self-orientation-related motives and declared that they had chosen to volunteer at key junctures in their lives, such as the end of military service, completion of a degree, redundancy from employment, separation from a romantic partner or other personal crises. Each saw volunteering as a kind of "time out" that would allow them to think about what they wished to do going forward from a place far removed from familiar surroundings. Several interviewees cited their uncertainty in choosing a professional career as a motive for taking time out to think. Talia, one of the volunteers, said that "a break from life for four months will, I hope, allow me time to think about the way I'd like my life to be conducted, how to turn my studies towards a profession, how to create a meaningful life for myself, how to make myself and others around me happier".

Some of the interviewees spoke about wanting to do something positive and the satisfaction that brings, but they used the term "egotistical" to describe their motives. Netta: "I think we all have a need, in my opinion maybe a bit selfish you can say, that you get a lot out of such a thing. Sometimes it is really patting yourself on the back and saying, 'Here, look, I am helping', which is a great feeling, it fills some kind of place in the stomach, I think, for all of us." Yuval also mentioned the attraction of having a life experience that is combined with positive action: "It is

an amazing way to experience a completely different population, and coming from a very positive angle. It comes from a place of wanting to something that will improve the situation."

Some volunteers turned to volunteering out of a desire to travel abroad, look for experience or adventure. Nirit, for example, sought the anthropological experience involved in meeting with people from other countries and different religions, saying, "It's intriguing, an adventure, to see other things, discover new worlds. I have a very long list of places I want to visit and I went abroad it was not the tourist places that interest me, but—as an anthropologist—how people live." Zur, another volunteer, came to volunteering after having been on a trip to the "Far East" after completing his military service. He said that he wanted to travel in a different way—not to be a "normal tourist" who looks at the world through a camera lens, but rather to feel that he is part of the place in which he travels. Yaron also indicated the desire to travel differently than usual, that he "felt the need for an experience with a little more depth, to really get to see a culture and live with the people…[he] was very interested to experience what real rural life is like in some secluded place where everything runs like in the olden days."

Yael noted that she was keen to travel in the East or South America, but was looking for a framework within which to do this, and in particular, a volunteering framework. She explained: "Lack of a framework really scared me; the thought of traveling alone without a schedule. Now I'm a bit less like that, but then I was a person who like structure." For Yael, the choice of a volunteering framework helped her to overcome her "guilty conscience" at the very notion of simply indulging in tourism: "Travel to volunteer justified the whole idea. As in, if I'm going to volunteer then it's okay."

Other interviewees justified their decision to join a volunteering program as it offered an experience that was accompanied with a sense of meaningful activity, satisfaction, learning, growth, experience and personal development. For example, in her application essay, Roni wrote:

> Beyond the desire to contribute and give, I'm looking for a place to gain and learn, to learn from the group members with whom I shall be living and working and mostly to learn from the community that I will be coming to—people who live with humility and modesty, to break away somewhat from the material and attainment world in which I live, and to understand that there is another way. To learn about another country and other people. To learn about myself in this trip. I have no expectations of changing the world, or to save anyone. I believe this program is an amazing way to experience the world from a different and more meaningful place. I think it's a place…that will grant me a chance to aspire, even slightly, to true social justice.

Nirit, who grew up in a religious home, wanted to fill the void she felt since adopting a secular lifestyle through the sense of satisfaction from the doing voluntary work: "One is looking for something that will fill you from the inside…like volunteering fulfilled for me some inner need for values, when I know that I am able to contribute."

Yaron stated clearly and in detail about his desire to contribute to the betterment of the world (tikkun olam) and thereby indicated an ideological and value-drive

motivation. Volunteering represents his faith, the way he sees the world and its creatures, a sense of justice, the desire to prevent suffering and a contribution to the preservation of culture and of the Earth and its resources. He combines these motives with the desire to be exposed to new cultures and learn more about the world: "I have a great love for animals, plants and other living things and inanimate world. I believe we are all part of the same big thing and that there is an inseparable connection between people of all cultures and between humans and God's other creations of on this earth. We are all part of the same a large system, and when one part of it suffers so does everything else. I believe that in order to help ourselves we need to help others, whether they are human or not."

Yuval was emphatic and unapologetic about his desire to contribute to the betterment of the world. He drew a connection between the values of Judaism and Jewish sensitivity to the suffering of others and the potential benefits he perceives in globalization as a tool to correct the injustices of inequality between the Western world and underprivileged countries. Yuval's application essay titled "Jewish Globalization" states:

> It is clear to all that the Jewish people are no better than anyone else in absolute terms—not more beautiful, they are not developed than any other, but one thing we have: concern and empathy. Since time immemorial, the Jewish people have cared about the most disadvantaged—both within its own people, and towards those around us. It is no coincidence that it was Judaism that brought the world to morality…As someone who sees himself as part of the Jewish people, I feel obliged to rise above my self-concern and show concern towards those who live in the weaker neighborhoods of the global village.

Mobilizing Values

At the preparation stage of the volunteering program, the volunteers participate in a month of orientation that is held in Kathmandu. In this framework, all the volunteers live together, visit the volunteering destinations, go through various workshops on topics such as economics, globalization and community development and, together, they also learn about Nepali culture and learn the language. A central place in the orientation is occupied by Odenheimer's lectures on social justice in Judaism.

According to Kaniel (2007), the meaning of "values" is stable and reasoned principles by which we conduct and evaluate our lives. Values are of great importance in our spiritual and practical worlds. Fundamental to the Jewish tradition is an underlying principle of helping others. Jewish communities in the Diaspora were characterized by reciprocal relationships based on mutual aid and extensive volunteer work (Ben-Meir 1988). For generations, the Jewish community placed special emphasis on support for the orphan, the widow and the stranger, guided by as the supreme value "Love your neighbor as yourself." David Ben-Gurion (1953) referred to this notion:

> One thing history has given us from our very beginning that we are **a great moral force** [emphasis in original. CLS] that is perhaps unprecedented in the history of other nations… "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Three words [in the original Hebrew] consolidate the eternal

> teaching of Judaism's to humanity […] not to discriminate against, not to steal, not to rob, not to hurt others—but Jewish teaching is not satisfied only with those. It is not sufficient to avoid infringement of the rights of others; rather it envisages that human relations should be built on a common fate, on mutual assistance […] the love of humanity. (pp. 31–34)

One of the goals of the Zionist movement was to establish a model society in Israel, based on Jewish values and universal human values. Such a society has some basic properties, including mutual responsibility and concern for others, the brotherhood of nations and concern for the stranger, with a commitment to individuals as they are, and a sense of mission (Dror 1997). The foundations for such a state began to be articulated in Hertzl's book "Old-New Land" (1961), where he argues that, after achieving a solution to the needs of the Jewish people, the Jewish people should help bring solutions and peace to the world.

There are several NGOs that were established by Jews inside and outside of Israel that are driven by Jewish values and imperatives. These values are reflected in their work and are related to their values and practices of international humanitarian aid. Tag International Development, founded by Rabbi Yossi Ives, is an example of an NGO in which Jewish values shape the international development activities. Ives (Ives 2012), who also serves as chairman of the organization, argues that classical Jewish sources contain strong elements of universalism.

Odenheimer (2008) argues that the global world, where world economies merge into one international market, creates a situation where multinational corporations have great political power. He illuminated the economic conception as it appears through Jewish sources and suggested that the perception that economic power should be diffused and democratic runs through the Bible. An example he cited: Instead of granting land right into the hands of one person, the Torah commands to divide the land of Israel so that each family will own a part, the size of which will suit the needs of its residents. Thus, land, capital and means of production are not concentrated in the hands of a few, and exploitation will not be given a free hand. Another example he provided: The Bible presents "Jubilee laws", which stipulate that every 50 years the wealth of the society and its major means of production will be redistributed in an equitable manner. Jubilee laws are an attempt to legislate against the development of the rich classes and classes of impoverished landless. They also ensure that the land does not become barter and will be priced in accordance with their actual values.

Tevel operates openly on the basis of such Jewish values and focuses on the way in which Judaism encourages social action and social justice. Roni states that the lectures delivered by Odenheimer during the month of orientation prior to volunteering in Nepal strongly emphasized the Jewish values of tikkun olam, social action and social justice and called for these values to be disseminated in the world:

> Micha came for a few weeks and ran really exciting events on Judaism and how social justice appears in the Torah and Talmud […] all the talk about globalization and economic orientation was also fascinating. It was interesting to see its interpretation within the operation of the organization and in the volunteer work […] It offered a way to connect to Judaism from a values perspective rather than a missionary one, from a position of the values of social justice and social change from a Jewish perspective.

Each of the interviewees connected with the Jewish aspect differently. Roni grew up in a secular home, but the Jewish connection to the organization pulled her: "I come from a very, very secure home without any connection to religion or tradition… still it was the connection to Judaism in the organization that really drew me." In contrast, Nirit came from Orthodoxy, left the community and said that, at first, she felt resistance to examining Jewish aspects of the program and, in this respect, went through a slow process: "At the first Shabbat meal I really suffered and did not want to be there, I went to wash a sink-full of dishes so as not to be with people, then slowly I responded more positively because, he [Micha] talked about social justice, about helping and how this is done, about a sense of involvement." Nevertheless, later in the interview, Nirit described the process of reconciliation with Judaism which she underwent. She says, thanks to the program, she gained the ability to separate the social aspects of Jewish values and the values of the ultraconservative Judaism that she disliked and acquired an awareness of the humanistic and social aspects of Judaism:

> Rabbi Micah opened my eyes to another Judaism, a Judaism that is much more humanitarian, more loving, more accepting, less concerned with the question of whether there is a God but more about "Let's take care of others, let's be good people", which is nice. I would call this social Judaism, social affinity towards the outside world and social solidarity towards our own community of which we are a part […] This it softened in me a bit my attitude to Judaism and I opened in me a place where I could have some Judaism in my life, some tradition.

Nirit said that although all her life she had known the sources cited by Odenheimer in his lectures, as someone who grew up in the framework of orthodox education, they never impacted on her the way they did through the ensuing dialogue during the orientation, one of the goals of which is to educate for practical action through an understanding of global processes and responsibilities. Hila, who also came from a religious background and moved away from religion during her adolescence, said she initially had a suspicious attitude towards the Jewish content of the program and that Tevel led her to return closer to Judaism:

> I have encountered many frameworks of social and political activity on the subject of justice and human rights. I was big into this, but I do not think I've ever been before in this framework connecting these topics to Judaism in some way…I do not think I realized or was very aware of some kind of narrative of social justice…not some sort of deep sense of social outlook like the thesis that Micha was trying to convey.

It is interesting to see that when Nirit and Hila's stories are juxtaposed with the story of Roni, one can detect divergent starting points initially relative to their affinity to the Jewish elements of the program, but which, during the volunteering process, evolved and drew closer to each other. Roni came to the program with no initial connection, but with a curiosity about the religious elements, while Nirit and Hila conversely arrived with previous connections to religion, which were accompanied by a recoiling from them. During the process of volunteering, all three found a way to connect to the social values of Judaism, to the global, social action orientation that was presented as a guiding principle of the program.

As a religious person, Neta drew her sense of duty to volunteer and help others from Torah commandments. She defined this as a "Torah of morality", and she believes that the Jewish people are obligated to serve as an example to other nations in their activities to benefit the other:

> The Torah is replete with laws and commandments, how are you supposed to help, what to give to the poor from the produce of your field, even the smallest things the Torah explains what to do…Ultimately, it is a moral law…So yes I arrived there [to volunteering] as a Jew, I represent something that is a Jewish, someone who comes to show, to give an example.

Yael also came from a religious family and went through a process of moving away from religion. She said that despite her religious background, the Jewish perspective of the program was new for her. According to Yael, she was highly influenced by the discourse on the relationship between Judaism and globalization:

> In terms of content that Micha delivered, actually I think that for all the background from which I came, it was something I found very interesting that I did not know much about. He [Micha] was like an endless resource of texts precisely related to such matters…It's a conception that I really connected with and think was interesting, and in general all this discourse of Micah about globalization and Judaism, these were all relatively new concepts to me and I learned from them.

Ben explains his preference for Tevel over programs on the basis that the organization provides a structured framework for volunteering and a clear educational content. To this, Leah added: "I've always had a dream to volunteer and it seemed right to me to do this within an Israeli framework that has content and learning, where there is the added value of learning." Nili and Neta indicated that they sought a program with Jewish content and characteristics and volunteer work. Nili added: "I liked the part of Judaism, the relationship between Judaism and practice, and specific action not just for Jews in our communities, to look a little towards the outside world via Judaism." Neta stated that she had considered other programs, but what "strongly attracted me was the relationship and attitude to Judaism and religion. Less about religion but more to Judaism, where the connection is coming from being Jewish; not just 'I came to volunteer as a person', but 'I come to volunteer as a person who is also a Jew'. As a religious person this was very important to me. Also I can take something from the experience beyond the volunteering itself, something more conceptual, something that I can connect with."

However, some of the respondents were not sure that Jewish values were the guiding principles in their volunteering work. Irit said: "I do not remember exactly what Micah meant where he referred to Jewish identity, I'm not sure that's where I'm holding, as my commitment to the work in Israel is not related to my Jewish identity." Nirit's motives for voluntary action were similar; in her words, "My activity abroad is not driven for some context of tikkun olam, and that the Jews have a specific role that others do not. Everyone has this task; I have nothing really to say about my Jewish identity."

Leah similarly does not feel that she is committed to the explanations and interpretations of Odenheimer regarding the concept of tikkun olam from a Jewish starting point. Instead she emphasizes universal values of doing good for others: "I'm

not saying that it [the concept of 'tikkun olam'] is foreign to me. It is not strange, I believe in it, but not necessarily as a Jew, but simply as person who is trying to do good in the world."

However, some participants identify with the general values orientation of the organization, such as the emphasis on developing the mind-set of the volunteer. In the words of Roni:

> It really appealed to me that Tevel believes in two parallel processes. You do not come just to volunteer, but there are lots and lots of work put into the volunteer and into the process the volunteer undergoes and its content, which runs alongside the volunteering work. So there is a month of orientation at the beginning, followed by seminar every three weeks seminar, so that every so often one stops to think and to take a moment to analyze the things one is doing, which made it much more meaningful in my personal journey. I feel that it improved me and my volunteer work.

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Chapter 15
Jewish Approaches to Social Change

Shmuly Yanklowitz

Jews have always been at the forefront of creating social change and rightfully can boast a proud legacy of agitating for a better society. One tragic factor in our historical advocacy is the sociological reality of our own Jewish marginalization. Another has been the historical narrative of oppression we have endured, including our slavery in Egypt. Still, the most significant and inspiring aspect in our advocacy has been our Jewish social values, passed on through generations, that emphasize the unique role Jews must play among the world's nations.

We are a stubborn people. The rabbis (Talmud *Beitzah* 25b) suggest that this is why we were chosen to receive the mission of the Torah: "A *Tanna* taught in the name of Rabbi Meir: Why was the Torah given to Israel? Because they are insolent." That strength of will must not only be harnessed to support our families and communities but also to serve as a "light unto the nations." Consider how Rabbi Jonathan Sacks (2001) frames this unique mission:

> The concept of a covenantal bond between God and man is revolutionary and has no parallel in any other system of thought. For the ancients, man was at the mercy of impersonal forces that had to be placated. For Christianity, he is corrupt, tainted by an original sin that only the saving grace of God can remove. In Islam, man is called to absolute submission to God's will. In secular humanism, man is alone in a universe blind to his hopes and deaf to his prayers. Each of these is a coherent vision, and each has its adherents. But only in Judaism do we encounter the proposition that, despite their utter disparity, God and man come together as "partners in the work of creation." I know of no other vision that confers mankind so great a dignity and responsibility.

While Judaism prides itself upon its uniqueness, the tradition further emphasizes the importance of global solidarity. Jewish law does not differentiate between Jews and gentiles when it comes to saving lives, for instance. Consider the great thirteenth-century Spanish Rabbi Nahmanides (Ramban):

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> We are commanded to save the life of a non-Jew and to save him from harm, that if he was drowning in a river or if a stone fell upon him then *we must use all of our strength* and be burdened with saving him and if he was sick, we engage to heal him.

For Ramban, *tzedakah* (charity) has limits but *pikuach nefesh* (saving lives) does not, and this imperative applies to all humans.

Jewish Social Values

Jewish thought emphasizes a linear history, associated with a culture of empowered destiny. Compared to a model of cyclical history, a culture of fate where one is powerless to affect the swings of social change, we work towards progress while being simultaneously bolstered by our past (tradition and history). We embrace the responsibility that accompanies free will along with core values that we must aspire to live by.

There are distinct Jewish meta-values geared towards justice: *chesed*, *mishpat*, and *tzedek*. *Chesed*, which translates as "kindness" or "love," is about taking care of those around us through little acts of altruistic empathy. Moving from the private realm to the public domain, *mishpat* is concerned with wrongs, reciprocity, equality, security, and social order. Lastly, *tzedakah*, meaning social and economic justice, is about the systemic imperative to construct and maintain a sustainable, just society that provides for the vulnerable.

Personally, such values motivate me to think deeply about my role to prevent social wrongs, to perpetuate kindness, and to work towards a more perfected world. I am motivated by the broader Jewish ethos that demands we live *halachata b'drachav* (following the merciful ways of God). These values motivate and inspire us all in our individual ways. The important lesson to be derived, however, is that we should not live and operate in our own spheres, but as a larger community we must act accordingly.

Approaches to Social Change

It is a tragedy that some people do not think they have something to contribute to the world. Judaism emphasizes that each of us has a unique role to play in initiating and leading change to shape our world.

Consider these models for social change that we all might engage with:

1. *Education*—A crucial aspect to creating sustainable change is not only to change systems but to open minds and hearts. It is through education, relationship-building, the humanities and the arts, and spiritual practices that one can assist others in understanding complex situations, the contributions that can be made to lead change. Everyone needs teachers, mentors, and role models to help elucidate a path of empowerment to exercise one's vision of leadership.

2. *Social entrepreneurship*—By building sustainable enterprises that add value to society, one can make a serious contribution to the welfare of their community. This value is measured by leveraging novel ideas and collaboration to address present and crucial needs. These ventures may be for for-profit or non-profit but, in either case, they will add new and enhanced value.
3. *Protest*—Some causes do not receive the attention they deserve until there are agitators who make radical displays of protest to raise awareness and public outrage. Protests have been the catalyst for reform for a broad spectrum of racial and gender equality civil rights issues and often are sparked by people we would not typically consider powerful leaders. Clara Lemlich—a diminutive, 23-year-old immigrant garment worker—led several strikes and had been arrested 17 times within a few years of starting work (Dwyer 2011). Indeed, as recorded on history website Triangle Fire (undated), on one occasion she had been hospitalized after being beaten by New York City policemen and thugs hired by garment industry owners for daring to picket in front of a business. Then, on November 22, 1909, when a mass meeting was held at Cooper Union to see if two ongoing strikes could be expanded, Lemlich lost patience after a number of male labor leaders had offered lengthy, theoretical speeches without a plan. At that point, Lemlich went up to the stage and called for a general strike. She invoked an oath in Yiddish: "If I turn traitor to the cause I now pledge, may this hand wither from the arm I now raise." This call led to tens of thousands of workers going on strike and a generally successful settlement in terms of higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions by February 1910. Those brave acts can be seen as an early spark for the American labor movement. Yet, a century later, many of the same problems still exist.
4. *Advocacy*—One can call upon the powerful (government officials, corporate leaders, etc.) to create change in a top–down fashion. In some cases this has worked; for example, President Theodore Roosevelt's "Square Deal" began the modern conservation movement by protecting much federal land from development, and President Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society" provided important civil rights and health-care legislation.
5. *Community organizing*—As compared to the top–down approach for single issue advocacy, community organizing is a bottom–up methodology that is about empowering the masses to use their unique power to demand change. This is best accomplished by those who have limited financial resources but a strong and patient commitment to help disadvantaged populations, with the hope that the cumulative efforts of many organizers will have an impact at the state and federal levels.

Finding One's Calling

Figuring out what one wants to do with one's life is perhaps the most difficult and important decision one can ever make. I recall, well, the restless nights of my first job. Between college and rabbinical school, I worked as a corporate consultant,

advising employees on their benefits packages. People would call, struggling with the decision about which health insurance program would be best for them. Every choice had serious risks and the potential for immediate costs. Confined by what I perceived to be the demands of my job, I recall naively feeling constrained from sharing my empathy and spiritual concern with those seeking my help. While I knew that I was helping the workers who were coming to me, I was aware that much more needed to be done for some workers who were looking for guidance and support. I needed to step back to reflect upon my career path and my life direction based upon my interests, skills, and capacity for influence.

I struggled. Where shall I best utilize my time and energy? Should I rise in the corporate ranks in order to increase my financial net worth and then donate more to those in need? Should I spend a couple years volunteering in the developing world? Should I become an educator? In the past, I may have been inclined to look to family, authority figures, and mentors to answer these difficult questions. At that point, though, I realized that, as a young adult, I needed to decide for myself how best to make a positive mark on the world. These difficult life choices ultimately are placed into our own hands.

I began reflecting on the demands Judaism places upon the ways we invest our time, energy, and resources. I asked myself in what ways I was responsible to other people. *Acharayut* (responsibility) comes from the root *acher* (other). To take responsibility means to cultivate the *ability* to *respond* to another. This responsibility to one another is often born in a moment when no one else is present to assist. Hillel said (Ethics of the Fathers 2:6): "In a place where there is not someone (of moral courage taking responsibility), strive to be that person." We each must ask ourselves: In what position am I, and how does that position provide me with special points of access that make me uniquely capable of, and thus uniquely responsible for, giving? At times, these answers may be influenced by proximity (who needs me in my town), relationships (who needs me among those I know and love in particular), and the severity of a given situation (natural disasters, for instance, compel us to act regardless of proximity and relationships).

Each of us must discover our own unique passion. David Hume (1911, 2:128), the eighteenth-century Scottish philosopher famously argued that: "[I]t is not contrary to reason to prefer the destruction of the whole world to the scratching of my finger." On some core psychological level, we might prefer to take care of the most trivial aspects of our self-interest over that of being proactive in addressing human suffering. A new era of activism provides us with hope that this can change, but many still respond to the most pressing global issues of our age with apathy; there is a shortage of passionate, visionary justice seekers to lead us. We need radically inspired activism and community service. We need enflamed souls who will pour their love, tears, sweat, and resources into making systemic and immediate change a possibility.

The *Shema* commands us to serve (via love of God) with all of our resources *(uvchol meodekha)*. Maimonides (Commentary to Ethics of the Fathers 5:6) explained the virtues of excess in ethical pursuits:

> The hasid [pious person] is the wise man who has inclined somewhat to an extreme in his ethical attributes…and his deeds are greater than his wisdom. Therefore he is called a *hasid*, in the sense of excess, because exaggeration in a matter is called *hesed* [loving kindness]....

Learning from Maimonides, we come to understand that we are obliged to be radically excessive in our healing of the world when we follow the paths of Jewish piety. We must not only invigorate our general commitments to altruism, human rights, and activism but also find our unique passions, and then pursue them through service to the world.

We cannot evaluate our social justice options by utilizing formulaic conventions or religious dogma. Rather, we should follow our conscience and reasoning to make life better for others and join with similar communities of other faiths that strive to improve the world. We must create open spaces of discourse so that our identities and our lives can inspire responsibility; this is how we become enthusiastic and committed to our work. When we choose projects that feel right and speak to our souls, we ensure a sustainable commitment with a deeper, more lasting investment. When our souls are enflamed with passion for the causes we choose, we are moved to a kind of excessive devotion that the Jewish tradition praises.

In order to serve those who cry out to us, we must find our unique power that enables us to make a difference. As mentioned before, Nahmanides argued that when a life circumstance puts someone in a position of influence, he or she is obligated to use that power to save others. The *Shulchan Arukh* even held that one must "expose oneself to possible danger (safek sakkanah) to save a human life" (Rabbi Yoseph Caro, *Kesef Mishnah, Hilkhot Rotzeach;* Rabbi Yoseph Caro, *Hoshen Mishpat* 426). In his comments on this issue, Rabbi Shlomo Zalman Auerbach (*Minchat Shlomo*, Vol. 2, 86:4) argued:

> In relation to the obligation to pay the costs of saving the life of a sick person who is in danger of dying: From the straightforward reading of [the Talmud, Tractate] *Sanhedrin* 73a we see that one is obligated to do everything to save him, and if not, one transgresses the negative commandment: Do not stand idly by the blood of your neighbor.

The major problem for many of us is that we must operate under the constraints of time, money, location, and relationships—tragically, we cannot help everyone. Given these limitations, what methods are most appropriate in attempting to make the world a more just, safe, moral, and holy place; and who are the needy that we should make a priority in doing that work? When considering the amount of people in the world who need our help, we can feel overwhelmed and unable to make a difference.

We should therefore emphasize methods of social action that elicit the most change, while further promoting a flexible approach in order to make use of the diverse talents found within the Jewish community. Some people choose to serve as great philanthropists, some as community organizers and lobbyists, while others are social workers or clergy activists. We must encourage all of these people to build a powerful base of partnership while adhering to the famous principle of Jewish education from the biblical Book of Proverbs (22:6) "chanoch la-na'ar al pi darko," *to educate based on the path of the particular student.*

After identifying our core values and concerns, we must learn to use our spheres of influence and skills in the most effective way possible. If we are well connected to power or wealth or armed with a particular kind of knowledge, these factors should be taken into account. In addition to an assessment of our advantages and capabilities, we must also be in touch with our environment. At times, we may be placed in a situation of power, with no opportunity to postpone action. The Talmud (*Taanit* 21a) teaches in the name of *Nachum Ish Gam Zu*:

> A poor man came and stood before me on the road, and said to me, "My teacher, sustain me (give me something to eat)!" I responded to him: "Wait until I unload some food from the donkey." I did not have a chance to unload the donkey before his soul departed (he died of hunger). I went and fell on my face [fell into depression based on my insensitivity at having not prevented this man's death at the chance I was given].

We are all confronted with these opportunities. But sometimes even decisions made with the best intentions do not necessarily have the greatest effect or intended consequence.

Peter Singer, a moral consequentialist, suggested that the morally superior path is a life of asceticism in which we donate everything beyond our basic needs to the less fortunate. A moral consequentialist is not merely interested in the cultivation of virtue or in preserving rights. The consequences of any individual act can be greater than intelligence can acknowledge. Thus, all moral deliberation must acknowledge this factor. The question becomes not whether it is right to do *X* at this moment, but how doing *X* might affect all parties in the future. I would argue that this is not likely to be a lifestyle that effects the most change in the long run. It does not enable ongoing, sustainable giving or more creative possibilities for contribution. Giving money is not the only way to contribute; we can also offer our time, social entrepreneurship, political influence, and knowledge. Donating the majority of our income and wealth, as Singer has advocated, cannot be done at the expense of creating change in other necessary ways. For example, a CEO may, in fact, be able to create more significant change by being persuaded to reform his or her company's labor practices than by merely writing a check. There are power dynamics in every relationship (Foucault 1988), and we should look at situations holistically to assess where each of us can best use our power for positive social change.

Though we can best contribute in areas where we have the most potential for influence and where we have the most passion to make a difference, we cannot do it alone. We must work in partnership with our community, with the population we are hoping to help (which may or may not be in our community), with coreligionists, and with experts. Coming face-to-face with others is a necessary element of working for social change. Even when we have limited time and resources to contribute, we should nonetheless ensure that, at a minimum, we maintain a personal relationship with those we seek to help and understand their needs on their terms. And yet, there is room for self-interest, even in the quest for partnership. Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik (2003, p. 200) wrote:

> What one is longing for is his own self-fulfillment, which he believes he will find in his union with the other person. The emotion leaves its inner abode in order to find not the "you" but the "I"…. It only indicates that, because of self-interest, the person is committed to a state of mind which, regardless of one's self-centeredness, promotes goodwill and unites people.

In other words, self-interest concomitant with a desire to spread good should not be condemned.

In addition to supporting each other, we are obligated to challenge each other. The rabbis expected that we would hold others in our sacred communities accountable for our collective responsibility. The Talmud (*Shabbat* 54b) states:

> Whoever has the power to protest against members of his household but does not protest is punished for the transgressions of the members of his household. Against the people of his town, but does not, is punished for the deeds of those in his town. Against the entire world and does not is punished for the deeds of the entire world.

Jewish ethics is, of course, not only about avoiding wrongdoing. Rather, we have a greater mandate to go beyond the ethics of "do no harm" and to repair the world (*tikkun olam*) from its brokenness. We are asked to partner with others to help each other meet our potential for moral leadership. Encouraging growth for those in our communities by setting positive examples is a vital part of the Jewish moral enterprise and of creating a vibrant, just society.

Talmud Torah, the study of Torah, is a central responsibility for Jews; and yet, addressing communal needs is considered to have equal weight in our tradition (*Shulchan Arukh, Yoreh De'ah* 93:4). What makes Jewish education matter is not only that it demands high standards and intellectual rigor, but also that it challenges us to higher commitments of justice, charity, service, volunteering, and interpersonal ethics. The rabbis of the Talmud (*Taanit* 11a) explained that one should not be content and comfortable when others suffer, but rather: "At a time when the community is steeped in distress, a person should not say: 'I will go to my house and eat and drink, and peace be upon you, my soul.'"

We live in a country in which over 47 million people lack medical insurance. We live in a world in which over 2 billion people out of a global population of 7 billion live on less than $2 a day. Poverty, disease, war, and genocide are spreading throughout many regions of the world, and there is too much at stake for us to live or work in solitude. The Jewish community, despite its intradenominational differences, must unite to address these pressing issues. We must not be daunted by the vastness of the problems before us but should be guided by the teaching in Ethics of the Fathers (2:21): "You are not obligated to complete the work, but neither are you free to desist from it."

Conclusion

To make the greatest possible contribution to the world, each of us must take a *cheshbon hanefesh* (self-accounting) of our spheres of influence and personal callings. When we act to address issues that we are passionate about and contribute where we have the greatest potential, we ensure maximum sustainability and impact. To be sure, there are traditional basic minimum prescriptions for *tzedakah*, core responsibilities to family and community, and hierarchies of Jewish values. Rabbi Moshe Sofer (*Hatam Sofer, Yoreh Deah* 234), however, maintained that a very great need overrides the traditional hierarchy of priorities altogether. Rabbi

Yechiel Michel Epstein (*Arukh HaShulchan, Yoreh De'ah* 151:4) was even more explicit, arguing that everyone—not only the relatives and neighbors of those in need—must give to those in penury:

> There is something about this that is very difficult for me because if we understand these words literally—that some groups take priority over others—that implies that there is no requirement to give to groups lower on the hierarchy. And it is well known that every wealthy person has many poor relatives (and all the more so every poor person) so it will happen that a poor person without any rich relatives will die of hunger. And how could this possibly be? So it seems clear to me that the correct interpretation is that everyone, whether rich or poor, must also give to poor people who are not relatives.

There are no adequate absolute prescriptions that can help us choose between lending our efforts to rescuing the people of Darfur or fighting malaria, to helping the elderly or feeding malnourished newborns, to assisting with immediate disaster relief or creating sustainable development, to offering services to those lacking health care, or contributing to AIDS research. And yet, we can analyze the power we have, assess our skill sets, and identify our core convictions. These steps will help us to understand where we might best contribute to and organize for effective change through diverse partnerships. For each of us to realize our full potential in the project of repairing the world, we must measure the efficacy of our work. Together, as a global Jewish community, may we reach new heights in creating concrete change that brings peace and dignity to all human beings.

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Erratum to: Informing Our Interventions with the Wisdom of the Sages: Biblical and Rabbinic Inspiration for Fostering Sensitivity Towards Individuals with Disabilities

Nava R. Silton

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